NORTH DAKOTA STATE UNIVERSITY
3 0109 00007 8256

H27
North Dak
and E
BISMARCK TRIBUNE

BS 440 H5 1909 Hastings Dictionary of the Bible. 21817

DATE DUE

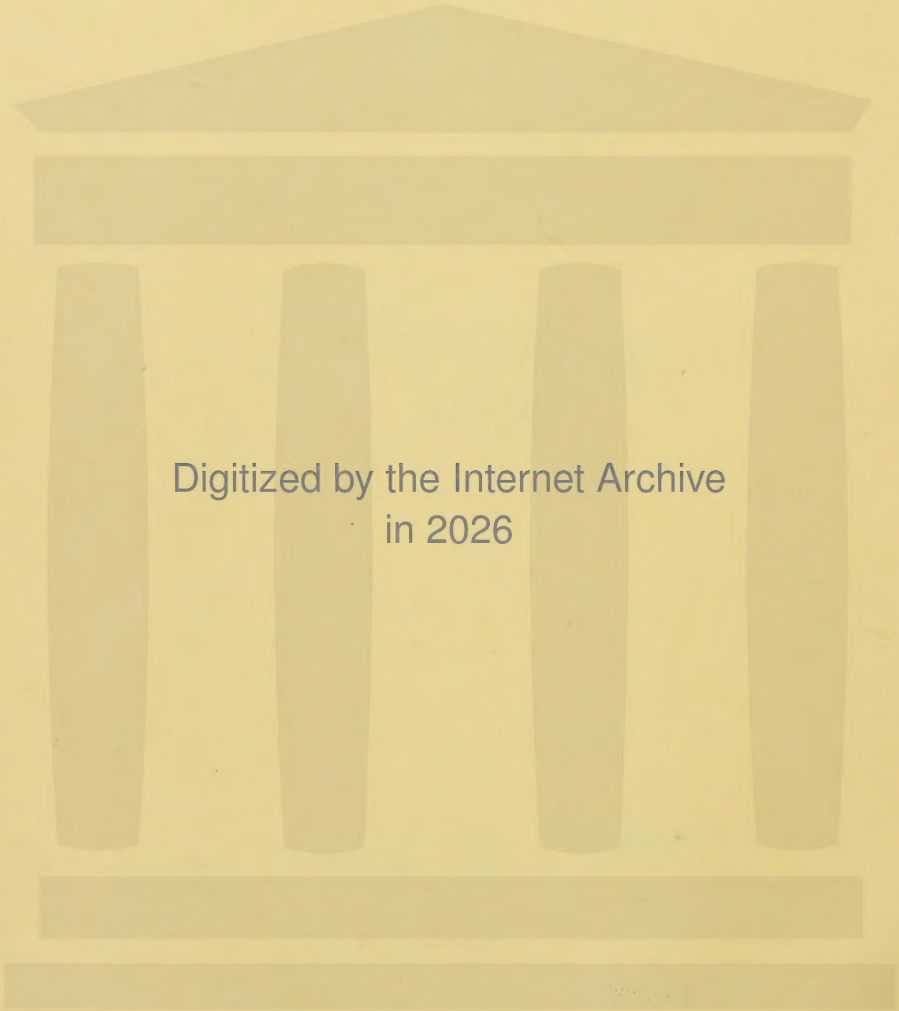
MAR 15 '71
APR 11 1977
MAY 9 '77
JAN 8 1979
FEB 11 1985
NOV 21 1999
FEB 28 2002
MAR 28 2002
APR 25 2002

GAYLORD M-2 PRINTED IN U.S.A.

Subject To Recall After 2 Weeks

LIBRARY
NORTH DAKOTA
STATE UNIVERSITY
FARGO, NORTH DAKOTA

WITHDRAWN
NDSU


Digitized by the Internet Archive
in 2026

https://archive.org/details/dictionaryofbibl0000jame_f2c4

DICTIONARY

OF THE

BIBLE

EDITED BY

JAMES HASTINGS, D.D.

WITH THE CO-OPERATION OF

JOHN A. SELBIE, D.D.

AND WITH THE ASSISTANCE OF

JOHN C. LAMBERT, D.D.

AND OF

SHAILER MATHEWS, D.D.

PROFESSOR OF THEOLOGY AND DEAN OF THE DIVINITY SCHOOL
IN THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

21817

NEW YORK

CHARLES SCRIBNER'S SONS

1909

220.3
H27

Copyright, 1909, by
CHARLES SCRIBNER'S SONS

Published January, 1909

BS
440
H5
1909

PREFACE

THE Editor's aim has been to provide a complete and independent DICTIONARY OF THE BIBLE in a single volume and abreast of present-day scholarship.

1. Complete.—The Dictionary gives an account of all the contents of the Bible, the articles being as numerous as in the largest dictionaries, but written to a different scale. The Index of the *Dictionary of the Bible* in five volumes by the same Editor has been taken as basis, and such additions made to it as the latest research has suggested. The persons, places, and important events in the Bible are described. There are articles on the Biblical theology and ethics, on the antiquities, and on the languages—English as well as Hebrew and Greek. The books of the Bible are carefully explained in their origin, authorship, and contents; and full account is taken of the results of literary criticism and archæological discovery.

2. Independent.—The Dictionary is not a condensation of the five-volume Dictionary. It is not based upon it or upon any other dictionary. It is a new and independent work. All the signed, and most of the unsigned, articles are written afresh, and (with few exceptions) by different authors from those who treated the same subjects in the larger Dictionary. Even when the wording of the large Dictionary has been retained, as in the case, for example, of proper names of minor importance, every statement has been verified anew. The single-volume Dictionary will thus be found as fresh and full of life as the largest dictionaries are.

3. In a single volume.—This is to bring the contents of the Bible, in accordance with present scholarship, within reach of those who have not the means to buy or the knowledge to use the Dictionary in five volumes. This Dictionary contains no Hebrew or Greek except in transliteration. It is, however, a large volume, and it would have been larger had not the utmost care been taken to prevent overlapping. For the great subjects are not treated with that excessive brevity which makes single-volume dictionaries often so disappointing. The space has been so carefully husbanded that it has been found possible to allow 24 pages to the article on ISRAEL; 23 pages to the article on JESUS CHRIST; and half that number to a further article on the PERSON OF CHRIST. There is another way in which space has been saved. The whole subject of MAGIC DIVINATION AND SORCERY, for example, has been dealt with in a single article. That article includes many sub-topics, each of which is found in its own place, with a cross-reference to this comprehensive article; and when the word occurs in this article it is printed in black type, so that no time may be lost in searching for it.

4. Abreast of present Scholarship.—That is to say, of the average scholarship of its day. There are many reasons why a Dictionary of the Bible should not take up an extreme position on either side. But the reason which has proved to be most conclusive, is the impossibility of getting the whole of the work done satisfactorily by either very advanced or very conservative scholars. They are not numerous enough. And there could be no satisfaction in entrusting work to men who were chosen for any other reason than their knowledge of the subject.

*** The Editor would call attention to the Additional Note on the article ASSYRIA AND BABYLONIA, which will be found at the end of the volume.

21817

MAPS

I. The Ancient East . . . . . *Facing page* xvi

II. The Kingdoms of Judah and Israel . . . . . " 400

III. Palestine in the Time of Christ . . . . . " 448

IV. St. Paul's Journeys . . . . . " 688

ABBREVIATIONS

I. General

Alex. = Alexandrian.
Apoc. = Apocalypse, Apocalyptic.
Apocr. = Apocrypha, Apocryphal.
Aq. = Aquila.
Arab. = Arabic.
Aram. = Aramaic.
Assyr. = Assyrian.
AV = Authorized Version.
AVm = Authorized Version margin.
Bab. = Babylonian.
c = *circa*, about.
cf. = compare; *ct.* = contrast.
D = Deuteronomist.
E = Elohist.
edd. = editions or editors.
EV = English Version.
f. = and following verse or page: as Ac 10^{34}*f.*.
ff. = and following verses or pages: as Mt 11^{28}*ff.*.
H = Law of Holiness.
Hex. = Hexateuch.
J = Jahwist.
J″ = Jahweh.
Jos. = Josephus.
LXX = Septuagint.
MT = Massoretic Text.
n. = note.
NT = New Testament.
OT = Old Testament.
P = Priestly Narrative.
Pr. Bk.—Prayer Book.
R = Redactor.
RV = Revised Version.
RVm = Revised Version margin.
TR = Textus Receptus.
tr. = translate or translation.
VSS = Versions.
Vulg. = Vulgate.
WH = Westcott and Hort's text.

II. Books of the Bible

Old Testament.

Gn = Genesis.
Ex = Exodus.
Lv = Leviticus.
Nu = Numbers.
Dt = Deuteronomy.
Jos = Joshua.
Jg = Judges.
Ru = Ruth.
1 S, 2 S = 1 and 2 Samuel.
1 K, 2 K = 1 and 2 Kings.
1 Ch, 2 Ch = 1 and 2 Chronicles.
Ezr = Ezra.
Neh = Nehemiah.
Est = Esther.
Job.
Ps = Psalms.
Pr = Proverbs.
Ec = Ecclesiastes.
Ca = Canticles.
Is = Isaiah.
Jer = Jeremiah.
La = Lamentations.
Ezk = Ezekiel.
Dn = Daniel.
Hos = Hosea.
Jl = Joel.
Am = Amos.
Ob = Obadiah.
Jon = Jonah.
Mic = Micah.
Nah = Nahum.
Hab = Habakkuk.
Zeph = Zephaniah.
Hag = Haggai.
Zec = Zechariah.
Mal = Malachi.

Apocrypha.

1 Es, 2 Es = 1 and 2 Esdras.
To = Tobit.
Jth = Judith.
Ad. Est = Additions to Esther.
Wis = Wisdom.
Sir = Sirach or Ecclesiasticus.
Bar = Baruch.
Three = Song of the Three Children.
Sus = Susanna.
Bel = Bel and the Dragon.
Pr. Man = Prayer of Manasses.
1 Mac, 2 Mac = 1 and 2 Maccabees.

New Testament.

Mt = Matthew.
Mk = Mark.
Lk = Luke.
Jn = John.
Ac = Acts.
Ro = Romans.
1 Co, 2 Co = 1 and 2 Corinthians.
Gal = Galatians.
Eph = Ephesians.
Ph = Philippians.
Col = Colossians.
1 Th, 2 Th = 1 and 2 Thessalonians.
1 Ti, 2 Ti = 1 and 2 Timothy.
Tit. = Titus.
Philem = Philemon.
He = Hebrews.
Ja = James.
1 P, 2 P = 1 and 2 Peter.
1 Jn, 2 Jn, 3 Jn = 1, 2, and 3 John.
Jude.
Rev = Revelation.

III. For the Literature

AHT = Ancient Hebrew Tradition.
AJTh = American Journal of Theology.
AT = Altes Testament.
BRP = Biblical Researches in Palestine.
COT = Cuneiform Inscriptions and the OT.
DB = Dictionary of the Bible.
DCG = Dictionary of Christ and the Gospels.
EBi = Encyclopædia Biblica.
EBr = Encyclopædia Britannica.
EGT = Expositor's Greek Testament.

ExpT = Expository Times.
GAP = Geographie des alten Palästina.
GGA = Göttingische Gelehrte Anzeigen.
GGN = Nachrichten der königl. Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen.
GJV = Geschichte des Jüdischen Volkes.
GVI = Geschichte des Volkes Israel.
HCM = Higher Criticism and the Monuments.
HGHL = Historical Geography of Holy Land.
HJP = History of the Jewish People.
HPN = Hebrew Proper Names.
HWB = Handwörterbuch.
ICC = International Critical Commentary.
JAOS = Journ. of the Amer. Oriental Society.
JBL = Journ. of Biblical Literature.
JE = Jewish Encyclopedia.
JQR = Jewish Quarterly Review.
JThSt = Journal of Theological Studies.
KAT = Die Keilinschriften und das Alte Testament.
KIB = Keilinschriftliche Bibliothek.
LB = The Land and the Book.
LOT = Introd. to the Literature of the Old Testament.
MNDPV = Mittheil. u. Nachrichten d. Deutch. Pal.-Vereins.
OTJC = The Old Test. in the Jewish Church.
PB = Polychrome Bible.
PEF = Palestine Exploration Fund.
PEFSt = Quarterly Statement of the same.
PSBA = Proceedings of Soc. of Bibl. Archæology.
PRE = Real-Encykl. für protest. Theol. und Kirche
RB = Revue Biblique.
RE = Realencyklopädie.
REJ = Revue des Études Juives.
RP = Records of the Past.
RS = Religion of the Semites.
RWB = Realwörterbuch.
SBOT = Sacred Books of Old Testament.
SP = Sinai and Palestine.
SWP = Memoirs of the Survey of W. Palestine.
TS = Texts and Studies.
TSBA = Transactions of Soc. of Bibl. Archæology.
TU = Texte und Untersuchungen.
WAI = Western Asiatic Inscriptions.
ZATW = Zeitschrift für die Alttest. Wissenschaft.
ZNTW = Zeitschrift für die Neutest. Wissenschaft.

A small superior number designates the particular edition of the work referred to: as KAT^2, LOT^6.

AUTHORS OF ARTICLES

IN THIS DICTIONARY OF THE BIBLE

Rev. Walter Frederick Adeney, D.D., Principal of the Lancashire College, Manchester.

Rev. John S. Banks, D.D., Professor of Theology in the Headingley College, Leeds.

Rev. George A. Barton, A.M., Ph.D., Professor of Biblical Literature and Semitic Languages in Bryn Mawr College.

Rev. William Henry Bennett, D.D., Litt.D., Professor of Old Testament Exegesis in Hackney College and New College, London.

Rev. George Ricker Berry, D.D., Professor of Semitic Languages in Colgate University, New York.

Rev. A. W. F. Blunt, M.A., Fellow of Exeter College, Oxford.

Rev. George Herbert Box, M.A., Late Hebrew Master at Merchant Taylors' School, London, Incumbent of Linton, Ross.

Rev. William F. Boyd, M.A., Ph.D., Minister at Methlick, Aberdeenshire.

Rev. A. E. Burn, M.A., D.D., Rector and Rural Dean of Handsworth, Birmingham, and Prebendary of Lichfield.

Rev. Ernest De Witt Burton, D.D., Professor of New Testament Interpretation in the University of Chicago.

Rev. George G. Cameron. D.D., Professor of Hebrew in the United Free Church College, Aberdeen.

Rev. John S. Clemens, B.A., B.D., Principal of Ranmoor College, Sheffield.

Rev. William F. Cobb, D.D., Rector of the Church of St. Ethelburga the Virgin, London.

Rev. H. F. B. Compston, M.A., Hebrew Lecturer and Tutor in King's College, London; Member of the Theological Board of Studies in the University of London.

Rev. James A. Craig, D.D., Professor of Old Testament Interpretation in the University of Michigan.

Rev. T. Witton Davies, B.A., Ph.D., Professor of Hebrew in Bangor College.

Rev. W. T. Davison, M.A., D.D., Professor of Theology in Richmond Theological College, Surrey.

Adolf Deissmann, D.Th., D.D., Ord. Professor of New Testament Exegesis in the University of Berlin.

Rev. S. R. Driver, D.D., Litt.D., Professor of Hebrew in the University of Oxford, and Canon of Christ Church.

Rev. E. A. Edghill, M.A., B.D., College of St. Saviour, Southwark.

Rev. Cyril W. Emmet, M.A., Vicar of West Hendred, Steventon.

Rev. W. Ewing, M.A., Minister at Edinburgh.

Rev. Robert A. Falconer, D. Litt., D.D., President of the University of Toronto.

Rev. George G. Findlay, M.A., D.D., Professor of Biblical Literature in the Headingley College, Leeds.

Rev. Henry Thatcher Fowler, D.D., Professor of Biblical Literature and History in Brown University, Providence.

Rev. Kemper Fullerton, D.D., Professor of Old Testament Language and Literature in Oberlin College, Ohio.

Rev. Alfred E. Garvie, M.A., D.D., Principal of New College, London.

Rev. Owen H. Gates, Ph.D., Librarian and Instructor in Hebrew in Andover Theological Seminary.

Rev. James Gilroy, D.D., Professor of Hebrew in the University of Aberdeen.

Rev. G. Buchanan Gray, M.A., D.D., Professor of Hebrew in Mansfield College, Oxford.

Rev. S. W. Green, M.A., Professor of Hebrew in Regent's Park College, London.

Rev. Charles T. P. Grierson, M.A., B.D., Canon of Down, and Rector of Seapatrick, Banbridge.

F. Ll. Griffith, M.A., F.S.A., Reader in Egyptology in the University of Oxford.

Rev. H. M. Gwatkin, M.A., D.D., Dixey Professor of Ecclesiastical History in the University of Cambridge.

Rev. G. H. Gwilliam, B.D., Rector of Remenham, Henley.

Rev. D. A. Hayes, Ph.D., S.T.D., LL.D., Professor of New Testament Exegesis in Garrett Biblical Institute, Northwestern University, Evanston, Ill.

Rev. W. J. Henderson, B.A., Principal of Bristol College.

G. F. Hill, M.A., Assistant Keeper of the Department of Coins and Medals in the British Museum, London.

Rev. A. E. Hillard, M.A., D.D., High Master of St. Paul's School, London.

Rev. F. R. Montgomery Hitchcock, B.D., Rector of Kinnitty, King's Co.

Rev. C. H. W. Johns, M.A., Fellow of Queens' College, Cambridge.

Rev. D. M. Kay, M.A., D.D., Professor of Hebrew in the University of St. Andrews.

Rev. James A. Kelso, D.D., Professor of Old Testament Exegesis in the Western Theological Seminary, Allegheny.

Rev. A. R. S. Kennedy, D.D., Professor of Hebrew in the University of Edinburgh.

F. G. Kenyon, M.A., D.Litt., Ph.D., of the Department of Manuscripts in the British Museum, London, Late Fellow of Magdalen College, Oxford.

Leonard W. King, M.A., F.S.A., of the Department of Egyptian and Assyrian Antiquities in the British Museum, London.

Rev. G. A. Frank Knight, M.A., F.R.S.E., Minister at Perth.

Nicholas Koenig, M.A., University Fellow in Semitic Languages, Columbia University, New York.

Rev. J. C. Lambert, M.A., D.D., Fenwick, Assistant Editor of the *Dictionary of Christ and the Gospels*.

Rev. H. C. O. Lanchester, M.A., Fellow of Pembroke College, Cambridge.

R. A. Stewart Macalister, M.A., F.S.A., Director of Excavations for the Palestine Exploration Fund.

Rev. J. Frederic McCurdy, Ph.D., LL.D., Professor of Oriental Languages in the University of Toronto.

Rev. William M. Macdonald, M.A., Minister at Foveran, Aberdeenshire.

Rev. George M. Mackie, M.A., D.D., Chaplain to the Church of Scotland at Beyrout, Syria.

Rev. Hugh R. Mackintosh, M.A., D.Phil., D.D., Professor of Systematic Theology in New College, Edinburgh.

Right Rev. Arthur John Maclean, M.A., D.D., Bishop of Moray and Ross.

Rev. A. H. McNeile, B.D., Fellow and Dean of Sidney Sussex College, Cambridge.

Rev. D. S. Margoliouth, M.A., D.Litt., Laudian Professor of Arabic in the University of Oxford.

Rev. John T. Marshall, M.A., D.D., Principal of the Baptist College, Manchester.

E. W. Gurney Masterman, M.D., F.R.G.S., Jerusalem, Syria.

Rev. J. Howard B. Masterman, M.A., Professor of History in the University of Birmingham, and Hon. Canon of Birmingham.

Rev. Shailer Mathews, D.D., Professor of Theology and Dean of the Divinity School in the University of Chicago.

Rev. J. H. Maude, M.A., Rector of Hilgay, Downham Market.

Rev. R. Waddy Moss, M.A., D.D., Professor of Systematic Theology in Didsbury College, Manchester.

Rev. James Hope Moulton, M.A., D.Litt., Greenwood Professor of Hellenistic Greek in the Victoria University of Manchester.

Rev. Wilfrid J. Moulton, M.A., Professor of Old Testament Languages and Literature in Headingley College, Leeds.

Rev. T. Allen Moxon, M.A., Vicar of Alfreton, Derbyshire.

Rev. Henry S. Nash, D.D., Professor in the Episcopal Theological School, Cambridge, Mass.

Rev. W. M. Nesbit, M.A., B.D., Fellow of Drew Theological Seminary.

Theodor Nöldeke, Ph.D., LL.D., Professor Emeritus in the University of Strassburg.

Rev. W. O. E. Oesterley, D.D., Organizing Secretary to the Parochial Missions to the Jews, and Lecturer to the Palestine Exploration Fund.

Rev. James Orr, D.D., Professor of Apologetics and Theology in the United Free Church College, Glasgow.

Rev. William P. Paterson, D.D., Professor of Divinity in the University of Edinburgh.

Rev. James Patrick, M.A., B.D., B.Sc., Minister at Edinburgh.

T. G. Pinches, LL.D., M.R.A.S., Lecturer in Assyrian at University College, London.

Rev. Ira M. Price, M.A., B.D., Ph.D., Professor of Semitic Languages and Literature in the University of Chicago.

Late Rev. H. A. Redpath, M.A., Litt.D., Rector of St. Dunstan's in the East, London.

Rev. Frank Edward Robinson, B.A., Professor of Hebrew and Church History in the Baptist College, Bristol.

Rev. George L. Robinson, Ph.D., D.D., Professor of Old Testament Literature in McCormick Theological Seminary, Chicago.

Miss Ethel G. Romanes, Lady Margaret Hall, Oxford.

Rev. A. H. Sayce, D.D., Litt.D., LL.D., Professor of Assyriology in the University of Oxford.

Rev. C. Anderson Scott, M.A., Professor of New Testament Literature in Westminster College, Cambridge.

Rev. James G. Simpson, M.A., Principal of the Clergy School, Leeds.

Rev. John Skinner, M.A., D.D., Principal of Westminster College, Cambridge.

Rev. David Smith, M.A., D.D., Minister at Blairgowrie.

Rev. Henry P. Smith, M.A., D.D., LL.D., Professor of Old Testament Literature in Meadville Theological School.

Rev. John Merlin Powis Smith, D.D., Professor in the University of Chicago.

W. Taylor Smith, B.A., Sevenoaks, Kent.

Alexander Souter, M.A., Litt.D., Professor of New Testament Exegesis in Mansfield College, Oxford.

Rev. J. H. Stevenson, D.D., Professor in Vanderbilt University, Nashville.

Rev. Morley Stevenson, M.A., Principal of Warrington Training College, and Canon of Liverpool.

Rev. Alexander Stewart, M.A., D.D., Principal of St. Mary's College, and Professor of Systematic Theology in the University of St. Andrews.

Rev. Robert H. Strachan, M.A., Minister at Elie.

Rev. A. W. Streane, D.D., Formerly Dean and Hebrew and Divinity Lecturer in Corpus Christi College, Cambridge.

Rev. John G. Tasker, D.D., Professor of Biblical Literature and Exegesis in Handsworth College, Birmingham.

Rev. John Taylor, M.A., D.Litt., Vicar of Winchcombe.

Rev. R. Bruce Taylor, M.A., Minister of St. John's Wood Presbyterian Church, London.

Rev. Milton Spencer Terry, D.D., LL.D., Professor of Christian Doctrine in the Garrett Biblical Institute, Northwestern University, Evanston, Ill.

Rev. W. H. Griffith Thomas, D.D., Principal of Wycliffe Hall, Oxford.

Rev. G. W. Wade, D.D., Professor and Senior Tutor in St. David's College, Lampeter.

Rev. A. C. Welch, M.A., B.D., Minister at Glasgow.

Rev. H. L. Willett, D.D., Dean of the Disciples' Divinity House in the University of Chicago.

Rev. J. R. Willis, B.D., Rector of Preban and Moyne, Co. Wicklow.

Herbert G. Wood, M.A., Fellow of Jesus College, Cambridge.

Rev. F. H. Woods, B.D., Rector of Bainton, Late Fellow and Theological Lecturer of St. John's College, Oxford.

PRONUNCIATION OF PROPER NAMES

It will be generally agreed that some uniformity in the pronunciation of Scripture Proper Names is extremely desirable. One hears in church and elsewhere, not only what are obvious and demonstrable mispronunciations, but such variety in the mode of pronouncing many names as causes irritation and bewilderment. It is impossible to tell whether a speaker or reader is simply blundering along, or whether he is prepared to justify his pronunciation by reference to some authority, or to base it upon some intelligible principle. If after hearing a name pronounced in a way widely different from that to which we have been accustomed, we refer to some accessible authority, it is by no means improbable that it will be found to support the accentuation or enunciation of which we should previously have been inclined to disapprove.

It is less easy to see how the uniformity desiderated is to be brought about. A committee consisting of representative Biblical and English scholars might draw out a list which would be accepted as a standard, on the assumption that individuals were prepared, for the sake of the desired uniformity, to give up their own personal habits or preferences. It is certain that no authority less distinguished would be recognized. It has therefore been, no doubt, a wise decision on the part of the Editor of the present work not to indicate, as was at one time contemplated, the pronunciation of each proper name as it occurred, at any rate when any difficulty was likely to be experienced. This would simply have been to add another to the numerous, and too often discordant, authorities already existing. Instead, it has been thought better to prepare the way, in some degree, for an authoritative list by discussing briefly some of the principles which should govern its construction.

1. Divergence of authorities.—It may be well at the outset to illustrate that divergence of accessible authorities to which allusion has been made. For this purpose we shall select the four following lists:—(1) That of Professor T. K. Cheyne, D.D., of Oxford, originally contributed to the Queen's Printers' *Teachers' Bible* of 1877 (Eyre & Spottiswoode); (2) that contributed by Professor W. B. Stevenson, B.D., now of Glasgow, to the Supplementary Volume to Dr. Young's *Analytical Concordance* (George Adam Young & Co.); (3) that contained in the Appendix to *Cassell's English Dictionary*, edited by John Williams, M.A. (Cassell & Co.); (4) that contained in the *Illustrated Bible Treasury*, edited by Wm. Wright, D.D. (Nelson & Sons). The following names are thus given:—

Cheyne.	Stevenson.	Williams.*	Wright.*
Abia'saph	Ab'ia'saph	Abi'asaph	Abia'saph
Abina'dab	Ab'ina'dab	Abin'adab	Abina'dab
Ad'ramme'lech	Adram'melech	Adram'melech	Adramme'lech
Antipat'ris	Antipat'ris	Antip'atris	Antipa'tris
Ba'al-pera'zim	Ba'al-per'azim	Ba'al Per'azim	Ba'al-pera'zim
Chedor'lao'mer	Che'dorlao'mer	Chedorla'omer	Chedorlao'mer
Debo'rah	Deb'orah	Deb'orah	Debo'rah
Deda'nim	De'danim	De'danim	Deda'nim
Em'maus	Emma'us	Emma'us	Em'maus
Eph'ratah	Ephra'tah	Eph'ratah	Ephra'tah
Habak'kuk	Habak'kuk	Habak'kuk and Hab'akkuk	Habak'kuk
Hav'ilah	Hav'ilah	Havi'lah	Havil'ah
Haza'el	Haz'ael	Ha'zael	Haza'el
Ich'abod	I'chabod	Ich'abod	I'chabod
Ja'haziel'	Jaha'ziel		Jahaz'iel
Mahalal'eel	Mahalal'eel	Maha'laleel	Mahalale'el
Mattath'ias	Mattathi'as	Mattathi'as	Mat'tathi'as
Meri'bah	Meri'bah	Mer'ibah	Meri'bah
Nazarene'	Nazare'ne	Naz'arene	Naz'arene
Sennache'rib	Sennach'erib	Sennach'erib	Sennach'erib
Tir'hakah	Tirha'kah	Tir'hakah	Tirha'kah
Zeru'iah	Zerui'ah	Zer'uiah	Zerui'ah
Zohe'leth	Zo'heleth	Zohel'eth	Zohe'leth

* As it is not stated by whom the lists in Nelson's and Cassell's publications were drawn up, the Editors' names are given as responsible for them.

These examples might be greatly multiplied, particularly in the case of what might be termed more familiar names in regard to which there are two ruling modes of accentuation, as Aga'bus and Ag'abus, Ahime'lech and Ahim'elech, Bahu'rim and Bah'urim, Bath'sheba and Bathshe'ba, Ced'ron and Ce'dron, Mag'dalene and Magdale'ne, Peni'el and Pen'iel, Rehob'oam and Rehobo'am, Thaddae'us and Thad'daeus. An examination of the lists will show the very considerable extent of the variation which exists even among those who may be regarded as guides in the matter, and it will show also that a great part of the variation may be accounted for by the degree to which the Editors of the respective lists are disposed to give weight to the forms of the word in the original, or to what may be considered the popular and current pronunciation. This is indeed the crux of the matter.

2. Principles adopted.—In what follows we shall keep in view especially the contributions of Professor Cheyne and Professor Stevenson, each of whom explains in an introduction the principles on which he has sought to solve the problem presented; and perhaps we may be allowed once for all to acknowledge our obligations to these able and scholarly discussions. In reference to the point just referred to, Professor Cheyne says:—

'Strict accuracy is no doubt unattainable. In some cases (*e.g.* Moses, Aaron, Solomon, Isaac, Samuel, Jeremiah) the forms adopted by the Authorized Version are borrowed from the Septuagint through the medium of the Vulgate. Here the correct pronunciation would require an alteration of familiar names which would be quite intolerable. But even where the current forms are derived from the Hebrew, a strictly accurate pronunciation would offend by introducing a dissonance into the rude but real harmony of our English speech. Besides, that quickness of ear which is necessary for reproducing foreign sounds is conspicuously wanting to most natives of England. Still, the prevalent system of pronouncing Biblical names seems unnecessarily wide of the mark. There is no occasion to offend so gratuitously against the laws of Hebrew sound and composition as we do at present. Not a few of our mispronunciations of Hebrew names impede the comprehension of their meaning, especially in the case of names of religious significance, when the meaning is most fully fraught with instruction. A working compromise between pedantic precision and persistent mispronunciation is surely feasible.'

Professor Stevenson remarks, with reference to his list of Scripture Proper Names, that—

'It does not offer an absolute standard, for no such standard exists. The supreme authority in pronunciation is prevalent usage (among educated people). But the weakness of such an authority is specially clear in the case of Scripture names. Even names not uncommon are variously pronounced, and many are so unfamiliar that there is no "usage" by which to decide. . . . In actual speech unfamiliar words are pronounced as analogy suggests, unconsciously it may be. . . . There is no single court of appeal. In particular, the original pronunciation is not the only, nor perhaps the chief, influence. If it were better understood how impossible it is to pronounce Hebrew names as the ancient Hebrews did, there would be less temptation to lay stress on the original as the best guide. On the other hand, the closer the incorporation of Scripture names into English, the better; and this also is a consideration entitled to influence. . . . The principles here adopted are those which seem to express the English treatment of ancient foreign names which have become common property in the language.'

(1) *New Testament.*—The case is no doubt widely different with regard to the Old Testament as compared with the New. In the New Testament the Greek form of the name (including the transliteration of Hebrew names) may almost invariably be followed; thus, Aristobu'lus, Ar'temas, Diot'rephes, Epe'netus, Proch'orus, Tab'itha. The diphthong of the Authorized and Revised Versions justifies Thaddæ'us rather than Thad'dæus. Cheyne and Stevenson both spell the name Thaddeus, the former accenting the first, and the latter the second, syllable. It is desirable to follow the Greek sometimes even in the face of fairly common usage, as by making Bethsa'-i-da a word of four syllables, and Ja-i'-rus a word of three. There are some peculiarities which have to be noticed, *e.g.* that final *e* is sounded in Bethphage, Gethsemane, Magdalene, but not in Nazarene, or Urbane. For Phœnice the R.V. reads Phœnix. Sos'thenes, again, is a word of three syllables. With some attention to these principles, of which the above are merely examples, the pronunciation of New Testament names should present little difficulty.

(2) *Old Testament.*—When we turn to the Old Testament we find ourselves in presence of a much more complicated problem. Here it is impossible to conform our pronunciation to that of the original language; yet if we are not to pronounce at haphazard, and follow each his own taste and habit, we must reflect upon the conditions, and frame at least general rules for our guidance. In the absence of a standard list of pronunciations constructed by experts of such authority that we might waive in favour of their dicta our personal predilections, there will, at the best, be considerable room for individual judgment. We do not aim, therefore, at doing more in the following observations than aid such judgment by showing the alternatives before it, and indicating the limits within which it may be profitably exercised.

'The supreme authority in pronunciation,' says Professor Stevenson, 'is prevalent usage (among educated people).' The difficulty in many cases is to determine what is prevalent usage, and how far the education which is presumed to guide it has included the elements which would make it reliable in such a connexion. Prevalent usage itself may be educated and corrected, and the question is where the line shall be drawn between 'pedantic precision' and 'persistent mispronunciation' (to use Professor Cheyne's phrase), how much shall be conceded to a regard for the methods of the ancient Hebrews on the one side, and for those of the modern Britons on the other? This question is the more

difficult to answer because the training and environment of even highly educated people differ so widely, and because what is prevalent in one circle is almost or altogether unknown in another.

Professor Cheyne suggests, as a guiding principle, the giving of some attention to the religious significance of proper names, particularly those which 'contain in some form the proper name of God in Hebrew.' With this laudable object, he, as a rule, shifts the accent in such names so as to bring their religious significance prominently before the reader. The practice, however, brings him into conflict with many undoubted cases of established usage. Professor Stevenson holds that the influences 'which must affect the treatment of Scripture names are—(1) The original pronunciation; (2) the characteristic tendencies of purely English speech; (3) the fixed customary pronunciation of certain words resembling others less common.' In applying the second of these principles—the characteristic tendencies of English speech—he appeals chiefly to analogy:—

'People naturally pronounce according to the analogy of other words which are familiar, and the practice supplies a rule of treatment. Doubtful or unfamiliar words should be pronounced in harmony with the general tendencies of the language, or in a way similar to other words which strikingly resemble them. Scripture names are borrowed from the foreign languages Greek and Hebrew. They are, therefore, to be compared specially with words of similar origin, such as the names of classical antiquity.' He admits, however, that 'conflict of analogies cannot be wholly avoided. If one is not in itself stronger than another, the most "desirable" result in each case should be preferred. Ease of pronunciation is one test of desirability. The principle of pronunciation according to sense has also been used by the writer.'

It is needless to say that he carries out these principles with great care and consistency. The weak point of the position is that the analogies founded on by one scholar will not be equally familiar, or commend themselves to the same extent, to another; and it may well appear to many that Professor Stevenson in his list of proper names concedes too much to popular usage, and would in some cases attain a more desirable result by approximating more closely to the form of the original

3. Points for consideration.—We shall now present for the consideration of the reader who desires to achieve as great a degree of correctness as the matter admits of, some of the more important points which he will have to decide for himself, assuming that when he has once adopted a rule he will follow it as consistently as possible, or be able to give a reason for any deviation.

(1) *Shall we adopt what may be called the Continental pronunciation of the vowels*—a = ah, e = eh, i = ee, u = oo?—In many instances we may be strongly tempted to do so; to one who knows Hebrew it is more natural, and the effect is finer—Mesopotâmia is a grander word than Mesopotāmia. But it is only in the less familiar words that this could be done. The first syllables of Canaan, Pharaoh, Balaam, must have the ā as in *fate* or *fair*.

(2) *Is the Hebrew J to be pronounced like* j *in* judge, *or like* y?—It would probably be impossible to follow the latter mode in the large number of names beginning with J, such as Jericho, Joash, &c., and it would be intolerable in the case of Jesus; but there are instances in which it would impart an added dignity—*e.g.* Jehovah-jireh is far finer if the *j* be sounded as *y*, and the *i* as *ee*. In the middle of words, especially in words containing the Divine name Jah, the matter has already been settled for us, as it in most cases appears as *iah*, Ahaziah, Isaiah, Shemaiah. The question here arises whether the *i* is to be treated as consonant or vowel, and if the latter, whether it should ever be accented. Professor Cheyne, in order to bring out more prominently the Divine name, would treat the *iah* = *jah* always as a separate word—Ahaz'iah, Isa'iah, Shema'iah. Except for this consideration the rule would probably be, that where it follows a consonant the *i* is not only treated as a vowel but also accented—Jeremi'ah; when it follows a vowel it is assimilated with that vowel as in the two examples given above, which also illustrate the way in which one or other vowel may give place, Isaiah (Isā-ah), Shemaiah (Shemī-ah), though some would render the former also Isī'ah.

(3) The question often arises in the case of names of three or more syllables, especially when the last two are significant in the original, *whether the accent should be placed on the penultimate or thrown farther back in accordance with general English practice.* Professor Stevenson says:—'The English stress accent in ancient foreign names is determined, with limitations, by the original length of the vowels, not by the original stress.' But in the case of words in familiar and frequently read passages of Scripture, the 'limitations' are extensive, and must be allowed to override considerations based on length of vowel. Where Cheyne prefers Abime'lech, Ahitho'phel, Jocheb'ed, Joha'nan, Stevenson gives Abim'elech, Ahith'ophel, Joch'ebed, Jo'hanan. On the other hand, Cheyne gives Am'raphel and A'holiab', where Stevenson accentuates Amra'phel and Aholi'ab. Nor is it an English trait to have too much regard for significant parts of words. We do not say philosoph'y, biolog'y, Deuteronom'y (though this is heard occasionally), but the stress is laid on the connecting syllable. So, if Abim'elech and the class of names ruled by it be allowed, a great deal might be said for Abin'adab, Abi'athar, and similar words being pronounced thus, instead of Abina'dab, Abia'thar, etc., notwithstanding the length of the penultimate in the original. Here, again, views will differ according to the 'educated usage' to which we have access, and the deference we may be inclined to pay to the peculiarities of English speech. With reference to Jochebed and Johanan in the examples quoted above, it should be noted that Stevenson makes an exception to the rule of the penultimate

accent in favour of names in which the first element is some form of the Divine name. The accent, he says, rests in such cases on this first element. It may be doubtful if this reason is the one consciously adopted in regard to these names. Jo'hanan seems to us unnatural, and for Jehon'adab we prefer the explanation given in the former part of this paragraph.

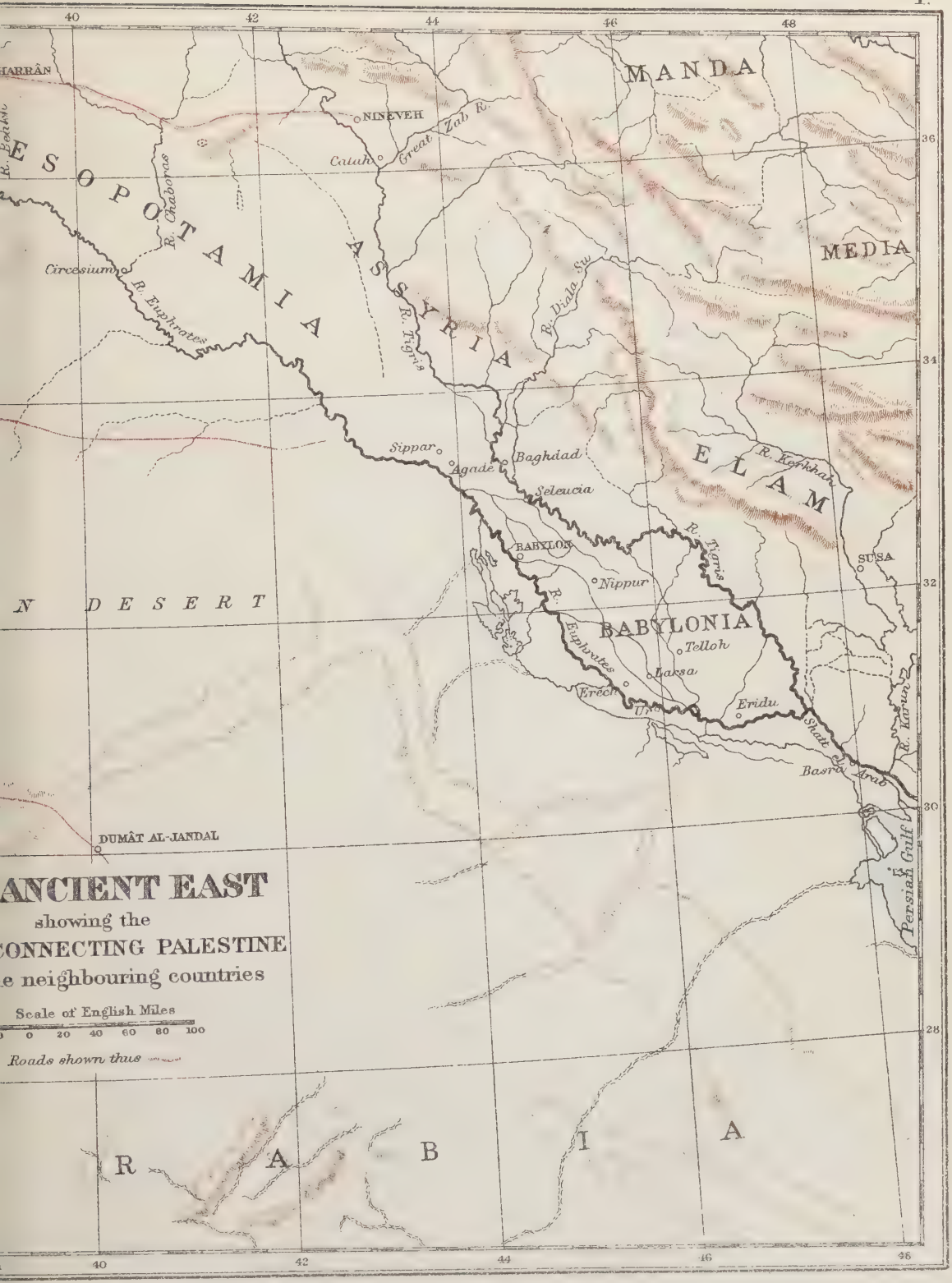
(4) Professor Stevenson is doubtless right in saying that *the established pronunciation of familiar names determines that of others in the same form that are less familiar.* Dan'iel and Is'rael are the key to one class of such names, unless, as he points out, Penu'el be accented on the second syllable, and determine other words in —uel. Phil'ippi (accent on the first) is due to the analogy of Philip, and Ene'as 'to the analogy of Virgil's hero.'

These may serve as examples of the kind of difficulty which surrounds the subject, and the extent to which individual judgment may be exercised. There are general principles which may be adopted and usually observed, though perfect consistency in their application may not be attainable or desirable. Let the reader ascertain in all doubtful cases the form and pronunciation of the name in the original,* and compare it with those suggested by the best authorities within his reach. He will then be able to follow the method which most commends itself to his ear and judgment. Though the student may not always adopt the pronunciation given in Professor Stevenson's list, nothing but good can result from a careful pondering of his explanations. Let us be sure that, though we are told that '*De minimis non curat lex*,' it is worth our while to be as careful as we can even about 'little things.'

ALEXANDER STEWART.

* These are given in all cases by Professor Stevenson in Roman letters, according to a system of transliteration which he explains in his introduction. They are thus made accessible to English readers.

30
32
34
36
38
ASIA MINOR
Zinjerli
ARCHEMISH
ANTIOCH
ALEPPO
THAPSA
CYPRUS
HAMATH
EMESA
RIBLAH
MEDITERRANEAN
SEA
BEIRUT
ZIDON
Mer d'Ayun
DAMASCUS
TYRE
Mt Hermon
Mt Carmel
EDREI
SYRIA
R. Jordan
Mouths of the Nile
JERUSALEM
GAZA
HEBRON
DEAD
SEA
ALEXANDRIA
RHINOCORURA
RAPHIA
ENGEDI
KERAK
Sebennytos
L. Menzaleh
LOWER EGYPT
BEERSHEBA
ABODA
LYSA
Mt Hor
PETRA
Cairo
Memphis
UPPER EGYPT
ARABIAN DESERT
Gulf of Suez
ELATH
Sinai Peninsula
Gulf of Akabah
Oxyrhynchus
R. Nile
RED SEA
Pilgrim Road
Longitude East 38 of G


40
42
44
46
48
36
34
32
30
28
MANDA
MEDIA
ELAM
ASSYRIA
MESOPOTAMIA
N DESERT
R A B I A
HARRÂN
NINEVEH
Calah
Great Zab R.
R. Chaboras
Circesium
R. Euphrates
R. Tigris
R. Diala Su
Sippar
Agade
Baghdad
Seleucia
R. Kerkhah
BABYLON
R. Tigris
SUSA
Nippur
R. Euphrates
BABYLONIA
Telloh
Larsa
Erech
Ur
Eridu
Shat el Arab
R. Karun
Basra
Persian Gulf
DUMÂT AL-JANDAL
ANCIENT EAST
showing the
CONNECTING PALESTINE
e neighbouring countries
Scale of English Miles
0 20 40 60 80 100
Roads shown thus

A DICTIONARY OF THE BIBLE

A

AARON.—In examining the Biblical account of Aaron, we must deal separately with the different 'sources' of the Hexateuch.

1. In J, Aaron plays a very subordinate part. He, Nadab and Abihu, along with 70 elders, accompanied Moses up Mt. Sinai (Ex 19^{24} 24^{9}). In the former passage he is distinguished from the priests, who are forbidden to come up; he would seem, therefore, to have been an elder or *sheikh*, perhaps somewhat superior to the 70. In 32^{25} Aaron 'let the people loose for a derision among their enemies.' What this refers to is not known; it was not the making of the golden bull, which in the eyes of the surrounding nations would be only an act of piety.

In other passages, which cannot be assigned either to E or P, the mention of Aaron is probably due to a later hand. In 4^{13-16} Moses is allowed to have Aaron as a spokesman. But 'the Levite' (v.^{14}) is suspicious: for Moses was also of the tribe of Levi, and the description is superfluous. The verses probably belong to a time when 'Levite' had become a technical term for one trained in priestly functions, and when such priestly officials traced their descent from Aaron. In the narratives of the plagues Aaron is a silent figure, merely summoned with Moses four times when Pharaoh entreats for the removal of the plagues ($8^{8.\ 25}$ 9^{27} 10^{16}). In each case Moses alone answers, and in the last three he alone departs. In 10^{3} Moses and Aaron went in to announce the plague, but Moses alone 'turned and went out' (v.^{6}). The occurrence of Aaron's name seems to be due, in each case, to later redaction.

2. In E, Aaron is the brother of Miriam (15^{20}). He was sent to meet Moses in the wilderness, and together they performed signs before the people (4^{27-31}). They demanded release from Pharaoh, and on his refusal the people murmured ($5^{1.\ 2.\ 4.\ 20f.}$). Little of E has survived in the narrative of the plagues, and Aaron is not mentioned. In $17^{10.\ 12}$ he and Hur held up Moses' hands, in order that the staff might be lifted up, during the fight with Amalek. And while Moses was on the mountain, the same two were left in temporary authority over the people ($24^{13f.}$). Aaron is related to have abused this authority, in making the golden bull ($32^{1-6.\ 21-24}$). [The narrative is composite, and in its present form must be later than E. It has some connexion with the story of 1 K 12^{26-30}, for Jeroboam's words, which are suitable in reference to *two* bulls, are placed in Aaron's mouth.] In 18^{12} Aaron, with the elders, was called to Jethro's sacrifice—an incident which must be placed at the end of the stay at Horeb. In Nu 12 Aaron and Miriam claimed that they, no less than Moses, received Divine revelations; only Miriam, however, was punished. In Jos 24^{5} there is a general reference to the part played by Aaron in the Exodus.

It is noteworthy that there is not a word so far either in J or E, which suggests that Aaron was a priest. But it is probable that by the time of E the belief had begun to grow up that Aaron was the founder of an hereditary priesthood. Dt 10^{6} occurs in a parenthesis which seriously interrupts the narrative, and which was perhaps derived from E (cf. Jos 24^{33}).

3. In D, Aaron was probably not mentioned. Dt 10^{6} has been referred to; 32^{50} is from P; and the only remaining passage (9^{20}) appears to be a later insertion.

4. Outside the Hexateuch, two early passages (1 S $12^{6.\ 8}$, Mic 6^{4}) refer to Aaron merely as taking a leading part in the Exodus.

5. In P, the process by which the tradition grew up that Moses delegated his priesthood to Aaron is not known. But the effect of it was that the great majority of 'Levites,' *i.e.* trained official priests, at local sanctuaries throughout the country traced their descent to Aaron. The priests of Jerusalem, on the other hand, were descendants of Zadok (1 K 1^{39} 2^{27}); and when local sanctuaries were abolished by Josiah's reforms, and the country priests came up to seek a livelihood at Jerusalem (see Dt 18^{6-8}), the Zadokite priests charged them with image-worship, and allowed them only an inferior position as servants (see 2 K 23^{9}, Ezk 44^{9-15}). But at the Exile the priests who were in Jerusalem were carried off, leaving room in the city for many country (Aaronite) priests, who would establish themselves firmly in official prestige with the meagre remnant of the population. Thus, when the Zadokite priests returned from Babylon, they would find it advisable to trace their descent from Aaron (see Ezr $2^{61f.}$). But by their superiority in culture and social standing they regained their ascendancy, and the country priests were once more reduced, under the ancient title of 'Levites,' to an inferior position.

This explains the great importance assigned to Aaron in the priestly portions of the Hexateuch. Reference must be made to other articles for his consecration, his purely priestly functions, and his relation to the Levites (see articles PRIESTS AND LEVITES, SACRIFICE, TABERNACLE). But he also plays a considerable part in the narrative of the Exodus and the wanderings. His family relationships are stated in Ex $6^{20.\ 23.\ 25}$, Lv 10^{4}. He became Moses' spokesman, not to the people but to Pharaoh (7^{1}), in whose presence he changed the staff into a 'reptile' (contrast 'serpent' in 4^{3} J). P relates the 2nd plague (combined with J), the 3rd and the 6th, in each of which Aaron is conspicuous. Aaron as well as Moses suffered from the murmurings of the people (Ex 16^{2}, Nu 14^{2} $16^{3.\ 41}$ 20^{2}); both were consulted by the people (Nu 9^{6} 15^{33}); and to both were addressed many of God's commands (Ex 9^{8-10} $12^{1.\ 43}$, Lv 11^{1} 13^{1} 14^{33} 15^{1}, Nu 2^{1}). Aaron stayed a

plague by offering incense (Nu 16[46-48]). [On the combined narratives in chs. 16. 17 see AARON'S ROD, KORAH]. At Meribah-kadesh he, with Moses, sinned against J″ (Nu 20[1-13]), but the nature of the sin is obscure (see Gray, *Com.* p. 262 f.). He was consequently forbidden to enter Canaan, and died on Mt. Hor, aged 123, Eleazar his son being clothed in the priestly garments (Nu 20[22-29] 33[38f.], Dt 32[50]).

6. In the NT: Lk 1[5], Ac 7[40], He 5[4] 7[11] 9[4].

A. H. M'NEILE.

AARON'S ROD.—In a very complicated section of the Hexateuch (Nu 16–18), dealing with various revolts against the constituted authorities in the wilderness period, the exclusive right of the tribe of Levi to the duties and privileges of the priesthood is miraculously attested by the blossoming and fruit-bearing of Aaron's rod. As representing his tribe, it had been deposited by Divine command before the ark along with 12 other rods representing the 12 secular tribes, in order that the will of J″ in this matter might be visibly made known (see Nu 16[1-11] with G. B. Gray's *Com.*). The rod was thereafter ordered to be laid up in perpetuity '*before* the (ark of the) testimony for a token against the rebels' (17[10]). Later Jewish tradition, however, transferred it, along with the pot of manna, to a place *within* the ark (He 9[4]).

A. R. S. KENNEDY.

AB.—See TIME.

ABACUC.—The form of the name *Habakkuk* in 2 Es 1[40].

ABADDON.—A word peculiar to the later Heb. (esp. 'Wisdom') and Judaistic literature; sometimes synonymous with **Sheol,** more particularly, however, signifying that lowest division of Sheol devoted to the punishment of sinners (see SHEOL). Properly, its Gr. equivalent would be *apōleia* ('destruction'), as found in the LXX. In Rev 9[11] Abaddon is personified, and is said to be the equivalent of **Apollyon** ('destroyer'). Abaddon differs from Gehenna in that it represents the negative element of supreme loss rather than that of positive suffering.

SHAILER MATHEWS.

ABADIAS (1 Es 8[36]).—An exile who returned with Ezra; called **Obadiah,** Ezr 8[9].

ABAGTHA (Est 1[10]).—One of the seven chamberlains or eunuchs sent by Ahasuerus (Xerxes) to fetch the queen, Vashti, to his banquet.

ABANAH.—The river of Damascus mentioned by Naaman, 2 K 5[12]. It is identified with the *Barada,* a river rising on the eastern slope of the Anti-Lebanon, which runs first southward, then westward, through the *Wady Barada* and the plain of Damascus. About 18 miles from Damascus, after dividing fan-wise into a number of branches, it flows into the Meadow Lakes.

R. A. S. MACALISTER.

ABARIM ('the parts beyond').—A term used to describe the whole east-Jordan land as viewed from Western Palestine. From there the land beyond Jordan rises as a great mountain chain to a height of 3000 feet and more from the Jordan valley. Hence Abarim is joined with 'mount' (Nu 27[12], Dt 32[49]) and 'mountains' (Nu 33[47]); also with '*Iyye,* 'heaps of' (Nu 21[11]). See also Jer 22[20] and Ezk 39[11] (RV; AV 'passages').

E. W. G. MASTERMAN.

ABBA is the 'emphatic' form of the Aram. word for 'father.' It is found in the Gr. and Eng. text of Mk 14[36], Ro 8[15], and Gal 4[6] (in each case *Abbā, ho patēr,* 'Abba, Father'). Aram. has no article, and the 'emphatic' affix *ā* is usually the equivalent of the Heb. article. Both can represent the vocative case (for Hebrew see Davidson's *Syntax,* § 21 f.); and *abba* occurs in the Pesh. of Lk 22[42] 23[34] for *pater.* The 'articular nominative' is found in NT sixty times for the vocative; and so we have *ho patēr* for *ō pater* (Moulton, *Gram. of NT Greek,* p. 70). Jesus often addressed God as 'Father' or 'my Father.' In both cases He would probably use 'Abba'; for *'abbā* may be used for *'ābī* (Targ. on Gn 19[34]). In Mk 14[36], *ho patēr* is perhaps a gloss added by the Evangelist, as in Mk 5[41] 7[11. 34] he adds an explanation of the Aram.: but in Ro 8[15] and Gal 4[6] the Gentile Christians had learned for importunity to use the Aram. word *Abba;* as the Jews in prayer borrowed *Kyrie mou* ('my Lord') from the Greek, and used it along with Heb. words for 'my master,' 'my father' (Schöttgen, *Hor. Heb.* 252). J. T. MARSHALL.

ABDA ('servant,' *sc.* of the Lord).—**1.** Father of Adoniram, master of Solomon's forced levy (1 K 4[6]). **2.** A Levite (Neh 11[17]); called **Obadiah** in 1 Ch 9[16].

ABDEEL.—Father of Shelemiah (Jer 36[26]), one of those ordered by Jehoiakim to arrest Jeremiah and Baruch.

ABDI.—**1.** Grandfather of Ethan, 1 Ch 6[44]. **2.** Father of Kish, 2 Ch 29[12]. **3.** A Jew who had married a foreign wife, Ezr 10[26] = **Oabdius,** 1 Es 9[27].

ABDIAS (2 Es 1[39]).—Obadiah the prophet.

ABDIEL ('servant of God').—Son of Guni (1 Ch 5[15]).

ABDON ('servile').—**1.** The last of the minor judges, Jg 12[13-15]. **2.** A family of Benjamites, 1 Ch 8[23]. **3.** A Gibeonite family, 1 Ch 8[30] 9[36]. **4.** A courtier of Josiah, 2 Ch 34[20]; in 2 K 22[12] called **Achbor.** **5.** A Levitical city of Asher (Jos 21[30], 1 Ch 6[74]), perhaps (v. d. Velde) '*Abdeh* E. of Achzib on the hills.

ABEDNEGO.—Dn 1[7], etc.; probably a corruption of Abed-nebo, *i.e.* 'servant of Nebo.'

ABEL.—Gn 4[2-10]. The Heb. form *Hebhel* denotes 'vapour' or 'breath' (cf. Ec 1[1], EV 'vanity'), which is suggestive as the name of a son of Adam ('man'). But it is perhaps to be connected with the Assyr. *aplu,* 'son.' Abel was a son of Adam and Eve, and brother of Cain. But the narrative presupposes a long period to have elapsed in human history since the primitive condition of the first pair. The difference between pastoral and agricultural life has come to be recognized, for Abel was a keeper of sheep, but Cain was a tiller of the ground (see CAIN). The account, as we have it, is mutilated: in v.[8] Heb. has 'and Cain *said unto* Abel his brother' (not as AV and RV). LXX supplies the words 'Let us pass through into the plain,' but this may be a mere gloss, and it cannot be known how much of the story is lost.

Nothing is said in Gn. of Abel's moral character, or of the reason why his offering excelled Cain's in the eyes of J″; cereal offerings were as fully in accord with Hebrew law and custom as animal offerings. He 11[4] gives 'faith' as the reason. In He 12[24] the 'blood of sprinkling' 'speaketh something better than the blood of Abel,' in that the latter cried for vengeance (Gn 4[10]).

In Mt 23[35] || Lk 11[51] Abel is named as the first of the true martyrs whose blood had been shed during the period covered by the OT, the last being Zachariah (wh. see). In Jn 8[44] it is possible that Jesus was thinking of the story of Abel when He spoke of the devil as 'a murderer from the beginning,' *i.e.* the instigator of murder as he is of lies.

A. H. M'NEILE.

ABEL.—A word meaning 'meadow,' and entering as an element into several place-names. In 1 S 6[18] a reference in AV to 'Abel' is in the RV corrected to 'great stone.' Elsewhere the name is found only with qualifying epithets.

R. A. S. MACALISTER.

ABEL (OF) BETH-MAACAH.—Where Sheba took refuge from Joab (2 S 20[14-18]); it was captured by Ben-hadad (1 K 15[20]), and by Tiglath-pileser (2 K 15[29]); corresponding to the modern *Abil,* west of *Tell el-Kadi,* and north of Lake Huleh.

R. A. S. MACALISTER.

ABEL-CHERAMIM ('meadow of the vineyards').—The limit of Jephthah's defeat of the Midianites (Jg 11[33]). Site unknown.

R. A. S. MACALISTER.

ABEL-MAIM ('meadow of waters').—An alternative name for Abel of Beth-maacah, found in 2 Ch 16[4], which corresponds to 1 K 15[20], quoted under that head.

R. A. S. MACALISTER.

ABEL - MEHOLAH ('meadow of the dance *or* circle').—A place in the Jordan valley, the limit of Gideon's pursuit of the Midianites (Jg 7[22]); in the administrative district of Taanach and Megiddo under Solomon (1 K 4[12]); the native place of Adriel, husband of Merab, Saul's daughter (1 S 18[19]), and of Elisha (1 K 19[16]). The suggested identifications are uncertain. See Moore's *Judges*, p. 212. R. A. S. Macalister.

ABEL-MIZRAIM ('meadow of the Egyptians').—The scene of the mourning for Jacob (Gn 50[11]). The only clue to its situation is its being 'beyond Jordan.'

ABEL-SHITTIM ('meadow of the acacias').—In the plains of Moab (Nu 33[49]); otherwise Shittim, the last (Jos 3[1]) trans-Jordanic stage where the Israelites encamped. Identified with *Ghor es-Seisaban*, east of the Jordan, opposite Jericho. It was the scene of the offence of Baal-peor (Nu 25[1]). Hence Joshua sent his spies (Jos 2[1]). R. A. S. Macalister.

ABI.—The name of a queen-mother of the 8th cent. (2 K 18[2]), called Abijah in the parallel passage 2 Ch 29[1]. The reading in Kings is the more probable.

ABIAH.—See Abijah.

ABI-ALBON.—See Abiel.

ABIASAPH (='father has gathered'), Ex 6[24] = **EBIASAPH** (='father has increased'), 1 Ch 6[23. 37] 9[18].—The name of a division of the Korahite Levites, mentioned only in the genealogies of P and the Chronicler. According to 1 Ch 9[19] 26[1] (in the latter passage read Ebiasaph for Asaph), a section of the division acted as doorkeepers.

ABIATHAR.—Son of Ahimelech, who was head of the family of priests in charge of the sanctuary at Nob (1 S 21[1]). All except Abiathar were massacred by Saul (1 S 22[20]). When the rest obeyed the king's summons, he may have remained at home to officiate. On hearing of the slaughter he took refuge with David, carrying with him the oracular ephod (1 S 23[6]; see also 1 S 23[9] 30[7]). Abiathar and Zadok accompanied the outlaw in his prolonged wanderings. During Absalom's rebellion they and their sons rendered yeoman service to the old king (2 S 15[17]). At 2 S 8[17] (so also 1 Ch 18[16] [where, moreover, 'Abimelech' should be Ahimelech] 24[6]) the names of Abiathar and his father have been transposed. Abiathar's adhesion to Adonijah (1 K 1[7. 19. 25]) was of great importance, not only because of his position as priest, but also owing to his long friendship with king David. Solomon, therefore, as soon as he could safely do it, deposed Abiathar from the priesthood, warned him that any future misconduct would entail capital punishment, and relegated him to the seclusion of Anathoth (1 K 2[26]). His sons (2 S 8[17]) lost the priestly office along with their father (1 K 2[27]; cf. 1 S 2[27-36]). At Mk 2[26] the erroneous mention of Abiathar is due to his having been so intimately associated with the king in days subsequent to the one mentioned. J. Taylor.

ABIB (the 'green ear' month, Ex 13[4] etc.).—See Time.

ABIDA ('father hath knowledge').—A son of Midian (Gn 25[4], 1 Ch 1[33]).

ABIDAN ('father is judge').—Representative of the tribe of Benjamin at the census and on certain other occasions, Nu 1[11] 2[22] 7[60. 65] 10[24].

ABIEL.—**1.** Father of Kish and Ner, and grandfather of Saul (1 S 9[1] 14[51]). The latter passage should run, 'Kish, the father of Saul, and Ner the father of Abner, were sons of Abiel.' **2.** One of David's heroes (1 Ch 11[32]), from Beth-arabah in the wilderness of Judah (Jos 15[6. 61] 18[22]). **Abi-albon** (2 S 23[31]) is a transcriber's error, the eye having fallen on *albon* below: some codices of the LXX have *Abiel*: possibly the original was *Abibaal*. J. Taylor.

ABIEZER ('father is help').—**1.** The name occurs also in the abbreviated form *Jezer*. He is called the son of Hammolecheth, sister of Machir, the son of Manasseh (1 Ch 7[18]). His descendants formed one of the smallest clans belonging to the Gileadite branch of the tribe of Manasseh, the best known member of which was Gideon. According to Jg 6[24] 8[32], the Abiezrites were settled at Ophrah; they were the first to obey the summons of Joshua to fight against the Midianites.—**2.** An Anathothite, one of David's thirty-seven chief heroes, who had command of the army during the ninth month (2 S 23[27], 1 Ch 27[12]). W. O. E. Oesterley.

ABIGAIL, or ABIGAL.—**1.** Wife of Nabal (1 S 25[14]). She dissuaded David from avenging himself on the surly farmer, and soon after the latter's death married David (1 S 25[39-42]), and accompanied him to Gath and Ziklag (1 S 27[3] 30[5. 18]). At Hebron she bore him a son, whose name may have been Chileab (2 S 3[3]), or Daniel (1 Ch 3[1]), or Dodiel (the LXX at 2 S 3[3] has Daluya). **2.** Step-sister of David, mother of Amasa (2 S 17[25], 1 Ch 2[16f.]).
J. Taylor.

ABIHAIL ('father is might').—**1.** As the name of a *man* it occurs (*a*) in 1 Ch 5[14] as that of a Gadite who dwelt in the land of Bashan. (*b*) It was also the name of Esther's father, the uncle of Mordecai (Est 2[15] 9[29]).

2. As the name of a *woman* it occurs three times: (*a*) 1 Ch 2[29], the wife of Abishur, of the tribe of Judah; this is its only occurrence in pre-exilic writings. (*b*) Nu 3[35], a daughter of the sons of Merari, of the tribe of Levi, the mother of Zuriel, a 'prince' among the families of Merari. (*c*) 2 Ch 11[18], the mother of Rehoboam's wife, Mahalath, and daughter of Eliab, David's eldest brother.

It is a *woman's* name in Minæan (South Arabian) inscriptions, where it occurs in the form *Ili-hail*.
W. O. E. Oesterley.

ABIHU ('he is father').—Second son of Aaron (Ex 6[23], Nu 3[2] 26[60], 1 Ch 6[3] 24[1]); accompanied Moses to the top of Sinai (Ex 24[1. 9]); admitted to the priest's office (Ex 28[1]); slain along with his brother Nadab for offering strange fire (Lv 10[1. 2], Nu 3[4] 26[61], 1 Ch 24[2]).

ABIHUD ('father is majesty').—A Benjamite (1 Ch 8[3]).

ABIJAH.—**1.** Son and successor of Rehoboam (2 Ch 13[1]), also called **Abijam** (1 K 14[31]). The accounts of him in the Books of Kings and Chronicles are discrepant. The difference begins with the name of his mother, which 2 Ch. gives as **Micaiah**, daughter of Uriel of Gibeah, while 1 K. makes her to have been **Maacah**, daughter of Abishalom. As the latter is also the name of Asa's mother (1 K 15[10], 2 Ch 15[16]), there is probably some confusion in the text. Beyond this, the Book of Kings tells us only that he reigned three years, that he walked in the sins of his father, and that he had war with Jeroboam, king of Israel. **2.** Samuel's second son (1 S 8[2]). The RV retains the spelling **Abiah** in 1 Ch 6[28]. **3.** A son of Jeroboam I. who died in childhood (1 K 14). **4.** One of the 'heads of fathers' houses' of the sons of Eleazar, who gave his name to the 8th of the 24 courses of priests (1 Ch 24[3. 10], 2 Ch 8[14]). To this course Zacharias, the father of John the Baptist, belonged (Lk 1[5]). The name occurs also in the lists of priests who 'went up with Zerubbabel' (Neh 12[4]), and of those who 'sealed unto the covenant' in the time of Nehemiah (10[7]). **5.** A son of Becher, son of Benjamin, 1 Ch 7[8]. **6.** Wife of Hezron, eldest son of Perez, son of Judah, 1 Ch 2[24], RV **Abiah**. **7.** Wife of Ahaz, and mother of Hezekiah (2 Ch 29[1]), named **Abi** in 2 K 18[2]. H. P. Smith.

ABILENE.—Mentioned in Lk 3[1], and also in several references in Josephus, as a tetrarchy of Lysanias [wh. see]. It was situated in the Anti-Lebanon, and its capital was Abila, a town whose ruins are found to-day on the northern bank of the river Barada, near a village called *Sūk Wady Barada*. It is one of the most picturesque spots on the railroad to Damascus. The ancient name is to-day preserved in a Latin inscription on a deep rock-cutting high up above the railway. By a worthless Moslem tradition, Abel is said to have been buried here. E. W. G. Masterman.

ABILITY.—In AV 'ability' is either *material* (Lv 27^{8}, Ezr 2^{69}, Ac 11^{29}) or *personal* (Dn 1^{4}, Mt 25^{15}) capacity. The mod. meaning ('mental power') is not found in AV.

ABIMAEL (perhaps='father is God').—One of the Joktanids or S. Arabians (see art. JOKTAN), Gn 10^{28} (J), 1 Ch 1^{22}.

ABIMELECH ('father is king' or perhaps 'Melech is father').—**1.** King of Gerar. According to E (Gn 20) he took Sarah into his harem, but on learning that she was Abraham's wife, restored her uninjured and made ample amends. Subsequently he entered into a covenant with Abraham ($21^{22ff.}$). J ($12^{10ff.}$ $26^{1ff.}$) gives two variants of the same tradition. The Book of Jubilees, in the section parallel to $12^{10ff.}$, exonerates Abraham from blame, and omits the other two narratives! **2.** The son of Gideon. His mother belonged to one of the leading Canaanite families in Shechem, although Jg 8^{31} calls her a concubine, and Jotham (9^{18}) brands her as a maid-servant. On Gideon's decease, Abimelech, backed by his maternal relatives, gathered a band of mercenaries, murdered his seventy half-brothers 'on one stone,' and was accepted as king by the mixed Canaanite and Israelite population of Shechem and the neighbourhood. But Jotham sowed the seeds of dissension between the new ruler and his subjects, and the latter soon took offence because the king did not reside among them. At the end of three years they were ripe for revolt, and found a leader in Gaal, son of Ebed. Abimelech defeated him, took the city, and sowed the site with salt, in token that it should not again be built upon. Thebez, the next town attacked by him, fell into his hands, but he was mortally wounded by a woman whilst assaulting the citadel (Jg 9^{50-54}, 2 S 11^{21}). His significance in the history of Israel consists in the fact that his short-lived monarchy was the precursor of the durable one founded soon after. **3.** 1 Ch 18^{16}: read *Ahimelech*. **4.** Ps 34 (title): read *Achish* (cf. 1 S 21^{13}). J. TAYLOR.

ABINADAB ('father is generous').—**1.** The second son of Jesse (1 S 16^{8} 17^{13}, 1 Ch 2^{13}). **2.** A son of Saul slain in the battle of Mt. Gilboa (1 S 31^{2}=1 Ch 10^{2}). **3.** Owner of the house whither the ark was brought by the men of Kiriath-jearim (1 S 7^{1}), whence it was subsequently removed by David (2 S $6^{3f.}$, 1 Ch 13^{7}).

ABINOAM ('father is pleasantness').—The father of Barak (Jg $4^{6.\ 12}$ 5^{12}).

ABIRAM ('father is the Exalted One').—**1.** A Reubenite, who with Dathan conspired against Moses (Nu 16^{1} etc., Dt 11^{6}, Ps 106^{17}). See art. KORAH. **2.** The firstborn son of Hiel the Bethelite, who died when his father rebuilt Jericho (1 K 16^{34}).

ABISHAG.—A beautiful young Shunammitess who attended upon David in his extreme old age (1 K $1^{2ff.\ 15}$). After David's death, Abishag was asked in marriage by Adonijah; the request cost him his life (1 K 2^{13-25}).

ABISHAI.—Son of Zeruiah, David's step-sister (2 S 17^{25}, 1 Ch 2^{16}). His brothers were Joab and Asahel (2 S 2^{18}). He was a hot-tempered, ruthless soldier. Accompanying David into Saul's camp, he would fain have killed the sleeper (1 S 26^{7}). An editorial addition (2 S 3^{30}) associates him with Joab in the blood-revenge taken on Abner. Abishai was second in command of the army (2 S 10. 18), and if we make a slight necessary correction at 2 S $23^{18f.}$, we find that he was first of the famous thirty. He is credited with the slaughter of three hundred foes, and David once owed his life to Abishai's interposition (2 S 23^{18} $21^{16f.}$). Notwithstanding their relationship and their usefulness, there was a natural antipathy between the king and the two brothers (2 S 3^{39}). J. TAYLOR.

ABISHALOM.—See ABSALOM.

ABISHUA.—**1.** Son of Phinehas and father of Bukki (1 Ch $6^{4f.\ 50}$, Ezr 7^{5}); called in 1 Es 8^{2} **Abisue**, and in 2 Es 1^{2} **Abissei**. **2.** A Benjamite (1 Ch 8^{4}; cf. Nu $26^{38ff.}$).

ABISHUR ('father is a wall').—A Jerahmeelite (1 Ch $2^{28f.}$).

ABISSEI.—See ABISHUA, No. 1.

ABISUE.—See ABISHUA, No. 1.

ABITAL ('father is dew').—Wife of David and mother of Shephatiah (2 S 3^{4}=1 Ch 3^{3}).

ABITUB.—A Benjamite (1 Ch 8^{11}).

ABIUD (*i.e.* Abihud).—An ancestor of Jesus (Mt 1^{13}).

ABJECT.—In Ps 35^{15} 'abject' occurs as a noun, as in Herbert's *Temple*—'Servants and abjects flout me.'

ABNER.—Saul's cousin (1 S 9^{1} 14^{51}) and commander-in-chief (1 S 17^{55} 26^{5}). He set Ish-bosheth on his father's throne, and fought long and bravely against David's general, Joab (2 S 2). After a severe defeat, he killed Asahel in self-defence (2 S 2^{23}). He behaved arrogantly towards the puppet-king, especially in taking possession of one of Saul's concubines (2 S 3^{7}). Resenting bitterly the remonstrances of Ish-bosheth, he entered into negotiations with David (2 S 3^{8-12}), and then, on David's behalf, with the elders of Israel (2 S 3^{17}). Dreading the loss of his own position, and thirsting for revenge, Joab murdered him at Hebron (2 S $3^{26f.}$). David gave him a public funeral, dissociated himself from Joab's act (2 S 3^{31-37}), and afterwards charged Solomon to avenge it (1 K 2^{5}). Abner was destitute of all lofty ideas of morality or religion (2 S $3^{8.\ 16}$), but was the only capable person on the side of Saul's family. J. TAYLOR.

ABOMINATION.—Four Hebrew words from three different roots are rendered in EV by 'abomination' and, occasionally, 'abominable thing.' In almost all cases (for exceptions see Gn 43^{32} 46^{34}) the reference is to objects and practices abhorrent to J″, and opposed to the moral requirements and ritual of His religion. Among the objects so described are heathen deities such as Ashtoreth (Astarte), Chemosh, Milcom, the 'abominations' of the Zidonians (Phœnicians), Moabites, and Ammonites respectively (2 K 23^{13}); images and other paraphernalia of the forbidden cults (Dt 7^{25} 27^{15}, and often in Ezk.); and the flesh of animals ritually taboo (see esp. Lv $11^{10ff.}$ and art. CLEAN AND UNCLEAN). Some of the practices that are an 'abomination unto J″,' are the worship of heathen deities and of the heavenly bodies (Dt 13^{14} 17^{4} and often), the practice of witchcraft and kindred arts (Dt 18^{12}), gross acts of immorality (Lv $18^{22ff.}$), falsification of weights and measures (Pr 11^{1}), and 'evil devices' generally (Pr 15^{26} RV).

One of the four words above referred to (*piggûl*) occurs only as a 'technical term for stale sacrificial flesh, which has not been eaten within the prescribed time' (Driver, who would render 'refuse meat' in Lv 7^{18} 19^{7}, Ezk 4^{14}, Is 65^{4}). A. R. S. KENNEDY.

ABOMINATION OF DESOLATION.—A term found only in Mk 13^{14} and its parallel Mt 24^{15}. It is obviously derived, as St. Matthew indicates, from Dn 11^{31} 12^{11}, cf. 9^{27}. In these passages the most natural reference is to the desecration of the Temple under Antiochus Epiphanes, when an altar to Olympian Zeus was erected on the altar of burnt sacrifices. As interpreted in the revision by St. Luke (21^{20}), the reference in the Gospel is to the encompassing of Jerusalem by the Roman army. It is very difficult, however, to adjust this interpretation to the expression of Mk. 'standing where he ought not,' and that of Mt. 'standing in the holy place.' Other interpretations would be: (1) the threatened erection of the statue of Caligula in the Temple; or (2) the desecration of the Temple area by the Zealots, who during the siege made it a fortress; or (3) the desecration of the Temple by the presence of Titus after its capture by that general. While it is impossible to reach any final choice between these different interpretations, it seems probable that the reference of Mk 13^{14} is prior to the destruction of Jerusalem, because of its insistence that the appearance of the 'abomination of desolation' (or the 'abomination

that makes desolate') is to be taken as a warning for those who are in Judæa to flee to the mountains. It would seem to follow, therefore, that the reference is to some event, portending the fall of Jerusalem, which might also be interpreted by the Christians as a premonition of the Parousia (2 Th 2^{1-12}). It would seem natural to see this event in the coming of the Romans (Lk 21^{20}), or in the seizure of the Temple by the Zealots under John of Giscala, before the city was completely invested by the Romans. A measure of probability is given to the latter conjecture by the tradition (Eusebius, *HE* III. v. 3) that the Jewish Christians, because of a Divine oracle, fled from Jerusalem during the early course of the siege.

SHAILER MATHEWS.

ABRAHAM.—*Abram* and *Abraham* are the two forms in which the name of the first patriarch was handed down in Hebrew tradition. The change of name recorded in Gn 17^{5} (P) is a harmonistic theory, which involves an impossible etymology, and cannot be regarded as historical. Of *Abraham* no better explanation has been suggested than that it is possibly a dialectic or orthographic variation of *Abram*, which in the fuller forms *Abirām* and *Aburamu* is found as a personal name both in Heb. and Babylonian. The history of Abraham (Gn 11^{27}–25^{18}) consists of a number of legendary narratives, which have been somewhat loosely strung together into a semblance of biographical continuity. These narratives (with the exception of ch. 14, which is assigned to a special source) are apportioned by critics to the three main documents of Genesis, J, E, and P; and the analysis shows that the biographic arrangement is not due solely to the compiler of the Pent., but existed in the separate sources. In them we can recognize, amidst much diversity, the outlines of a fairly solid and consistent tradition, which may be assumed to have taken shape at different centres, such as the sanctuaries of Hebron and Beersheba.

1. *The account of J* opens with the Divine call to Abraham, in obedience to which he separates himself from his kindred and migrates to Canaan (12^{1-8}).

In the proper Jahwistic tradition the starting-point of the Exodus was Harran in Mesopotamia, but in $11^{28ff.}$ (cf. 15^{7}) we find combined with this another view, according to which Abraham came from Ur of the Chaldees in S. Babylonia. In passing we may note the remarkable fact that both traditions alike connect the patriarch with famous centres of Babylonian moon-worship.

Arrived in Canaan, Abraham builds altars at Shechem, where he receives the first promise of the land, and Bethel, where the separation from Lot takes place; after which Abraham resumes his southern journey and takes up his abode at Hebron (ch. 13). This connexion is broken in 12^{10-20} by the episode of Abraham's sojourn in Egypt, which probably belongs to an older stratum of Jahwistic tradition representing him as leading a nomadic life in the Negeb. To the same cycle we may assign the story of Hagar's flight and the prophecy regarding Ishmael, in ch. 16; here, too, the home of Abraham is apparently located in the Negeb. In ch. 18 we find Abraham at Hebron, where in a theophany he receives the promise of a son to be born to Sarah, and also an intimation of the doom impending over the guilty cities of the Plain. The destruction of Sodom and Gomorrah, and the deliverance of Lot, are graphically described in ch. 19, which closes with an account of the shameful origins of Moab and Ammon. Passing over some fragmentary notices in ch. 21, which have been amalgamated with the fuller narrative of E, we come to the last scene of J's record, the mission of Abraham's servant to seek a bride for Isaac, told with such dramatic power in ch. 24. It would seem that the death of Abraham, of which J's account has nowhere been preserved, must have taken place before the servant returned. A note is appended in $25^{1ff.}$ as to the descent of 16 Arabian tribes from Abraham and **Keturah.**

2. *Of E's narrative* the first traces appear in ch. 15, a composite and difficult chapter, whose kernel probably belongs rather to this document than to J. In its present form it narrates the renewal to Abraham of the two great promises on which his faith rested—the promise of a seed and of the land of Canaan—and the confirmation of the latter by an impressive ceremony in which God entered into a covenant with the patriarch. The main body of Elohistic tradition, however, is found in chs. 20–22. We have here a notice of Abraham's arrival in the Negeb, followed by a sojourn in Gerar, where Sarah's honour is compromised by the deliberate concealment of the fact that she is married (ch. 20)—a variant form of the Jahwistic legend of 12^{10-20}. The expulsion of Hagar, recorded in 21^{9-21}, is an equally obvious parallel to J's account of the flight of Hagar in ch. 16, although in E the incident follows, while in J it precedes, the births of both Ishmael and Isaac. The latter part of ch. 21 is occupied with the narrative of Abraham's adventures in the Negeb—especially his covenant with Abimelech of Gerar—which leads up to the consecration of the sanctuary of Beersheba to the worship of Jahweh. Here the narrative has been supplemented by extracts from a Jahwistic recension of the same tradition. To E, finally, we are indebted for the fascinating story of the sacrifice of Isaac in ch. 22, which may be fairly described as the gem of this collection.

3. *In P*, the biography of Abraham is mostly reduced to a chronological epitome, based on the narrative of J, and supplying some gaps left by the compiler in the older document. There are just two places where the meagre chronicle expands into elaborately circumstantial description. The first is the account, in ch. 17, of the institution of circumcision as the sign of the covenant between God and Abraham, round which are gathered all the promises which in the earlier documents are connected with various experiences in the patriarch's life. The second incident is the purchase of the cave of Machpelah after the death of Sarah, recorded at great length in ch. 23: this is peculiar to P, and was evidently of importance to that writer as a guarantee of Israel's perpetual tenure of the land of Canaan.

4. Such is, in outline, the history of Abraham as transmitted through the recognized literary channels of the national tradition. We have yet to mention an episode, concerning which there is great diversity of opinion,—the story of Abraham's victory over the four kings, and his interview with Melchizedek, in ch. 14. It is maintained by some that this chapter bears internal marks of authenticity not possessed by the rest of the Abrahamic tradition, and affords a firm foothold for the belief that Abraham is a historic personage of the 3rd millennium B.C., contemporary with Hammurabi (Amraphel?) of Babylon (*c.* 2300). Others take a diametrically opposite view, holding that it is a late Jewish romance, founded on imperfectly understood data derived from cuneiform sources. The arguments on either side cannot be given here; it must suffice to remark that, even if convincing proof of the historicity of ch. 14 could be produced, it would still be a question whether that judgment could be extended to the very different material of the undisputed Hebrew tradition. It is much more important to inquire what is the historical value of the tradition which lies immediately behind the more popular narratives in which the religious significance of Abraham's character is expressed. That these are history in the strict sense of the word is a proposition to which no competent scholar would assent. They are legends which had circulated orally for an indefinite time, and had assumed varied forms, before they were collected and reduced to writing. The only question of practical moment is whether the legends have clustered round the name of a historic personality, the leader of an immigration of Aramæan tribes into Palestine, and at the same time the recipient of a new revelation of God which prepared the way

for the unique religious history and mission of Israel. It cannot be said that this view of Abraham has as yet obtained any direct confirmation from discoveries in Assyriology or archæology, though it is perhaps true that recent developments of these sciences render the conception more intelligible than it formerly was. And there is nothing, either in the tradition itself or in our knowledge of the background against which it is set, that is inconsistent with the supposition that to the extent just indicated the figure of Abraham is historical. If it be the essence of legend, as distinct from myth, that it originates in the impression made by a commanding personality on his contemporaries, we may well believe that the story of Abraham, bearing as it does the stamp of ethical character and individuality, is a true legend, and therefore has grown up around some nucleus of historic fact.

5. From the religious point of view, the life of Abraham has a surprising inner unity as a record of the progressive trial and strengthening of faith. It is a life of unclouded earthly prosperity, broken by no reverse of fortune; yet it is rooted in fellowship with the unseen. 'He goes through life,' it has been well said, 'listening for the true *tōrā*, which is not shut up in formal precepts, but revealed from time to time to the conscience; and this leaning upon God's word is declared to be in Jahweh's sight a proof of genuine righteousness.' He is the Father of the faithful, and the Friend of God. And that inward attitude of spirit is reflected in a character of singular loftiness and magnanimity, an unworldly and disinterested disposition which reveals no moral struggle, but is nevertheless the fruit of habitual converse with God. The few narratives which present the patriarch in a less admirable light only throw into bolder relief those ideal features of character in virtue of which Abraham stands in the pages of Scripture as one of the noblest types of Hebrew piety.

J. Skinner.

ABRAHAM'S BOSOM.—It was natural for the Jews to represent Abraham as welcoming his righteous descendants to the bliss of heaven. It was, also, not unusual for them to represent the state of the righteous as a feast. In the parable of Lk $16^{19ff.}$ Jesus uses these figures to represent the blessedness of the dead Lazarus. He was reclining at the feast next to Abraham (cf. Mt 8^{11}). A Rabbi of the third century, Adda Bar Ahaba, uses precisely this expression as a synonym for entering Paradise. Other Jewish writings occasionally represent Abraham as in a way overseeing the entrance of souls into Paradise. 'Abraham's Bosom,' therefore, may very fairly be said to be a synonym for Paradise, where the righteous dead live in eternal bliss. There is no clear evidence that the Jews of Jesus' day believed in an intermediate state, and it is unsafe to see in the term any reference to such a belief. Shailer Mathews.

ABRECH.—A word of doubtful signification, tr. 'Bow the knee,' in AV and RV (Gn 41^{43} 'then he made him [Joseph] to ride in the second chariot which he had; and they cried before him, Bow the knee; and he set him over all the land of Egypt'). The word should be either Hebrew or Egyptian. An Assyr. etymology has been proposed, viz. *abarakku*, the title of one of the highest officials in the Assyrian Empire, but no such borrowings from Assyria are known in Egypt. Hebrew affords no likely explanation. Egyptian hitherto has furnished two that are possible: (1) 'Praise!' but the word is rare and doubtful; (2) *abrak*, apparently meaning 'Attention!' 'Have a care!' (Spiegelberg). The last seems the least improbable.

F. Ll. Griffith.

ABRONAH.—A station in the journeyings (Nu $33^{34.35}$).

ABSALOM ('father is peace').—Third son of David, by Maacah, daughter of Talmai, king of Geshur (2 S 3^{3}). His sister Tamar having been wronged by her half-brother Amnon, and David having failed to punish the criminal, Absalom assassinated Amnon and fled to Geshur, where he spent three years (ch. 13). Joab procured his recall, but he was not admitted into his father's presence. In his usual imperious fashion he next compelled Joab to bring about his full restoration ($14^{29ff.}$). Then he assumed the position of heir-apparent (15^{1}; cf. 1 S 8^{11}, 1 K 1^{5}), and began undermining the loyalty of the people. Four (not 'forty') years after his return he set up the standard of rebellion at Hebron, a town which was well-affected towards him because it was his birthplace, and aggrieved against David because it was no longer the metropolis. The old king was taken by surprise, and fled to the east of the Jordan. On entering Jerusalem, Absalom publicly appropriated the royal harem, thus proclaiming the supersession of his father. By the insidious counsel of Hushai time was wasted in collecting a large army. But time was on David's side. His veterans rallied round him; his seasoned captains were by his side. When Absalom offered battle, near Mahanaim, the king's only anxiety was lest his son should be slain. This really happened, through Joab's agency. The father's natural, but unseasonable, lamentation was cut short by the soldier's blunt remonstrance (2 S $19^{5ff.}$). On the face of the history it is clear that, if Absalom lacked capacity, he possessed charm. His physical beauty contributed to this: 2 S 14^{25-27} is probably a gloss, but certainly rests on a reliable tradition; the polling of the hair was a religious act. According to 2 S 18^{18}, Absalom had no son: this is more reliable than the statement in 2 S 14^{27}. It is said that later generations, following Pr 10^{7}, always avoided the name Absalom, preferring the form **Abishalom** (which appears in 1 K $15^{2.10}$).

J. Taylor.

ABSALOM (in Apocr.).—**1.** The father of Mattathias, one of the captains who stood by Jonathan at Hazor (1 Mac 11^{70}=Jos. *Ant.* xiii. v. 7). It is perhaps the same Absalom whose son Jonathan was sent by Simon to secure Joppa (1 Mac 13^{11}=Jos. *Ant.* xiii. vi. 4). **2.** An envoy sent by the Jews to Lysias (2 Mac 11^{17}).

ABUBUS.—Father of Ptolemy the murderer of Simon the Maccabee (1 Mac $16^{11.15}$).

ABYSS.—The Jewish eschatology of the time of Christ conceived of the abode of departed spirits as a great abyss, in the midst of which was a lake of fire, intended primarily as a place of punishment for the angels and giants, and accordingly for sinners. The abyss existed before the creation, and was the home of the various enemies of God, such as the dragon and the beast. In the NT it is used only in Apocalypse (AV '**bottomless pit**') and in Ro 10^{7} and Lk 8^{31} (AV '**deep**').

Shailer Mathews.

ACACIA.—See Shittim Tree.

ACCABA, 1 Es 5^{30}=**Hagab,** Ezr 2^{46}.

ACCEPTANCE denotes the being in favour with any one. In EV the noun is found only in Is 60^{7}, but 'accept' and 'acceptable' are used frequently both in OT and NT to express the acceptance of one man with another (Gn 32^{20}, Lk 4^{24}), but above all the acceptance of man with God. In OT the conditions of acceptance with God are sometimes ceremonial (Ex 28^{38}, Ps 20^{3}). But of themselves these are insufficient (Gn $4^{5.7}$, Am 5^{22}, Jer 6^{20} $14^{10.12}$), and only moral uprightness (Pr 21^{3}, Job 42^{8}) and the sacrifices of a sincere heart (Ps 19^{14} 119^{108}; cf. $40^{6ff.}$ $51^{15ff.}$) are recognized as truly acceptable with God. In NT the grounds of the Divine acceptance are never ceremonial, but always spiritual (Ro 12^{1}, Ph 4^{18}, 1 P 2^{5}). Jesus Christ is the type of perfect acceptance (Mk 1^{11}‖, He $10^{5ff.}$). In Him as 'the Beloved,' and through Him as the Mediator, men secure their religious standing and fundamental acceptance with God (Eph 1^{6}). In serving Him (Ro 14^{18}), and following His example (1 P $2^{20.21}$), they become morally acceptable in the Father's sight.

J. C. Lambert.

ACCESS (Gr. *prosagōgē*).—The word occurs only in Ro 5^2, Eph 2^{18} 3^{12}, and the question (regarding which commentators are much divided) is whether it ought to be understood in the trans. sense as 'introduction,' the being brought near by another, or in the intrans. sense as 'access' or personal approach. The trans. sense is most in keeping with the ordinary use of the vb. *prosagō* in classical Gr. (cf. its use in 1 P 3^{18} 'that he might bring us to God')—the idea suggested being that of a formal introduction into a royal presence. 'Access,' moreover, does not so well express the fact that we cannot approach God in our own right, but need Christ to introduce us; cf. 'by [RV 'through'] whom' (Ro 5^2), 'through him' (Eph 2^{18}), 'in whom' (3^{12}). The word 'access' does not occur in Hebrews, but the writer has much to say on the subject of our approach to God through Christ, esp. for the purpose of prayer ($4^{14ff.}$) and worship ($10^{19ff.}$). J. C. Lambert.

ACCO.—Jg 1^{31}. See Ptolemais.

ACCOS (1 Mac 8^{17}).—Grandfather of one of the envoys sent to Rome by Judas Maccabæus in B.C. 161. Accos represents the Heb. **Hakkoz,** the name of a priestly family (1 Ch 24^{10}, Ezr 2^{61}).

ACCURSED.—See Ban.

ACELDAMA.—See Akeldama.

ACHAIA.—This name was originally applied to a strip of land on the N. coast of the Peloponnese. On annexing Greece and Macedonia as a province in B.C. 146, the Romans applied the name Achaia to the whole of that country. In B.C. 27 two provinces were formed, Macedonia and Achaia; and the latter included Thessaly, Ætolia, Acarnania, and some part of Epirus, with Eubœa and most of the Cyclades. It was governed in St. Paul's time by a proconsul of the second grade, with headquarters at Corinth (Ac 18^{12}). 'Hellas' (Ac 20^2) is the native Greek name corresponding to the Roman 'Achaia.' There were Jewish settlements in this province, at Corinth, Athens, etc. (Ac 17^{17} $18^{4.\ 7}$), and the work of St. Paul began amongst them and was carried on by Apollos (1 and 2 Cor. *passim*, Ac $17^{16ff.}$ $18.\ 19^1$). A. Souter.

ACHAICUS.—The name of a member of the Church at Corinth. He was with Stephanas and Fortunatus (1 Co $16^{17f.}$) when they visited St. Paul at Ephesus and 'refreshed his spirit.' Nothing more is certainly known of him. As slaves were often named from the country of their birth, it is a probable conjecture that he was a slave, born in Achaia. J. G. Tasker.

ACHAN.—Son of Carmi, of the tribe of Judah (Jos 7^1). It is brought home to Joshua (Jos $7^{8\text{-}12}$) that the defeat at Ai was due to the fact of Jahweh's covenant having been transgressed. An inquiry is instituted, and Achan is singled out as the transgressor. He confesses that after the capture of Jericho he had hidden part of the spoil, the whole of which had been placed under the ban (*chērem*), *i.e.* devoted to Jahweh, and was therefore unlawful for man to touch. According to the usage of the times, both he and his family are stoned, and their dead bodies burned—the latter an even more terrible punishment in the eyes of ancient Israel. The sentence is carried out in the valley of **Achor** ('troubling'). According to Jos $7^{25.\ 26}$, this valley was so called after Achan, the 'troubler' of Israel. Later his name was changed to **Achar** to correspond more closely with the name of the valley (1 Ch 2^7). W. O. E. Oesterley.

ACHAR.—See Achan.

ACHBOR ('mouse' *or* 'jerboa').—**1.** An Edomite (Gn 36^{38}). **2.** A courtier under Josiah, son of Micaiah (2 K $22^{12.\ 14}$), and father of Elnathan (Jer 26^{22} om. LXX, 36^{12}). Called **Abdon** (2 Ch 34^{20}).

ACHIACHARUS, the nephew of Tobit, was governor under Sarchedonus = Esarhaddon (To 1^{21} etc.). The nearest Hebrew name is Ahihud (1 Ch 8^7).

ACHIAS.—An ancestor of Ezra (2 Es 1^2), omitted in Ezr. and 1 Es.

ACHIM (perhaps a shortened form of **Jehoiachim**), an ancestor of our Lord (Mt 1^{14}).

ACHIOR ('brother of light').—A general of the Ammonites (Jth 5^5 etc.), afterwards converted to Judaism (ch. 14).

ACHIPHA (1 Es 5^{31}).—His children were among the 'temple servants' or Nethinim who returned with Zerubbabel; called **Hakupha,** Ezr 2^{51}, Neh 7^{53}.

ACHISH.—The king of Gath to whom David fled for refuge after the massacre of the priests at Nob (1 S 21^{10}). In 1 S 27^2 he is called 'the son of Maoch' (possibly = 'son of Maacah,' 1 K 2^{39}). He received David with his band of 600 men, and assigned him the city of Ziklag in the S. of Judah. Despite the wishes of Achish, the other Phil. princes refused to let David take part in the final campaign against Saul. ['Achish' should be read for 'Abimelech' in Ps 34 (title).]

ACHMETHA.—The Ecbatana of the Greeks and Romans, modern *Hamadan*. It was the capital of Media (in Old Persian *Haghmatāna*). It is mentioned but once in the canonical books (Ezr 6^2), as the place where the archives of the reign of Cyrus were deposited, It is several times mentioned in the Apocrypha (2 Mac 9^3. To 3^7 6^7 $14^{13f.}$, Jth $1^{1ff.}$). J. F. McCurdy.

ACHOR ('*ēmeq 'ākhōr*, 'Vale of Grief').—Here Achan (wh. see), with his family, was stoned to death. It lay on the boundary between Judah and Benjamin (Jos 15^7 etc.). Guthe identifies it with the plain south of Jericho, between the mountains on the west, and Jordan and the Dead Sea on the east. *Wādy Kelt*, a tremendous gorge which breaks down from the mountain W. of Jericho, probably formed the boundary between Judah and Benjamin. In the mouth of this valley, it seems likely, the execution took place. W. Ewing.

ACHSAH (1 Ch 2^{49}, AV **Achsa**).—The daughter of Caleb. Her father promised her in marriage to the man who should capture Debir or Kiriath-sepher—a feat accomplished by Othniel, the brother of Caleb. Her dowry of a south land (Negeb) was increased by the grant of 'the upper springs and the nether springs' (Jos $15^{16\text{-}19}$, Jg $1^{9\text{-}15}$).

ACHSHAPH.—About 17 miles E. of Tyre, now called *Iksaf* or *Kesaf*, on N.E. border of territory assigned to Asher (Jos 19^{25}). Its king joined Jabin's confederacy, which was defeated by Joshua, and the ruler of Achshaph was amongst the slain (Jos 11^1 12^{20}). J. Taylor.

ACHZIB.—**1.** A town in Asher (Jos 19^{29}), from which the natives could not be dislodged (Jg 1^{31}): it lay on the coast between Acre and Tyre. The early geographers called it *Ekdippa*; now *ez-Zib*. **2.** In the S. of the Shephelah (Jos 15^{44}), near Mareshah. Mic 1^{14} predicts that *Achzib* shall be to the kings of Judah *achzab* ('deceptive'), a stream whose waters fail when most needed (cf. Jer 15^{18}). J. Taylor.

ACRA.—See Jerusalem, I. 3, II. 2.

ACRE.—See Weights and Measures.

ACROSTIC.—Acrostic poems, *i.e.* poems in which initial letters recurring at regular intervals follow some definite arrangement, occur to the number of 14 in the OT; another instance is Sir $51^{13\text{-}30}$. All these are of a simple type, and are so planned that the initials recurring at fixed intervals follow the order of the Hebrew alphabet; thus the first section of the poem begins with the first letter of the Hebrew alphabet, *aleph*; the second with the second letter, *beth*; and so on down to the twenty-second and last letter, *taw*. The interval between the several letters consists of a *regular number of lines*. In Pss 111. 112 this interval is one line; in Pss 25. 34. 145, Pr $31^{10\text{-}31}$, Sir $51^{13\text{-}30}$, and in the fragment, which does not clearly extend beyond the thirteenth letter, contained in Nah 1, the interval is 2 lines; in La 4 it is

2 longer lines, in chs. 1 and 2 it is 3 longer lines; in Pss 9 and 10 (a single continuous poem), and in Ps 37, it is 4 lines. In La 3, where the interval between each successive letter of the alphabet is 3 long lines, each of each set of three lines begins with the same letter; and similarly in Ps 119, where the interval is 16 lines, each alternate line within each set of 16 begins with the same letter.

Certainly in La 2. 3 and 4, and, according to the order of the verses in the LXX, in Pr 31, probably also in Ps 34 (where the sense seems to require the transposition of v.[16] and v.[15]) and in Ps 9, the sixteenth and seventeenth letters of the Hebrew alphabet occupy respectively the seventeenth and sixteenth places in the acrostic scheme. The reason for this is unknown.

Comparatively few of these poems have come down to us intact. They have suffered from accidental errors of textual transmission, and probably also from editorial alterations. In some cases an entire strophe has dropped out of the text; thus the sixth strophe (of 2 lines) has fallen out between v.[6] and v.[7] in Ps 34, and the fourteenth between v.[13] and v.[14] of Ps 145, though in the latter case it still stood in the Hebrew MS from which the Greek version was made. Occasionally lines have been inserted, as, apparently, in more than one place in Ps 37, and in Nah 1^2. But such corruption of the text is really serious only in Ps 9 f., Nah 1, and Sir 51^{13-30}.

The earliest of these fifteen poems are probably La 2 and 4, which may have been written in the earlier half of the 6th cent. B.C.; but the custom of writing such poems may have been much more ancient. Perhaps the latest of the poems is Sir 51^{13-30} (about B.C. 180), but the Jews continued to compose such poems long after this.

The English reader will find the strophes clearly distinguished, and the initial Hebrew letters with their names in English letters indicated, in the RV of Ps 119. Unfortunately the RV does not give the initials in the other poems; but they will be found, in the case of the Psalms, in (for example) Kirkpatrick's *Psalms* (Cambridge Bible), Cheyne's *Book of Psalms*, Driver's *Parallel Psalter*. For La 2 and 4 see *Expositor*, 1906 (April) [G. A. Smith]; for Nah 1, *Expositor*, 1898 (Sept.), pp. 207–220 [G. B. Gray], or Driver, *Century Bible*, p. 26 f. Common though it is in other literatures and with such mediæval Jewish poets as Ibn Ezra, no decisive instance of the type of acrostic in which the initial letters compose a name, has been found in the OT, though some have detected the name Simeon (or Simon) thus given in Ps 110. Pss 25 and 34 contain each an additional strophe at the close of the alphabetic strophes; in each case the first word of the verse is a part of the Hebrew verb *pādāh*, 'to redeem,' and it has been suggested that the author or a copyist has thus left us a clue to his name—*Pedahel*; but interesting as this suggestion is, it is for several reasons doubtful.

G. B. Gray.

ACTS OF THE APOSTLES.—1. Summary of contents.—The fifth book of our NT gives the history of the Church from the Ascension till *c.* A.D. 61. It may be divided into two parts, one of which describes the early history ('Acts of Peter' and 'Acts of the Hellenists'), and the other the life of St. Paul ('Acts of Paul') from his conversion to his imprisonment at Rome. The two parts overlap each other; yet a clear division occurs at 13^1, from which point forwards the Pauline journeys are described by one who for a considerable part of them was a fellow-traveller. The parallelism between Peter and Paul is very striking, corresponding deeds and events being related of each; and this peculiarity was thought by the Tübingen school to betray a fictitious author, who composed his narrative so as to show the equality of Peter and Paul. Though this conclusion is arbitrary, the parallelism shows us that the author, whoever he was, selected his facts with great care and with a set purpose.

2. Unity of authorship.—From 16^{10} onwards, the writer, who never names himself, frequently betrays his presence as a fellow-traveller by using the pronoun 'we.' It is generally conceded that these 'we' sections are genuine notes of a companion of St. Paul. But some assert that the author of Acts was a later writer who incorporated in his work extracts from a diary contemporary with the events described. These critics see in the book traces of four strata, and assert that it is a compilation of the same nature as the Pentateuch, the *Book of Enoch*, and the *Apostolic Constitutions*. Now no doubt our author used sources, in some parts of his book written sources. But if he were a 2nd cent. compiler, we ought to be able to detect interpolations from differences of style (as we do in *Apost. Const.*), and often from anachronisms. Moreover, seeing that he was at least a man of great literary ability, it is remarkable that he was so clumsy as to retain the pronoun 'we' if he was a late writer copying a 1st cent. source. His style is the same throughout, and no anachronisms have been really brought home to him; his interests are those of the 1st, not of the 2nd century (§ 8). Further, the Third Gospel is clearly, from identity of style and the express claim in Ac 1^1 (cf. Lk 1^3), by our author, and yet the Gospel is now generally admitted to have been written by *c.* A.D. 80. Thus we may, with Harnack, dismiss the compilation theory.

3. The author.—Internal evidence, if the unity of authorship be admitted, shows that the writer was a close companion of St. Paul. Now, if we take the names of the Apostle's companions given in the Epistles, we shall find that all but four must be excluded, whether as having joined him after his arrival at Rome (for the author made the voyage with him, 27^1), or as being mentioned in Acts in a manner inconsistent with authorship (so, *e.g.*, Timothy, Tychicus, Aristarchus, Mark, Prisca, Aquila, Trophimus must be excluded), or as having deserted him, or as being Roman Christians and recent friends. Two of the four (Crescens and Jesus Justus) are insignificant, and had no specially intimate connexion with the Apostle. We have only Titus and Luke left. Neither is mentioned in Acts; both were important persons. But for 2 Ti $4^{10f.}$ we must have conjectured that these were two names for the same person. We have then to choose between them, and Patristic evidence (§ 4) leads us to choose Luke. But why is Titus not mentioned in Acts? It cannot be (as Lightfoot suggests) that he was unimportant (cf. 2 Co. *passim*), but perhaps Luke's silence is due to Titus being his near relation (Ramsay); cf. *Exp. T.* XVIII. [1907] 285, 335, 380.

The author was a Gentile, not a Jew (Col $4^{10f.\ 14}$), a conclusion to which a consideration of his interests would lead us (§ 8; see also Ac 1^{19} 'in their language'). He was a physician (Col 4^{14}), and had quite probably studied at the University of Athens, where he seems quite at home though not present at the Athenian scenes he describes (Ac $17^{16ff.}$). His native country is disputed. A *Preface to Luke*, thought to be not later than the 3rd cent., says that he was 'by nation a Syrian of Antioch'; and Eusebius (*HE* III. 4), using a vague phrase, says that he was, 'according to birth, of those from Antioch'; while later writers like Jerome follow Eusebius. Certainly we should never have guessed this from the cold way in which the Syrian Antioch is mentioned in Acts. Some (Rackham, Rendall) conjecture that Pisidian Antioch is really meant, as the scenes in the neighbourhood of that city are so vivid that the description might well be by an eye-witness. But the 'we' sections had not yet begun, and this seems decisive against the writer having been present. Others (Ramsay, Renan) believe the writer to have been a Macedonian of Philippi, since he took so great an interest in the claims of that colony (16^{12}). Indeed, Ramsay (*St. Paul*, p. 202 ff.) propounds the ingenious conjecture that Luke, having met Paul at Troas accidentally (16^{10}; it could not have been by appointment, as Paul had not meant to go there), was the 'certain man of Macedonia' who appeared in the vision (16^9); it must have been some one whom the Apostle knew by sight, for otherwise he could not have told that he was a Macedonian. This is a very tempting conjecture. Luke need not have been a new convert at that time. On the other hand, it must be said that against his having been a native of *Philippi* are the

facts that he had no home there, but went to lodge with Lydia (16[15]), and that he only *supposed* that there was a Jewish place of prayer at Philippi (16[13] RV). His interest in Philippi may rather be accounted for by his having been left in charge of the Church there (17[1] 20[5]; in the interval between St. Paul's leaving Philippi and his return there the pronoun 'they' is used). Yet he was quite probably a Macedonian [Ac 27[2] is not against this], of a Greek family once settled at Antioch; he was a Gentile not without some contempt for the Jews, and certainly not a Roman citizen like St. Paul. His Greek nationality shows itself in his calling the Maltese 'barbarians' (28[2]), *i.e.* non-Greek speaking, and in many other ways.

4. Patristic testimony.—There are probable references to Acts in Clement of Rome (*c.* A.D. 95), who seems to refer to 13[22] 20[35] etc.; and in Ignatius (*c.* A.D. 110), who apparently refers to 4[41]; also in Polycarp (*c.* 111); almost certainly in the *Martyrdom of Polycarp* (*c.* A.D. 155); and full quotations are found at the end of the 2nd cent. in Tertullian, Clement of Alexandria, and Irenæus, all of whom ascribe the book to Luke. So also the Muratorian Fragment (*c.* A.D. 200). Moreover, the apocryphal Acts, some of them of the 2nd cent., are built on our canonical Acts, and their authors must have known the latter.

5. Style.—The book is not a chronological biography; there are few indications of time (11[28] 24[27]; cf. Lk 3[1]), yet the writer often uses vague phrases like 'after some days,' which may indicate intervals of days, months, or years. He seizes critical features, and passes over unessential details. Thus he does not relate the events of the years spent by St. Paul in Tarsus (9[30]), probably as being years of education in which no striking event occurred. So he tells us practically nothing of the missionary journey through Cyprus (13[6]), though much work must have been done among the Jews then; while great space is given to the epoch-making interview with Sergius Paulus. The writer leaves a good deal to be understood; he states facts, and leaves the reader to deduce the causes or inferences; he reports directions or intentions, and leaves it to be inferred that they were carried into effect, *e.g.* 13[3] (no reason given for Elymas' opposition, it is not explicitly said that Paul preached to the proconsul), 13[13] (the reason for Mark's departure not stated, nor yet for Paul and Barnabas going to Pisidian Antioch), 16[35] (no reason given for the Philippi prætors' change of attitude), 17[15] (not said that the injunction was obeyed, but from 1 Th 3[1] we see that Timothy had rejoined Paul at Athens and was sent away again to Macedonia, whence he came in Ac 18[5] to Corinth), 20[16] (not stated that they arrived in time for Pentecost, but it must be understood), 27[43] (it must be inferred that the injunction was obeyed).

6. Crises in the history.—These may be briefly indicated. They include the Day of Pentecost (the birthday of the Church); the appointment of the Seven (among them Nicholas, a 'proselyte of righteousness, *i.e.* a Gentile who had become a circumcised Jew); the conversion of St. Paul; the episode of Cornelius (who was only a 'proselyte of the gate,' or 'God-fearing,' one who was brought into relation with the Jews by obeying certain elementary rules, such, probably, as those of 15[29], but not circumcised [this is disputed; see NICOLAS]; this means, therefore, a further step towards Pauline Christianity); the first meeting of Paul and Barnabas with a Roman official in the person of Sergius Paulus in Cyprus, the initial step in the great plan of St. Paul to make Christianity the religion of the Roman Empire (see § 7; henceforward the author calls Saul of Tarsus by his Roman name, one which he must have borne all along, for the purposes of his Roman citizenship); the Council of Jerusalem, the vindication of Pauline teaching by the Church; the call to Macedonia, not as being a passing from one continent to another, for the Romans had not this geographical idea, nor yet as a passing over to a strange people, but partly as a step forwards in the great plan, the entering into a new Roman province, and especially the association for the first time with the author (§ 3); the residence at Corinth, the great city on the Roman highway to the East, where Gallio's action paved the way for the appeal to Cæsar; and the apprehension at Jerusalem. These are related at length. Another crisis is probably hinted at, the acquittal of St. Paul; for even if the book were written before that took place (§ 9), the release must have become fairly obvious to all towards the end of the two years' sojourn at Rome (cf. Ph 2[24]).

7. Missionary plan of St. Paul.—(*a*) The author describes the Apostle as beginning new missionary work by seeking out the Jews first; only when they would not listen he turned to the Gentiles, 13[5. 14] 14[1] 16[13] (no synagogue at Philippi, only a 'place of prayer') 17[1f.] (the words 'as his custom was' are decisive) 17[10. 16f.] 18[4. 5. 19] 19[8f.] 28[17]; we may perhaps understand the same at places where it is not expressly mentioned, 14[7. 21. 25], or the Jews may have been weak and without a synagogue in those places.—(*b*) St. Paul utilizes the Roman Empire to spread the gospel along its lines of communication. He was justifiably proud of his Roman citizenship (16[37] 22[25ff.] etc.; cf. Ph 1[27] [RVm] 3[20], Eph 2[19]). He seems to have formed the great idea of Christianity being the religion of the Roman Empire, though not confined to it. Hence may be understood his zeal for Gentile liberty, and his breaking away from the idea of Jewish exclusiveness. In his missionary journeys he confines himself (if the South Galatian theory be accepted; see art. GALATIANS [EPISTLES TO THE]) to the great roads of traffic in the Empire. He utilizes the Greek language to spread Christian influence, just as the Roman Empire used it to spread its civilization in the far East, where it never attempted to force Latin (for even the Roman colonies in the East spoke Greek, keeping Latin for state occasions). Paul and Barnabas, then, preached in Greek; they clearly did not know Lycaonian (cf. Ac 14[11] with 14[14]). The Scriptures were not translated into the languages of Asia Minor, which were probably not written languages, nor even into Latin till a later age.

Following the same idea, the author represents the Roman officials in the colonies as more favourable to St. Paul than the magistrates of the ordinary Greek cities. Contrast the account of the conduct of the Greek magistrates at Iconium and Thessalonica who were active against him, or of the Court of the Areopagus at Athens who were contemptuous, with the silence about the action of the Roman magistrates of Pisidian Antioch and Lystra, or the explicit statements about Sergius Paulus, Gallio, Felix, Festus, Claudius Lysias and Julius the centurion, who were more or less fair or friendly. Even the prætors at Philippi ended by apologizing profusely when they discovered Paul's status.

8. The writer's interests.—It is interesting to observe these, as they will lead us to an approximate date for the work. There is no better test than such an inquiry for the detection of a forgery or of a compilation. The principal interest is obviously St. Paul and his mission. To this the preliminary history of the Twelve and of the beginnings of Christianity leads up. The writer emphasizes especially St. Paul's dealings with Roman officials. Of minor interests we notice medicine, as we should expect from 'the beloved physician'; and the rival science of sorcery; the position and influence of women (1[14] 8[3. 12] 9[2] 13[50] 16[14] 17[4. 12. 34] 21[5. 9] 22[4] etc.; in Asia Minor women had a much more prominent position than in Greece proper); the organization of the Church (2[41ff.] 4[31ff.] 6[1ff.] 8[5ff.] 15[2ff.] 19[1ff.] etc.); Divine intervention to overrule human projects (note especially the remarkable way in which St. Paul was led to Troas, 16[6-8]); and navigation. This last interest cannot but strike the most cursory reader. The voyages and harbours are described minutely and vividly, while the land journeys are only just mentioned. Yet the writer was clearly no professional sailor. He describes the drifting in 27[27] as a zigzag course when it must have been straight; he is surprised at their passing Cyprus on a different side when going westward from

that on which they had passed it going eastward (27^4 21^3), though that was, and is, the normal course in autumn for sailing vessels (Ramsay, *St. Paul*, p. 317). It has been truly remarked by Ramsay (*ib.* p. 22) that the writer's interests and views are incompatible with the idea of a 2nd cent. compiler; *e.g.* the view of the Roman officials, and the optimistic tone, would be impossible after the persecution of Domitian—or even (we may add) after that of Nero.

9. Date.—From the reasoning of §§ **2, 8** (see also § **12**) we must reject the idea of a 2nd cent. compiler, and decide between a date at the end of the two years at Rome, $28^{30f.}$ (Blass, Salmon, Headlam, Rackham), and a later date 70–80 A.D. (Ramsay, Sanday, Harnack, and most of those who ascribe the book to Luke).—(*a*) For the former date we note that there is no reference to anything after the Roman imprisonment, to the martyrdom of James the Lord's brother in A.D. 62, or to the Neronian persecution in A.D. 64, or to the death of Peter and Paul (contrast the allusion to Peter's death in Jn 21^{19}), or to the Fall of Jerusalem in A.D. 70. Also there is good reason to believe from the Pastoral Epistles, from Ecclesiastical history, and from *a priori* reasons, that St. Paul was released soon after the two years; but we should gather that our author did not know for certain the result of the appeal to Cæsar. He could hardly have known that the Apostle's expectation that he would not again see the Ephesian elders was falsified, or he would not have left 20^{38} without remark [but see Paul, i. 4 (*d*)]. The optimistic tone (§ **8**), contrasting so greatly with that of the Apocalypse, points in the same direction; as also does the absence of any reference to the Pauline Epistles, which we should expect if 15 or 20 years had elapsed since they were written; and of any explanation of the apparent contradiction between Galatians and Acts (see art. GALATIANS [EPISTLE TO THE]). On the other hand, it is quite likely that a close companion of St. Paul would be the last to have, as long as he was with him, a copy of his correspondence.—(*b*) For the later date, A.D. 70–80, it is suggested that Luke contemplated a third volume, and so ended his second abruptly (cf. 1^1, properly 'first treatise,' not 'former'; but in late Greek comparatives and superlatives were frequently confused, cf. 1 Co 13^{13} RVm). It is also thought that Lk 21^{20} must have been written after the taking of Jerusalem, and that *a fortiori* Acts must be later; and that the atmosphere of the Flavian period may be detected in it. For an alleged borrowing of Acts from Josephus, and for further remarks on the date, see artt. LUKE [GOSPEL ACC. TO] and THEUDAS. To the present writer the earlier date given above seems the more probable.

10. Sources.—The author had exceptional opportunities of getting information. For the last part of the book he was his own informant, or he had access to St. Paul. John Mark would tell him of the deliverance of St. Peter and of the mission to Cyprus (12^1–13^{13}). For the 'Acts of the Hellenists' (chs. 6–8) and for the Cornelius episode he would have Philip the Evangelist as an authority, for he spent two years at Cæsarea; and perhaps also Cornelius himself. He had perhaps visited the Syrian Antioch, and could get from the leaders of the Church there (*e.g.* Manaen) information about the events which happened there. The first five chapters remain. Here he had to depend entirely on others; he may have used written documents similar to those mentioned in Lk 1^1, though he may also have questioned those at Jerusalem who had witnessed the events. Dr. Blass thinks that Luke here used an Aramaic document by Mark; this is pure conjecture, and it is quite uncertain if Luke knew Aramaic.

11. The Bezan codex.—This great Uncial MS (D, now at Cambridge), supported by some MSS of the Old Latin Version, presents a strikingly different text from that of the other great Greek MSS, and has also many additions, especially in Acts. Dr. Blass' theory is that the variations in Acts come from Luke's having made two drafts of the book, though he would admit that some of the readings of D are interpolations. He thinks that the 'Bezan' Acts represents the first draft, the 'Bezan' Luke the second draft. But the Bezan text of Acts is too smooth, and its readings are too often obviously added to ease a rough phrase, for it to be original. It is more probable that it represents a revision made in Asia Minor in the 2nd cent. by one who was very familiar with the localities described. Many scholars, however, think that it preserves a large number of true and authentic readings which have been lost in the other great MSS; but this seems doubtful.—In 11^{28} this MS (supported by Augustine), by inserting 'we,' makes the writer to have been present at Syrian Antioch when Agabus prophesied.

12. Accuracy of Acts.—This is most important, as it would be almost impossible for a late writer to avoid pitfalls when covering so large a ground. Instances of remarkable accuracy are: (*a*) the proconsul in Cyprus (13^7), which had only been under the rule of the Senate for a short time when St. Paul came there, and afterwards ceased to be so governed—otherwise the governor would have been a 'proprætor.' An inscription in Cyprus is dated 'in the proconsulship of Paulus.' (*b*) So the proconsul in Achaia (18^{12}); this province had been off and on united to Macedonia. At one time separated and governed by a proprætor and then united, a few years before St. Paul's visit it had been again separated and governed by a proconsul. (*c*) The 'first men' at Pisidian Antioch (13^{50}), *i.e.* the Duumviri and the 'First Ten.' This last title was only given (as here) to a board of magistrates in *Greek* cities of the East; in Roman colonies in Italy the name was given to those who stood first on the Senate roll. (*d*) The 'first man' in Malta (28^7) and (*e*) the 'politarchs' ('rulers of the city') at Thessalonica (17^6; probably a local Macedonian title), are both attested by inscriptions. (*f*) The old Court of the Areopagus at Athens (17^{19}), which really ruled the city,—though it was a 'free city,'—as the *demos* or popular assembly had lost its authority. (*g*) The 'Asiarchs' at Ephesus (19^{31} RVm), the presidents of the 'Common Council' of the province in cities where there was a temple of Rome and the Emperor; they superintended the worship of the Emperor. Their friendliness to St. Paul is a sure sign of an early date, for the book could only have been written while the Imperial policy was still neutral to Christianity, or at least while the memory of that time was still green. Contrast the enmity between Christianity and this Rome worship depicted in Rev 2^{13} 13^{15} etc. No 2nd cent. author could have written thus. (*h*) The details of the last voyage, thoroughly tested by Mr. Smith of Jordanhill, who sailed over the whole course.—Against all this it is alleged that there are contradictions between Acts and Galatians (see art. on that Epistle); but these vanish on examination, especially if we accept the 'South Galatian' theory. Instances of minute accuracy such as those given above show that we have in Acts a history of great importance and one that is most trustworthy. The accuracy can only come from the book being a genuine contemporary record.

A. J. MACLEAN.

ACUB (1 Es 5^{31}).—His sons were among the 'temple servants' who returned with Zerubbabel. Called **Bakbuk**, Ezr 2^{51}, Neh 7^{53}.

ACUD (1 Es 5^{30}).—His sons were among the 'temple servants' who returned from captivity with Zerubbabel. Called **Akkub**, Ezr 2^{45}; omitted in Neh 7.

ADADAH (Jos 15^{22}).—A city of Judah in the Negeb; perhaps a corrupt reading for *Ararah*, *i.e.* Aroer of 1 S 30^{28}.

ADAH.—1. One of the two wives of Lamech, and mother of Jabal and Jubal (Gn $4^{19.\ 20}$). The name possibly means 'brightness' (cf. Arab. *ghadāt*), Lamech's other wife being named 'Zillah'='shadow,' 'darkness.' **2.** Daughter of Elon, a Hittite, and one of the wives

of Esau (Gn 36[2]). In Gn 26[34] (P) the daughter of Elon the Hittite, whom Esau takes to wife, is named Basemath (wh. see).

ADAIAH ('Jehovah has adorned').—**1.** The maternal grandfather of Josiah, 2 K 22[1]. **2.** A Levite, 1 Ch 6[41], called **Iddo** in v.[21]. **3.** A son of Shimei (in v.[13] **Shema**) the Benjamite, 1 Ch 8[21]. **4.** The son of Jeroham, a priest, and head of a family in Jerusalem, 1 Ch 9[12]. **5.** The father of Maaseiah, a captain who helped to overthrow the usurpation of Athaliah, 2 Ch 23[1]. **6.** One of the family of Bani, who took a strange wife during the Exile, Ezr 10[29]. **7.** Another of a different family of Bani, who had committed the same offence, Ezr 10[39]. **8.** A descendant of Judah by Pharez, Neh 11[5]. **9.** A Levite of the family of Aaron, Neh 11[12]; probably the same as No. 4.

ADALIA (Est 9[8]).—The fifth of the sons of Haman, put to death by the Jews.

ADAM.—The derivation is doubtful. The most plausible is that which connects it with the Assyr. *adāmu*, 'make,' 'produce'; man is thus a 'creature'—one made or produced. Some derive it from a root signifying 'red' (cf. *Edom*, Gn 25[30]), men being of a ruddy colour in the district where the word originated. The Biblical writer (Gn 2[7]) explains it, according to his frequent practice, by a play on the word *'adāmāh*, 'ground'; but that is itself derived from the same root 'red.' The word occurs in the Heb. 31 times in Gn 1[5]–5[5]. In most of these it is not a proper name, and the RV has rightly substituted 'man' or 'the man' in some verses where AV has 'Adam.' But since the name signifies 'mankind,' *homo*, *Mensch*, not 'a man,' *vir*, *Mann* (see 5[2]), the narrative appears to be a description, not of particular historical events in the life of an individual, but of the beginnings of human life (ch. 2), human sin (ch. 3), human genealogical descent (4[1. 25] 5[1-5]). In a few passages, if the text is sound, the writer slips into the use of Adam as a proper name, but only in 5[3-5] does it stand unmistakably for an individual.

1. The *creation* of man is related twice, 1[26-27] (P) and 2[7] (J). The former passage is the result of philosophical and theological reflexion of a late date, which had taught the writer that man is the climax of creation because his personality partakes of the Divine (and in 5[3] this prerogative is handed on to his offspring); but the latter is written from the naïve and primitive standpoint of legendary tradition, which dealt only with man's reception of physical life (see next article).

2. Man's *primitive condition*, 2[8-25] (J). The story teaches: that man has work to do in life (2[15]); that he needs a counterpart, a help who shall be 'meet for him' (vv.[18. 21-24]); that man is supreme over the beasts in the intellectual ability, and therefore in the authority, which he possesses to assign to them their several names (vv.[19. 20]); that man, in his primitive condition, was far from being morally or socially perfect; he was simply in a state of savagery, but from a moral standpoint innocent, because he had not yet learned the meaning of right and wrong (v.[25]); and this blissful ignorance is also portrayed by the pleasures of a luxuriant garden or park (vv.[8-14]).

3. *The Fall*, 2[16f.] 3 (J). But there came a point in human evolution when man became conscious of a command—the earliest germ of a recognition of an 'ought' (2[16f.] 3[3]); and this at once caused a stress and strain between his lower animal nature, pictured as a serpent, and his higher aspirations after obedience (3[1-5]) [*N.B.*—The serpent is nowhere, in the OT, identified with the devil; the idea is not found till Wis 2[23]]; by a deliberate following of the lower nature against which he had begun to strive, man first caused sin to exist (v.[6]); with the instant result of a feeling of shame (v.[7]), and the world-wide consequence of pain, trouble, and death (vv.[14-19]), and the cessation for ever of the former state of innocent ignorance and bliss (vv.[22-24]).

On the Babylonian affinities with the story of Adam, see CREATION, EDEN. A. H. M'NEILE.

ADAM IN THE NT.—**A. In the Gospels.**—**1.** In Mt 19[4-6] || Mk 10[6-8] Jesus refers to Gn 1[27]. His answer to the Pharisees is intended to show that the provision made for divorce in the Mosaic law (Dt 24[1]) was only a concession to the hardness of men's hearts. The truer and deeper view of marriage must be based on a morality which takes its stand upon the primeval nature of man and woman. And with His quotation He couples one from Gn 2[24] (see also Eph 5[21]). The same result is reached in Mt., but with a transposition of the two parts of the argument.

2. In Lk 3[38] the ancestry of Jesus is traced up to Adam. As a Gentile writing for Gentiles, St. Luke took every opportunity of insisting upon the universal power of the gospel. Jesus is not, as in St. Matthew's Gospel, a descendant of Abraham only, but of the man to whom all mankind trace their origin. But further, the same Evangelist who relates the fact of the Virgin-birth, and records that Christ was, in His own proper Person, 'Son of God' (1[35]), claims, by the closing words of the genealogy, that the first man, and hence every human being, is 'son of God.' As Jesus is both human and Divine, so the genealogy preserves the truth that all mankind partake of this twofold nature.

B. In the Epistles.—The truth taught by St. Luke is treated in its redemptive aspect by his master St. Paul.

1. 1 Co 15[22]. The solidarity of mankind in their physical union with Adam, and in their spiritual union with Christ, involves respectively universal death and life as a consequence of Adam's sin and of Christ's work.

2. In Ro 5[12-21] this is treated more fully.—(*a*) vv.[12-14]. *There is a parallelism between Adam and Christ.* Both had a universal effect upon mankind—in the case of Adam by a transmission of guilt, and therefore of death; the corresponding statement concerning Christ is postponed till v.[19], because St. Paul intervenes with a parenthesis dealing with those who lived before any specific commands were given in the Mosaic law, and yet who sinned, owing to the transmitted effects of Adam's fall, and therefore died. The Apostle, without attempting fully to reconcile them, places side by side the two aspects of the truth—the hereditary transmission of guilt, and moral responsibility; 'and thus death made its way to all men, *because all sinned.*'—(*b*) vv.[15-17]. *The contrast is far greater than the similarity*; in quality (v.[15]), in quantity (v.[16]), in character and consequences (v.[17]).—(*c*) *Summary* of the argument (vv.[18-21]).

3. 1 Co 15[44-47]. In the foregoing passages St. Paul deals with the practical moral results of union with Adam and Christ respectively. These verses (*a*) go behind that, and show that there is a radical difference between the *nature* of each; (*b*) look forward, and show that this difference has a vital bearing on the truth of man's resurrection.

(*a*) vv.[36-44]. It is shown, by illustrations from nature, that it is reasonable to believe man to exist in two different states, one far higher than the other. In vv.[44b. 45] St. Paul adapts Gn 2[7] (LXX), and reads into the words the doctrinal significance that the body of the first representative man became the vehicle of a 'psychical' nature, while the body of the Second is the organ of a 'pneumatical' nature. The second half of his statement—'the last Adam became a life-giving spirit'—appears to be based on a reminiscence of Messianic passages which speak of the work of the Divine Spirit, *e.g.* Is 11[1. 2], Jl 2[28-32].

(*b*) But as the living soul (*psyche*) preceded the life-giving spirit (*pneuma*), so it is with the development of mankind (v.[46]). As the first man had a nature in conformity with his origin from clay, while the Second has His origin 'from heaven' (v.[47]), so the nature of

some men remains earthy, while that of some has become heavenly (v.[48]). But further, in his present state man is the exact counterpart of the first man, because of his corporate union with him; but the time is coming when he shall become the exact counterpart of the Second Man (cf. Gn 2[26f.]), because of our spiritual union with Him (v.[49]).

4. In Ph 2[6] there is an implied contrast between 'Christ Jesus, who . . . deemed it not a thing to be snatched at to be on an equality with God,' and Adam, who took fruit from the tree of knowledge of good and evil, which God said had made him 'as one of us' (Gn 3[22]).

5. On 1 Ti 2[13f.] see EVE; and on Jude [14] see ENOCH.

A. H. M'NEILE.

ADAM (city).—A city in the Jordan valley, 'beside Zarethan' (Jos 3[16]); usually identified with *Jisr ed-Damieh*, near the confluence of the Jabbok and the Jordan, where there was once a bridge. Hiram, Solomon's worker in brass, may have had his furnace here (cf. 1 K 7[46]). G. L. ROBINSON.

ADAMAH.—A fortified city of Naphtali (Jos 19[36]); identified by Conder with '*Admah* on the plateau north of Bethshean; placed by the Palestine explorers at *ed-Damieh*, 5 miles S.W. of Tiberias. See ADAMI-NEKEB.

ADAMANT is twice (Ezk 3[9], Zec 7[12]) used in AV and RV as tr. of *shāmīr*, which is elsewhere rendered either 'brier' (Is 5[6] 7[23. 24. 25] 9[18] 10[17] 27[4] 32[13]) or 'diamond' (Jer 17[1]). 'Diamond,' which arose from 'adamant' by a variety of spelling ('adamant,' or 'adimant,' then 'diamant' or 'diamond'), has displaced 'adamant' as the name of the precious stone, 'adamant' being now used rhetorically to express extreme hardness.

ADAMI-NEKEB.—'The pass Adami' (Jos 19[33]), on the border of Naphtali. Neubauer and G. A. Smith identify it with *ed-Damieh*, 5 miles S.W. of Tiberias. See ADAMAH. G. L. ROBINSON.

ADAR (Ezr 6[15], Est 3[7. 13] 8[12] 9[1. 15ff.], 1 Mac 7[43. 49], 2 Mac 15[36], Est 10[13] 13[6] 16[20]).—The 12th month in the later Jewish Calendar. See TIME.

ADASA.—A town near Bethhoron (1 Mac 7[40. 45], Jos. *Ant.* XII. x. 5), now the ruin '*Adaseh* near Gibeon.

ADBEEL.—The third son of Ishmael (Gn 25[13], 1 Ch 1[29]), eponym of the N. Arab. tribe, which appears in cuneiform inscrip. as *Idiba'il* or *Idibi'al*, and which had its settlements S.W. of the Dead Sea.

ADDAN (1 Es 5[36]).—Some of the inhabitants of this place returned with Zerubbabel, but were unable to prove their true Isr. descent by showing to what clan or family they belonged (Ezr 2[59]). The name does not appear in the later lists in Ezr 10, Neh 10. In Neh 7[61] it appears as **Addon**.

ADDAR.—**1.** A town on the border of Judah south of Beersheba (Jos 15[3]). The site is unknown. **2.** See ARD.

ADDER.—See SERPENT.

ADDI.—An ancestor of Jesus, Lk 3[28].

ADDO.—The grandfather of the prophet Zechariah (1 Es 6[1]). See IDDO.

ADDON.—Neh 7[61]. See ADDAN.

ADDUS.—**1.** His 'sons' returned with Zerub. (1Es 5[34]); omitted in the parallel lists in Ezr 2, Neh 7. **2.** See JADDUS.

ADIDA.—A town in the Shephelah (Jos. *Ant.* XIII. vi. 5) fortified by Simon the Hasmonæan (1 Mac 12[38] 13[13]). See HADID.

ADIEL ('ornament of God').—**1.** A Simeonite prince, 1 Ch 4[36ff.]. **2.** A priest, 1 Ch 9[12]. **3.** The father of Azmaveth, David's treasurer, 1 Ch 27[25].

ADIN (Ezr 2[15] 8[6], Neh 7[20] 10[16], 1 Es 5[14]m 8[32]).—See ADINU.

ADINA.—A Reubenite chief, 1 Ch 11[42].

ADINO.—The present Heb. text of 2 S 23[8] is corrupt, the true reading being preserved in the parallel passage 1 Ch 11[11] 'Jashobeam, the son of a Hachmonite, he lifted up his spear.' The last clause, *hū 'ōrēr eth-hanīthō*, was corrupted into *hū 'adīnō ha'etsnī*, and then taken erroneously as a proper name, being treated as an alternative to the preceding 'Josheb-basshebeth, a Tahchemonite' (see JASHOBEAM).

ADINU (1 Es 5[14], called **Adin** in 8[32]).—His descendants returned with Zerub. to the number of 454 (1 Es 5[14], Ezr 2[15]) or 655 (Neh 7[20]). A second party of 51 (Ezr 8[6]) or 251 (1 Es 8[32]) accompanied Ezra. They are mentioned among 'the chiefs of the people' who sealed the covenant (Neh 10[16]).

ADITHAIM (Jos 15[36]).—A town of Judah in the Shephelah. The site is unknown.

ADLAI.—The father of Shaphat, one of David's herdsmen, 1 Ch 27[29].

ADMAH (Gn 10[19] 14[2. 8], Dt 29[23], Hos 11[8]).—One of the cities of the *Ciccar* or 'Round.' It is not noticed as overthrown in the account of the destruction of Sodom and Gomorrah (Gn 19), but is included in their catastrophe in the two later passages.

ADMATHA (Est 1[14]).—One of the seven wise men or counsellors of Ahasuerus, who were granted admittance to the king's presence (cf. 2 K 25[19]).

ADMIRATION.—This word in AV means no more than *wonder*, as Rev 17[6] 'I wondered with great admiration' (RV 'with a great wonder').

ADNA ('pleasure').—**1.** A contemporary of Ezra, who married a foreign wife (Ezr 10[30]). **2.** The head of the priestly house of Harim (Neh 12[15]).

ADNAH.—**1.** A Manassite officer of Saul who deserted to David at Ziklag (1 Ch 12[20]). **2.** An officer in Jehoshaphat's army (2 Ch 17[14]).

ADONI-BEZEK (perhaps a corrupted form of *Adonizedek*, Jos 10[1-27]).—A king of Bezek (a different place from that mentioned in 1 S 11[8]), who was defeated by Simeon and Judah. The mutilation inflicted upon him—the cutting off of the thumbs and great toes—was in order to render him harmless, while retaining him as a trophy; but he died on reaching Jerusalem. Adoni-bezek boasted of having mutilated seventy kings in a similar manner. The passage (Jg 1[5-7]) which speaks of Adoni-bezek does not appear to be intact; the original form probably gave more details.

W. O. E. OESTERLEY.

ADONIJAH ('Jah is Lord').—**1.** The fourth of the six sons of David who were born in Hebron; his mother was Haggith, a name which is possibly of Philistine origin (2 S 3[4]). The story of Adonijah (typical of many an Oriental court intrigue) is recorded in 1 K 1. 2[1-36]; as here recounted it permits of more than one interpretation, for that this passage has been subjected to an 'editorial' process can scarcely be doubted, and, in face of the difficulties of interpretation brought about by this, we are forced to reconstruct the course of events to some extent.

After the death of Absalom, Adonijah became the rightful heir to the throne; there was no sort of doubt about his right, it was taken for granted both by himself and by the people at large (1 K 2[15]). But Bathsheba, it appears, was anxious to secure the succession for her son, Solomon; with this object in view, she, assisted by the prophet Nathan, heads a party at the court inimical to the claims of Adonijah. It would not have been long before the friends of Adonijah discovered the intrigue that was on foot; and Adonijah, learning the peril he was in of losing his rightful succession, concerts means for counteracting the machinations of his enemies. The old, trusted servants of the kingdom, Joab and Abiathar, rally round him, as one would expect; he gathers his friends together at the stone of Zoheleth, and by the visible act of sacrificing, proclaims his kingship; this last was, however, an act of

unwisdom, as it gave a handle to his enemies, for king David was still alive. These, naturally on the alert, represent the gathering to David, now very aged, as an attempt to usurp the throne while he is yet alive; Bathsheba reminds David of his promise that Solomon, her son, should succeed him on the throne (1[17]) [this may or may not have been the case; there is no reference to it elsewhere, and it certainly does not accord with what we read in 1[6] 2[15]]; David, remembering perhaps the rebellion of Absalom (whom Adonijah seems to have resembled in temperament as well as in outward appearance), is easily prevailed upon to transfer the succession to Solomon (1[33ff.]). Even so it is very doubtful whether Bathsheba would have succeeded in her plan had it not been that she was enabled to gain Benaiah to her side; as captain of the king's body-guard (the Cherethites and Pelethites), Benaiah was the man upon whom the issue really depended, for he commanded the only armed troops that were immediately available. In an emergency such as this, everything would depend upon who could strike the first decisive blow. Had the old commander-in-chief Joab had time to assemble his forces, no doubt the issue would have been different; but Bathsheba and her friends had laid their plans too well, and they won the day. Adonijah is 'pardoned' (1[52. 53]); it would nave been dangerous, owing to the attitude of the people (2[15]), to put him to death until Solomon was secure on the throne; but as he was rightful heir, the safety of Solomon's throne could never be guaranteed as long as Adonijah was alive. Bathsheba was not the woman to be oblivious of this fact, accordingly she recommences her intrigues; she represents to Solomon that Adonijah is desirous of marrying Abishag the Shunammite, the maiden who was brought to David in his old age (1[3. 4]), and who, according to Oriental ideas, was regarded as one of the royal wives. Such a desire was naturally interpreted by Solomon as an intention of seeking the kingdom (2[22]), and self-preservation compelled him to decree Adonijah's death, a sentence which was carried out by Benaiah (v.[25]).

The above is not in entire accord with the Biblical account, which in its present form gives rise to a number of serious difficulties. We shall mention but two of these. The request which Adonijah asks Bathsheba to convey (2[17]) was the most grievous insult that could have been offered to the king; Adonijah would have known precisely what the result would be, viz. death to himself, unless supported by an army; but there is no hint that he contemplated an armed rising. Secondly, Bathsheba is quite the last person he would have asked to prefer this request; as mother of the king, and prime mover in the successful conspiracy which had robbed him of his succession, he would know better than to place himself so gratuitously within her power.

Adonijah is one of those men whose cruel fate and tragic death, both undeserved, must call forth deep sympathy and commiseration.

2. Perhaps=**Adonikam,** one of those that sealed the covenant (Neh 9[38] 10[16]).

3. One of those sent, in the third year of Jehoshaphat, to teach the Law in the cities of Judah (2 Ch 17[7-9]).

W. O. E. Oesterley.

ADONIKAM ('my Lord has arisen'), Ezr 2[13] 8[13], Neh 7[18], 1 Es 5[14] 8[39].—The head of a Jewish family after the Exile; apparently called in Neh 10[16] **Adonijah.**

ADONIRAM, ADORAM.—The latter name occurs 2 S 20[24], 1 K 12[18], and is probably a corruption of Adoniram. Adoniram superintended the levies employed in the public works during the reigns of David, Solomon, and Rehoboam. He was stoned to death by the rebellious Israelites when sent to them by Rehoboam (1 K 12[18]).

ADONIS.—The phrase rendered by EV 'pleasant plants,' and by RVm 'plantings of Adonis' (Is 17[10]), alludes to the miniature gardens whose rapid decline symbolized the death of this god, or rather the spring verdure of which he is a personification. This phase of the myth, which the Greeks obtained from the Semitic Tammuz cult, through the Phœnicians, where the god was worshipped under the title of Adon ('lord'), is used by Isaiah to depict the fading hope of Israel. See Tammuz.

N. Koenig.

ADONI-ZEDEK.—King of Jerusalem at the time of the invasion of Canaan by the Israelites under Joshua. After the Gibeonites had succeeded in making a league with Israel, he induced four other kings to unite with him against the invaders. Joshua came unexpectedly upon the allied kings, and utterly routed them. They were discovered in a cave at Makkedah, and brought before Joshua, who ordered them to be slain. Their bodies were hung up until the evening, when they were taken down and flung into the cave where they had hid themselves. The mouth of the cave was filled up with great stones (Jos 10[1-27]). Some have identified Adoni-zedek with Adoni-bezek of Jg 1[5].

ADOPTION.—The term 'adoption' is found five times in St. Paul's letters (Ro 8[15. 22] 9[4], Gal 4[5], Eph 1[5]), and not elsewhere in the NT. In Ro 9[4] reference is made to the favoured position of the Jews as the chosen people. To them belonged the adoption, the position of sons (Ex 4[22]). In the remaining passages St. Paul uses the word to describe the privileges of the Christian as opposed to the unbeliever. He is trying, as a rule, to bring home to Gentile readers the great change wrought by the coming of Christ. Though W. M. Ramsay has attempted to identify peculiarities of Syro-Greek law in Gal 4, and though it is true that 'no word is more common in Greek inscriptions of Hellenistic times: the idea like the word is native Greek,' yet St. Paul's use of the term seems to be based on Roman law. See Hastings' *ERE*, *s.v.*

Adoption in Roman law could be effected by a modified form of the method of sale known as mancipation. 'The Roman Mancipation required the presence, first, of all of the parties, the vendor and the vendee. . . . There were also no less than five witnesses; and an anomalous personage, the *libripens*, who brought with him a pair of scales to weigh the uncoined copper money of Rome. Certain formal gestures were made and sentences pronounced. The (purchaser) simulated the payment of a price by striking the scales with a piece of money, and the (vendor) ratified what had been done in a set form of words' (Maine, *Ancient Law*, vi.). The witnesses were necessary, especially in the age before written documents, to vouch for the regularity of the procedure, and to ensure the genuineness of the transaction.

Some of the details of the procedure are said to be reflected in the language of St. Paul. 'To redeem those under the law' (Gal 4[5]) suggests that God's action in sending His Son to buy out mankind from slavery to the Law, may be illustrated by the adopting parent's purchase of a son from his natural father.

Again, Dr. W. E. Ball (*Contemp. Rev.*, 1891) has pointed out that the work of the Spirit (Ro 8[16]) is parallel to the place of the five witnesses in the process of adoption. The reality of God's adoption is assured by the Spirit's witness. Dr. Ball brings out the general force of the metaphor thus. Any one who was made a son by adoption, severed all his former ties. Even his debts appear to have been cancelled. 'The adopted person became in the eyes of the law a new creature. He was born again into a new family. By the aid of this figure, the Gentile convert was enabled to realize in a vivid manner the fatherhood of God, brotherhood of the faithful, the obliteration of past penalties, the right to the mystic inheritance.' The figure of adoption describes clearly the effect of God's revelation of Himself as Father.

St. Paul speaks of adoption, as both present (Ro 8[15]) and future (v.[23]). With Pfleiderer we must distinguish three moments in adoption. It involves here and now, freedom from the Law, and the possession of the spirit of adoption which enables us to address God as our Father. Adoption will be completed by the redemption of our body, the inheritance with Christ in glory. 'Believers have this blessing (adoption) already, but only

in an inward relation and as Divine right, with which, however, the objective and real state does not yet correspond' (Meyer on Ro 8^{23}). With St. Paul's view of adoption now and adoption hereafter compare 1 Jn 3^{2}. In Eph 1^{5} adoption seems to mean that conforming to the character of Christ which begins here and is to be perfected in the future.

That the word 'adoption' does not represent believers as children of God by nature, is undeniable. But it would be a mistake to press the term as giving a complete account of St. Paul's views of the relations of God to man. Roman law afforded St. Paul illustrations rather than theories. It is not clear whether in Ro 8^{15} he conceives the spirit of sonship which cries 'Abba, Father,' to be received in baptism or at conversion, or on the other hand to be the natural cry of the human heart. But in any case, he has found the love of God in Christ, and the change in his life is such that the complete change produced in a man's condition by adoption is only a pale reflex of the Apostle's experience. See, further, INHERITANCE. H. G. WOOD.

ADORA (1 Mac 13^{20}).—The same as **Adoraim.**

ADORAIM (2 Ch 11^{9}).—A city of Judah fortified by Rehoboam on the S.W. of his mountain kingdom; now *Dûra*, a small village at the edge of the mountains W. of Hebron.

ADORAM.—See ADONIRAM.

ADORATION.—The word is not found in AV or RV, and even for the verb RV substitutes '**worship**' in Bel [4]; but both the idea and its expression in act are frequent.

Amongst the Hebrews the postures and gestures expressive of adoration underwent slight change in the course of time. Kissing the statue of a god (1 K 19^{18}, Hos 13^{2}; cf. Job 31^{27}) was an early Arab custom, and became a technical meaning of *adoratio* amongst the Romans; but in this usage the sense is identical with that of worship. Adoration proper was expressed by prostration to the ground, or even by lying prone with the face touching the ground (Gn 17^{3}, Jos 5^{14}, Job 1^{20}, Ps 95^{6} 99^{5}, Dn 3^{6}). As elsewhere, this posture was not at first confined to intercourse with God. As an act of special courtesy it was adopted towards kings (2 S 14^{4}), towards strangers of mysterious quality (Gn 18^{2}), as an expression of close and respectful attachment (1 S 20^{41}), or with the design to conciliate (Gn 33^{3}, 1 S 25^{23}, Est 8^{3}, Mt 18^{26}), or to honour (2 K 4^{37}). 'Sat before the Lord' (2 S 7^{18}) may refer to a special and solemn mode of sitting, as in 1 K 18^{42}; the Arabs are said to have sat during a part of their worship in such a way that the head could easily be bent forward and made to touch the ground.

Outside the Christian sphere, prostration continued in the East to be a mark of submission and homage, rendered to such men as were for any reason or even by convention invested in thought with Divine qualities or powers. The NT, by example and less frequently by precept, confines this fullest mode of worship to God, and protests against its use towards men. Jairus' act (Mk 5^{22}, Lk 8^{41}) was prompted by intense yearning, a father's self-abandonment in the sore sickness of his child, and must not be taken as implying a full recognition of Christ's Divinity. Like Mary's posture at Bethany (Jn 11^{32}), it was a preparation for the attitude of the disciples after their visit to the empty tomb (Mt 28^{9}). Whatever Cornelius intended (Ac $10^{25f.}$), Peter found an opportunity to lay down the rule that no man under any circumstances is an appropriate object of adoration; and John repeats that rule twice not far from the end of Scripture (Rev 19^{10} $22^{8f.}$). The attempt to alienate from God His peculiar honours is a work of Satan (Mt 4^{9}); and adoration naturally follows a conviction of the presence of God (1 Co 14^{25}).

R. W. MOSS.

ADRAMMELECH.—1. Adrammelech and Anammelech (wh. see), the gods of Sepharvaim to whom the colonists, brought to Samaria from Sepharvaim, burnt their children in the fire (2 K 17^{31}). There is no good explanation of the name: it was once supposed to be for *Adar-malik*, 'Adar the prince.' But Adar is not known to be a Babylonian god, and compound Divine names are practically unknown, nor were human sacrifices offered to Babylonian gods.

2. Adrammelech and Sharezer (wh. see) are given in 2 K 19^{37} as the sons of Sennacherib who murdered their father. [The *Kethîbh* of Kings omits 'his sons']. The Babylonian Chronicle says: 'On the 20th of Tebet, Sennacherib, king of Assyria, was killed by his son in an insurrection'; and all other native sources agree in ascribing the murder to one son, but do not name him. Adrammelech is impossible as an Assyrian personal name, and probably arises here from some corruption of the text. The sons of Sennacherib known to us are Ashur-nādin-shum, king of Babylon, B.C. 700–694; Esarhaddon, who succeeded his father, B.C. 681; Ardi-Bēlit, Crown Prince, B.C. 694; Ashur-shum-ushabshi, for whom Sennacherib built a palace in Tarbisi; Ashur-ilu-muballitsu, for whom Sennacherib built a palace in Asshur; and Shar-etir-Ashur. Possibly Ardi-Bēlit is intended. C. H. W. JOHNS.

ADRAMYTTIUM.—A town of Mysia (in the Roman province of Asia) on the Adramyttene Gulf, originally a native State, and only later Hellenized by the Delians, who had been driven away from home by the Athenians (422 B.C.). In Roman times it was a place of considerable importance both politically and intellectually. It possessed a harbour, and a ship belonging to the place carried St. Paul from Cæsarea by Sidon and Cyprus to Myra (Ac 27^{2-6}). A. SOUTER.

ADRIA (more correctly *Hadria*).—The name was at first confined to the northern part of what we call the Adriatic Sea, or to a stretch of land near that, and was derived from a once important Etruscan city, Atria, situated at the mouth of the Po. The rest of what we call the Adriatic Sea appears to have been at that time included in the term Ionian Sea or Ionian Gulf. It was only later, with the growth of the Syracusan colonies on the coasts of Italy and Illyria, that the name 'Hadria' came to include the whole Adriatic, and even then, at first, it was the practice to call the southernmost part the Ionian Sea. This reduction of the Ionian Sea to a part of Hadria led, when the name 'Ionian Sea' was transferred to the Sicilian Sea in the W. of Greece, to a misuse of the term 'Hadria.' It was extended to include the Tarentine Gulf, the Sicilian Sea, the Corinthian Gulf, and even the waters between Crete and Malta, as in Ac 27^{27}. A. SOUTER.

ADRIEL.—Son of Barzillai, the Meholathite. He married Merab, the eldest daughter of Saul, who should have been given to David as the slayer of Goliath (1 S 18^{19}, 2 S 21^{8} [in the latter 'Michal' is a mistake for 'Merab']).

ADUEL.—An ancestor of Tobit, To 1^{1}; a variant form of **Adiel**, 1 Ch 4^{36}.

ADULLAM.—A city in the Shephelah, assigned to Judah; named between Jarmuth and Socoh (Jos 15^{35} etc.). It is probably the modern *'Id el-Ma'*, about 8 miles N.W. of *Beit Jibrîn*. Rehoboam fortified it (2 Ch 11^{7}), and the children of Judah returned to it after the captivity (Neh 11^{30}). The Cave of Adullam, the refuge of David (1 S 22^{1} etc.), must have been one of those in the adjoining valley. **Adullamite** (Gn 38^{1} etc.) = an inhabitant of Adullam. W. EWING.

ADULTERY.—See CRIMES, MARRIAGE.

ADUMMIM. THE ASCENT OF (Jos 15^{7} 18^{17}), is the steep pass in which the road ascends from Jericho to Jerusalem. Its modern name, *Tal'at ed-Dumm*, 'the ascent of blood' or 'red,' is most probably due to the red marl which is so distinctive a feature of the pass.

In this pass, notorious for robberies and murders, is the traditional 'inn' of Lk 10[34].

ADVENT.—See Parousia.

ADVERTISE.—Ru 4[4] 'I thought to advertise thee,' *i.e.* inform thee; so Nu 24[14].

ADVOCATE (Gr. *paraklētos*).—The word occurs only in the writings of St. John: four times in his Gospel (14[16. 26] 15[26] 16[7]) of the Holy Spirit, and once in his 1st Epistle (2[1]) of Jesus. It is unfortunate that our English Versions have rendered it in the former 'Comforter' (RVm 'or *Advocate*, or *Helper*, Gr. *Paraclete*') and in the latter 'Advocate' (RVm 'or *Comforter*, or *Helper*, Gr. *Paraclete*').

'**Comforter,**' though a true and beautiful designation of the Holy Spirit, is an impossible rendering. It is true that *parakalein* means either 'comfort' (Mt 5[4], 2 Co 1[4] 7[6]) or 'call to one's side' (Ac 28[20]), but *paraklētos* must be associated with the latter signification. It is a passive form, and denotes not 'one who comforts (*parakalei*)' but 'one who is called in to aid (*parakaleitai*).' It was a forensic term, signifying *the counsel for the defence* and corresponding exactly to our 'advocate' (Lat. *advocatus*). Singularly enough, the Greek-speaking Fathers mostly took the word in the impossible sense of 'Comforter,' influenced perhaps by the false analogy of *Menahem* (*Consolator*), a Jewish name for the Messiah. Cf. Cyril of Jerusalem, *Cat.* xvi. 20: 'He is called *Parakletos* because He comforts (*parakalei*) and consoles and helps our infirmity.' Were it understood in its literal sense of 'Strengthener' (*Confortator*), 'Comforter' would be a fair rendering; but as a matter of fact it originated in an error; nor does it suggest the true idea to the English reader. It should be observed that 'comfortless' in Jn 14[18] lends it no support. RV gives 'desolate'; literally, as in the margin of both Versions, 'orphans.'

The substitution of 'Advocate' for 'Comforter' reveals a wealth of meaning in our Lord's address to the Eleven on that night in which He was betrayed. During His earthly ministry He had been God's Advocate with men, pleading God's cause with them and seeking to win them for Him. He was going away, but God would not be left without an Advocate on the earth. 'I will pray the Father, and another Advocate he will give you, that he may be with you for ever—the Spirit of Truth.' Not received, because unrecognized, by the unspiritual world, the Advocate would be recognized and welcomed by believers (Jn 14[16. 17. 25. 26]). And He would testify to them about Jesus, the unseen Lord, and they would repeat His testimony to the world (15[26. 27]). And He would make their testimony effective, 'convicting the world regarding sin, righteousness, and judgment' (16[8-11]).

Jesus told the Eleven that it was 'expedient for them that he should go away,' since His departure was the condition of the advent of the Advocate (16[7]); and 1 Jn 2[1] furnishes a profound commentary on this declaration. Jesus in the days of His flesh was God's Advocate on the earth, pleading with men for God. The Holy Spirit has taken His place, and performs this office. But Jesus is still an Advocate. He is the Advocate of sinners up in heaven, pleading their cause with God, and, in the language of St. Paul (Ro 8[34]), 'making intercession for them.'

And thus it was expedient for us that He should go away, that we might enjoy a double advocacy—the Holy Spirit's here, pleading with us for God; and that of Jesus in the court of heaven, pleading with God for us. There are three dispensations in the history of redemption, each richer and fuller than the last: (1) The OT dispensation, under which men knew only of God in high heaven; (2) that of the Incarnation, under which the Father came near to men in Jesus Christ and by His gracious advocacy appealed to their hearts; (3) that of the Holy Spirit, under which the Holy Spirit is the Father's Advocate here, and Jesus 'our Advocate above, our Friend before the throne of love.' David Smith.

Æedias (1 Es 9[27]).—One of those who agreed to put away their 'strange' wives. The name is probably a corruption for **Elijah** of Ezr 10[26].

Æneas.—The name of a paralytic at Lydda who was cured by Peter (Ac 9[33. 34]).

Ænon.—Jn 3[23], meaning 'springs'; a site near Salim [wh. see].

Æsora (Jth 4[4]).—An unknown Samaritan town, possibly mod. *Asireh*, N.E. of Shechem.

Agabus.—A Christian prophet of Jerusalem (Ac 11[27ff. 21 10f.]), whose prediction of a famine over the (civilized) world occasioned the sending of alms from Antioch to Jerusalem. The famine happened, not simultaneously in all countries, in Claudius' reign (Suetonius, Tacitus). Agabus also foretold St. Paul's imprisonment, by binding his feet and hands with the Apostle's girdle (cf. Jer 13[1ff.]). A. J. Maclean.

Agadê (formerly but erroneously read Aganê).—A city of Northern Babylonia and the capital of Sargon, the founder of the first Semitic empire (*c.* B.C. 3800). As was first discovered by George Smith, Agadê was the Semitic Akkadu (see Akkad). It stood near Sippara or Sepharvaim (wh. see), and may have been in later times a suburb of the latter town. A. H. Sayce.

Agag.—1. Nu 24[7], probably a copyist's error: LXX has *Gog*. **2.** 1 S 15, the king of Amalek, whom Saul defeated and spared; some Gr. MSS name his father *Aser* (15[33]). Whether he met his fate bravely or timidly cannot be determined from the extant text (v.[32]). Samuel considered him to be under the ban of extermination, and therefore killed him as a religious act (v.[33]). J. Taylor.

Agagite.—The designation of Haman (Est 3[1. 10] 8[3. 5] 9[24]). Josephus (*Ant.* xi. vi. 5) calls him an Amalekite. The epithet in Esther indicates that, as Agag was Saul's adversary, so Haman was the foe of this other Benjamite. The LXX reads *Bugaios*, 3[1] 8[5], omits at 3[10], and at 9[24] 16[10] has *Macedonian*, a word of evil connotation after Antiochus Epiphanes. J. Taylor.

Again.—The Eng. word 'again' means in AV either 'a second time,' as Ph 4[16], 'ye sent once and again'; or 'back,' as in Mt 11[4] 'go and show John again those things which ye do hear' (*i.e.* 'go back and show John').

Agape.—See Love Feast.

Agar.—The sons of Agar are mentioned in Bar 3[23]; they are called **Hagarenes** in Ps 83[6], and **Hagrites** in 1 Ch 5[19. 20] 27[31]. Their country lay east of Gilead.

Agate.—See Jewels and Precious Stones.

Age, Aged, Old Age.—In the OT advancing age is represented by words of different root-meanings. The aged man is *zāqen*, perhaps 'grey-bearded' (Gn 48[10], 2 S 19[32], Job 12[20] 32[9], Ps 71[18], Jer 6[11]); 'old age' is also *sêbhāh*, *i.e.* 'hoary-headedness' (Gn 15[15], 1 K 14[4]; cf. Gn 42[38], Ps 71[18]). According to the Mishna (*Ab.* v. 21) the latter word implies a greater age (70) than the former (60). But in Job 15[10] (cf. 29[8]) *yāshīsh*, *i.e.* 'very aged,' marks a further advance in years, of which the sign is a *withering* of strength. Ps 90[10] is the only passage in which a definite period is fixed for human life. The idea that 'hale old age' (*kelach*) is a blessing is expressed in Job 5[26]; the contrast is furnished by the gloomy picture (30[2]) of the 'fathers' whose old age lacks vigour.

The wisdom of the old was proverbial (Job 12[12] 32[7]), though there were exceptions (Job 32[9], Ps 119[100]). The experience of the older men fitted them for positions of trust and authority; hence by a natural transition of thought 'elders' became an official title Ex 3[16], Ac 11[30]). Respect is to be shown to the old (Lv 19[32], Pr 23[22]), and the decay of reverence for age is an evil

omen (Dt 28[50], 1 K 12[8], Is 47[6]). It was to the grandmother of Obed that the Hebrew women said 'he shall be . . . a nourisher of thine old age' (Ru 4[15]); the dutiful affection of children's children illumined the gracious message of Israel's God: 'even to old age I am he, and even to hoar hairs will I carry you' (Is 46[4]).

J. G. Tasker.

AGEE.—The father of Shammah, one of 'the Three' (2 S 23[11]).

AGGABA (1 Es 5[29]).—In Ezr 2[45] **Hagabah**, Neh 7[48] **Hagaba.**

AGGÆUS.—The form used in 1 Es 6[1] 7[3] and 2 Es 1[40] for Haggai (wh. see).

AGIA (1 Es 5[34]).—In Ezr 2[57], Neh 7[59] **Hattil.**

AGONY (Lk 22[44]) is not a translation but a transliteration of the Greek *agōnia*, equivalent to St. Matthew's 'sorrowful and sore troubled' (26[37]) and St. Mark's 'greatly amazed and sore troubled' (14[33]). The word does not mean 'agony' in the English sense. *Agōn* was 'a contest,' and *agōnia* the trepidation of a combatant about to enter the lists. Christ's Agony in Gethsemane was the horror which overwhelmed Him as He faced the final ordeal. David Smith.

AGRAPHA.—See Unwritten Sayings.

AGRICULTURE.—Throughout the whole period of their national existence, agriculture was the principal occupation of the Hebrews. According to the priestly theory, the land was the property of J″; His people enjoyed the usufruct (Lv 25[23]). In actual practice, the bulk of the land was owned by the towns and village communities, each free husbandman having his allotted portion of the common lands. The remainder included the Crown lands and the estates of the nobility, at least under the monarchy. Husbandry—the Biblical term for agriculture (2 Ch 26[10])—was highly esteemed, and was regarded as dating from the very earliest times (Gn 4[2]). It was J″ Himself who taught the husbandman his art (Is 28[26]).

Of the wide range of topics embraced by agriculture in the wider significance of the term, some of the more important will be treated in separate articles, such as Cart, Flax, Food, Garden, Olive, Ox, Thorns, Vine, etc. The present article will deal only with the more restricted field of the cultivation of the principal cereals. These were, in the first rank, wheat and barley; less important were the crops of millet and spelt, and those of the pulse family—lentils, beans, and the like.

1. The agricultural year began in the latter half of October, with the advent of the early rains, which soften the ground baked by the summer heat. Then the husbandman began to prepare his fields for the winter seed by means of the **plough.** From the details given in post-Biblical literature, it is evident that the Hebrew plough differed but little from its modern Syrian counterpart (see *PEFSt*, 1891). The essential part or 'body' of the latter, corresponding in position to the modern plough-tail or 'stilt,' consists of a piece of tough wood bent and pointed at the foot to receive an iron sheath or share (1 S 13[20]), the upper end being furnished with a short cross-piece to serve as a handle. The pole is usually in two parts: one stout and curved, through the lower end of which the 'body' is passed just above the share; at the other end is attached the lighter part of the pole, through the upper end of which a stout pin is passed to serve as attachment for the yoke. The plough was usually drawn by two or more oxen (Am 6[12]), or by asses (Is 30[24]), but the employment of one of each kind was forbidden (Dt 22[10]). The **yoke** is a short piece of wood—the **bar** of Lv 26[13] (RV)—fitted with two pairs of converging pegs, the lower ends connected by thongs, to receive the necks of the draught animals. Two smaller pegs in the middle of the upper side hold in position a ring of willow, rope, or other material, which is passed over the end of the pole and kept in position by the pin above mentioned. As the ploughman required but one hand to guide the plough, the other was free to wield the **ox-goad,** a light wooden pole shod at one end with an iron spike wherewith to prick the oxen (cf. Ac 9[5]), and having at the other a small spade with which to clean the plough-share. Gardens, vineyards (Is 5[6] RV), and parts too difficult to plough were worked with the hoe or mattock (Is 7[25]).

The prevailing mode of **sowing** was by hand, as in the parable of the Sower, the seed being immediately ploughed in. It was possible, however, to combine both operations by fixing a seed-box to the plough-tail. The seed passed through an aperture at the bottom of the box and was conducted by a pipe along the tail. It thus fell into the drill behind the share and was immediately covered in. The patriarch Abraham was credited by Jewish legend with the invention of this form of seeding-plough (Bk. of Jubilees 11[23ff.]). This mode of sowing is probably referred to in Is 28[25] ('the wheat in rows' RV). There is no evidence that **harrows** were used for covering in the seed.

2. During the period of growth the crops were exposed to a variety of risks, such as the delay or scanty fall of the spring rains (the 'latter rain' of the OT, Am 4[9]), blasting by the hot sirocco wind, mildew, hail—these three are named together in Hag 2[17]; cf. Dt 28[22], Am 4[9] —and worst of all a visitation of locusts. The productiveness of the soil naturally varied greatly (cf. Mt 13[8]). Under favourable conditions, as in the Hauran, wheat is said to yield a hundredfold return.

3. Owing to the wide range of climatic conditions in Palestine, the time of the **harvest** was not uniform, being earliest in the semi-tropical Jordan valley, and latest in the uplands of Galilee. The average harvest period, reckoned by the Hebrew legislation (Lv 23[15], Dt 16[9]) to cover seven weeks, may be set down as from the middle of April to the beginning of June, the barley ripening about a fortnight sooner than the wheat.

The standing corn was reaped with the **sickle** (Dt 16[9] RV), the stalks being cut considerably higher up than with us. The handfuls of ears were gathered into sheaves, and these into heaps (not into shocks) for transportation to the threshing-floor. The **corners** of the field were left to be reaped, and the fallen ears to be gleaned, by the poor and the stranger (Lv 19[9f.], Dt 24[19], Ru 2[2ff.]).

For small quantities the ears were stripped by beating with a stick (Ru 2[17], Jg 6[11] RV), otherwise the threshing was done at the village **threshing-floor.** This was a large, specially prepared (Jer 51[33] RV) space on an elevated situation. Hither the corn was brought on asses or on a cart (Am 2[13]), and piled in heaps. Enough sheaves were drawn out to form a layer, 6 to 8 ft. wide, all round the heap. Over this layer several oxen, unmuzzled according to law (Dt 25[4]), and harnessed together as represented on the Egyptian monuments, might be driven. More effective work, however, was got from the **threshing-drag** and the **threshing-wagon,** both still in use in the East, the former being the favourite in Syria, the latter in Egypt. The former consists of two or three thick wooden planks held together by a couple of cross-pieces, the whole measuring from 5 to 7 ft. in length by 3 to 4 ft. in breadth. The underside of the drag is set with sharp pieces of hardstone (cf. Is 41[15]), which strip the ears as the drag, on which the driver sits or stands, is driven over the sheaves, and at the same time cut up the stalks into small lengths. The threshing-wagon is simply a wooden frame containing three or more rollers set with parallel metal discs, and supporting a seat for the driver. The former instrument was used by Araunah the Jebusite (2 S 24[22]), while the latter is probably referred to in 'the threshing wheel' of Pr 20[26] (RV). Both are mentioned together in the original of Is 28[27].

After the threshing came the **winnowing.** By means of a five- or six-pronged fork, the **'fan'** of the OT and

NT, the mass of grain, chaff, and chopped straw is tossed into the air in the western evening breeze. The chaff is carried farthest away (Ps 1[4]), the light morsels of straw to a shorter distance, while the heavy grains of wheat or barley fall at the winnower's feet. After being thoroughly sifted with a variety of sieves (Am 9[9], Is 30[28]), the grain was stored in jars for immediate use, and in cisterns (Jer 41[8]), or in specially constructed granaries, the '**barns**' of Mt 6[26].

4. Of several important matters, such as irrigation, the terracing of slopes, manuring of the fields, the conditions of lease, etc.—regarding which Vogelstein's treatise *Die Landwirtschaft in Palästina* is a mine of information for the Roman period—there is little direct evidence in Scripture. Agriculture, as is natural, bulks largely in the legislative codes of the Pentateuch. Some of the provisions have already been cited. To these may be added the solemn injunction against removing a neighbour's 'landmarks,' the upright stones marking the boundaries of his fields (Dt 19[14] 27[17]), the humanitarian provision regarding strayed cattle (Ex 23[4], Dt 22[1ff.]), the law that every field must lie fallow for one year in seven (Ex 23[10f.]; see, for later development, Sabbatical Year), the law forbidding the breeding of hybrids and the sowing of a field with two kinds of seed (Lv 19[19] RV), and the far-reaching provision as to the inalienability of the land (Lv 25[8ff.]).

The fact that no department of human activity has enriched the language of Scripture, and in consequence the language of the spiritual life in all after ages, with so many appropriate figures of speech, is a striking testimony to the place occupied by agriculture in the life and thought of the Hebrew people. A. R. S. Kennedy.

AGRIPPA.—See Herod, Nos. 6. 7.

AGUE.—See Medicine.

AGUR.—Son of Jakeh; author of the whole or part of Pr 30, one of the latest sections of the book. His name may signify 'hireling' or 'assembler'; cf. Vulg. 'Verba *Congregantis filii Vomentis*.' Some have thought that *massa* (AV 'the prophecy,' RV 'the oracle'), which otherwise is out of place, is the name of his country (Gn 25[14]). J. Taylor.

AHAB.—1. Son of Omri, and the most noted member of his dynasty, king of Israel from about 875 to about 853 B.C. The account of him in our Book of Kings is drawn from two separate sources, one of which views him more favourably than the other. From the secular point of view he was an able and energetic prince; from the religious point of view he was a dangerous innovator, and a patron of foreign gods. His alliance with the Phœnicians was cemented by his marriage with Jezebel, daughter of Ethbaal, king of Tyre (1 K 16[31]), who was also, if we may trust Josephus, priest of Astarte. At a later date Ahab entered into alliance with Judah, giving his daughter Athaliah in marriage to Jehoram, son of Jehoshaphat (2 K 8[18]). His wealth is indicated by the ivory palace which he built (1 K 21[1] 22[39]).

The reign of Ahab was marked by frequent wars with the Syrian kingdom of Damascus. Benhadad, the king of that country, was so successful that he claimed suzerainty over Israel—a claim which Ahab was at first disposed to admit (1 K 20[2ff.]). But when Benhadad went so far as to threaten Samaria with indiscriminate plunder, Ahab resisted. In two campaigns he defeated the invaders, even taking their haughty leader prisoner. Contrary to the advice of the prophetic party, he treated his captive magnanimously, and concluded an alliance with him, stipulating only that the cities formerly taken from Israel should be restored. The alliance was one for trade and commerce, each party having bazaars assigned him in the capital of the other (1 K 20[34]). It is not improbable also that common measures of defence were planned against the Assyrians, who were showing hostile intentions in the region of the Lebanon. In the battle of Karkar, which was fought against these invaders in the year 854, Ahab was present with ten thousand troops. This we learn from the Assyrian inscriptions.

The religious innovation for which Ahab is held responsible by the Hebrew writers, was the introduction of the Phœnician Baal as one of the gods of Israel. It is clear that Ahab had no idea of displacing Jahweh altogether, for he gave his children names which indicated his devotion to Him. But to please his wife he allowed her to introduce and foster the worship of her own divinities. Her thought was that with the religion of her own country she would introduce its more advanced civilization. The champion of Jahweh's exclusive right to the worship of Israel was Elijah. This prophet, by his bold challenge to the priests of Baal, roused the anger of Jezebel, and was obliged to flee the country (1 K 17–19). Other prophets do not seem to have been disturbed, for we find them at the court of Ahab in the last year of his life (22[6]). These, however, were subservient to the crown, while Elijah was not only a protestant against religious changes, but the champion of the common people, whose rights were so signally violated in the case of Naboth.

Ahab died fighting for his people. The Syrian war had again broken out—apparently because Benhadad had not kept his agreement. Ahab therefore tried to recover Ramoth-gilead, being assisted by Jehoshaphat of Judah. In the first encounter Ahab was slain, his reputation for courage being vindicated by the direction of his adversary to his soldiers—'Fight neither with small nor with great, but only with the king of Israel' (1 K 22[31]).

2. A false prophet 'roasted in the fire' by the king of Babylon (Jer 29[21f.]). H. P. Smith.

AHARAH.—See Ahiram.

AHARHEL.—A descendant of Judah (1 Ch 4[8]).

AHASBAI.—Father of Eliphelet (2 S 23[34]), and a member of the family of Maacah, settled at Beth-maacah (20[14]), or a native of the Syrian kingdom of Maacah (10[6. 8]).

AHASUERUS (old Pers. *Khshayārshā*).—The Persian king (B.C. 485–465) known to Greek history as **Xerxes.** Complaints against the Jews were addressed to him (Ezr 4[6]). It is he who figures in the Book of Esther; Dn 9[1] erroneously makes him father of Darius the Mede, confusing the latter with Darius Hystaspis, the father of Xerxes. The Ahasuerus of To 14[15] is Cyaxares. J. Taylor.

AHAVA was a settlement in Babylonia lying along a stream of the same name, probably a large canal near the Euphrates. None of the conjectures as to the exact locality can be verified. It was here that Ezra mustered his people before their departure for Jerusalem (Ezr 8[15. 21. 31]). Some district north or north-west of Babylon, near the northern boundary of Babylonia, is most probable. J. F. McCurdy.

AHAZ, son and successor of Jotham, king of Judah, came to the throne about B.C. 734. The only notable event of his reign, so far as we know, was the invasion made by his northern neighbours, Pekah of Israel and Rezin of Damascus. These two kings had made an alliance against the Assyrians, and were trying to compel Ahaz to join the coalition. His refusal so exasperated them that they planned his deposition and the appointment of a creature of their own to the throne. Ahaz did not venture to take the field, but shut himself up in Jerusalem and strengthened its fortifications. It was perhaps at this time of need that he sacrificed his son as a burnt-offering to Jahweh. Isaiah tried to encourage the faint-hearted king, pointing out that his enemies had no prospect of success or even of long existence. But Ahaz had more faith in political measures than in the prophetic word. He sent a message to Tiglath-pileser, king of Assyria, submitting himself unreservedly to him. The embassy carried substantial evidence of

vassalage in the shape of all the gold and silver from the palace treasury and from the Temple (2 K 16, Is 7).

Tiglath-pileser was already on the march, and at once laid siege to Damascus, thus freeing Jerusalem from its enemies. Two years later the Assyrian king entered Damascus, and was visited there by Ahaz. The result of the visit was the construction of a new altar for the Temple at Jerusalem, and apparently the introduction of Assyrian divinities (2 K 16$^{10ff.}$). H. P. Smith.

AHAZIAH.—Two kings of this name are mentioned in the OT, one in each of the Israelite kingdoms.

1. Ahaziah of Israel was the son of Ahab, and ruled after him only two years or parts of years. He is said to have been a worshipper of Baal, that is, to have continued the religious policy of his father. By a fall from a window of his palace he was seriously injured, and, after lingering awhile, died from the accident. The Moabites, who had been subject to Israel, took this opportunity to revolt. Ahaziah is accused of sending messengers to inquire of the celebrated oracle at Ekron, and is said unexpectedly to have received his answer from Elijah (2 K 1).

2. Ahaziah of Judah was son of Jehoram and grandson of Jehoshaphat. Under the influence of his mother, who was a daughter of Ahab and Jezebel, it is not surprising to read that he walked in the ways of Ahab. All that we know of him is that he continued the league with Israel, and that, going to visit his uncle Jehoram in Jezreel, he was involved in his fate at the revolt of Jehu (2 K 9^{27}). H. P. Smith.

AHBAN.—A Judahite, son of Abishur (1 Ch 2^{29}).

AHER ('another').—A Benjamite (1 Ch 7^{12}).

AHI ('brother').—**1.** A Gadite (1 Ch 5^{15}). **2.** An Asherite (1 Ch 7^{34}). But the reading is in neither case free from doubt.

AHIAH.—See Ahijah.

AHIAM.—One of David's heroes (1 Ch 11^{35}).

AHIAN ('fraternal').—A Manassite, described as 'son of Shemida' (1 Ch 7^{19}); but the name is scarcely that of an individual; note in the context Abiezer and Shechem, and cf. Nu 26$^{31ff.}$

AHIEZER ('brother is help').—**1.** Son of Ammishaddai, one of the tribal princes who represented Dan at the census and on certain other occasions (Nu 1^{12} 2^{25} 7$^{66.\ 71}$ 10^{25} (P)). **2.** The chief of the Benjamite archers who joined David at Ziklag (1 Ch 12$^{1-3}$).

AHIHUD ('brother is majesty').—**1.** The prince of the tribe of Asher (Nu 34^{27} (P)). **2.** A Benjamite (1 Ch 8$^{6.\ 7}$).

AHIJAH.—**1.** 1 S 14$^{3.\ 18}$ (AV *Ahiah*), a priest, son of Ahitub, who had charge of the oracular ephod and consulted it for Saul [read 'ephod' for 'ark' at v.^{18}]. Ahijah is probably to be identified with Ahimelech (21^{1}). **2.** 1 K 4^{3}, one of Solomon's secretaries, who conducted the king's correspondence and wrote out his decrees. His father Shisha seems to have held the same office under David. **3.** 1 K 11$^{29f.}$ 12^{15}, 2 Ch 10^{15}, a prophet of Shiloh, who foretold the division of the kingdom and the elevation of Jeroboam. Subsequently he predicted the death of Jeroboam's son (1 K 14$^{2ff.}$). **4.** 1 K 15$^{27.\ 33}$, father of Baasha. **5.** 1 Ch 2^{25} has an Ahijah, son of Jerahmeel, but is hopelessly corrupt. The LXX gets rid of the name. **6.** 1 Ch 8^{7} (AV *Ahiah*), son of Ehud, a Benjamite: at v.^{4} **Ahoah,** but LXX *Ahijah*. **7.** 1 Ch 11^{36}, one of David's heroes, from Palon, an unknown locality: perhaps Giloh should be read, seeing that Palon has already been mentioned (v.^{27}). **8.** 1 Ch 26^{20}, a Levite, overseer of the Temple treasures. But we ought probably to substitute the words, 'their brethren.' **9.** Neh 10^{26} (RV **Ahiah**), a layman who joined Nehemiah in signing the covenant. J. Taylor.

AHIKAM.—One of the deputation sent by king Josiah to Huldah the prophetess (2 K 22$^{12.\ 14}$, 2 Ch 34^{20}). Later he used his influence to protect Jeremiah from the violence of the populace during the reign of Jehoiakim (Jer 26^{24}).

AHILUD.—**1.** Father of Jehoshaphat, the chronicler under David and Solomon (2 S 8^{16} 20^{24}, 1 K 4^{3}, 1 Ch 18^{15}). **2.** Father of Baana, one of Solomon's twelve commissariat officers (1 K 4^{12}).

AHIMAAZ.—**1.** Saul's father-in-law (1 S 14^{50}). **2.** Son of Zadok. He and Jonathan were stationed outside Jerusalem to learn Absalom's plans; after an adventurous journey they succeeded in warning David (2 S 15$^{27.\ 36}$ 17$^{17-21}$). Ahimaaz was eager to carry the tidings of Absalom's defeat; but Joab preferred to send by an Ethiopian slave the unwelcome news of the prince's death. Obtaining leave to follow, Ahimaaz outstripped this man, was recognized by the watchman through the style of his running, but left the Ethiopian to disclose the worst (2 S 18$^{19-32}$). It may be the same person who appears later as Solomon's son-in-law and commissioner in Naphtali (1 K 4^{15}). J. Taylor.

AHIMAN.—**1.** One of the sons of Anak, at Hebron (Nu 13^{22}): the three clans, of which this was one, were either destroyed by Judah (Jg 1^{10}), or expelled by the clan Caleb (Jos 15^{14}). **2.** A family of Levites who had charge of that gate of the Temple through which the king entered (1 Ch 9$^{17f.}$). J. Taylor.

AHIMELECH.—**1.** Son of Ahitub, and grandson of Phinehas. He either succeeded his brother Ahijah in the priesthood, or more probably was the same person under another name (1 S 14$^{3.\ 18}$). For his fate see Doeg. In 2 S 8^{17} and 1 Ch 18^{16} 24^{6} the names of Abiathar and Ahimelech have been transposed. **2.** A Hittite, who joined David when a fugitive (1 S 26^{6}).

AHIMOTH.—A Kohathite Levite (1 Ch 6^{25}).

AHINADAB.—Son of Iddo, one of the 12 commissariat officers appointed by Solomon (1 K 4^{14}).

AHINOAM.—**1.** Daughter of Ahimaaz and wife of Saul (1 S 14^{50}). **2.** A Jezreelitess whom David married after Michal had been taken from him. She was the mother of David's firstborn, Amnon (1 S 25^{43} 27^{3} 30^{5}, 2 S 2^{2} 3^{2}, 1 Ch 3^{1}).

AHIO.—**1.** Son of Abinadab (No. 3), and brother of Uzzah. He helped to drive the cart on which the ark was placed when removed from Abinadab's house (2 S 6$^{3.\ 4}$, 1 Ch 13^{7}). **2.** A son of Jeiel, and brother of Kish, the father of Saul (1 Ch 8^{31} 9^{37}). **3.** A Benjamite (1 Ch 8^{14}).

AHIRA.—Prince of Naphtali, named at the census and on certain other occasions (Nu 1^{15} 2^{29} 7$^{78.\ 83}$ 10^{27} (P)).

AHIRAM.—The eponym of a Benjamite family—the **Ahiramites,** Nu 26^{38} (P). The name occurs in the corrupt forms **Ehi** in Gn 46^{21} (P), and **Aharah** in 1 Ch 8^{1}.

AHISAMACH.—A Danite, father of Oholiab (Ex 31^{6} 35^{34} 38^{23} (P)).

AHISHAHAR.—A Benjamite (1 Ch 7^{10}).

AHISHAR.—Superintendent of Solomon's household (1 K 4^{6}).

AHITHOPHEL.—David's counsellor (2 S 15^{12}, 1 Ch 27^{33}), whose advice was deemed infallible (2 S 16^{23}). Being Bathsheba's grandfather, he had been alienated by David's criminal conduct (11^{3} 23^{34}), and readily joined Absalom (15^{12}). Ahithophel advised the prince to take possession of the royal harem, thus declaring his father's deposition, and begged for a body of men with whom he might at once overtake and destroy the fugitive monarch (17$^{1-3}$). Hushai thwarted this move (17^{11}). Disgusted at the collapse of his influence, and foreseeing that this lack of enterprise meant the failure of the insurrection, Ahithophel withdrew, set his affairs in order, and hanged himself (17^{23}).

J. Taylor.

AHITOB (1 Es 8^{2}).—An ancestor of Ezra, son of Amarias and father of Sadduk. See Ahitub, No. 3.

AHITUB.—**1.** Son of Phinehas and grandson of Eli, the father of Ahimelech or Ahijah, the priest who was put to death by Saul (1 S 14[3] 22[9. 20]). **2.** Acc. to 2 S 8[17] (= 1 Ch 18[16]) the father, acc. to 1 Ch 9[11], Neh 11[11] the grandfather, of Zadok the priest who was contemporary with David and Solomon. It is very doubtful, however, whether the name Ahitub here is not due to a copyist's error. The text of 2 S 8[17] should probably run: 'and Zadok and Abiathar the son of Ahimelech, the son of Ahitub.' **3.** Even more doubt attaches to another Ahitub, father of another Zadok (1 Ch 6[11. 12]; cf. 1 Es 8[2], 2 Es 1[1]). **4.** An ancestor of Judith, Jth 8[1].

AHLAB.—A city of Asher (Jg 1[31]). The site has been identified with the later *Gush Halab* or *Giscala*, now *el-Jîsh* in Upper Galilee; but this is, of course, uncertain.

AHLAI.—**1.** The daughter (?) of Sheshan (1 Ch 2[31], cf. v.[34]). **2.** The father of Zabad, one of David's mighty men (1 Ch 11[41]).

AHOAH.—Son of Bela, a Benjamite (1 Ch 8[4]). See Ahijah (6). The patronymic **Ahohite** occurs in 2 S 23[9].

AHOLAH, AHOLIAB, AHOLIBAH, AHOLIBAMAH.—The forms in AV of the correct RV Oholah, Oholiab, Oholibah, Oholibamah (wh. see).

AHUMAI.—A descendant of Judah (1 Ch 4[2]).

AHUZZAM.—A man of Judah (1 Ch 4[6]).

AHUZZATH.—'The friend' of Abimelech, the Philistine of Gerar, mentioned on the occasion when the latter made a league with Isaac at Beersheba (Gn 26[26]). The position of 'king's friend' may possibly have been an official one, and the title a technical one (cf. 1 K 4[5], 1 Ch 27[33]). The rendering of the LXX gives a different conception, that of 'pronubus,' or friend of the bridegroom.

AHZAI.—A priest (Neh 11[13]) = **Jahzerah** (1 Ch 9[12]).

AI.—**1.** A place between which and Bethel Abraham was stationed before (Gn 12[8]) and after (13[3]) his sojourn in Egypt. The repulse of the Israelite attempt on the city (Jos 7[2-5]) led to the exposure of the crime of Achan; when that was expiated, the city was captured and destroyed (8[1-28]) by a ruse. It never reappears in history, though it continued to be inhabited: it is the **Aiath** in Isaiah's description of the march of the Assyrian (10[28]), and the **Aija** of Neh 11[31]. In 1 Ch 7[28] *'Azzah*, enumerated among the cities of Ephraim, is in many MSS *'Ayyah*, which is another form of the name. This, however, cannot in any case be the same place, which was within the tribe of Benjamin (Jos 18[23], where *Avvim* is possibly a corruption for the name of this city). After the Exile, Ai and Bethel between them supplied a contingent of 223 to the number that returned (Ezr 2[28]), and the city was once more settled by Benjamites (Neh 11[31]). That the city was insignificant is definitely stated in Jos 7[3], and indicated by the fact that in the list of captured cities it is almost the only one of which the situation is specified (Jos 12[9]). Its capture, however, made a deep impression on the Canaanites (Jos 9[3] 10[1]). As to its identification, the only indication to guide us is its proximity to Bethel (agreed by all to be *Beitin*), on the east of that place (as follows from Gn 12[8]). Various sites have been proposed—*Turmus 'Aya* (which contains an element resembling the name, but the situation is impossible); *Khurbet Hayan* (which also has a similar name, but the antiquities of the place are not known to be old enough); *Deir Diwan* (which is in the right place, but also possibly not an old enough site); and *et-Tell* (a mound whose name has the same meaning as the word *Ai* ['heap']. Possibly this last is the most likely site.

2. A wholly distinct place, mentioned in a prophecy against the Ammonites, Jer 49[3] (perh. a clerical error for *Ar*). R. A. S. Macalister.

AIAH.—**1.** Son of Zibeon (Gn 36[24], 1 Ch 1[40]). **2.** Father of Rizpah, Saul's concubine (2 S 3[7] 21[8. 10. 11]).

AIATH, Is 10[28]; **AIJA,** Neh 11[31].—See Ai, No. **1.**

AIJALON.—**1.** A city allotted to, but not occupied by, Dan (Jos 19[42], Jg 1[35]). We find it in the hands of Rehoboam (2 Ch 11[10]); later the Philistines took it (2 Ch 28[18]). It may be the modern *Yâlo*, 3 miles N.E. of *Latrûn*, 14 miles from Jerusalem. **2.** An unknown town in Zebulun (Jg 12[12]). W. Ewing.

AIJELETH HASH-SHAHAR, Ps 22 (title).—See Psalms.

AIN.—**1.** A town in the neighbourhood of Riblah (Nu 34[11]), probably the modern *el-'Ain* near the source of the Orontes. **2.** A town in Judah (Jos 15[32]), or Simeon (Jos 19[7]), where Ain and Rimmon should be taken together. It is probably *Umm er-Ramâmîn*, to the N. of Beersheba. W. Ewing.

AIN.—The sixteenth letter of the Heb. alphabet, and so used to introduce the sixteenth part of Ps. 119.

AKAN.—A descendant of Esau (Gn 36[27]); called in 1 Ch 1[42] **Jakan.**

AKATAN (1 Es 8[38]).—Father of Joannes, who returned with Ezra; called **Hakkatan** in Ezr 8[12].

AKELDAMA (AV **Aceldama**).—The name of the 'potter's field' (Ac 1[19]), purchased for the burial of strangers with the blood-money returned by Judas (Mt 27[3]). The traditional site is at the E. side of the *Wady er-Rababi* (the so-called 'Valley of Hinnom') on the S. side of the valley. It is still known as *Hakk ed-Dumm* ('field of blood'), which represents the old name in sound and meaning. The identification has not been traced earlier than the Crusaders, who erected here a charnel-house, the ruins of which still remain—a vault about 70 feet long and 20 feet wide (internal dimensions) erected over and covering the entrance to some of the ancient rock-cut tombs which abound in the valley. The skulls and bones which once thickly strewed the floor of this charnel-house have all been removed to a modern Greek monastery adjacent. There is no evidence recoverable connecting this site with the work of potters. R. A. S. Macalister.

AKKAD (ACCAD), AKKADIANS.—*Akkad(u)* is the Semitic equivalent of the Sumerian *Agadê*, the capital of the founder of the first Semitic empire. It was probably in consequence of this that it gave its name to Northern Babylonia, the Semitic language of which came to be known as *Akkadu* or 'Akkadian.' In the early days of cuneiform decipherment 'Akkadian' was the name usually applied to the non-Semitic language of primitive Babylonia, but some cuneiform texts published by Bezold in 1889 (*ZA* p. 434) showed that this was called by the Babylonians themselves 'the language of Sumer' or Southern Babylonia, while a text recently published by Messerschmidt (*Orient. Ltztg.* 1905, p. 268) states that *Akkadu* was the name of the Semitic 'translation.' When Babylonia became a united monarchy, its rulers took the title of 'kings of Sumer and Akkad' in Semitic, 'Kengi and Uri' in Sumerian, where *Uri* seems to have signified 'the upper region.' In Gn 10[10] Accad is the city, not the country to which it gave its name. A. H. Sayce.

AKKOS (AV **Accoz**), 1 Es 5[38].—See Hakkoz.

AKKUB.—**1.** A son of Elioenai (1 Ch 3[24]). **2.** A Levite, one of the porters at the E. gate of the Temple; the eponym of a family that returned from the Exile (1 Ch 9[17], Ezr 2[42], Neh 7[45] 11[19] 12[25]); called in 1 Es 5[28] **Dacubi.** **3.** The name of a family of Nethinim (Ezr 2[42]); called in 1 Es 5[30] **Acud.** **4.** A Levite who helped to expound the Law (Neh 8[7]); called in 1 Es 9[48] **Jacubus.**

AKRABATTINE (1 Mac 5[3]).—The region in Idumæa near Akrabbim.

AKRABBIM (less correctly **Acrabbim** Jos 15[3] AV, 'Scorpion Pass').—The name given to an ascent on the south side of the Dead Sea, a very barren region.

ALABASTER.—See Jewels and Precious Stones.

ALAMOTH, Ps 46 (title), 1 Ch 15[20].—See Psalms.

ALBEIT.—Albeit is a contraction for 'all be it,' and means 'although it be.' It occurs in Ezk 13[7], Philem [19], and in the Apocrypha.

ALCIMUS (the Greek for 'valiant,' suggested by the Hebrew *Eliakim*, 'God sets up') was son or nephew of Jose ben-Joeser, pupil to Antigonus of Socho (B.C. 190). Antiochus V. (Eupator), king of Syria, appointed him high priest (B.C. 162). Either because he was not of high priestly family (though of the stock of Aaron, 1 Mac 7[14]), or, more probably, from his Hellenizing tendencies, his appointment was stoutly opposed by Judas Maccabæus, and received but scanty recognition at Jerusalem. Demetrius Soter, cousin and successor to Antiochus, in response to Alcimus's solicitations, reinstated him by the means of Nicanor, the Syrian general. He now received, moreover, considerable local support from the Hellenizing party. It was not, however, till the defeat and death of Judas at Elasa that he was in a position to commence his Hellenizing measures, and shortly afterwards he died of paralysis (B.C. 160). A. W. STREANE.

ALCOVE.—RVm (Nu 25[8]) for RV 'pavilion,' AV 'tent.' See PAVILION.

ALEMA (1 Mac 5[26]).—A city in Gilead; site unknown.

ALEMETH.—**1.** A son of Becher the Benjamite (1 Ch 7[8]). **2.** A descendant of Saul (1 Ch 8[36] 9[42]).

ALEPH.—First letter of Heb. alphabet, and so used to introduce the first part of Ps 119.

ALEXANDER.—**1.** Son of Simon of Cyrene; like his brother Rufus, evidently a well-known man (Mk 15[21] only). **2.** One of the high-priestly family (Ac 4[6]). **3.** The would-be spokesman of the Jews in the riot at Ephesus, which endangered them as well as the Christians (Ac 19[33]); not improbably the same as the **coppersmith** (2 Ti 4[14]) who did St. Paul 'much evil,' and who was probably an Ephesian Jew; possibly the same as the Alexander of 1 Ti 1[20] (see HYMENÆUS), in which case we may regard him as an apostate Christian who had relapsed into Judaism. A. J. MACLEAN.

ALEXANDER THE GREAT.—A Jewish tradition, reported by Josephus and the Talmud, relates that whilst the renowned Macedonian conqueror was besieging Tyre (B.C. 333), rival embassies from the Jews and the Samaritans solicited his protection. At the close of the siege he set out for Jerusalem, and was met outside by the entire population, with the high priest at their head. Recognizing the latter as the person who had appeared to him in a dream and promised him victory, the king prostrated himself. He then entered the city, offered sacrifice, was shown the passages in Daniel relating to himself, granted the people unmolested use of their customs, promised to befriend their eastern settlements, and welcomed Jews to his army (*Ant.* XI. viii.). The objections to this story are: (1) that although there are references to Alexander and his successors in Daniel (2[40ff.] 7[7] 8[5. 8. 21] 11[3f.]), they were not written till the 2nd cent. B.C.; and (2) that the accounts given by Arrian and Curtius do not mention these events. It is also most likely that when Josephus declares that Alexander gave to the Jews in Alexandria equal privileges with the Macedonians (*c. Ap.* ii. 4), he is anticipating by some years what happened under the Ptolemys.

The deep impression made by Alexander's successes is evinced by the numerous legends connected with his name in later Jewish literature. But his real importance to the Biblical student consists in this—he brought the Jews into contact with Greek literature and life.

J. TAYLOR.

ALEXANDER BALAS.—A low-born youth called Balas, living in Smyrna, was put forward by the enemies of Demetrius I. as son of Antiochus IV., king of Syria. In their struggle for the throne the rivals sought to outbid each other for the support of Jonathan Maccabæus, who elected to side with Alexander, and was appointed high priest by him (B.C. 153). Jonathan defeated Apollonius, one of the generals of Demetrius, and received still further honours (1 Mac 10). But Alexander Balas cared more for sensual pleasures than for kingly duties: his father-in-law Ptolemy turned against him, and Alexander, fleeing to Arabia, was assassinated there (1 Mac 11[17]). J. TAYLOR.

ALEXANDRIA was founded (B.C. 332) by Alexander the Great after his conquest of Egypt. Recognizing the inconvenience caused by the want of a harbour for 600 miles along the shore, he selected as the site of a new port the village of Rhacotis, lying on a strip of land between Lake Mareotis and the sea. This he united to the little island of Pharos by a huge mole about a mile long, and thus he formed two splendid havens, which speedily became the commercial meeting-place of Africa, Asia, and Europe. The city was laid out in shape like the outspread cloak of a Macedonian soldier; in circumference about 15 miles: and it was divided into quarters by a magnificent street nearly 5 miles long, and 100 feet wide, running from E. to W., and crossed by another of somewhat lesser dimensions from N. to S. One of these quarters (*Soma*, 'the body') received the corpse of Alexander, and preserved it embalmed in the Royal Mausoleum. The Ptolemys, who succeeded to the Egyptian portion of Alexander's divided empire, made Alexandria their capital, and by their extensive building operations rendered the city famous for the magnificence and beauty of its public edifices. Besides the Royal Palace, the Royal Mausoleum, the Temple of Neptune, the Great Theatre, the Gymnasium, and the vast Necropolis, Alexandria possessed three other structures for which it was celebrated. (1) The *Museum*, which was not a place where collections were laid out for instruction, but a spot where the fine arts, science, and literature were studied. The Museum of Alexandria became in course of time practically the centre of the intellectual life of the world. It answered very largely to what we associate with the idea of a great modern university. It had its staff of State-paid professors, its professorial dining-hall, its shaded cloisters, where eager students from all parts of the world walked to and fro, listening to lectures from men like Euclid, Eratosthenes, and Hipparchus. (2) The *Library*, which was the greatest treasure of the city, was founded by the first Ptolemy. His successors increased the number of volumes till the collection embraced upwards of 700,000 MSS, in which were inscribed the intellectual efforts of Greece, Rome, Asia Minor, Palestine, and even India. The value of this unrivalled collection was immense. The Library was in two portions; and, in the siege of Alexandria by Julius Cæsar, the part stored in the Museum was burned; a loss, however, which was largely made up by the presentation to Cleopatra, by Mark Antony, of the Royal Library of Pergamum. The other portion was stored in the Serapeum, which in 1895 was discovered to have been situated where 'Pompey's Pillar' now stands. History is undecided as to whether this celebrated Library was destroyed in A.D. 391 by Bishop Theophilus or by the Caliph Omar in A.D. 641. (3) The third structure which attracted the attention of the world to Alexandria was the *Pharos* (Lighthouse), erected by Ptol. II. Philadelphus, on the island which had been joined to the mainland by Alexander. Rising in storeys of decreasing dimensions to a height of 450–490 ft., adorned with white marble columns, balustrades, and statues, it was justly reckoned one of the 'Seven Wonders of the World.' Though it was destroyed by an earthquake in A.D. 1303, it has nevertheless exercised a permanent influence on mankind. The idea of humanity to the mariner which it embodied was accepted by almost every civilized nation, and the thousands of lighthouses throughout the world to-day can all be traced to the gracious thoughtfulness which was displayed in the costly erection of this first Pharos.

In its times of greatest prosperity, Alexandria had a population of between 800,000 and 1,000,000. Trade, amusement, and learning attracted to it inhabitants from every quarter. It was an amalgam of East and West. The alertness and versatility of the Greek were here united with the gravity, conservativeness, and dreaminess of the Oriental. Alexandria became, next to Rome, the largest and most splendid city in the world. Amongst its polyglot community, the Jews formed no inconsiderable portion. Jewish colonists had settled in Egypt in large numbers after the destruction of Jerusalem (Jer 42^{14}), and during the Persian period their numbers greatly increased. The Ptolemys, with one exception, favoured them, and assigned a special quarter of the city to them. More than an eighth of the population of Egypt was Jewish. Their business instincts brought to them the bulk of the trade of the country. They practically controlled the vast export of wheat. Some had great ships with which they traded over all the Mediterranean. St. Paul twice sailed in a ship of Alexandria (Ac 27^{6} 28^{11}). The Jews were under their own governor or 'Alabarch,' and observed their own domestic and religious customs. Their great central synagogue was an immense and most imposing structure, where all the trade guilds sat together, and the 70 elders were accommodated in 70 splendidly bejewelled chairs of state.

It was in Alexandria that one of the most important events in the history of religion took place, when the Hebrew Scriptures were translated into the Greek tongue. The legendary tales narrated by Josephus regarding the accomplishment of this task may be dismissed as baseless. But it is undisputed that during the reigns of the earlier Lagidæ (somewhere between B.C. 250 and 132) the 'Septuagint' made its appearance. It is certainly not the product of a syndicate of translators working harmoniously, as Jewish tradition asserted. The work is of very unequal merit, the Pentateuch being the best done, while some of the later books are wretchedly translated. The translation was regarded by the Jews with mingled feelings,—execrated by one section as the grossest desecration of the holy oracles, extolled by another section as the means by which the beauties of the Law and the Prophets could be appreciated for the first time by the Greek-speaking Gentile world. The LXX became, under God's providence, a most valuable preparation for the truths of Christianity. It familiarized the heathen nations with the God of righteousness as He had been revealed to the Jewish race. It paved the way for the gospel. It formed the Bible of the early Church. In the Eastern Church to-day it is the only orthodox text of the OT.

The wars of the Ptolemys with the Seleucidæ at Antioch are described in Dn 11. Ptolemy II. *Philadelphus* left his mark on Palestine in the cities of Philadelphia (=Rabbath-ammon, Dt 3^{11}), Ptolemais (Ac 21^{7}=Acco, Jg 1^{31}), Philoteria, etc. Under Ptolemy III. *Euergetes* I. (B.C. 247–222) the famous 'stele of Canopus' was inscribed. With Ptolemy IV. *Philopator* the dynasty began to decline, and his oppressions of the Jews (largely mythical) are narrated in 3 Maccabees. Under Ptolemy V. *Epiphanes* the Alexandrian supremacy over Palestine was exchanged for that of Antiochus III. *the Great* (Dn 11^{14-17}). In his reign the celebrated 'Rosetta stone' was erected. The ten succeeding Ptolemys were distinguished for almost nothing but their effeminacy, folly, luxury, and cruelty. The city increased in wealth, but sank more and more in political power. Julius Cæsar stormed Alexandria in B.C. 47, and after a brief spell of false splendour under Cleopatra, it fell after the battle of Actium into the hands of the Romans, and its fortunes were henceforth merged with those of the Empire.

But while its political power was thus passing away, it was developing an intellectual greatness destined to exercise a profound influence through succeeding centuries. Among its Jewish population there had arisen a new school which sought to amalgamate Hebrew tradition and Greek philosophy, and to make the OT yield up Platonic and Stoic doctrines. This attempted fusion of Hebraism and Hellenism was begun by Aristobulus, and reached its climax in Philo, a contemporary of Jesus Christ. The Jews found in the Gentile writings many beautiful and excellent thoughts. They could logically defend their own proud claim to be the sole depositaries and custodians of Divine truth only by asserting that every rich and luminous Greek expression was borrowed from their Scriptures. Plato and Pythagoras, they declared, were deeply in debt to Moses. The Greeks were merely reproducers of Hebrew ethics, and Hebrew religious and moral conceptions. The next step was to re-write their own Scriptures in terms of Greek philosophy, and the most simple way of doing this was by an elaborate system of allegory. Philo carried the allegorizing of the OT to such an extent that he was able to deduce all the spurious philosophy he required from the most matter-of-fact narratives of the patriarchs and their wives. But it was a false issue. It was based on a logical figment, and Philo's voluminous works, gifted and learned though he was, merely reveal that there was no hope either for Greek philosophy or for Hebrew religious development along these lines. The results of the allegorical method of interpretation, however, were seen in Christian Church history. We read of a 'synagogue of the Alexandrians' in Jerusalem, furiously hostile to St. Stephen with his plain declaration of facts (Ac 6^{9}). Apollos of Alexandria (Ac 18^{24-28}) needed to be 'more accurately instructed' in Christian doctrine, though we have no direct evidence that he was a disciple of Philo. The Ep. to the Hebrews shows traces of Alexandrian influence, and there are evidences that St. Paul was not unfamiliar with Alexandrian hermeneutics and terminology (cf. Gal 4^{24-31}). But there is no proof that St. Paul ever visited Alexandria. He seems to have refrained from going thither because the gospel had already reached the city (cf. Ro 15^{20}). Eusebius credits St. Mark with the introduction of Christianity into Egypt. In the 2nd and 3rd cents. Alexandria was the intellectual capital of Christendom. The Alexandrian school of theology was made lustrous by the names of Pantænus, Clement, and especially Origen, who, while continuing the allegorical tradition, strove to show that Christian doctrine enshrined and realized the dreams and yearnings of Greek philosophy. The evil tendencies of the method found expression in the teachings of the Alexandrian heretics, Basilides and Valentinian. Alexandria became more and more the stronghold of the Christian faith. Here Athanasius defended *contra mundum* the true Divinity of Christ in the Nicene controversy, and the city's influence on Christian theology has been profound. In A.D. 641, Alexandria fell before Amrou; in the 7th cent. it began to decline. The creation of Cairo was another blow, and the discovery in 1497 of the new route to the East *via* the Cape of Good Hope almost destroyed its trade. At the beginning of the 19th cent. Alexandria was a mere village. To-day it is again a large and flourishing city, with a rapidly increasing population of over 200,000, and its port is one of the busiest on the Mediterranean shore. G. A. Frank Knight.

ALGUM.—See Almug.

ALIAH.—A 'duke' of Edom (1 Ch 1^{51}); called in Gn 36^{40} **Alvah.**

ALIAN.—A descendant of Esau (1 Ch 1^{40}); called in Gn 36^{23} **Alvan.**

ALIEN.—See Nations, Stranger.

ALLAMMELECH.—A town of Asher, probably near Acco (Jos 19^{26}). Site unidentified.

ALLAR (1 Es 5^{36}).—One of the leaders of those Jews who could not show their pedigree as Israelites at the return from captivity under Zerubbabel. The name

seems to correspond to **Immer** in Ezr 2^{59}, Neh 7^{61}, one of the *places* from which these Jews returned. In 1 Es 'Cherub, Addan, and Immer' appear as 'Charaathalan leading them and Allar.'

ALLEGORY.—See PARABLE.

ALLELUIA.—See HALLELUJAH.

ALLEMETH, AV *Alemeth*, 1 Ch 6^{60}; **Almon,** Jos 21^{18}.—A Levitical city of Benjamin. It is the present *'Almīt* on the hills N. of Anathoth.

ALLIANCE.—In the patriarchal age alliances between the Chosen People and foreign nations were frequent. Many of the agreements between individuals recorded in Genesis implied, or really were, treaties between the tribes or clans represented (Gn $21^{22ff.}$ $31^{44ff.}$). During the period of the Judges confederations between the more or less isolated units of which the nation was composed were often made under the pressure of a common danger (Jg 4^{10} 6^{35}). When Israel became consolidated under the monarchy, alliances with foreigners were of a more formal character, *e.g.* Solomon's treaty with Hiram (1 K 5. 9). His marriage with Pharaoh's daughter probably had a political significance (3^{1} 9^{16}). The policy of alliance between Israel and Phœnicia was continued by Omri and Ahab (16^{31}); Am 1^{9} speaks of it as a 'covenant of brethren'; it rested, no doubt, on reciprocal commercial interests (cf. Ac 12^{20}). Asa and Baasha contended for alliance with Benhadad (1 K 15^{19}), and Judah and Israel themselves are allied during the reigns of Jehoshaphat and Ahab. Such a friendship is denounced in 2 Ch 25. Pekah and Rezin are united against Judah (2 K 16^{5}, Is 7). With the appearance of Assyria, relations with foreign nations become important and complicated. The temptation is to stave off the danger from the east by alliance with Damascus or Egypt. Sennacherib assumes that this will be the policy of Hezekiah (2 K $18^{21.\ 24}$). The prophets from the first set their faces against it (Dt 17^{16}, Hos 8^{9}, Is 20. 30, Jer $2^{18.\ 36}$). It is 'the hiring of lovers' in place of *J"*, leading to sin and idolatry (2 K 16), and is politically unsound, resting 'on a broken reed.' The parties being so unequal, the ally easily becomes the tributary (16^{7}). After the Return, Ezra and Nehemiah oppose any alliance with 'the people of the land.' In later times, for a short period only, did the nation gain sufficient independence to make an alliance; in this case it was with Rome (1 Mac 8^{17} 15^{16}).

C. W. EMMET.

ALLON.—1. The head of a family of 'Solomon's servants' (1 Es 5^{34}). He may be the same as **Ami** (Ezr 2^{57}), or **Amon** (Neh 7^{59}). **2.** A Simeonite prince (1 Ch 4^{37}).

ALLON BACUTH ('oak of weeping').—The place where Deborah, Rebekah's nurse, was buried; it was near Bethel (Gn 35^{8}).

ALL TO BREAK.—This phrase (Jg 9^{53}) means *altogether broke*. The 'all' is used for *altogether*, as in 1 K 14^{10} 'till it be all gone'; and the 'to' is not the sign of the infin., but an adverb like Germ. *zer*, meaning *thoroughly*. Thus, 'His brest to-broken with his sadil bowe'—Chaucer, *Knight's Tale*, 2759. The correct spelling (as in the original ed. of AV) is 'all to brake.'

ALLOW.—To 'allow' generally means in AV 'to approve,' as Ro 7^{15} 'that which I do I allow not.' But in Ac 24^{16} it has the mod. sense, *admit*.

ALLOY.—RVm (Is 1^{25}) for EV 'tin.' See MINING AND METALS.

ALMIGHTY is the regular rendering of *Shaddai*, which occurs altogether 45 times in the OT; 6 times qualifying *El* (God) and 39 times [31 of these in Job] standing by itself. In the Hexateuch its use is almost confined to P, according to which source it is the name by which God revealed Himself to the patriarchs (Ex 6^{3}, cf. Gn 17^{1} 35^{11}). The meaning and derivation are alike obscure. The LXX usually render by *Pantokratōr* ('Almighty'); 6 times by a fanciful derivation they paraphrase by 'He that is sufficient.' But in Gn. *El Shaddai* is always represented in the LXX by a pronoun, 'my (*or* thy) God'; in Ezk 10^{5} it is merely transliterated. Other suggested renderings are 'the Destroyer,' *i.e.* 'the Storm-God,' 'the Pourer,' *i.e.* 'the Rain-God,' 'the Mountain' (cf. 'Rock' as a title of God in Dt $32^{4.\ 18.\ 30.\ 31}$), or 'Lord.' The last two have the most probability on their side, and it is hard to choose between them; but the fact that in Babylonian 'the Great Mountain' (*shadu rabu*) is a common title of Bel seems to turn the scale in favour of the former of the two meanings proposed: some slight confirmation is perhaps afforded by 1 K 20^{23}. In composition the word occurs in two personal names: Zurishaddai (Nu 1^{6}) and Ammishaddai (Nu 1^{12}); perhaps also in Shedeur (Nu 1^{5}). The first ('Shaddai is my Rock') is specially interesting if the meaning given above is correct.

In the NT, with the exception of 2 Co 6^{18} (a quotation from 2 S 7^{14}), the name is confined to the Apocalypse. That it renders *Shaddai* rather than *Sabaoth* seems proved (in spite of 4^{8} from Is 6^{3}) by the fact that it always either stands alone or qualifies 'God,' never 'Lord.' The writer is fond of piling up the titles or attributes of God, and among them his favourite is that ancient title which carries him back to the patriarchal age, the title *El Shaddai*.

H. C. O. LANCHESTER.

AL-MODAD was, according to Gn 10^{26} (1 Ch 1^{20}), the oldest son of Joktan (wh. see). Joktan is the eponym of the tribes and peoples of eastern and southern Arabia. From the position of Al-modad in the list of 'sons,' it would appear that he is to be located in the south of the peninsula. As yet the name can neither be explained nor identified with any known region.

J. F. MCCURDY.

ALMON.—See ALLEMETH.

ALMON-DIBLATHAIM.—A station in the journeyings (Nu $33^{46.\ 47}$), prob. identical with **Beth-diblathaim** (Jer 48^{22}). The meaning of *Diblathaim* is a double cake of figs; its application to a town may indicate the appearance of the place or neighbourhood.

ALMOND (*shāqēd*).—The fruit in Gn 43^{11}, Ex $25^{33.\ 34}$ 37^{19-20}, Nu 17^{8}; the tree in Ec 12^{5}, Jer 1^{11}. *Luz* (Gn 30^{37}), mistranslated '**hazel,**' is certainly the almond; it is the name of the almond in modern Arabic. The almond (*Amygdalus communis*) is in Palestine the earliest harbinger of spring, bursting into beautiful white blossom late in January in Jerusalem, before its leaves appear. Hence its name and symbolism: *shāqēd* means to waken or watch, and in Jer $1^{11.\ 12}$ there is a play on the word 'almond' (*shāqēd*), and 'I will hasten' (*shōqēd*). Probably the whiteness of the blossom from a little distance—the delicate pink at the bases of the petals being visible only on closer inspection—suggested its comparison to the white hair of age (Ec 12^{5}). The fruit is a great favourite. It is eaten green before the shell hardens, especially by children, and the ripe kernels are eaten by themselves or with nuts and puddings, and are also made into sweetmeats with sugar, both as 'almond icing' and 'burnt almonds.' A present of Palestine almonds would be sure to be appreciated in Egypt (Gn 43^{11}), as they did not grow in the latter country.

E. W. G. MASTERMAN.

ALMS, ALMSGIVING.—'An alms' (Ac 3^{3}) is something freely given, in money or in kind, to the needy, from motives of love and pity for the recipient, and of gratitude to the Giver of all. Hence what is given or paid to the poor under the authority and compulsion of law, as the modern poor rate, is not alms. For such legal provision in OT times see POOR. Much might be said of the humane spirit which pervades the whole of the Hebrew legislation, and in particular the legislation of Dt, of which, in this respect, 15^{1} may be taken as the epitome: 'Thou shalt surely open thine hand unto thy brother, to thy needy and to thy poor'

(RV). The writings of the prophets, also, are full of generous advocacy of the rights of the poor. In the later pre-Christian centuries almsgiving became one of the most prominent of religious duties (Ps 112[9], Pr 14[21] 19[17] 31[20], Job 29[12f.]). The sentiment of the 2nd cent. B.C.—by which time it is significant that the Hebrew word for 'righteousness' had acquired the special sense of almsgiving as in the true text of Mt 6[1] (see RV)—is fully reflected in the Books of Sirach (7[10] 17[22] 29[11ff.]) and Tobit (see esp. 4[7-11]). From this time onwards, indeed, almsgiving was considered to possess an atoning or redemptive efficacy (Sir 3[30] 'alms [RV 'almsgiving'] maketh an atonement for sins,' To 4[10] 12[9] 'alms delivereth from death,' cf. Dn 4[27]). After the cessation of sacrifice, almsgiving appears to have ranked among the Jews as the first of religious duties, more meritorious even than prayer and fasting. Arrangements were made by the Jewish authorities for the systematic collection and distribution of the alms of the people. An offertory for the poor also formed a recognized part of the synagogue service.

Almsgiving occupies a prominent place in the teaching of our Lord, who rebukes the ostentatious charity of His day (Mt 6[1-4]), emphasizes the blessedness of giving (Ac 20[35]), its opportunities (Mt 25[35ff.]), and its highest motive, 'in my name' (Mk 9[41]). In the early Christian community of Jerusalem the needs of the poor were effectively supplied, for its members 'had all things common, neither was there among them any that lacked' (Ac 4[32. 34]). The need for careful distribution of the Church's alms led to the institution of the diaconate (Ac 6[1ff.]). The provision of a poor's fund for the behoof of the mother Church was much in the thoughts of the Apostle of the Gentiles (1 Co 16[1ff.], 2 Co 9[1ff.]), and until a period within living memory the care of God's poor continued to be the almost exclusive privilege of the Christian Church. A. R. S. Kennedy.

ALMUG, or ALGUM (1 K 10[11. 12], 2 Ch 2[8] 9[10. 11]; the two names are probably variants of the same word, caused by transposition of letters, as is common in Heb. and Arabic).—This tree was imported by Solomon from Ophir (1 K 10[11. 12]) and from Lebanon (2 Ch 2[8]) for staircases, balustrades, and musical instruments. There is nothing certain known of the nature of this wood, but as Jewish tradition states that it was a red wood, red sandal wood (*Pterocarpus santalinus*)—now used chiefly for its colouring properties—has been very generally accepted. E. W. G. Masterman.

ALOES (*'ahālim*, Pr 7[17], Nu 24[6] ['lign aloes']; *'ahāloth*, Ps 45[8], Ca 4[14]; also *alŏē*, Jn 19[39]).—This is the modern eagle-wood (a name derived from the Skr. *aguru*); it has nothing to do with the familiar bitter aloes of medicine, or with the American aloe, now much cultivated in gardens in Palestine, but a recent importation. This eagle-wood is obtained from plants of the order Aquilariaceæ, but the fragrant parts are those which are diseased; the odoriferous qualities are due to the infiltration with resin, and the best kinds sink when placed in water. The development of this change in the wood is hastened by burying it in the ground. A trade in this wood has gone on from early times; it comes from India, the Malay Peninsula, etc., and has long been a favourite with the Arabs, who call it *el 'ud*.

The use of the word (translated 'lign aloes,' Nu 24[6]) by Balaam creates a difficulty. Either he must have referred to the tree from mere hearsay, or some other plant of the same name may at that time have grown in the Jordan valley, or, as seems most probable, the Heb. word has been wrongly transcribed. Both 'palms' and 'terebinths' have been suggested as suitable alternatives. E. W. G. Masterman.

ALPHA AND OMEGA.—A title of God in Rev 1[8] 21[6], of Jesus in 22[13] [its presence in 1[11] AV is not justified by the MSS]. Alpha was the first, and Omega the last letter of the Greek, as Aleph and Taw were the first and the last of the Hebrew alphabet. In the Talmud, 'From Aleph to Taw' meant 'From first to last,' including all between. Cf. *Shabb.* 51. 1 (on Ezk 9[6]): 'Do not read "My Sanctuary," but "My saints," who are the sons of men who have kept the whole Law from Aleph to Taw.'

This explains the title. In each instance St. John defines it. Rev 1[8] 'I am the Alpha and the Omega, saith the Lord God, which is, and which was, and which is to come, the Almighty' (AV 'the beginning and the ending' is an interpolation from 21[6] 22[13]), *i.e.* the Eternal, the Contemporary of every generation. Rev 21[6] 'I am the Alpha and the Omega, the beginning and the end'; 22[13] 'I am the Alpha and the Omega, the first and the last (cf. Is 44[6] 48[12]), the beginning and the end,' *i.e.* He who comprehends and embraces all things, from whom all come and to whom all return, the *fons et clausula*, the starting-point and the goal of history (cf. Col 1[17]). The ascription of this title to Jesus as well as to God in a writing so early as the Apocalypse strikingly attests the view of our Lord's Person which prevailed in the primitive Church.

Aurelius Prudentius makes fine use of the title in his hymn on *The Lord's Nativity* ('Corde natus ex parentis'), thus rendered by Neale:

'Of the Father's love begotten
Ere the worlds began to be,
He is Alpha and Omega,
He the source, the ending He,
Of the things that are, that have been,
And that future years shall see,
Evermore and evermore.'

David Smith.

ALPHABET.—See Writing.

ALPHÆUS.—**1.** The father of James the Apostle (Mt 10[3] = Mk 3[18] = Lk 6[15] = Ac 1[13]), commonly identified with James the Little, son of Mary and brother of Joses or Joseph (Mk 15[40] = Mt 27[56]). The identification is confirmed by Jn 19[25], if it be allowed that Clopas is the same name as Alphæus. And this is most likely. Both names probably represent the Aramaic *Chalphai* (cf. 1 Mac 11[70]). St. John's 'Clopas' is almost a transliteration, while 'Alphæus' is the name in a Greek dress, the disguise being more apparent if it be written, with WH, 'Halphæus.'

2. The father of Levi the tax-gatherer (Mk 2[14]), afterwards Matthew the Apostle and Evangelist (Mt 9[9] 10[3]). It is remarkable that in Mk 2[14] Codex Bezæ and some cursives read *James* for *Levi*, and there is a tradition (Chrysost. *in Matth.* xxxiii.) that the Apostles Matthew and James had both been tax-gatherers. It is perhaps possible that Alphæus the father of James was identical with Alphæus the father of Levi, and that the two tax-gatherer Apostles were brothers. Nothing is recorded of Alphæus; yet, if these identifications be allowed, great was his glory. He was evidently himself a believer; his son Joses, though undistinguished, was evidently a believer also; his son James was an Apostle; his son Matthew was an Apostle and an Evangelist; and his wife Mary was one of the faithful women who stood by the Cross and visited the Sepulchre (Mk 16[1]).

David Smith.

ALTAR.—**1.** The original purpose of an altar was to serve as a means by which the blood of an animal offered in sacrifice might be brought into contact with, or otherwise transferred to, the deity of the worshipper. For this purpose in the earliest period a single stone sufficed. Either the blood was poured over this stone, which was regarded as the temporary abode of the deity, or the stone was anointed with part, and the rest poured out at its base. The introduction of fire to consume the flesh in whole or in part belongs to a later stage in the history of sacrifice (wh. see). But even when this stage had long been reached, necessity might compel a temporary reversion to the earlier *modus operandi*, as we learn from Saul's procedure in 1 S 14[33f.]. From the altar of a single 'great stone'

(1 S 6[14]) the transition was easy to an altar built of unhewn stones (Ex 20[25], Dt 27[5f.] RV), which continued to be the normal type of Hebrew altar to the end (see 1 Mac 4[41]; Jos. *BJ* V. v. 6).

2. Another type of pre-historic altar, to which much less attention has been paid, had its origin in the primitive conception of sacrifice as the food of the gods. As such it was appropriately presented on a table. Now the nearest analogy to the disc of leather spread on the ground, which was and is the table of the Semitic nomad, was the smooth face of the native rock, such as that on which Manoah spread his offering (Jg 13[19f.], cf. 6[20f.]). The well-known rock-surfaces, in Palestine and elsewhere, with their mysterious cup-marks—typical specimens are illustrated *PEFSt*, 1900, 32 ff., 249—to receive the sacrificial blood, can scarcely be other than pre-historic table-altars. The similarly marked table-stones of Syrian dolmens also belong here. A further stage in the evolution of the table altar is seen in the elaborate structures recently discovered within the West-Semitic area. In these the rock is cut away so as to leave the altar standing free, to which rock-cut steps lead up, an arrangement forbidden, from motives of decency, by the earliest legislation (Ex 20[26], with which cf. 28[42f.] and parall. from a later date). The uppermost step served as a platform for the officiating priest. Some show cup-hollows for libations of blood (see illust. in Moore's 'Judges' in *SBOT* p. 83), while that first discovered at Petra has a depression for the altar-hearth (*PEFSt*, 1900, 350 ff. with sketch; see also ARIEL). Its dimensions are 9 ft. by 6, with a height above the platform of 3 ft. The altars of the more important sanctuaries under the Hebrew monarchy, such as Bethel, were probably of a similar nature. A description of 'the altar of burnt-offering' of the Tabernacle will be given under TABERNACLE; for the corresponding altars of the Temple of Solomon and its successors, and of Ezekiel's sketch, see TEMPLE.

3. A third variety of primitive altar is the mound of earth (Ex 20[24]), a copy in miniature of the hill-tops which were at all times favourite places of worship (see HIGH PLACE).

4. All the types of altar above described were intended for the ordinary open-air sacrificial service, details of which will be found under SACRIFICE. There is no clear reference earlier than Jeremiah to the use of incense, and no reference at all to any altar of incense in the legitimate worship before the Exile, for 1 K 7[48] in its present form is admittedly late, and the altar of 1 K 6[20] must be the table of shewbread (see TEMPLE, SHEWBREAD).

5. From what has already been said, it is evident that an altar was the indispensable requisite of every place of worship. It was not until the 7th cent. B.C. that Josiah succeeded in abolishing 'the high places' and destroying or desecrating their altars (2 K 23[5ff.]), in accordance with the fundamental demand of the Deuteronomic law-code (Dt 12[2ff.]). In the older historical and prophetical writings, however, and even in the earliest legislation (see Ex 20[24] RV), the legitimacy of the local altars is never called in question. On the contrary, religious leaders such as Samuel and Elijah show their zeal for the worship of J" by the erection and repair of altars.

6. As altars to which a special interest attaches may be mentioned that erected by David on the threshing floor of Araunah (2 S 24[18ff.]), the site of which is marked by the present mosque of 'the Dome of the Rock'; the altar erected by Ahaz after the model of one seen by him at Damascus (2 K 16[10ff.]); the sacrificial and incense altars to the host of heaven in the courts and probably even on the roof of the Temple (2 K 23[12], Jer 19[13]); and finally, the altar to Olympian Zeus placed by Antiochus Epiphanes on the top of the altar of burnt-offering (1 Mac 1[54]).

7. Reference must also be made to altars as places of refuge for certain classes of criminals, attested both by legislation (Ex 21[13f.]) and history (1 K 1[51] 2[28]; see more fully, REFUGE [CITIES OF]). The origin and precise significance of the **horns of the altar,** of which the refugee laid hold (1 K *ll. cc.*), and which played an important part in the ritual (Ex 29[12], Lv 4[7ff.]), have not yet received a satisfactory explanation. A small limestone altar, showing the horns in the form of rounded knobs at the four corners, has just been discovered at Gezer (*PEFSt*, 1907, p. 196, with illust.). A. R. S. KENNEDY.

AL-TASHHETH.—Pss 57. 58. 59. 65. (titles). See PSALMS.

ALUSH.—A station in the journeyings (Nu 33[13. 14]).

ALVAN.—Son of Shobal, a Horite (Gn 36[23]); called in 1 Ch 1[40] **Alian,** in Gn 36[40] **Alvah,** 1 Ch 1[51] **Aliah,** one of the 'dukes' of Edom.

AMAD (Jos 19[26] only).—A city of Asher. The site is doubtful; there are several ruins called '*Amud* in this region.

AMADATHUS (Est 12[6] 16[10. 17]).—See HAMMEDATHA.

AMAL.—A descendant of Asher (1 Ch 7[35]).

AMALEK, AMALEKITES.—A tribe which roamed, from the days of the Exodus till the time of king Saul, over the region from the southern boundary of Judah to the Egyptian frontier and the peninsula of Sinai. They are not counted among the kindred of the Israelites, and probably were among the inhabitants of the region whom the Hebrew and Aramæan immigrants found already in the land. With this agrees the statement of a poem quoted in Nu 24[20] 'Amalek was the first of the nations.'

Israel first met with the Amalekites in the region near Sinai, when Amalek naturally tried to prevent the entrance of a new tribe into the region (cf. Ex 17[8-16]). The battle which ensued produced such a profound impression, that one of the few things which the Pentateuch claims that Moses wrote is the ban of Jahweh upon Amalek (Ex 17[14]). It appears from Dt 25[17-19] that Amalek made other attacks upon Israel, harassing her rear. On the southern border of Palestine the Amalekites also helped at a later time to prevent Israel's entrance from Kadesh (Nu 13[29] 14[25]).

During the period of the Judges, Amalekites aided the Moabites in raiding Israel (Jg 3[13]), and at a later time they helped the Midianites to do the same thing (6[3. 33] 7[12]). This kept alive the old enmity. King Saul attempted to shatter their force, and captured their king, whom Samuel afterwards slew (1 S 15). Although Saul is said to have taken much spoil, the Amalekites were still there for David to raid during that part of Saul's reign when David was an outlaw (1 S 27[8]). The boundaries of the *habitat* of the Amalekites at this time are said to have been from Telem, one of the southern cities of Judah (Jos 15[24]), to Shur on the way to Egypt (1 S 15[4]). Most modern critics also read *Telem* for *Havilah* in 1 S 15[7], and for '*of old*' in 1 S 27[8].

It was formerly supposed, on the basis of Jg 5[14] and 12[15], that there was at one time a settlement of Amalekites farther north, in the hill country of Ephraim. That is, however, improbable, for in both passages the text seems to be corrupt. In 5[14] 'Amalek' is corrupted from the Hebrew for 'valley,' and in 12[15] from the proper name 'Shalim.' Individual Amalekites, nevertheless, sojourned in Israel (2 S 1[8. 13]).

In 1 Ch 4[42ff.] there is a remarkable statement that a remnant of the Amalekites had escaped and dwelt in Edom, and that 500 Simeonites attacked and smote them. Perhaps this accounts for the priestly genealogies which make Amalek a descendant of Esau and a subordinate Edomite tribe (cf. Gn 36[12. 16] and 1 Ch 1[36]). Perhaps here we learn how the powerful Amalek of the earlier time faded away. Ps 83[7]—a late composition—refers to the Amalekites as still aiding Israel's enemies;

but this is probably a poetical imitation of ancient conditions.

On their close kindred, the Kenites, see KENITES.

GEORGE A. BARTON.

AMAM (Jos 15^{26} only).—An unknown city of Judah, in the desert south of Beersheba.

AMAN.—1. The persecutor of Achiacharus (To 14^{10}). **2.** Est 12^{6} $16^{10.\ 17}$. See HAMAN.

AMANA (Ca 4^{8}).—Probably the mountains near the river Abana or Amana, being connected with Hermon and Lebanon; or else Mount Amanus in the north of Syria.

AMARIAH ('J" said' or 'promised').—**1.** Zeph 1^{1}, great-grandfather of the prophet Zephaniah, and son of a Hezekiah who may be the king. This is the only instance of the name that is certainly pre-exilic. **2.** 1 Ch $6^{7.\ 52}$, grandfather of Zadok the priest. **3.** 1 Ch 23^{19} 24^{23}, a Levite in David's time. **4.** 1 Ch 6^{11}, Ezr 7^{3} (**Amarias**, 1 Es 8^{2}, 2 Es 1^{2}), son of Azariah, who is said to have ministered in Solomon's temple. The lists in which **2** and **4** occur are very uncertain, and the name may refer to the same person in both. **5.** 2 Ch 19^{11}, a high priest in the reign of Jehoshaphat. **6.** 2 Ch 31^{15}, a Levite, a gate-porter, in Hezekiah's time. **7.** Neh $12^{2.\ 13}$ 10^{3}, a priestly clan which returned to Jerusalem, and sealed the covenant under Nehemiah (probably the same as **Immer**, 1 Ch 24^{14}, Ezr 2^{37} 10^{20}, Neh 7^{40} [**Meruth**, 1 Es 5^{24}]). **8.** Ezr 10^{42}, a Judahite, one of the sons of Bani (v.^{34}, cf. 1 Ch 9^{4}) who had taken strange wives. **9.** Neh 11^{4}, a Judahite who offered to dwell in Jerusalem. **10.** Neh 12^{12}, where **Meraiah** is probably a corruption of Amariah (which is found in Syr. and Luc.). A. H. M'NEILE.

AMARIAS (1 Es 8^{2}).—An ancestor of Ezra, called **Amariah** in Ezr 7^{3}.

AMASA.—1. The son of Ithra an Ishmaelite, and of Abigail the sister of king David. He commanded the army of the rebel Absalom (2 S 17^{25}); but was completely routed by Joab in the forest of Ephraim (18^{6-8}). David not only pardoned him, but gave him the command of the army in place of Joab (19^{13}). He was treacherously slain by Joab at 'the great stone of Gibeon' (2 S 20^{9-12}). **2.** An Ephraimite who opposed the bringing into Samaria of the Jewish prisoners, whom Pekah, king of Israel, had taken in his campaign against Ahaz (2 Ch 28^{12}).

AMASAI.—1. A Kohathite (1 Ch $6^{25.\ 35}$); the eponym of a family (2 Ch 29^{12}). **2.** One of the priests who blew trumpets on the occasion of David's bringing the ark to Jerus. (1 Ch 15^{24}). **3.** One of David's officers at Ziklag (1 Ch 12^{18}), possibly to be identified with **Amasa**, No. 1.

AMASHSAI (Neh 11^{13}).—A priest of the family of Immer.

AMASIAH.—One of Jehoshaphat's commanders (2 Ch 17^{16}).

AMAZIAH.—1. Son of Jehoash of Judah. He came to the throne after the assassination of his father. It is recorded in his favour (2 K 4^{6}) that although he put the murderers of his father to death he spared their children —something unheard of up to that time, we infer. Our sources know of a successful campaign of his against Edom, and an unsuccessful one against Israel. In this he seems to have been the aggressor; and after refusing to hear the advice of Jehoash, whom he had challenged to a trial of strength, he had the mortification of seeing his own capital plundered. The conspiracy by which he perished may have been prompted by his conduct in this war. In the matter of religion he receives qualified praise from the author of Kings (2 K $14^{3ff.}$), while the Chronicler accuses him of gross apostasy (2 Ch $25^{14ff.}$). **2.** The priest at Bethel who opposed the prophet Amos (Am $7^{10ff.}$). **3.** A Simeonite (1 Ch 4^{34}). **4.** A Merarite (1 Ch 6^{45}). H. P. SMITH.

AMBASSADOR, AMBASSAGE.—As diplomatic agents of sovereigns or other persons in high authority, ambassadors are frequently mentioned in OT and Apocrypha from the days of Moses (see below) to those of the Maccabees (1 Mac 9^{70} 11^{9} 14^{21} 15^{17}). Insult to their persons was a sufficient *casus belli* (2 S $10^{4ff.}$). In several passages (*e.g.* Nu 20^{14} 21^{21}, Dt 2^{26}, Jg $11^{12.\ 19}$, 2 S 5^{11}, 2 K 19^{9}) the 'messengers' of EV are practically 'ambassadors,' as the Heb. word is elsewhere rendered (2 Ch 35^{21}, Is 30^{4}, Ezk 17^{15}). Jos 9^{4}, however, should be read as in RVm. The ambassador of Jer 49^{14} (= Ob^{1}) is probably an angel. In NT the word is used only metaphorically (2 Co 5^{20}, Eph 6^{20}).

'Ambassage,' the mission of an ambassador (2 Mac 4^{11} RV), is used also as a collective for ambassadors themselves (Lk 14^{32} 19^{14} RV). In 1 Mac 14^{23} read with RV 'the copy of their words.' A. R. S. KENNEDY.

AMBER (*chashmal*, Ezk $1^{4.\ 27}$ 8^{2}).—The translation 'amber' is much questioned, a metallic substance being generally considered more probable. Prof. Ridgeway (*Encyc. Bibl.*, *s.v.*) has, however, shown that amber may well have been known to Ezekiel. The amber commonly seen is the opaque yellow variety from the Baltic, a resinous substance changed by long submersion in the sea. It is a favourite ornament, in necklaces and bracelets, in the Orient, especially among Jewesses, and is credited with medicinal virtues.

E. W. G. MASTERMAN.

AMBUSH.—See WAR.

AMEN.—A Hebrew form of affirmation usually translated in the LXX by an equivalent Greek expression (Nu 5^{22}, Dt 27^{15} 'so be it,' Jer 28^{6} (36^{6}) 'truly'), but sometimes transliterated (1 Ch 16^{36}) as in English. It is an indication of solemn assent, chiefly in prayer, to the words of another, on the part either of an individual (Nu 5^{22}) or of an assembly (Dt 27^{15}); sometimes reduplicated (Ps 41^{13}), sometimes accompanied by a rubrical direction (Ps 106^{48}). From the synagogue it passed into the liturgical use of Christian congregations, and is so referred to in 1 Co 14^{16}—'the (customary) Amen at thy giving of thanks' (?Eucharist). The use peculiar to the NT is that ascribed to our Lord in the Gospels, where the word—'verily' followed by 'I say'—introduces statements which He desires to invest with special authority (Mt 5^{18}, Mk 3^{28}, Lk 4^{24} etc.) as worthy of unquestioning trust. The Fourth Gospel reduplicates—a form which, though Christ may Himself have varied the phrase in this manner, is nevertheless stereotyped by this Evangelist (Jn 1^{51} and 24 other places), and marks the peculiar solemnity of the utterances it introduces. The impression created by this idiom may have influenced the title of 'the Amen' given to the Lord in the Epistle to Laodicea (Rev 3^{14}). A strikingly similar phrase is used by St. Paul in 2 Co 1^{20} —'through him (*i.e.* Jesus Christ as preached) is the Amen'—the seal of God's promises. Its use in doxologies is frequent. J. G. SIMPSON.

AMETHYST.—See JEWELS AND PRECIOUS STONES.

AMI.—The head of a family of 'Solomon's servants' (Ezr 2^{57}); called in Neh 7^{59} **Amon.**

AMITTAI ('true').—Father of the prophet Jonah (2 K 14^{25}, Jon 1^{1}).

AMMAH (2 S 2^{24} only).—A hill near Giah, in the wilderness of Gibeon. Site unknown.

AMMI ('my people').—The name to be applied to Israel in the time of restoration. It is to take the place of *Lo-ammi* (='not my people'), the name given in the first instance by Hosea to Gomer's third child, but in the prophetic fragment, Hos 1^{9-11} [in Heb 2^{1-3}], referred to the people of Israel.

AMMIDIOI.—One of the families that returned with Zerubbabel (1 Es 5^{20}); omitted in the parallel lists (Ezr 2=Neh 7).

AMMIEL ('kinsman is God').—**1.** Son of Gemalli, and spy of the tribe of Dan (Nu 13^{12} (P)). **2.** Father of Machir (2 S $9^{4f.}$ 17^{27}). **3.** The sixth son of Obed-edom,

who with his family constituted one of the courses of doorkeepers in the time of David; to them was allotted charge of the S. gate (of the Temple) and the storehouse (1 Ch 26, esp. vv.[5. 15]). **4.** See ELIAM, **1.**

AMMIHUD ('kinsman is majesty').—**1.** An Ephraimite, father of Elishama (Nu 1^{10} 2^{18} $7^{48. 53}$ 10^{22} (P)). **2.** A Simeonite, father of Shemuel (Nu 34^{20} (P)). **3.** A Naphtalite, father of Pedahel (Nu 34^{28} (P)). **4.** According to the *Qerê* of 2 S 13^{37} and the AV, the name of the father of the Geshurite king Talmai (*Kethîbh* and RV **Ammihur**). **5.** Son of Omri, father of Uthai (1 Ch 9^{4}).

AMMIHUR.—See AMMIHUD, No. 4.

AMMINADAB.—**1.** Son of Ram and father of Nahshon (Ru $4^{19f.}$ = 1 Ch 2^{10}, Mt 1^{4}; Nu 1^{7} 2^{3} 7^{12} 10^{14}); father-in-law of Aaron (Ex 6^{23}). **2.** Son of Kohath and father of Korah (1 Ch 6^{22}). **3.** A chief of a Levitical house (1 Ch $15^{10f.}$).

AMMINADIB occurs in AV and RVm of a very obscure passage, Ca 6^{12}, 'my soul made me *like* the chariots of Amminadib.' RV and AVm do not regard the term as a proper name, but render 'my soul set me on (RV 'among') the chariots of my willing (RV 'princely') people.'

AMMISHADDAI.—A Danite, father of Ahiezer (Nu 1^{12} 2^{25} $7^{66. 71}$ 10^{25} (P)).

AMMIZABAD.—Son of Benaiah (1 Ch 27^{6}).

AMMON, AMMONITES.—A people inhabiting the territory between the tribe of Gad and the Arabian desert, from the Israelitish conquest of Palestine to the 4th cent. B.C., and perhaps till the 1st cent. A.D.

In Gn 19^{38} the Ammonites are said to have descended from a certain Ben-Ammi, but in the Assyrian inscriptions Shalmaneser II., Tiglath-pileser III., and Sennacherib call them Beth-Ammon, placing the determinative for 'man' before Ammon. Except in Ps 83^{7}, which is late, the people are never called 'Ammon' in the Hebrew OT, but the 'children of Ammon,' or 'Ammonites.'

The really important feature of the story of Gn 19 is that it reveals a consciousness that the Israelites regarded the Ammonites as their kindred. The proper names of individual Ammonites, so far as they are known to us, confirm this view. Probably, therefore, the Ammonites formed a part of that wave of Aramæan migration which brought the Hebrews into Palestine. Perhaps, like the Hebrews, they adopted the language of the people in whose land they settled, thus later speaking a Canaanite dialect. The genealogy which traces their descent from Lot probably signifies that they settled in the land of Lot, or Lotan, called by the Egyptians Ruten, which lay to the east of the Dead Sea and the Jordan.

In Dt 2^{20} the Ammonites are said to have displaced the Zamzummim, a semi-mythical people, of whom we know nothing. Jg 11^{12-29} represents Ammon as having conquered all the land between the Jabbok and the Arnon, and a king of Ammon is said to have reproved Israel for taking it from them. The statement is late, and of doubtful authority. Israel found the Amorites in this territory at the time of the conquest, and we have no good reason to suppose that the Ammonites ever possessed it. Their *habitat* was in the north-eastern portion of this region, around the sources of the Jabbok. Rabbah (modern '*Amman*) was its capital and centre.

At the time of the conquest the Gadite Israelites did not disturb the Ammonites (Nu 21^{24}, Dt 2^{37}), or attempt to conquer their territory. During the period of the Judges the Ammonites assisted Eglon of Moab in his invasion of Israel (Jg 3^{13}), and attempted to conquer Gilead, but were driven back by Jephthah the judge ($11^{4-9. 30-36}$ 12^{1-3}). Later, Nahash, their king, oppressed the town of Jabesh in Gilead, and it was the victory which delivered this city from the Ammonites that made Saul Israel's king (1 S 11). Saul and Nahash thus became enemies. Consequently, later, Nahash befriended David, apparently to weaken the growing power of Israel. When David succeeded Saul in power, Hanun, the son of Nahash, provoked him to war, with the result that Rabbah, the Ammonite capital, was stormed and taken, the Ammonites were reduced to vassalage, and terrible vengeance was wreaked upon them (2 S 10–12). Afterwards, during Absalom's rebellion, a son of Nahash rendered David assistance at Mahanaim (2 S 17^{27}). Zelek, an Ammonite, was among David's heroes (2 S 23^{37}). These friendly relations continued through the reign of Solomon, who took as one of his wives the Ammonite princess Naamah, who became the mother of Rehoboam, the next king (1 K 11^{1} $14^{21. 31}$). After the reign of Solomon the Ammonites appear to have gained their independence.

In the reign of Ahab, Ba'sa, son of Rehob, the Ammonite, was a member of the confederacy which opposed the progress of Shalmaneser into the West (cf. *KAT*[3] 42). According to 2 Ch 20^{1}, the Ammonites joined with Moab and Edom in invading Judah in the reign of Jehoshaphat. Before the reign of Jeroboam II. the Ammonites had made another attempt to get possession of Gilead, and their barbarities in warfare excited the indignation of the prophet Amos (Am 1^{13-15}). Chronicles represents them as beaten a little later by Jotham of Judah, and as paying tribute to Uzziah (2 Ch 26^{8} 27^{5}). When next we hear of the Ammonites, Nebuchadnezzar of Babylon is employing them to harass the refractory Judæan king Jehoiakim (2 K 24^{2}). Perhaps it was at this period that the Ammonites occupied the territory of Gad (Jer $49^{1ff.}$). Later, the domination of the Babylonian compelled Ammon and Israel to become friends, for Ammon conspired with King Zedekiah against Nebuchadnezzar (Jer 27^{3}), and during the sieges of Jerusalem many Judæans had migrated to Ammon (Jer 40^{11}). The Babylonian king regarded both Ammon and Judah as rebels, for Ezekiel represents him as casting lots to see whether he should first attack Rabbah or Jerusalem (Ezk $21^{20ff.}$, cf. Zeph $2^{8. 9}$).

Perhaps there was a settlement of Ammonites in Israelitish territory, for Dt $23^{3ff.}$ recognizes the danger of mixture with Ammonites, while Jos 18^{24} seems to indicate that there was in post-exilic times a village in Benjamin called 'the village of the Ammonites.'

After the destruction of Jerusalem, Baalis, king of Ammon, sent a man to assassinate Gedaliah, whom Nebuchadnezzar had made governor of Judah (Jer 40^{14}). Again, 140 years later, the Ammonites did everything in their power to prevent the rebuilding of the walls of Jerusalem by Nehemiah (Neh $2^{10. 19}$ $4^{3. 7}$). Nehemiah and Ezra fomented this enmity by making illegal the marriages of Ammonitish women with Israelitish peasantry who had remained in Judah (Neh 13^{23}).

Between the time of Nehemiah and Alexander the Great the country east of the Jordan was overrun by the Nabatæans. Perhaps the Ammonites lost their identity at this time: for, though their name appears later, many scholars think it is used of these Arabs. Thus in 1 Mac $5^{6ff.}$ Judas Maccabæus is said to have defeated the Ammonites; Ps 83^{7} reckons them among Israel's enemies; while Justin Martyr (*Dial. Tryph.* 19) says the Ammonites were numerous in his day. As Josephus (*Ant.* I. xi. 5) uses the same language of the Moabites and Ammonites, though elsewhere (XIV. i. 4) he seems to call them Arabians, it is possible that the Ammonites had lost their identity at the time of the Nabatæan invasion. Their capital, Rabbah, was rebuilt in the Greek style by Ptolemy Philadelphus of Egypt in the 3rd cent. B.C. and named Philadelphia. Its ruins amid the modern town of '*Amman* are impressive. The god of the Ammonites is called in the OT **Milcom**, a variation of *Melek*, 'king.' When the Jews, just before the Exile, to avert national disaster, performed child-sacrifice to Jawheh as *Melek* or 'king,' the prophets stamped this ritual as of foreign or Ammonite origin on account of the similarity of the name, though perhaps it was introduced from Phœnicia (cf. G. F.

Moore in *Encyc. Bibl.* iii. 3188 ff.). The Ammonites appear to have been a ruthless, semi-savage people. Such a rite may have been practised by them too; if so, it is all that we know of their civilization.

GEORGE A. BARTON.

AMNON.—**1.** Eldest son of David by Ahinoam the Jezreelitess. He dishonoured his half-sister Tamar, and was, on that account, slain by her brother Absalom (2 S 3^2 $13^{1ff.}$). **2.** Son of Shimon (1 Ch 4^{20}).

AMOK.—A priestly family in the time of Zerubbabel and of Joiakim (Neh $12^{7.\ 20}$).

AMOMUM.—Rev 18^{13} RVm. See SPICE.

AMON.—**1.** Son and successor of Manasseh king of Judah. He reigned two years or parts of years. Our Biblical books know only that he carried on the religious practices of his father. He was put to death by a palace conspiracy, but the assassins were punished by the populace, who placed Josiah on the throne (2 K $21^{19ff.}$). It has been suggested that his name is that of the Egyptian sun-god (see next art.). **2.** A governor of Samaria (1 K 22^{26}). **3.** See AMI.

H. P. SMITH.

AMON (Gr. *Ammon*, Egyp. *Amūn*).—An Egyptian divinity, who, primarily worshipped as the god of fertility, and later as *Amen-ra-setn-nteru* ('Amon, the sun-god, the king of the gods'), was the local deity of Thebes. With the subjugation of the petty princes of lower Egypt by Aahmes I. of Thebes (*c.* B.C. 1700), he became the Egyptian national god. His supremacy, recognized for 1100 years by all Egyptian rulers with the exception of Amenophis IV. (*c.* B.C. 1450), came to an end with Esarhaddon's invasion of Egypt (B.C. 670; cf. Jer $46^{25f.}$) and the destruction of Thebes by Ashurbanipal (*c.* B.C. 662; cf. Nah 3^8). After these events he was relegated to the ranks of the local gods. See NO, NO-AMON.

N. KOENIG.

AMORITES.—An ancient people whose presence can be traced in Palestine and Syria and also in Babylonia. From Dt 3^9 it appears that their language differed only dialectically from Canaanite, which was Hebrew. This view is confirmed by many proper names from the monuments. They were accordingly of the same race as the Canaanites. Contract tablets of the time of Hammurabi (B.C. 2250) show that Amorites were in Babylonia at that time (cf. Meissner, *Altbab. Privatrecht*, No. 42). At this period their country was designated by the ideogram MAR-TU. It has long been known that this ideogram stood for Palestine and Syria. At that time, then, the Amorites were already in the West.

Because of the identity of their proper names, it is believed that the Amorites were identical in race with that Semitic wave of immigration into Babylonia which produced the first dynasty of Babylon, the dynasty of Hammurabi (cf. Paton, *Syria and Palestine*, 25–29). Paton holds that an Amoritic wave of migration overran Babylonia and the Mediterranean coast about B.C. 2500, but Johns (*Expos.*, April, 1906, p. 341) holds it probable, also on the basis of proper names, that the Amorites were in both Babylonia and the West before the time of Sargon, B.C. 3800.

About B.C. 1400 we learn from the el-Amarna tablets that the great valley between the Lebanon and Anti-Lebanon ranges, which was afterwards called Cœle-Syria, was inhabited by Amorites, whose prince was Aziru (cf. *KIB*, v. Nos. 42, 44, and 50). At some time they seem to have overrun Palestine also, for in the E document they are regarded as the pre-Israelitish inhabitants of the mountain-land of Palestine, whom the Hebrews conquered (cf. Nu 13^{29}, Jos $24^{8.\ 18}$). This was also the view of the prophet Amos ($2^{9.\ 10}$), and, in part, of Ezekiel ($16^{3.\ 45}$). The J document, on the other hand, regards the Canaanites (wh. see) as the original inhabitants of the country. As the J document originated in the southern kingdom and the E document in the northern, some have inferred that the Amorites were especially strong in Northern Palestine; but even the J document (Jg $1^{34.\ 35}$) recognizes that the Amorites were strong in the Valley of Aijalon. In Jg 1^{36} 'Amorites' is probably a corruption of 'Edomites.' (So G. F. Moore in *SBOT*.) Both J (Nu 32^{39}) and E (Nu 21^{13}) represent the trans-Jordanic kingdom of king Sihon, the capital of which was at Heshbon, and which extended from the Arnon to the Jabbok, as Amoritic, and several later Biblical writers reflect this view. This kingdom was overcome by the Israelites when they invaded Canaan. After the Israelitish conquest the Amorites disappear from our view.

GEORGE A. BARTON.

AMOS.—**1. The man.**—Amos, the earliest of the prophets whose writings have come down to us, and the initiator of one of the greatest movements in spiritual history, was a herdsman, or small sheep-farmer, in Tekoa, a small town lying on the uplands some six miles south of Bethlehem. He combined two occupations. The sheep he reared produced a particularly fine kind of wool, the sale of which doubtless took him from one market to another. But he was also a 'pincher of sycomores.' The fruit of this tree was hastened in its ripening process by being bruised or pinched: and as the sycomore does not grow at so great a height as Tekoa, this subsidiary occupation would bring Amos into touch with other political and religious circles. The simple life of the uplands, the isolation from the dissipation of a wealthier civilization, the aloofness from all priestly or prophetic guilds, had doubtless much to do with the directness of his vision and speech, and with the spiritual independence which found in him so noble an utterance. While he was thus a native of the kingdom of Judah, his prophetic activity awoke in the kingdom of Israel. Of this awakening he gives a most vivid picture in the account of his interview with Amaziah, the priest of Bethel (7^{10-17}). He had gone to Bethel to some great religious feast, which was also a business market. The direct call from God to testify against the unrighteousness of both kingdoms had probably come to him not long before; and amidst the throng at Bethel he proclaimed his vision of Jehovah standing with a plumb-line to measure the deflection of Israel, and prepared to punish the iniquity of the house of Jeroboam II. The northern kingdom had no pleasant memories of another prophet who had declared the judgment of God upon sin (2 K $9^{25ff.}$); and Amaziah, the priest, thinking that Amos was one of a prophetic and official guild, contemptuously bade him begone to Judah, where he could prophesy for hire (7^{12}). The answer came flashing back. Amos disclaimed all connexion with the hireling prophets whose 'word' was dictated by the immediate political and personal interest. He was something better and more honest—no prophet, neither a prophet's son, but a herdsman and a dresser of sycomores, called by God to prophesy to Israel. Herein lies much of his distinctiveness. The earlier prophetic impulse which had been embodied in the prophetic guilds had become professional and insincere. Amos brought prophecy back again into the line of direct inspiration.

2. The time in which he lived.—Am 1^1 may not be part of the original prophecy, but there is no reason to doubt its essential accuracy. Amos was prophesying in those years in which Uzziah and Jeroboam II. were reigning contemporaneously, B.C. 775–750. This date is of great importance, because few prophetic writings are so interpenetrated by the historical situation as those of Amos. For nearly 100 years prior to his time Israel had suffered severely from the attacks of Syria. She had lost the whole of her territory east of Jordan (2 K $10^{32f.}$); she had been made like 'dust in threshing' (13^7). But now Syria had more than enough to do to defend herself from the southward pressure of Assyria; and the result was that Israel once more began to be prosperous and to regain her lost territories. Under Jeroboam II. this prosperity reached its climax. The people revelled in it, giving no thought to any further danger. Even Assyria was not feared, because she

was busy with the settlement of internal affairs, rebellion and pestilence. Amos, however, knew that the relaxation of pressure could be but temporary. He saw that the Assyrian would eventually push past Damascus down into Palestine, and bring in the day of account; and although he nowhere names Assyria as the agent of God's anger, the references are unmistakable (5^{27} $6^{7.\ 14}$ 7^{17}).

It is this careless prosperity with its accompanying unrighteousness and forgetfulness of God that is never out of the prophet's thoughts. The book is short, but the picture of a time of moral anarchy is complete. The outward religious observances are kept up, and the temples are thronged with worshippers (5^{5} 9^{1}); tithes and voluntary offerings are duly paid ($4^{4.\ 5}$ 5^{22}). But religion has divorced itself from morality, the stated worship of God from reverence for the character of God (2^{8}). The rich have their winter houses and their summer houses (3^{15}), houses built of hewn stone (5^{11}), and panelled with ivory (3^{15}). They drink wine by the bowlful (6^{6}), and the fines unjustly extorted from the defenceless are spent in the purchase of wine for the so-called religious feast (2^{8}). Lazy, pampered women, 'kine of Bashan,' are foremost in this unholy oppression (4^{1}). There is no such thing as justice; the very semblance of it is the oppression of the weak by the strong. The righteous are sold for silver, and the poor for a pair of shoes (2^{6}); the houses of the great are stored with the spoils of robbery (3^{10}); bribery and corruption, the besetting sins of the East, are rampant (5^{12}). Commerce shares in the prevailing evil; weights are falsified and food is adulterated ($8^{5.\ 6}$). Immorality is open and shameless (2^{7}). Small wonder that the prophet declares as the word of the Lord, 'I hate, I despise your feasts, and I will take no delight in your solemn assemblies' (5^{21}). While the observances of religion are maintained, the soul of religion has fled. Those who are responsible for the evil condition of things 'are not grieved for the affliction of Joseph' (6^{6}).

3. Contents of the book.—The book is framed upon a definite plan, which is clearer in the opening section than in those which follow.

(i) 1^{2}–2^{16} treats of the judgment upon the nations for their sins. Damascus, Gaza, Tyre, Edom, Ammon, Moab, Judah, and Israel are all passed under review. The assumption is that each people is subject to the dominion of Jehovah. Punishment will be visited upon each for the violation of some broad and universally recognized principle of humanity.

(ii) Chs. 3. 4. 5, three threatening discourses, each introduced by 'Hear ye this word.'

(iii) 7–9^{10}, a series of five visions, interrupted in $7^{10\text{-}17}$ by the account of Amaziah's attempt to intimidate Amos. The visions are (*a*) the devouring locusts ($7^{1\text{-}3}$); (*b*) the consuming fire ($7^{4\text{-}6}$); (*c*) the plumb-line ($7^{7\text{-}9}$); (*d*) the basket of summer fruit ($8^{1\text{-}3}$); (*e*) the smitten sanctuary, and destruction of the worshippers ($9^{1\text{-}10}$).

$9^{11\text{-}16}$ is in striking contrast to the tone of the rest of the book. Instead of threatenings there are now promises. The line of David will be restored to its former splendour; the waste cities shall be built up; the settled agricultural life shall be resumed. This Epilogue is generally acknowledged to be a late addition to the prophecy. It contains no moral feature, no repentance, no new righteousness. It tells only of a people satisfied with vineyards and gardens. 'These are legitimate hopes; but they are hopes of a generation of other conditions and of other deserts than the generation of Amos' (G. A. Smith, *Twelve Prophets*, i. 195).

4. Theology of Amos.—In his religious outlook Amos had many successors, but he had no forerunner. His originality is complete.

(i) *His view of Jehovah.*—Hitherto Jehovah had been thought of as a Deity whose power over His own people was absolute, but who ceased to have influence when removed from certain geographical surroundings (1 K 20^{23}). The existence of other gods had not been questioned even by the most pious of the Israelites; they denied only that these other gods had any claim over the life of the people of Jehovah. But Amos will not hear of the existence of other gods. Jehovah is the God of the whole earth. His supreme claim is righteousness, and where that is not conceded He will punish. He rules over Syria and Caphtor, Moab and Ammon, just as truly as over Israel or Judah (1. 2. 6^{14} 9^{7}). Nature too is under His rule. Every natural calamity and scourge are traced to the direct exercise of His will. Amos therefore lays down a great philosophy of history. God is all-righteous. All events and all peoples are in His hands. Political and natural catastrophes have religious significance (6^{14}).

(ii) *The relationship of Jehovah to Israel.*—Amos, in common with his countrymen, considered the relation of Jehovah to Israel to be a special one. But while they had regarded it as an indissoluble relationship of privilege, a bond that could not be broken provided the stated sacrifices were maintained, Amos declared not only that it could be broken, but that the very existence of such a bond would lay Israel under heavier moral responsibilities than if she had been one of the Gentile nations (3^{2}). As her opportunities had been greater, so too would her punishment for wasting them be proportionately severe. Jehovah's first demands were morality and justice and kindliness, and any sacrificial system that removed the emphasis from these things and placed it on the observance of ritual was an abomination ($5^{21\text{-}25}$).

(iii) *The inevitable judgment.*—It is his certainty of the moral character of God that makes Amos so sure of the coming catastrophe. For the first time in Hebrew literature he uses the expression 'the day of the Lord'—a phrase that may already have been current in a more genial and privileged sense to indicate the day that will utterly destroy the nations ($2^{14\text{-}16}$ $3^{12\text{-}15}$ $4^{2.\ 3.\ 13}$). With this broad view of history, a view from which the idea of special privilege is excluded, he sees in the northern power the instrument of Jehovah's anger (5^{27} 6^{14}); a power that even in its self-aggrandisement is working out Jehovah's purpose.

5. Style.—It was the custom for many a century to accept the verdict of Jerome, that the prophet was rustic and unskilled in speech. That, however, is anything but the case. The arrangement of the book is clear; the Hebrew is pure; and the knowledge of the outside world is remarkable. The survey of the nations with which the prophecy opens is full of precise detail. Amos knows, too, that the Aramæans migrated from Kir, and the Philistines from Caphtor (9^{7}); he has heard of the swellings of the Nile (8^{8} 9^{5}), and regards the fact with a curious dread. He has been a close observer of the social conditions in Israel. Much of his imagery is drawn from nature:—earthquakes and the eclipse of the sun, the cedars and the oaks, the roaring of the lion, the snaring of birds, the bite of the viper; once only does he draw a comparison from shepherd life (3^{12}).

6. Religious significance.—Amos' true significance in religious history is that with him prophecy breaks away on its true line, individual, direct, responsible to none save God. The word of the Lord had come to Amos and he could not but speak (3^{8}). Such a cause produced an inevitable effect. In that direct vision of Jehovah, Amos learned the truths which he was the first to proclaim to the world:—that Jehovah was the God of the whole earth; that the nations were in His keeping; that justice and righteousness were His great demands; that privilege, if it meant opportunity, meant likewise responsibility and liability to the doom of those who have seen and have not believed.

R. Bruce Taylor.

AMOZ (*'Āmōts*).—Father of the prophet Isaiah (2 K 19^{2}, Is 1^{1} etc.), to be carefully distinguished from Amos (*'Āmōs*) the prophet.

AMPHIPOLIS.—A town in a part of Macedonia formerly reckoned to Thrace, on the river Strymon, about 3 miles from its mouth, where the harbour Eion was situated. It was a place of great strategic and mercantile importance. It underwent various vicissitudes, but retained its importance based on its abundant supplies of excellent wine, figs, oil, and wood, its silver and gold mines, its woollen fabrics. The Romans raised it to the rank of a free town and the chief town of the first district of the province Macedonia; through it the Via Egnatia passed. The verb in the Greek (Ac 17^{1}) seems to indicate that St. Paul passed through it without preaching there. A. SOUTER.

AMPLIATUS (AV **Amplias**).—Greeted by St. Paul (Ro 16^{8}), perhaps of the imperial household (Lightfoot on Ph 4^{22}), and a prominent Christian (Sanday-Headlam). The name, a common slave designation, is found inscribed in the catacombs. A. J. MACLEAN.

AMRAM.—**1.** A Levite, son of Kohath and grandson of Levi (Nu 3^{17-19}, 1 Ch $6^{2.\ 3.\ 18}$). He married Jochebed his father's sister, by whom he begat Aaron and Moses (Ex 6^{18-20}) and Miriam (Nu 26^{59}, 1 Ch 6^{3}). The **Amramites** are mentioned in Nu 3^{27}, 1 Ch 26^{23}. **2.** A son of Bani who had contracted a foreign marriage (Ezr 10^{34}).

AMRAPHEL.—The king of Shinar (Gn 14^{1}). He has been identified (by Schrader and usually) with Hammurabi, king of Babylonia, but apart from the difficulties due to differences of spelling, there is no evidence that Hammurabi was ever allied with a king of Elam and a king of Larsa to invade the West. Boscawen suggests AMAR-PAL, the ideographic writing of Sinmuballit, the father of Hammurabi, for whom such an alliance is more likely. See CHEDORLAOMER. C. H. W. JOHNS.

AMULETS AND CHARMS.—**1.** The custom of wearing amulets (*amuletum* from Arab. root = 'to carry') as charms to protect the wearer against the malign influence of evil spirits, and in particular against 'the evil eye,' is almost as wide-spread as the human race itself. Children and domestic animals are supposed to be specially subject to such influence, and to-day 'in the Arabic border lands there is hardly a child, or almost an animal, which is not defended from the evil eye by a charm' (Doughty). The Jews were in this respect like the rest of the world, and in the Talmud it is said that ninety-nine deaths occur from the evil eye to one from natural causes (see MAGIC DIVINATION AND SORCERY).

2. RV has substituted 'amulets' for AV 'ear-rings' in Is 3^{20}, the Heb. word being elsewhere associated with serpent-charming. There is nothing to indicate their precise nature or shape. Our knowledge of early Palestinian amulets has been greatly increased by the recent excavations at Gezer, Taanach, and Megiddo. These have brought to light hundreds of amulets, bewildering in their variety of substance and form—beads of various colours (the blue variety is the favourite amulet at the present day), pendants of slate, pieces of coral, bronze bells (cf. Ex 28^{33} 39^{25}), a tiny ebony fish from the Maccabæan period, a yellow glass pendant with 'good luck to the wearer' in *reversed* Greek letters (*PEFSt*, 1904, illust. p. 354), a small round silver box with blue enamel (*ib.* 1903, illust. p. 303), etc. The influence of Egypt, where amulets were worn by men and gods, by the living and the dead, is shown by the great number of scarabs and 'Horus eyes' unearthed at Gezer and Taanach.

3. The 'consecrated tokens' (2 Mac 12^{40} RV) found by Judas Maccabæus on the bodies of his soldiers were heathen charms against death in battle, the peculiar Gr. word being a tr. of the Aram. word for 'amulet.' The Mishna (*c.* A.D. 200) shows that in NT times a favourite charm (*qemia'*, whence our 'cameo') consisted of a piece of parchment inscribed with sacred or cabalistic writing, and suspended from the neck in a leather capsule. In this connexion it may be noted that 'phylactery' signifies an amulet, and like the *mezuzah* or door-post symbol, was often so regarded.

4. In antiquity jewels were worn quite as much for protective as for decorative purposes, being supposed to draw the attention of the spirit from the wearer. A popular form of jewel-amulet was the moon-shaped **crescent** in gold and silver, like those worn by the Jerusalem ladies (Is 3^{18} RV), and the 'crescents and pendants' worn by the Midianite chiefs and hung from the necks of their camels (Jg $8^{21.\ 26}$ RV). The ear-rings of Gn 35^{4}, also, were evidently more than mere ornaments, so that AV and RV may both be right in their renderings—'ear-rings,' 'amulets'—of Is 3^{20}.

For the amulets worn by the heathen Arabs see Wellhausen, *Reste Arab. Heidenthums* (1887), 143 ff., and for modern Jewish amulets the art. 'Amulet' in Hastings' *DB*. A. R. S. KENNEDY.

AMUSEMENTS.—See GAMES.

AMZI.—**1.** A Merarite (1 Ch 6^{46}). **2.** A priest in the second Temple (Neh 11^{12}).

ANAB.—A city of Judah in the Negeb hills (Jos 11^{21} 15^{50}), inhabited first by the Anakim. Now the ruin *'Anab* near Debir.

ANAEL.—Brother of Tobit and father of Achiacharus (To 1^{21}).

ANAH.—**1.** A daughter of Zibeon, and mother of Oholibamah, one of Esau's wives (Gn $36^{2.\ 14.\ 18.\ 25}$ (R)). Some ancient authorities (including LXX. Sam. Pesh.) read *son* instead of *daughter*, which would identify this Anah with—**2.** A son of Zibeon (Gn 36^{24} (R), 1 Ch $1^{40.\ 41}$). **3.** A Horite 'duke,' brother of Zibeon (Gn $36^{20.\ 29}$ (R), 1 Ch 1^{38}). If we take Anah as an eponym rather than a personal name, and think of relationships between clans rather than individuals, it is quite possible to reduce the above three references to one. In regard to No. **2** the note is appended, 'This is Anah who found the hot springs (AV wrongly 'the mules') in the wilderness, as he fed the asses of Zibeon his father' (Gn 36^{24}).

ANAHARATH (Jos 19^{19}), mentioned with Shion and Rabbith on the east side of the Plain of Esdraelon in Issachar. It is perhaps the modern *en-Na'urah* in the Valley of Jezreel.

ANAIAH ('J" hath answered').—**1.** A Levite (Neh 8^{4}), called **Ananias** in 1 Es 9^{43}. **2.** One of those who sealed the covenant (Neh 10^{22}).

ANAK, ANAKIM.—Early inhabitants of the high levels of Judah, whom tradition credited with colossal height. The word *Anak* is properly a race-name, and, being often used with the article, it is really an appellative, probably meaning 'the long-necked (people).' In the genealogizing narrative of Jos $15^{13.\ 14}$ there were three sons or clans of Anak; Sheshai, Ahiman, and Talmai. These were all driven out by Caleb (cf. Jg 1^{20}). Jos 11^{21} gives them a wider *habitat*, as scattered over the hill-country of Palestine generally, whence they were exterminated by Joshua. In Gaza, Gath, and Ashdod some remnants were to be found after Joshua's time (11^{22}). See also ARBA. J. F. MCCURDY.

ANAMIM.—A people, not yet identified, named in Gn 10^{13} (1 Ch 1^{11}) among the descendants of Mizraim, and therefore to be found somewhere in Egypt.
J. F. MCCURDY.

ANAMMELECH.—A god worshipped by captives transplanted from Sepharvaim to Samaria by the Assyrians (2 K 17^{24}). As human sacrifice (v.^{31}) was the most prominent rite connected with the god's worship, the name, which might be interpreted as meaning 'Anu is prince,' in all probability owes its origin to a scribal endeavour to identify the god with Molech, in whose cult a similar practice existed. See also ADRAMMELECH. N. KOENIG.

ANAN.—**1.** One of those who sealed the covenant (Neh 10^{26}). **2.** 1 Es 5^{30}=**Hanan**, Ezr 2^{46}, Neh 7^{49}.

ANANI.—A son of Elioenai (1 Ch 3[24]).

ANANIAH.—**1.** Neh 3[23], the father of Maaseiah, and grandfather of Azariah, who took part in rebuilding the walls of Jerusalem. **2.** A town inhabited by Benjamites after the Captivity (Neh 11[32]). Possibly the modern *Beit Hanina*, a village 2 miles N. of Jerusalem.

ANANIAS.—This name occurs several times in the Apocrypha: in 1 Es 9[21. 29. 43. 48] (representing 'Hanani' and 'Hananiah' of Ezr 10[20. 28], 'Anaiah' and 'Hanan' of Neh 8[4. 7]) and in To 5[12f.], Jth 8[1]. It is the name of three persons in NT. **1.** The husband of Sapphira, who in the voluntary communism of the early Church sold 'a possession' and kept part of the price for himself, pretending that he had given the whole (Ac 5[1ff.]). The sudden death of husband and wife, predicted by St. Peter, was the signal proof of God's anger on this Judas-like hypocrisy. **2.** A 'devout man according to the law' at Damascus, a disciple who instructed and baptized Saul of Tarsus after his conversion, restoring to him his sight by imposition of hands; he had been warned by the Lord in a vision (Ac 9[10ff. 22[12ff.]). **3.** The high priest at the time when St. Paul was arrested at Jerusalem (Ac 23[2ff.]), a Sadducee, son of Nedebæus, and a rapacious oppressor. He had been in trouble at Rome, but was acquitted, and was now at the height of his power. He pressed the prosecution against St. Paul at Cæsarea (Ac 24[1ff.]). In the Jewish war he was murdered by his countrymen in Jerusalem, out of revenge for his pro-Roman tendencies. A. J. MACLEAN.

ANANIEL.—One of the ancestors of Tobit (To 1[1]).

ANATH.—The father of Shamgar (Jg 3[31] 5[6]). 'Anāt is the name of a goddess worshipped in Pal. (cf. Jg 1[33], Jos 15[59], Is 10[30]); it is found on Egyptian monuments from the 18th dynasty.

ANATHEMA.—See BAN.

ANATHOTH.—**1.** A town in Benjamin given to the Levites (Jos 21[18]); the modern *'Anāta*, 2¼ miles N. of Jerusalem, an insignificant village with considerable ruins. It was the home of Abiathar (1 K 2[26]) and of Jeremiah (Jer 1[1]); re-occupied after the exile (Neh 7[27] 10[19]). **2.** A Benjamite, son of Becher (1 Ch 7[8]).
W. EWING.

ANCESTOR-WORSHIP.—Every people whose religious beliefs have been investigated appears to have passed through the stage of Animism, the stage in which it was believed that the spirits of those recently dead were potent to hurt those they had left behind on earth. The rites observed to-day at an Irish wake have their origin in this fear that the spirit of the dead may injure the living. There are several traces of a similar belief in the OT. When a death took place in a tent or house, every vessel which happened to be open at the time was counted unclean (Nu 19[15]). It remained clean only if it had a covering tied over it. The idea was that the spirit of the dead person, escaping from the body, might take up its abode in some open vessel instead of entering the gloomy realms of Sheol. Many *mourning* customs find their explanation in this same dread of the spirit but lately set free from its human home. The shaving of the head and beard, the cutting of the face and breast, the tearing of the garments—apparently a survival of the time when the mourner stripped off all his clothes—are due to the effort of the survivor to make himself unrecognizable by the spirit.

But to admit that the OT contains traces of Animism is not the same as to declare that at one stage the Israelites practised Ancestor-worship. Scholars are divided into two groups on the subject. Some (Stade, *GVI* i. 451; Smend, *Alttest. Relig.* 112 f.) affirm that Ancestor-worship was of the very substance of the primitive religion of Israel. Others do not at all admit this position (Kautzsch, in Hastings' *DB*, Extra Vol. 614[a]; W. P. Paterson, *ib.* ii. 445[b]). The evidence adduced for Ancestor-worship as a stage in the religious development of Israel proceeds on these lines:

(*a*) Sacrifices were offered at Hebron to Abraham, and at Shechem to Joseph, long before these places were associated with the worship of Jehovah. When a purer faith took possession of men's hearts, the old sacred spots retained their sanctity, but new associations were attached to them. A theophany was now declared to be the fact underlying the sacredness; and the connexion with the famous dead was thus broken. In the same way sacred trees and stones, associated with the old Canaanitish worship, had their evil associations removed by being linked with some great event in the history of Israel. But this existence of sacred places connected with the burial of a great tribal or national hero does not at all prove Ancestor-worship. It is possible to keep fresh a great man's memory without believing that he can either help or hinder the life of those on earth.

(*b*) Evidence from mourning customs. It is held that the cutting and wounding (Jer 16[6] 41[5]), the covering of the head (Ezk 24[17], Jer 14[3]), the rending of the garments (2 S 1[11] 3[31]), the wearing of sackcloth (2 S 21[10], Is 15[3]), are to be explained as a personal dedication to the spirit of the dead. But all this, as we have seen, can be explained as the effort so to alter the familiar appearance that the spirit, on returning to work harm, will not recognize the objects of its spite. Then the customs that had to do with food, the fasting for the dead (1 S 31[13], 2 S 3[35])—the breaking of the fast by a funeral feast after sundown (Hos 9[4], 2 S 3[35], Jer 16[7]), the placing of food upon the grave (Dt 26[14])—do not prove that Ancestor-worship was a custom of the Hebrews. They only show that the attempt was made to appease the spirit of the dead, and that this was done by a sacrifice, which, like all primitive sacrifices, was afterwards eaten by the worshippers themselves. When these funeral rites were forbidden, it was because they were heathenish and unfitting for a people that worshipped the true God.

(*c*) The *teraphim*, it is said, were some form of household god, shaped in human form (1 S 19[13. 16]), carried about as one of the most precious possessions of the home (Gn 31), consulted in divination (Ezk 21[21]), presumably as representing the forefathers of the family. But nothing is known with certainty regarding the *teraphim*. That they were of human form is a very bold inference from the evidence afforded by 1 S 19[13. 16]. The variety of derivations given by the Jews of the word *teraphim* shows that there was complete ignorance as to their origin and appearance.

(*d*) In 1 S 28[13] the spirit of Samuel, called up by the witch of Endor, is called *elohim*. But it is very precarious to build on an obscure passage of this kind, especially as the use of the word *elohim* is so wide (applied to God, angels, and possibly even judges or kings) that no inference can be drawn from this passage.

(*e*) It is argued that the object of the levirate marriage (Dt 25[5ff.]) was to prevent any deceased person being left in Sheol without some one on earth to offer him worship. But the motive stated in v.[6], 'that his name be not put out in Israel,' is so sufficient that the connexion of the levirate marriage with Ancestor-worship seems forced.

The case for the existence of Ancestor-worship among the Hebrews has not been made out. As a branch of the Semitic stock, the Hebrews were, of course, heirs of the common Semitic tradition. And while that tradition did contain much that was superstitious with regard to the power of the dead to work evil on the living, it does not appear that the worship of ancestors, which in other races was so often associated with the stage of Animism, had a place in Hebrew religion. R. BRUCE TAYLOR.

ANCHOR.—See SHIPS AND BOATS.

ANCIENT OF DAYS occurs 3 times in Daniel (7[9. 13. 22]) as a title of God in His capacity as Judge of the world. In the Vision of the Great Assizes He is depicted as a very old and majestic figure, with white hair and white raiment, seated on a fiery throne, and having the books of the records of man opened before Him. The picture is no doubt suggested by the contrast between the Eternal God (Ps 55[19]) and the new-fangled deities which were from time to time introduced (Jg 5[8], Dt 32[17]), rather than, as Hippolytus (quoted by Behrmann, *Das Buch Daniel*, p. 46) suggests, by the idea of God as making the ages old without turning old Himself. In the troublous times which are represented by the Book of Daniel, it was at once a comfort and a warning to remember that above the fleeting phases of life there sat One who remained eternally the same (Ps 90[1-3] 102[24-27]). At the same time it is worth remembering that the phrase in itself has no mystical significance, but, by an idiom common in Hebrew as in other languages, is merely a paraphrase for 'an old man.' H. C. O. LANCHESTER.

ANDREW.—One of the twelve Apostles, Simon Peter's brother (Jn 1[40]). He belonged to Bethsaida of Galilee (v.[44]), the harbour-town of Capernaum (see BETHSAIDA), and was a fisherman on the lake in company with Simon (Mt 4[18]=Mk 1[16]), whose home he also shared (Mk 1[29]). Ere he knew Jesus he had been influenced by the preaching of John the Baptist, and became his disciple, and it was on hearing the Baptist's testimony that he attached himself to Jesus (Jn 1[35-40]). He brought his brother Simon to the newly found Messiah (v.[41]), thus earning the distinction of being the first missionary of the Kingdom of heaven; and it seems that, like the favoured three, he enjoyed a special intimacy with the Master (Mk 13[3]). Tradition adds that he was crucified at Patræ in Achaia, and hung alive on the cross for two days, exhorting the spectators all the while. DAVID SMITH.

ANDRONICUS.—A Christian greeted by St. Paul (Ro 16[7]) as a 'kinsman,' *i.e.* as a fellow-countryman (cf. Ro 9[3] 16[11. 21]), who had been imprisoned for Christ; distinguished as an Apostle (in the largest sense of the name), and a believer from early days, having perhaps come to Rome after the persecution of Ac 11[19]). A. J. MACLEAN.

ANEM (1 Ch 6[73] only).—A town of Issachar, noticed with Ramoth. It appears to answer to **En-gannim** (wh. see) in the parallel list (Jos 21[29]).

ANER.—**1.** One of the three Amorite chieftains, the other two being Mamre and Eshcol, who were in covenant with Abraham (Gn 14[13. 24]). As Mamre is an old name for Hebron (Gn 23[2]), and Eshcol is the name of a valley not far from Hebron (Nu 13[23]), it is natural to suppose that Aner also was the name of a locality which gave its name to a clan. **2.** (1 Ch 6[70] only).—A town of Manasseh, west of Jordan. The site is doubtful.

ANGEL.—**1. Old Testament.**—That in the OT the existence of angels is taken for granted, and that therefore no account of their origin is given, is to be explained by the fact that belief in them is based upon an earlier Animism,* such as is common to all races in the prepolytheistic stage of culture. The whole *material* for the development of Israelite angelology was at hand ready to be used. It must therefore not cause surprise if we find that in its earlier stages the differentiation between Jahweh and angels should be one of degree rather than of kind (see ANGEL OF THE LORD). This is clearly brought out in the earliest of the Biblical documents (J), *e.g.* in Gn 18; here Jahweh is one of three who are represented as companions, Jahweh taking the leading position, though equal honour is shown to all; that the two men with Jahweh are angels is directly asserted in 19[1], where we are told that they went to Sodom, after it had been said in 18[33] that Jahweh 'went his way.' Moreover, Jahweh's original identity with an angel, according to the early Hebrew conception, is distinctly seen by comparing, for example, such a passage as Ex 3[2] with v.[4]; in the former it is the 'angel of the Lord' who appears in the burning bush, in the latter it is God; there is, furthermore, direct identification in Gn 16[10. 13] 21[17ff.]. In the earliest document in which angels are mentioned (J) they appear only by twos or threes, in the later document (E) they appear in greater numbers (Gn 28[12] 32[1. 2]); this is just what is to be expected, for J, the earlier document, represents Jahweh in a less exalted form, who Himself comes down to earth, and personally carries out His purposes; by degrees, however, more exalted conceptions of Him obtain, especially as the conception of His characteristic of holiness becomes realized, so that His presence among men comes to appear incongruous and unfitting, and His activity is delegated to His messengers or angels (see ANGEL OF THE LORD).

(*a*) The English word 'angel' is too specific for the Hebrew (*mal'akh*) for which it is the usual equivalent; for in the Hebrew it is used in reference to men (*e.g.* Gn 32[4 (3)], Dt 2[26], Jg 6[35], Is 33[7], Mal 1[1]), as well as to superhuman beings. Besides the word *mal'akh* there are several other expressions used for what would come under the category of angels, viz.: 'sons of God' (*bene 'elohim*),* Gn 6[2. 4]; 'sons of the mighty' (*bene 'elim*), Ps 89[7 (6)] 29[1]; 'mighty ones' (*gibborim*), Jl 4[11] (3[11] EV); 'the holy ones' (*qedoshim*), Zec 14[5]; 'keepers' (*shōmerim*), Is 62[6]; 'watchers' (*'irim*), Dn 4[14 (17)]. There are also the three expressions: 'the host of Jahweh' (*zeba' Jahweh*), Jos 5[14]; 'the host of the height' (*zeba' marom*), Is 24[21]; 'the host of heaven' (*zeba' shamaim*), Dt 17[3] (see also CHERUBIM, SERAPHIM).

(*b*) Angels are represented as appearing in human form, and as having many human characteristics: they speak like men (1 K 19[5]); they eat (Gn 18[8]); they fight (Gn 32[1], Jl 4[11] (3[11]), cf. 2 S 5[24]); they possess wisdom, with which that of men is compared (2 S 14[17. 20]); they have imperfections (Job 4[18]). On the other hand, they can become invisible (2 K 6[17], Ps 104[4]), and they can fly, if, as appears to be the case, seraphim are to be included under the category of angels (Is 6[6]).

(*c*) The functions of angels may be briefly summarized thus: they guide men, *e.g.* an angel guides the children of Israel on their way to the promised land (Ex 23[20ff.], see below), and it is by the guidance of an angel that Abraham's servant goes in quest of a wife for Isaac (Gn 24[7. 40]); in Job 33[23] an angel guides a man in what is right;† they are more especially the guides of the prophets (1 K 13[18] 19[5ff.], 2 K 1[3. 15], Zec 1[9]); they bring evil and destruction upon men (2 S 24[16. 17], 2 K 19[35], Ps 35[5] 78[49], Job 33[22]; in Pr 16[14] the wrath of a king is likened to angels of death); on the other hand, they are the protectors of men (Ps 34[8 (7)] 91[11]), and save them from destruction (Gn 19[15ff.]); their power is superhuman (2 K 6[17], ‡ cf. Zec 12[8]); they report to God what is going on upon the earth (Job 1[6] 2[1]), for which purpose they are represented as riding on horseback (Zec 1[8-10], cf. Ps 18[11 (10)], Is 19[1] §); their chief duty above is that of praising God (Gn 28[12], Ps 103[20]). Angelic beings seem to be referred to as 'watchmen' in Is 62[6] and Dn 4[14 (17)]. An early mythological element regarding angels is perhaps re-echoed in such passages as Jg 5[20], Is 40[25. 26], and elsewhere.

(*d*) In *Ezekiel*, angels, under this designation, are never mentioned, though the angelology of this book

* This view is supported by the various names in the OT for angels, and their varied functions (see below).

* Cf. the analogous expression 'sons of the prophets' (*benē nebī'īm*).

† The word used in this passage is not the usual one for angel, though its sense of 'messenger' (*mēlīz*) is the same as that of *mal'ākh*.

‡ Though not specifically stated, angels are obviously referred to here.

§ Cf. the *Walküre* in Teutonic mythology.

shows considerable development; other names are given to them, but their main function, viz. messengers of God, is the same as in the earlier books; for example, in 2^2 it is a 'spirit,' instead of an 'angel,' who acts as an intermediary being, see, too, $3^{12ff.}$ $11^{5ff.}$; in $8^{1ff.}$ 40^1 a vision is attributed to 'the hand of the Lord'; in $40^{3ff.}$ it is a 'man' of a supernatural kind who instructs the prophet; and again, in $9^{5ff.}$ 'men,' though clearly not of human kind (see v.[11]), destroy the wicked in Jerusalem. In *Ezk.*, as well as in *Zec.*, angels take up a very definite position of intermediate beings between God and man, one of their chief functions being that of interpreting visions which Divine action creates in the mind of men; in both these books angels are called 'men,' and in both the earlier idea of the 'Angel of the Lord' has its counterpart in the prominent position taken up by some particular angel who is the interpreter of visions. In *Zec.* different orders of angels are for the first time mentioned ($2^{3.\ 4}$ 3^{1-6} 4^1). In *Daniel* there is a further development; the angels are termed 'watchers' ($4^{13.\ 17}$), and 'princes' (10^{13}); they have names, *e.g.* Michael (10^{13} 12^1), Gabriel (8^{16}), and there are special angels ('princes') who fight for special nations ($10^{20.\ 21}$). As in *Zec.* so in *Daniel* there are different orders among the angels, but in the latter book the different categories are more fully developed.

In the attitude taken up in these later books we may see the link between the earlier belief and its development in post-Biblical Jewish literature. The main factors which contributed to this development were, firstly, Babylon; during the Captivity, Babylonian influence upon the Jews asserted itself in this as well as in other respects; according to Jewish tradition the names of the angels came from Babylon. Secondly, Persian influence was of a marked character in post-exilic times; the Zoroastrian belief that Ormuzd had a host of pure angels of light who surrounded him and fulfilled his commands, was a ready-made development of the Jewish belief, handed down from much earlier times, that angels were the messengers of Jahweh. Later still, a certain amount of Greek influence was also exercised upon Jewish angelology.

2. The Apocrypha.—Some of the characteristics of angels here are identical with some of those found in the OT, viz.: they appear in human form (2 Es 1^{40}), they speak like men (To $5^{6ff.}$), they guide men (v.[21]), they bring destruction upon men (1 Mac $7^{41.\ 42}$); on the other hand, they heal men (To 3^{17}), their power is superhuman (12^{19}, Bel $^{34ff.}$, Three ^{26}), and they praise God (2 Es 8^{21}, Three ^{37}). The angelology of the Apocrypha is, however, far more closely allied to that of *Ezk.*, *Zec.*, and *Daniel* than the angelology of these to that of the rest of the OT; this will be clearly seen by enumerating briefly the main characteristics of angels as portrayed in the Apocrypha.

In 2 *Esdras* an angel frequently appears as an instructor of heavenly things; thus in 10^{28} an angel causes Esdras to fall into a trance in order to receive instruction in spiritual matters; in 2^{42}, after an angel has instructed Esdras, the latter is commanded to tell others what he had learned; sometimes an angel is identified with God, *e.g.* in $5^{40.\ 41}$ 7^3, but usually there is very distinct differentiation; sometimes the angel seems almost to be the *alter ego* of Esdras, arguing with himself (cf. $5^{21.\ 22}$ $12^{3ff.}$). In To 12^{6-15} there are some important details,—here an angel instructs in manner of life, but more striking is the teaching that he brings to remembrance before God the prayers of the faithful, and that he superintends the burial of the dead;* he has a name, *Raphael*,† and is one of the seven holy angels ('**archangels**') who present the prayers of the saints, and who go constantly in and out before the presence of God; that there are ranks among the angels is thus taught here more categorically than in the later Biblical books. Further, the idea of *guardian-angels* is characteristic of the Apocrypha; that individuals have their guardian-angels is clearly implied in To 5^{21}, that armies have such is taught in 2 Mac 11^6 15^{23}, while in 2 Mac $3^{25ff.}$ occurs a Jewish counterpart of the Roman legend of Castor and Pollux; there is possibly, in Sir 17^{17}, an indication that nations also have their guardian-angels;* if so, it would be the lineal descendant of the early Israelite belief in national gods. The dealings of angels with men are of a very varied character, for besides the details already enumerated, we have these further points: in Bar $6^{3ff.}$ an angel is to be the means whereby the Israelites in Babylon shall be helped to withstand the temptation to worship the false gods of the land; in To $6^{7.\ 18.\ 17}$ an angel describes a method whereby an evil spirit may be driven away; in v.[8] an angel gives a remedy for healing blindness; in Bel $^{34ff.}$ an angel takes the prophet Habakkuk by the hair and carries him from Judah to Babylonia, in order that he may share his dinner with Daniel in the lion's den; and, once more, in Three $^{26.\ 27}$ an angel smites the flame of the furnace into which the three heroes had been cast, and makes a cool wind to blow in its place (cf. Dn $3^{23ff.}$).

It will thus be seen that the activities of angels are, according to the Apocrypha, of a very varied character. One further important fact remains to be noted: they are almost invariably the benefactors of man, their power far transcends that of man, sometimes an angel is identified with God, yet in spite of this, with one possible exception, 2 Mac 4^{10-13}, no worship is ever offered to them; this is true also of the OT, excepting when an angel is identified with Jahweh; in the NT there is at least one case of the worship of an angel, Rev $22^{8.\ 9}$, cf. Col 2^{18}. The angelology of the Apocrypha is expanded to an almost unlimited extent in later Jewish writings, more especially in the *Book of Enoch*, in the *Targums*, and in the *Talmud*; but with these we are not concerned here.

3. New Testament.—(*a*) In the *Gospels* it is necessary to differentiate between what is said by Christ Himself on the subject and what is narrated by the Evangelists. Christ's teaching regarding angels may be summed up thus: Their dwelling-place is in heaven (Mt 18^{10}, Lk $12^{8.\ 9}$, Jn 1^{51}); they are superior to men, but in the world to come the righteous shall be on an equality with them (Lk 20^{36}); they carry away the souls of the righteous to a place of rest (Lk 16^{22}); they are (as seems to be implied) of neither sex (Mt 22^{30}); they are very numerous (Mt 26^{53}); they will appear with Christ at His second coming [it is in connexion with this that most of Christ's references to angels are made Mt: 13^{39} 16^{27} 24^{31} 25^{31}, Mk 8^{38}, Lk 9^{26}, cf. Jn 1^{51}]; there are bad as well as good angels (Mt 25^{41}), though it is usually of the latter that mention is made; they are limited in knowledge (Mt 24^{36}); there are guardian-angels of children (Mt 18^{10}); they rejoice at the triumph of good (Lk 15^{10}). Turning to the Evangelists, we find that the main function of angels is to deliver God's messages to men (*e.g.* Mt 1^{20} 2^{10} 28^5, Lk 1^{28} 24^{23}). On only one occasion are angels brought into direct contact with Christ (Mt 4^{11}, with the parallel passage Mk 1^{13}), and it is noteworthy that in the corresponding verse in the Third Gospel (Lk 4^{13}) there is no mention of angels. Thus the main differences between Christ's teaching on angels and that which went before are that they are not active among men, their abode and their work are rather in the realms above; they are not the intermediaries between God and men, for it is either Christ Himself, or the Holy Spirit, who speaks directly to men; much emphasis is laid on their presence with Christ at His second coming. On the other hand,

* Cf., in Egyptian belief, the similar functions of Isis and Nephthys.

† Names of angels occur also in 2 Esdras, viz.: *Jeremiel* (4^{36}), *Phaltiel* (5^{16}), and *Uriel* (10^{28}).

* Cf. this idea in the case of the Angel of the Lord (which see)

the earlier belief is reflected in the Gospel angelophanies, which are a marked characteristic of the Nativity and Resurrection narratives; though here, too, a distinct and significant difference is found in that the angel is always clearly differentiated from God.

(*b*) In the *Acts* there seems to be a return to the earlier beliefs, angelic appearances to men being frequently mentioned (5^{19} 7^{30} 11^{13} 12^{8} etc.); their activity in the affairs of men is in somewhat startling contrast with the silence of Christ on the subject. It is possible that most of the references in the Acts will permit of an explanation in the direction of the angelical appearances being subjective visions (*e.g.* 8^{26} 10^{3} $27^{23.\ 24}$); but such occurrences as are recorded in $5^{19.\ 20}$ 12^{7} (both belonging to the Petrine ministry) would require a different explanation; while that mentioned in 12^{23} would seem to be the popular explanation of an event which could easily be accounted for now in other ways. The mention, in 12^{15}, of what is called St. Peter's 'angel' gives some insight into the current popular views concerning angels; it seems clear that a distinction was made between an angel and a spirit (Ac $23^{8.\ 9}$).

(*c*) In the *Pauline Epistles* the origin of angels is stated to be their creation by Christ (Col 1^{16}); as in the Acts, they are concerned with the affairs of men (1 Co 4^{9} 11^{10}, Ro 8^{38}, 1 Ti 5^{21}); at the same time St. Paul emphasizes the teaching of Christ that God speaks to men directly, and not through the intermediacy of angels (Gal 1^{12}, cf. Ac 9^{5}); in Col 2^{18} a warning against the worshipping of angels is uttered, with which compare the worshipping of demons in 1 Co 10^{21}; in accordance with Christ's teaching St. Paul speaks of the presence of angels at the Second Coming (2 Th 1^{7}).

(*d*) In the Ep. to the *Hebrews* the standpoint, as would be expected, is that of the OT, while in the *Apocalypse* the angelology is that common to other apocalyptic literature (cf. also the **archangel** of Jude ^{9}).

W. O. E. Oesterley.

ANGEL OF THE LORD (JAHWEH), called also the 'Angel of God.'—He occupies a special and unique position; he is not merely one among the angels, albeit a great one, but one *sui generis*, in a special way Jahweh's representative among men. He may be regarded as in some sense the guardian-angel of the nation of Israel, in that he appears to be the nation's representative at important crises (*e.g.* Gn $22^{11.\ 15ff.}$, Ex 3^{2} 14^{19} 23^{23}, Nu 22^{22}, Jg 6^{11}, 2 K 1^{3}, Zec 1^{9}).

He appears in human form, and most of the characteristics of angels generally are his. The main difficulty with regard to him is that while in some passages he is identified with Jahweh Himself (*e.g.* Gn $48^{15.\ 16}$, Jg 6^{11-24}), in others there is a distinct differentiation, (*e.g.* Gn 16^{11} 21^{17} 24^{7}; in this last he is spoken of as having been sent from Jahweh); this differentiation becomes more and more marked in the later books (*e.g.* Zec 1^{12}). The contradiction here presented can be adequately explained only on the supposition that the evolution of thought on the subject must have run somewhat on the following lines. From the earliest angelology of the Hebrews, itself the offspring of still earlier Animistic conceptions (see Angel), there emerged the figure of Jahweh; originally, *i.e.* long before the time of Moses, Jahweh must, in the popular mind, have been regarded as belonging to the angelic host, and by degrees He assumed a more and more exalted position; as subjective revelation increased, the more fully did the personality of Jahweh become realized, and His superiority to the angels recognized, though in the process it was inevitable that the differentiation should not always be complete. When ultimately, under the Mosaic dispensation, the holy character and the real nature of Jahweh began to be apprehended, the belief that He personally appeared among men necessarily became more and more untenable; hence, while Jahweh Himself receded further from men, His messenger, or angel, appeared in His stead, and became His representative in all His dealings with men. What must have been such a revolution in the time-honoured faith would meet with many retrograde movements before it finally triumphed, as is shown by such passages as Jg $6^{19ff.}$ Some such process must be predicated in order to understand the otherwise unaccountable contradiction referred to above.

The angel of the Lord spoken of in the NT (*e.g.* Mt 1^{20}, Lk 2^{9}) must not be confounded with the OT 'Angel of Jahweh'; an OT parallel is to be found rather in such a passage as Zec $3^{6.\ 7}$, where the angel is one of a kind, not the only one of his kind.

W. O. E. Oesterley.

ANGELS OF THE SEVEN CHURCHES (Rev 1^{20} 2. 3).—**1.** According to one set of opinions, these angels were **men,** and the majority of writers have held them to be (1) the *presiding presbyters* or *bishops* of their respective churches. But while this view is attractive and popular, the reasons against it are strong. Human officials could hardly be made responsible for their churches as these angels are. A bishop might be called an angel, *i.e.* a messenger, of God or of Christ (cf. Hag 1^{13}, Mal 2^{7}, 2 Co 5^{20}), but would he be called 'the angel of the church'? Above all, it is certain that at the early date to which the Apocalypse is now generally assigned a settled episcopate was unknown. (2) Others have supposed that the angels were *congregational representatives*, church messengers or deputies (which would be in harmony with the proper meaning of the word 'angel'), or even the person who acted as 'Reader' to the assembled church (notice 'he that readeth' in v.^{3}). But if the responsibility put upon the angels is too great for bishops, it is much too great for any lesser functionaries. Besides, the glory and dignity assigned to them as the stars of the churches (1^{20}) is inconsistent with a position like that of a mere Reader or deputy.

2. A good many have held that 'angels' is to be understood in its ordinary Scriptural application, not to men, but to **celestial beings.** In support of this are—(1) the fact that throughout the rest of the book the Gr. word, which is of very frequent occurrence, is invariably used in this sense; (2) our Lord's utterance in Mt 18^{10}, which suggests a doctrine of angelic guardianship; (3) the fact that in Daniel, to which the Apocalypse is so closely related, the guardianship of angels is extended to nations (12^{1}). The objections, however, are serious. No definite Scriptural teaching can be adduced in favour of the idea that churches have their guardian-angels. Messages intended for churches would hardly be addressed to celestial beings. Moreover, it is scarcely conceivable that such beings would be identified with particular churches in all their infidelities and shortcomings and transgressions, as these angels are (see, *e.g.*, $3^{1.\ 15ff.}$).

3. The most probable view, accordingly, is that the angels are **personifications** of their churches—not actual persons either on earth or in heaven, but ideal representatives. It is the church, of course, that receives the letter, the 'Thou' of address having manifestly a collective force, and it is to the church itself that the letter is sent (cf. 1^{11}, where there is no mention of the angels). The idea of angels was suggested, no doubt, by the later Jewish beliefs on the subject, but it is used in a figurative manner which suits the whole figurative treatment, where the glorified Jesus walks among the golden candlesticks, and sends to the churches messages that are couched in highly metaphorical language. It might seem to be against this ideal view that the seven churches, as candlesticks, are definitely distinguished from the seven angels, as stars ($1^{12.\ 16.\ 20}$). But it is quite in keeping with the inevitable distinction between an actual and an ideal church that they should be thus contrasted as a lamp and a star.

J. C. Lambert.

ANGER.—In OT 'anger' represents about a dozen Heb. roots, which occur as nouns, vbs. (once 'angered'

is used transitively, Ps 106[32]), and adjs. By far the most frequent words are *anaph* (lit. 'to snort') and its deriv. noun *aph*, which is used of the anger both of men (Gn 27[45] 30[2], Ex 11[8] 32[19] etc.) and God (Ex 4[14] 32[22], Ps 6[1] 7[6] etc.). In NT 'anger' is of much less frequent occurrence, and represents only 2 roots: (1) the noun *orgē* (wh., however, is usually tr. 'wrath'), the vb. *orgizomai*, the adj. *orgilos* (only in Tit 1[7]), and the trans. vb. *parorgizō* (Ro 10[19], the only case of a trans. use of 'anger' in NT); (2) the vb. *cholaō* (lit. 'to be full of bile,' fr. *cholē*, 'bile'), used only in Jn 7[23] to express the bitter anger of 'the Jews' against Jesus. With regard to the distinction between *orgē* and the synon. *thumos*, it is to be noted that while *orgē* is very often tr. 'wrath,' *thumos* is never tr. 'anger,' and when the two words occur together, *thumos* in each case is 'wrath' (Ro 2[8], Eph 4[31], Col 3[8]) and *orgē* 'anger' (Eph 4[31], Col 3[8]) or 'indignation' (Ro 2[8]). *Thumos* is the more violent word, denoting anger as a strong passion or emotion, while *orgē* points rather to a settled moral indignation. Thus *orgē* is used of the sorrowful anger of Jesus (Mk 3[5]); *thumos* of the rage of His enemies (Lk 4[28]; cf. Ac 19[28]). And, outside of the Apocalypse, *thumos* is applied almost exclusively to the wrath of men (the only exception being Ro 2[8]), while *orgē* in the great majority of cases (Mt 3[7], Jn 3[36], Ro 1[18] etc.) denotes the righteous indignation of God. J. C. Lambert.

ANGER (WRATH) OF GOD.—It might seem that the idea of the Divine anger, manifesting itself in judgments of destruction, belongs to an early and anthropomorphic stage of religion. Yet, on the whole, the Biblical conception will be found consistent and profoundly ethical. God is *holy*—a term which seems to unite all the unapproachable perfections of Deity, especially His majesty and awful purity. He is the 'Holy One of Israel,' in covenant relation with a nation to whom He has revealed Himself as holy, and whom He will fashion with slow redemptive purpose into 'an holy people.' Moreover, God is *righteous*, a moral governor and lawgiver, demanding obedience and punishing transgression of His commands. The Divine holiness is not an element in an abstract conception of Deity: it is not a passive perfection, but an active attribute of a self-revealing and redeeming God. It follows that one side of this activity is necessarily a reaction against, a repudiation of, what is unholy and unrighteous in His creatures. This disposition towards sin is the anger or wrath of God. In the history of Israel it appears as a terrible factor in the discipline of the nation to righteousness: the ungrateful, the rebellious, and especially the idolatrous, are destroyed by fire and sword, pestilence and famine (Ps 78, Dt 32[15-43]). So 'jealous' is God for His holiness, that even accidental profanation of its symbol, the Ark, is visited by extreme penalty (1 S 6[19. 20], 2 S 6[7]). But the anger of the Lord, though fierce, is also just: it is 'provoked' by moral causes and for moral ends, and is averted by penitence and moral acquiescence in the righteousness of His judgments (Ex 32, Lv 10[6], Nu 25[11], Dt 13[17]). Psalmist and Prophet dwell upon the subordination of the Divine anger to the Divine mercy. God is 'slow to anger' (Ps 103[8] 145[8], Jl 2[13], Jon 4[2], Nah 1[3]), and His anger passes away (Ps 30[5], Is 12[1], Jer 3[12], Mic 7[18]).

Yet the wrath of God remains an essential element of His revelation through the prophets, a real Divine attribute, conplementary, not antithetic to the Divine mercy (Is 1[18-20] 5[25] 42[25] 54[8]). In the NT, although the stress has shifted to the love of God revealed to the world in Jesus Christ, the anger of God still holds place. The teaching of Jesus, while refusing to see in all physical ills the Divine displeasure against sin (Lk 13[1-5], Jn 9[3]), contains impressive warning of the terrible reality of God's judgments (Lk 13[3-5], Mt 25[30. 41], Lk 12[5]). In St. Paul's writings this conception of judgment, held in reserve against unrepentant sin, is expressed in the phrase 'the wrath of God,' or, more simply, 'the wrath' (Ro 1[18], Eph 5[6], Col 3[6], Ro 2[8] 5[9]). There is a coming 'day of wrath' (Ro 2[5], cf. Mt 3[7]); sinful man unredeemed by Christ is necessarily a 'vessel of wrath,' a 'child of wrath' (Ro 9[22], Eph 2[3]).

It is true that the NT references to God's anger are mainly eschatological and contain figurative elements (see esp. Rev 6[16] 'the wrath of the Lamb,' 11[18] 14[10] 16[19] 19[15]). But for the significance of the Divine wrath as an ethical necessity in God, though His fundamental attribute is love, it may be noted that (1) the writer through whom the revelation of the Divine love attains its culminating expression ('God *is* love,' 1 Jn 4[8]) declares also of him that obeys not the Son, 'the wrath of God abideth on him' (Jn 3[36]). (2) The Epistle which shows how in Christ the aloofness and terror of Israel's worship are done away in favour of full and free access to a 'throne of grace,' has, as the climax to its glowing description of Christian privilege, the solemn warning 'our God is a consuming fire' (He 12[18-29]).

S. W. Green.

ANGLE.—Is 19[8], Hab 1[15]. The same Heb. word is translated 'hook' in Job 41[1].

ANIAM.—A man of Manasseh (1 Ch 7[19]).

ANIM (Jos 15[50] only).—A town of Judah, in the mountains near Eshtemoh. It seems probable that it is the present double ruin of *Ghuwein*, west of Eshtemoh.

ANISE (RV **'dill,'** Mt 23[23]) is the familiar plant *Anethum graveolens*, one of the Umbelliferæ. It is indigenous in Palestine, and is extensively used both in cooking and in the form of 'dill water' as a domestic remedy for flatulence. It is expressly stated in Jewish writers that the dill was subject to tithe.

E. W. G. Masterman.

ANKLE-CHAINS, ANKLETS.—See Ornaments, § 1.

ANNA (the Greek form of Heb. *Hannah*, which means 'grace').—The name of an aged prophetess (Lk 2[36-38]), one of the godly remnant in Israel who in the dark days which preceded the Messiah's advent were looking for the dayspring from on high and waiting for the consolation of Israel. She was the daughter of Phanuel, and belonged to the ancient tribe of Asher, whose women were celebrated for their beauty, which fitted them for wedding with high priests and kings. She had attained a great age, upwards of a hundred years, since she had been a wife for seven years and a widow for eighty-four (see RV). She had given herself to a life of devotion, frequenting the Temple and 'worshipping with fastings and supplications night and day' (cf. 1 Ti 5[5]). At the Presentation of the Infant Messiah (Lk 2[22-24]) she entered the sacred court, and, hearing Simeon's benediction and prophecy, took up the refrain of praise and talked about the Holy Child to her godly intimates, quickening their hope and preparing a welcome for the Saviour when He should by and by be manifested unto Israel. David Smith.

ANNAS.—**1.** High priest from A.D. 6 to 15, an astute and powerful ecclesiastical statesman. At the time of our Lord's trial he was merely high priest *emeritus*, and his son-in-law Caiaphas, the acting high priest, presided *ex officio* over the meeting of the Sanhedrin (Jn 18[24], Mt 26[57]). Nevertheless, since the high priest *emeritus* retained not only his title (cf. Jn 18[15. 16. 19. 22], Ac 4[6]), but all his obligations and many of his prerogatives, it is not surprising that the masterful Annas took an active and independent part in the proceedings. After Jesus' arrest at dead of night, 'they led him to Annas first' (Jn 18[13]). The Sanhedrin might not meet until daybreak, and the interval seemed well employed in a preliminary examination of the prisoner by the skilful veteran (Jn 18[12. 19-23]). Subsequently he took part also in the trial of Peter and John (Ac 4[6]). **2.** 1 Es 9[32] = Ezr 10[31] **Harim.** David Smith.

ANNIS.—The eponym of a family that returned with Zerubbabel (1 Es 5^{16}). Omitted in Ezr. and Neh.

ANNUS.—A Levite (1 Es 9^{48} = Neh 8^{7} **Bani**).

ANNUUS (1 Es 8^{48}).—The name does not occur in Ezr 8^{19}.

ANOINTING, ANOINTED.—**1.** The Hebrews distinguished between anointing with oil in the sense of its application to the body in ordinary life (*sûk*), and anointing by pouring sacred oil on the head as a rite of consecration (*māshach*). As regards the former, olive oil, alone or mixed with perfumes, was largely used in the everyday toilet of the Hebrews, although among the poor its use would be reserved for special occasions (Ru 3^{3}). To abstain from anointing in this sense was one of the tokens of mourning (2 S 14^{2}), its resumption a sign that mourning was at an end (12^{20}). Honour was shown to a guest by anointing his head with oil (Ps 23^{5}, Lk 7^{46}), and still more by anointing his feet (Lk 7^{38}). For medicinal anointing see Oil.

2. Anointing as a religious rite was applied to both persons and things. **Kings** in particular were consecrated for their high office by having oil poured upon their heads, a practice which seems to have originated in Egypt. Though first met with in OT in the case of Saul (1 S 10^{1}, cf. David, 2 S 2^{4} 5^{3}, Solomon, 1 K 1^{39} etc.), the rite was practised in Canaan long before the Hebrew conquest. By the pouring of the consecrated oil upon the head (see 2 K 9^{3}), there was effected a transference to the person anointed of part of the essential holiness and virtue of the deity in whose name and by whose representative the rite was performed. By the Hebrews the rite was also believed to impart a special endowment of the spirit of J" (1 S 16^{13}, cf. Is 61^{1}). Hence the sacrosanct character of the king as 'the Lord's anointed' (Heb. *meshiach* [*Jahweh*], which became in Greek *messias* or, translated, *christos* —both 'Messiah' and 'Christ,' therefore, signifying 'the anointed'). The application of this honorific title to kings alone in the oldest literature makes it probable that the similar consecration of the **priesthood** (Ex 29^{7} $40^{13\text{-}15}$, Lv $8^{1\text{-}12}$) was a later extension of the rite. Only one exceptional instance is recorded of the anointing of a **prophet** (1 K 19^{16}—Is 61^{1} is metaphorical).

In the case of inanimate objects, we find early mention of the primitive and wide-spread custom of anointing **sacred stones** (Gn 28^{18} etc., see Pillar), and in the Priests' Code **the tabernacle** and its furniture were similarly consecrated (Ex $30^{29\text{ff.}}$ 40^{9}). For 2 S 1^{21} see War. See also Mary, No. 2. A. R. S. Kennedy.

ANON.—A contraction for 'in one (moment),' 'anon' means *at once*, as Mt 13^{20} 'he that received the seed into stony places, the same is he that heareth the word, and anon (RV 'straightway') with joy receiveth it.'

ANOS.—1 Es 9^{34} = **Vaniah**, Ezr 10^{36}.

ANSWER.—An answer is (1) an apology or defence, as 2 Ti 4^{16} 'at my first answer no man stood by me'; so perhaps 1 P 3^{21} 'the answer of a good conscience'; (2) oracle, Divine response, as Ro 11^{4} 'what saith the answer of God?'

ANT (*nemālāh*, Arab. *namlah*).—Ants are exceedingly abundant all over Palestine, where, through their vast numbers, they perform a most important rôle, by continually changing the surface soil in the way earthworms do in northern countries. No more apt illustration of diligence (Pr $6^{6\text{-}8}$) could be found than these little insects, which, in all but the wettest weather, can be seen scurrying backwards and forwards on the long tracks they have made. Some common varieties of Palestine ants (*Aphænogaster barbara*, *A. structor* and *Pheidole megacephala*) store up great quantities of various kinds of seeds, which they are able, in some unknown way, to prevent germinating and make use of as food (Pr 30^{25}). Whole troops of these little insects may be seen carrying seeds, often many times their own size and weight, from a distant garden or corn-field. The writer has even seen a procession of ants carrying their harvest under the thickness of a broad mud wall which bounded the corn-field, and then across a wide and frequented road. The stores of seeds so collected have been found so great that the Mishna laid down rules in regard to their ownership. If they were discovered in the field before reaping, they belonged to the owner, but if afterwards, they were all or in part for the poor. The sagacity of the ant in this and other respects is widely recognized both in Oriental lore—as in Pr $30^{24.\ 25}$ —and even more forcibly by the modern naturalist.

E. W. G. Masterman.

ANTELOPE (RV).—A doubtful translation of *te'ō*, Dt 14^{5} and Is 51^{20}. Tradition, our only guide here, is in favour of 'ox' [wh. see]. E. W. G. Masterman.

ANTHOTHIJAH.—A man of Benjamin (1 Ch 8^{24}).

ANTICHRIST.—The great opponent and counterpart of Christ, by whom he is finally to be conquered. The word appears only in the NT (1 Jn $2^{18\text{-}22}$ 4^{3}, 2 Jn ^{7}), but the idea was present in Judaism and developed with the growth of the Messianic hope.

1. The origin of the conception.—While the precise term 'Antichrist' is lacking in Jewish literature, the idea of an opponent who persecutes God's people and is ultimately to be conquered by the Messiah, is an integral part of that general hope, born in Prophetism, which developed into Messianism in the NT period. As in the case of so many elements of Messianism, the beginning of the 'opponent' idea may fairly be said to have been Dn 11^{36} (cf. also Zec 12–14), where the reference is to Antiochus IV.; but it would be a mistake to see in the Antichrist conception of the Johannine literature an unprecedented description of distinct personalities. There seems to have been rather a gradually developing anti-Messianic scheme, which at many points duplicated the developing Messianic hope. This general conception, which played an important rôle in early Christianity, was probably due to the synthesis of at least five factors, each independent in origin.

(*a*) *The historical opponents of the Jews*, such as Antiochus IV., Pompey, and the Roman Empire in general (cf. the position of Gog in Prophetic thought). These naturally aroused the most intense hatred on the part of the Jews, particularly those under the influence of Pharisaism. Their hostility was regarded as extending not only to the Jews as a nation, but as heathen, to Jehovah himself, and particularly to His plans for the Jewish people. This political hatred of the Pharisees entered into the Antichrist expectation, just as their political hope went into the Messianic programme. Both alike tended to grow transcendental.

(*b*) *The dualism of Babylonia and Persia, especially as it was expressed by the dragon*, between whom and the agents of righteousness there was to be a fight to the death. This dragon conception may with much probability be seen not only in the identification of the serpent of the Temptation with the devil, but also in the **beast** of the Johannine Apocalypse, the great opponent of the Christ, and in the sea monster of Rabbinism.

(*c*) *The Beliar* (*or Belial*) *myth*, which underlies the NT thought (cf. 2 Co 6^{15}), as well as Jewish fears. The first reference to Beliar seems to have been in Jubilees 1^{20}, but the myth is not unlike that of the Babylonian *Tiamat*, queen of the abyss, who was conquered by Marduk. Subsequently he was identified with Satan, who was also identified with the dragon (cf. Ascens. Is $4^{3.\ 4}$, Rev 12^{10}). This identification was the first step towards the fully developed expectation of the Talmud, of a conflict between God and the devil.

(*d*) *Belief in the return from death of the persecuting Emperor Nero.*—This expectation seems to have been widely diffused throughout the Roman Empire in the latter part of the first Christian century (*Sib. Or.* iv. 119–150, v. 363 ff.), and lies behind the figures of Rev 13.

16. and 17. He is apparently to return with the kings of Parthia, but he is also, in Rev 17^{8-11}, identified with the beast of the abyss (cf. *Sib. Or.* v. 28–34).

(*e*) *The myth of Simon Magus, or that of the false prophet.*—This myth seems to have been common in Christian circles, and Simon Magus (wh. see) became the typical (Jewish) prophet and magician who opposed Christianity.

2. Synthesis of the elements.—These various elements possess so much in common that it was inevitable that they should be combined in the figure of the Satanic opponent whom the Christ would utterly destroy as a pre-condition of establishing His Kingdom of God. A study of the Book of Revelation, as well as of other NT writings (*e.g.* 2 Th 2^{1-12}, 2 Co 6^{15}, 1 Jn 2^{18-22} 4^{3}, 2 Jn ^{7}, Rev 11^{4-13} 13^{1-18} 17. 19^{11-21}, Mk 13^{14-20}), will show that there was always present in the minds of the writers of the NT a superhuman figure, Satanic in power and character, who was to be the head of opposition both to the people of Christ and to the Christ Himself. This person is represented in *Assumption of Moses* (ch. 8), *Ascension of Isaiah* (ch. 4), as well as in other Jewish writings, as one who possessed the Satanic supremacy over the army of devils. He was not a general tendency, but a definite personality. As such it was easy to see his counterpart or incarnation in historical characters. Indeed, the entire anti-Messianic programme was employed to characterize historical situations. We must think similarly of the use of 'the man of lawlessness' of St. Paul (2 Th 2^{3}; see MAN OF SIN) and the various opponents of Christ in the Apocalypse. Transcendental pictures and current eschatology set forth the Christian's fear on the one hand of the Roman Emperor or Empire as a persecuting power, and on the other of Jewish fanaticism. Just which historical persons were in the mind of the writers it is now impossible to say with accuracy, but Nero and Domitian are not unlikely.

In the Patristic period the eschatological aspects of the anti-Messianic hope were developed, but again as a mystical picture of historical conditions either existing or expected. In Ephraem Syrus we have the fall of the Roman Empire attributed to Antichrist. He is also by the early Church writers sometimes identified with the false Jewish Messiah, who was to work miracles, rebuild the Temple, and establish a great empire with demons as his agents. Under the inspiration of the two Witnesses (Elijah and Enoch) the Messianic revolt against the Antichrist was to begin, the Book of Revelation being interpreted literally at this point. The saints were to be exposed to the miseries that the book describes, but the Messiah was to slay Antichrist with the breath of His mouth, and establish the Judgment and the conditions of eternity.

Thus in Christian literature that fusion of the elements of the Antichrist idea which were present in Judaism and later Christianity is completed by the addition of the traits of the false prophet, and extended under the influence of the current polemic against Jewish Messianism. The figure of Antichrist, Satanic, Neronic, falsely prophetic, the enemy of God and His Kingdom, moves out into theological history, to be identified by successive ages with nearly every great opponent of the Church and its doctrines, whether persecutor or heretic.

SHAILER MATHEWS.

ANTILIBANUS.—Jth 1^{7}. See LEBANON.

ANTIMONY.—Is 54^{11} RVm. See EYE.

ANTIOCH (Syrian).—By the issue of the battle of Ipsus, Seleucus Nikator (B.C. 312–280) secured the rule over most of Alexander the Great's Asiatic empire, which stretched from the Hellespont and the Mediterranean on the one side to the Jaxartes and Indus on the other. The Seleucid dynasty, which he founded, lasted for 247 years. Possessed with a mania for building cities and calling them after himself or his relatives, he founded no fewer than 37, of which 4 are mentioned in the NT—(1) Antioch of Syria (Ac 11^{19}), (2) Seleucia (Ac 13^{4}), (3) Antioch of Pisidia (Ac 13^{14} 14^{21}, 2 Ti 3^{11}), and (4) Laodicea (Col 4^{13-16}, Rev 1^{11} 3^{14}). The most famous of the 16 Antiochs, which he built and named after his father Antiochus, was Antioch on the Orontes in Syria. The spot was carefully chosen, and religious sanction given to it by the invention of a story that sacred birds had revealed the site while he watched their flight from a neighbouring eminence. It was politically of advantage that the seat of empire should be removed from the Euphrates valley to a locality nearer the Mediterranean. The new city lay in the deep bend of the Levant, about 300 miles N. of Jerusalem. Though 14 miles from the sea, the navigable river Orontes, on whose left bank it was built, united it with Seleucia and its splendid harbour. Connected thus by the main caravan roads with the commerce of Babylon, Persia, and India, and with a seaport keeping it in touch with the great world to the W., Antioch speedily fell heir to that vast trade which had once been the monopoly of Tyre. Its seaport Seleucia was a great fortress, like Gibraltar or Sebastopol. Seleucus attracted to his new capital thousands of Jews, by offering them equal rights of citizenship with all the other inhabitants. The citizens were divided into 18 wards, and each commune attended to its own municipal affairs.

His successor, Antiochus I., *Soter* (B.C. 280–261), introduced an abundant water supply into the city, so that every private house had its own pipe, and every public spot its graceful fountain. He further strove to render Antioch the intellectual rival of Alexandria, by inviting to his court scholars, such as Aratus the astronomer, and by superintending the translation into Greek of learned works in foreign tongues. In this way the invaluable history of Babylon by Berosus, the Chaldæan priest, has been rescued from oblivion.

The succession of wars which now broke out between the Seleucidæ and the Ptolemys is described in Dn 11. The fortunes of the war varied greatly. Under the next king but one, Seleucus II., *Kallinikus* (B.C. 246–226), Ptolemy Euergetes captured Seleucia, installed an Egyptian garrison in it, and harried the Seleucid empire as far as Susiana and Bactria, carrying off to Egypt an immense spoil. Worsted on the field, Kallinikus devoted himself to the embellishment of his royal city. As founded by S. Nikator, Antioch had consisted of a single quarter. Antiochus I., *Soter*, had added a second, but Kallinikus now included a third, by annexing to the city the island in the river and connecting it to the mainland by five bridges. In this new area the streets were all at right angles, and at the intersection of the two principal roads the way was spanned by a tetrapylon, a covered colonnade with four gates. The city was further adorned with costly temples, porticoes, and statues. But the most remarkable engineering feat begun in this reign was the excavation of the great dock at Seleucia, the building of the protecting moles, and the cutting of a canal inland through high masses of solid rock. The canal is successively a cutting and a tunnel, the parts open to the sky aggregating in all 1869 ft., in some places cut to the depth of 120 ft., while the portions excavated as tunnels (usually 24 ft. high) amount in all to 395 ft.

With Antiochus III., *the Great* (B.C. 223–187), the fortunes of the city revived. He drove out the Egyptian garrison from Seleucia, ended the Ptolemaic sovereignty over Judæa, reduced all Palestine and nearly all Asia Minor to his sway, until his might was finally shattered by the Romans in the irretrievable defeat of Magnesia (B.C. 190). After the assassination of his son Seleucus IV., *Philopator* (B.C. 187–175), who was occupied mostly in repairing the financial losses his kingdom had sustained, the brilliant but wholly unprincipled youth Antiochus IV. *Epiphanes* (B.C. 175–164), succeeded to the throne. With the buffoonery of a Caligula and the vice of a Nero, he united the genius for architecture and Greek culture which he inherited from his race. In his dreams Antioch

was to be a metropolis, second to none for beauty, and Greek art and Greek religion were to be the uniform rule throughout all his dominions. To the three quarters already existing he added a fourth, which earned for Antioch the title 'Tetrapolis.' Here he erected a Senate House, a temple to Jupiter Capitolinus on one of the eminences of Mt. Silpius, and a strong citadel on another spur of the mountains that surround the city. From E. to W. of Antioch he laid out a splendid corso with double colonnades, which ran for 5 miles in a straight line. In wet weather the populace could walk from end to end under cover. Trees, flowers, and fountains adorned the promenade; and poets sang of the beauty of the statue of Apollo and of the Nymphæum which he erected near the river. To avert the anger of the gods during a season of pestilence, he ordered the sculptor Leios to hew Mt. Silpius into one vast statue of Charon, the infernal ferryman. It frowned over the city, and was named the Charonium. Epiphanes' policy of Hellenizing Palestine evoked the determined opposition of the Maccabees, and in the wars which ensued his forces suffered many defeats, though the injuries and atrocities he committed in Jerusalem were unspeakable. With Antiochus Epiphanes died the grandeur of the Syrian throne.

Succeeding princes exercised only a very moderate influence over the fortunes of Palestine, and the palmy days of Antioch as a centre of political power were gone for ever. The city was the scene of many a bloody conflict in the years of the later Seleucidæ, as usurper after usurper tried to wade through blood to the throne, and was shortly after overcome by some rival. In several of these struggles the Jews took part, and as the power of Antioch waned, the strength and practical independence of the Jewish Hasmonæan princes increased. In B.C. 83 all Syria passed into the hands of Tigranes, king of Armenia, who remained master of Antioch for 14 years. When Tigranes was overwhelmed by the Romans, Pompey put an end to the Seleucid dynasty, and the line of Antiochene monarchs expired in B.C. 65. The strong *Pax Romana* gave new vigour to the city. Antioch was made a free city, and became the seat of the prefect and the capital of the Roman province of Syria. Mark Antony ordered the release of all the Jews in it enslaved during the recent disturbances, and the restoration of their property. As a reward for Antioch's fidelity to him, Julius Cæsar built a splendid basilica, the *Cæsareum*, and gave, besides, a new aqueduct, theatre, and public baths. Augustus, Agrippa, Herod the Great, Tiberius, and, later, Antoninus Pius, all greatly embellished the city, contributing many new and striking architectural features. The ancient walls were rebuilt to the height of 50–60 ft., with a thickness at the top of 8 ft., and surmounted by gigantic towers. The vast rampart was carried across ravines up the mountain slope to the very summit of the hills which overlook the city. Antioch seemed thus to be defended by a mountainous bulwark, 7 miles in circuit. Earthquakes have in later ages demolished these walls, though some of the Roman castles are still standing.

When Christianity reached Antioch, it was a great city of over 500,000 inhabitants, called the 'Queen of the East,' the 'Third Metropolis of the Roman Empire.' In 'Antioch the Beautiful' there was to be found everything which Italian wealth, Greek æstheticism, and Oriental luxury could produce. The ancient writers, however, are unanimous in describing the city as one of the foulest and most depraved in the world. Cosmopolitan in disposition, the citizens acted as if they were emancipated from every law, human or Divine. Licentiousness, superstition, quackery, indecency, every fierce and base passion, were displayed by the populace; their skill in coining scurrilous verses was notorious, their sordid, fickle, turbulent, and insolent ways rendered the name of Antioch a byword for all that was wicked. Their brilliance and energy, so praised by Cicero, were balanced by an incurable levity and shameless disregard for the first principles of morality. So infamous was the grove of Daphne, five miles out of the city, filled with shrines to Apollo, Venus, Isis, etc., and crowded with theatres, baths, taverns, and dancing saloons, that soldiers detected there were punished and dismissed the Imperial service. 'Daphnic morals' became a proverb. Juvenal could find no more forcible way of describing the pollutions of Rome than by saying, 'The Orontes has flowed into the Tiber.' In this Vanity Fair the Jews were resident in large numbers, yet they exerted little or no influence on the morals of the city. We hear, however, of one Nicolas, a proselyte of Antioch (Ac 6^5), and there may have been more. But after the death of St. Stephen, Christian fugitives from persecution fled as far north as Antioch, began to preach to the Greeks there (Ac 11^{19}), and a great number believed. So great was the work that the Jerus. Church sent Barnabas to assist, who, finding that more help was needed, sought out and fetched Saul from Tarsus. There they continued a year, and built up a strong Church. Antioch had the honour of being the birthplace of (1) the name 'Christian' (Ac 11^{26}), and (2) of foreign missions. From this city Paul and Barnabas started on their first missionary journey (Ac 13^{1-4}), and to Antioch they returned at the end of the tour (Ac 14^{26}). The second journey was begun from and ended at Antioch (Ac 15^{35-41} 18^{22}); and the city was again the starting-point of the third tour (Ac 18^{23}). The Antiochene Church contributed liberally to the poor saints in Jerus. during the famine (Ac 11^{27-30}). Here also the dispute regarding the circumcision of Gentile converts broke out (Ac 15^{1-22}), and here Paul withstood Peter for his inconsistency (Gal 2^{11-21}). After the fall of Jerusalem, Antioch became the true centre of Christianity. A gate still bears the name of 'St. Paul's Gate.' It was from Antioch that Ignatius set out on his march to martyrdom at Rome. The city claimed as its natives John Chrysostom, Ammianus Marcellinus, Evagrius, and Libanius. From A.D. 252–380 Antioch was the scene of ten Church Councils. The Patriarch of Antioch took precedence of those of Rome, Constantinople, Jerusalem, and Alexandria. Antioch was captured in A.D. 260 by Sapor of Persia; in A.D. 538 it was burned by Chosroes; rebuilt by Justinian, it again fell before the Saracens in A.D. 635. Nicephorus Phocas recovered it in A.D. 969, but in A.D. 1084 it fell to the Seljuk Turks. The first Crusaders retook it in 1098 after a celebrated siege, signalized by the 'invention of the Holy Lance'; but in 1268 it passed finally into the hands of the Turks. Earthquakes have added to the ruining hand of man. Those of B.C. 184, A.D. 37, 115, 457, and esp. 526 (when 200,000 persons perished), 528, 1170, and 1872 have been the most disastrous. The once vast city has shrunk into a small, ignoble, and dirty town of 6,000 inhabitants, still, however, bearing the name of *Antaki* (Turkish) or *Antakiyah* (Arabic). It is again the centre of a Christian mission, and the Church of Antioch, as of old, is seeking to enlighten the surrounding darkness.

G. A. Frank Knight.

ANTIOCH (Pisidian).—The expression 'Antioch of Pisidia' or 'Antioch in Pisidia' is incorrect, as the town was not in Pisidia. Its official title was 'Antioch near Pisidia,' and as it existed for the sake of Pisidia, the adjective 'Pisidian' was sometimes loosely attached to it. It was actually in the ethnic district of Phrygia, and in the Roman province of Galatia (that region of it called Phrygia Galatica). Founded by the inhabitants of Magnesia, it was made a free town by the Romans, and a *colonia* was established there by the emperor Augustus to keep the barbarians of the neighbourhood in check. The municipal government became Roman, and the official language Latin. St. Paul visited it four times (Ac 13^{14} 14^{21} 16^6 18^{22}), and it is one of the churches addressed in the Epistle to the Galatians.

A. Souter.

ANTIOCHIANS (2 Mac $4^{9.\ 19}$).—The efforts of Antiochus Epiphanes to spread Gr. culture and Gr. customs throughout his dominions were diligently furthered by a section of the Jews. The leader of this Hellenizing party, Jason, brother of the high priest Onias III., offered a large sum of money to Antiochus to induce the king to allow the inhabitants of Jerusalem 'to be enrolled as Antiochians.' Antiochus acceded to the proposal, and shortly afterwards a party of 'Antiochians' from Jerusalem was sent by him with a contribution of money for the festival of Heracles at Tyre.

ANTIOCHIS (2 Mac 4^{30}).—A concubine of Antiochus Epiphanes, who assigned to her the revenues of the two Cilician cities, Tarsus and Mallus.

ANTIOCHUS (1 Mac 12^{16} 14^{22}; cf. Jos. *Ant.* XIII. v. 8).—The father of Numenius, who was one of the envoys sent (*c.* B.C. 144) by Jonathan the Maccabee to renew the covenant made by Judas with the Romans, and to enter into friendly relations with the Spartans.

ANTIOCHUS.—A name borne by a number of the kings of Syria subsequent to the period of Alexander the Great.

1. Antiochus I. (B.C. 280–261) was the son of Seleucus Nikator, the chiliarch under Perdiccas who was regent immediately after the death of Alexander. On the murder of his father he came into possession of practically the entire region of Asia Minor as far east as the provinces beyond Mesopotamia. The most important fact of his reign was his defeat of the Celts, who, after devastating Macedonia and Thrace, swarmed into Asia Minor and established a kingdom which was subsequently known as Galatia. The date and place of the victory are unknown, but it won him the name of *Soter* ('Saviour'). His capital was Antioch in Syria, but he was never able to bring his vast empire into complete subjection. He was a friend of literature and art, and it is possible that under him the beginning was made for the Greek translation of the Pentateuch.

2. Antiochus II., *Theos* (B.C. 261–246).—Son of the foregoing, essentially a warrior, carrying on interminable struggles both with the free Greek cities of his own territory, to which he finally gave something like democratic rights, and with Ptolemy Philadelphus of Egypt. Under him, however, the Jews of Asia Minor gained many civic rights.

3. Antiochus III., *the Great.*—He ascended the throne when only 15 years of age, and he reigned from B.C. 223 to 187. Along with Antiochus I. and Antiochus II. he may be referred to in the early portions of Dn 11. His reign, like that of most of his contemporaries, was one of constant war, particularly with Egypt. In the course of these wars he gained possession of Palestine through the battle of Banias (B.C. 198), and established the Syrian administration over Judæa, although for a time he ruled the province jointly with Ptolemy Epiphanes of Egypt. Like Antiochus I., he was a great colonizer, and induced 2000 Jewish families to go from Mesopotamia into Lydia and Phrygia, thus laying the foundation for the influential Jewish Dispersion in those regions. So warlike a monarch could not fail to come into conflict sooner or later with Rome. He was defeated in the battle of Magnesia in B.C. 190, and three years later was killed, according to some authorities, while plundering a temple at Elymais.

4. Antiochus IV., *Epiphanes* ('the Illustrious'; also nicknamed *Epimanes*, 'the Madman').—The son of the preceding, who had been sent as a hostage to Rome. In B.C. 175 he seized the Syrian throne, and began a series of conquests which bade fair to rival his father's. While in Egypt, however, he was ordered by the Romans to leave that country, and thus found himself forced to limit his energies to Syria. In the course of his conflict with Egypt he had become suspicious of Judæa, and determined to force that country into complete subjection to his will. His motives were probably more political than religious, but as a part of his programme he undertook to compel the Jews to worship heathen gods as well as, if not in place of, Jehovah. His plans were first put into active operation probably towards the end of B.C. 170, when he returned from Egypt, although the chronology at this point is very obscure and it may have been a couple of years later. He plundered the Temple of some of its treasures, including the seven-branch candlestick, the altar of incense, and the table of shewbread. He also placed a garrison in the citadel of Jerusalem, and set about the complete Hellenizing of Judæa. Circumcision and the observance of the Sabbath were forbidden under penalty of death. Pagan sacrifices were ordered in every town in Judæa, and every month a search was made to discover whether any Jew possessed a copy of the Law or had circumcised his children. In December 168 B.C. a pagan altar, probably to Olympian Zeus, was erected on the altar of burnt-offering, and the entire Jewish worship seemed threatened with extinction. This probability was increased by the apostasy of the high priest.

This excess of zeal on the part of Antiochus led to the reaction, which, under the *Chasidim* and Mattathias, the founder of the Maccabæan house, ultimately brought about the release of Judæa from Syrian control. The events of this period of persecution are related in detail,—though with a large element of legend,—in 2 Maccabees, and reference is to be found to them also in Dn 11^{21-45}. Antiochus finally died on an expedition against the Parthians in B.C. 164. (For an account of the struggle of Mattathias and Judas against Antiochus, see MACCABEES).

5. Antiochus V., *Eupator.*—Son of the preceding; began to reign at the death of his father, when a mere boy of 9 (or 12) years. He was left by his father under the control of Lysias, his chief representative in Palestine, and with him was present at the victory of Beth-zacharias, B.C. 163, when Judas Maccabæus was defeated (1 Mac 6^{32-47}). The complete conquest of Judæa was prevented by the rise of the pretender Philip, who, however, was conquered. In the midst of their success, both young Antiochus and Lysias were assassinated by Demetrius I. (B.C. 162). Their death reacted favourably on the circumstances surrounding the rising Maccabæan house.

6. Antiochus VI.,—Son of Alexander Balas. Trypho, one of the generals of Alexander Balas, at first championed the cause of this boy after his father had been killed in Arabia. After a few months, however, he caused the assassination of Antiochus by the physicians of the court, and reigned in his stead (1 Mac $13^{31 f.}$).

7. Antiochus VII., *Sidetes* (B.C. 138–128), the last of the energetic Syrian monarchs, came to the throne during the imprisonment of Demetrius II. After defeating Trypho, he undertook to establish his sovereignty over the Jews. Simon partially won his favour by presents and by furnishing auxiliary troops, but at last refused to meet his excessive demands for permitting such independence as Judæa had come to enjoy under the weak predecessor of Antiochus. Thereupon Antiochus sent his generals into Judæa, but they were defeated by the sons of Simon (1 Mac 15. 16). He himself came during the first year of John Hyrcanus (135–134), and after devastating Judæa shut up Hyrcanus in Jerusalem. He was about to capture the city through starvation when he unexpectedly made terms with Hyrcanus, probably because of the interference of the Romans. These terms laid very heavy demands upon the Jews, and included the destruction of the fortifications of the city. Until B.C. 129–128 Judæa was again subject to the Syrian State, but at the end of that year Antiochus was killed in a campaign against the Parthians, and Hyrcanus was enabled to reassert his independence. See MACCABEES.

SHAILER MATHEWS.

ANTIPAS.—**1.** See Herod, No. 3.—**2.** A martyr of the church of Pergamum, mentioned only in Rev 2^{13}, unless some credit is to be given to the late accounts of his martyrdom. According to these, he was roasted to death in a brazen bowl in the days of Domitian. Cures of toothache were believed to be accomplished at his tomb. Shailer Mathews.

ANTIPATER.—Son of Jason, one of two ambassadors sent by Jonathan to the Romans and to the Spartans to renew 'the friendship and the confederacy' (1 Mac 12^{16} 14^{22}).

ANTIPATRIS.—Hither St. Paul was conducted by night on the way from Jerusalem to Cæsarea (Ac 23^{31}). It was founded by Herod the Great, and probably stood at the head of the river *'Aujeh* (now *Rās el-'Ain*). Here are the remains of a large castle of the Crusaders, probably to be identified with *Mirabel*.

R. A. S. Macalister.

ANTONIA.—See Jerusalem.

ANUB.—A man of Judah (1 Ch 4^{8}).

ANVIL.—See Arts and Crafts, 2.

APACE in AV means 'at a quick pace,' as Ps 68^{12} 'kings of armies did flee apace.'

APAME.—Daughter of Bartacus, and concubine of Darius I. (1 Es 4^{29}).

APE.—Apes were imported along with peacocks from Ophir by Solomon (1 K 10^{22}, 2 Ch 9^{21}). In importing monkeys, Solomon here imitated the custom of the Assyrian and Egyptian monarchs, as we now know by the monuments. No kind of monkey is indigenous in Palestine. E. W. G. Masterman.

APELLES.—The name of a Christian who is greeted by St. Paul in Ro 16^{10}, and who is described as the 'approved in Christ.' It was the name borne by a distinguished tragic actor, and by members of the household.

APHÆREMA (1 Mac 11^{34}).—A district taken from Samaria and added to Judæa by Demetrius Soter (*Ant.* XIII. iv. 9). See Ephraim, No. 1.

APHARSACHITES.—See next article.

APHARSATHCHITES (probably the same as the **Apharsachites**, Ezr 5^{6} 6^{6}).—A colony of the Assyrians in Samaria; an eastern people subject to the Assyrians.

APHARSITES (Ezr 4^{9}).—One of the nations transported to Samaria by the Assyrians. Otherwise unknown. The text is doubtful.

APHEK.—**1.** An unidentified city in the plain of Sharon (Jos 12^{18}). It may be the same as Aphek of 1 S 4^{1}, and of Jos *BJ* II. xix. 1. **2.** A city which Asher failed to take (Jos 13^{4} 19^{30}, Jg 1^{31}). It may be *Afqa*, on *Nâhr Ibrahîm*. **3.** Some authorities identify this (1 S 29^{1}) with No. 1, and make the Philistines advance upon Jezreel from the S.W. But if they approached from Shunem (28^{4}), Aphek must have been in Esdraelon in the neighbourhood of *el-Fûleh*. **4.** The place where Ahab defeated Benhadad (1 K $20^{26.\ 30}$), in the *Mîshôr*, probably the modern *Fîq*, or *Afîq*, on the brow of the plateau, overlooking the Sea of Galilee. Possibly Joash smote the Syrians here (2 K $13^{17ff.}$). W. Ewing.

APHEKAH (Jos 15^{53}).—Probably same as Aphek, 1.

APHERRA (1 Es 5^{34}).—His descendants were among the 'sons of Solomon's servants' who returned with Zerubbabel; omitted in the parallel lists (Ezr. and Neh.).

APHIAH.—One of Saul's ancestors (1 S 9^{1}).

APHIK.—A city of Asher (Jg 1^{31}), the same as Aphek, 2.

APHRAH.—See Beth-le-Aphrah.

APOCALYPSE.—See Revelation [Book of].

APOCALYPTIC LITERATURE.—The apocalypse as a literary form of Jewish literature first appears during the Hellenistic period. Its origin is to a considerable degree in dispute, but is involved in the general development of the period. Among the Hebrews its forerunner was the description of the **Day of Jehovah.** On that day, the prophets taught, Jehovah was to punish the enemies of Israel and to establish His people as a world power. In the course of time this conception was supplemented by the further expectation of a judgment for Jews as well as for heathen (Am 2^{6-8} 3^{9-15} 5^{10-13} Zec 1^{2-18} 2^{4-15}, Jl 2^{18-28}, Ezk $30^{2f.}$). The first approach to the apocalyptic method is probably to be seen in Zec 9–14. It was in the same period that the tendencies towards the æsthetic conceptions which had been inherited from the Babylonian exile were beginning to be realized under the influence of Hellenistic culture. Because of their religion, literature was the only form of æsthetic expression (except music) which was open to the art impulses of the Jews. In the apocalypse we thus can see a union of the symbolism and myths of Babylonia with the religious faith of the Jews, under the influence of Hellenistic culture. By its very origin it was the literary means of setting forth by the use of symbols the certainty of Divine judgment and the equal certainty of Divine deliverance. The symbols are usually animals of various sorts, but frequently composite creatures whose various parts represented certain qualities of the animals from which they were derived.

Apocalyptic is akin to prophecy. Its purpose was fundamentally to encourage faith in Jehovah on the part of those who were in distress, by 'revealing' the future. Between genuine prophetism and apocalyptic there existed, however, certain differences not always easy to formulate, but appreciable to students of the two types of religious instruction. (*a*) The prophet, taking a stand in the present, so interprets current history as to disclose Divine forces at work therein, and the inevitable outcome of a certain course of conduct. The writers of the apocalypses, however, seem to have had little spiritual insight into the providential ordering of existing conditions, and could see only present misery and miraculous deliverance. (*b*) Assuming the name of some worthy long since dead, the apocalyptist re-wrote the past in terms of prophecy in the name of some hero or seer of Hebrew history. On the strength of the fulfilment of this alleged prophecy, he forecast, though in very general terms, the future. (*c*) Prophecy made use of symbol in literature as a means of enforcing or making intelligible its Divinely inspired message. The apocalyptists employed allegorically an elaborate machinery of symbol, chief among which were sheep, bulls, birds, as well as mythological beings like Beliar and the Antichrist.

The parent of apocalyptic is the book of Daniel, which, by the almost unanimous consensus of scholars, appeared in the Maccabæan period (see Daniel [Bk. of]). From the time of this book until the end of the 1st cent. A.D., and indeed even later, we find a continuous stream of apocalypses, each marked by a strange combination of pessimism as to the present and hope as to the future yet to be miraculously established. These works are the output of one phase of Pharisaism, which, while elevating both Torah and the Oral Law, was not content with bald legalism, but dared trust in the realization of its religious hopes. The authors of the various works are utterly unknown. In this, as in other respects, the apocalypses constitute a unique national literature. Chief among apocalyptic literature are the following:—

1. The Enoch Literature.—The Enoch literature has reached us in two forms: (*a*) The Ethiopic Enoch; (*b*) The Slavonic Book of the Secrets of Enoch. The two books are independent, and indicate the wide-spread tendency to utilize the story of the patriarch in apocalyptic discourse.

(*a*) *The Ethiopic Book of Enoch* is a collection of apocalypses and other material written during the last

two centuries before Christ. It was probably written in Hebrew or Aramaic, and then translated into Greek, and from that into Ethiopic and Latin. As it now exists, the collection is a survival of a wide-spread Enoch literature, and its constituent sections have been to a considerable extent edited by both Jews and Christians. Critics, while varying as to details, are fairly well agreed as to the main component sources, each probably representing a different author or school.

(i.) The original ground-work of the present book is to be found in chs. 1–36 and 72–104, in the midst of which are, however, numerous interpolations (see iv. below). These chapters were probably written before B.C. 100. Chs. 1–36 deal chiefly with the portrayal of the punishment to be awarded the enemies of the Jews and sinners generally on the Day of Judgment. The eschatology of these chapters is somewhat sensuous as regards both the resurrection and rewards and punishments. In them we have probably the oldest piece of Jewish literature touching the general resurrection of Israel and representing Gehenna as a place of final punishment (see GEHENNA).

The dream visions (chs. 83–90) were probably written in the time of Judas Maccabæus or John Hyrcanus. By the use of symbolic animals—sheep, rams, wild beasts—Hebrew history is traced to the days of the Hasmonæan revolt. The years of misery are represented by a flock under seventy shepherds, who, in the new age about to dawn, are to be cast with the evil men and angels into an abyss of fire. The Messiah is then to appear, although his function is not definitely described. In ch. 91 the future is somewhat more transcendentally described.

In the later chapters of this oldest section the new eschatology is more apparent. In them are to be found representations of the sleep of the righteous, the resurrection of the spirit of the Messiah, though human, as God's Son (105^2), the Day of Judgment, and the punishment of the wicked in hell.

(ii.) Whether or not the second group of chapters (37–71), or the *Similitudes*, is post- or pre-Christian has been thoroughly discussed. The general consensus of recent critics, however, is that the *Similitudes* were probably written somewhere between B.C. 94 and 64: at all events, before the time of Herod. The most remarkable characteristic of these *Similitudes* is the use of the term 'Son of Man' for the Messiah. But it is not possible to see in the use of this term any reference to the historical Jesus. More likely it marks a stage in the development of the term from the general symbolic usage of Dn 7^{13} to the strictly Messianic content of the NT. In the *Similitudes* we find described the judgment of all men, both alive and dead, as well as of angels. Yet the future is still to some extent sensuous, although transcendental influences are very evident in the section. The Messiah pre-exists and is more than a man. The share which he has in the reorganization of the world is more prominent than in the older sections.

(iii.) Interspersed throughout the book are sections which Charles calls 'the book of celestial physics.' These sections are one of the curiosities of scientific literature, and may be taken as a fair representative of the astronomical and meteorological beliefs of the Palestinian Jews about the time of Christ.

(iv.) Interpolations from the so-called *Book of Noah*, which are very largely the work of the last part of the pre-Christian era, although it is not possible to state accurately the date of their composition.

The importance of Enoch is great for the understanding of the eschatology of the NT and the methods of apocalyptic.

(*b*) The (Slavonic) *Secrets of Enoch* probably had a pre-Christian original, and further, presupposes the existence of the Ethiopic Enoch. It could not, therefore, have been written much prior to the time of Herod, and, as the Temple is still standing, must have been written before A.D. 70. The author (or authors) was probably a Hellenistic Jew living in the first half of the 1st cent. A.D. The book is particularly interesting in that in it is to be found the first reference to the millennium (xxxii. 2–xxxiii. 2), which is derived from a combination of the seven creative days and Ps 90^4. At the close of the six thousand years, the new day, or Sabbath of the thousand years, was to begin. The *Secrets of Enoch* is a highly developed picture of the coming age and of the structure of the heaven, which, it holds, is seven-fold. Here, too, are the Judgment, though of individuals rather than of nations, the two æons, the complete renovation or destruction of the earth. There is no mention of a resurrection, and the righteous are upon death to go immediately to Paradise.

2. The Book of Jubilees is a Haggadist commentary on Genesis, and was probably written in the Maccabæan period, although its date is exceedingly uncertain, and may possibly be placed in the latter half of the last cent. B.C. In this writing angelology and demonology are well developed. While there is no mention of the Messiah, the members of the Messianic age are to live a thousand years, and are to be free from the influence or control of Satan. The book contains no doctrine of the resurrection; but spirits are immortal. While there is punishment of the wicked, and particularly of evil spirits and the enemies of Israel, the Judgment is not thoroughly correlated with a general eschatological scheme. The chief object of the book is to incite the Jews to a greater devotion to the Law, and the book is legalistic—rather than idealistic.

The 'new age' was to be inaugurated by wide-spread study of the Law, to which the Jews would be forced by terrible suffering. Certain passages would seem to imply a resurrection of the dead and a renewing of all creation along with the endless punishment of the wicked.

3. The Psalms of Solomon—a group of noble songs, written by a Pharisee (or Pharisees) probably between B.C. 70 and 40, the dates being fixed by reference to the Roman conquest of Jerusalem and the death of Pompey (Ps-Sol ii. 30, 31). The collection is primarily a justification of the downfall of the Maccabæan house because of its sins. Its author (or authors) was opposed to monarchy as such, and looked forward to the time when the Messiah would really be king of Judæa. The picture of this king as set forth in Psalms xvii–xviii is one of the noblest in Jewish literature. He is to be neither sufferer nor teacher, pre-existent nor miraculously born. He is not to be a priest, or warrior. He is to be sinless, strong through the Holy Spirit, gaining his wisdom from God, conquering the entire heathen world without war, 'by the word of his mouth,' and to establish the capital of the world at Jerusalem. All the members of the new kingdom, which, like the Messiah, is miraculous, are to be 'sons of God.' These two Psalms are not of a kin with the ordinary apocalyptic literature like the Enoch literature, and probably represent a tendency more religious than apocalyptic. At the same time, the influence of the apocalyptic is not wanting in them.

4. The Assumption of Moses was probably written in the opening years of the 1st cent. A.D., and narrates in terms of prophecy the history of the world from the time of Moses until the time of its composition, ending in an eschatological picture of the future. As it now stands, the writing is hardly more than a fragment of a much larger work, and exists only in an old Latin translation. The most striking characteristic is the importance given to Satan as the opponent of God, as well as the rather elaborate portrayal of the end of the age it narrates. The Judgment is to be extended to the Gentiles, but no Messiah is mentioned, the Messianic kingdom rather than He being central. Further, the writer, evidently in fear of revolutionary tendencies among his people, says distinctly that God alone is to be judge of the Gentiles.

5. The Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs is a composite work purporting to preserve the last words of the twelve sons of Jacob. It was probably written during the first two centuries of the Christian era, although some of its material may be earlier. As it now stands, it is full of Christian interpolations, and it has little apocalyptic material, being rather of the nature of homilies illustrated with much legendary matter, including eschatological pictures and references to demons and their king Beliar. The new age is not

distinctly described, but apparently involves only earthly relationships. God's judgment on wicked men and demons is, however, elaborately pictured, sometimes in terms hard to reconcile with the less transcendental accounts of the blessings assured to the Jewish nation. Each of the patriarchs is represented as dealing with that particular virtue or vice with which the Biblical account associates him, and also as foretelling appropriate blessings or curses. The work is preserved in Greek and Armenian translations.

6. The Ascension of Isaiah is a composite book which circulated largely among the Christian heretics of the 3rd century. At its basis lies a group of legends of uncertain origin, dealing with the Antichrist and Beliar. These in turn are identified with the expectation that Nero would return after death. The book, therefore, in its present shape is probably of Christian origin, and is not older than the 2nd cent., or possibly the latter part of the 1st. The Isaiah literature, however, was common in the 1st cent., and the book is a valuable monument of the eschatological tendencies and beliefs of at least certain groups of the early Christians. Particularly important is it as throwing light upon the development of the Antichrist doctrines. It exists to-day in four recensions—Greek, Ethiopic, Latin, and Slavonic.

7. The Apocalypse of Ezra (Second Esdras), written about the time of the destruction of Jerusalem. It is the most complete expression of Pharisaic pessimism. Written in the midst of national misery, it is not able to see any relief except in the creation of a new world. The age was coming to an end, and the new age which was to belong to Israel would presently come. The udgment of Israel's enemies was presently to be establisned, but not until the number of the righteous was complete. The book is no doubt closely related to the *Apocalypse of Baruch*, and both apparently reproduce the same originally Jewish material. It has been considerably affected by Christian hopes. Both for this reason and because of its emphasis on generic human misery and sin, with the consequent need of something more than a merely national deliverance, it gives a prominent position to the Messiah, who is represented as dying. As Second Esdras the book has become part of the Apocrypha of the OT, and has had considerable influence in the formation of Christian eschatology. In vii. 30–98 is an elaborate account of the general Resurrection, Judgment, and the condition of souls after death; and it is this material quite as much as the Messianic prediction of chs. xii–xiv that make it of particular interest to the student. It is possessed, however, of no complete unity in point of view, and passes repeatedly from the national to the ethical (individual) need and deliverance. The separation of these two views is, however, more than a critical matter. As in Mk 13, the two illustrate each other.

8. The Apocalypse of Baruch is a composite work which embodies in itself a ground-work which is distinctly Jewish, and certain sections of which were probably written before the destruction of Jerusalem. Criticism, however, has not arrived at any complete consensus of opinion as regards its composition, but there can be little doubt that it represents the same apocalyptic tendencies and much of the material which are to be seen in Second Esdras. Just what are the relations between the two writings, however, has not yet been clearly shown. The probability is that the Apocalypse of Baruch, as it now stands, was written in the second half of the 1st cent. A.D., and has come under the influence of Christianity (see esp. chs. xlix–li). Like Second Esdras, it is marked by a despair of the existing age, and looks forward to a transcendental reign of the Messiah, in which the Jews are to be supremely fortunate. It exists to-day in Greek and Syriac versions, with a strong probability that both are derived from original Hebrew writing. This apocalypse, both from its probable origin and general characteristics, is of particular value as a document for understanding the NT literature. In both the Apocalypse of Baruch and Second Esdras we have the most systematized eschatological picture that has come down to us from Pharisaism.

9. The Sibylline Oracles are the most important illustration of the extra-Palestinian-Hellenistic apocalyptic hope. As the work now exists, it is a collection of various writings dealing with the historical and future conditions of the Jewish people. The most important apocalyptic section is in Book iii. 97–828, written in Maccabæan times. In it the punishment of the enemies of the Jews is elaborately foretold, as are also the future and the Messianic Judgment. This third book was probably edited in the middle of the 2nd century by a Christian. In general, however, this Sibylline literature, although of great extent, gives us no such distinct pictures of the future as those to be found in the Ezra-Baruch apocalypses.

SHAILER MATHEWS.

APOCRYPHA.—The term 'Apocrypha' is applied to a body of literature that has come down to us in close connexion with the canonical books of the Bible, and yet is not of them. This term (Gr. *apokryphos*, 'hidden') seems to have been used to specify certain documents or writings that were purposely hidden from general public contact, either because of their supposed sacredness, or to retain within the precincts of a certain sect their secret wisdom and knowledge. The name was given either by those who hid the books or by those from whom they were hidden.

All such books bore, as their alleged authors, the names of notable men in Hebrew history. These names were not sufficient of themselves to carry the books over into the canonical collection of the Bible. The term applied to them as 'apocryphal,' that is, withheld from public gaze and use, was at first rather complimentary to their character. But their rejection by the Jewish Palestinian body of worshippers, as well as by the larger proportion of the early Church, gradually stamped the name 'apocryphal' as a term of reproach, indicating inferiority in content and a spurious authorship. Henceforth such books lost their early sacredness, and became embodied in a collection that remained entirely outside the Hebrew Bible, though in general found in the Septuagint and the Vulgate.

The word 'Apocrypha,' as used by Protestant Christians, signifies the books found in the Latin Vulgate as over and above those of the Hebrew OT. Jerome incorporated in his revision and translation, in the main as he found them in the Old Latin Version, certain books not found in the Hebrew canonical writings. These books had been carried over into the Old Latin from the Septuagint.

The real external differences, then, between the Protestant and Rom. Cath. Bibles to-day are to be traced to the different ideas of the Canon on the part of the Jews of Palestine, where the Hebrew Bible was on its native soil, and on the part of the Jews of Alexandria who translated that same Hebrew Bible into Greek. With this translation, and other books later called the Apocrypha, they constructed a Greek Bible now called the Septuagint (the Seventy).

In the transfer of the works from the Septuagint to the Old Latin and to the Vulgate, there is some confusion both as to their names and their order.

These so-called Apocryphal books may be roughly classified as follows:—

1. *Historical*: First and Second Maccabees, and First Esdras [Third Esdras in Vulgate].
2. *Legendary*: Additions to Esther, History of Susanna, Song of the Three Holy Children, Bel and the Dragon, Tobit, Judith.
3. *Prophetical*: Baruch (ch. 6 being the 'Epistle of Jeremy'), Prayer of Manasses.

4. *Apocalyptical*: Second Esdras [Fourth Esdras in Vulgate].
5. *Didactic*: Sirach, Wisdom of Solomon.
In some classifications Third and Fourth Maccabees are included.

Most of these books are found in their original form in Greek, with the exceptions noted below, and not in the Hebrew; therefore the Jewish religious leaders did not regard them as inspired. Furthermore, some of their writers (1 Mac 4^{46} 9^{27}, 2 Mac 2^{23}) disclaim inspiration as the Jews understood it. The NT writers do not quote these books, nor do they definitely refer to them. Their existence in the Greek Bible of the times of Christ does not seem to have given them any prestige for the Jewish authorities of that day. The Church Fathers made some use of them, by quotation and allusion, but were not so emphatic in their favour as to secure their incorporation in the regular canonical books of the Bible.

Jerome, in his revision of the Old Latin Bible, found the Apocryphal books therein, as carried over from the Septuagint; but in his translation of the OT he was careful not to include in the OT proper any books not found in the Hebrew Canon. In fact, he regarded his time as too valuable to be spent in revising or translating these uninspired books.

It was not until the Council of Trent, April 15, 1546, that the Roman Catholic Church publicly set its seal of authority on eleven of the fourteen or sixteen (including 3 and 4 Mac.) Apocryphal books. This Council names as canonical the following books and parts of books: First and Second Maccabees, Additions to Esther, History of Susanna, Song of the Three Holy Children, Bel and the Dragon, Tobit, Judith, Baruch, Sirach, and Wisdom of Solomon; omitting from the above list the Prayer of Manasses, First and Second Esdras [Vulgate Third and Fourth Esdras].

The Council of Trent settled the Canon of Scripture for the Roman Catholic Church, and decreed an anathema against any one who did not agree with its statement. Even before the meeting of that famous Council, Coverdale, in 1535, had introduced the Apocrypha into the English Bible edited by himself. It was published in the first edition of the AV in 1611, but began to be left out as early as 1629. It was inserted between the OT and NT. As a result of a controversy in 1826, it was excluded from all the Bibles published by the British and Foreign Bible Society.

In our discussion of the character and contents of these books, we must keep in mind the fact that the word 'Apocrypha' is used in the Protestant sense as inclusive of the fourteen books given in the RV of 1895, eleven of which are regarded as canonical by the Roman Catholic Church.

The general character and the contents of these books are as follows:—

1. First Maccabees.—This is a historical work of rare value on the Jewish war of independence against the encroachments and invasions of Antiochus Epiphanes (B.C. 168–164). Its author is unknown, though thought to have been a Jew of Palestine, who wrote between B.C. 105 and 64. The book is known in a Greek original, though it was translated, according to Jerome, from a Hebrew original that was current in his day (end of 4th cent.).

2. Second Maccabees is an abridgment of a five-volume work by Jason of Cyrene (2^{23}). It is prefaced by two letters said to have been sent from the Jews of Jerusalem to the Jews of Egypt. This book deals with the history of the Jews from the reign of Seleucus IV. (B.C. 175) to the death of Nicanor (B.C. 161). The multiplication of the marvellous and miraculous in the narrative discounts the value of the material as a source of historical data. The book was written somewhere between B.C. 125 and the fall of Jerusalem in A.D. 70. It is extant in Greek.

3. First Esdras (Third in the Vulgate) is the canonical book of Ezra in Greek, which in reconstructed form tells the story of the decline and fall of the kingdom of Judah from the time of Josiah. It recites the overthrow of Jerusalem, the Babylonian exile, the return under Zerubbabel, and Ezra's part in the reorganization of the Jewish State. Josephus refers to the legend regarding the three courtiers contained in this book. Its author is unknown. The Council of Trent placed it in an appendix to the NT as Third Esdras, and not among their regular canonical books.

4. Additions to Esther.—The canonical Esther concludes with 10^3; this chapter is filled out by the addition of seven verses, and the book concludes with six additional chapters (11–16). The regular text of the book is occasionally interpolated and amplified by some writer or writers, to give the story a fuller narrative and make the telling of it more effective. These additions sometimes contradict the Hebrew, and add nothing new of any value. This editorial work is thought to have been done by an Egyptian Jew somewhere in the reign of Ptolemy Philometor (B.C. 181–145).

5. The History of Susanna is an account of Daniel's discovery of a malicious slander against the good woman Susanna. The story is prefixed to the book of Daniel. It is found in the Greek, and was prepared by an unknown author at an unknown date.

6. The Song of the Three Holy Children is found inserted between v.^{23} and v.^{24} of Dn 3. Its author and date are unknown.

7. The Story of Bel and the Dragon follows Dn 12. It is a proof by Daniel that the priests of Bel and their families ate the food set before the idol. Daniel slays the dragon, and is a second time thrown into the lions' den. The origin of this story is unknown, though it is by some attributed to Habakkuk. The three preceding stories are found in the Septuagint of Daniel, and a MS of No. 6 has recently been found.

8. Tobit is a romantic story of the time of Israel's captivity. Tobit is a pious son of Naphtali who becomes blind. He sends his son Tobias to Rages in Media to collect a debt. An angel leads him to Ecbatana, where he romantically marries a widow who was still a virgin though she had had seven husbands. Each of the seven had been slain on their wedding-day by Asmodæus, the evil spirit. On the inspiration of the angel, Tobias marries the widow, and, by burning the inner parts of a fish, puts the spirit to flight by the offensive smoke. The blindness of Tobit is healed by using the gall of the fish, the burning of whose entrails had saved the life of Tobias. The book is found in an Aramaic version, three Greek, and three Old Latin versions, and also in two Hebrew texts. Its date is uncertain, though it doubtless appeared before the 1st cent. B.C.

9. Judith is a thrilling tale of how Judith, a Jewish widow, secured the confidence of Holofernes, an Assyrian commander who was besieging Bethulia. Stealthily in the night time she approached him in his tent, already overcome with heavy drinking, took his own scimitar and cut off his head, and fled with it to the besieged city. This valorous act saved the distressed Israelites. The story bristles with absurdities in names, dates, and geographical material. It seems to have imitated in one respect Jael's murder of Sisera (Jg 4^{17-22}). It may have been written some time about B.C. 100, so long after the life of Nebuchadrezzar as to have made him king of Nineveh, instead of Babylon. The original text is Greek.

10. Baruch.—This is a pseudepigraphical book attributed to Baruch, the scribe of Jeremiah. Its purpose seems to have been (1) to quiet the souls of the Jews in exile by telling them that they would soon return to their native land; and (2) to admonish them to flee the idolatry that was everywhere prevalent in Babylonia. Bar 6 is called the **'Epistle of Jeremy,'** and is nominally a letter of that prophet, warning the

exiles against worshipping idols. This book is thought to have originated sometime about B.C. 320. Its original language is Greek, though there is reason for believing that 1^{1}–3^{3} was first written in Hebrew.

11. Prayer of Manasses, king of Judah, when he was a captive of Ashurbanipal in the city of Babylon (2 Ch $33^{12.\ 13}$). It probably originated in some of the legends current regarding this notable king, and may have been intended for insertion in the narrative of 2 Ch 33^{13}. Its original is Greek. It is not a part of the Vulgate adopted at the Council of Trent, but is in the appendix thereof.

12. Second Esdras [Vulg. Fourth Esdras. If *First* Esdras is the reconstructed Ezra, and the canonical Ezra and Nehemiah are taken as one book, then this is *Third* Esdras (as in the Septuagint). If Ezra and Nehemiah are left out of account, this book is *Second* Esdras (as in the Apocrypha of RV). If, as in the Vulgate, Ezra is reckoned as *First* Esdras, and Nehemiah as *Second* Esdras, and the reconstructed Ezra as *Third* Esdras, then this book is *Fourth* Esdras]. This work is a peculiar combination of matter. It is not history at all, but rather a religious document imitative of the Hebrew prophets, and apocalyptic in character. Its Greek original, if it had one, has been lost, and the work is extant in Latin, Syriac, Arabic, Ethiopic, and Armenian. It is attributed to at least two different dates, the 2nd and 3rd cents. A.D. The character of the matter shows that some Christian interpolated the original to give it a Christian colouring. This matter does not appear, however, in the Arabic and Ethiopic texts. It stands in the appendix to the NT of the Vulgate.

13. Ecclesiasticus, or, **The Wisdom of Jesus the Son of Sirach.**—This is one of the most valuable of the Apocryphal books. It resembles the books of Proverbs, Ecclesiastes, and Job in its ethical characteristics. It was written by a Jew called Jesus, son of Sirach, probably early in the 3rd cent., though the Greek translation was issued about B.C. 132. The book was originally written in Hebrew, and in this language about one half of it has recently been discovered in Egypt and published. It is one of the works that give us a vivid idea of the Wisdom literature produced in the centuries preceding the Christian era.

14. Wisdom of Solomon lauds wisdom and a righteous life, but condemns idolatry and wickedness. The author employs, in the main, illustrations from the Pentateuch. He purports to be Solomon, and makes just such claims as one would imagine Solomon would have done if he had been the author. He is thought to have lived anywhere between B.C. 150 and B.C. 50, and to have been a Jew of Alexandria. The book possesses some valuable literary features, though in its present form it seems to be incomplete. Its original text was Greek.

If we should include Third and Fourth Maccabees in this list, as is done by some writers (but not by the Vulgate), we find these peculiarities:

15. Third Maccabees describes an attempt to massacre the Jews in the reign of Ptolemy Philopator (B.C. 222–205), and a notable deliverance from death. The work is extant in Greek (in LXX), but not in the Vulgate.

16. Fourth Maccabees is a discussion of the conquest of matter by the mind illustratively, by the use of the story of the martyrdom of the seven Maccabees, their mother and Eleazar. The work is found in the Alexandrian MS of the Septuagint, and in Syriac.

In addition to these Apocryphal books, but not included either in the Septuagint, the Vulgate, or the RV, there is an ever-increasing list of works that scholars have chosen to call *pseudepigrapha*. These were written at various periods, but mainly just before, during, and just after the times of Christ. Many of them deal with the doctrinal discussions of their day, and present revelations to the author under strange and even weird conditions. These writers attached to their books as a rule the name of some famous personage, not by way of deception, but to court favour for the views set forth. It would carry us too far afield to take up these works one by one. Merely the titles of some of them can be mentioned. As a piece of lyrical work the **Psalms of Solomon** is the best example in this group. Of apocalyptical and prophetical works, there are the **Book of Enoch,** quoted in Jude, the **Assumption of Moses,** the **Apocalypse of Baruch,** the **Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs.** Legendary works are the **Book of Jubilees** and the **Ascension of Isaiah.** One of the curious cases of mixed material is that of the **Sibylline Oracles.** See APOCALYPTIC LITERATURE.

To these might be added scores of lesser lights that appeared in that period of theological and doctrinal unrest, many of which are now published, and others are being discovered in some out-of-the-way place almost yearly. Their value lies in the revelations that they give us of the methods adopted and the doctrines promulgated in the early centuries of the Christian era, by means of such works. IRA MAURICE PRICE.

APOCRYPHAL GOSPELS.—See GOSPELS [APOCRYPHAL].

APOLLONIA (Ac 17^{1}).—Paul and Silas passed through this town on the way from Amphipolis to Thessalonica. It is known that it was on the important Egnatian road which ran between Dyrrhachium (mod. *Durazzo*) and Thessalonica, but its exact site has not yet been discovered. It was about half-way between Amphipolis and Thessalonica, and lay between the rivers Axius and Strymon.

A. SOUTER.

APOLLONIUS.—1. A governor of Cœle-Syria and Phœnicia under Seleucus IV. (2 Mac 4^{4}), who suggested the abortive attempt of Heliodorus on the Temple-treasury. To this he probably owes the title *mysarches* (2 Mac 5^{24}), which the Vulg. renders *odiosum principem*, AV 'detestable ringleader,' RV 'lord of pollutions.' In B.C. 168–167 he was sent to Hellenize Jerusalem, and he initiated the great persecution with a cruel massacre on the Sabbath (2 Mac 5^{24-26}). Judas Maccabæus defeated and slew him, wearing his sword ever after (1 Mac $3^{10ff.}$, Jos. *Ant.* XII. vii. 7). **2.** An envoy sent to Egypt by Antiochus IV., B.C. 173 (2 Mac 4^{21}). **3.** An official under Antiochus V. who molested the Jews (2 Mac 12^{2}). **4.** A governor of Cœle-Syria who fought against the Jews (B.C. 147) on the side of Demetrius (1 Mac 10^{69-85}; Jos. *Ant.* XIII. iv. 3 f. is in error). From Jamnia he sent a pompous defiance to Jonathan Maccabæus, who, however, captured Joppa and defeated Apollonius.

J. TAYLOR.

APOLLOPHANES (2 Mac 10^{37}).—A Syrian killed at the taking of Gazara by Judas Maccabæus.

APOLLOS (a pet name, abbreviated from *Apollonius*, which appears in D text of Ac 18^{24}).—Apart from a doubtful reference in Tit 3^{13}, we derive our knowledge of Apollos from 1 Cor. and Ac 18^{24-28}. In Acts he is described as an Alexandrian Jew, an eloquent man, with an effective knowledge of the OT. He came to Ephesus before St. Paul sojourned there, and, having been instructed in the way of the Lord, he zealously proclaimed his views in the synagogue, where Priscilla and Aquila heard him. What exactly his views were, it is not easy to decide. Ac 18^{25} suggests that he was a Christian in some sense, that he knew the story of Jesus, believed in Him as Messiah, but did not know of the coming of the Holy Ghost. The disciples mentioned in Ac $19^{1ff.}$, who are clearly in a parallel position, do not seem to know even so much as this; and 'instructed in the way of the Lord' need not mean Christianity, while even the phrase 'the things concerning Jesus' may refer simply to the Messianic prophecies (cf. Lk 24^{27}, and see art. 'Apollos' by J. H. A. Hart in *JThS*, Oct. 1905). In Ephesus, Apollos may have

preached only John's baptism of repentance. But Priscilla and Aquila made him a full Christian.

Later on Apollos worked in Corinth, with great success. His eloquence and Philonic culture won him a name for wisdom, and made his preaching attractive, so that many declared themselves his special followers (1 Co 1^{12}). Apollos' teaching in Corinth may have been marked by allegorical interpretation, insistence on Divine knowledge, and on the need of living according to nature (see St. Paul's sarcastic reference to 'nature' in 1 Co 11^{14}). But the party-strife at Corinth was not of his intending. Apollos and Paul were agreed in their gospel (1 Co 3^{8})—a fact the Corinthians overlooked. Apollos refused the request of the Corinthians for a speedy second visit (1 Co 16^{12}). St. Paul apparently speaks of Apollos as an Apostle (1 Co 4^{9}). We have no certain records of Apollos' teaching, but it has been suggested that he wrote the Wisdom of Solomon before, and the letter to the Hebrews after, his conversion.

H. G. Wood.

APOLLYON ('the Destroyer').—The Greek equivalent in Rev 9^{11} of **Abaddon**, the angel of the bottomless pit, who was also the king of the locusts (see Abaddon). The word does not appear in its Greek form in later Rabbinic writings, and only here in the NT. As an angel Apollyon seems to have been regarded as equivalent to Asmodæus, king of demons, in Judaistic mythology; but our data are too few to warrant precise statements.

Shailer Mathews.

APOPLEXY.—See Medicine.

APOSTASY.—A defection from the tenets of some religious community. In Ac 21^{21} it describes the charge brought against St. Paul by the Jews, viz., that he taught that the Jews should abandon Mosaism. In 2 Th 2^{3} it describes the defection of Christians which was to accompany the 'man of lawlessness'; *i.e.* the Antichrist. This expectation is an illustration of what seems to have been a common belief—that the return of the Christ to establish His Kingdom would be preceded by exceptional activity on the part of His superhuman opponent, and that this would result in an abandonment of Christian faith on the part of many of those nominally Christian.

Shailer Mathews.

APOSTLES.—Apostle, 'one commissioned,' represents a Heb. word which signified not merely a *messenger* but a *delegate*, bearing a commission, and, so far as his commission extended, wielding his commissioner's authority. 'The Apostle of any one,' says the Talmud, 'is even as the man himself by whom he is deputed.' The term was applied by Jesus to the twelve disciples whom He attached to Himself to aid Him in His ministry and to be trained by the discipline of His example and precept for carrying it on after His departure (Lk 6^{13}, Mt 10^{2}). Cf. Jn 17^{18} 'Even as thou didst *commission me* unto the world, I also *commissioned* them unto the world' (where 'commission' is the verb cognate to 'Apostle').

Jesus appointed twelve Apostles corresponding to the twelve tribes, thus intimating that their mission was meanwhile to Israel (cf. Mt $10^{5.\ 6}$); but by and by, when He was setting out on His last journey to Jerusalem, He 'appointed other seventy and commissioned them' (Lk 10^{1}), thus intimating the universality of His gospel, inasmuch as, according to Jewish reckoning, mankind was composed of seventy nations.

After the Lord's departure the Twelve were the Apostles *par excellence* (cf. Ac $6^{2.\ 6}$). They were the men who had been with Jesus, and their peculiar function was to testify of Him, and especially of His Resurrection (Ac $1^{21.\ 22}$; cf. v.^{8} and Lk 24^{48}). But they were not the only Apostles. The title was given to Barnabas (Ac $14^{4.\ 14}$, 1 Co $9^{5.\ 6}$) and Andronicus and Junias (Ro 16^{7}). It may be that it was extended to men of Apostolic character, but then why was it withheld from one like Timothy (2 Co 1^{1}, Col 1^{1})? If Barnabas, as tradition declares, and Andronicus and Junias, as Origen suggests, belonged to the order of the Seventy, it may well be that those others besides the Twelve who were styled 'Apostles' were the Seventy. It is true the title is given to James the Lord's brother (Gal 1^{19}, 1 Co 15^{7}) and to Paul, who belonged neither to the Twelve nor to the Seventy. But theirs were exceptional cases. It was natural that James, who was recognized as the head of the Church at Jerusalem, should be accorded the dignity of Apostleship, as well for his extreme sanctity as for his relationship to Jesus. And as for Paul, his Apostolic title was bitterly contested; and he triumphantly defended it on the double ground that, though he had not companied with Jesus in the days of His flesh, he had seen Him after His glorification on the road to Damascus (1 Co 9^{1}), and though he was not one of the original Apostles, his Apostleship had the Lord's own sanction (1 Co 9^{2}, 2 Co 12^{12}). Perhaps it was his example that emboldened others outside the ranks of the Twelve and the Seventy to claim Apostleship on the score of Apostolic gifts, real or supposed (2 Co 11^{13}, Rev 2^{2}). See also Disciples.

David Smith.

APOTHECARY.—In all the 8 occurrences of this word in OT and Apocr. we should render 'perfumer,' as does RV in half of these (Ex $30^{25.\ 35}$ 37^{29}, Ec 10^{1}); elsewhere the former is retained (2 Ch 16^{14}, Neh 3^{8} (cf. marg.), Sir 38^{8} 49^{1}). See Perfumer.

A. R. S. Kennedy.

APPAIM.—A man of Judah (1 Ch $2^{30.\ 31}$).

APPAREL.—See Dress.

APPARITION.—In RV of Mt 14^{26} and Mk 6^{49} for AV 'spirit.' The Gr. word (*phantasma*) differs from the usual word for 'spirit' (*pneuma*). It occurs only in these passages.

APPEAL.—See Justice.

APPHIA.—A Christian lady of Colossæ, a member of the household of Philemon, probably his wife (Philem ^{2}).

APPHUS (1 Mac 2^{5}).—The surname of Jonathan the Maccabee. The name is usually thought to mean 'dissembler'; and some suppose that it was given to Jonathan for his stratagem against the tribe of the Jambri, who had killed his brother John (1 Mac $9^{37\text{-}41}$).

APPII FORUM.—Ac 28^{15} AV; RV 'The Market of Appius.' See next article.

APPIUS, MARKET OF.—A market-town (without city rights) on the Appian Way, 10 Roman miles from *Tres Tabernæ* (Three Taverns), near the modern railway station, Foro Appio. As the Appian Way was the main road from Rome to the south and east of the Roman Empire, it was traversed by nearly all travellers from or to those parts (Ac 28^{15}).

A Souter.

APPLE.—That the apple (*tappuah*) of the OT is the fruit known by that name to-day is extremely doubtful. It is true that the tree in size and foliage would answer to the reference in Ca 8^{5}, Jl 1^{12}; the fruit too in its sweetness (Ca 2^{3}) and its smell (Ca 7^{8}) is very appropriate. It is also suggestive that Heb. *tappuah* closely resembles the Arabic for 'apple,' *tuffah*. On the other hand, it is a substantial difficulty that the apple does not grow well in Palestine proper, as distinguished from the Lebanon. The native fruit is small and wanting in sweetness; almost all eatable apples are imported from the North. In consequence of this, several fruits which to-day are found in Palestine have been suggested. The *citron*, a favourite with the Jews on account of its smell and golden colour, is certainly a more recent introduction. The *apricot*, suggested by Tristram, which flourishes in parts of Palestine in greater profusion than any other fruit, would seem to answer to the references well. It is deliciously sweet, with a pleasant smell, and, when ripe, of a brilliant golden colour. The tree is one of the most beautiful in the land, and when loaded with its golden fruit might well suggest the expression 'apples

of gold in pictures of silver' (Pr 25[11]). Unfortunately there is considerable doubt whether this tree, a native of China, was known in Palestine much before the Christian era. A fourth fruit has been suggested, namely, the *quince*. This is certainly a native of the land, and is common all over Palestine. The fruit, when ripe, though smelling pleasantly, is not 'sweet' according to our ideas, but even to-day is much appreciated. It is a great favourite when cooked, and is extensively used for making a delicious confection. The quince, along with the true apple, was sacred to Aphrodite, the goddess of love.

E. W. G. Masterman.

APPLE OF THE EYE (lit. 'child *or* daughter of the eye,' *i.e.* that which is most precious [the organ of sight], and most carefully guarded [by the projecting bone, protecting it as far as possible from injury]).—A figure of God's care of His people (Dt 32[10], Ps 17[8], Zec 2[8]), and of the preciousness of the Divine law (Pr 7[2]). In La 2[18] it is the source of tears. C. W. Emmet.

APRON.—See Dress.

AQUILA AND PRISCILLA.—The names of a married couple first mentioned by St. Paul in 1 Co 16[19], and by St. Luke in Ac 18[2]. Only in these passages do the names occur in this order; in later references the order is always 'Priscilla and Aquila' (Ac 18[18. 26], Ro 16[3], 2 Ti 4[19]). A natural inference from this fact is that Priscilla was a more active worker in the Christian Church than her husband. In favour of this view is the statement of Chrysostom (i. 306 D, 177 A, iii. 176 B, C) that it was Priscilla's careful expositions of 'the way of God' (Ac 18[26]) that proved so helpful to Apollos. On this testimony Harnack bases his ingenious but doubtful theory that Priscilla was the author of the Epistle to the Hebrews. From the prominence given in Roman inscriptions and legends to the name **Prisca** (St. Paul) or its diminutive Priscilla (St. Luke), Hort concludes that she belonged to a distinguished Roman family (*Rom. and Eph.* p. 12 ff.). Aquila was a Jew of Eastern origin—'a man of Pontus by race' (Ac 18[2]).

From *Rome*, Aquila and Priscilla were driven by the edict of Claudius (A.D. 52). As the unrest among the Jews, which led to their expulsion, arose 'through the instigation of Chrestus,' it is not improbable that Aquila and Priscilla were at least sympathizers with Christianity before they met St. Paul. On this supposition their ready welcome of the Apostle to their home at *Corinth* is most easily explained. Their hospitality had a rich reward; both in private and in public they were privileged to listen to St. Paul's persuasive reasonings (Ac 18[4]). Nor was the advantage all on one side; from these 'fellow-workers in Christ Jesus' (Ro 16[3]) it is probable, as Ramsay suggests (Hastings' *DB* I. p. 482), that the Apostle of the Gentiles learnt 'the central importance of Rome in the development of the Church. . . . We may fairly associate with this friendship the maturing of St. Paul's plan for evangelizing Rome and the West, which we find already fully arranged a little later (Ac 19[21], Ro 15[24]).'

At the close of St. Paul's eighteen months' residence in Corinth, Aquila and Priscilla accompanied him to *Ephesus*. At their house Christians assembled for worship, and, according to an early gloss (DG *al*) on 1 Co 16[19], the Apostle again lodged with them. At Ephesus they remained whilst St. Paul visited Jerusalem; there Apollos, the eloquent Alexandrian, profited greatly from their ripe Christian experience, and learnt, from one or both of them, the secret of power in ministering the gospel of grace (Ac 18[26ff.]); there also it is probable that they made 'the churches of the Gentiles' their debtors by risking their lives in defence of St. Paul. The allusion to this courageous deed is in Ro 16[3], and from this passage we learn that Aquila and Priscilla sojourned for a while in *Rome*, where once more their hospitable home became a rendezvous for Christians. This statement affords no ground for disputing the integrity of the Epistle. Their former connexion with Rome, their interest in the Church of Christ in the imperial city, and their migratory habits, rather furnish presumptive evidence in favour of such a visit. From these trusted friends St. Paul may have received the encouraging tidings which made him 'long to see' his fellow-believers in Rome (Ro 1[11]). The last NT reference to this devoted pair shows that they returned to *Ephesus* (2 Ti 4[19]); their fellowship with Timothy would, doubtless, tend to his strengthening 'in the grace that is in Christ Jesus' (2[1]). J. G. Tasker.

AQUILA'S VERSION.—See Greek Versions.

AR.—A city on the Arnon, the border between Moab and the Amorites (Nu 21[15], Dt 2[9]), now *Wâdy Môjib*. It is called *Ar Moab* (Nu 21[28], Is 15[1]), *Ī Moab* (Nu 22[36]), and 'the city that is in the valley' (Dt 2[36] etc.). It is possibly the ruin seen by Burckhardt in the valley below the junction of the *Lejjûn* and the *Môjib*.

W. Ewing.

ARA.—A descendant of Asher (1 Ch 7[38]).

ARAB (Jos 15[52]).—A city of Judah in the mountains near Dumah. Perhaps the ruin *er-Rabiyah* near Domeh.

ARABAH.—The name given by the Hebrews to the whole of the great depression from the Sea of Galilee to the Gulf of Akabah. (For the part N. of the Dead Sea, see Jordan.) The name is now applied only to the southern part, extending from a line of white cliffs that cross the valley a few miles S. of the Dead Sea. The floor of the valley, about 10 miles broad at the N. end, gradually rises towards the S., and grows narrower, until, at a height of 2000 feet above the Dead Sea, nearly opposite Mt. Hor, the width is only about ¼ mile. The average width thence to Akabah is about 5 miles. The surface is formed of loose gravel, stones, sand, with patches of mud. Up to the level of the Red Sea everything indicates that we are traversing an old sea-bottom. Apart from stunted desert shrub and an occasional acacia, the only greenery to be seen is around the springs on the edges of the valley, and in the wadys which carry the water from the adjoining mountains into the *Wâdy el-Jaib*, down which it flows to the Dead Sea. The great limestone plateau, *et-Tîh*, the Wilderness of Paran, forms the western boundary, and the naked crags of Edom the eastern. Israel traversed the Arabah when they went to Kadesh-barnea, and again when they returned to the south to avoid passing through the land of Edom (Nu 20[21] 21[4], Dt 2[8]).

W. Ewing.

ARABIA, ARABS.—In the present article we have to do not with the part played by the Arabs in history, or with the geography of the Arabian peninsula, but only with the emergence of the Arab name and people in Bible times.

'Arâb (for which we should have expected rather *'ârâb*) is scarcely at first a proper name, but stands merely for 'waste,' 'desolation.' So in Is 21[13] (which may really belong to Isaiah himself, but should perhaps be ascribed to a later hand): 'Bivouac in the copse [made up of thorn-bushes, something like an Italian *macchia*], in the waste, ye caravans of Dedan.' In this passage the title *massâ ba'arâb*, which in any case is late and wanting in the ancient Gr. version, incorrectly takes *'arâb* as a proper name [we need not stop to notice the false interpretation of this word adopted by the LXX here and in other passages]. More commonly the word used for 'waste' is the fem. form *'arâbâh* (*e.g.* Is 35[1], Job 24[5] 39[6] etc.), which, preceded by the art. (*hâ-'Arâbâh*), stands for the deep gorge which, commencing to the north of the Dead Sea and including the latter, stretches to the Red Sea (Dt 2[8] etc.). Whether *'arâbî* in Is 13[20] and Jer 3[2] means simply an inhabitant of the desert, or should be taken as a proper name, is

uncertain; but at bottom this distinction has no importance, for the two notions of 'Bedouin' (*Badawī*, which also = 'inhabitant of the desert') and 'Arab' were pretty much identical in the mind of civilized peoples. It may be noted that here the Massoretes appear to assume the appellative sense, since they point *'arābī*, whereas for 'Arab' they use the form more akin to Aramaic than Hebrew, *'arbī* (Neh 2^{19} 6^{16}). The plural *'arbīm* in Neh 21^{16} 22^{1} and 2 Ch 26^{7} Qerē, from *'arbī'īm* (Kethibh of the last passage) may also be justified from the standpoint of Hebrew usage. The form in 2 Ch 17^{11} can hardly be original; it is due to attraction from the following *mebī'īm*. *'Arāb* is certainly a gentilic name in *we'ēth kol malkē 'Arāb* of Jer 25^{24} [the following words *we-ēth kol malkē hā-'ereb*, which are wanting in the LXX, are of course a pure dittography; for, although the Massoretes, for the sake of distinction, point in the second instance *hā-'ereb*, this has no value] and in Ezk 27^{21}. In these passages *'Arāb* can hardly be taken as the name of a single clan quite distinct from Dedan and the rest. The prophetic authors do not speak with the exactness of a prose narrator, and in point of fact were perhaps not very well informed about the various branches of the Bedouins, of whose territory the Israelite peasant and townsman thought only with a shudder. It is possible, indeed, that the rise of the name 'Arab' among the Hebrews (*c.* B.C. 700) is connected with the circumstance that the ancient clans of Ishmael, Midian, Amalek, etc., had by that time disappeared or at least lost all significance. In the desert there goes on a constant, if for the most part a slow, interchange in the rise and fall of tribes and tribal names. A brave tribe may be weakened by famine or defeat; it may be compelled to migrate or to adopt a settled mode of life, and thus its name becomes lost among a peasant population; or it may become otherwise broken up and its fragments attached to other tribes, so that small clans by assimilating foreign elements become great tribes. So it was millenniums ago; so it is still.

The Assyrian sources name the Arabs as early as the 9th cent. B.C. (see the passages cited by Bezold in his *Catalogue*, vol. v. 1964). King Darius I., in his inscriptions, enumerates *Arabāya* among the countries subject to him. The name always follows Babylonia, Assyria (which as a province included Mesopotamia proper and also probably N. Syria), and precedes Egypt. We shall have to understand by this name the great desert region not only of Syria, but also of Mesopotamia as well as the peninsula of Sinai. About this same time at the latest the name of the Arabs became known also to the Greeks. Æschylus (*Persæ*, 316) names an Arab as fighting in the battle of Salamis, and his contemporary, from whom Herodotus borrowed his description of the host of Xerxes, enumerated Arab archers as forming part of the latter (Herod. vii. 69). But while Æschylus (*Prom.* 422) has quite fabulous notions about the dwelling-places of the Arabs, Herodotus is well acquainted with them. His account of the situation of the Arabian peninsula is approximately correct, but he has specially in view those Arabs who inhabit the region lying between Syria and Egypt, *i.e.* the desert lands with whose inhabitants the ancient Israelites had frequent relations, peaceful or warlike. Xenophon appears to use the term 'Arabia' in essentially the same sense as King Darius. He too gives this name to the desert to the east of the Euphrates, the desert which separates Babylonia from Mesopotamia proper (*Anab.* VII. viii. 25),—the same region which was still called *'Arab* by the later Syrians. This tract of country, so far as we can learn, has always been peopled by Arab tribes.

In the 5th cent. B.C. we find, in the above-cited passages from the Memoirs of Nehemiah, repeated mention of an Arabian—Geshem or Gashmu, whose real name may have been *Gushamō*—who gave Nehemiah no little trouble. About this time, perhaps, the Arab tribe of **Nabatæans** had already pressed their way from the south and driven the Edomites from their ancient seats. Towards the end of the 4th cent. they were firmly established at least in the ancient Edomite capital, Petra; and they gradually extended their dominion widely. The First Book of Maccabees clearly distinguishes the Nabatæans from other Arabs, whereas the Second Book simply calls them 'Arabs' (2 Mac 5^{8}), as do also other Greek and Latin writers. The Nabatæan kingdom counted, indeed, for so much with Westerns that they could regard it as 'the Arabs' *par excellence*. The Apostle Paul (Gal 4^{25}), like profane writers, reckons the Sinaitic peninsula, which was part of the Nabatæan kingdom, as belonging to Arabia. Again, the part of Arabia to which he withdrew after his conversion (Gal 1^{17}) must have been a desert region not far from Damascus, which then also was under the sway of the king of the Nabatæans. By the 'Arabians' mentioned in Ac 2^{11}, in connexion with the miracle of Pentecost, the author probably meant Jews from the same kingdom, which, it is true, had in his time (?) become the Roman province of Arabia (A.D. 105).

We do not know whether the name *'Arab* originated with the Arabs themselves or was first applied to them by outsiders. In any case, it first extended itself gradually over the northern regions and the great peninsula. Uncivilized and much divided peoples recognize their national unity only with difficulty, whereas this is more readily perceived by their neighbours. In the first case a man knows only his own tribe, and regards even the neighbouring tribe, which speaks the same language, as strange. But the wide wanderings of the Arab nomads, due to the nature of their country, brought them readily into contact with peoples of other language and other customs, and this could awaken in them the consciousness of their own nationality. Perhaps the recognition of Arab unity was favoured also by the trading journeys of the civilized Arabs of the south and of other parts of Arabia. But be that as it may, the ancient Arab epitaph of Namāra to the S.E. of Damascus, dating from the year A.D. 328, concerns Maralqais, 'king of all Arabs.' And from the oldest documents of classical Arabic that have come down to us it is a sure inference that at that time (*i.e.* in the 6th cent. A.D.) *'Arab* had been for an inconceivably long period known as their national designation. But the close connexion between this common name and the meaning 'desert' still reveals itself in the circumstance that the plural form *'Arāb* (later more freq. *'Urbān*) stands especially for the Bedouins as opposed to Arabs who live in towns, and that afterwards in common speech, as had been the case even in the Sabæan inscriptions, *'Arab* is often used simply for 'Bedouin,' 'inhabitant of the desert.'

TH. NÖLDEKE.

ARAD.—**1.** A city in the Negeb, the king of which provoked Israel (Nu 21^{1}) and was slain by Joshua (Jos 12^{14}). In its vicinity the Kenites settled (Jg 1^{16}). It is probably *Tell 'Arād*, 16 miles S. of Hebron. **2.** A Benjamite (1 Ch 8^{15}). W. EWING.

ARADUS (1 Mac 15^{23}).—See ARVAD.

ARAH.—**1.** In the genealogy of Asher (1 Ch 7^{39}). **2.** His family returned with Zerubbabel (Ezr 2^{5}, Neh 6^{18} 7^{10}, 1 Es 5^{10}mg.).

ARAM.—**1.** A grandson of Nahor (Gn 22^{21}). **2.** An Asherite (1 Ch 7^{34}). **3.** AV of Mt 1^{3}, Lk 3^{33}. See ARNI, RAM.

ARAM, ARAMÆANS (often in AV and RV **'Syrians'**). —A number of scattered but kindred tribes which made their appearance in the Euphrates valley about B.C. 1300 and rapidly pushed westward. Their chief *habitat* stretched from Harran, east of the Euphrates, south-westward to the Hauran. The north-eastern part of this region was called 'Aram of the rivers' (**Aram-naharaim**, Ps 60, title). The Aramæans are first mentioned by Shalmaneser I. of

Assyria about B.C. 1300 (*WAI* iii. 4, No. 1). About the same time their name occurs in an inscription of Rameses II. (cf. Müller, *Asien und Europa*, 222, 234). Tiglath-pileser I. (c. B.C. 1110) mentions Aramæans (*KIB* i. 33) as dwelling east of the Euphrates, and in this same region they were later (885–824) conquered by Ashurnazirpal and Shalmaneser II. Many of them continued to live in the Euphrates valley, where their language spread to such an extent that, in the reign of Sennacherib, Aramaic glosses begin to make their appearance on Babylonian contracts. In Nippur many similar documents from the Persian period have been found. They indicate that the use of Aramaic was spreading among the common people of Babylonia. It probably came into general use here, as the Babylonian Talmud is written in it.

The Aramæans pushed into the West in large numbers shortly after B.C. 1300. In course of time they occupied Damascus and a part of the country to the south as far as the Hauran, some of them mingling with tribes still farther to the south and becoming the Ammonites, Moabites, and Israelites. A part of the Aramæans also displaced the Hittites in Hamath. Damascus became the leading Aramæan State (cf. Am 1^5 and Is 7^8), but other independent Aramæan kingdoms were **Aram-Geshur**, and **Aram-Maacah** in the Hauran to the north of Bashan; **Aram-Zobah**, farther north towards Damascus; and **Aram-Rehob**, near the town of Dan (Nu 13^{21}, Jg 18^{28}), conjecturally identified with Banias (Moore, *Com. on Judges*, 399).

King David married a daughter of the king of Geshur, and she became the mother of Absalom (2 S 3^3), who afterwards fled thither (13^{38}). Damascus was conquered by David (8^6), who also made Zobah, Rehob, and Maacah tributary (ch. 10). Zobah is mentioned by Ashurbanipal three centuries later as *Subiti*.

After the death of David, Damascus regained its independence. In the reigns of Baasha and Asa it was an ally now of Israel and now of Judah (1 K 15^{18}). During the century from Ahab to Jehoash of Israel, Damascus and Israel were frequently at war, and Damascus held much of Israel's trans-Jordanic territory. After this the Aramæan kingdom became weaker, but in the reign of Ahaz it made an attempt on Judah (Is 7). It was finally subdued by Tiglath-pileser III. of Assyria in B.C. 732.

The Aramæans continued to form the basis of population in the region from Aleppo to the Euphrates and beyond. Early in the Christian era this region became Christian, and in that Aramaic dialect called Syriac a large Christian literature exists.

GEORGE A. BARTON.

ARAMITESS.—A feminine form which occurs in both AV and RV of 1 Ch 7^{14}, for the elsewhere frequent term *Syrian*.

ARAM-GESHUR, ARAM-MAACAH, ARAM-NAHARAIM, ARAM-REHOB, ARAM-ZOBAH.—See ARAM.

ARAN.—Son of Dishan the Horite (Gn 36^{28}, 1 Ch 1^{42}), a descendant of Esau. The name denotes 'a wild goat,' and Dishan 'an antelope' or 'gazelle'; while Seir the ancestor is 'the he-goat.'

ARARAT (Gn 8^4, 2 K 19^{37} [||Isa 37^{38}], Jer 51^{27}) is the Hebrew form of the Assyrian *Urartu*, which on the monuments from the 9th cent. downwards designates a kingdom in the N. of the later **Armenia**. The extension of the name naturally varied with the political limits of this State; but properly it seems to have denoted a small district on the middle Araxes, of which the native name *Ayrarat* is thought to be preserved in the *Alarodioi* of Herodotus (iii. 94, vii. 79). Jerome describes it as 'a level region of Armenia, through which the Araxes flows, of incredible fertility, at the foot of the Taurus range, which extends thus far.' The Araxes (or *Aras*), on its way to the Caspian Sea, forms a great elbow to the S.; and at the upper part of this, on the right (or S.W.) bank of the river, the lofty snowclad summit of Massis (called by the Persians the 'mountain of Noah') rises to a height of nearly 17,000 ft. above sea-level. This is the traditional landing-place of the ark; and, through a misunderstanding of Gn 8^4 ('in [one of] the mountains of Ararat'), the name was transferred from the surrounding district to the two peaks of this mountain, Great Ararat and Little Ararat,—the latter about 7 m. distant and 4000 ft. lower.

Whether this is the site contemplated by the writer in Genesis (P) is not quite certain. The Syrian and Mohammedan tradition places it at *Jebel Jûdî*, a striking mountain considerably S. of Lake Van, commanding a wide view over the Mesopotamian plain. It is just possible that this might be included among the 'mountains of Ararat' in the wider sense of the term. This seems the view of Josephus (*Ant.* I. iii. 5, 6), who is unconscious of any discrepancy between 'Armenia' and the 'Kordyæan' mountain of Berosus. His statement about relics of the ark being shown in his time appears to be borrowed from Berosus, and applies to whatever mountain that writer had in mind—possibly Jebel Jûdî! The Targums and Peshiṭta, however, which are influenced by this tradition, read *Kardû* (Kurdistan), in verbal agreement with Berosus. The cuneiform Flood-legend puts it much farther S., at the 'mountain of Nisir,' probably in one of the ranges E. of the Tigris and S. of the Lesser Zab. This, of course, is quite beyond any imaginable extension of the name Ararat. Assuming, therefore, that the Biblical and Babylonian narratives have a common origin, the landing-place of the ark would seem to have been pushed gradually northward, the natural tendency of such a tradition being to attach itself to the highest mountain known at the time. On this principle the ultimate selection of the imposing Mount Massis would be almost inevitable; and it is *probable* that this is the view of Gn 8^4, although the alternative hypothesis that Jebel Jûdî is meant has still some claim to be considered. The suggestion of Nöldeke, that Ararat is a late substitution for Ḳardû in the original text of Genesis, has nothing to recommend it.

J. SKINNER.

ARARITE (2 S 23^{33b} RV).—See HARARITE, No. 2.

ARATHES, formerly called Mithridates, was king of Cappadocia B.C. 163–130. In B.C. 139 the Romans wrote letters to Arathes and certain other eastern sovereigns in favour of the Jews (1 Mac 15^{22}).

ARAUNAH (2 S 24^{18}; called in 1 Ch 21^{15}, 2 Ch 3^1 **Ornan**).—A Jebusite who owned a threshing-floor on Mount Moriah. This spot was indicated by the prophet Gad as the place where an altar should be erected to J", because the plague, which followed David's numbering of the people, had been stayed. David bought the threshing-floor and oxen for 50 shekels of silver. The price paid is given in 1 Ch 21^{15} as 600 shekels of gold—a characteristic deviation from the earlier account.

ARBA is named 'the father of the Anak' in Jos 14^{15} (so read also 21^{11}, cf. 15^{13}). This means simply that he was the founder of the city which bore his name; that is Kiriath-arba, later Hebron (wh. see), where was a chief seat of the Anakim.

J. F. MCCURDY.

ARBATHITE (2 S 23^{31}).—'A native of Beth-arabah,' a town in the wilderness of Judah (Jos $15^{6.\ 61}$ 18^{22}).

ARBATTA (AV **Arbattis**), 1 Mac 5^{23}.—A district in Palestine. The situation is doubtful. It may be a corruption for Akrabattis—the toparchy of Samaria near 'Akrabeh E. of Shechem.

ARBELA.—The discrepancy between 1 Mac 9 and Jos. *Ant.* XII. xi. 1, our only authorities, makes uncertain the route of Bacchides in his march on Jerusalem. Josephus makes him pitch his camp at Arbela in Galilee; 1 Mac. brings him 'by the way that leadeth to Gilgal,' to 'Mesaloth which is in Arbela.' His course thence points to *Jûjîlia* as Gilgal, about 5 miles N. of *Bîr ez-Zeit*, where the battle was fought with Judas. **Mesaloth** might then be sought in *Meselieh*, about 3 miles S.E. of Dothan. But no name resembling Arbela, either of town or district, is found in the neighbourhood; although Eusebius (*Onomasticon*) seems to have known an Arbela not far from Lejjun. On the other hand, Arbela in

Galilee survives in the modern *Irbîl* or *Irbid*, a ruin on the S. lip of the gorge, *Wâdy Hamâm*, which breaks westward from Gennesaret. There is, however, no trace of a Mesaloth here, unless indeed Robinson's ingenious suggestion is right, that it may be the Heb. *mesillîth*, referring to the famous caverned cliffs in the gorge, whence Bacchides extirpated the refugees.

W. Ewing.

ARBITE.—The LXX (2 S 23[35]) apparently reads 'the Archite,' cf. Jos 16[2] and 'Hushai the Archite,' 2 S 15[32]; but a place 'Arab, in the S. of Judah, is mentioned Jos 15[52]. In the parallel passage 1 Ch 11[37] we find 'the son of Ezbai,' a reading which is supported by several MSS of the LXX in 2 Sam. *l.c.*, and is probably correct.

ARBONAI (Jth 2[24]).—A torrent apparently near Cilicia. It cannot be represented by the modern *Nahr Ibrahîm*, since the ancient name of that river was the Adonis.

ARCH.—It is usually stated that the Hebrews were unacquainted with the architectural principle of the arch, but in view of the extreme antiquity of the arch in Babylonian mason work, as *e.g.* at Nippur, of the discovery of early arches by recent explorers, and of the vaulted roofs of later Jewish tombs, this view is now seen to be erroneous, although the arch is not mentioned in Scripture. The word 'arch' does, indeed, occur in the EV of Ezk 40[16ff.], but this is a mistake for 'porch,' 'porches.' See Temple. A. R. S. Kennedy.

ARCHANGEL.—See Angel.

ARCHELAUS.—Mt 2[22]. See Herod, No. 2.

ARCHER.—See Armour, Army.

ARCHEVITES.—'The people of Erech' (wh. see). Some of the inhabitants of Erech were deported as colonists to Samaria by king Ashurbanipal (668–626). Their name is mentioned in Ezr 4[9] along with dwellers in Babylon; and the deportation of Archevites most probably indicates that Erech sided with Babylon in the revolt of *Samas-sum-ukin* against the Assyr. king.

ARCHIPPUS (Philem [2], Col 4[17]) was evidently a member of the household of Philemon of Colossæ, probably his son. He shared his spirit, since St. Paul, referring doubtless to his aid in missionary operations in those parts, styles him 'our fellow-soldier.' He had been entrusted with some important office in the Church, whether at Colossæ, or, as Lightfoot, in view of the preceding context, more probably supposes, at the neighbouring town of Laodicea; and, considering the spiritual atmosphere of the place (Rev 3[14-19]), one is not surprised that the Apostle should have thought it needful to exhort him to zeal in his ministry.

David Smith.

ARCHITE.—The native of a town [in Jos 16[2] read 'the Archites,' not 'Archi' as in AV] situated on the north border of Benjamin, possibly the modern *'Ain 'Arik*, west of Bethel. Hushai, David's friend (2 S 15[32]), belonged to this town.

ARCHITECTURE.—The Hebrews never developed a native style of architecture. The genius of the people lay elsewhere. Alike in civil, religious, and funerary architecture, they were content to follow alien models. David's palace in his new capital was probably the first building since the conquest which gave scope for architectural display, and in this case workmen, plans, and decorative materials were all Phœnician (2 S 5[11]). The palace and temple of Solomon were likewise the work of Phœnician architects, and the former doubtless supplied the model for the more ambitious private buildings under the monarchy. Late Egyptian influence has been traced in the tombs of the Valley of Jehoshaphat, but the prevailing influence from the beginning of the 3rd cent. onwards was undoubtedly Greek (cf. 1 Mac 1[14], 2 Mac 4[12]). The many magnificent buildings of Herod, for example, including the colonnades and gates of the Temple, were entirely built in the prevailing Græco-Roman style. When the excavations at Gezer,—where Mr. Macalister claims to have discovered, with much else of architectural interest, the palace of Simon Maccabæus (1 Mac 13[48]),—Taanach, and Megiddo are finished and the results published in final form, and still more when other historical sites, such as Samaria (cf. Am 3[15], 1 K 22[39]), shall have been similarly laid bare, it may be possible to write a history of Palestinian, including pre-Israelite or Amorite architecture, but that day is not yet. See, further, Fortification, Palace, Temple, Tomb. A. R. S. Kennedy.

ARCHIVES.—The 'house of the archives' (Ezr 6[1] RV; AV 'rolls') was a part of the 'treasure house' (5[17]) of the Persian kings at Babylon, in which important State documents were preserved.

ARCTURUS.—See Stars.

ARD.—Benjamin's son in Gn 46[21], but his grandson in Nu 26[40] = 1 Ch 8[3] (**Addar**). Patronymic **Ardites** (Nu 26[40]).

ARDAT (2 Es 9[26] AV **Ardath**).—'A field' in an unknown situation.

ARDITES.—Nu 26[40]. See Ard.

ARDON.—A son of Caleb (1 Ch 2[18]).

ARELI.—A son of Gad (Gn 46[16], Nu 26[17]). Patronymic **Arelites** (Nu 26[17]).

AREOPAGUS.—This is a compound name, which means 'Hill of Ares,' that is, Hill sacred to (or connected with) Ares, the Greek god of war, who corresponded to the Latin Mars. The hill referred to is a bare, shapeless mass of rock in Athens, about 380 feet high. It is due west of the Acropolis, and separated from it only by a ridge. From the earliest times known to us this hill was associated with murder trials, and a court known as the 'Council from the Areopagus' met on or near it to try such cases. In the account in Acts (17[19. 22]) it is not the hill, but the 'Council' itself that is referred to, the name of the hill being often used for the Council which met there. In Roman times the Council had power to appoint lecturers at Athens, and St. Paul appears before them to have his aptitude tested. The proceedings were audible to the surrounding crowd. St. Paul's claim was rejected, and only one member of the Council, Dionysius 'the **Areopagite**' (17[34]), was convinced by his teaching. A. Souter.

ARES (1 Es 5[10]).—756 of his descendants returned with Zerub.: they correspond to the 775 (Ezr 2[5]) or 652 (Neh 7[10]) children of **Arah.**

ARETAS.—This is the dynastic name (Aram. *Charethath*) of several kings of the Nabatæan Arabs whose capital was Petra (Sela), and whose language for purposes of writing and commerce was an Aramaic dialect, as is seen from the existing inscriptions (Cooke, *N. Semitic Inscr.* p. 214 ff.). The first of the line is mentioned in 2 Mac 5[8]; the fourth (whose personal name was Æneas) in 2 Co 11[32], where his 'ethnarch' is said to have 'guarded the city of the Damascenes in order to take' St. Paul; but the Apostle escaped. This was within three years after his conversion (Gal 1[17f.], Ac 9[23ff.]). There is a difficulty here, for Damascus was ordinarily in the Roman province of Syria. Aretas III. had held it in B.C. 85; the Roman coins of Damascus end A.D. 34 and begin again A.D. 62–3. It has been supposed that the **Nabatæans** held the city during this interval. Yet before the death of Tiberius (A.D. 37) there could hardly have been any regular occupancy by them, as Vitellius, proprætor of Syria, was sent by that emperor to punish Aretas IV. for the vengeance that the latter had taken on Herod Antipas for divorcing his sister in favour of Herodias. It has therefore been thought that A.D. 37 is the earliest possible date for St. Paul's escape; and this will somewhat modify our view of Pauline chronology (see art. Paul the Apostle, § 4). Yet the allusion in 2 Co 11[32f.] does not necessarily imply anything like a permanent tenure of Damascus

by Aretas' ethnarch. A temporary occupancy may well have taken place in Aretas' war against Herod Antipas or afterwards; and it would be unsafe to build any chronological theory on this passage. The reign of Aretas IV. lasted from B.C. 9 to A.D. 40; inscriptions (at *el-Hejra*) and coins are dated in his 48th year (Cooke, *l.c.*). A. J. MACLEAN.

ARGOB.—**1.** Argob and Arieh were guards of Pekahiah (2 K 15^{25}), who fell by the hands of Pekah along with their master. **2.** A district in the kingdom of Og, abounding in strong cities and unwalled towns. It was subdued by 'Jair son of Manasseh,' and became the possession of his tribe (Dt $3^{3.\ 13}$, 1 K 4^{15} etc.). It is called 'the Argob' (Dt 3^{13}). This, together with the fact that *chebel*, 'measured area,' always precedes the name, seems to indicate a definitely marked district. This would apply admirably to the great lava field of *el-Lejā*, N.W. of *Jebel Haurān*. Within this forbidding tract the present writer collected the names of 71 ruined sites. Had Gesenius rightly translated 'a heap of stones,' the identification would be almost certain. But the name seems to mean 'arable land' (*regeb*='clod,' Job 21^{33} 38^{38}). Argob must therefore be sought elsewhere. The W. slopes of the mountain (now *Jebel ed-Druze*) would always form a clearly defined district. They abound in ruins of antiquity; while the rich soil, now turned to good account by the Druzes, would amply justify the name of Argob. W. EWING.

ARIDAI (Est 9^{9}).—The ninth of Haman's sons, put to death by the Jews.

ARIDATHA (Est 9^{8}).—The sixth son of Haman, put to death by the Jews.

ARIEH ('the lion').—Mentioned with Argob in a very obscure passage (2 K 15^{25}).

ARIEL.—**1.** One of Ezra's chief men (Ezr 8^{16}). **2.** The name of a Moabite (according to RV of 2 S 23^{20}, 1 Ch 11^{22}) whose two sons were slain by Benaiah. **3.** A name of uncertain meaning, perhaps='God's altar-hearth,' given to Jerusalem by Isaiah ($29^{1ff.}$). It has recently been proposed to read *Uri-el* ('city of God') as a paronomasia or play of words on *Uru-salim*, the earliest recorded form of the name 'Jerusalem.'
A. R. S. KENNEDY.

ARIMATHÆA (Mt 27^{57}, Mk 15^{43}, Lk 23^{51}, Jn 19^{38}). —A place known only in connexion with Joseph. It was probably near Lydda.

ARIOCH.—**1.** The king of Ellasar (Gn 14^{1}). It has been suggested by Schrader that Arioch is the transcription of ERI-A-KU, the Sumerian writing of the name Rîm-Sin of the king of Larsa, son of Kudur-Mabug, an Elamite, who ruled Southern Babylonia till conquered by Hammurabi. See CHEDORLAOMER. **2.** The captain of the king's guard in the time of Nebuchadrezzar (Dn 2^{14}). **3.** King of the Elymæans (Jth 1^{6}).
C. H. W. JOHNS.

ARISAI (Est 9^{9}).—The eighth son of Haman, put to death by the Jews.

ARISTARCHUS.—The name of one of St. Paul's companions in travel. He was 'a Macedonian of Thessalonica' (Ac 19^{29} 27^{2}), and a convert from Judaism (Col $4^{10f.}$). From Troas, Aristarchus accompanied St. Paul on his departure for Jerusalem at the close of the third missionary journey (Ac 20^{4}); he also embarked with the Apostle on his voyage to Rome (27^{2}). In Col 4^{10} he is called St. Paul's 'fellow-prisoner' (cf. Philem ^{23}, where Epaphras, not Aristarchus, is styled 'my fellow-prisoner in Christ Jesus'). The expression probably refers not to a spiritual captivity, but either to a short imprisonment arising out of the turmoil described in Ac 19^{29}, or to a voluntary sharing of the Apostle's captivity by Aristarchus and Epaphras.
J. G. TASKER.

ARISTOBULUS.—**1.** The name of a son and of a grandson of Herod the Great. The grandson lived as a private individual at Rome, and was a friend of the Emperor Claudius; those greeted by St. Paul in Ro 16^{10} were probably some of his slaves. If he was then dead, they might have become members of the Imperial household, but would still retain Aristobulus' name. **2.** The teacher of Ptolemy (2 Mac 1^{10}). A. J. MACLEAN.

ARIUS (1 Mac $12^{7.\ 20}$).—A king of Sparta, grandson and successor of Cleomenes II. His reign lasted from B.C. 309 to B.C. 265, and he was contemporary with the high priest Onias I., the successor of Jaddua. Friendly letters were interchanged between Arius and Onias (probably about B.C. 300); and Jonathan Maccabæus refers to these communications in a letter which he sent by his ambassadors to Sparta (*c.* B.C. 144), 1 Mac $12^{7ff.}$ $19ff.$ AV **Darius** in v.[7] is due to corrupt text.

ARK.—This word, from Lat. *arca*, 'a chest,' is the rendering of two Hebrew words, of which one (*tēbhāh*, probably a loan-word) is applied both to the basket of bulrushes in which the infant Moses was exposed, and to the ark built by Noah (see DELUGE). The other (*'ărōn*, the native word for box or chest, 2 K $12^{10f.}$), is used for a mummy-case or coffin (Gn 50^{26}), and in particular for the sacred ark of the Hebrews.

Ark of the Covenant.—**1.** *Names of the ark.*—Apart from the simple designation 'the ark' found in all periods of Heb. literature, the names of the ark, more than twenty in number, fall into three groups, which are characteristic (*a*) of the oldest literary sources, viz. Samuel and the prophetical narratives of the Hexateuch; (*b*) of Deuteronomy and the writers influenced by Dt.; and (*c*) of the Priests' Code and subsequent writings. In (*a*) we find chiefly 'the ark of J″,' doubtless the oldest name of all, and 'the ark of God'; in (*b*) the characteristic title is 'the ark of the covenant'—alone or with the additions 'of J″,' 'of God,' etc.—a contraction for 'the ark or chest containing the tables of the covenant' (Dt $9^{9ff.}$), and therefore practically 'the ark of the Decalogue'; in (*c*) the same conception of the ark prevails (see below), but as the Decalogue is by P termed 'the testimony,' the ark becomes 'the ark of the testimony.' All other designations are expansions of one or other of the above.

2. *History of the ark.*—The oldest Pentateuch sources (J, E) are now silent as to the origin of the ark, but since the author of Dt 10^{1-5} had one or both of these before him, it may be assumed that its construction was there also assigned to Moses in obedience to a Divine command. It certainly played an important part in the wanderings (Nu $10^{33ff.}$ 14^{44}), and in the conquest of Canaan (Jos $3^{3ff.}$ $6^{6f.}$), and finally found a resting-place in the temple of Shiloh under the care of a priestly family claiming descent from Moses (1 S 3^{3}). After its capture by the Philistines and subsequent restoration, it remained at Kiriath-jearim (1 S 4^{1}–7^{1}), until removed by David, first to the house of Obed-edom, and thereafter to a specially erected tent in his new capital (2 S $6^{10ff.}$). Its final home was the inner sanctuary of the Temple of Solomon (1 K $8^{1ff.}$). Strangely enough, there is no further mention of the ark in the historical books. Whether it was among 'the treasures of the house of the Lord' carried off by Shishak (*c.* B.C. 930), or whether it was still in its place in the days of Jeremiah ($3^{16f.}$) and was ultimately destroyed by the soldiers of Nebuchadrezzar (587 B.C.), it is impossible to say. There was no ark in the Temples of Zerubbabel and Herod.

3. *The significance of the ark.*—In attempting a solution of this difficult problem, we must, as in the foregoing section, leave out of account the late theoretical conception of the ark to be found in the Priests' Code (see TABERNACLE), and confine our attention to the oldest sources. In these the ark—a simple chest of acacia wood, according to Dt 10^{3}—is associated chiefly with the operations of war, in which it is the representative of J″, the God of the armies of Israel. Its

presence on the field of battle is the warrant of victory (1 S $4^{3ff.}$, cf. 2 S 11^{11}), as its absence is the explanation of defeat (Nu 14^{44}). Its issue to and return from battle are those of J″ Himself (Nu $10^{35f.}$). So closely, indeed, is the ark identified with the personal presence of J″ in the oldest narratives (see, besides the above, 1 S 6^{20}, 2 S $6^{7f.\ 14}$), that one is tempted to identify it with that mysterious 'presence' of J″ which, as a fuller manifestation of the Deity than even the 'angel of J″,' was Israel's supreme guide in the wilderness wanderings (Ex 32^{34} 33^{2} compared with v.$^{14f.}$, Dt 4^{37}, and Is 63^{9}, where read 'neither a messenger nor an angel, but his presence delivered them'). The ark was thus a substitute for that still more complete Presence (EV 'face') which no man can see and live.

Under the prophetic teaching Israel gradually outgrew this naïve and primitive, not to say fetish-like, conception, and in the 7th cent. we first find the ark spoken of as the receptacle for the tables of the Decalogue (Dt $10^{2ff.}$). Apart from other difficulties attending this tradition, it is quite inadequate to explain the extreme reverence and, to us, superstitious dread with which the ark is regarded in the narratives of Samuel. Hence many modern scholars are of opinion that the stone tables of the Deuteronomic tradition have taken the place of actual fetish stones, a view which it is impossible to reconcile with the lofty teaching of the founder of Israel's religion.

A. R. S. Kennedy.

ARKITE is used (Gn 10^{17}, 1 Ch 1^{15}) for the people of Arka, a town and district of Phœnicia about 12 miles north of Tripolis. It was taken by Tiglath-pileser III. in B.C. 738. As the birthplace of the Emperor Alexander Severus, it was later called Cæsarea Libani. It is probably mentioned, under the form *Irkata*, in the Amarna Letters.

J. F. McCurdy.

ARM.—Part of the *insignia* of royalty amongst Oriental peoples was a bracelet worn on the arm (2 S 1^{10}; cf. W. R. Smith's reading of 2 K 11^{12} where, agreeing with Wellhausen, he would substitute 'bracelet' for 'testimony' [*OTJC*^{2} 311 n.]). The importance attached to the functions discharged by this organ are incidentally referred to by Job in his solemn repudiation of conscious wrong-doing ('Let my shoulder fall from the shoulder-blade, and mine arm be broken from the bone' 31^{22}). The heart was said to be situated 'between the arms,' and, therefore, in the murder of Joram, the deadly aim of Jehu resulted in the instantaneous death of the former (2 K 9^{24}). It is interesting to recall here the means by which Jeremiah escaped the vengeance of his political enemies, especially as the narrative reveals the affection inspired by the prophet amongst some of the courtiers (Jer 38^{12}). A note of vividness is introduced into the narratives telling of St. Paul's method of bespeaking attention from a crowd which he was anxious to address (Ac 13^{16} 21^{40}, cf. 12^{17}). There is in the Gospels no more beautiful picture than the two presented by St. Mark, in which the tenderness of Jesus to little children is emphasized. In each of them is pointed out the startling method by which His teaching was often enforced objectively on His hearers' attention (Mk 9^{36} 10^{16}, cf. Lk 2^{28}).

Besides this literal use, there is also an extensive employment of the word in a metaphorical or a spiritual sense. Sometimes we find it used to denote the strength of the ungodly and their power to commit acts of cruel tyranny on God's people (cf. Ps 10^{15}, Job 38^{15}, Ezk $30^{21f.}$; cf. 'arm of flesh,' 2 Ch 32^{8}, Jer 17^{5}). Sometimes the word expresses the might of God's ceaseless activity either on behalf of His chosen (Dt 33^{27}, Ps 44^{3}, Is 33^{2} 63^{12}, Ac 13^{17}), or in breaking the power of His enemies (Ex 6^{6}, Dt 5^{15}, Ezk 21^{5} 32^{21}), or again in upholding the movements and harmony of His creation, ruling in justice with unswerving sternness (Ezk $20^{33f.}$, Job 40^{9}, Is 40^{10} 51^{5}, Jer 27^{5} 32^{17}). The doom pronounced on the house of Eli contains this word to express the removal of that latent vitality which shows itself in prolonged hereditary strength and activity (1 S 2^{31}, cf. Zec 11^{17}).

The cognate verb is also used not only literally, to furnish arms for the purposes of war (Gn 14^{14}, Nu $31^{3.\ 5}$), but also in a spiritual sense, to procure and make use of those graces and helps which are meant as weapons, offensive and defensive, of the soul against sin (1 P 4^{1}, cf. Eph 6^{13}).

J. R. Willis.

ARMAGEDDON.—See Har-Magedon.

ARMENIA.—See Ararat.

ARMLET.—See Ornaments, § 4.

ARMONI.—Son of Saul by Rizpah (2 S 21^{8}).

ARMOUR, ARMS.—The soldier's arms, offensive and defensive, are never so termed in our EV; '**armour,**' 'whole armour' (Eph 6^{11} [Gr. *panoplia*], the 'harness' of 2 Mac 15^{28}, RV 'full armour'), and more frequently '**weapons of war**' are the terms employed. In RV '**harness**' in this sense has in most cases given place to 'armour.'

1. *Offensive arms.*—In a familiar representation from an Egyptian tomb of date *c.* B.C. 1895, a band of Semitic nomads are depicted with the primitive arms of their race—the short spear, the bow, and the throw-stick—the last perhaps the **handstaves** of Ezk 39^{9}. In OT the principal arms of attack are the sword, the spear, the javelin, the bow, and the sling. (*a*) The **spear** claims precedence as an older weapon than the sword. The normal Hebrew form, the *chanith*, had a stout wooden shaft with a flint, bronze, or iron (1 S 13^{19}) head, according to the period. Like the spear of the modern Bedouin sheikh, it figures as a symbol of leadership in the case of Saul (1 S 22^{6} 26^{7}, cf. $18^{10ff.}$ RV). The *rōmach* appears to have been a lighter form of spear, a **lance,** and to have largely supplanted the heavier spear or pike in later times (Neh $4^{13.\ 16}$, Jl 3^{10}). Both are rendered 'spear' in EV. (*b*) The *kīdōn* was shorter and lighter than either of the above, and was used as a missile, and may be rendered **javelin** (Jos $8^{18.\ 26}$ RV, Job 41^{29} RV 'the rushing of the javelin') or **dart.** The latter term is used as the rendering of several missile weapons, of which the precise nature is uncertain.

(*c*) The **sword** had a comparatively short, straight blade of iron (1 S 13^{21}, Is 2^{4}), and was occasionally two-edged (Ps 149^{6}, He 4^{12}). Ehud's weapon, only 18 inches long, was rather a **dagger** (Jg 3^{16} AV, RV 'sword'). The sword was worn on the left side in a leather or metal **sheath** (1 S 17^{51}), attached to a waist-belt or girdle (1 S 17^{51} 25^{13}, 2 S 20^{8} RV). It occurs frequently in symbol and metaphor in both OT and NT. It is appropriately the symbol of war, as the plough-share is of peace (Is 2^{4}, Mic 4^{3}, Jl 3^{10}). In NT the word of God is described as a two-edged sword (He 4^{12}), and by St. Paul as the 'sword of the Spirit' (Eph 6^{17}).

(*d*) The **bow** is common to civil (Gn 21^{20}) and military life, and vies in antiquity with the spear. It was made of tough, elastic wood, sometimes mounted with bronze (Ps 18^{34} RV, Job 20^{24}). Horn also was used for bows in ancient times, and those with the double curve seem to have been modelled on the horns of oxen. The bow-string was usually of ox-gut, the **arrows** of reed or light wood tipped with flint, bronze, or iron. The **battle bows** (Zec 9^{10} 10^{4}), at least, must have been of considerable size—the Egyptian bow measured about 5 ft.—since they were strung by pressing the foot on the lower end, while the upper end was bent down to receive the string into a notch. Hence the Heb. expressions 'to tread (=string) the bow,' and 'bow-treaders' for **archers** (Jer $50^{14.\ 29}$). The arrows, 'the sons of the quiver' (La 3^{13}, RV **shafts**), were carried in the **quiver,** which was either placed on the back or slung on the left side by a belt over the right shoulder.

(*e*) The **sling** was the shepherd's defence against wild

beasts (1 S 17[40]), as well as a military weapon (2 K 3[25] and often). The Hebrew sling, like those of the Egyptians and Assyrians, doubtless consisted of a long narrow strip of leather, widening in the middle to receive the stone, and tapering to both ends. At one end was a loop by which the sling was held as the slinger swung it round his head, while the other end was released as the stone was thrown. The Benjamites were specially noted for the accuracy of their aim (Jg 20[16]).

(*f*) The **battle axe** (Jer 51[20], RVm **maul**; cf. Pr 25[18]), lit. 'shatterer' (no doubt identical with the 'weapon of his shattering,' Ezk 9[2] [RVm 'battle axe']), was probably, as the etymology suggests, a club or mace of hard wood, studded with iron spikes, such as was carried by the Assyrians in the army of Xerxes (Herod. vii. 63). See Rich, *Dict. of Ant.*, *s.v.* 'Clava.'

2. *Defensive arms.*—(*a*) First among the arms of defence must be placed the **shield**, of which two main varieties are common to all periods, the small shield or **buckler** (*māgēn*), and the large shield (*zinnah*), the **target** of 1 K 10[16ff.]. The distinction between these is rarely preserved in our EV (*e.g.* Jer 47[3]—in Ps 35[2], Ezk 23[24] they are reversed), but the relative sizes of the two kinds may be seen in the passage of 1 Kings just cited, where the targets or large shields each required four times as much gold as the smaller buckler. These, however, were only for state processions and the like (14[28], but cf. 1 Mac 6[39]). The *māgēn* was the ordinary light round shield of the ancient world, the Roman *clypeus*; the *zinnah* was the *scutum* or large oblong shield which more effectively protected its bearer against the risks of battle. The normal type of both was most probably made of layers of leather stretched on a frame of wood or wickerwork, since 'both the shields and the bucklers' might be burned (Ezk 39[9]). The shield, as a figure of God's protecting care, is a favourite with the religious poets of Israel (Psalms, *passim*). St. Paul also in his great military allegory introduces the large Græco-Roman shield (Eph 6[16]).

(*b*) Of the shapes of the Hebrew **helmets** we have no information. Kings and other notables wore helmets of bronze (1 S 17[5. 38]), but those prepared by Uzziah for 'all the host' (2 Ch 26[14] RV) were more probably of leather, such as the monuments show to have been worn by the rank and file of other armies until supplanted in the Greek age by bronze, for the *élite* of the infantry at least (1 Mac 6[35]).

(*c*) The same difference of material—bronze for the leaders, leather for the common soldier—holds good for the cuirass or **coat of mail** (1 S 17[5. 38]). The latter term takes the place in RV of the antiquated **habergeon** (2 Ch 26[14], Neh 4[16]), and **brigandine** (Jer 46[4] 51[3]). The cuirass, which protected both back and front, is also intended by the **breastplate** of Is 59[17] (RVm 'coat of mail'), 1 Mac 3[3], 1 Th 5[8], Eph 6[14]. Goliath's coat of mail was composed of scales of bronze, and probably resembled the Egyptian style of cuirass described and illustrated by Wilkinson (*Anc. Egyp.* [1878] i. 219 ff.). This detail is not given for Saul's cuirass (1 S 17[38]). Ahab's '**harness**' consisted of a cuirass which ended in 'tassels' or flaps, the 'lower armour' of 1 K 22[34] RVm. The Syrian war-elephants were protected by breastplates (1 Mac 6[43]), and probably also the horses of the Egyptian cavalry (Jer 46[4]).

(*d*) **Greaves** of bronze to protect the legs are mentioned only in connexion with Goliath (1 S 17[6]). The military **boot** is perhaps referred to in Is 9[5] (RVm).

The **armourbearer** is met with as early as the time of Abimelech (Jg 9[54]), and later in connexion with Jonathan, Saul, and Goliath, and with Joab, who had several (2 S 18[15]). This office was held by a young man, like the squire of mediæval knighthood, who carried the shield (1 S 17[7]), cuirass, the reserve of darts (2 S 18[14]), and other weapons of his chief, and gave the *coup de grâce* to those whom the latter had struck down (1 S 14[13]).

An **armoury** for the storage of material of war is mentioned by Nehemiah (3[19]), but that this was built by David can scarcely be inferred from the difficult text of Ca 4[4]. Solomon's armoury was 'the house of the forest of Lebanon' (1 K 10[17], Is 22[8]). The Temple also seems to have been used for this purpose (2 K 11[10]). See further the articles ARMY, FORTIFICATION AND SIEGECRAFT, WAR.

A. R. S. KENNEDY.

ARMOURBEARER, ARMOURY.—See ARMOUR.

ARMY.—1. In default of a strong central authority, an army in the sense of a permanently organized and disciplined body of troops was an impossibility among the Hebrews before the establishment of the monarchy. The bands that followed a Gideon or a Jephthah were hastily improvised levies from his own and neighbouring clans, whose members returned with their share of the spoil to their ordinary occupations when the fray was at an end. The first step towards a more permanent arrangement was taken by Saul in his operations against the Philistines (1 S 13[2], cf. 14[52]). David, however, was the first to establish the nucleus of a standing army, by retaining as a permanent **bodyguard** 600 'mighty men' (their official title) who had gathered round him in his exile (1 S 23[13] 30[9], 2 S 10[7] 16[6]). To these were added the mercenary corps of the Cherethites and Pelethites (wh. see), and a company of 600 Gittites (2 S 15[18]). Apart from these, David's armies were raised by levy as before, but now from the whole nation, hence the technical use of 'the people' in the sense of 'the army' (2 S 20[12] and often). Solomon's organization of his kingdom into administrative districts (1 K 4[7ff.]) doubtless included matters of army administration (cf. v.[28] 9[19] 10[26]).

2. The organization of the Hebrew army was by units of thousands, originally associated with the civil divisions of the same name, with subdivisions of hundreds, fifties, and tens (1 S 8[12] 17[18] 22[7], 2 K 1[9ff.] 11[4]), an arrangement which continued into the Maccabæan period (1 Mac 3[55]). Each of these divisions had its special '**captain.**' The whole was under the supreme command of the 'captain of the host.' The relative positions and duties of the *shōterīm* (AV 'officers') and other military officials are quite uncertain. The former appear to have been charged with keeping and checking the lists of the quotas to be furnished by the various districts (Dt 20[5ff.]).

3. The army was composed in early times entirely, and at all times chiefly, of infantry, the bulk of whom were armed with the spear or pike and the large shield or target (see ARMOUR). The **archers** carried a sword and buckler (1 Ch 5[18]), and with the **slingers** (2 Ch 26[14]) made up the light infantry. Chariots, although long before a vital part of the forces of the surrounding nations, were first introduced into the Hebrew army by Solomon (1 K 4[26] 9[22] 10[26ff.]; see CHARIOT, HORSE).

4. The period during which a citizen was liable for military service extended from his twentieth (Nu 1[3], 2 Ch 25[5]) to his fiftieth year (Jos. *Ant.* III. xii. 4). Exemption was granted in the cases specified in Dt 20[5ff.], at least under the Maccabees (1 Mac 3[56]), and to the members of the priestly caste (Nu 2[33]).

5. As regards maintenance, each city and district had doubtless to supply its own quota with provisions, in so far as these were not drawn from the enemy's country. The soldier's recompense consisted in his share of the loot, the division of which was regulated by the precedent of 1 S 30[24]. The first mention of regular pay is in connexion with the army of Simon Maccabæus (1 Mac 14[32]). Foreign mercenaries figure largely in the armies of the later Maccabæan princes and of Herod. No reference has been made to the numbers of the Hebrew armies, since these have in so many cases been greatly corrupted in transmission.

For methods of mobilization, tactics, etc., see WAR,

also FORTIFICATION AND SIEGECRAFT; and for the Roman army in NT times see LEGION.

A. R. S. KENNEDY.

ARNA.—One of the ancestors of Ezra (2 Es 1^2), corresponding apparently to **Zerahiah** of Ezr 7^4 and **Zaraias** of 1 Es 8^2.

ARNAN.—A descendant of David (1 Ch 3^{21}).

ARNI (AV **Aram**).—An ancestor of Jesus (Lk 3^{33}), called in Mt $1^{3.\ 4}$ **Ram** (RV). Cf. Ru 4^{19}, 1 Ch $2^{9.\ 10}$.

ARNON.—A valley with a stream in its bed, now called *Wâdy el-Môjib*, which gathers the waters from many tributary vales—the 'wadys' [AV 'brooks,' RV 'valleys'] of Arnon (Nu 21^{14})—as it flows westward to the Dead Sea. It was the N. border of Moab, cutting it off from the land of the Amorites in old time (Nu 21^{13} etc.), and later, from that of the Eastern tribes (Jos 12^1 etc.). It is named in Is 16^2 ('the fords of Arnon') and Jer 48^{20} (where the reference may be to the inhabitants of the valley, or to a city of that name now unknown). Mesha made the 'high way in Arnon,' and built (possibly 'fortified') Aroer (Moabite Stone). This 'high way' probably followed the line of the Roman road, traces of which still remain, with indications of a bridge, some distance W. of Aroer—the modern *'Ar'âir*, or *'Ar'ar*, which stands on the N. bank. W. EWING.

AROD.—A son of Gad (Nu 26^{17})=**Arodi** Gn 46^{16}. Patronymic **Arodites** (Nu 26^{17}).

AROER.—Three distinct places. **1.** 'Aroer which is by the brink of the river Arnon' (Dt 2^{36}) is probably the ruin *'Arâ'ir*, on the north bank of the *Wady Mojib* (Arnon). In such a position it necessarily became a frontier town, and as such is mentioned (cf. Dt 2^{36}, 2 K 10^{33} etc.). It was captured by Sihon, king of the Amorites (Dt 2^{36} 4^{48}, Jos 12^2 and 13^9, Jg 11^{26}); when conquered by Israel it was assigned to Reuben (Dt 3^{12}); it was taken by Hazael, king of Syria (2 K 10^{33}), and apparently later on by Moab (Jer 48^{19}). **2.** A city of Judah (1 S 30^{28}), perhaps the ruin *'Ar'âra*, 12 miles east of Beersheba. **3.** A city of Gad near Rabbah, *i.e.* *'Amman* (Jos 13^{25}, Jg 11^{33}). The site is unknown.

E. W. G. MASTERMAN.

AROM (1 Es 5^{16}).—His descendants are mentioned among those who returned with Zerubbabel. The name has no parallel in the lists of Ezr. and Neh., unless it represents **Hashum** in Ezr 2^{19}.

ARPACHSHAD was, according to Gn 10^{22}, the third son of Shem, and, according to 11^{10}, he was the second in the line of descent from Shem to Abraham. Gn 10^{22} is an enumeration of peoples (or countries) descended from Shem, from which Babylonia or Chaldæa is absent in the present text. The latter portion of the word furnishes *Chesed* (cf. Gn 22^{22}), which is the singular form of *Chasdim* (Chaldees). Probably two words in the original of 10^{22} were combined into one, the latter being *Chesed* and the former *Arpach*, which is a region south-west of Assyria, possibly the same as the *Arrapachitis* of Ptolemy. The mistaken reading in 10^{22} was then taken as the basis of $11^{10ff.}$. J. F. MCCURDY.

ARPAD.—A city of Syria north-west of Aleppo (2 K 18^{34} 19^{13}, Is 10^9 36^{19} 37^{13}, Jer 49^{23}). Now the ruin *Tell Erfud*.

ARPHAXAD.—**1.** A king of the Medes (Jth $1^{1ff.}$). He reigned at Ecbatana, which he strongly fortified. Nebuchadrezzar, king of Assyria, made war upon him, defeated him, and put him to death. **2.** The spelling of **Arpachshad** in AV, and at Lk 3^{36} by RV also. See ARPACHSHAD.

ARROW.—See ARMOUR, and MAGIC DIVINATION, etc.

ARROWSNAKE (Is 34^{15} RV).—See OWL, SERPENT.

ARSACES.—A king of Parthia (known also as Mithridates I.). When opposed by Demetrius Nikator, who thought the people would rise in his favour and afterwards assist him against Tryphon, he deceived Demetrius by a pretence of negotiations, and in B.C. 138 took him prisoner (1 Mac 14^{1-3}; Justin, xxxvi. 1). In 1 Mac 15^{22} Arsaces is mentioned among the kings to whom was sent an edict (Jos. *Ant.* XIV. viii. 5) from Rome forbidding the persecution of the Jews.

ARSIPHURITH (AV **Azephurith**), 1 Es 5^{16}.—112 of his sons returned with Zerubbabel. The corresponding name in Ezr 2^{18} is Jorah; and in Neh 7^{24} **Hariph**.

ART.—Among the Hebrews the fine arts, with the possible exception of music, were not seriously cultivated (cf. ARCHITECTURE). The law of Ex 20^4 constituted an effective bar to the development of the plastic art in particular. As to the nature and workmanship of the early ephods (Jg 8^{27} 17^5) and teraphim (Gn 31^{19}, Jg 17^5, 1 S 19^{13} RV), as of the 'graven images' and the later 'molten images,' we can only speculate. **Sculpture** in wood, but of Phœnician workmanship, both in relief (1 K $6^{18.\ 29}$) and in the round (v.$^{23ff.}$), found a place in the Temple of Solomon. The only specimens yet discovered of 'genuine Israelite' sculpture (according to the discoverer, Professor Sellin) are the beardless human heads (cherubim ?), foreparts of lions and other *motifs* that adorn the unique altar of incense from Taanach (illust. *PEFSt*, 1904, 390).

Of **painting** there is no trace in OT. The coloured representations which Ezekiel saw with abhorrence on the Temple walls were not true paintings, but, as the original implies, figures chiselled in outline, with the contours filled in with vermilion (Ezk $23^{14f.}$, cf. 8^{10}). The decorative work on pure Hebrew pottery was practically confined to geometrical designs. Of the minor arts, gem-engraving must have attained considerable development (Ex 28^{11}). The finest product of modern excavation in Palestine in the domain of art is probably the Hebrew seal with the lion *marchant* found at Megiddo (see SEALS). Mention may also be made of the filigree and other gold work implied in such passages as Ex $28^{11f.}$. The products of the Hebrew looms must also have shown considerable artistic merit (Ex 26^1). See, further, JEWELS, MUSIC, SEALS, TEMPLE, SPINNING AND WEAVING. A. R. S. KENNEDY.

ARTAXERXES is the Greek form of the Old Persian *Artakhshatra*, the Hebrew being *Artachshast(â)*. The Artaxerxes of the Bible is Artax. Longimanus (B.C. 465–424), son of Xerxes (Bibl. Ahasuerus). By him Ezra was permitted to go to Jerusalem from Babylon and restore the affairs of the Jewish community (Ezr $7^{1ff.}$ 8^1). He also favoured the similar mission of his cup-bearer Nehemiah thirteen years later (Neh 2^1 5^{14} 13^6). The events narrated in Ezr $4^{7ff.}$ and said to have occurred in the time of Artaxerxes must have taken place during an earlier reign, probably that of Cambyses, unless, indeed, they are to be regarded as unhistorical. His régime was more important for Israel than that of any other king of Persia except Cyrus the Liberator.

J. F. MCCURDY.

ARTEMAS.—A trusted companion of St. Paul, in the later part of his life (Tit 3^{12}). There is no evidence for the statements of Dorotheus (*Bibl. Maxima*, Lugd.1677, iii. p. 429) that he had been one of the 70 disciples, and was afterwards bishop of Lystra.

ARTEMIS.—Ac $19^{24.\ 27}$ RVm. See DIANA.

ARTIFICER.—See ARTS AND CRAFTS.

ARTILLERY.—1 S 20^{40} AV (in obsol. sense, of Jonathan's bow and arrows; RV 'weapons'); 1 Mac $6^{51f.}$ (see FORTIFICATION, § 7).

ARTS AND CRAFTS.—One of the most characteristic distinctions between the Hebraic and the Hellenic views of life is found in the attitude of the two races to manual labour. By the Greek it was regarded as unworthy of a free citizen; by the Jew it was held in the highest esteem, as many Talmudic aphorisms bear witness. The general term in OT for **craftsman** (2 K 24^{14}, Jer 24^1 RV), **artificer** (1 Ch 29^5), or skilled artizan is *chârâsh*, from a root meaning 'to cut.' Most frequently,

ARTS AND CRAFTS

however, it is qualified by the name of the material. This suggests the following divisions. [In RV 'craft' has been displaced by the more modern 'trade'].

1. *Workers in wood.*—The productions of the 'worker in timber' (1 Ch 22[15]), elsewhere in OT **carpenter** (also Mt 13[55], Mk 6[3]), probably surpassed in variety those of any other craftsman, for they comprised not only those of the modern carpenter and cabinetmaker, but also of the ploughwright, woodcarver, and other specialized arts and crafts of to-day. His tools cannot have differed much from the tools of his Egyptian contemporaries described and illustrated by Wilkinson (*Anc. Egyp.*, see Index). Various **axes** are named in OT. For one variety the text distinguishes between the iron head and the wooden helve (Dt 19[5]). Another is from the context probably an adze (Jer 10[3]), while a third appears as a **hatchet** in Ps 74[6] RV. The carpenter's **hammer** (Jer 10[4]) was rather a wooden mallet (cf Jg 4[21]); his **saw** (Is 10[15]), to judge from analogy and from the excavations, was single-handed, and of bronze in the earlier period at least. Holes were bored with a drill worked as in the present day by a bow and string. In Is 44[13] are further named the **measuring line** (AV 'rule'), the sharp metal **pencil** (AV 'line') or *stylus* for outlining the work, the **planes**, which were more probably chisels, and the **compasses** (RV).

2. *Workers in metal.*—The principal metals of OT times are enumerated in Nu 31[22]. The 'brass' of OT, however, is probably always bronze, *i.e.* copper with an alloy of tin, except where pure copper is intended, as Dt 8[9]. The excavations have shown that iron makes its appearance in Palestine about the beginning of the monarchy (*c.* B.C. 1000), although bronze continued in use for several centuries, and was 'not fully conquered till the period of the captivity' (*PEFSt*, 1904, 122). The **coppersmith** (2 Ti 4[14]), 'artificer in brass' (Gn 4[22] AV), 'worker in brass' (1 K 7[14]), as he is variously termed, was thus the chief metal worker of the earlier period. For the more artistic handling of copper the Hebrews were at first dependent on Phœnician craftsmen (1 K 7[13ff.]). Later, as we have seen, the ironsmith (1 S 13[19]), or 'worker in iron' (2 Ch 24[12]), supplanted the coppersmith. The tools of both were the **hammer** (Is 44[12]) and the **anvil** (Is 41[7], Sir 38[28])—the latter probably then as now 'a boot-shaped piece of metal inserted in a section of an oak or walnut log'—the **tongs** (Is 44[12]) and the **bellows** (Jer 6[29]). For the goldsmith and the silversmith see MINING AND METALS, *s.vv.* 'Gold' and 'Silver.' The **smiths** carried away by Nebuchadnezzar (2 K 24[14], Jer 24[1]) were probably those specially skilled in the manufacture of weapons of war.

3. *Workers in stone.*—From the far-off palæolithic days man has been a 'worker in stone,' a term confined in OT to those who cut and dressed stone for building purposes (1 Ch 22[15]). The more usual rendering is **masons** (2 S 5[11], 1 Ch 14[1]). References are given to various processes, such as the 'hewing out' (1 K 5[17] RV) of the stones in the **quarry** (6[7] RV), the 'hewing' of wine-vats (Is 5[2] RV) and tombs (22[16]) in the solid rock, the cutting and dressing of 'hewn stones' for various constructions (Ex 20[25], 1 K 5[17], 2 K 2[12], Am 5[11]). The **stone-squarers** of 1 K 5[18] (AV) were rather men from the Phœnician city of Gebal (RV 'Gebalites'), experts in this branch of industry. The **builders** (Ps 118[22]) worked from a prepared plan or model (Ex 25[9], 1 Ch 28[11], EV **pattern**), using the **measurnig-reed** (Ezk 40[3]) and the **plumbline** (Am 7[7]) or **plummet** (2 K 21[13], Zec 4[10]). The large **hammer** used in quarrying (Jer 23[29]) is different from the smaller hammer of the stone-cutter (1 K 6[7]). The **axe** of the last passage is rather the **pick** for stone-dressing, and was the tool used in cutting in the Siloam tunnel as the workmen tell us in their famous inscription. For the 'engraver in stone' of Ex 28[11] see SEALS.

4. *Workers in clay.*—Clay, not stone, was the ordinary building material among the Hebrews (see HOUSE). **Brickmaking**, however, was too simple an operation to attain the dignity of a special craft in OT times, as was also '**plaistering**' with clay (Lv 14[42]) or lime (Dn 5[5], cf. Mt 23[27] and Ac 23[3] 'whited wall'). It was otherwise with the **potter** and his work, perhaps the oldest of all crafts, for which see POTTERY.

5. *Workers in leather.*—First among these is the **tanner** (Ac 9[43]), who prepared the leather from the skins of domestic and other animals, including the marine dugong (Ex 25[5], RV 'seal,' AV 'badger'). The hair was removed by means of lime, or the acrid juices of plants, applied to the skins after they had been soaked for some time in water. Owing to their uncleanly accompaniments, the tanner and his trade were regarded by the Jews with much disfavour. Like the fuller, he was forbidden to carry on his work within the city, which explains the situation of Simon's tannery 'by the sea side (Ac 10[32]). In early times the tanner not only supplied the material but probably actually manufactured the leather shields and helmets required by soldiers, while the making of shoes, girdles, and other articles of leather (Lv 13[48]), and the preparation of skins for water, wine, and milk (see BOTTLE) were long matters of purely domestic economy.

6. *Trades connected with dress.*—The closing words of the preceding paragraph apply equally to the making of the ordinary dress of the Hebrews (cf. 1 S 2[19]). The **tailor** first appears in the Mishna. Certain of the processes, however, gradually developed into separate crafts, such as that of the **weaver** (Ex 35[35], 1 S 17[7]; see SPINNING AND WEAVING), the **embroiderer** (Ex *l.c.*), whose designs were sewed upon the finished fabric, the **dyer** and the **fuller**. From the Mishna it is evident that in NT times the dyers were a numerous body in Jerusalem. The wool was usually dyed before or after being spun (Ex 35[25]). Both animal and vegetable dyes were employed (see COLOURS). The work of the fuller (Is 7[3], Mal 3[2], Mk 9[3]) was of two kinds, according as he dealt with the web fresh from the loom, or with soiled garments that had already been worn. The latter he cleaned by steeping and treading in water mixed with an alkaline substance (rendered **soap** in Mal 3[2]) and fuller's earth. The new web—the 'undressed cloth' of Mt 9[16], Mk 2[21] RV—on the other hand, after being thoroughly steeped in a similar mixture, was stamped and felted, then bleached with fumes of sulphur, and finally pressed in the fuller's press. Fulling, like tanning, was carried on outside the towns, but the precise situation of the 'fuller's field' of Isaiah's day (Is 7[3]) is still uncertain. Here may be mentioned the **barber** (Ezk 5[1]) and the **perfumer** (AV 'apothecary,' 'confectionary'), for whom see HAIR and PERFUMER respectively.

7. *Employments connected with food.*—**Cooks**, as a special class, were to be found only in the houses of the wealthy (see FOOD). The Hebrew name shows that they killed as well as cooked the animals. The **shambles** of 1 Co 10[25], however, are not, as in modern English, the slaughter-house, but the provision-market of Corinth, where meat and other provisions were sold. The **bakers** were numerous enough to give their name to a street of the capital in Jeremiah's day (Jer 37[21]); for their work see BREAD. Public mills employing **millers** appear late, but are implied in the rendering 'great millstone' of Mt 18[6] RV (cf. marg. and see MILL). The well-known Tyropœon or **Cheesemakers'** valley in Jerusalem received its name from the industry carried on there (Jos *BJ* v. iv. 1).

8. *Employments connected with the land.*—Most of these are noticed in other connexions; see AGRICULTURE, SHEEP, VINE, etc. The prophet Amos describes himself as 'a dresser of sycomore trees' (Am 7[14] RV), for which see AMOS, *ad init.*

9. *Miscellaneous employments.*—If to the above there be added the **tentmaker**, representing the craft (RV 'trade') of St. Paul and his friends Aquila and Priscilla (Ac 18[3], see TENT), and the **fisherman** (see NETS), no trade or manual employment of importance will, it is

hoped, have been overlooked. Most of the remaining employments will be found under their own (*e.g.* RECORDER, SCRIBE) or kindred titles, as 'merchant' under TRADE, 'physician' under MEDICINE, etc.

10. *Two general characteristics.*—This article may fitly close with a brief reference to two characteristics of all the more important handicrafts and employments. The first is still a feature of Eastern cities, namely, the grouping of the members of the same craft in one street or quarter of the city, to which they gave their name. Thus we find in Jerusalem, as has been noted, 'the bakers' street,' 'the fullers' field,' and 'the cheesemakers' valley,' to which should perhaps be added 'the valley of craftsmen' (Neh 11^{35}). Josephus mentions a smiths' bazaar, a wool-market, and a clothes-market in the Jerusalem of his day (*BJ* v. viii. 1).

The second point to be noted is the evidence that the members of the various crafts had already formed themselves into associations or guilds. Thus we read in Nehemiah of a 'son of the apothecaries,' *i.e.* a member of the guild of perfumers (3^{8}), and of 'a son of the goldsmiths' (3^{31}). Cf. Ezr 2^{42} 'the sons of the porters' and the familiar 'sons of the prophets.' In 1 Ch $4^{21ff.}$ there is mention of similar associations of linenweavers and potters, for which see Macalister, 'The Craftsmen's Guild,' etc. *PEFSt*, 1905, 243 ff. The expression 'sons of' to denote membership of an association goes back to the days when trades were hereditary in particular families. A guild of silversmiths is attested for Ephesus (Ac 19^{25}). For the probable earnings of artizans among the Jews see WAGES.

A. R. S. KENNEDY.

ARUBBOTH.—An unknown district, probably in S.W. Palestine (1 K 4^{10}).

ARUMAH.—The place of refuge of Abimelech (Jg 9^{41}), perhaps *el-'Ormeh*, 6 miles S.E. of *Nāblus* (Shechem).

E. W. G. MASTERMAN.

ARVAD (modern (*Ruwād*) was the most important of the northerly cities of Phœnicia. It was built on an island 70 miles north of Beyrout—a sort of second Tyre, with another town on the mainland opposite. In Ezk $27^{8.\ 11}$ it is named as furnishing oarsmen for the galleys of Tyre and warriors for its defence. In the ethnological list of Gn 10^{18} (1 Ch 1^{16}) it is mentioned among the chief settlements of the Canaanites or Phœnicians. Throughout antiquity it was a place of renown for trade and general enterprise, ranking next to Tyre and Sidon. It is the **Aradus** of 1 Mac 12^{53}.

J. F. MCCURDY.

ARZA.—Prefect of the palace at Tirzah, in whose house King Elah was assassinated by Zimri at a carouse (1 K 16^{9}).

ARZARETH (2 Es 13^{45}).—A region beyond the river from which the ten tribes are to return. It became the subject of many later Jewish legends concerning the Sabbatic River beyond which the lost tribes were to be found—variously identified with the Oxus and the Ganges.

ASA.—**1.** The third king of Judah after the disruption, succeeding Abijah. Since his mother's name is given as the same with that of Abijah's mother, some have supposed the two kings to have been brothers. But there may be some mistake in the text. Asa is praised by the Biblical writer for his religious zeal, which led him to reform the worship, and even to depose his mother from her place of influence at court because of her idolatrous practices. Politically he took a mistaken course when he submitted to Benhadad of Damascus to secure his aid against Baasha of Israel, who had captured Ramah. The Temple treasures were sent to Benhadad, who thereupon invaded Israel, and Baasha was compelled to evacuate the threatening fortress (1 K $15^{9ff.}$). The Chronicler (2 Ch $14^{9ff.}$) credits Asa with a victory over an enormous force of Ethiopians. **2.** A Levite (1 Ch 9^{16}).

H. P. SMITH.

ASADIAS ('J" is kind,' cf. 1 Ch 3^{20}).—An ancestor of Baruch (Bar 1^{1}).

ASAHEL.—**1.** The youngest son of Zeruiah, David's sister, and the brother of Joab and Abishai. He was famous for his swiftness of foot, a much valued gift in ancient times. He was one of David's thirty heroes, probably the third of the second three (2 S 23^{24}). He was also commander of a division in David's army (1 Ch 27^{7}). He was slain by Abner (2 S 2^{18-23}). **2.** A Levite, who taught the people in the reign of Jehoshaphat (2 Ch 17^{8}). **3.** A subordinate collector of offerings and tithes in the reign of Hezekiah (2 Ch 31^{13}). **4.** Father of Jonathan, who opposed Ezra's action in connexion with the divorce of foreign wives (Ezr 10^{15}).

ASAIAH ('J" hath made').—**1.** One of the deputation sent by Josiah to consult Huldah the prophetess, 2 K $22^{12.\ 14}$ (AV **Asahiah**), 2 Ch 34^{20}. **2.** One of the Simeonite princes who attacked the shepherds of Gedor, 1 Ch 4^{36}. **3.** A **Merarite** who took part in bringing the ark to Jerusalem, 1 Ch 6^{30} $15^{6.\ 11}$. **4.** The first-born of the Shilonites, 1 Ch 9^{5}; called in Neh 11^{5} **Maaseiah.**

ASANA (1 Es 5^{31}).—His descendants were among the 'temple servants' or Nethinim who returned with Zerubbabel; called **Asnah** in Ezr 2^{50} [Neh. omits].

ASAPH ('gatherer').—**1.** The father of Joah, the 'recorder' or chronicler at the court of Hezekiah (2 K $18^{18.\ 37}$ etc.). **2.** The 'keeper of the king's forest,' to whom king Artaxerxes addressed a letter directing him to supply Nehemiah with timber (Neh 2^{8}). **3.** A Korahite (1 Ch 26^{1}), same as **Abiasaph** (wh. see). **4.** The eponym of one of the three guilds which conducted the musical services of the Temple in the time of the Chronicler (1 Ch $15^{16f.}$ etc.). The latter traces this arrangement to the appointment of David, in whose reign Asaph, who is called 'the seer' (2 Ch 29^{30}), is supposed to have lived. At first the Asaphites alone seemed to have formed the Temple choir, and in the time of Ezra and Nehemiah (wherever we have the memoirs of the latter in their original form) they are not yet reckoned among the *Levites*. At a later period they share the musical service with the 'sons of Korah' (see KORAHITES). Pss 50 and 73–83 have the superscription *le-Asaph*, which means in all probability that they once belonged to the hymn-book of the Asaphite choir (see PSALMS).

ASARA (1 Es 5^{31}).—His sons were among the Temple servants or Nethinim who returned under Zerubbabel: omitted in the parallel lists in Ezr. and Neh.

ASARAMEL (AV **Saramel**).—A name whose meaning is quite uncertain (1 Mac 14^{28}). See RVm.

ASAREL (AV **Asareel**).—A son of Jehallelel (1 Ch 4^{16}).

ASBASARETH (1 Es 5^{39}).—A king of Assyria, probably a corrupt form of the name **Esarhaddon**, which is found in the parallel passage Ezr 4^{2}. The AV form *Azbazareth* comes from the Vulgate.

ASCALON.—See ASHKELON.

ASCENSION.—The fact of our Lord's Ascension is treated very scantily in the Synoptic Gospels. From Mt. it is entirely omitted. In the appendix to Mk. the words in which it is stated are rather the formula of a creed than the narrative of an event (Mk 16^{19}). Lk. is somewhat more circumstantial, and, though the chronology is uncertain, mentions the journey to the neighbourhood of Bethany and the disappearance of Christ in the act of blessing, together with the return of the disciples to Jerusalem (Lk 24^{50-52}). The narrative, meagre as it is, is not inconsistent with, and may even presuppose, the events recorded at greater length in Acts (1^{6-12}). Here we learn that the scene was more precisely the Mount of Olives (v.^{12}); that the final conversation, to which allusion is possibly made in Mk 16^{19}, concerned the promise of the Holy Spirit (vv.$^{6-8}$); and that the Ascension, so far as it was an event and therefore a subject of testimony, took the

form of the uplifting of the bodily form of Jesus from the earth till it disappeared in a cloud (vv.[9. 10]). Whether this experience involved more than the separation of Christ from immediate contact with the earth, and included His gradual recession into the upper air, there is nothing directly to show. The general form of the narrative recalls the Transfiguration (Lk 9^{28-36}‖). The words of the 'two men in white apparel' (v.[10]) suggest that the final impression was that of disappearance above the heads of the onlookers (v.[11]). It will be noticed that, while the Markan appendix and Luke, unless the latter narrative is interpolated, blend fact and figure (Mk 16^{19} 'received up [fact] into heaven [partly fact, partly figure], and sat down at the right hand of God [figure]'; Lk 24^{51} 'he parted from them [fact], and was carried up into heaven [partly fact, partly figure; but see RVm],' as must necessarily be the case where the doctrine of the Ascension is concerned; Acts, on the other hand, which purports to describe an event, rigidly keeps within the limits of testimony.

There are certain anticipations of the Ascension in the Gospels which must be regarded as part of their witness to it. Thus Lk. introduces the account of our Lord's last journey to Jerusalem with the words 'when the days were being fulfilled that he should be received up' (Lk 9^{51} RVm). It is probable that the Ascension is here delicately blended with the Crucifixion, as apparently by Christ Himself in Jn 12^{32}. Again, the word *exodos* in Luke's account of the Transfiguration, rendered in the text of RV 'decease,' but marg. 'departure,' seems to have the same double reference (Lk 9^{31}). Our Lord's predictions of the Second Coming 'on the clouds' (Mt 24^{30} 26^{64}; cf. 1 Th 4^{16}, Rev 1^{7}) almost necessarily imply the Ascension. The Fourth Gospel, while in its accustomed manner omitting the story of the Ascension, probably regarded as known, introduces definite references to it on the part of Christ both before and after the Resurrection (Jn 6^{62} 7^{33} $14^{12.\ 28}$ 16^{28} 20^{17} etc.). And if we compare statements in the Epistles (Eph 4^{8}, He 1^{3} 4^{14}) with the Ascension narrative, it is scarcely possible to doubt that the writers accepted the historic fact as the basis of their teaching. To this must be added all those passages which speak of Jesus as exalted to the right hand or throne of God (Ro 8^{34}, Eph 1^{20}, He 10^{12} etc.), and as returning to earth in the glory of the Father (Mt 25^{31}, Mk 8^{38}, Ph 3^{20} etc.). In connexion with the Session, St. Peter, after mentioning the Resurrection, uses the expression 'having gone his way into heaven' (1 P 3^{22}, cf. Jn 14^{3}). Nor can we omit such considerations as arise out of the fact of the Resurrection itself, which are satisfied only by an event that puts a definite period to the earthly manifestation of the incarnate Christ.

From what has been said it will appear that the Ascension stands on a somewhat different level from the Resurrection as an attested fact. Like the Virgin-birth, it did not form a part of the primitive preaching, nor does it belong to the evidences of Christianity. The fragment of what is thought to be a primitive hymn quoted in 1 Ti 3^{16} somewhat curiously places 'preached among the nations' before 'received up in glory.' But it is nevertheless a fact which came within the experience of the Apostles, and can therefore claim a measure of historical testimony. The Resurrection is itself the strongest witness to the reality of the Ascension, as of the Virgin-birth, nor would either in the nature of the case have been capable of winning its way to acceptance apart from the central faith that Jesus actually rose from the dead. But neither the fact itself nor its importance to the Christian believer depends upon the production of evidence for its occurrence. It will not be seriously disputed by those who accept the Apostolic gospel. On the other hand, the fact that the Ascension was accepted in the primitive Church as the event which put a term to the earthly manifestation of Christ brings out the Resurrection in striking relief as in the full sense of the word a fact of history. It is the Ascension, represented as it is in Scripture not only historically but mystically, and not the Resurrection, which might be viewed as an apotheosis or idealization of Jesus. That 'Jesus is now living at the right hand of God' (Harnack) is not a sufficient account of the Christian belief in the Resurrection in view of the Ascension narrative, which, even if Keim and others are right in regarding it as a materialization of the doctrine of the eternal Session as set forth in the Epistles, becomes necessary only when the Resurrection is accepted in the most literal sense.

The Ascension is the point of contact between the man Jesus Christ of the Gospels and the mystical Christ of the Epistles, preserving the historical character of the former and the universality of the latter in true continuity. It enabled the disciples to identify the gift of Pentecost with the promise of the Holy Spirit, which had been specially connected with the withdrawal of Jesus from bodily sight and His return to the Father (Jn 16^{7}, cf. 7^{39}). An eternal character is thus given to the sacrifice of the death of Christ, which becomes efficacious through the exaltation of His crucified and risen manhood (He $10^{11-14.\ 19-22}$).

J. G. Simpson.

ASCENSION OF ISAIAH. See Apoc. Lit., p. 41[a].

ASCENT OF BLOOD (Jos 15^{7}, RV 'ascent of Adummim').—The steep road from Jericho to Jerusalem, so called, according to Jerome, from the deeds of the brigands who infested t (cf. Lk 10^{30}); but see Adummim.

David Smith.

ASEAS (1 Es 9^{32}).—One of the sons of Annas who agreed to put away his 'strange' wife; called **Isshijah,** Ezr 10^{31}.

ASEBEBIAS (AV **Asebebia**).—A Levite who accompanied Ezra to Jerusalem (1 Es 8^{47}).

ASEBIAS (AV **Asebia**).—A Levite who returned with Ezra (1 Es 8^{48}).

ASENATH.—Daughter of Poti-phera, priest of On, wife of Joseph and mother of Ephraim and Manasseh (Gn $41^{45.\ 50}$ 46^{20}). The name, like the other Egyptian names in the story of Joseph, is of a well-known late type, prevalent from about B.C. 950; it should probably be vocalized *Asneit* or *Esneit*, meaning 'belonging to Neit.' Neit was the goddess of Sais, and her name was especially popular in names from the 26th (Saite) Dyn., *c.* B.C. 664, and onwards for some two centuries.

Asenath is the heroine of a remarkable Jewish and Christian romance, in which she renounces her false gods before her marriage with Joseph; it can be traced back to the 5th cent. A.D., and is probably a good deal earlier.

F. Ll. Griffith.

ASH.—See Fir.

ASHAN (Jos 15^{42} 19^{7}, 1 Ch 4^{32} 6^{59}).—Perhaps the same as **Cor-ashan** (wh. see). It was a town of Judah, near Libnah and Rimmon, belonging to Simeon, and not far from Debir. The site is doubtful.

ASHARELAH (AV **Asarelah**).—An Asaphite (1 Ch 25^{2}), called in v.[14] **Jesharelah.**

ASHBEA occurs in an obscure passage (1 Ch 4^{21} 'house of A.') where it is uncertain whether it is the name of a place or of a man.

ASHBEL ('man of Baal').—The second son of Benjamin (1 Ch 8^{1}; cf. Gn. 46^{21}, Nu 26^{38}). In Nu 26^{38} **Ashbelite,** inhabitant of Ashbel, occurs.

ASHDOD ('fortress'; Greek **Azotus**).—A city in the Philistine Pentapolis; not captured by Joshua (Jos 13^{3}), and a refuge for the unslaughtered Anakim (Jos 11^{22}); theoretically assigned to the tribe of Judah (Jos 15^{47}). Hither the Philistines brought the ark, and sent it thence to Gath, on account of an outbreak probably of bubonic plague (1 S 5^{1-8}). Uzziah attacked the city, destroyed its walls, and established settlements near it (2 Ch 26^{6}). The Ashdodites joined with Sanballat in opposing Nehemiah's restoration of Jerusalem (Neh

4^{7}), yet some of the Jews of the period married wives from Ashdod, and their children spoke in its dialect (Neh $13^{23.\ 24}$). It was captured by Sargon's commander-in-chief (Is 20^{1}). Jeremiah, Amos, Zephaniah, and Zechariah speak denunciations against it. It was again captured by Judas Maccabæus (1 Mac 5^{68}), and again by Jonathan (10^{84}). The solitary reference to it in the NT is the record of Philip's departure thither after the baptism of the Ethiopian (Ac 8^{40}). It is identified with the modern *Esdud*, a village about two-thirds of the way from Jaffa to '*Askalan*, and some 3 miles from the sea. It is on the slope of a hill, and at its entrance are the remains of a large mediæval *khan*. There are fragments of ancient buildings to be found here and there in the modern walls.

R. A. S. Macalister.

ASHER.—**1.** A town on the S. border of Manasseh (Jos 17^{7}). Site unknown. **2.** To 1^{2}=Hazor, No. **1.**

ASHER.—The eighth son of Jacob, by Zilpah, Leah's handmaid. Leah, joyful over his birth, named him 'Happy' (Gn 30^{13}). This 'popular etymology' dominates J's thought in the 'Blessing of Jacob' (Gn 49^{20}) and in the 'Blessing of Moses' (Dt 33^{24}). Asher's territory was especially fertile and fitted to promote prosperity. Whether this fact operated in its naming, or whether the name was originally that of a divinity of a militant Canaanite clan mentioned frequently in the Tell el-Amarna letters as the *Mārī abd-Ashirti* ('Sons of the servant of Asherah'), or whether the Canaanite tribe '*Asaru*, known from the inscriptions of the Egyptian king Seti I. (14th cent.), gave the name to the tribe, it is impossible to say. The two last theories imply an amalgamation of original inhabitants with a Hebrew clan or tribe, which, probably prior to the entrance of the southern tribes, had found its way into the North. A predominance of the Gentile element thus introduced would account, in a measure at least, for the non-participation of the Asherites in the war against Sisera, although they are said to have sent a contingent to the support of Gideon in his war with the Midianites (Jg 6^{35} 7^{23}), and, according to the Chronicler, went 40,000 strong to Hebron to aid David in his struggle for the kingship (1 Ch 12^{36}). According to the earliest writing extant in the OT, viz., the Song of Deborah, the other northern tribes, Zebulun to the south and Naphtali to the east of it, flung themselves with fierce abandon against the army of Sisera, while 'Asher sat still at the haven of the sea' (Jg $5^{17f.}$). According to P's census, there were 41,500 males 'twenty years old and upward' at Sinai, and when they arrived in the plains of Moab they had increased to 53,400 (Nu 1^{41} 26^{47}).

P gives also the territorial boundaries, including the names of 22 cities and their dependent villages, the majority of which are unidentified (Jos 19^{24-30}; cf. Jg $1^{31.\ 32}$, and Jos 17^{11} J). Asher's territory was gained by settlement, not by conquest (Jg $1^{31f.}$). The tribe played an unimportant rôle in Israel. It is not mentioned in 1 Ch $27^{16ff.}$, where the tribes are enumerated together with their respective leaders under David. For the genealogies see Gn 46^{17}, Nu 26^{44}, 1 Ch $7^{30ff.}$. See also Tribes of Israel.

James A. Craig.

ASHERAH.—In RV *Asherah* (plur. *Asherim*, more rarely *Asheroth*) appears as the tr. of a Hebrew substantive which AV, following the LXX and Vulgate, had mistakenly rendered **grove.** By OT writers the word is used in three distinct applications.

1. *The goddess Asherah.*—In several places Asherah must be recognized as the name of a Canaanite deity. Thus in 1 K 18^{19} we read of the prophets of Baal and of Asherah, in 15^{13} (=2 Ch 15^{16}) of 'an abominable image,' and in 2 K 21^{7} of 'a graven image' of Asherah, also of the sacrificial vessels used in her worship (23^{4}), while Jg 3^{7} speaks of the Baalim and the Asheroth. These references, it must be allowed, are not all of equal value for the critical historian and some of our foremost authorities have hitherto declined to admit the existence of a Canaanite goddess Asherah, regarding the name as a mere literary personification of the *asherah* or sacred pole (see § 3), or as due to a confusion with Astarte (cf. Jg 3^{7} with 2^{13}).

In the last few years, however, a variety of monumental evidence has come to light (see Lagrange, *Études sur les religions semitiques* [2] (1905), 119 ff.)—the latest from the soil of Palestine itself in a cuneiform tablet found at Taanach—showing that a goddess Ashirat or Asherah was worshipped from a remote antiquity by the Western Semites. There need be no hesitation, therefore, in accepting the above passages as evidence of her worship in OT times, even within the Temple itself.

The relation, as to name, history, and attributes, of this early Canaanite goddess to the powerful Semitic deity named Ishtar by the Babylonians, and Ashtart (OT 'Ashtoreth') by the Phœnicians, is still obscure (see *KAT* [3], Index; Lagrange, *op. cit.*). The latter in any case gradually displaced the former in Canaan.

2. *An image of Asherah.*—The graven image of Asherah set up by Manasseh in the Temple (2 K 21^{7}), when destroyed by Josiah, is simply termed the *asherah* (2 K 23^{6}). Like the idols described by the prophet of the Exile (Is 41^{7} $44^{12ff.}$), it evidently consisted of a core of wood overlaid with precious metal, since it could be at once burned and 'stamped to powder' (cf. 2 Ch 15^{16} for the corresponding image of Maacah), and was periodically decorated with woven hangings (Luc. 'tunics') by the women votaries of Asherah (2 K 23^{7}). There is therefore good warrant for seeing in the *asherah* which Ahab set up in the temple of Baal at Samaria (cf. 1 K 16^{33} with 2 K 10^{26})—according to the emended text of the latter passage it was burned by Jehu but was soon restored (13^{6})—something of greater consequence than a mere post or pole. It must have been a celebrated image of the goddess.

3. *A symbol of Asherah.*—In the remaining passages of OT the *asherah* is the name of a prominent, if not indispensable, object associated with the altar and the *mazzēbah* (see Pillar) in the worship of the Canaanite high places. It was made of wood (Jg 6^{26}), and could be planted in the ground (Dt 16^{21}), plucked up or cut down (Mic 5^{14}, Ex 34^{13}), and burned with fire (Dt 12^{3}). Accordingly the *asherah* is now held to have been a wooden post or pole having symbolical significance in the Canaanite cults. How far it resembled the similar emblems figured in representations of Babylonian and Phœnician rites can only be conjectured.

When the Hebrews occupied Canaan, the local sanctuaries became seats of the worship of J″, at which the adjuncts of sacred pole and pillar continued as before. The disastrous results of this incorporation of heathen elements led to the denunciation of the *asherahs* by the prophetic exponents of Israel's religion (Ex 34^{13}, Jer 17^{2}, Mic $5^{13f.}$, and esp. Dt 7^{5} $12^{2ff.}$ 16^{21}), and to their ultimate abolition (2 K 18^{4} $23^{4ff.}$).

4. *Significance of the asherah.*—The theory at present most in favour among OT scholars finds in the *asherahs* or sacred poles the substitutes of the sacred trees universally revered by the early Semites. This theory, however, is not only improbable in view of the fact that the *asherahs* are found beside or under such sacred trees (Jer 17^{2}, 1 K 14^{23}, 2 K 17^{10}), but has been discredited by the proved existence of the goddess Asherah. In the earliest period of the Semitic occupation of Canaan (c. B.C. 2500–2000), this deity probably shared with Baal (cf. Jg 3^{7} 6^{25} etc.) the chief worship of the immigrants, particularly as the goddess of fertility, in which aspect her place was later usurped by Astarte. In this early aniconic age, the wooden post was her symbol, as the stone pillar was of Baal. Bearing her name, it passed by gradual stages into the complete *eikōn* or anthropomorphic image of the deity as in Samaria and Jerusalem.

A. R. S. Kennedy.

ASHES.—Ashes on the head formed one of the ordinary tokens of mourning for the dead (see MOURNING CUSTOMS as of private (2 S 13[19]) and national humiliation (Neh 9[1], 1 Mac 3[47]). The penitent and the afflicted might also sit (Job 2[8], Jon 3[6]) or even wallow in ashes (Jer 6[26], Ezk 27[30]). In 1 K 20[38. 41] we must, with RV, read 'headband' (wh. see) for 'ashes.'

In a figurative sense the term 'ashes' is often used to signify evanescence, worthlessness, insignificance (Gn 18[27], Job 30[19]). 'Proverbs of ashes' (13[12] RV) is Job's equivalent for the modern 'rot.' For the use of ashes in the priestly ritual see RED HEIFER.

A. R. S. KENNEDY.

ASHHUR (AV **Ashur**).—The 'father' of Tekoa (1 Ch 2[24] 4[5]).

ASHIMA.—A god whose form of worship is unknown, and who has been identified with the Phœnician Eshmun and the Babylonian Tashmitu. As Hamath, the god's seat of worship (2 K 17[30]), was occupied by the Hittites, the deity was probably non-Semitic. N. KOENIG.

ASHKELON (Greek **Ascalon**).—A city of the Philistine Pentapolis. It is mentioned several times in the Tell el-Amarna correspondence. According to Jos 13[3], it was left unconquered; but the interpolated passage, Jg 1[18], enumerates it among the places captured by Israel. It is doubtful whether Samson took the spoil with which he paid his wages (Jg 14[19]) from this city, which is two days' journey from Timnath, or from a similarly styled village, much nearer at hand, now possibly represented in name by *Khurbet 'Askalan*, near *Tell Zakariya*. It is referred to in the story of the return of the ark (1 S 6[17]), and in David's lament (2 S 1[20]), and with the other Philistine cities is made an object of denunciation by various prophets. Here Jonathan Maccabæus was honourably received (1 Mac 10[86] 11[60]), and it was the birthplace of Herod the Great. It was captured by the Crusaders, but recaptured by the Muslims after the battle of Hattin. Extensive remains of ancient buildings still exist on the site, which retains the name of *'Askalan*: numerous fragments of statues etc., are found by the natives from time to time.

R. A. S. MACALISTER.

ASHKENAZ in Gn 10[3] (1 Ch 1[6]) appears as a son of Gomer (wh. see), which means apparently that the name represents a people akin to the Cimmerians, an Indo-European people who made trouble for the Assyrians in and about Armenia in the later days of their empire, in the 7th cent. B.C. In Jer 51[27] Ashkenaz is coupled with Ararat and Minni. The view now generally accepted by scholars is that *Ashkenaz* in the Hebrew text is a slight misreading for *Ashkūz*, an important tribe akin to the Cimmerians who had to do with Esarhaddon and Ashurbanipal, the last great kings of Assyria, the name appearing in the inscriptions as *Ashgūz*. Further, it is probable that the *Skythoi*, 'Scythians,' represent the same people and word.

J. F. MCCURDY.

ASHNAH.—Two unknown sites of towns in Judah (Jos 15[33] and 15[43]).

ASHPENAZ.—The chief of Nebuchadrezzar's eunuchs (Dn 1[3]).

ASHTAROTH.—This city (pl. of *Ashtoreth* [wh. see]), originally held by Og, king of Bashan (Dt 1[4], Jos 9[10] 12[4] 13[12. 31]), later captured by the Israelites and by them awarded to the Gershonites (Jos 21[27] **Be-eshterah**, 'dwelling [or temple] of Ashtoreth'; cf. ‖ 1 Ch. 6[56], which reads *Ashtaroth*), might, without contradicting Biblical records, be identified with Ashteroth-karnaim (wh. see). However, a statement found in Eusebius' *Onomasticon* favours the view that the names designate two localities. Eusebius relates that there were at his time two villages of the same name, separated by a distance of 9 miles, lying between Adara (Edrei) and Abila; viz., (1) Ashtaroth, the ancient city of Og, 6 miles from Abila, and (2) Karnaim Ashtaroth, a village in the corner of Bashan, where Job's village is shown (cf. Book of Jubilees 29[10]). Eusebius' Karnaim Ashtaroth evidently lay in the corner or angle formed by the rivers *Nahr er-Rukkad* and *Sharī'at el-Manadîreh*, in which vicinity tradition places Uz, Job's fatherland. At long. 36° E., lat. 32° 50′ N., on the Bashan plateau, stands *Tell* ('hill') *'Ashtarā*, whose strategical value. as shown by the ruins, was recognized in the Middle Ages. Its base is watered by the *Moyet en-Nebī Ayyūb* ('stream of the prophet Job'). Following this rivulet's course for 2½ miles N.N.E., passing through the *Hammam Ayyūb* ('Job's bath'), is found its source, a spring said to have welled forth when Job in his impatience stamped upon the ground. In the immediate vicinity towards the S., Job's grave is shown. Furthermore, upon the hill at whose base these two places are situated lies the village of *Sa'dīyeh* or *Sheikh Sa'd*, whose mosque contains the *Sakhret Ayyūb*, a large basalt boulder against which Job is said to have leant while receiving his friends. Indeed, ¾ of a mile S. of *Sa dīyeh* at *el-Merkez*, another grave (modern) of Job is shown, and a *Der* ('monastery') *Ayyūb*, according to tradition built by the Ghassanide Amr I., is known to have existed. Eusebius' Ashtaroth must then have been in the proximity of *Muzerib*, 9½ miles S. of *Sa'dīyeh*, and 8 miles N.W. of Adara, almost the distance of the *Onomasticon*. Even *Tell Ash'arī*, 4¼ miles S. of *Tell 'Ashtarā*, protected on the one side by the Yarmuk, on the second by a chasm, and showing evidences of having been fortified by a triple wall on the third, is admirably situated for a royal stronghold.

None of these modern place-names, with the exception of *Tell 'Ashtarā*, is linguistically related to the 'Ashtaroth and 'Ashteroth-karnaim of the Bible and the *Onomasticon*. The description of 'Ashteroth-karnaim (2 Mac 12[21f.], cf. 1 Mac 5[43]) as a place hard to besiege and difficult of access because of numerous passes leading to it, in whose territory a temple was situated, is applicable to *Sa'dīyeh* or to *Tell 'Ashtarā* or even to *Tell Ash'arī*, whose double peak at the S. summit is partly responsible for the translation of the name 'Ashtaroth of (near) the double peak' (see ASHTORETH). The similarity of name between *Tell 'Ashtarā* and *'Ashteroth-karnaim*, even though *Tell 'Ashtarā* does not lie directly between Adara and Abila, and lacks, with the other places, narrow passes, would favour the identification of 'Ashteroth-karnaim with *Tell 'Ashtarā*, and hence, according to the distances of Eusebius, the location of 'Ashtaroth near *Muzerib*. However, until the ancient name of *Muzerib* is known, and the various sites excavated, a definite determination of the location of these cities, and even of the difference between them, must remain impossible. N. KOENIG.

ASHTEROTH-KARNAIM.—The scene of Chedorlaomer's defeat of the Rephaim (Gn 14[5]). It is perhaps mentioned in Am 6[13] (EV 'Have we not taken to us horns (*Karnaim*) by our own strength?'). It is identical with **Carnion** or **Carnain**, after whose capture, in B.C. 164, Judas Maccabæus destroyed the temple of Atargatis (wh. see), whither the inhabitants had fled for refuge (2 Mac 12[21f.], cf. 1 Mac 5[43f.]). For interpretation of name see ASHTORETH, and for location, ASHTAROTH.

N. KOENIG.

ASHTORETH.—This deity, especially known as the Sidonian goddess for whom Solomon erected a shrine, later destroyed by Josiah (1 K 11[5. 33], 2 K 23[13]), was worshipped by all Semitic nations. In her temple at Ashkelon, the Philistines hung the armour of Saul (1 S 31[10]). In Bashan, the cities Ashtaroth or Be-eshterah and Ashteroth-karnaim presumably derived their names from the fact that various Ashtoreth-cults were located there. At Ashteroth-karnaim ('horned Ashtaroth') one might even be justified in supposing from the name that 'Ashtoreth was represented with the horns of a cow or a ram. Mesha, king of Moab, dedicated his

prisoners to a composite goddess 'Ashtar-Chemosh. Indeed, her existence in S. Arabia is evidenced by the probably equivalent male god 'Athtar. In Abyssinia, she was called Astar; in Assyria and Babylonia, Ishtar (used also in the pl. *ishtarāti* to denote 'goddesses,' cf. '*Ashtaroth*, Jg 2^{13} 10^{6}, 1 S 7^{13} 12^{10}); in Syria, 'Athar, and in Phœnicia, 'Astart, whence the Hebrew 'Ashtoreth, with the vowels of *bōsheth* ('shameful thing') substituted for the original. See MOLECH, BAAL.

The character of this goddess, concerning which the OT makes no direct statement, is most clearly depicted in the Assyro-Babylonian literature. Here she appears as the goddess of fertility, productiveness, and love on the one hand, and of war, death, and decay on the other, a personification of the earth as it passes through the summer and winter seasons. To her the sixth month, Elul, the height of the summer, is sacred. In this month, through her powers, the ripening of vegetable life takes place, represented by Tammuz, whose coming is heralded by Ishtar's festival in Ab, the fifth month. From this period of the year, the crops and verdure gradually decay, and finally disappear in the winter. Thus, since Ishtar has failed to sustain the life which her powers had created, popular belief made her the cause of death and decay. She therefore became a destructive goddess, who visited with disease those who disobeyed her commands, and even a goddess of war (cf. 1 S 31^{10}). However, filled with remorse, because she had destroyed the vegetable life (=Tammuz, the consort of her youth), she sets out to the lower world in search of healing waters to revive Tammuz. During this quest (winter) the propagation of all life ceases. Successful in her search, she brings forth the new verdure, and once more assumes the rôle of a merciful goddess, to whom all life is due.

At a later period, when all gods had obtained a fixed position to each other and the necessity of assigning an abode to them was felt, the gods were identified with the heavenly bodies. Thus Ishtar was given the planet Venus, whose appearance at certain seasons as morning-star and at other times as evening-star paralleled the growth and decay of nature. Hence, in accordance with one theological school of the Babylonians, which considered Sin (moon) the ruler of the luminaries of the night, Ishtar was also known as the 'daughter of Sin.' By others she was designated as 'daughter of Anu (lord of heaven),' and even as the 'sister of Shamash (sun),' since, as the evening-star Venus disappears in the west, and reappears in the east to be called the morning-star.

The cults of this goddess were extant at various localities of Babylonia and Assyria. At some of these, both phases of her character were worshipped, side by side, with equality; at others, more importance was attached to one of her aspects. Thus at Uruk (Erech) in her temple E-Anna ('house of heaven') she was both a goddess of fertility and a martial deity in whose service were Kizreti, Ukhati, and Kharimati, the priestesses of Ishtar. At Agade, Calah, and Babylon greater stress seems to have been laid upon the milder aspect, and it is doubtless with the worship of this side of Ishtar's nature that the religious prostitution mentioned by Greek writers was connected (Hdt. i. 199; Strab. xvi. i. 20; Ep. Jerem. $42^{f.}$; Luc. *de Dea Syr.* 6 f.). Among the Assyrians, three Ishtars, viz., Ishtar of Nineveh, Ishtar of Kidmuru (temple at Nineveh), and Ishtar of Arbela, were especially worshipped. This warrior-nation naturally dwelt upon the martial aspect of the deity almost to the exclusion of her milder side as a mother-goddess, and accorded to her a position next to Ashur, their national god. Indeed, Ishtar was even designated as his wife, and since he ruled over the *Igigi* (spirits of heaven), so she was said to be 'mighty over the *Anunnaki*' (spirits of the earth).

Thus Ishtar is the goddess whom Ashur-nazir-pal (B.C. 1800) aptly calls 'queen of the gods, into whose hands are delivered the commands of the great gods, lady of Nineveh, daughter of Sin, sister of Shamash, who rules all kingdoms, who determines decrees, the goddess of the universe, lady of heaven and earth, who hears petitions, heeds sighs; the merciful goddess who loves justice.' Equally does Esarhaddon's claim, that it was 'Ishtar, the lady of onslaught and battle,' who stood at his side and broke his enemies' bows, apply to this deity—a goddess, to whom the penitent in the anguish of his soul prays—

'Besides thee there is no guiding deity.
I implore thee to look upon me and hear my sighs.
Proclaim peace, and may thy soul be appeased.
How long, O my Lady, till thy countenance be turned towards me.
Like doves, I lament, I satiate myself with sighs.'

N. KOENIG.

ASHURBANIPAL.—Son and successor of Esarhaddon on the throne of Assyria, B.C. 668–626. He is usually identified with Asnappar, Ezr. 4^{10}. He included Manasseh of Judah among his tributaries, and kept an Assyrian garrison at Gezer. See ASSYRIA, OSNAPPAR.

C. H. W. JOHNS.

ASHURITES.—One of the tribes over whom Ishbosheth ruled (2 S 2^{9}). The name is clearly corrupt, for neither the Assyrians (*Asshur*) nor the Arabian tribe *Asshurim* (Gn 25^{3}) can be intended. The Pesh. and Vulg. read 'the Geshurites,' whose territory bordered on that of Gilead (Jos 12^{5} 13^{11}), and who might therefore be suitably included here. It has been urged, however, against this view, that Geshur was an independent kingdom at this time (cf. 2 S 3^{3} 13^{37}), so that Ishbosheth could not have exercised control over it. We should probably read *hā-Ashēri* 'the Asherites,' *i.e.* the tribe of Asher (cf. Jg 1^{32}).

ASHVATH.—An Asherite (1 Ch 7^{33}).

ASIA.—In the NT this word invariably means the Roman province Asia, which embraced roughly the western third of the peninsula which we call Asia Minor. It was bounded on the N.E. by the province of Bithynia, on the E. by the province of Galatia, on the S. by the province of Lycia, and had been ceded to the Romans by the will of the Pergamenian king Attalus III. in B.C. 133. The following ethnic districts were in this province—Mysia, Lydia, Western Phrygia, and Caria. The province was the richest, and, with the one exception of Africa, its equal, the most important in the Roman Empire. It was governed by a proconsul of the higher grade, with three *legati* under him. Ephesus, Pergamum, and Smyrna were its principal cities. St. Paul's preaching in Ephesus was the most powerful cause of the spread of the gospel in this province, and the Epistle 'to the Ephesians' is probably a circular letter to all the churches in it. Seven are enumerated in Rev 1–3, which is post-Pauline.

A. SOUTER.

ASIARCH.—The form of the word is parallel with *Lyciarch*, *Bithyniarch*, etc., but the signification is by no means certain. The title of Asiarch could be held in conjunction with any civil office, and with the high priesthood of a particular city, but the high priest of Asia and the Asiarch were probably not identical; for there was only one high priest of Asia at a time, but there were a number of Asiarchs, as Ac 19^{31} shows, even in one city. The honour lasted one year, but re-election was possible. It was held in connexion with the *Koinon* (Council) of the province, the main duty of which was to regulate the worship of Rome and of the Emperor; and the Asiarchs were probably the deputies to the Council elected by the towns.

A. SOUTER.

ASIBIAS (1 Es 9^{26}).—One of the sons of Phoros or Parosh who agreed to put away his 'strange' wife; answering to **Malchijah** (2) in Ezr 10^{25}.

ASIEL.—**1.** Grandfather of Jehu a Simeonite 'prince' (1 Ch 4^{35}). **2.** One of five writers employed by Ezra

to transcribe the Law (2 Es 14^{24}). **3.** (AV **Asael**) An ancestor of Tobit (To 1^{1}).

ASIPHA (1 Es 5^{29}).—His sons were among the Temple servants who returned with Zerubbabel; called **Hasupha**, Ezr 2^{43}, Neh 7^{46}.

ASMODÆUS, the 'evil demon' of To 3. 6. 8, appears freely in the Talmud as *Ashmĕdai*, which popular etymology connected with *shāmad*, 'to destroy.' It is fairly certain, however, that it is the Avestan *Aēsma daēva*, 'fury demon,' conspicuous from the earliest to the latest parts of the Parsi scriptures. It would seem that the Book of Tobit is really a Median folk-story, adapted for edification by a Jew, with sundry uncomprehended features of the original left unchanged. For these see 'Zoroastrianism' in Hastings' *DB*, § 4. In the Talmud Ashmedai is king of the *Shēdîn*, demons supposed to be mortal, and of either sex.

JAMES HOPE MOULTON.

ASNAH.—The head of a family of Nethinim which returned with Zerubbabel (Ezr 2^{50}, 1 Es 5^{31}m).

ASNAPPER.—See OSNAPPAR.

ASOM (1 Es 9^{33}). His sons were among those who put away their 'strange' wives; called **Hashum**, Ezr 10^{33}.

ASP.—See SERPENT.

ASPALATHUS (Sir 24^{15}).—The name of an aromatic associated with cinnamon in the passage cited, but impossible to identify. It is probable that there were two or more plants, and more than one vegetable product, known by this name.

ASPATHA (Est 9^{7}).—The third son of Haman, put to death by the Jews.

ASPHALT.—See BITUMEN.

ASPHAR (1 Mac 9^{33}).—A pool in the desert of Tekoa, or Jeshimon, where Jonathan and Simon the Maccabees encamped. The site is not known with certainty, although it may plausibly be identified with the mod. *Bīr Selhūb*, a reservoir 6 miles W.S.W. of Engedi.

ASPHARASUS (1 Es 5^{8}).—One of the leaders of the return under Zerubbabel, called **Mispar**, Ezr 2^{2}, and **Mispereth**, Neh 7^{7}.

ASRIEL (in AV of 1 Ch 7^{14} **Ashriel**).—A Manassite (Jos 17^{2}, Nu 26^{31}; in the latter the patronymic **Asrielite** occurs).

ASS (*hamōr*; 'she-ass,' *'āthon* [Gr. *onos* of both sexes]; 'young ass' or 'colt,' *'ayir* [Gr. *pōlos*]; 'wild ass,' *pere'* and *'ārōdh*).—The ass (Arab. *hamar*) is the most universally useful domesticated animal in Palestine. On it the *fellah* rides to his day's work, with it he ploughs his fields, threshes out his corn, and at last carries home the harvest (Neh 13^{15}). Whole groups of donkeys traverse every road carrying corn (Gn $42^{26.\ 27}$), fire-wood (Gn 22^{3}), provisions (1 S 16^{20}), skins of water or baskets full of sand, stone or refuse. A group of such animals are so accustomed to keep together that they would do so even if running away (1 S $9^{3.\ 20}$). The little ass carrying the barley, which leads every train of camels, is a characteristic sight. Whenever the traveller journeys through the land, the braying of the ass is as familiar a sound as the barking of the village dog. The man of moderate means when journeying rides an ass, often astride his bedding and clothes, as doubtless was done by many a Scripture character (Nu 22^{21-33}, Jos 15^{18}, 1 S 25^{20-23}, 2 S 17^{23} 19^{26} etc.). A well-trained ass will get over the ground rapidly at a pace more comfortable than that of an ordinary horse; it is also very sure-footed. The man of position in the town, the sheikh of the mosque, lawyer or medical man—indeed, any peaceful citizen—is considered suitably mounted on donkey-back, especially if the animal is white (Jg 5^{10}). A well-bred white ass fetches a higher price than a fairly good horse. A she-ass (Arab. *'atar*) is preferred (Nu 22^{21-33}, 1 S 9^{3}, 2 K 4^{22-24}, 1 Ch 27^{30}), because quieter and more easily left tied up; a strong male is almost uncontrollable at times, and gives vent to the most dismal brays as he catches sight of female asses. The castrated animal is not often seen, because frequently wanting in 'go' and very timid. She-asses are also, when of valuable breed, prized for breeding purposes. The common ass is brown, sometimes almost black or grey. Skeletons of asses are not uncommon by the high-road sides, and the jawbone might be a not unhandy weapon in an emergency (Jg 15^{16}, where the play on the word 'ass' [*hamōr*] and 'heap' [*hamōr*] should be noticed). Although the ass was forbidden food to the Jews, we read (2 K 6^{25}) that 'an ass's head was sold for fourscore pieces of silver' in the extremity of famine in besieged Samaria. In ploughing, the modern *fellahin* actually seem to prefer to yoke together an ox and an ass, or a camel and an ass (contrast Dt 22^{10}). The idea of the stupidity of the ass is the same in the East as in the West.

The young ass (Is $30^{6.\ 24}$) or colt (Job 11^{12}, Zec 9^{9}, Lk 19^{33} etc.), the Arab. *jahsh*, is referred to several times. Little colts of very tender age trot beside their mothers, and soon have small burdens put on them. They should not be regularly ridden for three years. The young asses in the Bible are all apparently old enough for riding or burden-bearing.

Wild asses are not to-day found in Palestine, though, it is said, plentiful in the deserts to the East (Job 24^{5}), where they roam in herds and run with extraordinary fleetness (Job 39^{5}). Ishmael is compared in his wildness and freedom to a wild ass (Gn 16^{12}), while Issachar is a wild ass subdued ($49^{14.\ 15}$).

E. W. G. MASTERMAN.

ASSAMIAS (AV **Assanias**).—One of twelve priests entrusted with the holy vessels on the return to Jerusalem, 1 Es 8^{54}.

ASSAPHIOTH (AV **Azaphion**), 1 Es 5^{33}.—His descendants returned with Zerubbabel among the sons of Solomon's servants. Called **Hassophereth**, Ezr 2^{55}; **Sophereth**, Neh 7^{57}.

ASSASSINS, THE.—In the time of Felix a band of robbers so named disturbed Judæa. They are mentioned in Ac 21^{38} (*sicarii*, AV 'murderers'). Josephus says that at Felix's suggestion they murdered Jonathan son of Ananus, the high priest (*Ant.* XX. viii. 5). They took a leading part in the Jewish War. See art. EGYPTIAN [THE]. A. J. MACLEAN.

ASSEMBLY.—See CONGREGATION.

ASSHUR.—See ASSYRIA.

ASSHURIM.—The Asshurim, Letushim, Leummim (Gn 25^{3}) were Arabian tribes, supposed to be descended from Abraham and Keturah through Dedan. By the Asshurim the Targum understood dwellers in encampments to be meant. A tribe *A'shur* appears on two Minæan inscriptions. J. TAYLOR.

ASSIDEANS.—See HASIDÆANS.

ASSIR.—**1.** A son of Korah (Ex 6^{24}, 1 Ch 6^{22}). **2.** A son of Ebiasaph (1 Ch $6^{23.\ 37}$). **3.** A son of Jeconiah (AV and RVm of 1 Ch 3^{17}). It is probable, however, that RV correctly renders 'Jeconiah *the captive*.'

ASSOS.—A town over half a mile from the Gulf of Adramyttium (in Mysia, province of Asia), in a splendid position on a hill about 770 feet high at its highest point. The fortifications are amongst the most excellent of their kind. It passed through various hands before it was from B.C. 334–241 under Alexander the Great and his successors, and from B.C. 241–133 under the Pergamenian dynasty. At the last date it became Roman (see ASIA). It was the birth-place of the Stoic Cleanthes. St. Paul went from Troas to Assos by the land-route on his last visit to Asia (Ac $20^{13f.}$).

A. SOUTER.

ASSUMPTION OF MOSES.—See APOC. LIT., p. 40^{b}.

ASSURANCE.—The word is used both in an objective and a subjective sense, according as it denotes the ground of confidence or the actual experience. When St. Paul declares at Athens (Ac 17[31]) that God has appointed Christ to judge the world, and 'has given assurance' of this unto all men by raising Him from the dead, it is an objective assurance that he means, for he knew very well that all men were not personally assured of the fact of the Resurrection. In 2 Ti 3[14], again, Timothy's assurance of the things he has learned is identified with the outward authority of the person from whom he has received them. For the most part, however, 'assurance' in Scripture denotes not an objective authority or fact, but a reality of inward experience. The word occurs once in OT (Is 32[17] AV), and quite characteristically assurance is there represented as the effect of *righteousness*. In NT assurance (*plerophoria*) is an accompaniment and result of the gospel (1 Th 1[5]). And the assurance produced by the gospel is not intellectual merely, or emotional merely, or practical merely, it fills and satisfies the whole inner man. There is a full assurance of understanding (Col 2[2]), and a full assurance of faith (He 10[22]; cf. 2 Ti 1[12]), and a full assurance of hope (He 6[11]). [Cf. 11[1] RV, where the last two forms of assurance run into each other—faith itself becoming the assurance (*hypostasis*) or underlying ground of hope]. But there is also an assurance of love (1 Jn 3[19]); love being, however, not a mere feeling but a practical social faculty, a love of deed and truth that ministers in all good things to its brethren (vv. [14-18]). Thus on a higher plane—the plane of that Christian love which is the fulfilling of the Law—we come back to the prophetic ideal of an inward peace and assurance which are the effects of righteousness.

In any doctrine of assurance a distinction must again be recognized between an objective and a subjective assurance. The grounds of Christian assurance as presented in the gospel are absolute, and if faith were merely intellectual assent, every believing man would be fully assured of his salvation. But, as a positive experience, assurance must be distinguished from saving faith (cf. 1 Co 9[27]). Yet the Spirit witnesses with our spirit that we are the children of God (Ro 8[16]); and those in whom the consciousness of that witness is dim and faint should seek with more diligence to grow in faith and hope and love and understanding also, that thereby they may make their calling and election sure (2 P 1[10]).

J. C. LAMBERT.

ASSYRIA AND BABYLONIA.—**I.** ASSYRIA.—**1. Natural features and Civilization.**—Strictly speaking, Assyria was a small district bounded on the N. and E. by the mountains of Armenia and Kurdistan, on the W. by the Tigris, on the S. by the Upper Zab. The W. bank of the Tigris was early included, and the limits of the kingdom gradually extended till the Empire included all Mesopotamia, Syria, Palestine, and parts of Asia Minor and Egypt. The term 'Assyria,' therefore, was widely different in meaning at different periods. The earliest capital was Asshur, on the W. of the Tigris, between the mouths of the Upper and Lower Zab. The above-named district, a natural stronghold, was the nucleus of the country. For the most part hilly, with well-watered valleys and a wide plain along the Tigris, it was fertile and populous. The cities Calah at the junction of the Upper Zab, Nineveh on the Chōser, Dur-Sargon to the N.E., Imgur-Bel S.E., Tarbis to the N.W., and Arbēla between the rivers Zab, were the most noted in Assyria itself.

The climate was temperate. The slopes of the hills were well wooded with oak, plane, and pine; the plains and valleys produced figs, olives, and vines. Wheat, barley, and millet were cultivated. In the days of the Empire the orchards were stocked with trees, among which have been recognized date palms, orange, lemon, pomegranate, apricot, mulberry, and other fruits. A great variety of vegetables were grown in the gardens, including beans, peas, cucumbers, onions, lentils. The hills furnished plenty of excellent building stone, the soft alabaster specially lent itself to the decoration of halls with sculptures in low relief, while fine marbles, hard limestone, conglomerate and basalt, were worked into stone vessels, pillars, altars, etc. Iron, lead, and copper were obtainable in the mountains near. The lion and wild ox, the boar, deer, gazelle, goat, and hare were hunted. The wild ass, mountain sheep, bear, fox, jackal, and many other less easily recognized animals are named. The eagle, bustard, crane, stork, wild goose, various ducks, partridge, plover, the dove, raven, swallow, are named; besides many other birds. Fish were plentiful. The Assyrians had domesticated oxen, asses, sheep, goats, and dogs. Camels and horses were introduced from abroad.

The Assyrians belonged to the North Semitic group, being closely akin to the Aramæans, Phœnicians, and Hebrews. Like the other Mesopotamian States, Assyria early came under the predominating influence of Babylonia. According to Gn 10[11], Nimrod went out from the land of Shinar into Assyria and built Nineveh, etc. That Babylonian colonies settled in Assyria is probable, but it is not clear that they found a non-Semitic population there. The Assyrians of historic times were more robust, warlike, 'fierce' (Is 33[19]), than the mild, industrial Babylonians. This may have been due to the influence of climate and incessant warfare; but it may indicate a different race. The culture and religion of Assyria were essentially Babylonian, save for the predominance of the national god Ashur. The king was a despot at home, general of the army abroad, and he rarely missed an annual expedition to exact tribute or plunder some State. The whole organization of the State was essentially military. The literature was borrowed from Babylonia, and to the library of the last great king, Ashurbanipal, we owe most of the Babylonian classics. The Assyrians were historians more than the Babylonians, and they invented a chronology which is the basis of all dating for Western Asia. They were a predatory race, and amassed the spoils of all Mesopotamia in their treasure-houses, but they at least learned to value what they had stolen. The enormous influx of manufactured articles from abroad and the military demands prevented a genuinely native industrial development, but the Assyrians made splendid use of foreign talent. In later times, the land became peopled by captives, while the drain upon the Assyrian army to conquer, garrison, colonize, and hold down the vast Empire probably robbed the country of resisting power.

2. History.—The excavations conducted at Nineveh and Calah by Layard, 1845 to 1851; by Botta at Khorsabad, 1843–1845; continued by Rassam, G. Smith, and others up to the present time; the edition of the inscriptions by Rawlinson, Norris, and Smith, and the decipherment of them by Rawlinson, Hincks, and Oppert, have rendered available for the history of Assyria a mass of material as yet only partially digested. Every year fresh evidence is discovered by explorers in the East, and the wide-spread influence of Assyria may be illustrated by the discovery of a stele of Sargon in Cyprus, a stele of Esarhaddon at Zinjerli on the borders of Cilicia, a letter from Ashur-uballit, king of Assyria, to Amenophis IV., king of Egypt, at Tell el-Amarna in Egypt, of statues of Assyrian kings at Nahr-el-Kelb near Beyrout. Besides this primary source of history, chiefly contemporaneous with the events it records, we have scattered incidental notices in the historical and prophetical books of the OT giving an important external view, and some records in the Greek and Latin classics, mostly too late and uncritical to be of direct value. Owing to the intimate connexion of Assyria and Babylonia, a great deal may be treated as common matter, but it will conduce to clearness to

separate their history. Some of the common sources for history will be noticed here.

(α) *Chronology.*—(α) *Year-names.*—The Babylonians gave each year a name. Thus the names of the first four years of the reign of Hammurabi are: (1) the year in which Hammurabi became king; (2) the year in which Hammurabi established the heart of the land in righteousness; (3) the year in which the throne of Nannar was made; (4) the year in which the wall of Malgâ was destroyed. These dates, or year-names, were decided upon and notice sent round to the principal districts, early each year. Thus we know that the date, or year-name, to be used for the eighth year of Samsu-iluna was sent as far as the Lebanon, where the tablet giving the order was found. Until the new year-name was known, the year was dated 'the year after' the last known date. Thus the fourth year of Hammurabi would be called 'the year after that in which the throne of Nannar was made.' The scribes kept a record of these dates, and a long list of year-names, in two recensions, has been published, which, if perfect, would have given the year-names from Sumu-abi to the tenth year of Ammi-zaduga. It was natural that the same ideogram *MU* should denote 'year' and 'name.' When, therefore, this list counts 43 *MU* to the reign of Hammurabi, we do not know that he reigned '43 years,' but only that he used 43 year-names in his reign. We know that the same year was sometimes called by two different names. When, therefore, the King's List gives him a reign of 55 years, we may explain the discrepancy by supposing that the list of year-names gives only the number of separate names. As a year-name often mentions a campaign, it seems most unlikely that it could have been given at the beginning of the year, still more when it records such an event as the fall of a city. The list of year-names records some event, usually domestic, religious, or military, for each year, and consequently has been called a 'chronicle.' This system of dating occurs as early as Sargon I. Its ambiguity for future generations is obvious. The kings of Larsa developed an era, the years being called the first, second, etc. (up to the 30th), 'after the capture of Isin.' In the third dynasty the method of dating by the year of the king's reign was introduced. If a king died in the 20th year of his reign, he is said to have reigned 20 years. The remainder of the year was 'the accession year' of his successor, and his first year was that beginning on the first of Nisan after his accession. Thus over a long series of years, the sum of the reigns is accurately the length in years, except for the margin at the beginning and end: it is exact to a year.

(β) *Eponym Canon.*—The Assyrians devised a modification of the year-name which avoided all difficulty. They named each year after a particular official, who could be selected at the beginning of the year, which was called his *limmu* or eponymy. The particular official for each year was originally selected by lot (*pûru*), but later a fixed order was followed, the king, the Tartan, the chief of the levy, the chief scribe, etc., then the governors of the chief cities. As the Empire extended, the governors of such distant places as Carchemish, Razappa, Kummuh, or even Samaria, became eponyms. Later still the order seems to be quite arbitrary, and may have been a royal choice. Lists of these officials, in their actual order of succession, known as the Eponym Canons, were drawn up, are fairly complete from B.C. 911 to B.C. 668, and can be restored to B.C. 648. This method of dating is at least as early as Arik-dên-ilu, and was in use in Cappadocia, possibly much earlier. A very large number of names of Eponyms are known, which are not in the Canons, but as yet they can rarely be dated.

(γ) *Chronological statements.*—This system, however, provided an accurate means of dating, and warrants great reliance on the statements of the kings as to the dates of events long before their times. Provided that they had access to earlier Eponym Canons than we possess, there is no reason why they should not be exact. Later kings were not disinclined to give such chronological statements. Thus Shalmaneser I. states that Erishum built the temple of Ashur, in Asshur, which Shamshi-Adad rebuilt 159 years later, but which was destroyed 580 years later by a fire and built afresh by him. The king does not state in which year of either of the reigns these events took place. Esarhaddon also states that the temple was built by Erishum, restored by Shamshi-Adad, son of Bel-kabi, and again by Shalmaneser I. 434 years later, and again by himself. The former statement may be preferred, as Shalmaneser I. was much nearer to the events, and it is easier to reconcile with other statements. Sennacherib's Bavian inscription states that he recovered the gods of Ekallati, which had been carried away by Marduk-nadin-ahe, king of Akkad, in the days of Tiglath-pileser I., 418 years before, thus dating both Marduk-nadin-ahe and Tiglath-pileser I. at about B.C. 1107. Tiglath-pileser I. tells us that he rebuilt the temple of Ashur and Adad which had been pulled down by his great-grandfather Ashur-dan I., 60 years before, and had then stood 641 years since its foundation by Shamshi-Adad, son of Ishme-Dagan. This puts Shamshi-Adad about B.C. 1820 and Ashur-dan about 1170. Sennacherib also states that a seal captured from Babylon by Tukulti-Ninib I. had been carried away to Babylon again and was brought back by him 600 years later. This puts Tukulti-Ninib I. about B.C. 1289. Ashurbanipal states that on his capture of Susa he brought back the image of Nana, which had been carried off by Kudur-nanhundi, 1635 years before. This puts an invasion of Babylon at B.C. 2275. A boundary stone dated in the 4th year of Bêl-nâdin-apli states that from Gulkishar, probably the sixth king of the second Babylonian Dynasty, to Nebuchadrezzar I. there were 696 years. This puts Gulkishar about B.C. 1820. Nabonidus states that he restored a temple in Sippara, which had not been restored since Shagarakti-shuriash, 800 years before. This puts that king about B.C. 1350. Further, that Naram-Sin, son of Sargon I., was 3200 years before him, which dates Naram-Sin about B.C. 3750. Further, that Hammurabi lived 700 years before Burna-buriash. This dates Hammurabi about B.C. 2100, or B.C. 2150, according as we understand Burna-buriash I. or II. to be intended. It is evident that all such dates are vague. The numbers may be only approximate, 600 for 560 or 640, say. Further, we do not know from which year of the writer's reign to reckon, nor to which year of the king named. This may add a further margin of uncertainty.

(δ) *The Kings' List, Ptolemy's Canon, Eponym List.*—The Babylonian Kings' List, if complete, would have given the names of the kings of Babylonia from the First Dynasty down to the last native ruler, Nabonidus, with the lengths of their reigns. It does furnish these particulars for long periods. The famous Canon of Ptolemy begins with Nabonassar, B.C. 747, and gives the names of the kings, including the Assyrians Poros (Tiglath-pileser III.), Sargon, and Esarhaddon, with the dates of their reigns, down to Nabonidus, then the Achæmenids to Alexander the Great, the Ptolemys and Romans, so connecting with well-known dates. The Eponym Canon lists record the eclipse of B.C. 763, and their dates are thus fixed. So far as they overlap, the last three sources agree exactly. We may then trust the Eponym Canons to B.C. 911 and the Kings' List wherever preserved.

(ε) *Genealogies, Date Documents.*—The kings usually mention their father and grandfather by name; often an earlier ancestor, or predecessor, naming his father, and we are thus enabled to trace back a dynasty from father to son over long periods. Unfortunately we are rarely told by them how long a king reigned, but where we have documents dated by the year of his reign, we can say he reigned at least so many years.

ASSYRIA AND BABYLONIA

In both Assyrian and Babylonian history there are still wide gaps, but exploration is continually filling them up. The German explorations at Asshur added quite 20 new names to the list of Assyrian rulers. It is dangerous to argue that, because we do not know all the rulers in a certain period, it ought to be reduced in length. It is as yet impossible to reconcile all the data, because we are not sure of the kings referred to. We already know five or six of the same name, and it may well be that we mistake the reference.

(ζ) *Synchronous History.*—The so-called *Synchronous History* of Assyria and Babylonia dealt with the wars and rectification of boundaries between the two countries from B.C. 1400 to B.C. 1150 and B.C. 900 to B.C. 800; and the *Babylonian Chronicle* gave the names and lengths of reign of the kings of Assyria, Babylonia, and Elam from B.C. 744 to B.C. 668. These establish a number of synchronisms, besides making considerable contributions to the history.

The bulk of the history is derived from the inscriptions of the kings themselves. Here there is an often remarked difference between Assyrian and Babylonian usage. The former are usually very full concerning the wars of conquest, the latter almost entirely concerned with temple buildings or domestic affairs, such as palaces, walls, canals, etc. Many Assyrian kings arrange their campaigns in chronological order, forming what are called Annals. Others are content to sum up their conquests in a list of lands subdued. We rarely have anything like Annals from Babylonia.

The value to be attached to these inscriptions is very various. They are contemporary, and for geography invaluable. A king would hardly boast of conquering a country which did not exist. The historical value is more open to question. A 'conquest' meant little more than a raid successful in exacting tribute. The Assyrians, however, gradually learnt to consolidate their conquests. They planted colonies of Assyrian people, endowing them with conquered lands. They transported the people of a conquered State to some other part of the Empire, allotting them lands and houses, vineyards and gardens, even cattle, and so endeavoured to destroy national spirit and produce a blended population of one language and one civilization. The weakness of the plan lay in the heavy taxation which prevented loyal attachment. The population of the Empire had no objection to the substitution of one master for another. The demands on the subject States for men and supplies for the incessant wars weakened all without attaching any. The population of Assyria proper was insufficient to officer and garrison so large an empire, and every change of monarch was the signal for rebellion in all outlying parts. A new dynasty usually had to reconquer most of the Empire. Civil war occurred several times, and always led to great weakness, finally rendering the Empire an easy prey to the invader.

The following table of monarchs is compiled from the above-mentioned materials. Where the relationship of two kings is known, it is indicated by S for 'son,' B for 'brother,' of the *preceding* king. When two kings are known to be contemporaries = is placed between their names. Probable dates of accession are given with a query, known dates without. Where a figure with + is placed after a name it indicates monumentally attested minimum length of reign, thus 25 + means 'at least 25 years.' The lengths of reigns in the Year List or Chronicle for the First Dynasty are given in brackets.

B.C.	I. First Dynasty of Babylon.	Length of Reign.
2396 ?	Sumu-abi	15(14)
2382 ?	Sumu-lā-el	35(36)
2347 ?	Zabum, S	14
2333 ?	Apil-Sin, S	18
2325 ?	Sin-muballit, S	30(20)
2285 ?	Hammurabi, S	55(43)
2230 ?	Samsu-ilūna, S	35(38)
2195 ?	Abēshu, S	25
2170 ?	Ammi-satana, S	25
2145 ?	Ammi-zadūga, S	21
2124 ?	Samsu-satāna, S	31
	II. Dynasty of Uru-azag.	
2093 ?	Ilu-ma-ilu	60
2033 ?	Itti-ili-ibi	55
1978 ?	Damki-ilishu	36
1942 ?	Ish-ki-bal	15
1927 ?	Shushshi, B	27
1900 ?	Gulkishar	55
1845 ?	Peshgal-daramash, S	50
1795 ?	A-dara-kalama, S	28
1767 ?	Akur-ul-anna	26
1741 ?	Melam-kurkurra	7
1734 ?	Ea-gāmil	9
	III. Kassite Dynasty.	
1725 ?	Gandash	16
1709 ?	Agum I. S	22
1687 ?	Agu-iashi	22
1665 ?	Adshi, S	8
1657 ?	Adumetash	
	Tazzigurumash	
	Agum II. S	
	Kurigalzu I. S	
	Melishihu I. S	
	Marduk-apliddina I. S	
	Kara-indash I.	
	Burna-buriash I. S	
	Kara-indash II.	
	Kadashman-harbe I.	
	Nazi-bugash	
	Kurigalzu II.	

	Patesis of Asshur.	B.C.
=	Shamshi-Adad I.	
	Ushpia	
	Kikia	
	Kate-Ashir	
	Shalim-ahum, S	
	Ilu-shūma, S	
	Erishūm, S	
	Ikunum, S	
	Shar-kenkate-Ashir	
	Ishme-Dagan I.	
	Ashur-nirari I. S	
	Bēl-kabi	
	Shamshi-Adad II. S	
	Igur-kapkapi	
	Shamshi-Adad III. S	
	Ishme-Dagan II.	
	Shamshi-Adad IV. S	1820 ?
	Kings of Assyria.	
	Adasi	
	Bēl-ibni, S	
	Bēl-kapkapi	
	Sulilu	
	Ashur-rabi, S	
	Ashur-nirari II. S	
	Ashur-rīm-nishēshu, S	
	Puzur-Ashur I.	
	Ashur-nirari III.	
=	Ashur-bēl-nishēshu, S	
=	Puzur-Ashur II.	
	Adad	
	Ashur-nādin-ahi	
	Erba-Adad I. S	
	Ashur-uballit I. S	
	Ashur-nādin-ahe	
=	Ashur-uballit II. S	

ASSYRIA AND BABYLONIA

B.C.	III. Kassite Dynasty—*cont.*	Length of reign.		Kings of Assyria—*cont.*	B.C.
	Burna-buriash II. S	25 +		Bēl-nirari, S	
	Kurigalzu III. S	26	=	Arik-dēn-ilu, S	
	Nazi-maruttash, S	24 +	=	Adad-nirari I. S	
	Kadashman-Turgu	16 +			
	Kadashman-Bēl	6 +			
	Kudur-Bēl	9 +			
1355 ?	Shagarakti-shuriash, S	23 +		Shulmanu-ashared I. S	
	Bitiliashu, S	8	=	Tukulti-Ninib I. S	1310 ?
	Bēl-nādin-shum	1½		Ashur-nāzir-apli I. S	
	Kadashman-harbe II.	1½		Ashur-nirari IV.	
	Adad-shum-iddina	6		Nabū-dan	
	Adad-shum-usur	30	=	Ninib-tukulti-Ashur	1289 ?
				Ashur-shum-lishir	
				Bēl-kudur-usur	
	Melishihu II.	15	=	Erba-Adad II.	
	Marduk-apliddina II.	13		Ninib-apil-Esharra, S	
	Zamama-shum-iddina	1		Ashur-dan I. S	
	Bēl-nādin-ahi	3			
	IV. Dynasty of Isin.				
	Marduk-ahē-erba	17			
	(Unknown name)	6		Mutakkil-Nusku, S	
	Nabū-kudur-usur I.		=	Ashur-rēsh-ishi, S	
	Bēl-nādin-apli	4 +			
	Marduk-nādin-ahē	10 +	=	Tukulti-apil-Esharra I. S	1107 ?
	Marduk-shāpik-zēri		=	Ashur-bēl-kala, S	
	Adad-apliddina	22		Shamshi-Adad V. B	
	Marduk	1½		Ashur-dān II. B	
	Marduk-zēr	13		Adad-nirari II. S	
	Nabū-shum	9		Ashur-nāzir-apli II.	
	V. Dynasty of the Sealand.				
	Simbar-shihu	18			
	Ea-mukēn-zēri	5 mo.			
	Kashshu-nādin-ahi	3			
	VI. Dynasty of Bazi.				
	Eulmash-shākin-shum	17		Ashur-kirbi	
	Ninib-kudur-usur	3			
	Shilanum-shuqamuna	3 mo.			
	VII. Dynasty of Elam.				
	An Elamite	6			
	VIII. Dynasty of Babylon.				
	Nabū-mukīn-apli	36		Adad-nirari III.	
	Unknown	8 mo.		Tukulti-apil-Esharra II. S	
				Ashur-dan III. S	914 ?
	Shamash-mudammik			Adad-nirari IV. S	911
	Nabū-shum-ishkun I.		=	Tukulti-Ninib II. S	889
879 ?	Nabū-apliddina	31 +	=	Ashur-nāzir-apli III. S	884
	Marduk-shum-iddina, S			Shulmānu-ashared II. S	858
851 ?	Marduk-balatsu-ikbi		=	Shamshi-Adad VI, S	823
	Bau-ah-iddina			Adad-nirari V. S	810
	Marduk			Shulmānu-ashared III. S	781
	Nabū-shum-ishkun II.	8 +		Ashur-dan IV.	771
747	Nabū-nāsir			Adad-nirari VI. S	763
733	Nabū-nādin-zēr	2		Ashur-nirari V. S	753
731	Nabū-shum-ūkīn	42 days	=	Tukulti-apil-Esharra III.	745
	IX. Dynasty of Shashi.				
731	Ukīn-zēr				
729	Pūlu Dynasty of Tinu				
727	Ululai		=	Shulmānu-ashared IV.	727
721	Marduk-apliddina III.	12	=	Sharru-kēnu II	722
710	Sharru-kēnu II.				
704	Sin-ahe-erba		=	Sin-ahe-erba, S	705
	Marduk-zākir-shum	1 mo.			
	Marduk-apliddina III. (returned)	9 mo.			
702	Bēl-ibni	2			
700	Ashur-nādin-shum	6			
693	Nergal-ushēzib	1			
692	Mushēzib-Marduk	3			
689	Sin-ahe-erba	7			
681	Ashur-ahiddin		=	Ashur-ahiddin, S	681
667	Shamash-shum-ukīn		=	Ashur-bāni-apli, S	668
648	Kandalānu			Ashur-etil-ilāni, S, 4+	626
				Sin-shar-ishkun, B, 7+	?
	X. Chaldæan Dynasty.		=	*Fall of Nineveh*	606
625	Nabū-aplu-usur	21			
604	Nabū-kudur-usur II. S	43			
561	Amel-Marduk, S	2			
559	Nergal-shar-usur	3			
556	Labashi-Marduk				
555	Nabū-nā'id	16			
539	Oct. 10, *Fall of Babylon*				

(*b*) *Early traditions.*—We may dismiss as mythical the Assyrian claim that Nineveh was founded directly after the Creation, but it points to a tradition of immemorial antiquity. Sargon claimed to have been preceded on his throne by 350 rulers of Assyria; but even if he counted ancient Babylonian overlords of Assyria, we have no means of checking his figures. Sennacherib professed to trace his lineage back to Gilgamesh, Eabāni, and Humbaba, the heroes of the Babylonian National Epic, through such ancient rulers as Egiba, La'iti-Ashur, Ashur-gamilia, Shamash-sululishu, etc., whose names are not otherwise known. The reference made by Gudea to his having built a temple for Nana (=Ishtar) in Nineveh may be meant for the Babylonian city of the same name, and an inscription of Dungi found in Nineveh might have been carried there by Assyrian conquerors.

(*c*) *Earliest mention.*—Hammurabi, however, in one of his letters refers to troops in Assyria, and in the prologue to his celebrated code of laws states that he 'returned to Asshur its gracious protecting deity and made glorious the name of Ishtar in her temple at Nineveh.' As these benefactions are placed after the benefits conferred on the Babylonian cities, we may conclude that Asshur and Nineveh were subject to him, and that the deity referred to had been carried off by invaders, perhaps the Elamites, or Kassites. A contemporary letter mentions a defaulting debtor as having gone to Assyria. These are the earliest references to the country.

(*d*) *Earliest rulers.*—The earliest rulers of Assyria styled themselves '*patesi* of Asshur.' The title was that borne by the city rulers of Babylonia. Its Assyrian equivalent was *ishshakku*, and it often interchanges with *shangū*, 'priest.' It was still borne by the kings of Assyria, but while it designated them then as 'chief priest' of the nation, we may conclude that when used alone it implied that its bearer was subject to some king. Hence it has usually been supposed that the *patesi* of Asshur was subject to Babylonia. In the fourth year of Hammurabi one Shamshi-Adad is named in a way that suggests his being the *patesi* of Asshur, subject to Hammurabi. We know the names of many of these rulers. Thus Ushpia was the founder of the temple of Ashur in the city of Asshur, and may be the earliest of all. Kikīa, who may be the same as Kiki-Bēl otherwise known, founded the city wall of Asshur, and may be as early, if not earlier. The title descended from father to son for five generations, of whom we put Erishum as early as B.C. 2000. Then we know some pairs, father and son, of whom the last Ishme-Dagan II. and Shamshi-Adad IV. are about B.C. 1820. The order in which these groups are arranged is at present purely conjectural, and we know nothing of the intervals between them. Shamshi-Adad II., son of Bēl-kabi, should be some sixty years before Shamshi-Adad IV.

(*e*) *Early kings.*—We do not know the exact date at which Assyria achieved her independence of Babylon, but it may well have synchronized with the Kassite conquest of Babylonia, or have contributed to it. A possible reference to the 'war of independence' is contained in a tablet which names a great conflict between the king of Babylon and the prince of Assyria, to whom the title 'king' is not conceded, which ended in the spoils of Babylon being carried to Assyria; but we are given no names to date events. Esarhaddon traced his descent from Adasi, father of Bēl-ibni, 'who founded the kingdom of Assyria.' If we credit this, Adasi or Bēl-ibni was the first 'king.' Adad-nirari III. states that Bēl-kapkapi was an early king who lived before Sulilu. It is doubtful whether the group of three, Ashur-rabi, Ashur-nirari II., and Ashur-rīm-nishēshu, the last of whom restored the city wall of Asshur, should not be put before the 'kings.' As Ashur-bēl-nishēshu restored the wall of the 'Newtown' of Asshur, which a Puzur-Ashur had founded, we must put a Puzur-Ashur I. before him. The interval of time we do not know, but a city wall surely lasted years before the reign of Ashur-bēl-nishēshu's father, Ashur-nirari III.

(*f*) *Relations with Egypt and Babylonia.*—About B.C. 1500 an Assyrian ruler sent gifts to Thothmes III., in his 24th and 30th years; but we are not told which king. The synchronous history now comes to our aid. Ashur-bēl-nishēshu made a treaty with Kara-indash I. as to the boundaries of the two countries: a few years later Puzur-Ashur II. made a fresh treaty with Burna-buriash I. Ashur-uballit names Erba-Adad I. his father and Ashur-nādin-ahi his grandfather, in the inscription on the bricks of a well he made in Asshur. Adad-nirari I. names Puzur-Ashur, Ashur-bēl-nishēshu, Erba-Adad and Adad . . . , in this order, as builders at the wall of 'Newtown.' But the Ashur-uballit who wrote to Amenophis IV. in the Tell el-Amarna tablets says that his father Ashur-nādin-ahe was in friendly relationship with Amenophis III., and he was followed by his son Bēl-nirari, whose son was Arik-dēn-ilu and grandson Adad-nirari I., who names this Adad. . . . He must therefore follow Ashur-uballit I.

(*g*) *Extension to the West.*—Ashur-uballit II. gave his daughter Muballitat-Sherūa to Burna-buriash I. to wife. Her son Kadashman-harbe I. succeeded to the throne of Babylon, but the Kassites rebelled against him, put him to death and set up a Kassite, Nazi-bugash. Ashur-uballit invaded Babylonia, deposed the pretender, and set Kurigalzu II., another son of Burna-buriash, on the throne. With Asher-uballit also begins Assyrian history proper—the expansion to the W., which was so fateful for Palestine. In the time of the Tell el-Amarna tablets Egypt was the overlord of Palestine, but already Mitanni, the Hittites, and further to the east Assyria and Babylonia, were treating with Egypt on equal terms. Tushratta, king of Mitanni, offered to send Ishtar of Nineveh to Amenophis III. This has been taken to mean that Mitanni then ruled over Nineveh; it may mean only that Ishtar of Nineveh was worshipped in Mitanni. But Ashur-uballit wrested Melitia from Mitanni, and conquered the Shubari to the N.W. of Assyria. Hence he probably ruled Nineveh also. Bēl-nirari was attacked by Kurigalzu III. at Sugagu on the Zalzallat, but defeated him and made a fresh boundary settlement. Arik-dēn-ilu (often read Pudi-ilu) conquered N., E., and W., penetrating as far as Halah on the Habor, subduing Turuku, Nigimtu, Gutium, the Aramæans, Ahlami, and the Bedouin Sūti. Adad-nirari I. was, early in his reign, defeated by Kurigalzu III., and lost the southern conquests of his predecessors, but later conquered Gutium, the Lullumi and Shubari, turned the tables by defeating Nazi-maruttash, and rectified his boundary to the S. On the W. he extended his conquests over Haran to the Euphrates. Shalmaneser I. (Shulmanu-ashared) crossed the upper waters of the Tigris, placed Assyrian colonies among the tribes to the N., subdued the Aramæans of Upper Mesopotamia, took Melitia, the capital of Hani, defeated the Hittites, Ahlami, Musri, and Sūti, captured Haran and ravaged up to Carchemish. He made Calah his capital, and restored the temple of Ishtar at Nineveh. He first bore the title *shar kishshāti*, supposed to mark the conquest of Haran.

(*h*) *Capture of Babylon.*—Tukulti-Ninib I. conquered Gutium, the Shubari, 40 kings of Nairi, the Ukumāni, Elhūnia, Sharnida, Mehri, Kurhi, Kummuh, the Pushshē, Mumme, Alzi, Madāni, Nihāni, Alaia, Arzi, Purukuzzi. His chief triumph, however, was over Babylon. He defeated and captured Bitiliashu, and took him prisoner to Assyria, ruling Babylonia seven years by his nominees. The first, Bēl-nādin-shum, ruled eighteen months. Elam now appeared on the scene, invaded Babylonia, and a Kassite, Kadashman-harbe II., was set up. After eighteen months more, Tukulti-Ninib I. took Babylon, slew its people with the sword and set up Adad-shum-iddina, who ruled six years. Tukulti-Ninib

deported the god Marduk to Assyria and carried off great spoil from Esaggila, his temple in Babylon. Among other things he carried off a seal of lapis lazuli, which had belonged to Shagarakti-shuriash, father of Bitiliashu, and engraved his own name and titles on it. It was afterwards carried back to Babylon, whence Sennacherib brought it once more 600 years later. We thus get a date B.C. 1289, which must fall either in Tukulti-Ninib's reign or in that of Ninib-tukulti-Ashur's, 16 (?) years later, when Marduk was carried back to Babylon. After Adad-shum-iddina had reigned six years, the Kassites and Babylonians set Adad-shum-usur on 'his father's throne.' Tukulti-Ninib had built a city called Kar-Tukulti-Ninib, close to Asshur, which he intended for a new capital, but that evidently estranged his own people, for his son Ashur-nazir-apli I. rebelled against him, besieged him in a house in his new city, and finally killed him. Of the reign of the parricide we know nothing. Adad-shum-usur corresponded with two kings of Assyria, Ashur-nirari IV. and Nabū-dān, who appear to be reigning both at the same time. Perhaps they were sons of Tukulti-Ninib I., or it may be another Adad-shum-usur who was their contemporary. They are usually placed here, but we know nothing further about them. It was Ninib-tukulti-Ashur who carried back Marduk, and perhaps the seal above named, to Babylon. Possibly he took refuge from Ashur-shum-lishir. There is much doubt about this period, but Adad-shum-usur lived to defeat and kill Bēl-kudur-usur. Erba-Adad II. is known only as father of Ninib-apil-Esharra, whom Tiglath-pileser I. calls 'a powerful king that truly shepherded the hosts of Assyria.' He was besieged by Adad-shum-usur in Asshur. Ashur-dān I. defeated Zamama-shum-iddina and captured several Babylonian cities, carrying off much spoil to Assyria. He had a long reign. We know little of Mutakkil-Nusku. Ashur-rēsh-ishi began to revive the military glories of Assyria, conquering the Ahlami, Gutium and Lullumi. He then invaded Babylonia, and Nebuchadrezzar I. attacked him in Assyria, but was defeated and lost his commander-in-chief.

(*i*) *Tiglath-pileser I., etc.*—Tukulti-apil-Esharra (Tiglath-pileser) I. has left us very full accounts of a long reign and series of conquests; chiefly in Upper Mesopotamia along the base of the Caucasus, Armenia, and W. to the N. E. corner of the Mediterranean, 'in all 42 countries with their princes.' The Bedouin Sūti were driven back across the Euphrates. The Babylonian king Marduk-nādin-ahe invaded the S. of Assyria and carried off the gods of Ekallāte, but, after two years' fighting, Tiglath-pileser defeated him and captured the chief cities of North Babylonia, including Sippara and Babylon itself. He was no less distinguished by his restorations of home cities, and he acclimatized all sorts of useful trees and plants. Ashur-bēl-kala, Shamshi-Adad V., and Ashur-dān II., sons of Tiglath-pileser, followed on the throne, but in what order is not known. Adad-nirari II. was son of Ashur-dān II., and Ashur-nāzir-apli II. was son of Shamshi-Adad V.; but beyond these relationships nothing much is known of them. Shalmaneser II. tells us that he recaptured Pitru and Mitkunu on the far side of the Euphrates, which Tiglath-pileser had taken, but which were lost to Assyria in the reign of Ashur-kirbi. As Shalmaneser's six predecessors cannot be separated, it is usual to put Ashur-kirbi here. Whether the king Ilu-hirbe who set up his image near the Amanus, also named by Shalmaneser, be the same or an earlier and more successful conqueror, is not yet clear. The interval between Tiglath-pileser I. and Ashur-nirari IV., with whom accurate chronology begins, also contained Adad-nirari III., Tukulti-apil-Esharra II., and Ashur-dān III., as known from genealogical notices, but as there is a gap of unknown extent at the commencement of the 8th Dynasty of Babylon, we cannot tell its length or how many things are still unknown to us. Adad-nirari IV. warred with Shamash-mudammik and Nabū-shum-ishkun of Babylon; Tukulti-Ninib II. continued the subjugation of the mountaineers N. of Assyria, gradually winning back the Empire of Tiglath-pileser I.

With Ashur-nāzir-apli III. began a fresh tide of Assyrian conquest, B.C. 885. He rebuilt Calah, and made it his capital. The small Aramæan State of Bīt-Adīni, between the Balih and Euphrates, held out against him, but he conquered the Mannai, Kirrūr, and Zamūa between Lake Van and Lake Urmia. Carchemish, Unki ('Amk), or Hattin on the Orontes were raided, and the army reached the Lebanon. Tyre, Sidon, Gebal, Arvad, etc., were fain to buy off the conqueror. Ashur-nāzir-apli had invaded the Babylonian sphere of influence, and Nabū-apli-iddina sent his brother Zabdānu to support his allies. Ashur-nāzir-apli took Zabdānu and 3000 troops prisoners.

(*j*) *Shalmaneser II., etc.*—The reign of Shalmaneser II., his son and successor, was one long campaign. He records 33 separate expeditions, and began to annex his conquests by placing governors over the conquered districts. The Armenian Empire now began to bar Assyria's progress north. Assyria now first appeared on Israel's horizon as a threatening danger. Shalmaneser's celebrated bronze doors at Balawat and the Black Obelisk give us pictures of scenes in his reign. They represent ambassadors from Girzān near Lake Urmia, from Jahūa (Jehu) of Israel, from Musri, from Marduk-aplu-usur of Suhi, and from Karparunda of Hattin. This Musri is N.E. of Cilicia (1 K 10^{28}), whence Solomon brought his horses. Shalmaneser invaded Kuē in Cilicia, and Tabal (Tubal), where he annexed the silver, salt, and alabaster works. He reached Tarzi (Tarsus, the birthplace of St. Paul). To the N.E. he penetrated Parsūa, the original Persia, In Babylonia, Nabū-apli-iddina was deposed by his son, Marduk-shum-iddina, against whom arose his brother Marduk-bēl-usāte, who held the southern States of the Sealand, already peopled by the Chaldæans. Shalmaneser invaded Babylonia, and, passing to the E., besieged Marduk-bēl-usāte in Mē-turnat, drove him from one stronghold to another, and finally killed him and all his partisans. In the rôle of a friend of Babylon, Shalmaneser visited the chief cities and sacrificed to the gods, captured most of the southern States, and laid them under tribute.

Shalmaneser's campaign against Hamath on the Orontes took place in B.C. 854. The fall of Bīt-Adīni had roused all N. Syria to make a stand. At Karkar the Assyrian army had against them a truly wonderful combination.

	Chariots.	Horsemen.	Foot.
Bir-idri of Damascus .	1200	1200	20,000
Irhulini of Hamath . .	700	700	10,000
Ahabbu of Sir'il . .	2000	..	10,000
The Guī (Kuē) . . .	..	..	500
Musri . . .	..	..	1,000
Irkanat . . .	10	..	10,000
Matin-ba'al of Arvad .	..	..	200
Usanat . . .	..	..	200
Adunu-ba'al of Shiana .	30	..	10,000
Ba'sa of Ammon . .	..	..	1,000
Gindibu the Arab .	1000 Camels.		

The presence of Ahab in this battle in which Shalmaneser claims to have won the victory is most interesting. The battle was not productive of any settled results, as Shalmaneser had to fight the same foes in B.C. 849 and again in B.C. 846. In B.C. 842 Shalmaneser defeated Hazael, besieged him in Damascus, and carried off the spoils of Malaha, his residence. At this time he received tribute from Tyre, Sidon, and Jehu, 'of the house of Omri.' Jehu's tribute is interesting—it includes silver, gold, a vessel of gold, a ladle of gold, golden drinking cups, golden beakers, tin, a sceptre, and *bedolach*.

Shalmaneser's last years were clouded by the rebellion of his son Ashur-dānin-apli, who alienated more than half the Empire, and was not subdued by the successor to the throne, his brother Shamshi-Adad VI., till after eight years' struggle. He may be considered actual king

for those eight years. Shamshi-Adad had to fight the Babylonian kings Bau-ah-iddina and Marduk-balatsu-ikbi. He warred in Chaldæa and advanced into Media as far as Mt. Elvend to secure the Mannai and Parsûa against the rising power of Armenia. Adad-nirari v. penetrated Media right up to the Caspian Sea. Armenia had pushed W. and secured Hani-rabbat and Daiēni, old conquests of Assyria. Adad-nirari v., however, fought several campaigns in the West. From the upper part of the Euphrates to the land of Hatti (N. Syria), Amurri (N. Palestine), Tyre, Sidon, the land of Omri (Israel), Udumu (Edom), and Palastu (Philistia), to the Mediterranean, he exacted tribute. He besieged Mari'a, king of Damascus, in his capital, captured it and carried off rich spoil. These expeditions may be placed in B.C. 804 and B.C. 797.

(*k*) *Tiglath-pileser III.*—Armenia was steadily rising in power, and Assyria gradually lost all its northern conquests in Upper Mesopotamia; under Ashur-nirari v. the dynasty fell and a new line came to the throne in Tiglath-pileser III., B.C. 745. The world of small States had given way to a few strong kingdoms; the Chaldæans were strongly forcing their way into lower Babylonia; in the north, Armenia was powerful and ready to threaten W. Syria; Egypt was awaking and anxious to interfere in Palestine. Assyria and Babylonia bade fair to fall a prey to stronger nations, when Tiglath-pileser III. roused the old energy. The Aramæans were pouring into Babylonia, filled the Tigris basin from the lower Zab to the Uknu, and held some of the most celebrated cities of Akkad. Tiglath-pileser scourged them into subjection, and deported multitudes to the N.E. hills. The Medes were set in order, and then Tiglath-pileser turned to the west. The new kingdom of Arpad was strongly supported by Armenia, and Tiglath-pileser swept to the right into Kummuh, and took the Armenians in the rear. He crushed them, and for the time was left to deal with the West. Arpad took three years to reduce: then gradually all N. Syria came into Assyrian hands, B.C. 740. Hamath allied itself with Azrijahu of Iaudi (Azariah of Judah?) and Panammu of Samal. Tiglath-pileser broke up the coalition, devastated Hamath, and made the district an Assyrian province. The Southern States hastened to avoid invasion by paying tribute. Menahem of Israel, Zabibi of Arabia, Razunnu (Rezon) of Damascus, Hiram of Tyre are noteworthy; but Gebal, Carchemish, Hamath, Militia, Tabal, Kullāni (Calno, Is 10^9) also submitted, B.C. 738. In B.C. 734 Hanno of Gaza was defeated. In B.C. 733–732 Damascus was besieged and taken, Israel was invaded, the whole of Naphtali taken, and Pekah had to pay heavy toll. In B.C. 731 he was murdered, and Tiglath-pileser acknowledged Hosea as successor. Ammon, Moab, Ashkelon, Edom, and Ahaz of Judah paid tribute. Samsi, queen of the Arabians, was defeated, and the Sabæans sent presents. This Tiglath-pileser is the **Pul** of 2 K $15^{19, 20}$, who, after defeating the Chaldæan Ukīn-zēr, who had got himself made king of Babylon, in B.C. 728 was crowned king of Babylon, as Pulu.

(*l*) *Sargon.*—Shalmaneser IV. seems to have been son of Tiglath-pileser. He was king of Babylonia as Ululai, and succeeded to Tiglath-pileser's Empire. In B.C. 724 he began the siege of Samaria, which fell after three years. We have no Assyrian accounts of this reign. Sargon at once succeeded him, but we have no knowledge of his title to the throne. He never mentions his immediate ancestors, nor does Sennacherib, but the latter evidently wished to claim ancient royal descent, and Esarhaddon claimed descent from an early king. That Sargon is called *arkû*, 'the later,' in his own inscriptions may be meant to distinguish him from the great Sargon of Akkad, whose reign he so closely reproduced, or from some early Assyrian monarch, Shar-kēn (Shar-kenkate-Ashir?). Samaria fell almost immediately (B.C. 722), and the flower of the nation, to the number of 27,290 persons, was deported and settled about Halah on the Habor, in the province of Gozan and in Media (2 K 17^6), being replaced by Babylonians and Syrians. **Merodach-baladan,** a king of Bit Iakin, a Chaldæan State in S. Babylonia, who had been tributary to Tiglath-pileser III., had made himself master of Babylon, and was supported there by Elam. Sargon met the Elamites in a battle which he claimed as a victory, but he had to leave Merodach-baladan alone as king in Babylon for twelve years. This failure roused the West under Iaubidi of Hamath, who secured Arpad, Simirra, Damascus, and Samaria as allies, supported by Hanno of Gaza and the N. Arabian Musri. Sargon in B.C. 720 set out to recover his power here. At Karkar, Iaubidi was defeated and captured, and the southern branch of the confederacy was crushed at Raphia. Hanno was carried to Assyria, 933 people deported, Shabi (Sibi, Sewe, So), the Tartan of Piru of Musri, fled, the Arabians submitted and paid tribute. Azuri of Ashdod, who began to intrigue with Egypt, was deposed and replaced by his brother, Ahimiti. A rebellion in Ashdod led to a pretender being installed, but Sargon sent his Tartan to Ashdod (Is 20^1), the pretender fled, and Ashdod and Gath were reduced to Assyrian provinces. Judah, Edom, and Moab staved off vengeance by heavy toll. Sargon's heaviest task was the reduction of Armenia. Rusa I. was able to enlist all Upper Mesopotamia, including Mita of Mushki, and it took ten years to subdue the foe. Sargon's efforts were clearly aided by the incursions of the Gimirri (Gomer) into N. Armenia. Having triumphed everywhere else, Sargon turned his veterans against Babylonia. The change of kings in Elam was a favourable opportunity for attacking Merodach-baladan, who was merely holding down the country by Chaldæan troops. Sargon marched down the Tigris, seized the chief posts on the east, screened off the Elamites and threatened Merodach-baladan's rear. He therefore abandoned Babylon and fell on Sargon's rear, but, meeting no support, retreated S. to his old kingdom and fortified it strongly. Sargon entered Babylon, welcomed as a deliverer, and in B.C. 709 became king of Babylon. The army stormed Bit Iakin, but Merodach-baladan escaped over sea. Sargon then restored the ancient cities of Babylonia. His last years were crowned with the submission of far-off lands; seven kings of Cyprus sent presents, and Sargon set up a stele there in token of his supremacy. Dilmun, an island far down the Persian Gulf, did homage. Sargon founded a magnificent city, Dūr Sargon, modern Khorsabad, to the N.E. of Nineveh. He died a violent death, but how or where is now uncertain.

(*m*) *Sennacherib.*—Sennacherib soon had to put down rebellion in S.E. and N.W., but his Empire was very well held together, and his chief wars were to meet the intrigues of his neighbours, Elam and Egypt. Babylonia was split up into semi-independent States, peopled by Aramæans, Chaldæans, and kindred folk, all restless and ambitious. Merodach-baladan seized the throne of Babylon from Marduk-zākir-shum, Sargon's viceroy, B.C. 704. The Aramæans and Elam supported him. Sennacherib defeated him at Kish, B.C. 703, and drove him out of Babylon after nine months' reign. Sennacherib entered Babylon, spoiled the palace, swept out the Chaldæans from the land, and carried off 208,000 people as captives. On the throne of Babylon he set Bēl-ibni, of the Babylonian seed royal, but educated at his court. Merodach-baladan had succeeded in stirring the W., where Tyre had widely extended its power, and Hezekiah of Judah had grown wealthy and ambitious, to revolt. Ammon, Moab, Edom, the Arabians joined the confederacy, and Egypt encouraged. Padi, king of Ekron, a faithful vassal of Assyria, was overthrown by a rebellion in his city and sent in chains to Hezekiah. Sennacherib, early in B.C. 701, appeared on the Mediterranean coast, received the submission of the Phœnician cities, isolated Tyre, and had tribute from Ammon, Moab, and Edom. Tyre he could not capture, so he made

ASSYRIA AND BABYLONIA

Itubal of Sidon overlord of Phœnicia, and assailed Tyre with the allied fleet. Its king escaped to Cyprus, but the city held out. Sennacherib meanwhile passed down the coast, reduced Ashkelon, but was met at Eltekeh by the Arabians and Egyptians. He gained an easy victory, and captured Eltekeh, Timnath, and Ekron. Then he concentrated his attention upon Judah, captured 46 fortified cities, deported 200,150 people, and shut up Hezekiah, 'like a bird in a cage,' in Jerusalem. He assigned the Judæan cities to the kings of Ashdod, Ekron, and Gaza, imposed fresh tribute, and received of Hezekiah thirty talents of gold, eight hundred talents of silver, precious stones, couches of ivory, thrones of ivory, precious woods, his daughters, his palace women, male and female singers, etc., an enormous spoil, which was carried to Nineveh. His siege of Lachish is depicted on his monuments. Before his campaign was over, Merodach-baladan had again appeared in Babylon. A difficulty has always been felt about the destruction of Sennacherib's army, because, if it took place after this campaign, he could hardly have been so successful in Babylonia. His inscriptions end with B.C. 689, but Esarhaddon's references to the conquests of his father in Arabia, and a fragmentary reference to Azekah, suggest that he invested Jerusalem again, on a second campaign, and that the destruction occurred then. The Biblical narrative suggests that Tirhakah, king of Ethiopia, had already appeared on the scene. This would date the event after B.C. 691. Further, it seems to have occurred soon before his death in B.C. 681.

In Babylonia, Bēl-ibni proved unfaithful and was recalled. Ashur-nādin-shum, Sennacherib's son, was installed as king, and reigned six years. Sennacherib devastated Bīt Iakin and defeated Shuzub, a Chaldæan king. He then employed Phœnician shipbuilders and sailors to build ships at Til-barsip, on the Euphrates, and at Nineveh, on the Tigris. He floated his fleets down to the mouth of the rivers, shipped his army, and landed at the mouth of the Karūn, where the Chaldæans had taken refuge, B.C. 695. He sent the captives by ship to Assyria, and marched his army into S. Elam. The king of Elam, however, swooped down on Babylon and carried off Ashur-nādin-shum to Elam. Nergal-ushēzib was raised to the throne, and, aided by Elamite troops, proceeded to capture the Assyrian garrisons and cut off the southern army. Sennacherib retreated to Erech and awaited Nergal-ushēzib, who had occupied Nippur. He was defeated, captured, and taken to Assyria, B.C. 693. The Babylonians now made Shuzub, the Chaldæan, king under the name of Mushēzib-Marduk. A revolution in Elam tempted Sennacherib to invade that country, perhaps in hope of rescuing his son. He swept all before him, the Elamite king retreating to the mountains, but the severe winter forced Sennacherib to retreat, B.C. 692. Mushēzib-Marduk and the Babylonians opened the treasury of Marduk to bribe the Elamites for support. A great army of Elamites, Aramæans, Chaldæans, and Babylonians barred Sennacherib's return at Halūle, on the E. of the Tigris, B.C. 691. Sennacherib claimed the victory, but had no power to do more, and left Mushēzib-Marduk alone for the time. He came back to Babylonia in B.C. 690, and the new Elamite king being unable to assist, Babylon was taken, Mushēzib-Marduk deposed and sent to Nineveh. Babylon was then sacked, fortifications and walls, temples and palaces razed to the ground, the inhabitants massacred, the canals turned over the ruins, B.C. 689. Sennacherib made Babylonia an Assyrian province, and was king himself till his death (B.C. 681). There is reason to think that he appointed Esarhaddon regent of Babylonia; at any rate it seems that this prince began to rebuild Babylon before his father's death.

Sennacherib chose Nineveh, which had become a second-rate city, as his capital, and, by his magnificent buildings and great fortifications, made it a formidable rival to Calah, Asshur, and even Babylon before its destruction. His last few years are in obscurity, but he was murdered by his son or sons. See ADRAMMELECH.

(*n*) *Esarhaddon* came to the throne B.C. 680, after a short struggle with the murderers of his father and their party. He had to repel an incursion of the Cimmerians in the beginning of his reign, and then conquered the Medes. In B.C. 677 Sidon was in revolt, but was taken and destroyed, a new city called Kar-Esarhaddon being built to replace it and colonized with captives from Elam and Babylonia, Ezr 4^2. In B.C. 676, Esarhaddon marched into Arabia and conquered the eight kings of Bazu and Hazu (Buz and Huz of Gn 22^{21}). In B.C. 674 he invaded Egypt, and again in 673. In B.C. 670 he made his great effort to conquer Egypt, drove back the Egyptian army from the frontier to Memphis, winning three severe battles. Memphis surrendered, Tirhakah fled to Thebes, and Egypt was made an Assyrian province. In B.C. 668 it revolted, and on the march to reduce it Esarhaddon died. He divided the Empire between his two sons, Ashurbanipal being king of Assyria and the Empire, while Shamash-shum-ukīn was king of Babylon as a vassal of his brother.

(*o*) *Ashurbanipal* at once prosecuted his father's reduction of Egypt to submission. Tirhakah had drawn the Assyrian governors, some of them native Egyptians, as Necho, into a coalition against Assyria. Some remained faithful, and the rising was suppressed; Tirhakah was driven back to Ethiopia, where he died B.C. 664. Tantamon invaded Egypt again, and Ashurbanipal in B.C. 662 again suppressed a rising, drove the Ethiopian out, and captured Thebes. Ashurbanipal besieged Ba'al, king of Tyre, and although unable to capture the city, obtained its submission and that of Arvad, Tabal, and Cilicia. Gyges, king of Lydia, exchanged embassies, and sent Ashurbanipal two captive Cimmerians, but he afterwards allied himself with Psammetichus, son of Necho, and assisted him to throw off the Assyrian yoke. The Minni had been restless, and Ashurbanipal next reduced them. Elam was a more formidable foe. Allying himself with the Aramæans and Chaldæans, Urtaku, king of Elam, invaded Babylonia, but he was defeated and his throne seized by Teumman. Ashurbanipal took advantage of the revolution to invade Elam and capture Susa; and after killing Teumman put Ummanigash and Tammaritu, two sons of Urtaku, on the thrones of two districts of Elam. He then took vengeance on the Aramæans, E. of the Tigris. His brother, Shamash-shum-ukīn, now began to plot for independence. He enlisted the Chaldæans, Aramæans, and Ummanigash of Elam, Arabia, Ethiopia, and Egypt. A simultaneous rising took place, and Ashurbanipal seemed likely to lose his Empire. He invaded Babylonia. In Elam, Tammaritu put to death Ummanigash and all his family, but was defeated by Indabigash, and had to flee to Assyria. Ashurbanipal defeated his opponents and laid siege to Babylon, Borsippa, Sippara, and Cutha, capturing one after the other. Shamash-shum-ukīn burnt his palace over his head, and Babylon surrendered B.C. 648. The conquest of S. Babylonia and Chaldæa was followed by campaigns against Elam, culminating in the capture of Susa and its destruction. Ashurbanipal then punished the Arabians, who, in his enforced absence in Babylonia, had invaded Palestine, overrun Edom and Moab, and threatened Damascus. The inscriptions, however, do not come down below B.C. 646, and the last years of the reign are in obscurity. Ashurbanipal appears to have reigned over Babylon as *Kandalānu*.

(*p*) *Fall of Nineveh.*—Ashurbanipal was succeeded by Ashur-etil-ilani, his son, who was succeeded by Sin-shar-ishkun, his brother. We do not know how long they reigned, but in B.C. 606 the Medes captured Nineveh and took the N. half of the Empire, while Nabopolassar, king of Babylon (since B.C. 626?), took Babylonia.

II. BABYLONIA.—**1. History.**—The history of Baby-

ASSYRIA AND BABYLONIA

lonia, as monumentally attested, falls naturally into periods: (*a*) the rise of the city-States and their struggle for supremacy; (*b*) the supremacy of Babylon and the First Babylonian Empire; (*c*) the Kassite supremacy and the rise of Assyria; (*d*) the contemporaneous kingdoms of Assyria and Babylonia; (*e*) the supremacy of Assyria to its fall; (*f*) the New Babylonian Empire.

(*a*) *The city-States.*—The prehistoric remains of the earliest settlers in Babylonia are numerous, but they have received no systematic study. The existence of a non-Semitic race, the so-called Sumerians, is at least the most convenient assumption to account for the problems of the earliest history, but it is impossible to decide how early they were intermixed with Semitic folk. It is as yet difficult to decide whether these Semites entered from the S.W., or from the side of Elam, or from N. Mesopotamia. The earliest monuments we possess show a variety of towns, each of which served as a nucleus to a wide area of villages. As populations grew, the needs of pasture for an eminently pastoral people brought about disputes as to boundaries, and wars ensued. The States entered into keen rivalry in other directions, as commerce developed. As early as B.C. 5000 the condition of things may be aptly compared with that of England under the Heptarchy. Eridu, modern Abu Shahrein, lay on the Gulf and W. of the Euphrates mouth. As the seat of the worship of Ea, god of the waters, its business was rather on the sea than on the land, but it was always reverenced as the primitive home of civilization and religion. We have no evidence that it was ever the seat of a kingdom. Some 10 miles to the W. lay Ur, modern Mugheir, then also on the Gulf, the home of the worship of Sin, the moon-god. Across the Euphrates, 30 miles to N.E., lay Larsa, modern Senkereh, where Shamash, the sun-god, was chief god. Twelve miles to the N.W. was Uruk, modern Warka (Erech), with its Ishtar cult. To the N. was Mar, modern Tel Ede. From Mar, 35 miles to the E., on the Shatt-el-Hai canal from the Tigris to the Euphrates, was Shirpurla or Lagash, modern Telloh, with its god Ningirsu. These six cities form the group with whose fortunes most of the Telloh finds are concerned. Nippur, modern Niffer, lay halfway between the Tigris and Euphrates, 60 miles from the Gulf. Its god was the very ancient En-lil, the old Bēl, 'lord of mankind.'

In the N. more than 50 miles N.W. of Nippur was Cutha, modern Tel Ibrahim, with its god Nergal, lord of the world of the dead. Further N., on the E. bank of the Euphrates, was Sippar, modern Abu Habba, with its sun-god Shamash. Near by must have been Agade. The monuments place here: Kulunu (Calneh); Uhki, later Opis; and Kish. Later, Babylon (wh. see) and its sister city Borsippa came into importance. In Upper Mesopotamia, Haran was probably not much later in its rise as a commercial capital and centre of the moon-god cult.

The history of this period has many gaps, probably because systematic exploration has been carried out only at Telloh and Nippur. The evidence for other cities consists chiefly of references made by the rulers of these two cities, who either ruled over others or were ruled over by them. A king of Ur might leave offerings at Nippur, or order some building to be done there; or the rulers of Nippur might name the king of Ur as their overlord. Out of such scattered references we must weave what history we can. About B.C. 4500 Enshagsagana, king of Kengi in S.W., offered to Bēl of Nippur the spoils of Kish. Later, Mesilim, king of Kish, made Shirpurla a subject State. About B.C. 4200 Ur-Nina was able to call himself king of Shirpurla. Eannatum and Entemena of Shirpurla won several victories over other cities and imposed treaties upon them. Soon Lugalzaggisi, king of Uhki, about B.C. 4200, could call himself king of Erech, Ur, and Larsa. He was practically ruler of the First Babylonian Empire, from the Persian Gulf to the Mediterranean. About B.C. 3850, Alusharshid, king of Kish, conquered Elam and Bara'se, to N.E. and E. of Babylonia.

Shargāni-shar-ali (Sargon I.), king of Agade, B.C. 3800, and his son Naram-Sin, B.C. 3750 according to Nabonidus, were lords of Nippur, Shirpurla, Kish, Babylon, and Erech, and ruled, or at least levied tribute, from the Mediterranean N. into Armenia, over part of Elam, and S. into Arabia and the islands of the Persian Gulf. About B.C. 3500 Ur-Bau of Shirpurla ruled in peace, as a subject prince, or *patesi*. Gudea, about B.C. 3100, erected wonderful buildings, evidently had great resources, and even conquered Anshan, in Elam, but was not a king. About B.C. 3000, Ur-Gūr and his son Dungi, kings of Ur, built temples not only in Ur but in Kutha, Shirpurla, Nippur, and Erech. A dynasty of Erech and a dynasty of Isin later claimed authority over Nippur, Ur, Eridu, and other less noted cities. The next dynasty of Ur, founded by Gungunu, included Ine-Sin, Bur-Sin II., Gamil-Sin, Dungi II. and others, B.C. 2800–2500. They warred in Syria, Arabia, and Elam.

(*b*) *Supremacy of Babylon.*—The First Dynasty of Babylon (B.C. 2396) was founded by Sumu-abi. But Larsa was under its own king Nūr-Adad, who was followed by his son Sin-iddinam. The Elamites invaded the land, and under Kudur-nanhundi carried off the goddess Nanē from Erech about B.C. 2290. Larsa became the seat of an Elamite king, Rīm-Sin, son of Kudur-mabuk, ruler of Iamutbal in W. Elam. He ruled over Ur, Eridu, Nippur, Shirpurla, and Erech, and conquered Isin. He is thought by some to be Arioch of Ellasar who with Chedorlaomer of Elam, Amraphel of Shinar, (Hammurabi?), Tidal of Goiim overthrew the kings of Sodom and Gomorrah (Gn 14). At any rate he was expelled from Larsa by Hammurabi in the 31st year of his reign. Hammurabi ruled all Mesopotamia, from the Mediterranean to the Persian Gulf. His reign was the climax of Babylonian civilization and culture. His successors maintained his Empire for a while, but then Babylonia had to submit to foreign conquest. His period is known to us by an enormous number of inscriptions and monuments, and deserves attention as characteristic of Old Babylonia at its best.

The second dynasty has left remarkably few monuments in the districts hitherto explored, and beyond its existence we know little of it.

(*c, d, e*) *Kassite supremacy, and rise of Assyria, etc.*—The third dynasty rose on the conquest of Babylonia by the Kassites, a mountaineer people from the N.E., of non-Semitic race, thought by many to be Cush in Gn 10^8. The Kassites attempted an invasion as early as the 9th year of Samsu-iluna, but were driven back. They first established themselves in the South, giving the name of Karduniash to it. They adopted the royal titles, worshipped the ancient gods, and wrote in the Babylonian language. The first king of whom we have important inscriptions was Agum-kakrime (Agum II.). He claims to rule over the Kashshu, the Akkadians, Babylonia, Ashnunak, Padan, Alman, and Gutium. He restored the images of Marduk and Zarpanit his consort, which had been carried away to Hani in N. Mesopotamia. Later we learn from the Tell el-Amarna letters that as early as the time of Amenophis III., king of Egypt, Kurigalzu of Babylon was in friendly relations with Egypt, and refused to support a Canaanite conspiracy against its rule. The relations with Assyria have been already dealt with. Kadashman-harbe co-operated with his grandfather in driving out the Sūti, who robbed the caravans from the West and Egypt. Kurigalzu II. waged successful war with Elam, captured the king Hurbatila with his own hands, and sacked Susa. With Melishihu and Marduk-apliddina I. Babylonian power revived, but fell again under their successors. The Kassites first gave Babylonia a national name and exalted the worship of Bēl of Nippur. In their time, Babylonia had trade relations not only with Mesopotamia Syria, and Egypt, but with Bactria,

and possibly China on the E., and with Eubœa on the West.

(f) New Babylonian Empire.—The new Babylonian dynasty was that of Pashe, or Isin, a native dynasty. Nebuchadrezzar I. was apparently its founder. He defeated the Elamites and wrested from them the provinces already occupied by them, and brought back the statue of Bēl which they had captured. He also reconquered the West, and left his name on the rocks of the Nahr el-Kelb. His attempts upon Assyria were unsuccessful. Henceforth Babylonia was pent up by Assyria and Elam, and merely held its own. The fifth, sixth, seventh, and eighth dynasties yield but a few names, of whose exploits we know next to nothing. The Aramæan migration swallowed up Mesopotamia and drove back both Assyria and Babylonia. The Chaldæans followed the old route from Arabia by Ur, and established themselves firmly in the S. of Babylonia. Akkad was plundered by the Sūti. Thus cut off from the West, the absence of Babylonian power allowed the rise of Philistia; Israel consolidated, Phœnicia grew into power. Hamath, Aleppo, Patin, Samal became independent States. Damascus became an Aramæan power. Egypt also was split up, and could influence Palestine but little. When Assyria revived under Adad-nirari, the whole W. was a new country and had to be reconquered. Babylonia had no hand in it. She was occupied in suppressing the Chaldæans and Aramæans on her borders; and had to call for Assyrian assistance in the time of Shalmaneser. Finally, Tiglath-pileser III. became master of Babylonia, and after him it fell into the hands of the Chaldæan Merodach-baladan, till Sargon drove him out. Under Sennacherib it was a mere dependency of Assyria, till he destroyed Babylon. Under Esarhaddon and Ashur-banipal Babylonia revived somewhat, and under Nabopolassar found in the weakness of Assyria and the fall of Nineveh a chance to recover.

Nabopolassar reckoned his reign from B.C. 625, but during the early years of his rule some Southern Babylonian cities such as Erech continued to acknowledge Sin-shar-ishkun. According to classical writers, he allied himself with the Medo-Scythian hordes, who devastated Mesopotamia and captured Nineveh. He claims to have chased from Akkad the Assyrians, who from the days of old ruled over all peoples and with their heavy yoke wore out the nations, and to have broken their yoke. The Medes seem to have made no attempt to hold Mesopotamia, and Pharaoh Necho, who was advancing from Egypt to take Syria, was defeated at Carchemish B.C. 605 by Nebuchadrezzar. So Babylonia succeeded to the W. part of the Assyrian Empire. Beyond a few building inscriptions we know little of this reign.

Nebuchadrezzar's inscriptions hardly mention anything but his buildings. He fortified Babylon, enriched it with temples and palaces; restored temples at Sippara, Larsa, Ur, Dilbat, Baz, Erech, Borsa, Kutha, Marad; cleaned out and walled with quays the Arahtu canal which ran through Babylon, and dug a canal N. of Sippara. He left an inscription on the rocks at Wady Brissa, a valley N. of the Lebanon Mountains and W. of the upper part of the Orontes; another on a rock N. of the Nahr el-Kelb, where the old road from Arvad passes S. to the cities of the coast. A fragment of his annals states that in his 37th year he fought in Egypt against Amasis.

Amel-Marduk (Evil-Merodach), his son, was not acceptable to the priests, and was murdered by his brother-in-law Neriglissar, who had married a daughter of Nebuchadrezzar, and was son of Bēl-shum-ishkun, the *rubū-imga*. He, too, was occupied chiefly with the temples of his land. Neriglissar was succeeded by his son Labashi-Marduk, a 'bad character,' whom the priests deposed, setting up Nabonidus, a Babylonian. He was an antiquary rather than a king. He rebuilt many of the oldest Babylonian temples, and in exploring their ruins found records which have helped to date early kings, as quoted above. For some reason he avoided Babylon and left the command of the army to his son Belshazzar. The Manda king, Astyages, invaded Mesopotamia, and was repelled only by the aid of Cyrus, king of Anshan, who a little later by his overthrow of Astyages became king of Persia, and then conquered Crœsus of Lydia. On the 16th of Tammuz B.C. 539 Cyrus entered Babylon without resistance. Nabonidus was spared and sent to Karmania. Belshazzar was killed. Cyrus was acceptable to the Babylonians, worshipped at the ancient shrines, glorified the gods who had given him leadership over their land and people, made Babylon a royal city, and took the old native titles, but the sceptre had departed from the Semitic world for ever.

2. Literature.—Babylonia was very early in possession of a form of writing. The earliest specimens of which we know are little removed from pictorial writing; but the use of flat pieces of soft clay, afterwards dried in the sun or baked hard in a furnace, as writing material, and strokes of a triangular reed, soon led to conventional forms of characters in which the curved lines of a picture were replaced by one or more short marks on the line. These were gradually reduced in number until the resultant group of strokes bore little resemblance to the original. The short pointed wedge-shaped 'dabs' of the reed have given rise to the name 'cuneiform.' The necessities of the engraver on stone led him to reproduce these wedges with an emphasized head that gives the appearance of nails, but all such graphic varieties make no essential difference. The signs denoted primarily ideas: thus the picture of a bull, or a bull's head, would symbolize 'power,' and all the words derived from the root 'to be powerful,' then from the word 'powerful' a syllabic value would be derived which might be used in spelling words. Thus the picture of a star might signify 'heaven,' the supreme god Anu, the idea 'above,' and be used to denote all things 'high, lofty, or divine'; its syllabic value being *an* it would be used in spelling wherever *an* had to be written. But, again, as 'god' was *ilu*, it might be used in spelling for *il*. Thus many signs have more than one value, even as syllables; they may also denote ideas. The scribes, however, used not far short of 500 signs, and there is rarely any doubt of their meaning. The values attached to the signs in many cases are not derivable from the words which denote their ideas, and it has been concluded that the signs were adopted from a non-Semitic people called the **Sumerians.** Many inscriptions cannot be read as Semitic, except by regarding them as a sort of halfway development of pictorial writing, and when read syllabically are supposed to be in the Sumerian language, which continued to be used, at any rate in certain phrases, to the last, much as Latin words and abbreviations (like £. s. d.) are used by us. There is still great obscurity about this subject, which can be solved only by the discovery of earlier or intermediate inscriptions.

At any rate, we are now able to read with certainty, except for a few obscure expressions, inscriptions which possibly date back to B.C. 6000. The earliest inscriptions hitherto recovered have been from temple archives, and naturally relate to offerings to the gods or gifts to the temples. From very early times, however, contracts such as deeds of sale, dispositions of property, marriage settlements, etc., were preserved in the archives, and many families preserved large quantities of deeds, letters, business accounts, etc. Writing and reading were very widely diffused, even women being well educated in these respects, and we have enormous collections in our museums of material relating to the private life and customs of the people at almost all periods of the history.

The Babylonians early drew up codes of laws, hymns, ritual texts, mythology, and made records of observations in all directions of natural history. The supposed influence of the heavenly bodies led to works associating celestial phenomena with terrestrial events—the so-called astrological texts which recorded astronomical observations from very early dates. A wonderful collection of

extraordinary events, as births of monsters or abnormal beings, were regarded as ominous, and an attempt was made to connect them with events in national or private history. These 'omen tablets' also deal with morals, attaching to human acts consequences evincing royal or Divine displeasure. Evil conduct was thus placed under a ban, and the punishment of it was assigned to the 'hand of God or the king.' It was a very high morality that was so inculcated: to say yea with the lips and nay in the heart, to use false weights, to betray a friend, to estrange relations, to slander or backbite, are all forbidden. The conduct of a good king, of a good man, of a faithful son of his god, are set out with great care, and culminate in the precept, 'To him that does thee wrong return a gracious courtesy.' Medicine was extensively written upon, and the number of cases prescribed for is very great. We are not able, as a rule, to recognize either the ailment or the prescription; but it seems that magical spells were often used to drive out the demon supposed to be the cause of the disease.

The Babylonians had some acquaintance with mathematics, so far as necessary for the calculation of areas, and they early drew up tables of squares and cubes, as well as of their measures of surface and capacity. To them we owe the division of time into hours, minutes, and seconds. Their measures still lack the fundamental explanation which can be afforded only by finding some measured object with its Babylonian measure inscribed upon it, in a state allowing of accurate modern measures. See Weights and Measures.

3. Religion.—The religion of Babylonia was a syncretic result of the union of a number of city and local cults. Consequently Shamash the sun-god; Sin the moon-god; Ishtar, Venus; Marduk the god of Babylon, Nabû of Borsippa, Bēl of Nippur, Nergal the god of pestilence, Nusku the new-moon crescent, and a host of others, were worshipped with equal reverence by both kings and people. Most men, however, were specially devoted to one god, determined for them by hereditary cult, or possibly personal choice: a man was 'son of his god' and the god was his 'father.' In the course of time almost every god absorbed much of the attributes of every other god, so that, with the exception of such epithets as were peculiarly appropriate to him, Shamash could be addressed or hymned in much the same words as Marduk or Sin. By some teachers all the gods were said to be Marduk in one or other manifestation of his Divine activity. The whole pantheon became organized and simplified by the identification of deities originally distinct, as a result of political unification or theological system. The ideal of Divinity was high and pure, often very poetic and beautiful, but the Babylonian was tolerant of other gods, and indisposed to deny the right of others to call a god by another name than that which best summed up for him his own conception.

Magic entered largely into the beliefs and practices of life, invading religion in spite of spiritual authority. The universe was peopled with spirits, good and bad, who had to be appeased or propitiated. Conjurations, magic spells, forecasts, omens were resorted to in order to bind or check the malign influences of demons. The augurs, conjurers, magicians, soothsayers were a numerous class, and, though frowned upon by the priests and physicians, were usually called in whenever disease or fear suggested occult influence. The priest was devoted to the service of his god, and originally every head of a family was priest of the local god, the right to minister in the temple descending in certain families to the latest times. The office was later much subdivided, and as the temple became an overwhelming factor in the city life, its officials and employees formed a large part of the population. A temple corresponded to a monastery in the Middle Ages, having lands, houses, tenants, and a host of dependants, as well as enormous wealth, which it employed on the whole in good deeds, and certainly threw its influence on the side of peace and security. Although distinct classes, the judges, scribes, physicians, and even skilled manufacturers were usually attached to the temple, and priests often exercised these functions. Originally the god, and soon his temple, were the visible embodiment of the city life. The king grew out of the high priest. He was the vicegerent of the god on earth, and retained his priestly power to the last, but he especially represented its external aspect. He was ruler, leader of the army, chief judge, supreme builder of palaces and temples, guardian of right, defender of the weak and oppressed, accessible to the meanest subject. The expansion of city territory by force of arms, the growth of kingdoms and rise of empires, led to a military caste, rapacious for foreign spoils, and domestic politics became a struggle for power between the war party of expansion and conquest and the party of peace and consolidation.

The Babylonian Literature was extensive, and much of it has striking similarities to portions of the Bible (see Creation, Deluge, etc.). It also seems to have had influence upon classical mythology.

N.B.—See Appendix note at end of volume.

C. H. W. Johns.

ASTAD, ASTATH.—1322 or 3622 of Astad's descendants are mentioned as returning with Zerubbabel (1 Es 5^{13}). He is called **Azgad** in the can. books; and 1222 descendants are mentioned in the parallel list in Ezr 2^{12}, 2322 in Neh 7^{17}. He appears as **Astath**, 1 Es 8^{38}, when a second detachment of 111 return under Ezra (= Ezr 8^{12}). Azgad appears among the leaders who sealed the covenant with Nehemiah (Neh 10^{15}).

ASTROLOGY, ASTRONOMY.—See Magic, etc.

ASTYAGES (Bel [1]) was the last king of Media. He was defeated and dethroned by Cyrus the Great in B.C. 550. J. F. McCurdy.

ASUPPIM.—1 Ch $26^{15.\ 17}$ AV; RV correctly 'storehouse.'

ASUR (AV **Assur**). 1 Es 5^{31}.—His sons returned among the Temple servants under Zerubbabel; called **Harhur**, Ezr 2^{51}, Neh 7^{53}.

ASYLUM.—See Altar, Kin [Next of], Refuge [Cities of].

ASYNCRITUS (Ro 16^{14}).—A Christian greeted by St. Paul with four others 'and the brethren that are with them,' perhaps members of the same small community. The name occurs in Rom. Ins. *CIL* vi. 12,565, of a freedman of Augustus.

ATAD (Gn 50^{10-11}).—A threshing-floor on the road to Hebron. The site is unknown.

ATAR (AV **Jatal**). 1 Es 5^{28}.—His sons were among the porters or door-keepers who returned with Zerubbabel; called **Ater**, Ezr 2^{42}, Neh 7^{45}.

ATARAH.—Wife of Jerahmeel and mother of Onam (1 Ch 2^{26}).

ATARGATIS (RV less correctly **Atergatis**).—In addition to the sanctuary of this goddess (= Gr. Derceto) at Carnion (2 Mac 12^{26}), other shrines were situated at Hierapolis and Ashkelon. Here sacred fish were kept, and at the latter place the goddess was represented as a mermaid, resembling the supposed form of the Philistine Dagon (wh. see). Some expositors, because of the ancient name of Carnion, *i.e.* Ashteroth-karnaim, have identified the goddess with Astarte. The name, however, a compound of *'Athar* (= Phœn. 'Astart, Heb. 'Ashtoreth [wh. see]) and of *'Atti* or *'Attah*, which latter term appears as a god's name upon inscriptions, shows her to be Astarte who has assimilated the functions of 'Atti. This etymology, together with her mermaid-form and the fact that fish were sacred to her, apparently makes her a personification of the fertilizing powers of water. N. Koenig.

ATAROTH.—**1.** A town not far from Dibon (Nu $32^{3.\ 33}$), probably the modern *Khirbet 'Attārūs*, to the

N.W. of *Dhībān*. **2.** A town on the S. border of the territory of the children of Joseph (Jos 16^{2}), called **Ataroth-addar** in v.^{5}, probably identical with *ed-Dārīyeh*, 1¼ mile S.W. of Bethhoron the Lower. **3.** A town not identified, towards the E. end of the same border (Jos 16^{7}). **4.** The name of a family (1 Ch. 2^{54}, RV **Atroth-beth-Joab**). W. Ewing.

ATER.—1. The ancestor of certain Temple porters who returned with Zerubbabel, Ezr $2^{16.\ 42}$, Neh $7^{21.\ 45}$; cf. Atar. **2.** (AV **Aterezias**), 1 Es 5^{15}; cf. Ezr 2^{16}. His sons returned with Zerubbabel.

ATETA (AV **Teta**), 1 Es 5^{28} = **Hatita**, Ezr 2^{42}, Neh 7^{45}.

ATHACH, 1 S 30^{30}.—Unknown town in the south of Judah.

ATHAIAH.—A man of Judah dwelling in Jerusalem (Neh 11^{4}).

ATHALIAH.—1. The only queen who occupied the throne of Judah. She was the daughter of Ahab and Jezebel, and was married to Jehoram, son of Jehoshaphat. On the accession of her son Ahaziah she became queen-mother, second only to the king in power and influence. When Ahaziah was slain by Jehu, she could not bring herself to take an inferior position, and seized the throne for herself, making it secure, as she supposed, by slaying all the male members of the house of David so far as they were within her reach. One infant was preserved, and was successfully concealed in the Temple six years. The persons active in this were Jehosheba, sister of Ahaziah, and her husband Jehoiada, the chief priest. The story of the young prince's coronation by the body-guard is one of the most dramatic in Hebrew history. The death of Athaliah at the hands of the guard forms the logical conclusion of the incident. The destruction of the temple of Baal, which is spoken of in the same connexion, indicates that Athaliah was addicted to the worship of the Phœnician Baal, introduced by her mother into Israel (2 K 11). **2.** See Gotholias. **3.** A Benjamite (1 Ch 8^{26}). H. P. Smith.

ATHARIM (Nu 21^{1}).—Either a proper name of a place from which the route was named; so RV 'the way of Atharim,' as LXX,—or, 'the way of tracks,' *i.e.* a regular caravan road. (The rendering of AV, 'way of the spies,' follows Targ. and Syr.) The 'way of Atharim' will then be that described in Nu $13^{21\text{-}25}$.

ATHENOBIUS (1 Mac $15^{28\text{-}36}$).—A friend of Antiochus VII. Sidetes. He was sent to Jerusalem to remonstrate with Simon Maccabæus for the occupation of Joppa, Gazara, the citadel of Jerusalem, and certain places outside Judæa. Simon refused the terms proposed, and Athenobius was obliged to return in indignation to the king.

ATHENS.—In the earliest times, Athens, on the Gulf of Ægina, consisted of two settlements, the town on the plain and the citadel on the hill above, the Acropolis, where the population fled from invasion. Its name and the name of its patron-goddess Athene (Athenaia) are inextricably connected. She was the maiden goddess, the warlike defender of her people, the patroness of the arts. The city lies about 3 miles from the seacoast on a large plain. When Greece was free, during the period before B.C., 146 Athens was the capital of the district Attica, and developed a unique history in Greece. It first gained distinction by the repulse of the Persian invasions in B.C. 490 and 480, and afterwards had a brilliant career of political, commercial, literary, and artistic supremacy. It was in the 5th cent. B.C. the greatest of Greek democracies, and produced the greatest sculptures and literary works the world has ever seen. In the same century Socrates lived and taught there, as did later Plato and Aristotle. The conflict with Sparta, the effects of the Macedonian invasion, and ultimately the Roman conquest of Greece, which became a Roman province under the name 'Achaia' (wh. see), lessened the political importance of Athens, but as a State it received from Rome a position of freedom and consideration worthy of its undying merits. Athens remained supreme in philosophy and the arts, and was in St. Paul's time (Ac 17^{15}–18^{1}, 1 Th 3^{1}) the seat of a famous university. A. Souter.

ATHLAI.—A Jew who married a foreign wife (Ezr 10^{28}; called in 1 Es 9^{29} **Emmatheis**).

ATIPHA (1 Es 5^{32}).—See Hatipha.

ATONEMENT.—The word 'atonement' (at-one-ment), in English, denotes the making to be at one, or reconciling, of persons who have been at variance. In OT usage it signifies that by which sin is 'covered' or 'expiated,' or the wrath of God averted. Thus, in EV, of the Levitical sacrifices (Lv 1^{4} $4^{21.\ 26.\ 31.\ 35}$ etc.), of the half-shekel of ransom-money (Ex $30^{15.\ 16}$), of the intercession of Moses (Ex 32^{30}), of the zeal of Phinehas (Nu 25^{13}), etc. In the NT the word occurs once in AV as tr. of the Gr. word *katallagē*, ordinarily and in RV rendered 'reconciliation' (Ro 5^{11}). The 'reconciliation' here intended, however, as the expression 'received,' and also v.^{10} ('reconciled to God through the death of his Son') show, is that made by the death of Christ on behalf of sinners (cf. Col 1^{20} 'having made peace through the blood of his cross'). In both OT and NT the implication is that the 'reconciliation' or 'making-at-one' of mankind and God is effected through expiation or propitiation. In its theological use, therefore, the word 'atonement' has come to denote, not the actual state of reconciliation into which believers are introduced through Christ, whose work is the means to this end, but the reconciling act itself—the work accomplished by Christ in His sufferings and death for the salvation of the world.

i. In the Old Testament.—In tracing the Scripture teaching on the subject of atonement, it is desirable to begin with the OT, in which the foundations of the NT doctrine are laid. Here several lines of preparation are to be distinguished, which, as OT revelation draws to its close, tend to unite.

1. The most general, but indispensable, preparation in the OT lies in its doctrines of the **holiness, righteousness, and grace of God**; also, of the **sin and guilt of man.** God's holiness (including in this His ethical purity, His awful elevation above the creature, and His zeal for His own honour) is the background of every doctrine of atonement. As holy, God abhors sin, and cannot but in righteousness eternally react against it. His grace shows itself in forgiveness (Ex $34^{6.\ 7}$); but even forgiveness must be bestowed in such a way, and on such conditions, that the interest of holiness shall not be compromised, but shall be upheld and magnified. Hence the bestowal of forgiveness in connexion with intercession (Moses, etc.), with sacrificial atonements, with signal vindications of the Divine righteousness (Phinehas). On man's side sin is viewed as voluntary, as infinitely heinous, as entailing a Divine condemnation that needs to be removed. All the world has gone astray from God, and the connexion in which each individual stands with his family, nation, and race entails on him a corporate as well as an individual responsibility.

2. A second important line of preparation in the OT is in the doctrine of **sacrifice.** Whatever the origins or ethnic associations of sacrifice, it is indisputable that sacrifice in the OT has a peculiar meaning, in accordance with the ideas of God and His holiness above indicated. From the beginning, sacrifice was the appointed means of approach to God. Whether, in the earliest narrative, the difference in the sacrifices of Cain and Abel had to do with the fact that the one was bloodless and the other an animal sacrifice (Gn $4^{3\text{-}5}$), or lay solely in the disposition of the offerers (v.^{7}), is not clear. Probably, however, from the commencement, a mystic virtue was attached to the shedding and presentation of the sacred element of the blood. Up to the Exodus, we have only the generic type of the burnt-offering; the Exodus itself gave birth to

the Passover, in which blood sprinkled gave protection from destruction; at the ratification of the Covenant, peace-offerings appear with burnt-offerings (Ex 20^{24} 24^{5}); finally, the Levitical ritual provided a cultus in which the idea of atonement had a leading place. Critical questions as to the age of this legislation need not detain us, for there is an increasing tendency to recognize that, whatever the date of the final codification of the Levitical laws, the bulk of these laws rest on older usages. That the propitiatory idea in sacrifice goes back to early times may be seen in such pictures of patriarchal piety as Job 1^{5} $42^{7.\ 8}$; while an atoning virtue is expressly assumed as belonging to sacrifice in 1 S 3^{14}. Cf. also allusions to sin- and guilt-offerings, and to propitiatory rites in so old a stratum of laws as the 'Law of Holiness' (Lv $19^{21.\ 22}$ 23^{19}), and in Hos 4^{8}, Mic $6^{6.\ 7}$, Ezk 40^{39} 42^{13} etc.

It is in the Levitical system that all the ideas involved in OT sacrifice come to clearest expression. The Epistle to the Hebrews admirably seizes the idea of the system. It has absolutely nothing to do with the ideas that underlay heathen rites, but rests on a basis of its own. It provides a means by which the people, notwithstanding their sin, maintain their fellowship with God, and enjoy His favour. It rests in all its parts on the idea of the holiness of God, and is designed throughout to impress on the mind of the worshipper the sense of the separation which sin has made between him and God. Even with sacrifice the people could not approach God directly, but only through the priesthood. The priests alone could enter the sacred enclosure; into the Most Holy Place even the priests were not permitted to enter, but only the high priest, and he but once a year, and then only with blood of sacrifice, offered first for himself and then for the people; all this signifying that 'the way into the holiest of all was not yet made manifest' (He $9^{7.\ 8}$).

The details of the sacrificial ritual must be sought elsewhere (see Sacrifice). It is to be noted generally that the animal sacrifices were of four kinds—the burnt-offering, the sin-offering, the guilt-offering (a species of sin-offering which included a money-compensation to the person injured), the peace-offering. The victims must be unblemished; the presentation was accompanied by imposition of hands (on meaning, cf. Lv 16^{21}); the blood, after the victim was killed, was sprinkled on and about the altar: on the Day of Atonement it was taken also within the veil. The burnt-offering was wholly consumed; in the case of the peace-offering a feast was held with part of the flesh. No sacrifice was permitted for sins done 'presumptuously,' or with 'a high hand' (Nu 15^{30}).

The design of all these sacrifices (even of the peace-offering, as features of the ritual show) was 'to make atonement' for the sin of the offerer, or of the congregation (Lv 1^{4} $4^{20.\ 26.\ 31}$ 5^{6} 17^{11} etc.). The word so translated means primarily 'to cover,' then 'to propitiate' or 'expiate.' The atoning virtue is declared in Lv 17^{11} to reside in the blood, as the vehicle of the soul or life. The effect of the offering was to 'cover' the person or offence from the eyes of a holy God, *i.e.* to annul guilt and procure forgiveness. It 'cleansed' from moral and ceremonial pollution.

From this point theories take their origin as to the precise signification of sacrificial atonement. (1) Was the act purely symbolical—an expression of penitence, confession, prayer, consecration, surrender of one's life to God? Hardly; for if, in one way, the victim is identified with the offerer, in another it is distinguished from him as a creature through whose blood-shedding expiation is made for his sin. (2) Is the idea, then, as many hold, that the blood represents a pure life put between the sinful soul and God—an innocent life covering a polluted one? In this case the death is held to be immaterial, and the manipulation of the blood, regarded as still fresh and living, is the one thing of importance. The theory comes short in not recognizing that, in any case, there is in the act the acknowledgment of God's righteous sentence upon sin—else why bring sacrifice of atonement at all? It is true that the blood represents the life, but it is surely not as life simply, but as life *taken* —life given up in death—that the blood is presented on the altar as a covering for sin. It would be hard otherwise to explain how in the NT so much stress is always laid on *death*, or the shedding of the blood, as the means of redemption. (3) There remains the view that the victim is regarded as expiating the guilt of the offerer by itself dying in his room—yielding up its life in his stead in acknowledgment of the judgment of God on his sin. This, which is the older view, is probably still the truer. The theory of Ritschl, that the sacrifices had nothing to do with sin, but were simply a protection against the terrible 'majesty' of God, is generally allowed to be untenable.

3. There is yet a third line of preparation for this doctrine in the OT, viz.: the **prophetic.** The prophets, at first sight, seem to take up a position altogether antagonistic to sacrifices. Seeing, however, that in many indirect ways they recognize its legitimacy, and even include it in their pictures of a restored theocracy (cf. Is $56^{6.\ 7}$ 60^{7} 66^{23}, Jer 17^{24-27} $33^{17.\ 18}$ etc.), their polemic must be regarded as against the abuse rather than the use. The proper prophetic preparation, however, lay along a different line from the sacrificial. The basis of it is in the idea of the Righteous Sufferer, which is seen shaping itself in the Prophets and the Psalms (cf. Ps 22). The righteous man, both through the persecutions he sustains and the national calamities arising from the people's sins which he shares, is a living exemplification of the law of the innocent suffering for the guilty. Such suffering, however, while giving weight to intercession, is not in itself atoning. But in the picture of the Servant of Jehovah in Is 53 a new idea emerges. The sufferings arising *from* the people's sins have, in this Holy One, become, through the spirit in which they are borne, and the Divine purpose in permitting them, sufferings *for* sin—vicarious, healing, expiatory. Their expiatory character is affirmed in the strongest manner in the successive verses, and sacrificial language is freely taken over upon the sufferer (vv.$^{5.\ 6.\ 8.\ 10-12}$). Here at length the ideas of prophecy and those of sacrificial law coincide, and, though there is no second instance of like clear and detailed portraiture, it is not difficult to recognize the recurrence of the same ideas in later prophecies, *e.g.*, in Zec 3^{9} 12^{10} $13^{1.\ 7}$, Dn 9^{24-26}. With such predictions on its lips OT prophecy closes, awaiting the time when, in Malachi's words, the Lord, whom men sought, would come suddenly to His Temple (3^{1}).

ii. In the New Testament.—The period between the OT and the NT affords little for our purpose. It is certain that, in the time of our Lord, even if, as some think, there were partial exceptions, the great mass of the Jewish people had no idea of a suffering Messiah, or thought of any connexion between the Messiah and the sacrifices. If atonement was needed, it was to be sought for, apart from the sacrifices, in almsgiving and other good deeds; and the virtues of the righteous were regarded as in some degree availing for the wicked. It was a new departure when Jesus taught that 'the Christ should suffer' (cf. Mk 9^{12}, Lk 24^{46}). Yet in His own suffering and death He claimed to be fulfilling the Law and the Prophets (Lk 22^{37} 24^{46}).

1. Life and Teaching of Jesus.—The main task of Jesus on earth was to reveal the Father, to disclose the true nature of the Kingdom of God and its righteousness, in opposition to false ideals, to lead men to the recognition of His Messiahship, to recover the lost, to attach a few faithful souls to Himself as the foundation of His new Kingdom, and prepare their minds for His death and resurrection, and for the after duty of spreading His gospel among mankind. The dependence of the Messianic salvation on His Person and activity is everywhere presupposed; but it was only in fragmentary and partial utterances that He was able for a time to speak of its connexion with His death. Alike in the Synoptics and in John we see how this *dénouement* is gradually led up to. At His birth it is declared of

Him that 'he shall save his people from their sins' (Mt 1^{21}); He is the promised 'Saviour' of the house of David (Lk 1^{31-33} 2^{11}); the Baptist announced Him, with probable reference to Is 53, as 'the Lamb of God, which taketh away the sin of the world' (Jn 1^{29}, cf. v.^{36}). From the hour of His definite acceptance of His vocation of Messiahship in His baptism, and at the Temptation, combined as this was with the clear consciousness of a break with the ideals of His nation, Jesus could not but have been aware that His mission would cost Him His life. He who recalled the fate of all past prophets, and sent forth His disciples with predictions of persecutions and death (Mt 10), could be under no delusions as to His own fate at the hands of scribes and Pharisees (cf. Mt. 9^{15}). But it was not simply as a 'fate' that Jesus recognized the inevitableness of His death; there is abundant attestation that He saw in it a Divine ordination, the necessary fulfilment of prophecy, and an essential means to the salvation of the world. As early as the Judæan ministry, accordingly, we find Him speaking to Nicodemus of the Son of Man being lifted up, that whosoever believeth on Him should not perish (Jn $3^{14f.}$). He sets Himself forth in the discourse at Capernaum as the Bread of Life, in terms which imply the surrender of His body to death for the life of the world (Jn $6^{32ff.}$). Later, He repeatedly speaks of the voluntary surrender of His life for His sheep (Jn $10^{11.15.17.18}$ etc.). After Peter's great confession, He makes full announcement of His approaching sufferings and death, always coupling this with His after resurrection (Mt 16^{21} $17^{22.23}$ $20^{18.19}$ ||). He dwells on the necessity of His death for the fulfilment of the Divine purpose, and is straitened till it is accomplished (Mk 10^{32}, Lk 9^{51} 12^{50}). It was the subject of converse at the Transfiguration (Lk 9^{31}). Yet clearer intimations were given. There is first the well-known announcement to the disciples, called forth by their disputes about pre-eminence: 'The Son of Man came not to be ministered unto, but to minister, and to give his life a ransom for many' (Mt 20^{28} ||). Here Christ announces that His death was the purpose of His coming, and, further, that it was of the nature of a saving ransom. His life was given to redeem the lives of others. To the same effect are the solemn words at the Last Supper. Here Christ declares that His body, symbolized by the broken bread, and His blood, symbolized by the poured-out wine, are given for His disciples for the remission of sins and the making of a New Covenant, and they are invited to eat and drink of the spiritual food thus provided (Mt $26^{26ff.}$ ||, 1 Co $11^{23ff.}$). It is reasonable to infer from these utterances that Jesus attached a supreme importance and saving efficacy to His death, and that His death was a deliberate and voluntary surrender of Himself for the end of the salvation of the world.

If we inquire, next, as to the *nature* of this connexion of Christ's death with human salvation, we can scarcely err if we assume Jesus to have understood it in the light of the great prophecy which we know to have been often in His thoughts (Is 53). Already at the commencement of His Galilæan ministry He publicly identified Himself with the Servant of Jehovah (Lk $4^{16ff.}$); the words of Is 53^{12} were present to His mind as the last hour drew near (Lk 22^{37}). What prophecy of all He studied could be more instructive to Him as to the meaning of His sufferings and death? This yields the key to His utterances quoted above, and confirms the view we have taken of their meaning. Then came the crisis-hour itself. All the Evangelists dwell minutely on the scenes of the betrayal, Gethsemane, the trial, the mocking and scourging, the crucifixion. But how mysterious are many of the elements in these sufferings (*e.g.* Mk $14^{33ff.}$ 15^{34}, Jn 12^{27}); how strange to see them submitted to by the Prince of Life; how awful the horror of great darkness in which the Christ passed away! Can we explain it on the hypothesis of a simple martyrdom? Do we not need the solution which the other passages suggest of a sin-bearing Redeemer? Finally, there is the crowning attestation to His Messiahship, and seal upon His work, in the Resurrection, and the commission given to the disciples to preach remission of sins in His name to all nations—a clear proof that through His death and resurrection a fundamental change had been wrought in the relations of God to humanity (Mt 28^{18-20}, Lk 24^{47}, Jn 20^{21-23}).

2. The Apostolic teaching.—The OT had spoken; the Son of Man had come and yielded up His life a ransom for many. He was now exalted, and had shed forth the Holy Spirit (Ac $2^{32.33}$). There remained the task of putting these things together, and of definitely interpreting the work Christ had accomplished, in the light of the prophecies and symbols of the Old Covenant. This was the task of the Apostles, guided by the same Spirit that had inspired the prophets; and from it arose the Apostolic doctrine of the atonement. Varied in standpoints and in modes of representation, the Apostolic writings are singularly consentient in their testimony to the central fact of the propitiatory and redeeming efficacy of Christ's death. St. Paul states it as the common doctrine of the Church 'how that Christ died for our sins according to the Scriptures; and that he was buried; and that he hath been raised on the third day, according to the Scriptures' (1 Co $15^{3.4}$). St. Peter, St. Paul, St. John, the Epistle to the Hebrews, the Book of Revelation, are at one here. The class of expressions in which this idea is set forth is familiar: Christ 'bore our sins,' 'died for our sins,' 'suffered for sins, the righteous for the unrighteous,' 'was made sin for us,' was 'the propitiation for our sins,' was 'a sin-offering,' 'reconciled us to God in the body of his flesh through death,' was our 'ransom,' procured for us 'forgiveness of sins through his blood,' etc. (cf. 1 P $1^{2.18.19}$ $2^{21.24}$ 3^{18}, Ro $3^{24.25}$ 5^{8-11} 8^{34}, 2 Co 5^{21}, Gal 1^{4} 3^{13} $4^{4.5}$, Eph 1^{7} $2^{13-17.20}$ 5^{2}, Col $1^{14.20-22}$, 1 Ti $2^{5.6}$, Tit 2^{14}, He 1^{3} 2^{17} $7^{26.27}$ 9^{24-28} 10^{10-14}, 1 Jn 1^{7} 2^{2} 3^{5} 4^{10}, Rev 1^{5} 5^{9} etc.). It is customary to speak of the sacrificial terms employed as 'figures' borrowed from the older dispensation. The NT point of view rather is that the sacrifices of the Old Covenant are the figures, and Christ's perfect offering of Himself to God, once for all, for man's redemption, is the reality of which the earlier sacrifices were the shadows and types (He $10^{1ff.}$).

Several things stand out clearly in the Apostolic doctrine of the atonement; each of them in harmony with what we have learned from our study of the subject in the OT. The presuppositions are the same—the holiness, righteousness, and grace of God, and the sin and guilt of man, entailing on the individual and the race a Divine condemnation and exposure to wrath which man is unable of himself to remove (wrought out most fully by St. Paul, Ro 1^{17} $3^{9.19-23}$, Gal 2^{16} etc.). The atonement itself is represented (1) as the fruit, and not the cause of God's love (Ro 5^{8}, 1 Jn 4^{10} etc.); (2) as a necessity for human salvation (Ro $3^{19ff.}$, He 9^{22}); (3) as realizing perfectly what the ancient sacrifices did imperfectly and typically (He 9. 10); as an expiation, purging from guilt and cancelling condemnation (Ro $8^{1.32.33}$, He 1^{3} 9^{11-14}, 1 Jn 1^{7}, Rev 1^{5} etc.), and at the same time a 'propitiation,' averting wrath, and opening the way for a display of mercy (Ro 3^{25}, He 2^{17}, 1 Jn 2^{2} 4^{10}); (4) as containing in itself the most powerful ethical motive—to repentance, a new life, active godliness, Christian service, etc. (Ro $6^{1ff.}$, 1 Co 6^{20}, 2 Co $5^{14.15}$, Gal 2^{20} 6^{14}, Eph $5^{1.2}$, 1 P $1^{21.22}$, 1 Jn 4^{11} etc.; with this is connected the work of the Holy Spirit, which operates these sanctifying changes in the soul); (5) as, therefore, effecting a true 'redemption,' both in respect of the magnitude of the price at which our salvation is bought (Ro 8^{32}, 1 Ti 2^{6}, He 10^{29}, 1 P $1^{18.19}$ etc.), and the completeness of the deliverance accomplished —from wrath (Ro 5^{9}, 1 Th 1^{10}), from the power of

indwelling sin (Ro $6^{6.\ 12-14}$ 8^{2} etc.), from bondage to Satan (Eph $2^{2.\ 3}$ 6^{12}, He $2^{14.\ 15}$ etc.), from the tyranny of the evil world (Gal 1^{4} 6^{14}, Tit 2^{14}, 1 P 1^{18} etc.), finally, from the effects of sin in death and all other evils (Ro 8^{23}, 1 Co $15^{20ff.}$ etc.).

In the NT teaching, therefore, the sacrifice of Christ fulfils all that was prefigurative in the OT doctrine of atonement; yet, as the true and perfect sacrifice, it infinitely transcends, while it supersedes, all OT prefigurations. The relation of the Christian atonement to that of the Law is, accordingly, as much one of contrast as of fulfilment. This is the thesis wrought out in the Epistle to the Hebrews, but its truth is recognized in all parts of the NT. The sacrifices of the OT were, in their very nature, incapable of really removing sin (He 10^{4}). Their imperfection was shown in the irrational character of the victims, in their frequent repetition, in their multiplication, etc. (He 9^{10}). In Jesus, however, every character meets, qualifying Him to make atonement for humanity—Himself at once perfect priest and perfect sacrifice: Divine dignity as Son of God (Ro 1^{4} 8^{32}, He $1^{2.\ 3}$ etc.); a perfect participation in human nature (Ro 1^{3} 8^{3}, Gal 4^{4}, He 2^{14-18} etc.); absolute sinlessness (2 Co 5^{21}, He 4^{15}, 1 P 1^{19} 2^{22}, 1 Jn 3^{5} etc.); entire human sympathy (Ro 8^{34}, He 2^{17} 4^{14-16}); as regards God, undeviating obedience and surrender to the will of the Father (Ph $2^{7.\ 8}$, He $4^{8.\ 9}$ 10^{8-10}). He is 'Jesus Christ the righteous' (1 Jn 2^{1}), and His sacrificial death is the culmination of His obedience (Ro 5^{19}, Ph 2^{8}, He $10^{9.\ 10}$).

iii. Rationale of the Atonement.—The way is now open to our last question—How was atonement for sin by Christ possible? And in what did Christ's atonement consist? The NT does not develop a theology of the atonement; yet a theology would not be possible if the NT did not yield the principles, and lay down the lines, of at least a partial solution of this problem.

A chief clue to an answer to the above questions lies in what is taught (1) of Christ's original, essential relation to the creation (cf. Jn $1^{3.\ 4}$, 1 Co 8^{6}, Eph 1^{19}, Col 1^{15-20}, He 1^{2}, Rev 1^{11} 3^{14}); and (2), as arising out of that, of His archetypal, representative relation to the race He came to save (cf. Jn $1^{4.\ 8-14}$, Ro $5^{12ff.}$, 1 Co $15^{21.\ 22.\ 45-47}$). This connects itself with what is said of Christ's Divine dignity. Deeper even than the value His Divine Sonship gives to His sacrifice is the original relation to humanity of the Creative Word which renders His unique representative relation to the race possible. It is not going beyond the representations of the NT to say, with Maurice and others, that He is the 'root of humanity.' In Him it is grounded; by Him it is sustained; from Him it derives all the powers of its development. While He condescends to take on Him the nature of created humanity, His personality is above humanity. Hence His generic relation to the race—'Son of God'—'Son of Man.' In this 'mystery of godliness' (1 Ti 3^{16}) lies the possibility of a representative atonement for the race.

For this is the next point in the solution of our problem; Christ's identification of Himself with the race He came to save is complete. It is not merely 'federal' or 'legal'; it is vital, and this in every respect. His love is unbounded; His sympathy is complete; His purpose and desire to save are unfaltering. He identifies Himself with humanity, with a perfect consciousness (1) of what He is; (2) of what the race He came to save is and needs; (3) of what a perfect atonement involves (cf. Jn $8^{14ff.}$). Himself holy, the well-beloved Son, He knows with unerring clearness what sin is, and what the mind of God is about sin. He does not shrink from anything His identification with a sinful race entails upon Him, but freely accepts its position and responsibilities as His own. He is 'made under the law' (Gal 4^{4}); a law not merely preceptive, but broken and violated, and entailing 'curse.' Identifying Himself thus perfectly with the race of men as under sin on the one hand, and with the mind of God about sin on the other, He is the natural mediator between God and man, and is alone in the position to render to God whatever is necessary as atonement for sin.

But what is necessary, and how did Christ render it? Here come in the 'theories' of atonement; most of them 'broken lights'; all needed to do full justice to the Divine reality. We would dismiss as infra-Scriptural all theories which affirm that atonement—reparation to the violated law of righteousness—is not necessary. Christ's work, while bringing forgiveness, conserves holiness, magnifies law, vindicates righteousness (Ro 3^{21-31}). Also defective are theories which seek the sole explanation of atonement in the ethical motive; purely *moral* theories. Atonement is taken here in the sense only of 'reconciliation'—the reconciliation of man to God. Scripture recognizes obstacles to salvation on the side of righteousness in God as well as in man's unwillingness, and atonement aims at the removal of both. It has the aspect of propitiation, of expiation, of *restitutio in integrum*, as well as of moral influence. It is an act of reconciliation, embracing God's relation to the world equally with the world's relation to God (cf. Ro 3^{25} $5^{11.\ 10}$, 2 Co 5^{18-21}).

There remain two views, one finding the essence of Christ's atonement in the surrender of a *holy will* to God—in the *obedience* of Christ unto death, even the death of the Cross (Maurice and others). This assuredly is a vital element in atonement, but is it the whole? Does Scripture not recognize also the submission of Christ to the endurance of the actual penal evil of sin—specially to death—as that rests in the judgment of God upon our race? All that has preceded necessitates the answer that it does. The other,—the legal or forensic view,—accordingly, puts the essence of atonement in this *penal endurance*; in the substitutionary submission of Christ to the penalty due to us for sin. But this also is one-sided and unethical, if divorced from the other, and from the recognition of the fact that not simply *endurance* of evil, but the spirit in which the evil is endured, and the response made to the Divine mind in it, is the one acceptable thing to God (cf. J. M'Leod Campbell). It is here, therefore, that we must seek the inmost secret of atonement. The innocent suffering with and for the guilty is a law from which Jesus did not withdraw Himself. In His consciousness of solidarity with mankind, He freely submitted to those evils (shame, ignominy, suffering, temptation, death) which express the judgment of God on the sin of the world, and in the experience of them—peculiarly in the yielding up of His life—did such honour to all the principles of righteousness involved, rendered so inward and spiritual a response to the whole mind of God in His attitude to the sin of the world, as constituted a perfect atonement for that sin for such as believingly accept it, and make its spirit their own. 'By the which will we have been sanctified through the offering of the body of Jesus Christ once for all' (He 10^{10}). See Propitiation, Reconciliation, Redemption.

James Orr.

ATONEMENT, DAY OF.—The Day of Atonement, with its unique and impressive ritual, is the culmination and crown of the sacrificial worship of the OT. The principal details are given in Lv 16, supplemented by 23^{26-32}, Nu 29^{7-11}, Ex 30^{10}, all from the Priests' Code, though not all, as we shall see, from the oldest strata of the priestly legislation. The date was the 10th day of the seventh month (Tishri) reckoning from evening to evening (Lv 16^{29} $23^{27ff.}$). Not only was this day a 'sabbath of solemn rest,' on which no work of any sort was to be done, but its unique place among the religious festivals of the OT was emphasized by the strict observance of a fast. The rites peculiar to 'the Day' (*Yōmā*), as it is termed in later literature, may be conveniently grouped in five stages.

(*a*) In the preparatory stage (Lv 16^{3-10}), after the

special morning sacrifices had been offered (Nu 29 7-11), the high priest selected the appointed sin- and burnt-offerings for himself and 'his house,' *i.e.* the priestly caste, then laid aside his usual ornate vestments, bathed, and robed in a simple white linen tunic and girdle. He next selected two he-goats and a ram for the people's offerings, and proceeded to 'cast lots upon the two goats; one lot for J", and the other lot for Azazel' (AV 'scapegoat,' see AZAZEL). These preparations completed, the proper expiatory rites were begun, and were accomplished in three successive stages.

(*b*) In the first stage (vv.11-14) the high priest made atonement for himself and the priesthood. After slaying the bullock of the sin-offering, he took a censer filled with live charcoal from the altar of burnt-offering and a handful of incense, and entered the Most Holy Place. Here he cast the incense on the coals, producing a cloud of smoke, by which the dwelling-place of the Most High between the Cherubim was hidden from mortal gaze (see Ex 33^{20}). This done, he returned to the court, to enter immediately, for the second time, the inner sanctuary, carrying a basin with the blood of the bullock, which he sprinkled on the front of the mercy-seat once, and seven times on the ground before the ark.

(*c*) In the second stage (vv.15-19) atonement was made in succession for the Most Holy Place, the Holy Place, and the outer court. The goat on which the lot 'for J"' had fallen was slain by the high priest, who then entered the Most Holy Place for the third time with its blood, which he manipulated as before. On his return through the Holy Place a similar ceremony was performed (v.33, cf. Ex 30^{10}), after which he proceeded, as directed in vv.18f., to 'cleanse and hallow' the altar of burnt-offering, which stood in the outer court.

(*d*) These all led up to the culminating rite in the third stage (vv.20-22). Here the high priest, placing both hands on the head of the goat allotted to Azazel, made solemn confession—the tenor of which may still be read in the Mishnic treatise *Yōmā*—of all the nation's sins. By this ceremony these sins were conceived as not only symbolically but actually transferred to the head of the goat (vv.21f., see below), which was solemnly conducted to 'a solitary land' (RV), the supposed abode of the mysterious Azazel. In NT times the goat was led to a lofty precipice in the wilderness about 12 miles east of Jerusalem, over which it was thrown backwards, to be dashed in pieces on the rocks below (*Yōmā*, vi. 6 ff.).

(*e*) We now reach the concluding stage of 'the Day's' ceremonial (vv. 23-28). The fact that the essential part was now accomplished was strikingly shown by the high priest's retiring into the Holy Place to put off 'the holy garments' (vv. 23. 32), bathe, and resume his ordinary high-priestly vestments. Returning to the court, he offered the burnt-offerings for himself and the people, together with the fat of the sin-offering. The remaining verses (26-28) deal with details, the characteristic significance of which will be discussed presently.

Reasoning from the literary history of Lv 16, from the highly developed sense of sin, and from the unique prominence given to fasting, as well as on other grounds which cannot be fully set forth here, OT scholars are now practically unanimous in regarding the Day of Atonement as an institution of the post-exilic age. There is good reason for holding—although on this point there is not the same unanimity—that it originated even later than the time of Ezra, by whom the main body of the Priests' Code was introduced. The nucleus from which the rites of Lv 16 were developed was probably the simpler ceremonial laid down by Ezekiel for the purification of the sanctuary 45$^{18ff.}$). Other elements, such as the earlier provisions for the entry of the high priest into the Most Holy Place still found in the opening verses of Lv 16, and perhaps the desire to make an annual institution of the great fast of Neh 9$^{1ff.}$, contributed to the final development of the institution as it now appears in the Pentateuch. It is doubtless much older than the earliest reference in Sir 50^{5} (*c.* B.C. 180). In NT it is referred to as 'the Fast' (Ac 27^{9}), and so occasionally by Josephus. To this day it remains the most solemn and most largely attended religious celebration of the Jewish year.

The dominating thought of Lv 16 is the awful reality and contagion of sin, which affects not only priest and people, but the sanctuary itself. Its correlate is the intense realization of the need of cleansing and propitiation, as the indispensable condition of right relations with a holy God. The details of the ritual by which these relations were periodically renewed are of surpassing interest, as showing how the loftiest religious thought may be associated with ritual elements belonging to the most primitive stages of religion. Thus, in the case before us, the efficacy of the blood, the universal medium of purification and atonement, is enhanced by cessation from labour and complete abstinence from food—the latter the outward accompaniment of inward penitence—and by the high priest's public and representative confession of the nation's sins. Yet alongside of these we find the antique conception of holiness and uncleanness as something material, and of the fatal consequences of unguarded contact with the one or the other. It is only on this plane of thought that one understands the need of the cleansing of the sanctuary, infected by the 'uncleannesses' of the people among whom it dwelt (16^{16} RV, cf. Ezk 45$^{18ff.}$). The same primitive idea of the contagion of holiness underlies the prescribed change of garments on the part of the high priest. The 'holy garments' in which the essential parts of the rite were performed had to be deposited in the Holy Place; those who had been brought into contact with the sacrosanct animals (vv.26ff.) must bathe and wash their clothes, lest, as Ezekiel says in another connexion, 'they sanctify the people with their garments' (44^{19}), *i.e.* lest the mysterious contagion pass to the people with disastrous results. The most striking illustration of this transmissibility, however, is seen in the central rite by which the nation's sins are transferred to the head of 'the goat for Azazel,' the demonic spirit of the wilderness (cf. the similar rite, Lv 14$^{6f.}$).

These survivals from the earlier stages of the common Semitic religion should not blind the modern student to the profound conviction of sin to which the institution bears witness, nor to the equally profound sense of the need of pardon and reconciliation, and of uninterrupted approach to God. By its emphasis on these perennial needs of the soul the Day of Atonement played no unimportant part in the preparation of Judaism for the perfect atonement through Jesus Christ. The author of the Epistle to the Hebrews in a familiar passage contrasts the propitiatory work of the Jewish high priest on this day with the great propitiation of Him who, by virtue of His own atoning blood, 'entered in once for all into the holy place' (He 9^{12} RV), even 'into heaven itself,' where He remains, our great High Priest and Intercessor (7$^{25f.}$). A. R. S. KENNEDY.

ATROTH-BETH-JOAB.—See ATAROTH, No. 4.

ATROTH-SHOPHAN.—A town E. of Jordan, near Aroer and Jazer, fortified by Gad (Nu 32^{35}). Some place it with Atareth 1. at '*Aṭṭārūs*. This is hardly possible. The site is unknown. W. EWING.

ATTAI.—**1.** A Jerahmeelite (1 Ch 2$^{35f.}$). **2.** A Gadite who joined David at Ziklag (1 Ch 12^{11}). **3.** A son of Rehoboam (2 Ch 11^{20}).

ATTAIN.—In Ac 27^{12} 'attain' has the literal meaning of *reach* a place (so RV). Elsewhere it has the figurative sense still in use.

ATTALIA (modern *Adalia*).—A town on the coast of Pamphylia, not far from the mouth of the river Catarrhactes, founded and named by Attalus II. It was besieged in B.C. 79 by P. Seruilius Isauricus, when in possession of the pirates. In the Byzantine period

it was of great importance. It has the best harbour on the coast. Paul and Barnabas came on there from Perga, and took ship for Antioch (Ac 14[25]).

A. Souter.

ATTALUS.—King of Pergamum (B.C. 159–138). He was one of the kings to whom the Roman Senate is said to have written in support of the Jews in the time of Simon the Maccabee (1 Mac 15[22]).

ATTENDANCE.—In 1 Mac 15[32] 'attendance' is used for a king's *retinue*; while in 1 Ti 4[13] it is used in the obsolete sense of *attention*: 'Till I come give attendance (RV 'heed') to reading.'

ATTHARATES (1 Es 9[49]).—A corruption of the title *tirshatha*; cf. Neh 8[9] and art. Attharias.

ATTHARIAS (1 Es 5[40]).—A corruption of the title *tirshatha*; cf. Ezr 2[63] and art. Atharates.

ATTIRE.—See Dress.

ATTUS (AV **Lettus**).—Son of Sechenias (1 Es 8[29]); same as **Hattush** of 1 Ch 3[22] and Ezr 8[2].

AUDIENCE.—From Lat. *audientia*; 'audience' means in AV the act of *hearing*, as Lk 20[45] 'in the audience of all the people.' Now it means the people gathered to hear.

AUGIA.—A daughter of Zorzelleus or Barzillai (1 Es 5[38]).

AUGURY.—See Magic, Divination and Sorcery.

AUGUSTAN BAND (RV), **AUGUSTUS' BAND** (AV).—See Band.

AUGUSTUS.—This name is Latin, and was a new name conferred (16th Jan. B.C. 27) by the Roman Senate on Caius Octavius, who, after his adoption by the dictator Caius Julius Cæsar, bore the names Caius Julius Cæsar Octavianus. The word means 'worthy of reverence' (as a god), and was represented in Greek by *Sebastos*, which has the same signification, but was avoided by Lk 2[1] as impious. In official documents Augustus appears as 'Imperator Cæsar Augustus.' He was born in B.C. 63, was the first Roman emperor from B.C. 23, and died in A.D. 14. He was equally eminent as soldier and administrator, and the Empire was governed for centuries very much on the lines laid down by him. In Lk 2[1] he is mentioned as having issued a decree that all inhabitants of the Roman Empire should be enrolled (for purposes of taxation). There is evidence for a 14-year cycle of enrolment in the Roman province of Egypt.

A. Souter.

AUTEAS.—A Levite (1 Es 9[48]); called in Neh 8[7] **Hodiah.**

AUTHORITY.—The capability, liberty, and right to perform what one wills. The word implies also the physical and mental ability for accomplishing the end desired. Authority refers especially to the right one has, by virtue of his office, position, or relationship, to command obedience. The centurion was 'a man under authority,' who knew what it meant to be subject to others higher in authority than himself, and who also himself exercised authority over the soldiers placed under him (Mt 8[8. 9]). In like manner 'Herod's jurisdiction' (Lk 23[7]) was his authority over the province which he ruled. Hence the authority of any person accords with the nature of his office or position, so that we speak of the authority of a husband, a parent, an apostle, a judge, or of any civil ruler. The magistrates who are called in Ro 13[1] 'the higher powers,' are strictly the highly exalted and honoured authorities of the State, who are to be obeyed in all that is right, and reverenced as the 'ministers of God for good.' God is Himself the highest authority in heaven and on earth, but He has also given unto His Son 'authority on earth to forgive sins' (Mt 9[6]) and to execute judgment (Jn 5[27]). After His resurrection Jesus Himself declared: 'All authority hath been given unto me in heaven and on earth' (Mt 28[18]; cf. Col 2[10], 1 P 3[22]). In the plural the word is used in Eph 2[2] 3[10] 6[12], Col 1[16] 2[15], to denote good and evil angels, who are supposed to hold various degrees and ranks of authority. See Dominion, Power.

M. S. Terry.

AUTHORIZED VERSION.—See English Versions.

AVARAN ('pale'?).—Surname of Eleazar, a brother of Judas Maccabæus (1 Mac 2[5] 6[43]).

AVEN.—An insulting substitute (in Ezk 30[17]) for **On** (wh. see).

AVENGER OF BLOOD.—The practice of blood-revenge has been very widely spread among societies in a certain stage of civilization, where there has been no central authority to enforce law and order, and where the certainty of retaliation has been the only guarantee for security of life. Among the Semites the custom was in full force from the earliest times, and it is still the only spring of order in Arabia. It depends for its maintenance upon the solidarity of the clan or tribe. All the members of the tribe, whatever may be the immediate parental relationship, are counted as being of one blood; a wrong done to one is a wrong done to all, to be avenged if necessary by all the offended clan upon all the clan of the offender. The phrase used by the Arabs is, 'Our blood has been shed.'

Of the form of blood-revenge that involved the whole clan or tribe in the murder of a single individual there are still traces in the OT (Jos 7[24], 2 K 9[26]). Naturally, however, the duty of avenging the shedding of blood fell primarily upon him who was nearest of kin to the slaughtered man. This next of kin was called the *gô'ēl*. The word in Hebrew law was used in a wide sense for him whose duty it was to redeem the property or the person of an impoverished or enslaved relative (Lv 25[25. 47-49], Ru 4[1ff.]), but it came to be used specially of the man who had to perform this most tragic duty of kinship. The steady effort of Hebrew law was to limit this ancient custom so as to ensure that a blood feud should not perpetuate itself to the ruin of a whole clan, and that deliberate murder and accidental homicide should not come under the same penalty. It is possible to trace with some definiteness the progress of this sentiment by which the *gô'ēl* was gradually transformed from being the irresponsible murderer of a possibly blameless manslayer to being practically the executioner of a carefully considered sentence passed by the community. See Kin [Next of].

R. Bruce Taylor.

AVITH.—A Moabite city (Gn 36[35]); site unknown.

AVOID.—This verb is used intransitively in 1 S 18[11] 'David avoided out of his presence twice.' So Coverdale translates Mt 16[23] 'Auoyde fro me, Sathan.'

AVOUCH.—This word, now obsolete except in legal phrases, means to *acknowledge*.

AVVA, AVVITES (2 K 17[24. 31]).—See Ivvah.

AVVIM.—**1.** The Avvim are spoken of in Dt 2[23] (cf. Jos 13[4]) as primitive inhabitants of S.W. Palestine near Gaza, who were absorbed by the immigrants from Caphtor (wh. see), *i.e.* the Philistines. **2.** A Benjamite town (Jos 18[23]); site unknown.

J. F. McCurdy.

AWAY WITH.—This phrase is used idiomatically with the force of a verb in Is 1[13] 'the calling of assemblies, I cannot away with,' *i.e.* tolerate. This verb is omitted (='get away with,' *i.e.* in mod. English 'get on with').

AWL.—A boring instrument, named only in connexion with the ceremony whereby a slave was bound to perpetual servitude (Ex 21[6], Dt 15[17]).

AWNING.—Correctly given by RV in Ezk 27[7] as tr. of Heb. *miksēk*, corrected from *mekassēk* (AV 'that which covered thee').

AX, AXE.—See Arts and Crafts, **1, 3.**

AXLE, AXLE-TREES.—See Wheel.

AYEPHIM.—RVm of 2 S 16[14], where the text is uncertain.

AZAEL.—Father of one of the commission appointed to investigate the foreign marriages (1 Es 9[14]); same as **Asahel** No. 4.

AZAELUS.—One of those who put away their foreign wives (1 Es 9[34]).

AZALIAH.—Father of Shaphan the scribe (2 K 22[3], 2 Ch 34[8]).

AZANIAH.—A Levite (Neh 10[9]).

AZARAIAS.—The father or, more probably, a more remote ancestor of Ezra (1 Es 8[1]); = **Seraiah** of Ezr 7[1].

AZAREL.—**1.** A Korahite follower of David at Ziklag (1 Ch 12[6]). **2.** A son of Heman (1 Ch 25[18]; called in v.[4] **Uzziel**). **3.** Prince of the tribe of Dan (1 Ch 27[22]). **4.** A son of Bani, who had married a foreign wife (Ezr 10[41]). **5.** A priest (Neh 11[13]). **6.** A Levite (Neh 12[36]).

AZARIAH.—**1.** King of Judah; see Uzziah. **2.** 2 Ch 22[6] for **Ahaziah**. **3.** 2 Ch 15[1-8] a prophet, son of Oded, who met Asa's victorious army at Mareshah, and urged them to begin and persevere in a religious reform. **4.** High priest in the reign of Solomon (1 K 4[2]). **5.** 1 Ch 6[10], Ezr 7[3], father of Amariah, who was high priest under Jehoshaphat. **6.** High priest in the reign of Uzziah (2 Ch 26[16-20]); he withstood and denounced the king when he presumptuously attempted to usurp the priests' office of burning incense upon the altar. **7.** High priest in the reign of Hezekiah (2 Ch 31[10. 13]). **8.** 1 Ch 6[13. 14], Ezr 7[1] (**Ezerias**, 1 Es 8[1]; **Azarias**, 2 Es 1[1]), son of Hilkiah the high priest. **9.** 1 K 4[5], a son of Nathan, who 'was over the officers' (v.[7]). **10.** 1 Ch 2[8], son of Ethan whose wisdom was surpassed by that of Solomon (1 K 4[31]). **11.** 1 Ch 2[38], a man of Judah who had Egyptian blood in his veins (v.[34]). **12.** 1 Ch 6[36], a Kohathite Levite (called **Uzziah** in 1 Ch 6[24]). **13. 14.** 2 Ch 21[2], Azariah and **Azariahu**, two of the sons of Jehoshaphat. **15. 16.** 2 Ch 23[1], Azariah and **Azariahu**, two of the five 'captains of hundreds' who assisted Jehoiada in the restoration of Joash. **17.** 2 Ch 28[12], one of those who supported the prophet Oded when he rebuked the army of Israel for purposing to enslave the captives of Judah. **18. 19.** 2 Ch 29[12], two Levites, a Kohathite and a Merarite. **20.** Neh 3[23], one of those who repaired the wall of Jerusalem. **21.** Neh 7[7] (called **Seraiah**, Ezr 2[2]; **Zacharias**, 1 Es 5[3]), one of the twelve leaders of Israel who returned with Zerubbabel. **22.** Neh 8[7] (**Azarias**, 1 Es 9[48]), one of those who helped the Levites to 'cause the people to understand the law.' **23.** Jer 43[2], son of Hoshaiah (the Maacathite, 40[8]), also called **Jezaniah** (40[8] 42[1]) and **Jaazaniah** (2 K 25[23]). He was one of the 'captains of the forces' who joined Gedaliah at Mizpah. **24.** The Heb. name of **Abednego** (Dn 1[6. 7. 11. 19] 2[17]).

AZARIAS.—**1.** 1 Es 9[21]; called **Uzziah**, Ezr 10[21]. **2.** 1 Es 9[43], one of those who stood beside Ezra at the reading of the Law. **3.** 1 Es 9[48] = **Azariah** of Neh 8[7]. **4.** Name assumed by the angel Raphael (To 5[12] 6[5. 13] 7[8] 9[2]). **5.** A captain of Judas Maccabæus (1 Mac 5[18. 56. 60]).

AZARU.—Ancestor of a family which returned with Zerubbabel (1 Es 5[15]).

AZAZ.—A Reubenite (1 Ch 5[8]).

AZAZEL.—The name in Hebrew and RV of the desert spirit to whom one of the two goats was sent, laden with the sins of the people, in the ritual of the Day of Atonement (Lv 16[8. 10. 26] RV, see Atonement [Day of]). Etymology, origin, and significance are still matters of conjecture. The AV designation **scapegoat** (*i.e.* the goat that is allowed to escape, which goes back to the *caper emissarius* of the Vulgate) obscures the fact that the word *Azazel* is a proper name in the original, and in particular the name of a powerful spirit or demon supposed to inhabit the wilderness or 'solitary land' (16[22] RV). The most plausible explanation of this strange element in the rite is that which connects Azazel with the illicit worship of field-spirits or satyrs (lit. 'he-goats') of which mention is made in several OT passages (Lv 17[7], Is 13[21] etc.). It may have been the intention of the authors of Lv 16 in its present form to strike at the roots of this popular belief and practice by giving Azazel, probably regarded as the prince of the satyrs, a place in the recognized ritual. Christianity itself can supply many analogies to such a proceeding. The belief that sin, disease, and the like can be removed by being transferred to living creatures, beasts or birds, is not confined to the Semitic races, and has its analogy in Hebrew ritual, in the ceremony of the cleansing of the leper (Lv 14[53]). In the Book of Enoch (*c.* B.C. 180) Azazel appears as the prince of the fallen angels, the offspring of the unions described in Gn 6[1ff.].

A. R. S. Kennedy.

AZAZIAH.—**1.** A Levite (1 Ch 15[21]). **2.** Father of Hoshea the prince of Ephraim (1 Ch 27[20]). **3.** An overseer of the Temple under Hezekiah (2 Ch 31[13]).

AZBUK.—Father of Nehemiah, who took part in rebuilding the walls (Neh 3[16]).

AZEKAH.—A city of Judah (Jos 10[10f.], 1 S 17[1], 2 Ch 11[9], Neh 11[30]), near the Valley of Elah; inhabited by the Jews after the Captivity. Site unknown.

AZEL.—**1.** A descendant of Jonathan (1 Ch 8[37f.] = 9[43f.]). **2.** An unidentified site in the neighbourhood of Jerusalem (Zec 14[5]).

AZETAS.—Head of a family which returned with Zerubbabel (1 Es 5[15]).

AZGAD.—See Astad.

AZIEI.—An ancestor of Ezra (2 Es 1[2]); called **Azariah**, Ezr 7[3], and **Ozias**, 1 Es 8[2].

AZIEL.—A Levite (1 Ch 15[20]); called in v.[18] **Jaaziel**—the full form of the name.

AZIZA.—A Jew who had married a foreign wife (Ezr 10[27]); called in 1 Es 9[28] **Zardeus**.

AZMAVETH.—**1.** A descendant of Saul (1 Ch 8[36]). **2.** One of David's mighty men (2 S 23[31], 1 Ch 11[33]), probably identical with the Azmaveth of 1 Ch 12[3] 27[25], whose sons joined David at Ziklag, and who was 'over the king's treasuries.' **3.** A Benjamite town (1 Ch 12[3], Ezr 2[24], Neh 7[28] [**Beth-azmaveth**], 1 Es 5[18] [**Bethasmoth**]); mod. *Higmeh*, S.E. of Gibeah.

AZMON.—An unknown place on the border of Judah (Nu 34[4], Jos. 15[4]); called in Jos 15[29] 19[3] **Ezem**.

AZNOTH-TABOR.—The lower slopes of Mt. Tabor, marking the S.W. corner of the portion of Naphtali (Jos 19[34]).

AZOR.—An ancestor of Jesus (Mt 1[13f.]).

AZOTUS.—See Ashdod.

AZRIEL.—**1.** Head of a 'father's house' in the E. half tribe of Manasseh (1 Ch 5[24]). **2.** A Naphtalite (1 Ch 27[19]). **3.** Father of Seraiah (Jer 36[26]).

AZRIKAM.—**1.** Son of Neariah (1 Ch 3[23]). **2.** A descendant of Jonathan (1 Ch 8[38] 9[44]). **3.** A Levite (1 Ch 9[14], Neh 11[15]). **4.** The 'ruler of the house' under Ahaz (2 Ch 28[7]).

AZUBAH.—**1.** Wife of Caleb (1 Ch 2[18f.]). **2.** Mother of Jehoshaphat (1 K 22[42] = 2 Ch 20[31]).

AZZAN.—Father of Paltiel (Nu 34[26]).

AZZUR.—**1.** One of those who sealed the covenant (Neh 10[17]). **2.** Father of Hananiah the false prophet (Jer 28[1]). **3.** Father of Jaazaniah, one of the princes of the people (Ezk 11[1]).

B

BAAL (BAALI, BAALIM).—Used generally, the word *ba'al* means 'possessor,' 'inhabitant,' 'controller.' Thus, a married man is called 'possessor of a woman' (2 S 11[26]), a ram, 'possessor of horns,' and even the citizens of a locality are denoted by this word (Jg 9[2] 20[5], 1 S 23[11f.], 2 S 21[12]). With a similar meaning, it is applied to numerous Canaanitish local deities (pl. *ba'alim*, Jg 2[11] 3[7] 8[33] 10[10], 1 S 7[4] 12[10], 1 K 18[18]; coll. sing. *ba'al*, Jg 2[13], Jer 11[13] etc.; cf. *Baal-gad, Baalath-beer*, and other compounds of this word). These gods were supposed to manifest themselves in the fertility, or in some startling natural formation, of the locality where they were worshipped. Such an animistic conception is evident from the fact that they were worshipped in high places and in groves, where such rites as prophecy (Jer 22[13]), fornication (Jer 7[9]), self-mutilation (1 K 18[28]), and child-sacrifice (Jer 19[5]) were practised under the guidance of *kemārim* or idolatrous priests (Zeph 1[4]). The same idea is also clear from the use of this word among the Arabs, who designate land irrigated by subterranean springs as 'Ba'l land,' *i.e.* land inhabited by a spirit. Gradually, however, some of these gods assimilated more abstract powers (cf. *Baal-berith*), and as their votaries extended their powers over a greater area, became *the* Baal *par excellence*, *i.e.* the controller of the destiny of his worshippers (cf. Jg 6[25], 1 K 16[31] 18[26] 19[18] [in the last three passages, Melkart of Tyre]).

So great a predilection for cults of such a nature was shown by the Israelites, from the time of their entrance into Canaan until the fall of the monarchy, that Jahweh was given this title. Thus Saul, a zealous worshipper of Jahweh, names (1 Ch 8[33]) one of his sons *Eshbaal*, and one of David's heroes is called (1 Ch 12[8]) *Bealiah* ('J" is Baal'); cf. also *Meribbaal* (1 Ch 9[40]), *Beeliada* (1 Ch 14[7]), *Jerubbaal* (Jg 8[35]). A confusion, however, of Jahweh and the Canaanitish deities seems to have taken place, to avoid which, Hosea (2[16. 17]) demands that Jahweh be no longer called *Ba'ali* ('my Baal'), but *'Ishi* ('my husband'). Under the influence of such prophecies the Israelites abandoned the use of *Baal* for *Jahweh*, and in later times developed so great an antipathy to this word that later revisers substituted *bōsheth* ('shameful thing'), not only wherever *Ba'al* occurred for the Canaanitish deities (Hos 9[10], Jer 3[24] 11[13]), but also, forgetful of its former application to Jahweh, in some of the above names (see Ishbosheth), supposing them to allude to local gods. N. Koenig.

BAAL.—**1.** A Reubenite (1 Ch 5[5]). **2.** A Gibeonite, granduncle of Saul (1 Ch 8[33]=9[36]).

BAAL, BAALAH, BAALATH.—**1.** = **Kiriath-jearim** (1 Ch 13[6], Jos 15[9. 10]). **2.** **Baalath-beer** (Jos 19[8], 1 Ch 4[33] [**Baal**]), a site in the Negeb. **3.** A city in the S. of Judah (Jos 15[29] 19[3], 1 Ch 4[29]). **4.** Mount Baalah, between Ekron and Jabneel (Jos 15[11]), possibly, as M. Clermont-Ganneau has suggested, the *river* (not mountain) of Baal (now *Nahr Rubin*). **5.** An unknown town of Dan (Jos 19[44]). **6.** An unknown town (1 K 9[18]=2 Ch 8[6]). E. W. G. Masterman.

BAAL-BERITH ('lord of the covenant').—The god of Shechem, where he had a temple (Jg 8[33] 9[4]); called also **El-berith** (9[46]). The 'covenant' may be that amongst the Canaanite peoples or that between Canaanites and Israelites; or the title may be parallel to *Zeus Horkios*, the god who presides over covenants.

BAAL-GAD (? 'Baal of fortune').—A place under Hermon, in the valley of Lebanon, referred to only as the northern limit of the country conquered by Joshua (Jos 11[17] 12[7] 13[5]). Various identifications have been suggested, all uncertain. Perhaps *Banias* is the most probable. See Cæsarea Philippi.

R. A. S. Macalister.

BAAL-HAMON.—The unknown site of Solomon's vineyard (Ca 8[11]).

BAAL-HANAN.—**1.** A king of Edom (Gn 36[38f.], 1 Ch 1[49f.]). **2.** A Gederite (1 Ch 27[28]).

BAAL-HAZOR.—Beside Ephraim, where were Absalom's sheep-shearers (2 S 13[23]). Identified by Conder with *Tell 'Asur*, a mountain 4960 ft. above the sea, an hour's ride N.E. of *Beitin*.

R. A. S. Macalister.

BAAL-HERMON (Jg 3[3], 1 Ch 5[23]).—See Hermon.

BAALE-JUDAH = Baalah, No. **1**, *i.e.* Kiriath-jearim.

BAALIS.—King of Ammon in time of Gedaliah (Jer40[14]).

BAAL-MEON.—A city of Moab assigned to Reuben. The name occurs in Nu 32[38] as *Baal-meon*, but in Jos 13[17] as **Beth-baal-meon**; both forms being found also on the Moabite Stone; cf. Ezk 25[9], 1 Ch 5[8]; also **Beth-meon** of Jer 48[23]. It is to be identified with the modern *Ma'in*, about 5 miles S.W. of Medeba. G. L. Robinson.

BAAL-PEOR.—The local deity of Mt. Peor (Dt 4[3b], Nu 25[5]). In Dt 4[3b] and Hos 9[10] it is perhaps the name of a place.

BAAL-PERAZIM.—An unidentified site near Jerusalem (2 S 5[20], 1 Ch 14[11]).

BAALSAMUS (1 Es 9[43]) = **Maaseiah** of Neh 8[7].

BAAL-SHALISHAH (2 K 4[42]).—An unknown site, probably somewhere in Mt. Ephraim.

BAAL-TAMAR.—An unknown site near Bethel and Gibeah (Jg 4[5]).

BAALZEBUB (BEELZEBUB).—A Philistine god worshipped at Ekron (2 K 1[2. 3. 6. 16]), whose name in the form of *Beelzebul* (AV and RV *Beelzebub*) has been applied to the 'prince of the devils' (Mt 10[25] 12[24], Mk 3[22], Lk 11[15. 18. 19]). The OT form, 'Baal (controller, inhabiter) of flies,' indicates either that the god was thought to appear as a fly, or that, besides oracular powers, he possessed the ability to increase or destroy these insects. On the other hand, if the NT spelling, 'Baal of the mansion (temple),' is to be preferred, it would seem to indicate that the OT form is a deliberate perversion originating with some pious scribe, who was perhaps offended at such a title being given to any other than Jahweh. Such an interpretation would account for the variation in spelling, and for its application to Satan, whose realm was called 'the house' *par excellence* among the Jews of the NT period.

N. Koenig.

BAAL-ZEPHON.—Ex 14[2], Nu 33[7]; the name of a place near the spot where the Israelites crossed the Red Sea, apparently a shrine of 'Baal of the north.' The corresponding goddess 'Baalit of the north' is named along with the god of Kesem (Goshen), in an Egyp. papyrus of the New Kingdom, as worshipped at Memphis. F. Ll. Griffith.

BAANA.—**1.** **2.** Two of Solomon's commissariat officers (1 K 4[12. 16]). **3.** Father of Zadok, one of those who rebuilt Jerusalem (Neh 3[4]). **4.** One of the leaders who returned with Zerubbabel; possibly identical with the preceding, and with Baanah No. **3**.

BAANAH.—**1.** One of the murderers of Ishbosheth (2 S 4[5-12]). **2.** A Netophathite (2 S 23[29], 1 Ch 11[30]). **3.** One of those who returned with Zerubbabel (Ezr 2[2], Neh 7[7] 10[27] [?]).

BAANI.—1 Es 9[34] = **Bani** of Ezr 10[34].

BAARA.—Wife of a Benjamite (1 Ch 8[8]).

BAASEIAH.—A Kohathite (1 Ch 6^{40}; prob. an error for **Maaseiah**).

BAASHA, king of Israel, obtained the crown by usurpation. He was an officer of the army under Nadab, son of Jeroboam I., and while the army was besieging Gibbethon, a Philistine town, he slew his king and mounted the throne. The execution of the whole house of Jeroboam followed. Baasha was a warlike ruler, and carried on war with Judah throughout his reign. The only incident preserved to us is his capture and fortification of Ramah, which led to the interference of Benhadad, as already recounted in the article Asa. Although Baasha died in his bed after a reign of twenty-four years, his dynasty was extinguished two years after his death (1 K 15^{27}–16^{6}).

H. P. Smith.

BABBLER.—Ac 17^{18} 'What will (RV 'would') this babbler say?' The Gr. word translated 'babbler' means one who picks up a precarious living, like a crow. 'The language of such persons,' says Bp. Chase, 'was, and is, plentiful and (on occasion) low'; but it is possible that the Athenians applied the word to St. Paul not on account of his speech, but his looks. In that case the modern coinage 'carpet-bagger' would give the sense.

BABE.—See Child.

BABEL, TOWER OF.—See Tower of Babel.

BABI.—Head of a family which returned with Ezra (1 Es 8^{37}); called in Ezr 8^{11} **Bebai.**

BABYLON.—*Bābel* is the Hebrew form of the native name *Bāb-ili*, 'Gate of God.' It was also *Tin-tir* or 'Seat of life,' and *E* or *E-ki*. It is likely that these names once denoted separate towns gradually incorporated. Other quarters of Babylon were Shu-anna, Tē, Shuppatu, and Litamu. According to the Heb. tradition (Gn 10^{10}), it was as old as Erech, Akkad, and Calneh. Native tradition makes it as old as Erech and Nippur, the latter being proved by excavations to date back to prehistoric times. Babylon is from *Bāb-ilani*. It lay on the E. bank of the Euphrates, part of its site being now occupied by Hillah, about 50 miles S. of Baghdad. The ruins extend for 5 miles N. to S. Bābil, the N. ruin, covers 120,000 sq. ft. and is still 90 ft. high. It covers the remains of the celebrated Esagila temple. The Mujellibeh is not much less in area, and 28 ft. high.

The Kasr contains the ruins of Nebuchadrezzar's palace, along whose E. side ran the sacred procession street, decorated with enamelled tiles representing the dragon and the *re'ēm*, to the Istar-gate at the S.E. corner. The whole was enclosed within an irregular triangle, formed by two lines of ramparts and the river, an area of about 8 sq. miles. The city crossed the river to the W., where are remains of a palace of Neriglissar. In later times it became coterminous with many other large cities, and Herodotus ascribes to it a circuit of 55 miles. The German excavations now being carried on may be expected to solve the many problems connected with the site.

From the very earliest times the kings and rulers of Babylonia worked at the building of its temples, palaces, walls, bridges, quays, etc. Hammurabi first raised it to be the capital of all Babylonia. It was sacked by Sennacherib in B.C. 689, the chief palaces, temples, and city walls levelled with the ground, and the waters of the Euphrates turned over it. Esarhaddon began to rebuild it, and it stood another long siege under his son, Ashurbanipal. Nabopolassar began its restoration; Nebuchadrezzar raised it to its height of glory. Cyrus took it without resistance, and held his court there. Darius Hystaspis besieged, took it, and destroyed its walls. Xerxes plundered it. Alexander the Great planned to restore it. Antiochus Soter actually began the restoration of its great temple. The foundation of Seleucia robbed it of its population, but the temple services continued to B.C. 29, at least. See, further, Assyria and Babylonia.

C. H. W. Johns.

BABYLON (in NT).—Babylon was apparently used by the early Church as a symbol for Rome. **1.** In Rev. (14^{8} 16^{19} 17^{5} $18^{2.\ 10.\ 21}$) its destruction is foretold, because of its sins, and particularly because of its persecution. Such identification is, however, somewhat uncertain, and rests ultimately on the improbability that the word in the connexion in which it appears can refer to the city of Mesopotamia (the word is so used in Mt 1^{11} 12^{17}, Ac 7^{43}). This basal probability is supported by the fact that Babylon is called 'mystery' in Rev 17^{5}, is said to be seated on seven mountains (v. 9), and to be a centre of commerce and authority ($18^{3\text{-}19}$ 17. 14^{8}). Rome is apparently called Babylon in *Sib. Or.* v. 143, 158; 2 Es.; Apoc. Baruch.

This identification of Babylon in Revelation with Rome dates at least from the time of Jerome. The attempt to identify it with an apostate Judah and Jerusalem can hardly be taken seriously. The fact that Revelation utilized the Jewish apocalyptic material further makes it imperative that the term symbolize a power which stood related both to Christians and Jews, in a way parallel with the relation of Babylon to the ancient Hebrew nation.

2. The reference to Babylon in 1 P 5^{13} has had three interpretations: (*a*) Babylon in Egypt, mentioned by Strabo and Epiphanius; (*b*) Babylon on the Euphrates; and (*c*) Rome. In view of the symbolic use of the word 'Babylon,' as mentioned in the foregoing, the last seems the most probable. Eusebius (*HE* II. 15) so interprets the reference, and, in view of the ancient and persistent tradition, there is nothing improbable in St. Peter's having been in Rome. This probability is strengthened by the reference to the persecution to which Christians were being subjected. Assyrian Babylon in the second half of the 1st cent. was in decay, and 1 Peter would be particularly appropriate if sent out from the seat of a persecution, such as that of Nero, or possibly of Domitian.

Shailer Mathews.

BABYLONISH GARMENT (*'addereth Shin'ār*).—Stolen by Achan (Jos 7^{21}); literally 'mantle of Shinar'; probably a cloak of embroidered stuff. Babylonia was famous in classical times for such costly garments, and the sculptures exhibit the most elaborately embroidered dresses. The Babylonian inscriptions enumerate an almost endless variety of such garments, worked in many colours.

C. H. W. Johns.

BACA, VALLEY OF.—An allegorical place-name, found only in Ps 84^{6}, where the RV renders 'Valley of Weeping.' Most probably it is no more an actual locality than is the 'Valley of the Shadow of Death' in Ps 23^{4}.

R. A. S. Macalister.

BACCHIDES.—Governor of Mesopotamia under Demetrius Soter; sent to establish Alcimus (wh. see) in the priesthood; defeated Jonathan the Maccabee, and at a later period besieged him in the fortress of Bethbasi; was finally compelled to entertain proposals for peace (1 Mac $7^{8\text{-}20}$ $9^{1\text{-}72}$ 10^{12}; Jos. *Ant.* XII. X.–XIII. i.).

BACCHURUS.—A singer who put away his foreign wife (1 Es 9^{24}).

BACCHUS.—See Dionysus.

BACENOR.—An officer of Judas Maccabæus (2Mac 12^{35}).

BADGER.—Rock badger (Lv 11^{5} RVm), *i.e. Hyrax Syriacus*. See Coney.

BADGERS' SKINS.—Mentioned (in AV) as the upper covering of the Tabernacle, etc. (Ex 25^{5} 26^{14} etc.), and materials for making sandals (Ezk 16^{10}). It is almost certain the word *tahash* is mistranslated 'badger,' as badgers, though found in Southern Palestine, are not common enough, nor are their skins suitable for such use to have been made of them. The RV **sealskins** (mg. **porpoise-skins**) hardly eases the difficulty zoologically, although having some support from etymology. Delitzsch, from the similarity of *tahash* to the Assyr. *tahshan* = 'wether,' thinks it probable that the word means

the same in Hebrew. A recent suggestion that the Heb. word *tahash* is taken from the Egyp. *ths*, meaning 'leather,' seems the most reasonable explanation.

E. W. G. Masterman.

BÆAN.—The name of an unknown tribe destroyed by Judas Maccabæus (1 Mac 5^4).

BAG, PURSE, WALLET.—Several kinds of bags, etc. may be distinguished. (*a*) The shepherd's and traveller's wallet for carrying one or more days' provisions. Like most of the other OT bags, it was made of skin, generally undressed, and was slung across the shoulder. This is the **scrip** of Mt 10^{10} and parallels (RV '**wallet**'). The former is retained by our RV (but Amer. RV 'wallet') to render a unique word, which had to be explained even to Hebrew readers by the gloss 'the shepherd's bag' (1 S 17^{40}). (*b*) A more finished article, the leather satchel which served as a **purse** (Lk 10^4, 12^{33} AV here **bag**). For illust. see Rich, *Dict. of Antiq.* 217. The purse of Mt 10^9, Mk 6^8, however, was merely the folds of the girdle (see RVm). (*c*) The merchant's bag, in which he kept his stone weights (Dt 25^{13}), also served as a purse (Pr 1^{14}). (*d*) The favourite bag for money and valuables—hence the beautiful figure 1 S 25^{29}, where 'the bundle of life'=life's jewel-case—was one which could be tied with a string (2 K 12^{10}, Pr 7^{20}, also Gn 42^{35} EV 'bundle'). If required, a seal could be put on the knot (Job 14^{17}). (*e*) Another word is used both for a large bag, capable of holding a talent of silver (2 K 5^{23}), and for the dainty lady's **satchel** (Is 3^{22} RV; AV **crisping pins**). (*f*) The 'bag' which Judas carried (Jn. 12^6 13^{29}) was rather a small box (RVm), originally used for holding the mouthpieces of wind-instruments.

A. R. S. Kennedy.

BAGO.—The head of a family which returned with Ezra (1 Es 8^{40}); called in 1 Es 5^{14} **Bagoi**, and in Ezr 2^{14} **Bigvai**.

BAGOAS.—A eunuch in the service of Holofernes (Jth $12^{11.\ 13.\ 15}$ 13^3 14^{14}).

BAGOI.—See Bago.

BAGPIPE.—See Music.

BAHARUMITE.—See Bahurim.

BAHURIM.—The place where Paltiel, son of Laish, was ordered to relinquish Michal (2 S 3^{16}); where Shimei dwelt, who cursed David in his flight (2 S 16^5); where Ahimaaz and Jonathan hid in the well from Absalom (2 S $17^{18.\ 19}$); and the home of Azmaveth, one of David's mighty men (1 Ch 11^{33}, 2 S 23^{31}, where **Barhumite** is written for **Baharumite**). It was in the tribe of Benjamin (cf. the passages relating to Shimei), and the account of David's flight, which supplies the only topographical indications, accords with the traditional identification with *Almit*, N.E. from the Mount of Olives, and about a mile beyond '*Anata* (Anathoth) from Jerusalem.

R. A. S. Macalister.

BAITERUS.—The head of a family which returned with Zerubbabel (1 Es 5^{17}).

BAKBAKKAR.—A Levite (1 Ch 9^{15}).

BAKBUK.—The ancestor of certain Nethinim who returned with Zerubbabel (Ezr 2^{51}, Neh 7^{53}); called **Acub** in 1 Es 5^{31}.

BAKBUKIAH.—**1.** A Levite (Neh 11^{17}). **2.** A porter (Neh 12^{25}).

BAKEMEATS, BAKER.—See Bread.

BAKING.—See Bread.

BAKING-PAN.—See House, § 9.

BALAAM is the subject of a remarkable and intricate narrative in Nu 22–24, connected with the arrival of Israel in the Promised Land, and the relationship of the chosen people to Moab and Ammon. Balaam was a soothsayer of Pethor on the Euphrates, called by Balak, king of Moab, to curse the Israelites, who were lying encamped in the Jordan valley. He had difficulty in undertaking the task, and he found, whenever he essayed to curse Israel, that the Lord had forbidden him to do so, and that his burden must be blessing instead. At the request of Balak he changed his position again and again on the heights above the Dead Sea, in the hope of obtaining a different oracle, but the message he had to deliver remained the same, and he foretold the future splendour of Israel ($24^{2ff.}$). Sent away by Balak without the reward promised to him if he would deliver an oracle adverse to Israel, he returned to his own land. According to one narrative, his end was full of shame. He was accused of having induced Israel to commit immorality in connexion with religious worship, a feature common in the Semitic nature-cults. It was through this charge that he became known to subsequent ages, and his name became a name of infamy (Nu $31^{8.\ 16}$, 2 P 2^{15}, Rev 2^{14}; Jos. *Ant.* vi. vi, 6). The inspiration of Balaam, contrasted with his subsequent sin and disgraceful death, his knowledge of the will of God, together with his intense desire to grasp the rewards of unrighteousness, have given rise to a notable sermon literature. Bishop Butler speaks of the self-deception by which he persuades himself that the sin he commits can be justified to conscience and to God; Newman regards him as an instance of the trouble that can come on a character, otherwise noble, when the thought of material advancement is always allowed to dwell with it; Arnold adduces him as an instance of the familiar truth that the purest form of religious belief may coexist with a standard of action immeasurably below it; F. W. Robertson makes him the text for a sermon on the perversion of gifts.

This complexity of character is, however, greatly simplified by the recognition of the various strata in the narrative. It is clear that the account of P connecting Balaam with Israel's uncleanness has nothing to do with the original narrative. This original narrative is contained in Nu 22–24. According to it, Balaam was a prophet of Pethor on the river Euphrates. His fame had spread across the wilderness, and, when Balak found himself in straits through the advance of Israel, he sent for Balaam to come and curse Israel. Balaam asked God whether he should go, and was refused permission. Balak therefore sent yet greater gifts, and once again Balaam asked counsel of God. This time permission was granted. So far there had been no indication of God's displeasure; but now follows (22^{22-34}) the story of the ass, through which God's anger at the refusal of the seer to accept His answer, given once and for all, is manifested. If, however, the reader will pass from 22^{21} to 22^{36} he will find that the narrative runs smoothly, and that he is still viewing Balaam's character from the same not unfavourable standpoint (22^{35} [cf. vv.$^{20.\ 21}$] is the effort to join up the threads of the story after the interpolation). When Balaam is brought in sight of Israel, he breaks out into a burst of praise (24^{5-9}) which rouses the wrath of Balak. Balaam justifies himself by reminding the king that he had warned him of the constraint of the Lord (v.^{13}). He then utters another oracle predicting the glory of Israel and the destruction of Moab and Ammon (vv.$^{17-19}$).

This analysis leaves out of account 22^{22-34} and 23, which seem to belong to a narrative dealing with the same facts, but placing a more sinister interpretation on the conduct of Balaam. The story of the ass is plainly out of harmony with the narrative just outlined. It is a story belonging not to the wilderness, but to a land of vineyards. It ignores the embassy that has been sent to bring Balaam back across the wilderness ($22^{15.\ 21}$), for it represents Balaam as travelling alone. It is also extremely unlikely that so long a journey as that from the Euphrates to Moab would be attempted upon an ass. Then ch. 23, with its elaborate building of altars and offering of sacrifices, seems to belong to a later date; while the constant shifting of position in the effort to secure a more favourable oracle presents Balaam in a much more unfavourable light than before. Although the details of this analysis are not certain, we may take it that the original story proceeds from J, and that the second narrative, more complicated both in psychology and ritual, is from E.

The narrative of P ascribing the sin of Baal-peor to Balaam is out of touch with both the other narratives. According to it, Balaam was a Midianitish seer who tried to bring about the ruin of Israel, in default of other means, by persuading them to give way to lust (Nu 31[8. 16]; Jos. *Ant.* VI. vi. 6). 'It has been conjectured that this story arose partly out of a difficulty on the part of the priestly narrator in conceiving of a heathen being an inspired prophet of God, partly from the need of accounting for the great sin of the Israelites' (*DB* i. 233[a]). Balaam thus seems to have fallen in the estimation of Israel from being a seer of alien race, who distinguished himself by his faithfulness to the truth he knew, to becoming synonymous with temptation of a kind that was always especially insidious for Israel.

R. Bruce Taylor.

BALADAN.—See Merodach-Baladan.

BALAH (Jos 19[3]).—An unknown town of Simeon; perhaps identical with **Bealoth** (Jos 15[24]) and **Bilhah** (1 Ch 4[29]); called **Baalah** in Jos 15[29], where it is assigned to Judah.

BALAK.—The king of Moab who hired Balaam, Nu 22–24. See Balaam.

BALAMON.—A town near Dothaim (Jth 8[3]).

BALANCE.—The Hebrew balances probably differed but little from those in use in Egypt as described by Wilkinson (*Anc. Egyp.* [1878], II. 246 f.). The main parts were the **beam** with its support, and the **scales** which were hung by cords from the ends of the equal arms of the beam. The 'pair of scales' is used in OT by a figure for the balance as a whole; only once is the beam so used (Is 46[6]). The **weights** were originally of stone and are always so termed. The moral necessity of a just balance and true weights and the iniquity of false ones are frequently emphasized by the prophets, moral teachers, and legislators of Israel; see Am 8[5], Mic 6[11], Pr 11[1] 16[11] ('a just balance and scales are the Lord's') 20[23], Lv 19[36], Dt 25[13ff.].

A. R. S. Kennedy.

BALD LOCUST.—See Locust (8).

BALDNESS.—See Cuttings in the Flesh, Hair.

BALM.—A product of Gilead (Gn 37[25] 43[11]), celebrated for its healing properties (Jer 8[22] 46[11] 51[8]), and an important article of commerce (Ezk 27[17]). Nothing is known for certain about the nature of this substance, but it is usually supposed to be some kind of aromatic gum or resin. There is now no plant in Gilead which produces any characteristic product of this nature. *Mastich*, a resin much used by the Arabs for flavouring coffee, sweets, etc., and as a chewing gum, is considered by many to be the *zorî* of Gn 37[25] (so RVm). It has been credited with healing properties. It is a product of the *Pistacia lentiscus*, a plant common in Palestine. The so-called 'Balm of Gilead' of commerce, and the substance sold by the monks of Jericho to-day, this latter a product of the *zakkūm* tree, are neither of them serious claimants to be the genuine article. See also Spice.

E. W. G. Masterman.

BALNUUS.—1 Es 9[31] = **Binnui** of Ezr 10[30].

BALSAM.—See Spice.

BALTASAR.—The Gr. form of *Belshazzar* (Dn 5, etc., Bar 1[11f.]) and of *Belteshazzar* (Dn 4, etc.).

BAMAH (only Ezk 20[29]) is the ordinary word for 'high place,' but is here retained in its Hebrew form as the word 'manna' in the parallel case Ex 16[15], on account of the word-play: 'What (*mah*) is the *ba-mah* to which ye go (*bā*)?' See, further, High Place.

A. R. S. Kennedy.

BAMOTH, BAMOTH-BAAL.—Bamoth is mentioned in Nu 21[19f.] as a station in the journey of Israel from the Arnon to the Jordan. It is prob. identical with Bamoth-baal of Nu 22[41] (RVm; AV and RV 'the high places of Baal'), to which Balaam was led by Balak. Bamoth-baal is mentioned as a Reubenite city in Jos 13[17].

BAN.—The ban is an institution from remote antiquity, which still survives in the Jewish and Christian Churches. Its earlier history has not yet received the systematic treatment which it merits. The original idea, common to all the Semitic languages, is that of withdrawing something from common use and setting it apart for the exclusive use of a deity. In Hebrew the verbal root acquired the more specialized meaning of devoting to J" His enemies and their belongings by means of fire and sword, and is usually rendered 'utterly destroy' (RVm adds 'Heb. *devote*'), while the cognate noun (*chērem*, Gr. *anathema*) is '**accursed** (AV) *or* **devoted** (RV) **thing.**' In this brief treatment of a large subject we propose to distinguish between the war ban, the justice ban, and the private ban.

1. The *war ban*, clearly the oldest form of the institution, shows various degrees of severity. The war ban of the first degree, as it may be termed, involved the destruction not only of every man, woman, and child of the enemy, but also of their entire property of every description (see Dt 13[16]). The treatment of the Amalekites in 1 S 15 is a familiar example. The case of Achan, after the ban and capture of Jericho, affords a striking illustration of the early ideas associated with the ban. Every 'devoted thing,' as henceforth the inviolate property of J", and therefore taboo, became infected with the deadly contagion of holiness (note Lv 27[28] 'most holy,' lit. 'holy of holies'). Hence by retaining part of the 'devoted thing' (*chērem*) in his tent Achan infected the whole 'camp of Israel,' with disastrous results (Jos 6[18] 7[11f.], cf. Dt 7[26]). More frequently we meet with a relaxed form of the war ban, which may be called the ban of the second degree. In this case only the men, women, and children of the doomed city were devoted, while the cattle and the rest of the spoil became the property of the victors (Dt 2[34f.] 3[6f.] 7[2], Jos 11[14]). A still further relaxation, a ban of the third degree, is contemplated by the law of Dt 20[10ff.], by which only the males are put to the ban, the women and children being spared as the perquisites of the besiegers. On the other hand, only virgins were to be spared in Nu 31[17f.] and Jg 21[11ff.], for special reasons in the latter case.

2. The *justice ban* differs from the other in being applicable only to members of the theocratic community. It appears in the oldest legislation as the punishment of the apostate Israelite (Ex 22[20]), and is extended in the Deuteronomic code to the idolatrous city (Dt 13[12ff.]). Here only the ban of the first degree was admissible. An important modification of the judicial ban is first met with in Ezr 10[8], where recalcitrant members of the community, instead of being put to death, are excommunicated, and only their 'substance forfeited' (RVm 'devoted') to the Temple treasury. This modified *chērem* became the starting-point of a long development. For these later Jewish and Christian bans see Excommunication.

3. The attenuated form of ban found in the late passage Lv 27[28] may be termed the *private ban*. The cases contemplated—'man or beast or field'—are evidently those of unusually solemn and inalienable dedications by private persons for religious purposes (cf. Nu 18[14], Ezk 44[27], and the NT 'corban'), as opposed to the redeemable dedications of the preceding verses. The latter are holy while the former are 'most holy.' The following verse, on the contrary, must refer to the justice ban.

The ban was an institution of earlier date than the Hebrew conquest, and was practised by the Moabites in its most rigorous form (see Mesha's inscription, ll. 11–17), perhaps also by the Ammonites (2 Ch 29[23]). Instances of similar practices among many half-civilized races are noted by the anthropologists. The original motive of the ban is probably reflected in Nu 21[2f.], where it is represented as the return made to J" for help against the enemy vouchsafed in

terms of a preceding vow (cf. *devotio* from *devoveo*). This has to be interpreted in the light of the primitive solidarity between a god and his clan. Even in Israel the wars of the Hebrews were the 'wars of J"' (Nu 21^{14}). 'The religious element is found in the complete renunciation of any profit from the victory, and this renunciation is an expression of gratitude for the fact that the war-God has delivered the enemy, who is His enemy also, into the hands of the conqueror' (Kautzsch in Hastings' *DB* Ext. Vol. 619^{b}). The ban was thus the outcome of religious zeal in an age when the moral sense was less advanced than the religious.

With regard to the wholesale application of the war ban in the Deuteronomic sections of Joshua, modern criticism has taught us to see in these the ideal generalizations of the exilic age. The Hebrews of the conquest were in truth the children of their age, but such a stupendous holocaust as is implied in such passages as Jos $11^{11.\ 14}$ must not be placed to their credit. The legislation of Dt., it must further be remembered, is the outcome of several centuries' experience of Canaanite heathenism, the true character of which the soil of Palestine is only now revealing, and of its baneful influence on the religion of J". In this legislation the antique institution of the ban was retained as a means of protecting the community against a serious menace to its religious life. Nevertheless the enactment of Dt $13^{12ff.}$ remained a dead letter till the age of the Maccabees (1 Mac $5^{5ff.}$).

A. R. S. Kennedy.

BAN.—The head of a family which could not trace its descent (1 Es 5^{37}, a corrupt passage).

BANAIAS.—1 Es 9^{35} = **Benaiah** of Ezr 10^{43}.

BAND.—This spelling represents three historically distinct English words: (1) 'Band' in the sense of that which binds—the rendering of a variety of Heb. words, some of which are also rendered by 'bond.' (2) 'Band' in the sense of ribbon (Ex 39^{23} RV 'binding'), or sash (Ex 28^{8} etc. RV 'girdle'). (3) 'Band' in the sense of a company of soldiers, more or less organized, also the rendering of several Heb. words, some of them changed in RV into 'companies' (Gn 32^{7}) or 'troop' (1 K 11^{24}) or 'hordes' (Ezk $38^{6.\ 9}$).

In NT 'band' in this third sense renders *speira*, the Gr. equivalent of the Roman *cohors* (for the Roman army in NT times see Legion). In the minor provinces such as Judæa the troops were entirely auxiliaries, of which the unit was the **cohort** of about 500, in certain cases 1000, men. The Roman garrison in Jerusalem consisted of such a cohort of provincials, probably 1000 strong, the 'band' which figures prominently both in the Gospels and in the Acts (Mt 27^{27}, Mk 15^{16}, Ac 21^{31}, and probably Jn $18^{3.\ 12}$—RVm 'cohort' throughout). This cohort was under the command of a Roman prefect or of a military tribune, the 'captain' or 'chief captain' (Gr. **chiliarch**) of our EV.

Another auxiliary cohort is probably that named the **Augustan band** (Ac 27^{1}—Gr. *Sebaste*; AV 'Augustus' band'). It has been much debated whether the name is a title of honour like our 'King's Own,' or a territorial designation signifying that the cohort in question was recruited from Samaria, then named Sebaste (= Augusta). Schürer (*GJV* ^{3} i. 462) curiously would combine both these views. Ramsay, on the other hand, maintains that the Augustan band was a popular, not an official, name for a body of troops detailed for some special service by the emperor (*St. Paul the Traveller*, p. 315). A similar uncertainty as to its place in the military organization of the time attaches to the **Italian band** in which Cornelius was a centurion (Ac 10^{1}). The name merely shows that it was a cohort of Roman citizens, probably volunteers, from Italy, as opposed to the ordinary cohorts of provincials.

A. R. S. Kennedy.

BANI.—**1.** A Gadite, one of David's heroes (2 S 23^{36}). **2. 3. 4.** Levites (1 Ch 6^{46}, Neh 3^{17}, cf. 8^{7} [= **Binnui** of Ezr 8^{33} and Neh 10^{9}]). **5.** A Judahite (1 Ch 9^{4}). **6.** Head of a family of exiles that returned (Ezr 2^{10} [= **Binnui** of Neh 7^{15}] 10^{29}, Neh 10^{14}). **7.** One of those who had married a foreign wife (Ezr 10^{28}). Cf. Binnui.

BANIAS.—Ancestor of Salimoth, who returned with Ezra (1 Es 8^{36}).

BANISHMENT.—See Crimes and Punishments.

BANK.—**1.** A mound of earth in siegecraft, see Fortification and Siegecraft. **2.** The table of a money-changer or banker, see Money-changers.

BANNAS.—A Levite who returned with Zerubbabel (1 Es 5^{26}).

BANNEAS.—1 Es 9^{28} = **Benaiah** of Ezr 10^{25}.

BANNER, ENSIGN, STANDARD.—That the Hebrews, like the Egyptians (Wilkinson, *Anc. Egyp.* [1878] i. 195, illust.), Assyrians, and other ancient nations, possessed military ensigns is a safe inference from Nu 2^{2}, but not from the mention of the **standard-bearer** in Is 10^{18} AV, which is to be rendered as RVm. Nothing certain, however, is known regarding them. In the former passage a distinction seems to be made—for another view see Gray's *Com. in loc.*—between the **ensigns** (lit. 'signs,' cf. Ps 74^{4} where the reference is probably to the standards of Antiochus' army) of the 'fathers' houses,' and the **standards** (the **banner** of Ca 2^{4}, cf. $6^{4.\ 10}$) of the four great divisions of the Hebrew tribes in the wilderness, according to the artificial theory of the priestly writer.

Equally uncertain is the relation of these to the *nēs*, which was a wooden pole (Nu $21^{8f.}$ AV and RV 'standard' cf. the parallelism with 'mast' Is 30^{17} RVm), set up on an eminence as a signal for the mustering of the troops. This word is of frequent occurrence both in the original sense and in the figurative sense of a rallying point, in the prophetic announcements of the future (Is 5^{26} 11^{10}, Jer 4^{21} and often). The rendering alternates between 'ensign' and 'banner.'

A. R. S. Kennedy.

BANNUS.—1 Es 9^{34} = either **Bani** or **Binnui** of Ezr 10^{38}.

BANQUET.—In AV 'banquet' and 'banqueting' always mean wine-drinking, not feasting generally. Thus Ca 2^{4} 'He brought me to the banqueting house' (Heb. 'the house of wine'), 1 P 4^{3} 'banquetings' (Gr. 'drinkings,' RV 'carousings'). See Meals.

BAPTISM.—This term, which designates a NT rite, is confined to the vocabulary of the NT. It does not occur in the LXX, neither is the verb with which it is connected ever used of an initiatory ceremony. This verb is a derivative from one which means 'to dip' (Jn 13^{26}, Rev 19^{13}), but itself has a wider meaning, = 'to wash' whether the whole or part of the body, whether by immersion or by the pouring of water (Mk 7^{4}, Lk 11^{38}). The substantive is used (*a*) of Jewish ceremonial washings (Mk 7^{4}, He 9^{10}); (*b*) in a metaphorical sense (Mk 10^{38}, Lk 12^{50}; cf. 'plunged in calamity'); and (*c*) most commonly in the technical sense of a religious ceremony of initiation.

1. The earliest use of the word 'baptism' to describe a religious and not merely ceremonial observance is in connexion with the preaching of John the Baptist, and the title which is given to him is probably an indication of the novelty of his procedure (Mt 3^{1}, Mk 8^{28}, Lk 7^{20}; cf. Mk $6^{14.\ 24}$). He 'preached the baptism of repentance for the remission of sins' (Mk 1^{4}), *i.e.* the result of his preaching was to induce men to seek baptism as an outward sign and pledge of inward repentance on their part, and of their forgiveness on the part of God. 'Baptism is related to repentance as the outward act in which the inward change finds expression. It has been disputed whether the practice of baptizing proselytes on their reception into the Jewish community was already established in the 1st cent.; probably it was. But in any case the significance of their baptism was that of ceremonial cleansing; John employed it as a symbol and a seal of moral purification. But, according to the Gospel record, John recognized the incomplete and provisional character of the baptism administered by him: 'I indeed have baptized you with water; but he shall baptize you with the Holy Ghost' (Mk 1^{8}).

2. Jesus Himself accepted baptism at the hands of John

BAPTISM

(Mk 1^9), overcoming the reluctance of the Baptist with a word of authority. That Jesus Himself baptized is nowhere suggested in the Synoptic Gospels, and is expressly denied in the Fourth Gospel (Jn 4^2); but His disciples baptized, and it must have been with His authority, equivalent to baptism by Himself, and involving admission to the society of His disciples. On the other hand, His instructions to the Twelve and to the Seventy contain no command to baptize. Christian baptism was to be baptism 'with the Spirit,' and 'the Spirit was not yet given' (Jn 7^{39}). It is recorded in Acts (1^5) that the Risen Lord foretold that this promised baptism would be received after His departure, 'not many days hence.'

3. Christian baptism, although it finds a formal analogy in the baptism of John, which in its turn represents a spiritualizing of ancient Jewish ideas of lustration, appears as in its essential character a new thing after the descent of the Holy Spirit. It is a phenomenon 'entirely unique, and in its inmost nature without any analogy, because it rises as an original fact from the soil of the Christian religion of revelation' (von Dobschütz). It has been customary to trace the institution of the practice to the words of Christ recorded in Mt 28^{19}. But the authenticity of this passage has been challenged on historical as well as on textual grounds. It must be acknowledged that the formula of the threefold name, which is here enjoined, does not appear to have been employed by the primitive Church, which, so far as our information goes, baptized 'in' or 'into the name of Jesus' (or 'Jesus Christ' or 'the Lord Jesus': Ac 2^{38} 8^{16} 10^{48} 19^5; cf. 1 Co $1^{13.\ 15}$), without reference to the Father or the Spirit. The difficulty hence arising may be met by assuming (*a*) that Baptism in the name of Jesus was equivalent to Baptism in the name of the Trinity, or (*b*) that the shorter phrase does not represent the formula used by the baptizer (which may have been the fuller one), but the profession made by the baptized, and the essential fact that he became a Christian—one of Christ's acknowledged followers. But it is better to infer the authority of Christ for the practice from the prompt and universal adoption of it by the Apostles and the infant Church, to which the opening chapters of Acts bear witness; and from the significance attached to the rite in the Epistles, and especially in those of St. Paul.

4. That baptism was the normal, and probably the indispensable, condition of being recognized as a member of the Christian community appears from allusions in the Epistles (1 Co 12^{13}, Gal 3^{27}), and abundantly from the evidence in Acts. The first preaching of the Spirit-filled Apostles on the day of Pentecost led to many being 'pricked in their heart'; and in answer to their inquiry addressed to 'Peter and the rest of the apostles,' Peter said unto them: 'Repent ye, and be baptized every one of you in the name of the Lord Jesus Christ' (Ac $2^{37.\ 38}$). 'They then that received his word were baptized' to the number of 'about three thousand souls.' At Samaria, 'when they believed Philip preaching the things concerning the kingdom of God, and the name of Jesus Christ, they were baptized, both men and women' (8^{12}),—the earliest express statement that women were admitted to the rite. In this case the gift of the Spirit did not follow until Peter and John had come down from Jerusalem, and 'prayed for them that they might receive the Holy Ghost.' 'Then they laid their hands upon them, and they received the Holy Ghost' (8^{17}). Saul was baptized by Ananias (9^{17}) in accordance with instructions recorded by himself (22^{16}), and that he might 'be filled with the Holy Ghost.' In these cases the gift followed upon baptism, with or without the laying-on of hands. In the case of Cornelius and his friends, the gift followed immediately upon the preaching of the word by Peter, and presumably its reception in the heart of those who heard; and it was after that that the Apostle 'commanded them to be baptized in the name of the Lord' (10^{48}). It was on the ground of this previous communication of the Holy Spirit that Peter subsequently justified his action in admitting these persons to baptism (11^{15-18}).

5. The preaching of St. Paul, no less than that of St. Peter, led to the profession of faith through baptism, though the Apostle seems as a rule to have left the actual administration to others (1 Co 1^{14-17}): 'for Christ sent me not to baptize, but to preach the gospel.' At Philippi Lydia was baptized 'and her household'; there also the jailor, 'and all that were his' (Ac $16^{15.\ 33}$); at Corinth, Crispus and Gaius, and 'the household of Stephanas' (1 Co $1^{14.\ 16}$).

6. The conditions antecedent to baptism are plainly set forth in Acts, viz. repentance and profession of faith in Jesus as Messiah or as 'the Lord,' following on the preaching of the word. The method of administration was baptizing with water in or into the name of Jesus. Immersion may have been employed when the presence of sufficient water made it convenient; but there is nothing to show that affusion or sprinkling was not regarded as equally valid. That baptism was 'in the name of Jesus' signifies that it took place for the purpose of sealing the new relationship of belonging to, being committed to, His Personality. The blessing attached to the rite is commonly exhibited as the gift of the Holy Spirit; the due fulfilment of the condition of baptism involved *ipso facto* the due fulfilment of the condition of receiving the Spirit. In the Epistles, this, the normal consequence of Christian baptism, is analyzed into its various elements. These are in the main three: (*a*) the 'remission of sins' (Ac 2^{38}, 1 Co 6^{11}; cf. He 10^{22}, 1 P 3^{21}). (*b*) In baptism the believer was to realize most vividly the total breach with his old life involved in his new attitude to God through Christ, a breach comparable only with that effected by death (Ro 6^{2-7}, Col 2^{12}); he was to realize also that the consequences of this fellowship with Christ were not only death to sin, but a new life in righteousness as real as that which followed on resurrection (Ro 6^4). (*c*) Baptism conferred incorporation in the one body of Christ (1 Co 12^{13}), and was thus adapted to serve as a symbol of the true unity of Christians (Eph 4^5). The body with which the believer is thus incorporated is conceived of sometimes as the corporate community of Christians, sometimes as the Personality of Christ; 'for as many of you as were baptized into Christ, did put on Christ' (Gal 3^{27}).

Conversely, as with the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper, all the elements both of qualification and of experience are sometimes summed up in a pregnant phrase and without regard to the order in which they emerge. Eph 5^{26} may find its best interpretation through comparison with Jn 15^3 (cf. 17^{17}), *i.e.* as referring to the continuous cleansing of the Church by the word; but if the reference is to baptism, then the phrase 'by the word' probably alludes to the profession of faith by the baptized, whether it took the form of 'Jesus is Lord' (Ro 4^{10}; cf. 1 Co 12^3), or whether it expressed the content of the faith more fully. In Tit 3^5, while baptism is the instrument by which salvation is realized, 'regeneration' and 'renewal' are both displayed as the work of the Holy Spirit. And here the Apostolic interpretation of the rite touches the anticipation of it in our Lord's words recorded in Jn 3^5. Faith wrought by the Spirit and faith professed by the believer are alike necessary to entrance into the Kingdom of salvation (cf. Ro $10^{9.\ 10}$).

In 1 Co 15^{29} Paul refers to the practice of persons allowing themselves to be **baptized on behalf of the dead**. Such a practice appears to have had analogies in the Greek mysteries, from which it may have crept into the Christian Church. As such it may be regarded as 'a purely magical, and wholly superstitious, vicarious reception of the sacrament.' Of such a practice the Apostle expresses no approval, but 'simply meets his opponents with their own weapons without putting their validity to the proof' (Rentdorff).

7. The NT contains no explicit reference to the baptism of infants or young children; but it does not follow that the Church of the 2nd cent. adopted an unauthorized innovation when it carried out the practice of infant baptism. There are good reasons for the silence of Scripture on the subject. The governing principle of St. Luke as the historian of the primitive Church is to narrate the advance of the Kingdom through the missionary preaching of the Apostles, and the conversion of adult men and women. The letters of the Apostles were similarly governed by the immediate occasion and purpose of their writing. We have neither a complete history, nor a complete account of the organization, of the primitive Church. But of one thing we may be sure: had the acceptance of Christianity involved anything so startling to the Jewish or the Gentile mind as a distinction between the religious standing of the father of a family and his children, the historian would have recorded it, or the Apostles would have found themselves called to explain and defend it. For such a distinction would have been in direct contradiction to the most deeply rooted convictions of Jew and of Gentile alike. From the time of Abraham onwards the Jew had felt it a solemn religious obligation to claim for his sons from their earliest infancy the same covenant relation with God as he himself stood in. There was sufficient parallelism between baptism and circumcision (cf. Col 2^{11}) for the Jewish-Christian father to expect the baptism of his children to follow his own as a matter of course. The Apostle assumes as a fact beyond dispute that the children of believers are 'holy' (1 Co 7^{14}), *i.e.* under the covenant with God, on the ground of their father's faith. And among Gentile converts a somewhat different but equally authoritative principle, that of *patria potestas*, would have the same result. In a home organized on this principle, which prevailed throughout the Roman Empire, it would be a thing inconceivable that the children could be severed from the father in their religious rights and duties, in the standing conferred by baptism. Thus it is because, to the mind of Jew and Gentile alike, the baptism of infants and children yet unable to supply the conditions for themselves was so natural, that St. Luke records so simply that when Lydia believed, she was baptized 'with her household'; when the Philippian jailor believed, he was baptized, and all those belonging to him. If there were children in these households, these children were baptized on the ground of the faith of their parents; if there were no children, then the principle took a still wider extension, which includes children; for it was the servants or slaves of the household who were 'added to the Church' by baptism on the ground of their master's faith.

8. Baptism was a ceremony of initiation by which the baptized not only were admitted members of the visible society of the disciples of Christ, but also received the solemn attestation of the consequences of their faith. Hence there are three parties to it. The part of the baptized is mainly his profession of faith in Christ, his confession 'with his heart' that he is the Lord's. The second is the Christian community or Church (rather than the person who administers baptism, and who studiously keeps in the background). Their part is to hear the profession and to grant the human attestation. The third is the Head of the Church Himself, by whose authority the rite is practised, and who gives the inward attestation, as the experience of being baptized opens in the believing soul new avenues for the arrival of the Holy Spirit.

C. A. Scott.

BAR.—Aram. word for 'son'; used, especially in NT times, as the first component of personal names, such as Bar-abbas, Bar-jesus, Bar-jonah, etc.

BARABBAS (Mt 27^{15-23} = Mk 15^{6-14} = Lk 23^{18-23} = Jn 18^{39-40}).—A brigand, probably one of those who infested the Ascent of Blood (wh. see). He had taken part in one of the insurrections so frequent during the procuratorship of Pontius Pilate; and, having been caught red-handed, was awaiting sentence when Jesus was arraigned. It was customary for the procurator, by way of gratifying the Jews, to release a prisoner at the Passover season, letting the people choose whom they would; and Pilate, reluctant to condemn an innocent man, yet afraid to withstand the clamour of the rulers, saw here a way to save Jesus. His artifice would probably have succeeded had not the malignant priests and elders incited the people to choose Barabbas.

Barabbas, like *Bartholomew* and *Bartimæus*, is a patronymic, possibly = 'the son of the father' (*i.e.* the Rabbi). According to an ancient reading of Mt 27^{17}, the brigand's name was *Jesus*. If so, there is a dramatic adroitness in Pilate's presentation of the alternative to the multitude: 'Which of the two do ye wish me to release to you—Jesus the bar-Abba or Jesus that is called Messiah?'

David Smith.

BARACHEL.—Father of Elihu, 'the Buzite' (Job $32^{2.\ 6}$).

BARACHIAH.—See Zachariah.

BARAK ('lightning').—The son of Abinoam; he lived at a time when the Canaanite kingdom of Hazor, having recovered from its overthrow by Joshua (Jos 11^{10-15}), was taking vengeance by oppressing Israel. He is called from his home in Kedesh-naphtali by Deborah to deliver Israel. He gathers an army of 10,000 men from the tribes of Naphtali and Zebulun. With this force, accompanied by Deborah, without whom he refuses to go forward, he encamps on Mt. Tabor, while the enemy under Sisera lies in the plain on the banks of the Kishon. At the word of Deborah, Barak leads his men down to battle, and completely defeats Sisera. The latter flees; Barak pursues him, but on reaching his hiding-place finds that he has been already slain by Jael, the wife of Heber. The glory of the victory, therefore, does not lie with Barak, but with Deborah, who was his guiding spirit, and with Jael who slew the enemy's leader (Jg 4. 5).

W. O. E. Oesterley.

BARBARIAN.—The Eng. word is used in Ac $28^{2.\ 4}$, Ro 1^{14}, 1 Co 14^{11}, Col 3^{11} to translate a Gr. word which does not at all connote savagery, but means simply 'foreign,' 'speaking an unintelligible language.' The expression first arose among the Greeks in the days of their independence, and was applied by them to all who could not speak Greek. When Greece became subject to Rome, it was then extended to mean all except the Greeks and Romans. There may be a touch of contempt in St. Luke's use of it, but St. Paul uses it simply in the ordinary way; see esp. 1 Co 14^{11}.

A. Souter.

BARBER.—See Hair.

BARCHUS.—1 Es 5^{32} = **Barkos** of Ezr 2^{53} and Neh 7^{55}.

BARHUMITE.—See Bahurim.

BARIAH.—A son of Shemaiah (1 Ch 3^{22}).

BAR-JESUS.—The name of 'a certain Magian, a false prophet, a Jew' (Ac 13^{6}) whom St. Paul, on his visit to Cyprus, found in the retinue of Sergius Paulus, the Roman proconsul. The title **Elymas** (v.^{8}) is equivalent to *Magus* (v.^{6}), and is probably derived from an Arabic root signifying 'wise.' The knowledge of the Magians was half-mystical, half-scientific; amongst them were some devout seekers after truth, but many were mere tricksters. In the Apostolic age such men often acquired great influence, and Bar-jesus represents, as Ramsay (*St. Paul the Traveller*, p. 79) says, 'the strongest influence on the human will that existed in the Roman world, an influence which must destroy or be destroyed by Christianity, if the latter tried to conquer the Empire.' The narrative implies that the proconsul was too intelligent to be deceived by the Magian's pretensions, the motive of whose opposition to the Christian teachers is expressed in a Bezan addition to v.^{8}, which states that Sergius Paulus 'was listening with much pleasure to

them.' In St. Paul's judgment on this false prophet (v.[10]) there is a play upon words: Elymas was full of deceit and not of wisdom; *Bar-jesus*, *i.e.* 'son of Jesus,' had become a 'son of the devil.' This is Pauline (cf. Ph 3[2]).

J. G. Tasker.

BAR-JONAH.—See Bar, and John (No. 6).

BARKOS.—Ancestor of certain Nethinim who returned with Zerubbabel (Ezr 2[53], Neh 7[55]; called **Barchus** in 1 Es 5[32]).

BARLEY (*se'ōrāh*).—As in ancient times, so to-day barley (Arab. *sha'ir*) is the most plentiful cereal of Palestine. It is the chief food of horses (1 K 4[28]), mules, and donkeys, oats being practically unknown. It is still used by the poor for making bread (Jg 7[13], Jn 6[9. 13] etc.) in the villages, but not in the cities. Barley was the special ritual offering for jealousy (Nu 5[15]). The barley harvest (Ru 1[22]) precedes that of wheat: it begins around Jericho as early as March, and in Jerusalem and the neighbourhood at the end of May.

E. W. G. Masterman.

BARN.—See Agriculture, 3, and Garner.

BARNABAS.—A surname given by the Apostles to Joseph, the Levite, whose first recorded deed (Ac 4[36]) was the selling of his property and the devotion of its proceeds to the needs of the Christian community. In this generous act St. Luke sees a proof that Barnabas is, in accordance with the popular etymology of his name, 'a son of comfort.' His kindly introduction of Saul to the Christians at Jerusalem disarmed their fears (9[27]); his broad sympathies made him quick to recognize the work of grace amongst the Greeks at Antioch (11[23]), and to discern the fitness of his gifted friend for that important sphere of service (v.[25f.]). After a year's fellowship in work at Antioch, Barnabas and Saul were appointed to convey 'the relief' sent thence to the brethren in Judæa (v.[30]). From Jerusalem they brought back, as a helper, John Mark, the cousin of Barnabas (12[12. 25]; cf. Col 4[10]).

The church at Antioch solemnly dedicated Barnabas and Saul to missionary service (13[1f.]); with John Mark the two friends sailed for Cyprus, and from this point, with three exceptions, their names occur in the order 'Paul and Barnabas.'

Harnack (*PRE*[3] ii. 411) explains these three passages thus: 14[14] is accounted for by v.[12], and 15[12. 25] by the closer association of Barnabas with the Jerusalem church.

At Lystra (14[12]), as doubtless at other places, Paul was the chief speaker; he was also the more prominent figure at the Jerusalem conference (15[2ff.], Gal 2[1-]. See Paul). Between Paul and Barnabas 'there arose a sharp contention' concerning John Mark (15[35ff.]), and they agreed to work apart; Gal 2[13] also records Paul's adverse judgment of Barnabas' attitude in regard to the circumcision controversy. But the interesting reference to Barnabas in 1 Co 9[6] affords welcome proof of St. Paul's familiarity with the work of his friend. All that is definitely known of Barnabas after he bade Paul farewell is that with his cousin Mark he 'sailed away unto Cyprus' (Ac 15[39]). For the spurious Epistle attributed to Barnabas, see Canon of NT, § 2.

J. G. Tasker.

BARODIS.—A name occurring in 1 Es 5[34] (om. in Ezr. and Neh.).

BARREL, 1 K 17[12. 14. 16] 18[33].—The large earthenware jar (so Amer. RV) used for fetching water from the well, storing grain, etc., elsewhere rendered **pitcher.** See House, 9.

BARRENNESS.—See Child.

BARSABBAS.—See Joseph (in NT), 5. and Judas (in NT), 6.

BARTACUS.—Father of Apame (1 Es 4[29]).

BARTHOLOMEW.—One of the Twelve, mentioned only in the lists of the Apostles (Mt 10[3] = Mk 3[18] = Lk 6[14]). Jerome says that he wrote a Gospel, preached to the Indians, and died at Albanopolis in Armenia. Bartholomew is really not a name, but a patronymic—*Bar Talmai* = 'son of Talmai' (cf. 2 S 13[37]). See Nathanael.

David Smith.

BARTIMÆUS (Mk 10[46]).—A blind man whom Jesus, on His way to the last Passover, healed at the gate of Jericho—as He was leaving the city, according to Mt. (20[29]) and Mk. (10[46]), who condense the story of what befell at Jericho; as He approached, according to Lk. (18[35]), whose fuller narrative preserves the proper order of events. Bartimæus is not a name but a patronymic (cf. *Bartholomew*), and St. Mark, for the benefit of his Gentile readers, gives the interpretation of it, 'the son of Timæus.' David Smith.

BARUCH ('blessed').—**1.** Son of Neriah, the son of Mahseiah and brother of Seraiah (Jer 51[59]); known from Jer 36. 45. 32[12-16] 43[3. 6]; by Jeremiah's side in the conflict with Jehoiakim (B.C. 604), again during the last siege of Jerusalem (587–6), and again amongst the Judæans left behind after the Second Captivity. 'Baruch' the scribe, named in Jer 36[26] along with 'Jeremiah the prophet,' is already the recognized attendant and amanuensis of the latter; he seems to have rendered the prophet over twenty years of devoted service. He belonged to the order of 'princes,' among whom Jeremiah had influential friends (26[16] 36[25]); Baruch's rank probably secured for Jeremiah's objectionable 'roll' (ch. 36) the hearing that was refused to his spoken words. When he cast in his lot with Jeremiah, Baruch made a heavy sacrifice; he might have 'sought great things' for himself, and is warned against his natural ambition (45[3-5]). The promise that Baruch's 'life shall be given' him 'for a prey' wherever he goes, placed where it is (45[5]), suggests that he survived his master, to act as his literary executor. The Book of Jeremiah (see art.) owes much to this loyal secretary, though the final arrangement of the materials is far from satisfactory. Tradition adds nothing of any certainty to the references of Scripture; see, however, Jos. *Ant.* x. ix. 1, 7. For the Apocryphal writings attached to his name, see Apocrypha and Apocalyptic Literature. **2.** One of the wall-builders (Neh 3[20]). **3.** A signatory to the covenant (10[6]). **4.** A Judahite (11[5]).

G. G. Findlay.

BARZILLAI.—1. The name of a chieftain of Gilead who brought supplies to David and his army at Mahanaim (2 S 17[27ff.]). After the death of Absalom, Barzillai went across Jordan with the king, but declined to go to court (19[31ff.]). On his deathbed David charged Solomon to 'shew kindness to the sons of Barzillai' (1 K 2[7]). His descendants are mentioned in Ezr 2[61], Neh 7[63]. **2.** The Meholathite whose son Adriel is said (2 S 21[8]) to have married Michal [read *Merab*, cf. 1 S 18[19]], the daughter of Saul. J. G. Tasker.

BASALOTH.—1 Es 5[31] = **Bazluth** of Ezr 2[52] or **Bazlith** of Neh 7[54].

BASCAMA.—An unknown town of Gilead (1 Mac 13[23]).

BASE.—To be base is in mod. English to be morally bad, but in AV it is no more than to be of humble birth or lowly position. In the RV, however, the word is sometimes used in the sense of morally low, mean, as Dt 13[13].

BASEMATH.—1. One of the wives of Esau. In Gn 26[34] (P) she is called the daughter of Elon the Hittite, while in Gn 36[3] (prob. R) she is said to have been Ishmael's daughter, and sister of Nebaioth. But in Gn 28[9] (P) Esau is said to have taken **Mahalath,** the daughter of Ishmael, the sister of Nebaioth, to be his wife; and in Gn 36[2] the first mentioned of Esau's wives is **Adah,** the daughter of Elon the Hittite. There is manifestly a confusion of names in the text, which cannot be satisfactorily explained. **2.** A daughter of Solomon, who became the wife of Ahimaaz, one of the king's officers (1 K 4[15]).

BASHAN.—The name of the territory east of the Sea of Tiberias. It was the kingdom of Og, the Rephaite opponent of Israel, and with his name the country is almost invariably associated (Nu 21^{33}, Dt 29^{7}, Neh 9^{22} etc.). The territory was given to the half-tribe of Manasseh, with a reservation of two cities, Golan and Be-eshterah (Ashtaroth in 1 Ch 6^{71}), for the Gershonite Levites (Jos 21^{27}). In the time of Jehu the country was smitten by Hazael (2 K 10^{33}). It was noted for mountains (Ps 68^{15}), lions (Dt 33^{22}), oak trees (Is 2^{13}, Ezk 27^{6}, Zec 11^{2}), and especially cattle, both rams (Dt 32^{14}) and bullocks (Ezk 39^{18}); the bulls and kine of Bashan are typical of cruelty and oppression (Ps 22^{12}, Am 4^{1}). The extent of the territory denoted by this name cannot be exactly defined till some important identifications can be established, such as the exact meaning of 'the region of Argob' (included in the kingdom of Og, Dt 3^{4} etc.), where were threescore great cities with walls and brazen bars, administered for Solomon by Ben-geber of Ramoth-gilead (1 K 4^{13}). It included Salecah (*Salkhat*, on the borders of the desert), Edrei (*ed-Der'a?*), Ashtaroth (perhaps *Tell Ashareh*), and Golan, one of the cities of refuge, the name of which may be preserved in the *Jaulan*, the region immediately east of the Sea of Tiberias.

R. A. S. Macalister.

BASILISK.—See Serpent.

BASKET.—The names of a round score of baskets in use in NT times are known from the Mishna (see Krengel, *Das Hausgerät in der Mishnah*, pp. 39–45). They were made of willow, rush, palm-leaf, and other materials, and used in an endless variety of ways, for purely domestic purposes, in agriculture, in gathering and serving fruit, and for collecting the alms in kind for the poor, etc. Some had handles, others lids, some had both, others had neither. In OT times the commonest basket was the *sal*, made, at least in later times, of peeled willows or palm-leaves. It was large and flat like the Roman *canistrum*, and, like it, was used for carrying bread (Gn $40^{16ff.}$) and other articles of food (Jg 6^{19}), and for presenting the meal-offerings at the sanctuary (Ex 29^{3}). Another (*dūd*), also of wicker-work, probably resembled the *calathus*, which tapered towards the bottom, and was used in fruit-gathering (Jer 24^{1}). In what respect it differed from Amos' 'basket of summer fruit' (Am 8^{1}) is unknown. A fourth and larger variety was employed for carrying home the produce of the fields (Dt 28^{5} 'blessed shall be thy basket and thy kneading-trough,' RV), and for presenting the first-fruits (26^{2}).

In NT interest centres in the two varieties of basket distinguished consistently by the Evangelists in their accounts of the feeding of the 5000 and the 4000 respectively, the *kophinos* and the *sphyris*. The *kophinos* (Mt 14^{20}) is probably to be identified with the exceedingly popular *kūphā* of the Mishna, which 'was provided with a cord for a handle by means of which it was usually carried on the back' (Krengel), with provisions, etc., and which, therefore, the disciples would naturally have with them. The Jews of Juvenal's day carried such a provision basket (*cophinus*). The *sphyris* or *spyris* (Mt 15^{37}, Mk 8^{8}), from its use in St. Paul's case (Ac 9^{25}), must have been considerably larger than the other, and might for distinction be rendered 'hamper.'

A. R. S. Kennedy.

BASON (Amer. RV 'basin').—Chiefly the large bowl of bronze used by the priests to receive the blood of the sacrificial victims (Ex 27^{3} 29^{16}, 1 K 7^{45} etc.). It is only once found in secular use, if the text is correct (Am 6^{6}, otherwise LXX, see Bowl). Similar bowls or basins of silver were presented by the princes of the congregation (Nu $7^{13ff.}$); those destined for Solomon's Temple were of gold (1 K 7^{50}). The basins of Ex 12^{22}, 2 S 17^{28} were probably of earthenware. A special wash-basin was used by Jesus for washing the disciples' feet (Jn 13^{6}).

A. R. S. Kennedy.

BASSAI (AV **Bassa**), 1 Es 5^{16}=**Bezai**, Ezr 2^{17}, Neh 7^{23}.

BASTHAI (AV **Bastai**), 1 Es 5^{31}=**Besai**, Ezr 2^{49}, Neh 7^{52}.

BAT (*'atallēph*).—The bat is a familiar object in Palestine, where no fewer than seventeen varieties have been identified. The two commonest are the horse-shoe bat (*Rhinolophus ferrum equinum*) and the long-eared bat (*Plecotus auritus*). All varieties in Palestine are insectivorous except one, the *Xantharpyia ægyptiaca*, which eats fruit. Bats flit about on noiseless wings by the score on warm summer evenings, especially in the Jordan Valley, and they are to be found in great numbers in ruins, old tombs, and caves all over the land, giving rise to many tales of ghostly habitation (Is 2^{20}). They are counted as unclean 'fowl,' though a little separate from the birds, in Lv 11^{19}, Dt 14^{18}.

E. W. G. Masterman.

BATH.—A liquid measure; see Weights and Measures.

BATH, BATHING.—The latter term is most frequently used in our EV in connexion with purification from ceremonial defilement—contact with holy things, with the dead, etc. (see article Clean and Unclean)—and in this sense denotes the washing of the body *with* water, not necessarily the total immersion of the body *in* water. Hence RV has rightly introduced 'wash' in many cases for 'bathe.' Bathing in the modern and non-religious sense is rarely mentioned (Ex 2^{5} Pharaoh's daughter, 2 S 11^{2} [RV] Bathsheba, and the curious case 1 K 22^{38}). Public baths are first met with in the Greek period—they were included in the 'place of exercise' (1 Mac 1^{14})—and remains of such buildings from the Roman period are fairly numerous. Recently a remarkable series of bath-chambers have been discovered at Gezer in connexion with a building, which is supposed to be the palace built by Simon Maccabæus (illust. in *PEFSt*, 1905, 294 f.).

The Hebrews were well acquainted with the use of mineral and vegetable alkalis for increasing the cleansing properties of water (Jer 2^{22}, RV 'soap,' 'lye'). In the History of Susanna v.^{17} is a curious reference to 'washing-balls.'

A. R. S. Kennedy.

BATH-RABBIM ('daughter of multitudes').—The name of a gate of Heshbon, near which were pools, to which the Shulammite's eyes are compared (Ca 7^{4}).

R. A. S. Macalister.

BATHSHEBA (1 Ch 3^{5} **Bathshua**: this may be a mere textual error).—Wife of Uriah the Hittite, seduced by David (2 S 11^{2-4}), and afterwards married to him (v.^{27}). The child died (12^{18}), but another son, Solomon, was subsequently born (12^{24}). Bathsheba, instigated and supported by Nathan, successfully combated Adonijah's attempt to secure the throne (1 K 1^{11-53}). Acting as Adonijah's intercessor in the matter of Abishag, she was most respectfully received by Solomon, but her unwise request was refused (1 K 2^{13-25}).

J. Taylor.

BATHSHUA.—**1.** See Bathsheba. **2.** See Shua.

BATTERING-RAM.—See Fortification and Siege-craft.

BATTLE.—See War, also names of places where the chief battles were fought.

BATTLE AXE.—See Armour, **1** (*f*).

BATTLE BOW.—See Armour, **1** (*d*).

BATTLEMENT.—See Fortification, House.

BAVVAI.—The son of Henadad (Neh 3^{18}); rebuilt a portion of the wall of Jerusalem; called in v.^{24} Binnui.

BAY.—See Colours, **3.**

BAYITH ('house').—Occurs as a proper name in Is 15^{2}, but the true sense is uncertain.

BAY-TREE (*'ezrāch*, Ps 37[35]) is probably a mistranslation for 'a tree in its native soil' (RV). Many authorities, however, would here emend the Heb. text to read *'erez*, 'cedar.' E. W. G. Masterman.

BAZLITH (Neh 7[54]), **Bazluth** (Ezr 2[52]=**Basaloth**, 1 Es 5[31]).—Founder of a family of Nethinim who returned with Zerubbabel.

BDELLIUM.—The probably correct tr. of the Heb. *bedōlach*, which in Gn 2[12] is classed with gold and onyx as a product of the land of Havilah, and in Nu 11[7] is described as characterizing the 'appearance' (RV) of manna. Bdellium is the fragrant yellow resin of the tree *Balsamodendron mukul*, growing in N.W. India, Afghanistan, Beluchistan, and at one time perhaps in Arabia. E. W. G. Masterman.

BE.—To be is to exist, as in 'To be, or not to be, that is the question.' This primary meaning is found in Gn 5[24] 'Enoch walked with God; and he was not'; He 11[6] 'he that cometh to God must believe that he is.' The auxiliary use is later. In 1611 'be' and 'are' were interchangeable auxiliary forms in the pres. indic. plu., as Ps 107[30] 'Then are they glad because they be quiet.'

BEALIAH ('J" is lord').—A Benjamite who joined David at Ziklag (1 Ch 12[5]).

BEALOTH (Jos 15[24]).—An unknown town in the extreme south of Judah. See Balah.

BEAM.—1. A tree roughly trimmed serving as support of the flat roof of an Eastern house (2 K 6[2. 5], Ezr 6[11] RV, Mt 7[3ff.], Lk 6[41f.]), or more elaborately dressed (2 Ch 34[11] RV, Ca 1[17]) and gilded (2 Ch 3[7]). See House, Mote. **2.** The weaver's beam (see Spinning and Weaving). **3.** See Balance.

BEANS (*pōl*, Arab. *fūl*).—A very common and popular vegetable in Palestine, used from ancient times; they are the seeds of the *Vicia faba*. The bean plant, which is sown in Oct. or Nov., is in blossom in early spring, when its sweet perfume fills the air. Beans are gathered young and eaten, pod and seed together, cooked with meat; or the fully mature beans are cooked with fat or oil. As the native of Palestine takes little meat, such leguminous plants are a necessary ingredient of his diet (2 S 17[28]). In Ezk 4[9] we read of beans as being mixed with barley, lentils, millet, and fitches to make bread. E. W. G. Masterman.

BEAR (*dōb*).—The Syrian bear (*Ursus syriacus*, Arab. *dūbb*) is still fairly common in Hermon and the Anti-Lebanon, and is occasionally found in the Lebanon and east of the Jordan; it is practically extinct in Palestine. It is smaller and of a lighter colour than the brown bear (*Ursus arctos*). It is a somewhat solitary animal, eating vegetables, fruit, and honey, but, when hungry, attacking sheep (1 S 17[34-36]) and occasionally, but very rarely, to-day at any rate, human beings (2 K 2[24]). The fierceness of a bear robbed of her whelps (2 S 17[8], Pr 17[12], Hos 13[8]) is well known. Next to the lion, the bear was considered the most dangerous of animals to encounter (Pr 28[15]), and that it should be subdued was to be one of the wonders of the Messiah's kingdom (Is 11[7]).
E. W. G. Masterman.

BEARD.—See Hair.

BEAST.—1. In OT (1) *behēmāh*, commonly used for a quadruped, sometimes tr. 'cattle'; see Gn 6[7] 7[2], Ex 9[9. 10. 25], Lv 11[2] etc. (2) *chayyāh*, used of animals in general but specially 'wild beasts'; see Gn 7[14] 8[1] 9[2] etc. (3) *be'ĕr* sometimes tr. 'beasts' and sometimes 'cattle'; see Gn 45[17], Ex 22[5] etc. (4) *zīz*, 'wild beasts,' Ps 50[11] 80[13].

2. In NT (1) *thērion*: Mk 1[13], Ac 28[4] (a viper), Tit 1[12], He 12[20], Ja 3[7], and over 30 times in Rev. (2) *zōon*, of the 'beasts' (AV), or 'living creatures' (RV), round about the throne (Rev 5. 6. 8. 11, etc.).
E. W. G. Masterman.

BEAST (in Apocalypse).—In Revelation, particularly ch. 23, are symbolic pictures of two beasts who are represented as the arch-opponents of the Christians. The first beast demands worship, and is said to have as his number 666—a numerical symbol most easily referred to the Emperor Nero, or the Roman Empire. In the former case the reference would be undoubtedly to the myth of Nero *redivivus*, and this is, on the whole, the most probable interpretation.

If instead of 666 we read with Zahn, O. Holtzmann, Spitta, and Erbes, 616, the number would be the equivalent of Gaius Cæsar, who in A.D. 39 ordered the procurator Petronius to set up his statue in the Temple of Jerusalem. This view is, in a way, favoured not only by textual variations, but by the fact that Revelation has used so much Jewish apocalyptic material. However this may be, it seems more probable that the reference in Rev 17[10-11], as re-edited by the Christian writer, refers to Nero *redivivus*, the incarnation of the persecuting Roman Empire, the two together standing respectively as the Antichrist and his kingdom over against the Messiah and His kingdom. As in all apocalyptic writings, a definite historical ruler is a representative of an empire. Until the Messiah comes His subjects are at the mercy of His great enemy.

The present difficulty in making the identification is due not only to the process of redaction, but also to the highly complex and, for the modern mind, all but unintelligible fusion of the various elements of the Antichrist belief (see Antichrist). Shailer Mathews.

BEATING.—See Crimes and Punishments, § 9.

BEATITUDES.—This word comes from the Latin abstract *beatitudo*, used in Vulg. of Ro 4[6], where David is said to 'pronounce the beatitude' or blessedness of the forgiven soul. Since the time of Ambrose the term has been used to describe the particular collection of sayings (cast in the form of which Ps 32[1] is an OT specimen) in which Christ depicts the qualities to be found in members of His kingdom—as an introduction to the discourse known as the Sermon on the Mount (Mt 5[3-12]=Lk 6[20-23]). Each of these sayings follows the form 'Blessed (happy) are . . ., because . . .' Mt. records eight of these general declarations, with a special application of the last of them; Lk. has only four, to which are added four corresponding Woes. There is no guarantee that even Mt. gives all the Beatitudes pronounced by Jesus on different occasions, or again that those he does give were all pronounced on that occasion. It is at least possible that in other parts of the NT we have quotations from sayings of the same kind. Thus 1 P 4[14], Ja 1[12], Rev 14[13] might easily be supposed to rest on words of Christ.

According to the prevailing view of the history of our Gospels, the Beatitudes are derived from an early collection of *Logia*, or sayings of Jesus, in the original Aramaic language. To a very large extent the authors of Mt. and Lk. seem to have used identical translations of this document; but in the Beatitudes there is a considerable divergence, together with some significant agreements in phraseology. Putting aside Nos. 3, 5, 6, 7 in Mt., which have no counterparts in Lk., we see the following main lines of difference—(1) Lk.'s are in the second person, Mt.'s in the third, except in the verses which apply No. 8 (5[11. 12]); (2) Lk.'s are apparently external: the poor, the hungry, those that weep, receive felicitation as such, instead of the commiseration ('Woe') which the world would give them. But since in Lk. disciples are addressed, the divergence does not touch the real meaning. A theodicy is proclaimed in which the hardships of the present, sanctified to the disciple as precious discipline, will be transformed into abiding blessedness. Such a reversal of the order of this life involves here, as elsewhere, the casting down of those whom men count happy (cf. Is 65[13. 14], Lk 1[52. 53] 16[25], Jn 16[20], Ja 1[9. 10]). The paradoxical form of the sayings in Lk. produces a strong impression of originality, suggesting that here, as often elsewhere, Mt. has interpreted the words which Lk. has transcribed unchanged. Mt. has arranged them according to the

form of Hebrew parallelism: observe how the first and last have the same refrain, the poem beginning and ending on the same note—cf. Ps 8. His No. 8 sums up in the form of the other Beatitudes the principle of the appendix vv.[11. 12], which Lk 6[22. 23] shows to be original: he then inserts this as a comment, much as he appends a sentence of comment to the Lord's Prayer (6[14. 15]). It may perhaps be doubted whether the Beatitudes peculiar to Mt. are in their original context. No. 3, proclaiming the triumph of those who do not 'struggle to survive,' is quoted from Ps 37[11]; No. 5 is found as early as Clement of Rome, in the form 'Show mercy, that mercy be shown to you'; No. 6 reproduces the sense of Ps 24[4]; No. 7, echoed in Ja 3[18], may have been altered in form to fit the appropriate context. We seem to be justified in conjecturing that Lk. inserts all the Beatitudes he found in his source under the same context, and that he faithfully preserved the words as they stood: the Woes likewise belonged to the same discourse. (Note the support given to them by Ja 5[1], and the use of the commercial technical term 'have received,' so characteristic of the Sermon; cf. Mt 6[2. 5. 16]). The gloss with which Mt. interprets the blessing on the poor was not apparently known to St. James (2[5]), whose very clear allusion to the Beatitude in its Lukan form determines the exegesis. The rich man could bring himself within the range of the blessing by accepting the 'humiliation' that Christian discipleship brought (Ja 1[10]); so that Mt.'s interpretation is supported by the writer, who shows us most clearly that the exact words have not been preserved by him. In No. 2 Mt. seems to have slightly altered the original (Lk 6[21]), under the influence of Is 61[1]—the prophecy from which Jesus preached in the synagogue at Nazareth, and the obvious suggestive cause of the appearance of the *poor* at the opening of the Beatitudes. It should be observed, however, that all attempts to ascertain the original form of sayings of Jesus have at best so large a subjective element that we cannot afford to dogmatize. There are scholars of great weight, reinforced most recently by Harnack, who regard Mt. as generally preserving the lost *Logia*-collection in a more exact form than Lk. Moreover, we must always allow for the probability that modifications introduced by Mt. or Lk. may often rest on early traditions, so that elements not included in the principal Gospel sources may nevertheless be derived from first-hand authority.

JAMES HOPE MOULTON.

BEAUTIFUL GATE.—See TEMPLE.

BEBAI.—1. The eponym of a family of returning exiles (Ezr 2[11] 8[11] 10[28], Neh 7[16] 10[15], 1 Es 5[13] 9[29]). **2.** An unknown locality mentioned only in Jth 15[4].

BECHER.—1. Son of Ephraim, Nu 26[35]=1 Ch 7[20] where the name appears as **Bered.** Patronymic in Nu 26[35] **Becherites** (AV Bachrites). **2.** Son of Benjamin, Gn 46[21], 1 Ch 7[6. 8] and implicitly in 1 Ch 8[1] where for *his first-born, Ashbel* we should probably read *Becher and Ashbel.*

BECORATH.—One of Saul's ancestors (1 S 9[1], possibly same name as **Becher** of 1 Ch 7[8]).

BECTILETH (Jth 2[21]).—A plain between Nineveh and Cilicia. Perhaps the *Bactiali* of the Peutinger Tables, 21 miles from Antioch.

BED, BEDCHAMBER.—See HOUSE, 8.

BEDAD.—Father of Hadad, king of Edom (Gn 36[35] =1 Ch 1[46]).

BEDAN.—1. Mentioned with Jerubbaal, Jephthah, and Samuel as one of the deliverers of Israel (1 S 12[11]). The name does not occur in Jg., and it is probably a corruption for **Barak** (so LXX and Pesh.). Chronologically Barak should precede Gideon, but the order cannot be pressed (cf. v.[9]). **2.** A Manassite (1 Ch 7[17]).

BEDEIAH.—One of those who had taken foreign wives (Ezr 10[35]): in 1 Es 9[34] apparently **Pedias.**

BEE (*debōrāh*).—The bee (*Apis fasciata*) is a very important insect of Palestine. Wild bees are common, and stores of their honey are often found by wandering Bedouin, especially, it is said, near the Dead Sea. Most of the honey consumed and exported in large quantities is made by domesticated bees. The vast numbers of flowers and especially of aromatic plants enable the skilled bee-keeper to produce the most delicately flavoured honey, *e.g.* 'orange flower,' 'thyme,' etc.; he carries his hives to different parts according to the season. Many now keep bees in hives of European pattern, but the ordinary native still universally uses the primitive tube hive. This is like a wide drain-pipe of very rough earthenware, some 3 ft. long and about 8 in. in diameter, closed at the end with mud, leaving a hole for ingress and egress. A number of hives are piled one above the other. A few years ago, while the owner of several swarms of bees was transferring his brittle mud hives on donkey-back, one of the asses stumbled and in falling broke one of the hives. In a moment the whole swarm fell on the unfortunate animals and on a fine horse standing near. One donkey was quickly stung to death, and all the other animals were severely injured. Cf. Dt 1[44], Ps 118[12], and Is 7[18], where the hosts of Assyria are compared to such a swarm let loose. That a swarm of bees should settle in a carcass (Jg 14[8]) is certainly an unusual occurrence, as indeed is suggested in the narrative, but the dried-up remains of animals, little but hide and ribs, so plentiful by the roadsides in Palestine, often suggest suitable places for such a settlement. Honey has probably always been plentiful in Palestine, but it is very doubtful whether 'a land flowing with milk and *honey*' could have meant the product of bees alone. See HONEY and VINE. In the LXX there is an addition to Pr 6[8], in which the bee is, like the ant, extolled for her diligence and wisdom.

E. W. G. MASTERMAN.

BEELIADA ('Baal knows').—A son of David, 1 Ch 14[7], changed in conformity with later usage (see ISH-BOSHETH) into **Eliada** ('El knows') in 2 S 5[16].

BEELSARUS (1 Es 5[8]).—One of the leaders of those Jews who returned to Jerus. with Zerub.; called **Bilshan,** Ezr 2[2], Neh 7[7].

BEELTETHMUS.—An officer of Artaxerxes residing in Pal., 1 Es 2[16. 25] (LXX[15. 21]). It is not a proper name, but a title of Rehum, the name immediately preceding it in Ezr 4[8]. It is a corruption of *be'ēl te'ēm*='lord of judgment,' and is rendered '**chancellor**' by AV and RV in Ezr., 'story-writer' in 1 Es 2[17].

BEELZEBUB.—See BAALZEBUB.

BEER ('a well').—**1.** A station in the journey from Arnon to the Jordan, mentioned Nu 21[16], with a poetical extract commemorating the digging of a well at this spot. The context indicates the neighbourhood, but further identification is wanting. Perhaps the words translated 'and from the wilderness,' which immediately follow this extract (Nu 21[18]), should be translated (following the LXX) 'and from Beer,' or 'the well.' It is generally identified with **Beer-elim** ('well of mighty men'?), mentioned Is 15[8], and in the second part of the compound name it may be conjectured that there is reference to the event commemorated in the song (Nu 21[17. 18]). **2.** The place to which Jotham ran away after uttering his parable (Jg 9[21]). Its position is unknown.

BEERA.—A man of Asher (1 Ch 7[37]).

BEERAH.—A Reubenite who was carried captive by Tiglath-pileser (1 Ch 5[6]).

BEER-ELIM.—See BEER.

BEERI.—1. The father of Judith, one of Esau's wives (Gn 26[34]), sometimes wrongly identified with **Anah** (wh. see). **2.** The father of the prophet Hosea (Hos 1[1]).

BEER-LAHAI-ROI ('The well of the Living One that seeth me').—A well between Kadesh and Bered,

where the fleeing Hagar was turned back (Gn 16[14]), where Isaac met his bride (24[62]), and where he dwelt after Abraham's death (25[11]). *'Ain Muweïleh*, about 50 miles S.W of Beersheba, has been suggested as a not impossible identification. It is a station where there are several wells, on the caravan route from Syria to Egypt. R. A. S. Macalister.

BEEROTH ('wells').—A Gibeonite city, usually coupled in enumeration with Chephirah and Kiriath-jearim (Jos 9[17], Ezr 2[25], Neh 7[29]); assigned to the tribe of Benjamin (Jos 18[25], 2 S 4[2]); the home of Rechab, murderer of Ish-bosheth (2 S 4[2]), and of Naharai, armour-bearer of Joab (2 S 23[37]). *Bireh*, about 10 miles from Jerusalem on the main road to the north, is the usual identification, and there seems no special reason for objecting thereto. The circumstances and date of the flight of the **Beerothites** to Gittaim (2 S 4[3]) are not recorded.
R. A. S. Macalister.

BEEROTH-BENE-JAAKAN.—Probably certain wells in the territory of some nomad Horite tribe (Gn 36[27], 1 Ch 1[42]), the *Benē Jaakan*; a halting-place in the Israelite wanderings, between Moseroth and Hor-haggidgad (Nu 33[31. 32], Dt 10[6]). The site is unknown.
R. A. S. Macalister.

BEERSHEBA.—A halting-place of Abraham (Gn 21[31]), where Hagar was sent away (Gn 21[14]), and where he made a covenant with Abimelech, from which the place is alleged to take its name ('well of the covenant,' according to one interpretation). Isaac after his disputes with the Philistines settled here (26[23]), and discovered the well **Shibah**, another etymological speculation (v.[33]). Hence Jacob was sent away (28[10]), and returned and sacrificed on his way to Egypt (46[1]). It was assigned to the tribe of Judah (Jos 15[28]), but set apart for the Simeonites (19[2]). Here Samuel's sons were judges (1 S 8[2]), and hither Elijah fled before Jezebel (1 K 19[3]). Zibiah, the mother of Joash, belonged to Beersheba (2 K 12[1]). It was an important holy place: here Abraham planted a sacred tree (Gn 21[33]), and theophanies were vouchsafed to Hagar (v.[17]), to Isaac (26[24]), to Jacob (46[2]), and to Elijah (1 K 19[5]). Amos couples it with the shrines of Bethel and Gilgal (Am 5[5]), and oaths by its *numen* are denounced (8[14]). It is recognized as the southern boundary of Palestine in the frequent phrase 'from Dan unto Beersheba' (Jg 20[1] etc.). Seven ancient wells exist here, and it has been suggested that these gave its name to the locality; the suffixed numeral being perhaps due to the influence of the syntax of some pre-Semitic language, as in *Kiriath-arba* ('Tetrapolis'). The modern name is *Bir es-Seba'*, where are extensive remains of a Byzantine city; the ancient city is probably at *Tell es-Seba'*, about 2 miles to the east. Till recently the site was deserted by all but Bedouin; now a modern town has sprung up, built from the ruins of the ancient structures, and has been made the seat of a sub-governor.
R. A. S. Macalister.

BE-ESHTERAH (Jos 21[27]).—See Ashtaroth.

BEETLE (*chargōl*).—In RV 'cricket' (Lv 11[22]), probably a grasshopper or locust. See Locust.
E. W. G. Masterman.

BEFORE.—In Gn 11[28] 'Haran died before his father Terah,' the meaning is 'in the presence of' as RV, literally 'before the face of.'

BEHEADING.—See Crimes and Punishments, § 10.

BEHEMOTH.—The hippopotamus (Job 40[15]), as leviathan (41[1]) is the crocodile. It has been suggested that the ancient Babylonian Creation-myth underlies the poet's description of the two animals (Gunkel, *Schöpf. u. Chaos*, 61 ff.). This is doubtful, but the myth undoubtedly reappears in later Jewish literature: 'And in that day will two monsters be separated, a female named Leviathan to dwell in the abyss over the fountains of waters. But the male is called Behemoth, which occupies with its breast [?] an immeasurable desert named Dendain' (En 60[7. 8]; cf. 2 Es 6[49-51], Apoc. Bar 29[4], *Baba bathra* 74*b*). *Behemoth* is rendered by 'beasts' in Is 30[6]. This may be correct, but the oracle which follows says nothing about the 'beasts of the south'; either the text is corrupt or the title may have been prefixed because Rahab, another name for the chaos-monster, occurs in v.[7]. The psalmist confesses, '*Behemoth* was I with thee' (Ps 73[22]). The LXX understood this to be an abstract noun, 'Beast-like was I with thee'; others substitute the sing., and render 'a beast,' etc. J. Taylor.

BEKA (AV **Bekah**).—See Weights and Measures.

BEL, originally one of the Bab. triad, but synonym. in OT and Apocr. with Merodach, 'the younger Bel,' the tutelary god of Babylon (Jer 50[2] 51[44], Is 46[1], Bar 6[41]). See also Baal, Assyria and Babylonia. 'Bel and the Dragon' (in art. Apocrypha, § 7).

BELA.—**1.** A king of Edom (Gn 36[32. 33], cf. 1 Ch 1[43f.]). The close resemblance of this name to that of 'Balaam, the son of Beor,' the seer, is noteworthy, and has given rise to the Targum of Jonathan reading 'Balaam, the son of Beor' in Gn 36[32]. **2.** The eldest of the sons of Benjamin (Gn 46[21], Nu 26[38] [patronym. **Belaites**], 1 Ch 7[6] 8[1]). **3.** A Reubenite who was a dweller in the Moabite territory (1 Ch 5[8f.]). It is noteworthy that this Bela, like the Edomite king mentioned above, seems to have been traditionally connected with the Euphrates. **4.** A name of Zoar (Gn 14[2. 8]).

BELEMUS, 1 Es 2[16] (15, LXX).—See Bishlam.

BELIAL (**BELIAR**).—This word, rendered by AV and RV as a proper noun in the majority of the OT passages, is in reality a compound, meaning 'worthlessness,' whence 'wickedness,' 'destruction,' and as such is construed with another noun. In the sense of 'wickedness,' it occurs in 1 S 1[16] 'daughter of wickedness,' *i.e.* 'a wicked woman' (cf. Dt 13[13] 15[9], Jg 9[22] 20[13], 1 S 2[12] 10[27] 25[17. 25], 2 S 16[7] 20[1] 23[6], 1 K 21[10. 13], 2 Ch 13[7], Pr 6[12] 16[27] 19[28], for similar usage). As 'destruction,' it is found in Ps 17[5] (cf. 2 S 22[5]) 41[8] and Nah 1[11. 15] (note in Nah 1[15] independent use, 'man' understood; RV 'wicked one'; others, 'destroyer'). Having such a meaning, it is used by St. Paul as a name for Satan (personification of unclean heathenism, 2 Co 6[15]), the Greek text spelling it 'Beliar' (AV and RV 'Belial'), a variation due to the harsh pronunciation of '*l*' in Syriac. N. Koenig.

BELIEF.—Older Eng. (akin to *lief* and *love*) for the Lat.-French 'faith,' which displaced it in AV everywhere except in 2 Th 2[13]. RV follows AV except in Ro 10[16f.], where it restores 'belief,' after Tindale, in continuity with 'believe.' 'Unbelief' held its ground as the antonym (Mt 13[58], etc., Ro 3[3] etc.). In modern Eng., 'faith' signifies ethical, 'belief' intellectual, credence: 'faith,' trust in a person; 'belief,' recognition of a fact or truth beyond the sphere of sensible observation or demonstrative proof. See Faith.
G. G. Findlay.

BELL.—A number of small bronze bells, both of the ordinary shape with clapper and of the 'ball and slit' form, have been found at Gezer (*PEFSt*, 1904, 354, with illustt.). The bells of 'pure gold' (Ex 39[25]), which alternated with pomegranate ornaments on the skirt of the high priest's robe (28[33f.]), were doubtless of one or other of these forms. Their purpose is stated in v.[35], but the underlying idea is obscure (see the Comm.). The 'bells of the horses' of Zec 14[20] represent another word akin to that rendered 'cymbals.' Whether these ornaments were really bells or, as is usually supposed, small metal discs (cf. the 'crescents' of Jg 8[21] RV) is uncertain. A. R. S. Kennedy.

BELLOWS.—See Arts and Crafts, 2.

BELMAIM (Jth 4[4] 7[3]).—It seems to have lain south of Dothan, but the topography of Judith is very difficult. Bileam in Manasseh lay farther north than Dothan.

BELOVED.—See Love.

BELSHAZZAR.—Son of Nebuchadnezzar, last king of Babylon before its capture by Cyrus (Dn 5^{1}). The name is somewhat variously given: **Baltasar,** Bar $1^{11f.}$ [so also LXX and Theod. in Daniel]; and Josephus says he was son of Naboandēlos. There is no doubt that Bēl-shar-usur, son of Nabonidus, is meant. He was regent in Babylon during the latter part of his father's reign. It is probable that he was in command of Babylon on its surrender, as he had been in command of the army in Akkad till the 11th year of his father's reign.

C. H. W. Johns.

BELTESHAZZAR.—Nebuchadnezzar is said to have conferred this name on the youthful Daniel (Dn 1^{7}). The Babylonian form would be *Balatsu-usur* ('protect his life!') or, according to 4^{8}, *Bel balatsu-usur*. The LXX and Theodotion employ **Baltasar** both for it and for Belshazzar (ch. 5); and pseudo-Epiphanius repeats a legend that Nebuchadnezzar wished to make the two men co-heirs.

J. Taylor.

BEN ('son').—A Levite, 1 Ch 15^{18}, omitted in parallel list in v.^{20} in both MT and LXX. The latter omits it also in the first-named passage.

BEN-ABINADAB (AV 'son of Abinadab').—One of Solomon's commissariat officers (1 K 4^{11}).

BENAIAH ('Jah hath built').—**1.** A brave soldier from Kabzeel in Judah (2 S $23^{20ff.}$), captain of David's bodyguard (8^{18} 20^{23}). He became a partisan of Solomon's and carried 'the mighty men,' 'the Cherethites and Pelethites,' with him (1 K $1^{7.\ 8.\ 38}$). He played an important rôle in the young king's coronation (vv.$^{38.\ 44}$), and was subsequently ordered to dispatch Joab, whose place as commander-in-chief he then filled (2^{28-35}). **2.** One of the thirty who formed the second class of David's heroes (2 S 23^{22}). He came from Pirathon in Mt. Ephraim (2 S 23^{30}, cf. Jg 12^{15}). 1 Ch 27^{14} assigns to him the command of the course for the eleventh month, with twenty-four thousand Ephraimites under him. **3.** Some ten obscure persons of this name appear in 1 Ch 4^{36} $15^{18.\ 20.\ 24}$ $16^{5.\ 6}$, 2 Ch 20^{14} 31^{13}, Ezr $10^{25.\ 30.\ 35.\ 43}$, Ezk $11^{1.\ 13}$.

J. Taylor.

BEN-AMMI ('son of my blood-relative' or 'son of my father's kinsman').—The story (Gn 19) purports to explain the name *Ammon* (v.^{38}). Notwithstanding the fact that incestuous marriages were common amongst these people, it is most likely that the narrative is a product of the bitter hatred which was excited by prolonged contests for the territory E. of Jordan.

J. Taylor.

BEN-DEKER (AV 'son of Dekar').—One of Solomon's twelve commissariat officers (1 K 4^{9}).

BENE-BERAK.—A town in the territory of Dan (Jos 19^{45}), identified with *Ibn Ibrāq*, about 5 miles E. of Jaffa, on the N. of *Wādy Nusrah*.

W. Ewing.

BENEFACTOR.—Lk 22^{25} only, 'they that exercise authority over them (the Gentiles) are called benefactors.' The word is an exact tr. of the Gr. *Euergetēs*, a title of honour borne by two of the Gr. kings of Egypt before Christ's day, Ptolemy III. (B.C. 247–222) and Ptolemy VII. (IX.) (B.C. 147–117). Hence RV properly spells with a capital, 'Benefactors.'

BENE-JAAKAN.—A station in the journeyings, mentioned Nu $33^{31.\ 32}$ (cf. Dt 10^{6}, and see Beeroth-bene-Jaakan).

BEN-GEBER (AV 'son of Geber').—Patronymic of one of Solomon's twelve commissariat officers who had charge of a district N.E. of the Jordan (1 K 4^{13}).

BEN-HADAD.—The name of three kings of Damascus in the 9th cent. B.C.

1. Benhadad I., the son of Tab-rimmon of Damascus. At the instance of Asa of Judah he intervened against Baasha of Israel, and took from him valuable territory on his northern border. For this service Benhadad received from Asa costly treasures from the Temple and royal palace (1 K 15^{17-20}).

2. Benhadad II., son of the preceding, was an able general and statesman. He was at the head of a league of western princes who successfully opposed the attempts of Shalmaneser II. of Assyria to conquer southern Syria. At the battle of Karkar in B.C. 854 he had Ahab of Israel as one of his chief allies. In his time war with Israel was the rule, he being usually successful. But Ahab was more fortunate in the campaigns of 856 and 855, which were followed by a treaty of peace with concessions to Israel (1 K 20). On the resumption of hostilities in the third year thereafter, Benhadad was victorious (1 K 22). He was assassinated by the usurper Hazael about B.C. 843 (2 K 8^{15}).

3. Benhadad III., son of Hazael, probably the same as the Mari' of the Assyrian inscriptions. Under him Damascus lost his father's conquests in Palestine (2 K $13^{24f.}$), and he also suffered heavily from the Assyrians.

J. F. McCurdy.

BEN-HAIL ('son of might').—A prince sent by Jehoshaphat to teach in the cities of Judah (2 Ch 17^{7}).

BEN-HANAN ('son of a gracious one').—A man of Judah (1 Ch 4^{20}).

BEN-HESED (AV 'son of Hesed' [='kindness']).—One of Solomon's twelve commissariat officers who had charge of a district in Judah (1 K 4^{10}).

BEN-HUR (AV 'son of Hur').—One of Solomon's twelve commissariat officers (1 K 4^{8}).

BENINU (perhaps 'our son').—One of those who sealed the covenant (Neh 10^{13}).

BENJAMIN.—**1.** The youngest son of Jacob by Rachel, and the only full brother of Joseph (Gn $30^{22f.}$ [JE] 35^{17} [J] 35^{24} [P]). He alone of Jacob's sons was native-born. J (Gn 35^{16}) puts his birth near Ephrath in Benjamin. A later interpolation identifies Ephrath with Bethlehem, but cf. 1 S 10^{2}. P, however (Gn 35^{22-26}), gives Paddan-aram as the birth-place of all Jacob's children. His mother, dying soon after he was born, named him **Ben-oni** ('son of my sorrow'). Jacob changed this ill-omened name to the more auspicious one *Benjamin*, which is usually interpreted 'son of my right hand,' the right hand being the place of honour as the right side was apparently the lucky side (cf. Gn 48^{14}). Pressed by a famine, his ten brothers went down to Egypt, and Jacob, solicitous for his welfare, did not allow Benjamin to accompany them; but Joseph made it a condition of his giving them corn that they should bring him on their return. When Judah (Gn 43^{9} J) or Reuben (42^{37} E) gave surety for his safe return, Jacob yielded. Throughout the earlier documents Benjamin is a tender youth, the idol of his father and brothers. A late editor of P (Gn 46^{21}) makes him, when he entered Egypt, the father of *ten* sons, that is more than twice as many as Jacob's other sons except Dan, who had seven.

The question is, What is the historical significance of these conflicting traditions? *Yāmin*, 'right hand,' appears to have been used geographically for 'south,' and *Ben-yāmin* may mean 'son(s) of the south,' *i.e.* the southern portion of Ephraim. *Ben-oni* may be connected with On in the tribe of Benjamin. The two names may point to the union of two related tribes, and the persistence of the traditions that Benjamin was the full brother of Joseph, whereas the other Joseph tribes (Manasseh and Ephraim) are called sons, would indicate not only a close relationship to Joseph, but also a comparatively early development into an independent tribe. On the other hand, J E P all make Benjamin the youngest son, and P gives Canaan as his native land. This points to a traditional belief that the tribe was the last to develop. This and the fact that Shimei, a Benjamite, claims (2 S 19^{20}) to be 'of the house of Joseph,' suggest that the tribe was an offshoot of the latter.

The limits of the tribal territory are given by P in Jos 18^{11-28}. Within it lay Bethel (elsewhere assigned to Ephraim), Ophrah, Geba, Gibeon, Ramah, Mizpeh,

Gibeah, all primitive seats of Canaanitish worship and important centres in the cultus of Israel (cf., *e.g.*, Bethel, Am 7[10ff.]). Jericho, where in early times there may have been a cult of the moon-god (*jārēach* = 'moon'), and Jerusalem are also assigned to Benjamin. Dt 33[12], as commonly but not universally interpreted, also assigns Jerusalem to Benjamin, though later it belonged to Judah. Anathoth, the birth-place of Jeremiah, also lay in Benjamin (Jos 21[18] [P]). In the Blessing of Jacob (Gn 49[27]) a fierce and warlike character is ascribed to Benjamin. The statement is all the more important, since in this 'Blessing' we have certainly to deal with *vaticinia post eventum*. The rugged and unfriendly nature of the tribal territory doubtless contributed to martial hardihood. The tribe participated in the war against Sisera (Jg 5[14]). A late and composite story is found in Jg 19–21 of an almost complete annihilation of the tribe by the rest of the Israelites. Later the tribe gave to united Israel its first king, Saul of Gibeah. It had in Asa's army, according to 2 Ch 14[8], 280,000 picked warriors—an exaggeration of course, but a very significant one in this connexion. Benjamin, under Sheba, a kinsman of Saul, led in the revolt against David when the quarrel provoked by David's partisanship broke out between Judah and the northern tribes (2 S 20[1ff.]). From the first the tribe was loyal to the house of Saul and violently opposed to David (cf. 2 S 16[5] 20[2]). In the revolt against the oppressions of Rehoboam it joined with the North (1 K 12[20]). A variant account joins it with Judah (12[21f.]), but this is only a reflexion of later times. The history of the tribe is unimportant after David. Besides Saul and Jeremiah, St. Paul also traced descent to this tribe (Ph 3[5]). See also TRIBES. **2.** A great-grandson of Benjamin (1 Ch 7[10]). **3.** One of those who had married a foreign wife (Ezr 10[32]; prob. also Neh 3[23] 12[34]). JAMES A. CRAIG.

BENJAMIN GATE.—See TEMPLE.

BENO ('his son').—In both AV and RV a proper name in 1 Ch 24[26. 27], but we should perhaps render, 'of Jaaziah *his son*, even the sons of Merari by Jaaziah *his son*' (*Oxf. Heb. Lex. s.v.*).

BENONI.—See BENJAMIN.

BEN-ZOHETH.—A man of Judah (1 Ch 4[20]).

BEON (Nu 32[3]).—Prob. = **Baal-meon** (wh. see).

BEOR.—**1.** Father of Balaam, Nu 22[5] 24[3. 15] J, Jos 24[9], also Nu 31[8], Dt 23[4], Jos 13[22], Mic 6[5], 2 P 2[15] (**Bosor**, AV and RVm). **2.** Father of Bela, king of Edom, Gn 36[32] J, 1 Ch 1[43].

BERA.—King of Sodom at time of Chedorlaomer's invasion (Gn 14[2]).

BERACAH ('blessing').—**1.** One of Saul's brethren who joined David at Ziklag (1 Ch 12[3]). **2.** 'The valley of blessing,' where Jehoshaphat gave thanks for victory over the Ammonites, Moabites, and Edomites, who had marched from Engedi to Tekoa (vv.[2. 20]). The name survives at the ruin *Bereikūt* on the main road from Jerusalem to Hebron, west of Tekoa.

BERAIAH.—A man of Benjamin (1 Ch 8[21]).

BEREA (1 Mac 9[4]).—See BERŒA, **3.**

BERECHIAH.—**1.** Father of Asaph (1 Ch 6[39], AV **Berachiah**). **2.** Son of Zerubbabel (1 Ch 3[20]). **3.** Father of Meshullam, one of Nehemiah's chiefs (Neh 3[4. 30] 6[18]). **4.** A Levite guard of the ark (1 Ch 9[16] 15[23]). **5.** Father of the prophet Zechariah (Zec 1[1]). **6.** An Ephraimite chief (2 Ch 28[12]).

BERED.—**1.** An unknown place, mentioned but once (Gn 16[14]) as an indication fixing the site of Beer-lahai-roi. The identification with *Halasah*, which has been suggested, is mere guess-work. **2.** See BECHER, No. **1.** R. A. S. MACALISTER.

BERI.—A division of an Asherite clan (1 Ch 7[36]).

BERIAH.—**1.** Son of Asher (Gn 46[17], Nu 26[44], 1 Ch 7[30f.]). **2.** Son of Ephraim, begotten in the days of mourning occasioned by the death of Ephraim's four sons, who were killed by the men of Gath whilst cattle-raiding; hence the false etymology, *bera'ah* = 'in affliction' (1 Ch 7[23]). **3.** A Benjamite at Aijalon, who, with Shema, put the Gathites to flight (cf. No. **2**). **4.** Son of the Levite Shimei (1 Ch 23[10f.]). He and his brother Jeush had not many sons, and therefore were counted as a single family. J. TAYLOR.

BERIITES.—Descendants of Beriah, No. **1** (Nu 26[44]).

BERITES.—2 S 20[14]. The reading *Bichrites* is suggested, though not actually given, by LXX and Vulg. See art. SHEBA.

BERNICE or **BERENICE.**—Sister of Agrippa II. (Ac 25[13. 23] 26[30]), married to her uncle Herod, king of Chalcis.

BERODACH-BALADAN.—See MERODACH-BALADAN.

BERŒA.—**1.** A town in the district of Macedonia called Emathia. The earliest certain reference to it occurs in an inscription of the end of the 4th cent. B.C. After the battle of Pydna (B.C. 168) it was the first city which surrendered to the Romans. In winter B.C. 49–48 it was the headquarters of Pompey's infantry. In St. Paul's time there was a Jewish community there to which he preached the gospel with success (Ac 17[10. 13] [Sopater, a native] 20[4]). It was a populous city, and is in modern times called *Verria* by Greeks, *Karaferia* by Turks, and *Ber* by Slavs.

2. The place where Antiochus Eupator caused Menelaus, the ex-high priest, to be put to death (2 Mac 13[4]). It is now the well-known *Haleb* or *Aleppo*, with about 100,000 inhabitants.

3. Mentioned 1 Mac 9[4], perhaps the same as Beeroth (Jos 9[17]) or Beroth (1 Es 5[19]); modern *Bireh*, about 10 miles N. of Jerusalem. A. SOUTER.

BEROTH.—1 Es 5[19] = **Beeroth** of Ezr 2[25].

BEROTHAH, BEROTHAI.—A city of Syria, despoiled by David (2 S 8[8]), and named by Ezekiel as a limiting point in his ideal restoration of the kingdom (Ezk 47[16]). Ezekiel places it between Hamath and Damascus; the site is otherwise unknown. In 1 Ch 18[8], which is parallel to 2 S 8[8], for Berothai is substituted **Cun.** [**Berothite** in 1 Ch 11[39] is obviously meant for *Beerothite*. See BEEROTH]. R. A. S. MACALISTER.

BERYL.—See JEWELS AND PRECIOUS STONES.

BERZELUS.—See ZORZELLEUS.

BESAI.—Nethinim who returned with Zerub. (Ezr 2[49] Neh 7[52]; = **Basthai**, 1 Es 5[31]).

BESODEIAH (Neh 3[6]).—Meshullam, the son of Besodeiah, took part in repairing the Old Gate.

BESOM (lit. 'sweeper') occurs only fig. Is 14[23], 'I will sweep it [Babylon] with the sweeper of destruction.' One such besom of twigs the writer remembers having seen in the museum of Egyptian antiquities in Cairo. A. R. S. KENNEDY.

BESOR (Brook).—A torrent-valley, apparently S. or S.W. of Ziklag (1 S 30[9. 10. 21]). It is probably the modern *Wady Ghuzzeh*, which empties itself into the sea S.W. of Gaza.

BESTIALITY.—See CRIMES AND PUNISHMENTS, § **3.**

BETAH (2 S 8[8]).—See TIBHATH.

BETANE (Jth 1[9]).—A place apparently south of Jerusalem, and not Bethany. It may be the same as **Beth-anoth.**

BETEN (Jos 19[25]).—A town of Asher, noticed next to Achshaph. The site is doubtful. In the fourth century it was shown 8 Roman miles east of Ptolemais (Acco). It may be the present village *el-B'aneh*.

BETH.—The second letter of the Heb. alphabet, and as such used in Ps 119 as the heading of the second part, each verse of which begins with this letter.

BETHABARA.—Mentioned once only, Jn 1[28], as the scene of John's baptism; the principal codices, followed

by the RV, here read **Bethany**. There is no clue to the position of Bethabara, except that it was probably in or near Galilee (cf. Mt 3[13]). Identification with a ford named *'Abārah*, about 12 miles south of the outlet of the Sea of Galilee, has with some plausibility been suggested. R. A. S. Macalister.

BETH-ANATH.—A town of Naphtali, now the village *'Ainatha*, in the mountains of Upper Galilee.

BETH-ANOTH (Jos 15[59]).—A town in the mountains of Judah near Gedor. It is the present *Beit 'Ainūn*, S.E. of Halhul.

BETHANY.—A village about 15 *stadia* (2910 yards or about 1⅝ mile) from Jerusalem (Jn 11[18]) on the road from Jericho, close to Bethphage and on the Mount of Olives (Mk 11[1], Lk 19[29]). It was the lodging-place of Christ when in Jerusalem (Mk 11[11]). Here lived Lazarus and Martha and Mary (Jn 11[1]), and here He raised Lazarus from the dead (Jn 11). Here also He was entertained by Simon the leper, at the feast where the woman made her offering of ointment (Mt 26[6], Mk 14[3]). From 'over against' Bethany took place the Ascension (Lk 24[50]). In this case the topographical indications agree exceptionally with the constant tradition which fixes Bethany at the village of *el-'Azariyeh*, on the S.E. of the Mount of Olives beside the Jericho road. The tomb of Lazarus and the house of Martha and Mary are definitely pointed out in the village, but of course without any historical authority. For a possible Bethany in Galilee, see Bethabara.

R. A. S. Macalister.

BETH-ARABAH ('place of the Arabah' [wh. see], Jos 15[6. 61] 18[22]).—A place in the Jericho plain, apparently north of Beth-hoglah, in the 'wilderness.' The name has not been recovered.

BETH-ARBEL (Hos 10[14] only).—The site is quite uncertain. It is said to have been spoiled by Shalman (perhaps Shalmaneser III.), and may have been in Syria. Two places called Arbela exist in Palestine, one (now *Irbid*) west of the Sea of Galilee (Jos. *Ant.* XII. xi. 1), the other (*Irbid*) in the extreme north of Gilead, both noticed in the 4th cent. A.D. (*Onom. s.v.* 'Arbela').

BETHASMOTH (1 Es 5[18]).—For **Bethazmaveth.** See Azmaveth.

BETH-AVEN ('house of iniquity,' or 'idolatry'?).—Close to Ai (Jos 7[2]), by the wilderness (18[12]), north-west of Michmash (1 S 13[5]), and on the way to Aijalon (14[23]), still inhabited in the 8th cent. B.C. (Hos 5[8]). The 'calves of Bethaven' were probably those at **Bethel** close by (Hos 10[5]). Bethel is probably meant also in Hos 4[15] 5[8] (see Am 5[5]) 10[8] (Aven).

BETH-AZMAVETH (Neh 7[28]).—See Azmaveth.

BETH-BAAL-MEON (Jos 13[17]).—See Baal-Meon.

BETH-BARAH (Jg 7[24]).—Near Jordan and the valley of Jezreel. Some suppose it to be the same as Bethabara, in which case the guttural has been lost in copying.

BETHBASI (1 Mac 9[62. 64]).—Josephus reads Beth-hoglah. The name has not been recovered.

BETH-BIRI (1 Ch 4[31]).—A town of Simeon, perhaps textual error for **Beth-lebaoth,** Jos 19[6]=**Lebaoth,** Jos 15[32]. The ruin *Bireh* on the west slopes of the Debir hills may be intended.

BETH-CAR ('house of a lamb').—A place mentioned once only, 1 S 7[11], as the terminus of the pursuit of the Philistines under Samuel's guidance. The site is quite unknown, save that it must have been somewhere near Jerusalem, on the west. R. A. S. Macalister.

BETH-DAGON ('house of Dagon').—**1.** A city of Judah (Jos 15[41]), somewhere in the Shephelah. The name is preserved in the modern *Beit Dejan*, some 4 miles S.E. of Jaffa. This, however, is quite a modern village. Near it is a Roman site, named *Khurbet Dajun*. The Biblical Beth-dagon is still to seek. **2.** A border city in the tribe of Asher (Jos 19[27]), not yet discovered. R. A. S. Macalister.

BETH-DIBLATHAIM ('house of two fig-cakes'?).—In Jer 48[22] mentioned with Dibon and Nebo; the next camp to Dibon before Nebo (Nu 33[46f.]).

BETH-EDEN (Am 1[5] marg.).—See Eden [House of].

BETHEL.—**1.** On a rocky knoll beside the great road to the north, about 12 miles from Jerusalem, stands the modern *Beitīn*, a village of some 400 inhabitants, which represents the ancient Bethel. Four springs furnish good water, and in ancient times they were supplemented by a reservoir hewn in the rock, south of the town. **Luz** was the original name of the town. The name Bethel was first applied to the stone which Jacob set up and anointed (Gn 28[22]). See Pillar. But 'the place' (v.[11] etc.) was evidently one with holy associations. It was visited by Abraham, who sacrificed here (12[8]). This may have induced Jacob to come hither on his way to the north, and again on his return from Paddan-aram. From an eminence to the east almost the whole extent of the plains of Jericho is visible. This may have been the scene of Lot's selfish choice (Gn 13). 'Bethel' in the end prevailed over 'Luz,' and the town came to be known by the name of the sanctuary, the neighbourhood of which lent it distinction.

Bethel, a royal Canaanite city (Jos 12[16]), fell to Benjamin in the division of the land (18[22]), but he failed to make good his possession. It was finally taken by Ephraim (Jg 1[22], 1 Ch 7[28]). Hither the ark was brought from Gilgal (Jg 20[18] LXX), and Bethel was resorted to as a place of sacrifice (1 S 10[3]). The prophetess Deborah dwelt between Bethel and Ramah (Jg 4[5]). In judging Israel, Samuel went from year to year in circuit to Bethel (1 S 7[10]). No doubt the ancient sanctity of the place led Jeroboam to choose Bethel as the site of the rival shrine, which he hoped might counteract the influence of the house of the Lord at Jerusalem (1 K 12[26ff.]). It became the great sanctuary of the Northern Kingdom, and the centre of the idolatrous priests who served in the high places (v.[32ff.]). At Bethel, Jeroboam was denounced by the man of God out of Judah (13[1ff.]). It was one of the towns taken from Jeroboam by Abijah king of Judah (2 Ch 13[19]). It is noteworthy that Elijah is silent regarding the calf-worship at Bethel; and that a school of the prophets, apparently in sympathy with him, flourished there (2 K 2[2f.]). But the denunciations of Amos (3[14] 4[4] 5[5] etc.) and Hosea (Hos 4[15] 5[8] etc.) lack nothing in vehemence. The priest resided at Bethel, who was brought by the king of Assyria to teach the mixed peoples, who lived in the country during the Exile, the manner of the God of the land (2 K 17[28ff.]). Bethel was reoccupied by the returning exiles (Ezr 2[28] etc.). We find it in the hands of Bacchides (1 Mac 9[50]). It was one of the towns 'in the mountains' taken by Vespasian in his march on Jerusalem (Jos. *BJ* IV. ix. 9).

2. A town in Judah, not identified, called in different places, **Bethul,** Bethel, and **Bethuel** (Jos 19[4], 1 S 30[27], 1 Ch 4[30]). W. Ewing.

BETH-EMEK ('house of the deep valley', Jos 19[27]).—A town of Zebulun in the border valley, east of Acco, apparently near Cabul. The name has not been recovered.

BETHER ('mountains of cutting'—or 'of divisions,' Ca 2[17]).—If a proper name, the famous site of Bether, near Jerusalem, might be intended. Bether is celebrated for the resistance of the Jews to Hadrian under Bar Cochba in A.D. 135. The site was recognized by Canon Williams at *Bittīr*, south-west of Jerusalem—a village on a cliff in a strong position, with a ruin near it called 'Ruin of the Jews,' from a tradition of a great Jewish massacre at this place. See Malobathron.

BETHESDA.—A reservoir at Jerusalem, remarkable (according to a gloss inserted in the text in some authori-

tative MSS) for a periodic disturbance of the water which was supposed to give it healing properties. Here were five porches. It was 'by the sheep-gate.' An impotent man, one of the many who waited for the troubling of the water, was here healed by Christ (Jn 5^{2}). The only body of water at Jerusalem that presents any analogous phenomenon is the intermittent spring known as the Virgin's Fountain, in the Kidron valley, but it is not near the Sheep-gate. There is little that can be said in favour of any other of the numerous identifications that have been proposed for this pool.

R. A. S. Macalister.

BETH-EZEL (Mic 1^{11}).—Perhaps 'place near,' see AVm: mentioned with Zaanan and Shaphir. It seems to have been a place in the Philistine plain, but the site is unknown. According to some it is = **Azel** of Zec 14^{5}.

BETH-GADER (1 Ch 2^{51}), mentioned with Bethlehem and Kiriath-jearim. It may be the same as **Geder**, Jos 12^{13}.

BETH-GAMUL (Jer 48^{23}).—A place in Moab, noticed with Dibon, Kiriathaim, and Beth-meon. It is now the ruin *Umm el-Jemāl*, towards the east of the plateau, south of Medeba.

BETH-GILGAL (Neh 12^{29}, AV 'house of Gilgal'), perhaps identical with **Gilgal** to the east of Jericho. See Gilgal

BETH-HACCHEREM ('place of the vineyard'), Neh 3^{14}, Jer 6^{1}.—It appears to have had a commanding position for a beacon or ensign. Tradition fixed on *Herodium* south of Bethlehem, probably because it was a conspicuous site near Tekoa, with which it is noticed. A possible site is *'Ain Karim*, west of Jerusalem, where there are vineyards.

BETH-HARAM was situated 'in the valley-plain of the Jordan' (Jos 13^{27}). In Nu 32^{36} **Bethharan.** Its site has been recovered at *Tell Rāmeh* at the mouth of the *Wady Hesbān*, 6 miles east from the familiar bathing-place of pilgrims in the Jordan. It was rebuilt and fortified by Herod Antipas when he became tetrarch, and in honour of the Roman empress was called Livias or Libias. Merrill (*East of the Jordan*, p. 383) gives reasons for believing that it was in the palace here that Herod celebrated his birthday by the feast recorded (Mt $14^{6\text{-}12}$, Mk $6^{21\text{-}28}$), and that the Baptist's head was brought hither from Machærus, some 20 miles south.

BETH-HARAN (Nu 32^{36}).—See Beth-haram.

BETH-HOGLAH ('place of the partridge'), Jos 15^{6} 18^{19}.—In the Jericho plain. Now the large spring called *'Ain Hajlah*, 'partridge spring,' south-east of Jericho.

BETH-HORON.—The upper and nether, two towns represented by the villages *Beit 'Ur el-foka* and *Beit 'Ur et-tahta*, said to have been built by Sheerah (1 Ch 7^{24}). Their position, as commanding the ancient great highroad from the maritime plain into the heart of the mountains of Benjamin, made these places of great importance, and several celebrated battles occurred in their neighbourhood. Here Joshua defeated the Canaanites (Jos $10^{10\text{-}14}$). Solomon fortified both these cities (2 Ch 8^{5}, 1 K 9^{17}). By this road Shishak, king of Egypt, invaded Judah. Here Judas Maccabæus defeated the Syrian general Seron (1 Mac $3^{13\text{-}24}$) and five years afterwards Nicanor ($7^{39\text{-}50}$); more than 200 years later the Jews at the same place beat back the Roman army under Cestius Gallus. In few places in Palestine can we with greater precision set history in its geographical setting; the whole ancient road, with abundant traces of Roman work, can be followed throughout, and the two *Beit 'Urs*, less than two miles apart, stand sentinel above the road as the two Beth-horons did in ancient times. The Beth-horons were on the frontier between Benjamin and Ephraim (Jos $16^{3\text{-}5}$ and $18^{13.\ 14}$). They belonged to the latter (Jos 21^{22}), and followed the Northern Kingdom. Possibly Sanballat the Horonite (Neh 2^{10}) was from here. E. W. G. Masterman.

BETH-JESHIMOTH ('the place of the desert').—The S. limit of the encampment on 'the plains of Moab' at the close of the journeyings (Nu 33^{49}). In Jos 12^{3} it is mentioned as in the S. of the Arabah towards the Dead Sea. In 13^{20} it is assigned to Reuben; and in Ezk 25^{9} it is spoken of as belonging to Moab. Eusebius places it 10 miles S. of Jericho. Some ruins and a well at the N.E. end of the Dead Sea bear the name of *Suwaimeh*, which may be a modification of *Jeshimoth*; and this situation suits the Biblical narrative.

BETH-LE-APHRAH (AV 'house of Aphrah').—The name of a town apparently in Phil. territory, whose site is quite unknown (Mic 1^{10}). In the call 'at Beth-le-Aphrah roll thyself in the dust,' there is a double play upon words, *'Aphrah* containing a punning allusion to *'aphar* (dust), and *hithpallashi* (roll thyself) to *Pelishti* (Philistine).

BETH-LEBAOTH (Jos 19^{6} 'house of lionesses'?).—A town of Simeon. See Beth-biri.

BETHLEHEM ('house of bread' or, according to some, 'of the god Lakhmu').—The name of two places in Palestine.

1. Bethlehem of Judah, otherwise **Ephrathor Ephrathah,** now represented by the town of *Beit Lahm*, 5 miles S. of Jerusalem. On the way thither Rachel was buried (Gn 35^{19} 48^{7}). Hence came the two Levites whose adventures are related in Jg 17. 19. It was the home of Elimelech, the father-in-law of Ruth (Ru 1^{1}), and here Ruth settled with her second husband Boaz, and became the ancestress of the family of David, whose connexion with Bethlehem is emphasized throughout his history (1 S $16^{1\text{-}18}$ 17^{12} 20^{6} etc.). The Philistines had here a garrison during David's outlawry (2 S 23^{14}, 1 Ch 11^{16}). Here Asahel was buried (2 S 2^{32}), and hence came Elhanan, one of the mighty men (2 S 23^{24}, cf. 21^{19}). Rehoboam fortified it (2 Ch 11^{6}), and here the murderers of Gedaliah took refuge (Jer 41^{17}). Whether the *Salma* referred to in 1 Ch $2^{51.\ 54}$ as 'father of Bethlehem' (whatever that expression may exactly mean) be the same as the *Salmon* who was father of Boaz (Ru 4^{20})—a theory the Greek version seems to justify—is doubtful. The town had some sanctity, and is indicated (Ps 132^{6}) as a suitable place for the Tabernacle. The birth of the Messiah there is prophesied in Mic 5^{2} (quoted Mt 2^{6}, Jn 7^{42}), a prophecy fulfilled by the birth of Christ (Mt $2^{1.\ 5}$, Lk $2^{4.\ 15}$). Here Herod sent to seek the new-born Christ, and not finding Him ordered the massacre of the infants of the city (Mt $2^{8.\ 16}$). The modern town, containing about 8000 inhabitants, is Christian and comparatively prosperous. Within it stands the basilica of the Nativity, founded by Constantine (about 330), and restored by Justinian (about 550) and many later emperors. Within it are shown grottoes in which the various events of the Nativity are localized with the usual unreasoning definiteness.

2. Bethlehem of Zebulun, a place named but once (Jos 19^{15}), in enumerating the towns of that tribe. It is identified with *Beit Lahm*, 7 miles N.W. of Nazareth. It is probable that this was the home of Ibzan, the judge (Jg $12^{8\text{-}10}$), as almost all the judges belonged to the northern tribes. R. A. S. Macalister.

BETH-LOMON (1 Es 5^{17}).—For Bethlehem of Judah.

BETH-MAACAH.—A descriptive epithet of the city of Abel (2 S $20^{14.\ 15}$), where 'Abel *and* B.' should be 'Abel *of* B.' (cf. 1 K 15^{20}, 2 K 15^{29}). See Abel (of) Beth-Maacah.

BETH-MARCABOTH ('place of chariots' Jos 19^{5}, 1 Ch 4^{31}).—A city of Simeon in the southern plains, near Ziklag, deserted in David's time; site unknown.

BETH-MEON.—See Baal-Meon.

BETH-MERHAK (2 S 15[17] RV, for AV 'a place that was far off'; RVm 'the Far House').—Stade and others understand it to mean *the last house* of the city. No town so called is known between Jerusalem and Jericho.

BETH-MILLO (Jg 9[6] RVm; 2 K 12[20] AVm, text 'house of Millo').—See MILLO.

BETH-NIMRAH ('place of the leopard,' Nu 32[36] etc., called **Nimrah** v.[3], and, some think, **Nimrim** Is 15[6], see NIMRIM).—A town in the territory E. of Jordan allotted to Reuben. It is represented by the modern *Tell Nimrīn*, 6 miles E. of the Jordan, about 10 miles N. of the Dead Sea, on the S. bank of *Wādy Shaïb*.

W. EWING.

BETH-PAZZEZ (Jos (19[21]).—A town of Issachar near En-gannim and En-haddah. The name has not been recovered.

BETH-PELET (RV; in AV **Beth-palet**, Jos 15[27], **Beth-phelet**, Neh 11[26]).—The **Paltite**, 2 S 23[26], called by scribal error **Pelonite** in 1 Ch 11[27] 27[10], was an inhabitant of this place. The site was south of Beer-sheba, but is unknown.

BETH-PEOR.—A city belonging to Reuben (Jos13[20]), located most probably some four or five miles north of Mt. Nebo, near the Pisgah range. Just opposite to it, in the ravine (*Wādy Hesbān* probably), the Israelites encamped (Dt 3[29] 4[46]). Moses was buried in the valley 'over against Beth-peor' (Dt 34[6]). Conder suggests a site several miles to the S., near *'Ain el-Minyeh*, but the impression given by Nu 25[1-3] is that the city was not so far distant from the plain of Shittim.

G. L. ROBINSON.

BETHPHAGE ('house of figs').—The place whence Christ, on the road from Jericho to Jerusalem, sent His disciples to fetch the ass (Mt 21[1], Mk 11[1], Lk 19[29]). It must have been close to Bethany, and is traditionally identified with *Abu Dis*, a village that satisfies this condition. R. A. S. MACALISTER.

BETH-RAPHA ('house of the giant'?).—An unknown place mentioned in 1 Ch 4[12].

BETH-REHOB.—A town or district near Laish (Jg 18[28]), whose inhabitants joined the Ammonites against David (2 S 10[6]). Its site is unknown.

R. A. S. MACALISTER.

BETHSAIDA.—A place on the shore of the Sea of Galilee, whither Christ went after feeding the five thousand (Mk 6[45], cf. Lk 9[10]), and where He healed a blind man (Mk 8[22]); the home of Philip, Andrew, and Peter (Jn 1[44] 12[21]). It was denounced by Christ for unbelief (Mt 11[21], Lk 10[13]). The town was advanced by Philip the tetrarch from a village to the dignity of a city, and named Julias, in honour of Cæsar's daughter. The situation is disputed, and, indeed, authorities differ as to whether or not there were two places of the same name, one east, one west of the Jordan. *Et-Tell*, on the northern shore of the sea, east of the Jordan, is generally identified with Bethsaida Julias: those who consider that the narrative of the crossings of the Lake (Mk 6[45]) requires another site west of the Jordan, seek it usually at *'Ain et-Tabigha* near Khan Minyeh. The latest writers, however, seem inclined to regard the hypothetical second Bethsaida as unnecessary (see Sanday, *Sacred Sites of the Gospels*, p. 41), and to regard *et-Tell* as the scene of all the incidents recorded about the town. R. A. S. MACALISTER.

BETH-SHEAN, BETH-SHAN.—The site of this ancient stronghold, allotted to Manasseh, although in the territory of Issachar (Jos 17[11ff.], Jg 1[27]), is marked by the great mound and village of *Beisān*, in the throat of the Vale of Jezreel, where it opens into the *Ghōr*. Manasseh failed to eject the Canaanites, but at a later date they were reduced to servitude. Here the Philistines dishonoured the bodies of Saul and his sons (1 S 31[7ff.]). During the Greek period it was known as **Scythopolis**; but the ancient name again prevailed in the form of *Beisān*. After changes of fortune in the Maccabæan struggle, and in the time immediately succeeding, it attained considerable prosperity as a member of the Decapolis (1 Mac 12[40], Jos. *Ant.* XIV. v. 3, *BJ* III. iv. 7, etc.). There must always have been a strong admixture of heathen inhabitants (Jos. *Vita*, 6; *Abhoda Zarah* i. 4). It is now in the hands of a body of Circassians. W. EWING.

BETH-SHEMESH ('house' or 'temple of the sun').—**1.** A town in Judah (Jos 15[10] etc., called **Ir-Shemesh** in Jos 19[41]) allotted to the children of Aaron (Jos 21[16]). Hither the ark was brought when sent back by the Philistines, and the inhabitants were smitten because of their profane curiosity (1 S 6). Here Amaziah was defeated and captured by Jehoash, king of Israel (2 K 14[11. 13]). It was one of the cities taken by the Philistines in the time of Ahaz (2 Ch 28[18]). It is identified with the modern *'Ain Shems*, on the S. slope of *Wādy es-Surār*, 15 miles W. of Jerusalem. **2.** A city in Issachar (Jos 19[22]), unidentified. **3.** A city in Naphtali (Jos 19[38]), unidentified. **4.** A city in Egypt, a seat of heathen idolatry (Jer 43[13]), identified with the ancient Heliopolis, called *'Ain Shems* by the Arabs (Wallis Budge, *The Nile*, 281f.). W. EWING.

BETH-SHITTAH ('place of the acacia,' Jg 7[22]).—In the vicinity of Abel-meholah. It is the present *Shutta*. a village on a knoll, in the Jezreel valley.

BETHSURA (1 Mac 4[29. 61] 6[7. 26. 31. 49. 50] 9[52] 10[14] 11[65] 14[7], 2 Mac 13[19. 22]).—The Greek form of **Bethzur**. In 2 Mac 11[5] **Bethsuron**.

BETH-TAPPUAH ('place of apples,' Jos 15[53]).—A town of Judah in the Hebron mountains (see **Tappuah** in 1 Ch 2[43]). Now the village *Taffuh*, west of Hebron.

BETHUEL.—**1.** The son of Nahor and Milcah, nephew of Abraham, and father of Laban and Rebekah (Gn 22[23] 24[15. 24. 47. 50] 25[20] 28[2. 5]). In Gn 28[5] (P) he is called 'Bethuel the Syrian.' **2.** 1 Ch 4[30]; or **Bethul** (Jos 19[4]). See BETHEL, **2.**

BETHUL (Jos 19[4]).—See BETHEL, No. **2.**

BETHULIA.—The locality of the scenes of the Book of Judith (Jth 4[6. 7] etc.). If not a synonym for Jerusalem itself, it is an unknown site south of the plain of Jezreel. *Mithilyah* from the similarity of the name, *Sanur* from its commanding position, and even *Shechem*, have all been suggested as possible sites.

E. W. G. MASTERMAN.

BETH-ZACHARIAS (1 Mac 6[32. 33]).—A village on the mountain pass, south of Jerusalem and west of Bethlehem, now the ruin *Beit Sakaria*. It was the scene of the defeat of Judas Maccabæus by Lysias.

BETH-ZUR ('house of rock,' Jos 15[58], 1 S 30[27] [in LXX], 1 Ch 2[45], 2 Ch 11[7], Neh 3[16]).—The **Bethsura** of 1 Mac 4[29] etc. A town of Judah in the Hebron mountains, fortified by Rehoboam, and still important after the Captivity. Judas Maccabæus here defeated the Greeks under Lysias in B.C. 165. It is the present ruined site, *Beit Sur*, on a cliff west of the Hebron road, near Halhul.

BETOLION (AV **Betolius**, 1 Es 5[21]; in Ezr 2[28] **Bethel**).—Fifty-two persons of this place returned from captivity with Zerubbabel.

BETOMASTHAIM (Jth 15[4], AV **Betomasthem**); **BETOMESTHAIM** (4[6], AV **Betomestham**).—Apparently N. of Bethulia and facing Dothan. There is a site called *Deir Massin* W. of the Dothan plain, but the antiquity of this name is doubtful.

BETONIM (Jos 13[26]).—In N. Gilead. The name may survive in that of the *Butein* district, the extreme N. of Gilead.

BETROTHING.—See MARRIAGE.

BEULAH ('married' [of a wife]).—An allegorical name applied to Israel by the Deutero-Isaiah (Is 62[4. 5]). She was no longer to be a wife deserted by God, as she had been during the Captivity, but married

(1) to God, (2) by a strange application of the figure, to her own sons.

BEWITCH.—See MAGIC.

BEWRAY.—To bewray (from Anglo-Saxon prefix *be* and *wregan*, to accuse) is not the same as to betray (from *be* and Lat. *tradere* to deliver). To bewray, now obsolete, means in AV to make known, reveal, as Mt 26^{73} 'thy speech bewrayeth thee.' Adams (*Works*, ii. 328) distinguishes the two words thus: 'he . . . will not bewray his disease, lest he betray his credit.' Sometimes, however, bewray is used in an evil sense, and is scarcely distinguishable from betray. Cf. **bewrayer** in 2 Mac 4^{1} 'a bewrayer of the money, and of his country.'

BEZAANANNIM (Jos 19^{33} RVm).—See ZAANANNIM.

BEZAI —**1**. One of those who sealed the covenant (Neh 10^{18}). **2** The eponym of a family that returned with Zerub. (Ezr 2^{17}, Neh 7^{23}) = **Bassai** of 1 Es 5^{16}.

BEZALEL.—**1.** The chief architect of the Tabernacle. The name occurs only in P and in the Bk. of Chron. (1 Ch 2^{20}, 2 Ch 1^{5}). It probably signifies 'in the shadow (*i.e.* under the protection) of El.' According to P's representation, Bezalel was expressly called by J″ (Ex 31^{2}) to superintend the erection of the 'tent of meeting,' and endowed with the special gifts required for the proper execution of his task (vv.$^{3.\ 5}$). He was also charged with the construction of the furniture for court and Tabernacle, as well as with the preparation of the priestly garments, and of the necessary oil and incense Among the gifts thus bestowed upon him, not the least was the gift of teaching the arts of which he was himself a master, to his subordinates (Ex 35^{34}), the chief of whom was Oholiab (Ex 31^{6} 35^{34} etc.). **2.** One of the sons of Pahath-moab who had married foreign wives (Ezr 10^{30}). A. R. S. KENNEDY.

BEZEK.—Two places so called are perhaps to be distinguished in OT. **1.** Jg 1^{5}. A place attacked by Judah after Joshua's death, probably *Bezkah*, a ruin W. of Jerusalem, in the lower hills. **2.** 1 S 11^{8}, where Saul gathered Israel before advancing on Jabesh-gilead The most likely site in this connexion is the ruin *Ibzik*, N.E. of Shechem, opposite Jabesh.

BEZER ('fortress').—**1.** An Asherite (1 Ch 7^{37}). **2.** A city belonging to Reuben, situated 'in the wilderness, on the *mīshōr*,' or flat table-land, E. of Jordan (Dt 4^{43}, Jos 20^{8}); a city of refuge allotted, according to P, to the Merarites (Jos 21^{36}, whence 1 Ch $6^{78\ (63)}$). It is mentioned also by Mesha' (Moab. Stone, l. 27), as being in ruins in his day, and as having been rebuilt by him, after his revolt from Ahab, and expulsion of the Israelites from the territory N. of the Arnon. From its being described as being in the 'wilderness' (cf. Dt 2^{8}) it may be inferred that it was situated towards the E. border of the Moabite table-land. The site has not yet been recovered.

BEZETH.—An unknown site, apparently near Jerusalem (1 Mac 7^{19}).

BIBLE.—**1. The Name.**—The word 'Bible' strictly employed is the title of the Jewish and Christian Scriptures, though occasionally by a loose usage of the term it is applied to the sacred writings of pagan religions. It is derived from a Greek word *Biblia*—originating in *biblos*, the inner bark of papyrus (paper)—literally meaning 'Little Books'; but since the diminutive had come into common use in late popular Greek apart from its specific signification, the term really means simply 'books.' It is the Gr. tr. of the Heb. word for 'books,' which is the oldest designation for the Jewish Scriptures as a collection (see Dn 9^{2}). The title 'Holy Books'—equivalent to our 'Holy Scripture'—came later among the Jews (1 Mac 12^{9}, Ro 1^{2}, 2 Ti 3^{15}). The Greek word *Biblia* is first met with in this connexion in the Introduction to Sirach, written by the grandson of Sirach, the phrase 'the rest of the books' implying that the Law and the Prophets previously named, as well as those books subsequently known specially as 'the Writings,' are included. It is used in the Hebrew sense, for the OT, by the unknown author of the Christian homily in the 2nd cent. designated *The Second Epistle of Clement* (xiv. 2). It does not appear as a title of the whole Christian Scriptures before the 5th cent., when it was thus employed by Greek Church writers in lists of the canonical books. Thence it passed over into the West, and then the Greek word *Biblia*, really a neuter plural, came to be treated as a Latin singular noun, a significant grammatical change that pointed to the growing sense of the unity of Scripture. The word cannot be traced in Anglo-Saxon literature, and we first have the English form of it in the 14th century. It occurs in *Piers Plowman* and Chaucer. Its adoption by Wyclif secured it as the permanent English name for the Scriptures, as Luther's use of the corresponding German word fixed that for Continental Protestants.

2. Contents and Divisions.—The Jewish Bible is the OT; the Protestant Christian Bible consists of the OT and the NT, but with the Apocrypha included in some editions; the Roman Catholic Bible contains the OT and NT, and also the Apocrypha, the latter authoritatively treated as Scripture since the Council of Trent. The main division is between the Jewish Scriptures and those which are exclusively Christian. These are known respectively as the OT and the NT. The title 'Testament' is unfortunate, since it really means a will. It appears to be derived from the Latin word *testamentum*, 'a will,' which is the tr. of the Gr. word *diathēkē*, itself in the classics also meaning 'a will.' But the LXX employs this Gr. word as the tr. of the Heb. *berith*, a word meaning 'covenant.' Therefore 'testament' in the Biblical sense really means 'covenant,' and the two parts of our Bible are the 'Old Covenant' and the 'New Covenant.' When we ask why the Gr. translators used the word meaning 'will' while they had ready to hand another word meaning 'covenant' (viz. *synthēkē*), the answer has been proposed that they perceived the essential difference between God's covenants with men and men's covenants one with another. The latter are arranged on equal terms. But God's covenants are made and offered by God and accepted by men only on God's terms. A Divine covenant is like a will in which a man disposes of his property on whatever terms he thinks fit. On the other hand, however, it may be observed that the word *diathēkē* is also used for a covenant between man and man (*e.g.* Dt 7^{2}). The origin of this term as applied by Christians to the two main divisions of Scripture is Jeremiah's promise of a New Covenant (Jer 31^{31}), endorsed by Christ (Mk 14^{24}, 1 Co 11^{25}), and enlarged upon in NT teaching (*e.g.* Gal 4^{24}, He 8^{6}). Here, however, the reference is to the Divine arrangements and pledges, not to the books of Scripture, and it is by a secondary usage that the books containing the two covenants have come to be themselves designated Testaments, or Covenants.

The Jewish division of the OT is into three parts known as (1) the Law, (2) the Prophets, and (3) the Writings, or the Sacred Writings (*Hagiographa*). The 'Law' consisted of the first 5 books of our Bible (Genesis, Exodus, Leviticus, Numbers, Deuteronomy), ascribed to Moses; and it was treated as peculiarly sacred, the most holy and authoritative portion of Scripture. It was the only part of the Hebrew Scriptures accepted by the Samaritans, who worshipped the very document containing it almost as a fetish. But the name 'Law' (Heb. *Torah*, Gr. *Nomos*) is sometimes given to the whole Jewish Bible (*e.g.* Jn 10^{34}). The 'Prophets' included not only the utterances ascribed to inspired teachers of Israel, but also the chief historical books later than the Pentateuch. There were reckoned to be 8 books of the Prophets (Joshua, Judges, Samuel, Kings, Isaiah, Jeremiah, Ezekiel, and the Minor Prophets) and 11 of the Hagiographa (Psalms, Proverbs, Job, Song of

Solomon, Ruth, Lamentations, Ecclesiastes, Esther, Daniel, Ezra, and Chronicles). Thus there were reckoned to be in all 24 books. Josephus reckoned 22—probably joining Judges to Ruth and Lamentations to Jeremiah. The list was reduced to this number by taking Samuel, Kings, Ezra and Nehemiah, and Chronicles as one book each, and by making one book of the Minor Prophets. Ezra is not divided from Nehemiah in the Talmud or the Massora.

The books now known as the Apocrypha were not in the Hebrew Bible, and were not used in the Palestinian synagogues. They were found in the LXX, which represents the enlarged Greek Canon of Alexandria. From this they passed into the Latin versions, and so into Jerome's revision, the Vulgate, which in time became the authorized Bible of the Roman Catholic Church. They were not accepted by the Protestants as Divinely inspired, but were printed in some Protestant Bibles between the OT and the NT, not in their old places in the Septuagint and Vulgate versions, where they were interspersed with the OT books as though forming part of the OT itself. The Apocrypha consists of 14 books (1 and 2 Esdras, Tobit, Judith, The Rest of Esther, The Wisdom of Solomon, Sirach, Baruch with the Epistle of Jeremy, The Song of the Three Holy Children, The History of Susanna, Bel and the Dragon, The Prayer of Manasses, 1 and 2 Maccabees).

The NT was slowly formed. Probably the first collection of any of its books was the bringing together of the Synoptic Gospels into one volume (called by Justin Martyr 'The Memoirs of the Apostles'). Subsequently the Fourth Gospel was included in this volume; Tatian's *Diatessaron* is a witness to this fact. Meanwhile collections of St. Paul's Epistles were being made, and thus there came to be two volumes known as 'The Gospel' and 'The Apostle.' The Apocalypse was early honoured as a prophetical book standing by itself. Gradually the other NT books were gathered in—probably forming a third volume. Thus the NT—like the OT—consisted of three parts—the Four Gospels, the Pauline Writings, and the remaining books. The similarity may be traced a step further. In both cases the first of the three divisions held a primacy of honour—the Law among the Jews, the Gospels among the Christians. The complete NT consists of 27 books, viz. Four Gospels, Acts, 13 Epistles of St. Paul, Hebrews, James, 2 Epistles of St. Peter, 3 of St. John, Jude, Revelation.

Within the books of the Bible there were originally no divisions, except in the case of the Psalms, which were always indicated as separate poems, and elsewhere in the case of definite statements of differences of contents, such as the Song of Miriam, the Song of Deborah, 'the words of Agur,' and 'the words of King Lemuel' (in Prov.). For convenience of reading in the synagogues, the Law was divided into sections (called *Parāshahs*). Selections from the Prophets (called *Haphtārahs*) were made to go with the appointed sections of the Law. The first indications of divisions in the NT are ascribed to Tatian. They did not break into the text, but were inserted in the margins. The earliest divisions of the Gospels were known as 'titles' (*Titloi*); somewhat similar divisions were indicated in the Epistles by 'headings' or 'chapters' (*Kephalaia*), a form of which with more numerous divisions than the 'titles' was also introduced into the Gospels. Eusebius based his harmony on the references of the sections said to have been arranged by Ammonius of Alexandria in the early part of the 3rd cent., and therefore known as the 'Ammonian Sections.' These are much shorter than our chapters. Thus in Matthew there were 68 'titles' and 355 'Ammonian Sections'; in Mark the numbers were 48 and 236, in Luke 83 and 342, and in John 18 and 232 respectively. The chapters in the Acts and the Epistles are ascribed to Euthalius, a deacon of Alexandria (subsequently bishop of Sulci, in Sardinia) in the 5th century. These chapters nearly corresponded in length to the Gospel 'titles.' Thus there were 40 in Acts, 19 in Romans, etc. A still smaller division of the books of Scripture was that of the *stichoi*, or lines, a word used for a line of poetry, and then for a similar length of prose, marked off for the payment of copyists. Subsequently it was employed for the piece of writing which a reader was supposed to render without taking breath, and the marks of the *stichoi* would be helps for the reader, indicating where he might pause. In Matthew there were 2560 *stichoi*; the same Gospel has 1071 modern verses. Scrivener calculates 19,241 *stichoi* for the 7959 modern verses of the whole NT—giving an average of nearly 2½ *stichoi* per verse. Cardinal Hugo de Sancto Caro is credited with having made our present chapter divisions about A.D. 1248 when preparing a Bible index. But it may be that he borrowed these divisions from an earlier scholar, possibly Lanfranc, or Stephen Langton. The Hebrew Bible was divided into verses by Rabbi Nathan in the 15th century. Henry Stephens states that his father Robert Stephens made verse divisions in the NT during the intervals of a journey on horseback from Paris to Lyons. Whether he actually invented these arrangements or copied them from some predecessor, they were first published in Stephens' Greek Testament of 1551.

3. Historical Origin.—The Bible is not only a library, the books of which come from various writers in different periods of time; many of these books may be said to be composed of successive literary strata, so that the authors of the most ancient parts of them belong to much earlier times than their final redactors. All the OT writers, and also all those of the NT with one exception (St. Luke), were Jews. The OT was nearly all written in the Holy Land; the only exceptions being in the case of books composed in the valley of the Euphrates during the Exile (Ezekiel, possibly Lamentations, Deutero-Isaiah, or part of it, perhaps some of the Psalms, a revision of the Law). The NT books were written in many places; most of the Epistles of St. Paul can be located; the Gospel and Epistles of St. John probably come from Ephesus or its neighbourhood; but the sites of the origin of all the other books are doubtful.

Probably the oldest book of the Bible is Amos, written about B.C. 750. A little later in the great 8th cent. we come to Hosea, Isaiah, and Micah. The 7th cent. gives us Nahum, Zephaniah, Jeremiah, and Habakkuk among the prophets, also Deuteronomy, and at the beginning of this century we have the earliest complete historical books, Samuel and Judges. The end of this century or beginning of the 6th cent. gives us Kings. In the 6th cent. also we have Obadiah (?), Ezekiel, part, if not all, of the Deutero-Isaiah (40–50), Haggai, Zechariah (1–8), Lamentations, Ruth. The 5th cent. gives us the completed Pentateuch—or rather the Hexateuch, Joshua going with the 5 books of the Law, perhaps the latter part of the Deutero-Isaiah (51–60), Malachi, Books 1 and 2 of the Psalter. The 4th cent. has Proverbs, Job, Book 3 of the Psalter, and the Prophets Joel and Jonah. From the 3rd cent. we have Chronicles, Ezra and Nehemiah, Zechariah (9–14), Ecclesiastes, Esther. Lastly, the 2nd cent. is credited with Daniel and Books 4 and 5 of the Psalter. Several of these later dates are more or less conjectural. Moreover, they refer to the completion of works some of which are composite and contain elements which originated in much earlier times. Thus Proverbs and the 5 Books of the Psalms are all collections which, though probably made at the dates assigned to them, consist of materials many of which are considerably older. When we look to the analysis of the books, and inquire as to the dates of their constituent parts, we are carried back to pre-historic ages. The Hexateuch contains four principal parts, known as J (the Jahwistic prophetic narrative), E (the Elohistic prophetic narrative), D (Deuteronomy and Deuteronomic notes in

other books), P (the Priestly Code, represented especially by Leviticus, the author of which revised the earlier parts of the Law-books and inserted additions into them). But J and E are closely intertwined—an indication that they have both been revised—and the result of this revision gives us the composite narrative known as JE. Thus we have now three main strata, viz. (1) JE, the prophetic element, written in the spirit of the prophets, dated about B.C. 700; (2) D, the moral and legal element, seen especially in Deuteronomy, dated about B.C. 620; (3) P, the priestly element, dated about B.C. 444. The author of P appears to have revised the whole work and given it out as the complete Law. This may have been done by the Euphrates during the Exile, so that the Law-book brought up to Jerusalem would be the Pentateuch (or the Hexateuch), or it may have been after the Return, in which case the Law-book would be only P. But in any case the whole work after its completion underwent some further slight revision before it assumed its present form. See HEXATEUCH.

If now we ask not what was the first complete book of the OT, but what was the first portion of the OT actually written, it is not easy to give a reply. The literature of most peoples begins with ballads. Possibly the Song of Deborah is a ballad which should have assigned to it the first place in the chronological order of Hebrew writings. Such a ballad would be handed down in tradition before it was put into writing. Then some of the laws in Exodus, those of the 'Book of the Covenant,' may have come down in tradition or even in writing, from a remote antiquity. The code of Hammurabi, king of Babylon, B.C. 2285–2242, was a written law nearly 1000 years earlier than the time of Moses. The striking resemblance between some of the laws of Israel and some of these Babylonian laws points to a certain measure of dependence. This might go back to patriarchal days; but, of course, it would have been possible for the Jews in the Exile to have access to this venerable code at the very time P was being constructed.

There is much less range of question for the dates of the NT books. The earliest date possible for any of them is A.D. 44 for James; although, as Prof. Harnack holds, perhaps this is almost the latest written book of the NT. Laying aside the much disputed question of the date of James, we have 1 Thess. as apart from this the earliest written NT book. Following the usually accepted chronology, the date of this Epistle is A.D. 53 (Harnack, A.D. 49; Turner, A.D. 51). The latest written NT book is 2 Peter, which must be assigned to a late decade of the 2nd century. Apart from this Epistle, which stands quite by itself as a pseudonymous work, and James, which may be either the earliest or one of the latest NT books, the last written works are the Johannine writings, which cannot be earlier than near the end of the 1st century. Thus we have a period of about 50 years for the composition of the bulk of the NT writings, viz. the second half of the 1st cent. A.D.

4. Original Languages.—The bulk of the OT was written in Hebrew, and without vowel points. Hebrew is the Israelite dialect of the Canaanite language, which belongs to the Semitic family, and is closely allied to Aramaic. Some portions of the OT (viz. documents in Ezr 4^{7}–6^{18} and 7^{12-26}, Dn 2^{4}–7^{28} and a few scattered words and phrases elsewhere) are in Aramaic, the language of Syria, which was widely known, being found in Babylonia, Egypt, and Arabia. After the Exile, since Aramaic then became the everyday language of the Jews, Hebrew was relegated to a position of honourable neglect as the language of literature and the Law, and Aramaic came into general use. Probably the earliest writings which are embodied in the NT were in this language. When Papias says that Matthew wrote 'the oracles of the Lord in the Hebrew dialect,' he would seem to mean Aramaic. Since Jesus taught in Aramaic, it is not likely that His discourses were translated into the more archaic language; it is more probable that they were written down in the very language in which they were spoken. Similarly, it is probable that the Gospel according to the Hebrews was in Aramaic. But, however far we may go with Dr. Marshall and Dr. Abbott in allowing that Aramaic writings are to be detected beneath and behind our Gospels, it cannot be held that any of these Gospels, or any other NT books, are translations from that language. Matthew, the most Jewish of the Gospels, contains quotations from the LXX as well as direct translations from the Hebrew OT, which shows that while its author—or at all events the author of one of its sources—knew Hebrew, the Gospel itself was a Greek composition. All the NT was originally written in Greek. It was long held that this Greek was a peculiar dialect, and as such it was named Hellenistic Greek. But the discovery of contemporary inscriptions and papyri (especially the Oxyrhynchus papyri) shows that the colloquial Greek, used in commerce and popular intercourse all round the Mediterranean during the 1st cent., has the same peculiar forms that we meet with in the NT, many of which had been attributed to Semitic influences. These discoveries necessitate the re-writing of grammars on the Greek of the NT, as Prof. Deissmann and Dr. J. H. Moulton have shown by their recent studies in the new field of research. It must still be admitted that a certain amount of Hebrew influence is felt in the NT style. This is most apparent in the Gospels, especially Matthew and above all the earlier chapters of Luke (except the Preface), and also in the Apocalypse. The Preface of Luke is the nearest approach to classical Greek that we have in the NT. After this come Hebrews, the middle and latter part of the Gospel of Luke, and Acts. St. Paul's writings and the General Epistles take an intermediate position between the most Hebraistic and the least Hebraistic writings. The Fourth Gospel is written in good Greek; but the structure of the sentences indicates a mind accustomed to think in Hebrew or Aramaic. Nevertheless, in spite of these differences, it remains true that the grammar and style of the NT are in the main the grammar and style of contemporary Greek throughout the Roman Empire.

5. Translations.—The OT was first translated into Greek, for the benefit of Jews residing in Egypt, in the version known as the Septuagint (LXX), which was begun under Ptolemy II. (B.C. 285–247), and almost, if not quite, completed before the commencement of the Christian era. Another Greek version is ascribed to Aquila, who is said to have been a disciple of the famous Rabbi Akiba, and is by some even identified with Onkelos, the author of the Targum. This version, which is commonly dated about A.D. 150, is remarkable for its pedantic literalness, the Hebrew being rendered word for word into Greek, regardless of the essential differences between the two languages in grammar and construction. On the other hand, about the end of the 2nd cent. A.D., Symmachus, who, according to Epiphanius, was a Samaritan turned Jew, although Eusebius calls him an Ebionite, produced a version the aim of which was to render the original text into idiomatic Greek of good style, with the result, however, that in some places it became a paraphrase rather than a translation. Lastly may be mentioned the version of Theodotion, a Marcionite who went over to Judaism. This is really a revision of the LXX; it is assigned to about the year A.D. 185. Other versions of all or parts of the OT are known as the *Quinta* and the *Sexta*; there are doubtful references to a *Septima*.

Oral paraphrases, the Targums, or 'interpretations,' were made in Aramaic for the benefit of Palestinian Jews; but the earliest written paraphrase is that known as the Targum of Onkelos—the official Targum of the Pentateuch

—the compilation of which in whole or part is assigned to the 2nd or 3rd cent. A.D. Later, with indications at least as late as the 7th cent. A.D., in its present form is the Jerusalem Targum, known as the Targum of pseudo-Jonathan. This is more free and interpolated with 'Haggadistic' elements. The official Targum of the Prophets also bears the name of Jonathan. Originating in Palestine in the 3rd cent. A.D., it received its final shaping in Babylon in the 5th century. The Targums of the Hagiographa are much later in date.

The oldest versions of the NT are the Syriac and the Latin, both of which may be traced back in some form to the 2nd cent. A.D., but there is much difference of opinion as to the original text of the former. First, we have the Peshitta, literally, the 'simple' version, which has become the standard accepted text in the Syrian Church. There is no doubt that in its present form this text represents successive revisions down to a late Patristic age. Two other versions, or two forms of another version of the Gospels, were discovered in the 19th cent., viz. the Curetonian, edited by Cureton, and the Sinaitic, found in a MS at the monastery of St. Catherine on Mount Sinai. Lastly, there is the version represented by Tatian's *Diatessaron*, which may be distinct from either of these. While it is admitted that a primitive text underlying the Peshitta may be as ancient as any of these versions, scholars are fairly agreed that the Peshitta, as we know it, is considerably more recent than Tatian and the Sinaitic Gospels, both of which may be assigned to the 2nd cent. A.D. The earliest Latin Version appeared before the end of the 2nd cent. and probably in North Africa, where Latin was the language commonly used, while Greek was then the language of Christian literature at Rome. Tertullian knew the North African Latin Version. Somewhat later several attempts were made in Italy to translate the NT into Latin. The confusion of text induced Damasus, bishop of Rome, to commit to Jerome (A.D. 382) the task of preparing a reliable Latin version of the Bible. This came to be known as the Vulgate, which for 1000 years was the Bible of the Western Church, and which, since the Council of Trent, has been honoured by Roman Catholics as an infallibly correct rendering of the true text of Scripture. Augustine refers to a version which he calls 'Itala,' but it has been shown that this was probably Jerome's version. The NT was early translated into Coptic, and it appeared in three dialects of that language. The Sahidic Version, in Upper Egypt, can be traced back to the 4th century. The Bohairic, formerly used at Alexandria, has been assigned to as early a date as the 2nd cent.; but Prof. Burkitt shows reasons for bringing it down to the 6th. It is the version now used ecclesiastically by the Copts. Lastly, there is the Fayumic Version, represented by MSS from the Fayum. The original Gothic Version was the work of Ulfilas in the 4th century. He had to invent an alphabet for it. This work may be considered the first literary product in a Teutonic language. The Ethiopic and Armenian Versions may be assigned to the 5th century. Subsequent ages saw the Georgian Version (6th), the Anglo-Saxon (8th to 11th), the Slavonic (9th). The Reformation period—from Wyclif onwards—saw new translations into the vernacular; but the great age of Bible translation is the 19th century. The British and Foreign Bible Society now produces the Scriptures in over 400 languages and versions.

W. F. Adeney.

BICHRI.—'Sheba the son of Bichri' (2 S 20^{1}) should rather be 'Sheba the Bichrite,' *i.e.* a descendant of Becher (Gn 46^{21}).

BIDKAR.—An officer of Ahab and afterwards of Jehu (2 K 9^{25}).

BIER.—See Mourning Customs, Tomb.

BIGTHA.—A eunuch of Ahasuerus (Est 1^{10}).

BIGTHAN (Est 2^{21}), or **BIGTHANA** (6^{2}).—One of the two eunuchs whose plot against the life of Ahasuerus was discovered and foiled by Mordecai.

BIGVAI.—**1.** A companion of Zerubbabel (Ezr 2^{2}= Neh 7^{7}; cf. Ezr 2^{14} [1 Es 5^{14} **Bagoi**, 8^{40} **Bago**]=Neh 7^{19}, Ezr 8^{14}). **2.** A signatory to the covenant (Neh 10^{16}).

BILDAD.—See Job.

BILEAM (1 Ch 6^{70}).—A Levitical city of Manasseh, the same as **Ibleam** of Jos 17^{11}, Jg 1^{27}, 2 K 9^{27}; prob. the mod. *Bel'ame* (see Moore on Jg 1^{27}).

BILGAH ('cheerfulness').—**1.** Head of the 15th course of priests (1 Ch 24^{14}). **2.** A priest who returned with Zerub. (Neh $12^{5.\ 18}$). The same as **Bilgai** (Neh 10^{8}).

BILGAI.—See Bilgah.

BILHAH.—**1.** A slave-girl given to Rachel by Laban (Gn 29^{29} (P)), and by her to Jacob as a concubine (Gn $30^{3.\ 4}$ (JE)); the mother of Dan and Naphtali (Gn $30^{4.\ 7}$ (JE) 35^{25} (P) 46^{25} (R), 1 Ch 7^{13}). She was guilty of incest with Reuben (Gn 35^{22} (P)). The etymology is uncertain. These narratives and genealogies probably embody early traditions as to the origin and mutual relations of the tribes, rather than personal history. Tribes are traced to a concubine ancestress, because they were a late accession to Israel. **2.** A Simeonite city (1 Ch 4^{29})=**Baalah** (Jos 15^{29}), **Balah** (Jos 19^{3}), and, according to some, **Baalath** (Jos 19^{44}, 1 K 9^{18}, 2 Ch 8^{6}). Site uncertain.

BILHAN.—**1.** A Horite chief, the son of Ezer (Gn 36^{27} =1 Ch 1^{42}). **2.** A descendant of Benjamin, son of Jediael, and father of seven sons who were heads of houses in their tribe (1 Ch 7^{10}).

BILL.—**1.** In the parable of the Unjust Steward (Lk $16^{6 f.}$) 'bill,' RV better **bond**, renders the Gr. *grammata*, the equivalent of the contemporary Heb. legal term *shetār* (lit. 'writing'), an acknowledgment of goods or money received written and signed by the debtor himself (*Baba bathra* x. 8). Edersheim's statement (*Life and Times of Jesus*, ii. 272) that the Gr. word was adopted into Hebrew is based on a false reading. See, further, Debt. **2.** Bill of divorce; see Marriage.

A. R. S. Kennedy.

BILSHAN ('inquirer').—A companion of Zerubbabel (Ezr 2^{2}, Neh 7^{7}=**Beelsarus**, 1 Es 5^{8}).

BIMHAL ('son of circumcision'?).—A descendant of Asher (1 Ch 7^{33}).

BINDING AND LOOSING.—See Power of the Keys.

BINEA.—A descendant of Jonathan (1 Ch 8^{37} 9^{43}).

BINNUI ('a building').—**1.** Head of a family that returned with Zerub. (Neh 7^{15}=**Bani** of Ezr 2^{10}). **2.** A Levite (Ezr 8^{33} [prob.=**Bani** of Neh 8^{7} and **Bunni** of Neh 9^{4}], Neh 12^{8}). **3.** A son of Pahath-moab (Ezr 10^{30} =**Balnuus** of 1 Es 9^{31}). **4.** A son of Bani who had married a foreign wife (Ezr 10^{38}). There appears to be a confusion in some instances between the similar names Binnui, Bani, Bigvai.

BIRD.—**1.** In OT: (1) *'ōph*, tr. 'birds' or 'fowl,' usually joined with 'of heaven' or 'of the air': see Gn $1^{21.\ 30}$, Lv 17^{13}, 2 S 21^{10}, Jer 4^{25}, Ezk $31^{6.\ 13}$; (2) *'ayit*, usually tr. 'fowls' (AV) and 'birds of prey' (RV): Gn 15^{11}, Job 28^{7}, Is 18^{6}, Ezk 39^{4}; (3) *tsippōr* (cf. Arab. *asfūr*), small birds like sparrows which twitter: Gn 7^{14}, Lv 14^{6}, Ps 84^{3} etc.; (4) *ba'al kānāph*, 'possessor of a wing,' Pr 1^{17}. **2.** In NT: (1) *peteina*, Mt 13^{4}, Lk 13^{19} etc. (2) *ornea*, 'birds of prey,' Rev 18^{2} $19^{17.\ 21}$.

Birds abound in Palestine, and evidently did so in ancient times. They were sympathetically watched and studied: we read, for example, of their migrations (Jer 8^{7} etc.), their care of their young (Dt 32^{11}, Mt 23^{37} etc.), the helplessness of their young (Pr 27^{8}, Is 16^{2} etc.), their nesting (Ps $104^{12.\ 17}$); indeed, every phase of bird life is touched upon. There are many references to the snares of the fowler (see Snares). Birds are divided into clean and unclean. In some cases they were allowed as sacrificial

offerings (Lv 1^{14-17} 14^{44-53}). It is a curious thing that the duck is not apparently (unless, as some think, in 1 K 4^{23}, under the 'fatted fowl'—*barburīm 'abūsīm*) mentioned in the OT, although a beautifully modelled clay duck of an early period, certainly earlier than the OT records, was found during the recent excavations in Gezer. All birds mentioned by name in the Bible are dealt with in separate articles.

E. W. G. Masterman.

BIRSHA (etym. and meaning unknown).—King of Gomorrah at the time of Chedorlaomer's invasion (Gn 14^{2}).

BIRTH.—See Child, Clean and Unclean, § 1.

BIRTHDAY.—Birthday celebrations are mentioned only in connexion with royalty, viz. Pharaoh's birthday (Gn 40^{20}), the monthly celebration of that of Antiochus Epiphanes (2 Mac 6^{7}), and the birthday feast given by Herod Antipas (Mt 14^{6}, Mk 6^{21}). The 'day of our king,' to which Hosea refers (7^{5}), may have been the anniversary either of the king's birth or of his accession. Some authorities (*e.g.* Edersheim, *Life and Times of Jesus*, i. 672) regard Herod's feast as celebrating the anniversary of his accession—a view based on a mistaken exegesis of the Talmudic passage *Aboda zara* i. 3 (see the full discussion in Schürer, *GJ V* [3] i. 438–441).

A. R. S. Kennedy.

BIRTHRIGHT.—See Firstborn.

BIRZAITH (1 Ch 7^{31}).—Apparently a town of Asher, probably *Bīr ez-Zeit*, near Tyre.

BISHLAM ('peaceful'?).—An officer of Artaxerxes in Pal. at the time of the return from captivity under Zerub. (Ezr 4^{7}); called **Belemus** in 1 Es 2^{16}.

BISHOP (Gr. *episkopos*, Lat. *episcopus*, Ital. *vescovo*, Fr. *évêque*, Germ. *Bischof*), **ELDER** (Gr. *presbyteros*, Lat. *presbyterus*, Fr. *prêtre*, Eng. *priest*).—The two words are so closely connected in the NT that they must be taken together here.

1. The terms.—The Greek word for 'bishop' is common in the general sense of an *overseer*, and in particular of sundry municipal officers. In LXX it is used in Is 60^{17} of taskmasters, in Neh 11^{19} of minor officials, and in 1 Mac 1^{51} of the commissioners of Antiochus who enforced idolatry. But, so far as we can see, it was not the common name for the treasurers of private associations.

In the NT the word is found five times. In Ac 20^{28} St. Paul reminds the elders of Ephesus that the Holy Ghost has made them bishops over the flock; in Ph 1^{1} he sends a greeting to the saints at Philippi 'with bishops and deacons'; in 1 Ti 3^{2} he tells Timothy that 'the bishop must be blameless,' etc.; in Tit 1^{7} he gives a similar charge to Titus; and 1 P 2^{25} speaks of Christ as 'the shepherd and bishop of your souls.'

In the OT the word 'elder' is used from early times of an official class having jurisdiction both civil and religious, so that when synagogues were built, the elders of the city would naturally be the elders of the synagogue, with the right of regulating the services and excluding offenders.

In NT times the idea would be carried over to the churches. It is indirectly recognized in Lk 22^{26}; but we cannot infer the existence of elders from Ac 5^{6}, for 'the younger men' who carry out Ananias are simply 'the young men' in v.[10] when they carry out Sapphira. The first clear trace of Christian elders is at Jerusalem. In Ac 11^{30} (A.D. 44) they receive the offerings from Barnabas and Saul; in 15^{6} (A.D. 50) they take part in the Conference; in 21^{18} (A.D. 58) they join in the welcome to St. Paul. Earlier than this may be Ja 5^{14}, where the word seems to denote officials. After this we hear no more of them till the Pastoral Epistles and 1 Peter.

For the last two hundred years it has been generally agreed that bishops and elders in the NT and for some time later are substantially identical. For (1) bishops and elders are never joined, like bishops and deacons, as distinct classes of officials. (2) Ph 1^{1} is addressed 'to bishops and deacons.' Had there been an intermediate class of elders, it could not well have been omitted. So 1 Ti 3 ignores the elders, though (5^{17}) there were elders at Ephesus, and had been (Ac 20^{17}) for some time. Conversely, Tit 1^{5-7} describes elders instead, and nearly in the same words. (3) The bishop described to Timothy, the elders of Ac 20, those of 1 Ti 5^{17}, those described to Titus, and those of 1 P 5^{2}, all seem to hold a subordinate position, and to have rather pastoral duties than what we should call episcopal. (4) The same persons are called elders and bishops (Ac $20^{17.\ 28}$). The words are also synonymous in Clement of Rome, and (by implication) in the *Teaching of the Apostles* and in Polycarp. Ignatius is the first writer who makes a single bishop ruler of a Church; and even he pleads no Apostolic command for the change.

The general equivalence of the two offices in the Apostolic age seems undeniable; and if there were minor differences between them, none have been clearly traced. The only serious doubt is whether bishops and deacons originally denoted offices at all. The words rather describe functions. Thus Ph 1^{1} 'to bishops and deacons' (no article) will mean 'such as oversee and such as serve'—that is, the higher and the lower officials, whatever titles they may bear. This would seem proved by Tit $1^{5.\ 7}$ 'that thou appoint elders . . ., for the bishop (overseer) must be blameless.' The argument is that the elder must be so and so, because the bishop must be so and so. This is vain repetition if the bishop is only the elder under another name, and bad logic if he is a ruler over the elders; but it becomes clear if the 'bishop' is not a defined official, but an overseer generally. Then, the elder being a particular sort of overseer, the argument will be from a general rule to a particular case.

2. Appointment.—At first popular election and Apostolic institution seem to have gone together. The Seven (Ac $6^{5.\ 6}$) are chosen by the people and instituted by the Apostles with prayer and laying-on of hands. In the case of the Lycaonian elders (Ac 14^{23}) the Apostles 'appointed' them with prayer and fastings. Similarly the elders in Crete (Tit 1^{5}) are 'appointed' by Titus, and apparently the bishops at Ephesus by Timothy. In these cases popular election and laying-on of hands are not mentioned; but neither are they excluded. 1 Ti 5^{22} does not refer to ordination at all, nor He 6^{2} to ordination only. The one is of the laying-on of hands in restoring offenders, while the other takes in all occasions of laying-on of hands. But in any case Timothy and Titus would have to approve the candidate before instituting him, so that the description of his qualifications is no proof that they had to select him in the first instance. Conversely, popular election is very prominent (Clement, and *Teaching*) in the next age; but neither does this exclude formal approval and institution. The elders are already attached (1 Ti 4^{14}) to the Apostles in the conveyance of special gifts; and when the Apostles died out, they would act alone in the institution to local office. The development of an episcopate is a further question, and very much a question of words if the bishop (in the later sense) was gradually developed upward from the elders. But the next stage after this was that, while the bishop instituted his own elders, he was himself instituted by the neighbouring bishops, or in still later times by the bishops of the civil province or by a metropolitan. The outline of the process is always the same. First popular election, then formal approval by authority and institution by prayer, with (at least commonly) its symbolic accompaniments of laying-on of hands and fasting.

3. Duties.—(1) *General superintendence*: Elders in Ac 20^{28}, 1 Ti 5^{17}, 1 P $5^{2.\ 3}$ (ruling badly); bishops in 1 Ti 3^{5}. Indicated *possibly* in 1 Co 12^{28} 'helps, governments': more distinctly in Eph 4^{11} 'pastors and teachers,'

in pointed contrast to 'apostles, prophets, and evangelists,' whose office was not local. So 1 Th 5^{12} 'those that are over you,' Ro 12^{8} 'he that ruleth.' and He $13^{7.\ 17.\ 24}$ 'them that have the rule over you,' remind us of the bishops and elders who rule (1 Ti 3^{4} 5^{17}). So, too, the 'rulers' in Clement must be bishops or elders, for these bishops plainly have no earthly superior, so that they must be themselves the rulers.

Under this head we may place the share taken by the elders: (*a*) at Jerusalem (Ac 15^{6}) in the deliberations of the Apostolic Conference, and (Ac 21^{18}) in the reception held by James; (*b*) elsewhere (1 Ti 4^{14}) in the laying-on of hands on Timothy, whether that corresponds to ordination or to something else.

(2) *Teaching*: 1 Th 5^{12} rulers admonishing in the Lord; 1 Ti 3^{2} the bishop apt to teach; 5^{17} double honour to the elders who rule well, especially those who toil in word and teaching; Tit 1^{9} the elder or bishop must be able to teach, and to convince the gainsayers. Yet 1 Ti 5^{17} seems to imply that elders might rule well who toiled in other duties than word and teaching; and if so, these were not the sole work of all elders.

Preaching is rather connected with the unlocal ministry of apostles, prophets, and evangelists: but in their absence the whole function of public worship would devolve on the local ministry of bishops and deacons. This becomes quite plain in the *Teaching* and in Clement.

(3) *Pastoral care*: This is conspicuous everywhere. To it we may also refer: (*a*) visiting of the sick (Ja 5^{14}) with a view to anointing and cure—not as a *viaticum* at the approach of death; (*b*) care of strangers and *a fortiori* of the poor (1 Ti 3^{2}, Tit 1^{8}, the bishop to be a lover of strangers). H. M. Gwatkin.

BISHOP'S BIBLE.—See English Versions.

BIT, BRIDLE.—The Hebrews were doubtless well acquainted with the *bit*, but there is no clear mention of it as distinct from the *bridle*, the words for which in Gr. and Lat. include bit, headstall, and reins. In Ja 3^{3} the context is decisive for 'bridle' (RV and AV 'bit'); in Ps 32^{9} for 'bit and bridle' we should probably render 'bridle and halter,' and so in the other passages where the two Hebrew words respectively occur, *e.g.* 'bridle,' Pr 26^{3}, but 'halter,' Job 30^{11}.

In Ps 39^{1} 'bridle' should certainly be 'muzzle' (cf. the corresponding verb in Dt 25^{4}). The crocodile's 'double bridle' (Job 41^{13}) is his jaws, but the text is doubtful. A. R. S. Kennedy.

BITHIAH ('daughter,' *i.e.* worshipper, 'of J"').—The daughter of a Pharaoh, who became the wife of Mered, a descendant of Judah (1 Ch 4^{18}). Whether Pharaoh is to be taken here as the Egyp. royal title or as a Heb. proper name, it is difficult to determine.

BITHRON (2 S 2^{29} 'the gorge,' probably not a proper name).—A ravine leading to Mahanaim.

BITHYNIA.—A district in the N.W. of Asia Minor, which had been a Roman province since B.C. 74. For administrative purposes it was generally united with the province of Pontus, which bounds it on the E., under one governor. The province was senatorial till about A.D. 165, and governed by a proconsul. The younger Pliny governed it from A.D. 111–113 by a special commission from the emperor Trajan. Paul and Silas were prevented by the Spirit from preaching in Bithynia (Ac 16^{7}), and the beginnings of Christianity there are unknown. It is probable that it came by the Black Sea. That there were churches there after St. Paul's time is certain from the address of the First Epistle of Peter, which was probably written A.D. 75–80. A. Souter.

BITTER HERBS (*merōrîm*, Ex 12^{8}, Nu 9^{11}).—The bitter herbs of the modern Jewish Passover in Palestine are specially lettuce and endive. Other salads, such as parsley, cucumber, chicory, and water-cress, are also commonly eaten, indeed are prime favourites. The author of La 3^{15}, in using the same word *merōrîm* (tr. 'bitterness'), doubtless had more bitter and less wholesome plants in his mind, perhaps the colocynth or *Ecballium elaterium*, the wild gourd of 2 K 4^{39}. See, further, Passover. E. W. G. Masterman.

BITTER WATER (lit., as RV, **Water of Bitterness**, Nu 5^{18}).—See Jealousy.

BITTERN (Is 14^{23} 34^{11}, Zeph 2^{14}).—Although the bird of this name—the *Botaurus stellaris*—is found in Palestine, especially in the Huleh marshes, the philological evidence is quite against this translation. The Heb. word is *kippōd*, and is generally accepted to be the equivalent of the Arab. *kunfudh*, '**porcupine**.' This animal suits the Scriptural requirements at least as well as the bittern. It (the *Hystrix cristata*) is common all over Palestine. Large specimens measure as much as 3 ft. from the nose to the tip of the spines. The porcupine is a vegetable-eating, nocturnal animal; it is solitary in its habits, and very timid of man. It glides about in the twilight or starlight in a most weird way, giving vent at times to peculiar short grunts. When roused to self-defence, the porcupine is most dangerous; its erect quills, which pierce like a needle, make it most difficult to capture. In all respects the porcupine is a likely and appropriate inhabitant of desolate ruins untrodden by the foot of man. Porcupine are eaten by both *fellahin* and *Bedouin*. E. W. G. Masterman.

BITUMEN, asphalt, or mineral pitch is an inflammable viscous substance, composed of hydrocarbons of the same series as those which constitute mineral oil or petroleum. It has in fact been described as 'petroleum hardened by evaporation and oxidation,' and may vary in consistency from a solid to a semi-liquid condition. It occurs both in Mesopotamia and Palestine. The springs at Kit, on the Euphrates, 150 miles above Babylon, are mentioned by Herodotus (i. 179), and still yield an abundant supply. There are similar springs at *Kal'at Sherkat*, on the Tigris, 60 miles S. of Nineveh (Layard, *Nineveh and its Remains*, ii. 467). In Pal. it is found at Hasbeyah, near Mt. Hermon, and in the neighbourhood of the Dead Sea (hence called *Asphaltitis Limnē* by Josephus [*BJ* iv. viii. 4] and *Lacus Asphaltites* by Pliny [*HN* v. xv. 15]). Some of the limestone strata in the last-named locality are highly bituminous, and masses of bitumen are known to float on the Dead Sea itself after earthquakes. In the OT there are three Heb. words which denote some form of this substance.

In the Flood-story *kōpher* (LXX *asphaltos*, EV **pitch**) is used in the construction of the ark (Gn 6^{14}). *Hēmar* (AV and RV **slime**, RVm 'bitumen') was the mortar employed by the early Babylonian builders (Gn 11^{3}, LXX *asphaltos*). Bitumen pits or wells, into which the pitchy liquid (LXX *asphaltos*) oozed from the earth, are mentioned as occurring in the Vale of Siddim, *i.e.* the Dead Sea basin (Gn 14^{10}). This is quite in keeping with the nature of the region, though such wells are not now found in it. In Ex 2^{3} *hēmar* is one of the substances with which the ark of bulrushes was made watertight, the other being *zepheth* (EV 'pitch'). LXX includes both in the general rendering *asphaltopissa*, and they probably denote the more solid and the more liquid varieties of bitumen respectively. *Zepheth* also occurs twice in Is 34^{9} (LXX *pissa*, EV 'pitch'). The context makes it probable that the reference is again to bitumen. James Patrick.

BIZIOTHIAH (Jos 15^{28}).—A corruption for *benōthehā* 'her villages,' referring to Beersheba (cf. also Neh 11^{27}).

BIZTHA (Est 1^{10}).—One of the seven eunuchs or chamberlains of king Ahasuerus.

BLACK.—See Colours, 2.

BLAIN.—A blain is an inflammatory swelling on the body. In one of the plagues of Egypt the dust became a 'boil breaking forth with blains upon man and upon beast' (Ex $9^{9.\ 10}$). See Botch, Medicine,

and cf. Wyclif's tr. of Job 2[7] 'He smot Iob with the werste stinkende bleyne fro the sole of the fot unto the nol.' The word is still retained in the compound *chilblain*.

BLASPHEMY.—The modern use of this word is more restricted in its range than that of either the OT or the NT. **1.** In the former it is narrower in its scope than in the latter, being almost universally confined to language or deeds (1 Mac 2[6]) derogating from the honour of God and His claims to the over-lordship of men (Lv 24[10-16], cf. 1 K 21[10. 13], 2 K 19[6] etc.). The contemptuous scorning of sacred places was regarded as blasphemy (see 1 Mac 2[6] 7[38], cf. Ac 6[13]), as was also the light and irresponsible utterance of the sacred Name (Is 52[5], Ezk 36[20], Dt 5[11]), the degradation of Jehovah-worship by conformity to pagan rites (Ezk 20[27]), and the continued wilful transgression of Divine commands and despising of 'the word of the Lord' (Nu 15[30f.]). The incident of the man gathering sticks on the Sabbath seems to be a concrete example of blasphemy (Nu 15[32f.]).

2. When we come to the NT, the word is found more frequently, and is employed in a manner more nearly allied to the usage of classical writings. The EV has accordingly tr. it often as 'railing' or slanderous talk generally (Mt 15[19] = Mk 7[22], Eph 4[31], Col 3[8], 1 Ti 6[4], Jude[9]), looked at, however, on its ethical and religious side. The cognate verb, too, is treated in the same way (Mk 15[29] = Mt 27[39], Lk 22[65] 23[39], Ro 3[8] 14[16], 1 Co 4[13] 10[30], Tit 3[2], 1 P 4[4. 14], 2 P 2[2. 10. 12], Jude [8. 10]), as is also the derived adjective (2 Ti 3[2], 2 P 2[11]).

One of the most frequent of the charges brought by the Jews against Jesus was that of blasphemy, and when we inquire into the meaning of the accusation, we find that it was the application to Himself of Divine attributes and prerogatives (Mk 2[7] = Mt 9[3], Mk 14[64] = Mt 26[65], Jn 10[33. 36]). On the other hand, the NT writers regarded the unreasoning attitude of the Jews to the claims and teaching of Jesus as blasphemous (Mk 15[29] = Mt 27[39], Lk 22[65] 23[39], Ac 13[45] 18[6]). It is interesting also to notice that this is the word put by the author of the Acts into the mouth of the town-clerk of Ephesus when he was appeasing the riotous mob who were persuaded that St. Paul and his companions had insulted the local deity (Ac 19[37]).

3. The legal punishment for blasphemy was death (Lv 24[16]), and so the Jews claimed the life of Jesus, as the just and lawful outcome of His words and teaching (Jn 19[7], cf. 10[33] 8[58f.]). The proto-martyr Stephen lost his life, too, on a charge of blasphemy (Ac 6[13] 7[58]), when his enemies, in a violent and sudden fit of rage, forgot the limitation imposed on them as vassals of the Roman Empire (cf. Jn 18[31]; see Westcott, *Gospel of St. John*, Additional Note *in loc.*). On the 'blasphemy against the Holy Ghost,' see art. SIN, III. **1**.

J. R. WILLIS.

BLASTING.—See MILDEW.

BLASTUS.—A chamberlain of Agrippa I., through whose intervention the people of Tyre and Sidon secured a hearing at Cæsarea (Ac 12[20]).

BLEMISH.—See MEDICINE.

BLESSEDNESS.—The substantive does not occur either in AV or RV of the OT, and has rightly been expunged from the RV of Ro 4[6. 9], Gal 4[15], where alone it had place in the AV of the NT. 'Blessed' and 'happy' are found in both Testaments as a varying translation of the same Heb. or Gr. word; 'blessed' greatly preponderating. The Biblical blessedness represents a conception of happiness in which the religious relation is taken into account, with its emotions and its issues. In the OT these issues sometimes lie rather in material prosperity—life, long life, wealth, children, outward peace—but it is recognized that the *conditions* of these are spiritual (Ps 1), and in not a few instances the inward and spiritual is itself represented as the *content* of true happiness (*e.g.* Ps 32 [but see v.[10]], Pr 4[7] [but see 3[2. 10]]).

In the NT the stress is decisively shifted to the spiritual *content* of blessedness, which may consist with the most adverse earthly conditions (Mt 5[10. 11], Lk 6[22], Ja 1[12]). The thought of compensation in future reward is not absent, even from the 'Beatitudes' (esp. in their Lukan form, Lk 6[20-26]); but the reward is clearly only the consummation of a blessedness already attained by the poor in spirit, the meek, the merciful, etc. In the teaching of Jesus the *summum bonum* appears now as place in the Kingdom of God, now as eternal life (*e.g.* Mt 25[34], Mk 10[17. 23], Jn 3[3-5] 4[14]), and both are described as a present possession (Lk 17[20. 21], Jn 3[36]).

Finally, in the Johannine writings the religious relation, already in the OT an essential condition of blessedness (*e.g.* Ps 2[12] 33[12]), is made supreme and in itself all-sufficing. Eternal life *is* personal union with Christ, revealer of the Father, by trust and fellowship (*e.g.* Jn 5[24] 6[54] 17[3], 1 Jn 5[11-20]). For so man becomes partaker of the life of Him who is Himself the 'blessed God' (1 Ti 1[11] 6[15]).

S. W. GREEN.

BLESSING.—See BEATITUDES.

BLINDNESS.—See MEDICINE.

BLOOD.—Among all primitive races the blood, especially of human beings, has been and is regarded with superstitious, or rather, to be just, religious awe. By the Hebrews also blood was invested with peculiar sanctity as the seat of the soul (*nephesh*), that is of the principle of life (Lv 17[11] 'the life [Heb. *nephesh*] of the flesh is in the blood'). From this fundamental conception of blood as the vehicle of life may be derived all the manifold social and religious beliefs and practices with regard to it, which play so large a part in Scripture. See ATONEMENT, CLEAN AND UNCLEAN, COVENANT, FOOD, PROPITIATION, SACRIFICE.

A. R. S. KENNEDY.

BLOOD, AVENGER OF.—See AVENGER OF BLOOD, and KIN [NEXT OF].

BLOOD, FIELD OF.—See AKELDAMA.

BLOOD, ISSUE OF.—See MEDICINE.

BLOODY FLUX, BLOODY SWEAT.—See MEDICINE.

BLUE.—See COLOURS, **5**.

BOANERGES (Mk 3[17]), 'Sons of Thunder.'—The Master's appellation of James and John. Jerome takes it as a reference to their fiery eloquence. Others derive it rather from their fiery disposition in early days (cf. Lk 9[52-56]). It would thus be a playful yet serious sobriquet, constantly reminding them of their besetting sin and warning them to overcome it.

DAVID SMITH.

BOAR.—The wild boar (Arab. *khanzîr*) is quite common in the Jordan Valley, specially in the reed thickets near the Dead Sea. It is also found on Mount Tabor. It is still noted for its destructiveness (Ps 80[13]). Though a forbidden food to the Moslem as well as the Jew (Lv 11[7], Dt 14[8]), the flesh is eaten by the nominally Moslem Bedouin of Palestine. See SWINE.

E. W. G. MASTERMAN.

BOAT.—See SHIPS AND BOATS.

BOAZ.—A Bethlehemite of wealth, the son of Salmon; grandfather of Jesse, and thus ancestor of David (Ru 4[21. 22], 1 Ch 2[11], Mt 1[5. 6], Lk 3[32]). He became the second husband of the widowed Ruth, whom he married (according to ancient Hebrew custom) as next-of-kin, when her 'near kinsman' refused to undertake this duty (Ru 4[1-10]). See RUTH.

W. O. E. OESTERLEY.

BOAZ, the name of one of the two bronze pillars which stood in front of Solomon's Temple. The other was named Jachin (1 K 7[21], 2 Ch 3[17]). See JACHIN AND BOAZ, TEMPLE.

BOCCAS.—See BORITH.

BOCHERU.—A descendant of Jonathan (1 Ch 8^{38} 9^{44}).

BOCHIM ('weepers,' Jg 2^{1}).—Unknown as a geographical site. Possibly the orig. reading was *Bethel*.

BODY in OT represents various Heb. words, especially that for 'flesh.' In Ex 24^{10} it means, by a common idiom, 'the framework of heaven'; there is no personification. In NT, though the body may be the seat of sin and death (Ro 6^{6} 7^{24}), it is never treated with contempt (Ro 12^{1}, 1 Co $6^{13.\ 19}$); Ph 3^{21} is a well-known mistranslation. Accordingly it could be used metaphorically of the Church, Christ being sometimes the Head, sometimes the Body itself. C. W. Emmet.

BODY-GUARD.—See Army, § 1, Guard.

BOHAIRIC VERSIONS.—See artt. Text (OT and NT).

BOHAN.—A son of Reuben, acc. to Jos 15^{6} 18^{17} (both P). The stone of Bohan is mentioned in these two passages as forming a mark of division between Judah and Benjamin. It is impossible to identify the site where it stood.

BOILS.—See Medicine.

BOLLED.—The boll of a plant is its seed-vessel or pod. Cf. Fitzherbert, 'The bolles of flaxe . . . made drye with the son to get out the sedes.' Thus Ex 9^{31} 'the flax was bolled,' means it had reached the seed stage. But the Heb. means only that it was in flower.

BOLSTER.—This word, which appears six times in AV (1 S $19^{13.\ 16}$ $26^{7.\ 11.\ 12.\ 16}$) as the rendering of a Heb. word signifying 'the place at the head,' 'head-place,' has rightly disappeared from RV, which gives 'head' throughout. A. R. S. Kennedy.

BOLT.—See House, § 6.

BOND.—**1.** See Band. **2.** See Bill. **3.** See Chain.

BONDAGE, BONDMAID, BONDMAN, etc.—See Slave, Slavery.

BONES is used widely in OT as a synonym for the body, living or dead, or the person (Ps 42^{10} 51^{8}). As the solid framework of the body, the bones are the seat of health and strength, so that breaking, rottenness, dryness of the bones are frequent figures for sickness or moral disorder (Pr 14^{30} 17^{22}, Ps 6^{2} 22^{14}). 'Bone of my bone' answers to the English phrase 'of the same blood'; but the concluding words of Eph 5^{30} should be omitted. In Lk 24^{39} the unique expression seems to emphasize the nature of the Resurrection body, as different from the ordinary 'flesh and blood.' See Gibson, *Thirty-Nine Articles*, p. 188.

C. W. Emmet.

BONNET.—With the exception of Is 3^{20}, this is the AV designation of the special headdress of the rank and file of the priesthood according to the priestly writer (Ex 28^{40} 29^{9} etc., RV **head-tire**). It consisted of a long swathe of fine white linen wound round the head—note Ex 29^{9} RV 'bind (*or* wind) head-tires'—to form an egg-shaped turban. Cf. Jos. *Ant.* III. vii. 3; and Rich, *Dict. Rom. and Gr. Ant. s.v.* 'pileus' for illust. of the egg-shaped cap of Ulysses, with which Jerome compares the priestly turban. See Dress, 5, Mitre.

A. R. S. Kennedy.

BOOK.—**1.** A roll of papyrus or parchment; see Writing. **2.** A sacred or canonical document (Dn 9^{2}); see Canon of OT. **3.** 'Book of life,' etc.; see next art. and Eschatology.

BOOK OF LIFE.—The legalistic conception of morality which existed among the Jews involved a record of the deeds of life on the basis of which the final judgment of God would be given. Allied with this was another conception, derived from the custom of enrolling citizens (Jer 22^{30}, Neh $7^{5.\ 64}$ $12^{22f.}$; cf. Ex 32^{32}), of a list of those who were to partake of the blessings of the Messianic Age. A second natural step was to conceive of God as keeping two sets of books, a Book of Life (Dn $12^{1ff.}$, Mal 3^{16}, Ps 69^{28}) for the righteous, and a Book of Death for the wicked (Jub xxx 20–22). To have one's name blotted out from the Book of Life was equivalent to complete condemnation (Eth. Enoch 108^{3}).

In the Apocalyptic writings of Judaism the Final Judgment was to be based upon the records contained in the books supposedly kept by the archangel Michael. In some cases Rabbinical thought elaborated the figure until each man was to read and sign his record. The judgment of God was thus supposed to be based upon absolute justice, and determined by the balance of recorded good and evil deeds. In the NT are to be found references both to the books of records (Rev $20^{12.\ 15}$; cf. Dn 7^{10}, Eth. Enoch $89^{61ff.}$), and to the books containing a list of those who were to enjoy eternal life (Lk 10^{20}, Ph 4^{3}, He 12^{23}, Rev 3^{5} 13^{8} 17^{8} 21^{27}). Shailer Mathews.

BOOT.—See Armour, § 2 (*d*), Dress, § 6.

BOOTH.—The Heb. *sukkāh* (note Gn 33^{17} RVm) was a simple structure made of the branches of trees, which the peasant erected for rest and shelter in his field or vineyard (Is 1^{8} RV). In AV and RV it is variously rendered **booth, cottage, hut, pavilion, tabernacle, tent.** The booth was also a convenient shelter for cattle (Gn 33^{17}) and for the army in the field (2 S 11^{11} RV).

A. R. S. Kennedy.

BOOTHS, FEAST OF.—See Tabernacles.

BOOTY.—See War. Cf. Ban.

BORDER (of the garment).—See Fringes.

BORITH.—An ancestor of Ezra (2 Es 1^{2}); called in 1 Es 8^{2} **Boccas**, and in Ezr 7^{4} **Bukki.**

BORROWING.—See Debt.

BOSOR (1 Mac $5^{26.\ 36}$).—A town in Gilead. The site is uncertain.

BOSORA (1 Mac $5^{26.\ 28}$).—Mentioned with Bosor. Apparently the great city of Bosrah—the Roman Bostra on the E. of Bashan, which is not mentioned in the Bible.

BOSS.—Only Job 15^{26}, where it is doubtful whether metal bosses for strengthening the shield are implied in the figure, or whether we should render 'the stout curves of his bucklers.' A. R. S. Kennedy.

BOTCH.—A botch (connected with 'beat' and 'boss') is a swelling, an eruption in the skin. It occurs in reference to Dt 28^{27} 'the botch of Egypt.' See Blain, Medicine. The modern word is 'boil,' which is also the more common word for the same Heb. in AV. For the Eng. word see Milton *PL* xii. 180—

'Botches and blaines must all his flesh imboss.'

BOTTLE.—Although glass was not unknown in Palestine in Bible times, the various words rendered 'bottle' in AV denote almost exclusively receptacles of skin. In RV the NT revisers have wisely introduced **skins** and **wine-skins** in the familiar parable (Mt 9^{17} ‖), but their OT collaborators have done so only where, as in Jos $9^{4.\ 13}$, the context absolutely required it. These skins of the domestic animals, in particular of the goat, were used not only, as we have seen, for wine, but for water (Gn 21^{14}), milk (Jg 4^{19}), oil, and other liquids. They were doubtless used, as at the present day, both tanned and untanned. In later times (Mishna), the larger skins sometimes received a coating of pitch on the inside, and were furnished at the neck with a reed to serve as a funnel.

The 'potter's earthen bottle' of Jer $19^{1.\ 10}$ was a narrow-necked wine-jar, which might also be used for honey (1 K 14^{3} EV 'cruse'). A. R. S. Kennedy.

BOTTOMLESS PIT.—See Abyss.

BOW, BATTLE BOW.—See Armour, 1 (*d*).

BOWELS.—The bowels are in Biblical language the seat of the emotions. Hence Ps 40^{8} 'Thy law is in the midst of my bowels,' *i.e.* the object of my deepest affection.

BOWL.—It is impossible to distinguish with certainty between the numerous words rendered, somewhat indiscriminately, 'cup,' 'bason,' and 'bowl.' The wandering Bedouin of to-day make little use, for obvious reasons, of the fragile products of the potter's art, preferring vessels of skin, wood, and copper. The 'lordly dish' with which Sisera was served (Jg 5^{25}) was a bowl, doubtless of wood; so too, perhaps, Gideon's bowl (6^{38}) which bears the same name. For ordinary domestic purposes bowls of glazed or unglazed earthenware were preferred, of which specimens in endless variety have been unearthed (see POTTERY). Among the wealthier classes silver and even gold (1 K 10^{21}) were employed. Of one or other of these were doubtless the large bowls—the word elsewhere used for the sacrificial basons (wh. see)—from which the nobles of Samaria quaffed their wine (Am 6^{6}). Similar, probably, were the large wine-bowls, distinguished from the smaller cups, to which Jeremiah refers (Jer 35^{5} RV and AV 'pots').

From the above are to be distinguished the bowl or reservoir for the oil of the 'candlestick' (Zec $4^{2f.}$), the golden cup-like ornaments of the Tabernacle lampstand (Ex 25^{31} AV 'bowls,' RV 'cups'), and the 'bowls of the chapiters' (2 Ch $4^{12f.}$ RV and AV **'pommels'**). See, further, CUP, BASON, VIAL.

For an important ritual use of bowls and lamps, recently discovered, see HOUSE, § 3.

A. R. S. KENNEDY.

BOX.—**1.** The nature of the prophet's 'box of oil' (2 K $9^{1.\ 3}$ RV **vial**, as 1 S 10^{1} AV) is unknown. Was it another name for 'the horn of oil' of 1 K 1^{39}? **2.** For the 'alabaster box' (Mt 26^{7} ||, RV **cruse**) see JEWELS AND PRECIOUS STONES, *ad fin.* **3.** For Judas' money-box (Jn 12^{6} 13^{29} AV 'bag,' RVm 'box') see BAG. **4.** Nothing is known of the **perfume boxes** (lit. 'houses, *i.e.* receptacles of perfume [or perhaps ointment]') of the Jerusalem ladies (Is 3^{20} RV and A^{V} 'tablets').

A. R. S. KENNEDY.

BOX-TREE (*teashshūr*, Is 41^{19} 60^{13}, Ezk 27^{6}).—Whether the *teashshūr* was the box-tree (*Buxus longifolia*) or the *sherbin*, mod. Arab. for the cypress (*Cupressus sempervirens*), as RV adopts, or, as others propose, a kind of juniper, is quite unsettled. So good an authority as Post rejects the first as improbable.

E. W. G. MASTERMAN.

BOY.—See CHILD, FAMILY.

BOZEZ (1 S 14^{4}).—A steep cliff on one side of the Michmash gorge opposite Seneh. It seems to be the northern cliff, a remarkable bastion of rock E. of Michmash.

BOZKATH.—A town of Judah (Jos 15^{39}, 2 K 22^{1}), in the plain near Lachish and Eglon. Unknown.

BOZRAH ('fortification').—**1.** An Edomite city known only as the place of origin of Jobab, son of Zerah, one of the Edomite kings (Gn 36^{33}, 1 Ch 1^{44}). It was, however, of such importance in the kingdom of Edom that it is coupled with the name of the latter in poetic parallelisms (*e.g.* the denunciation in Is 34^{6}; cf. Jer 49^{22}). The reference in Is 63^{1} to 'dyed garments' of Bozrah, and in Mic 2^{12} to 'sheep of Bozrah,' may indicate the industries for which it was noted. The guesses that have been made at its identification are of no importance. **2.** A Moabite city denounced by Jeremiah (48^{24}), and also unknown.

R. A. S. MACALISTER.

BRACELETS.—See ORNAMENTS, § **4.**

BRAMBLE.—See THORNS.

BRAN.—The burning of bran for incense is mentioned in Bar 6^{43} as an accompaniment of the idolatrous worship of the women of Babylon.

BRANCH.—**1.** The great variety of Heb. words rendered by our 'branch' may be gathered from the following list of passages, in each of which a different term is used: Gn 40^{10}, Ex 25^{33}, Nu 13^{23}, Is 16^{8} 27^{10}, Jer 11^{16}, Zec 4^{12}, Ps 104^{12}, Job 15^{32} 18^{16}. In the following verses RV or RVm adds or substitutes another word: Is 18^{5} ('spreading branches') 25^{5} ('song'), Ezk $17^{3.\ 22}$ ('top,' 'lofty top'), Ps 80^{15} ('Heb. *son*': RVm of Gn 49^{22}, in like manner has 'Heb. *daughters*'), Pr 11^{28} ('leaf') Job 8^{16} ('shoot'). In the NT four Greek words are translated 'branch,' but RVm points out that 'layers of leaves' are meant at Mk 11^{8}, and at Jn 12^{13} *palm*-branches are in question. **2.** 'Branch' is used figuratively for human offspring (Job 15^{32}), especially for the scion of a royal house (Dn 11^{7}); also for persons in lofty station (Is 9^{14}). The Heb. *netser*, properly signifying 'sprout' or 'shoot,' but rendered 'branch' (Is 11^{1}), is a designation of the Messianic king; not improbably this was in the Evangelist's mind when he wrote Mt 2^{23}. We have the same English term at Jer 23^{5} 33^{15}, where another word, *tsemach*, is a title of the Messiah, intimating that this 'shoot' should arise out of 'the low estate' of the restored remnant. Zec 3^{8} 6^{12}, following Jeremiah, actually makes *Tsemach* a proper name. The Targ. on Jer. and Zech. unhesitatingly substitutes for it 'the Messiah.'

J. TAYLOR.

BRASIER.—See COAL and FIREPAN.

BRASS is an alloy of copper and zinc, the general use of which is comparatively modern. In ancient times its place was supplied by **bronze**, an alloy of copper and tin. Where 'brass' occurs in EV, we must understand either bronze or copper itself. In some of the references, such as those to mining (Dt 8^{9} 'out of whose hills thou mayest dig brass') and smelting (Job 28^{2} 'Iron is taken out of the earth, and brass is molten out of the stone'), it is clear that only **copper** can be meant, and RVm adopts this rendering everywhere (see on Gn 4^{22}). Copper is not found in Palestine proper, but in the Lebanon and Hermon (possibly the 'mountains of brass' of Zec 6^{1}). Weapons of copper have been found at Tell el-Hesy (dating from *c.* B.C. 1500). From very early times copper was largely worked by the Egyptians in the Sinaitic peninsula, where traces of the mining and smelting are still to be seen. A full account of these operations and their remains is given in Flinders Petrie's *Researches in Sinai*.

JAMES PATRICK.

BRAVERY.—In Is 3^{18} 'the bravery of their tinkling ornaments,' bravery means splendour, ostentation. The word is connected with 'brag.'

BRAZEN SEA.—See TEMPLE.

BRAZEN SERPENT.—See SERPENT [BRAZEN].

BREACH.—'Breach' is a literal trans. of the Heb. in 2 S 6^{8} and 1 Ch 13^{11} 'the Lord had made a breach upon Uzzah,' and in Job 16^{14} 'He breaketh me with breach upon breach.' The word in both places is used figuratively of an outburst of wrath.

BREAD.—The pre-eminence of bread in the dietary of the Hebrews is shown by the frequent use in OT, from Gn 3^{19} onwards, of 'bread' for food in general. It was made chiefly from wheat and barley, occasionally mixed, more especially in times of scarcity, with other ingredients (Ezk 4^{9}; see FOOD). Barley was in earlier times the main breadstuff of the peasantry (Jg 7^{13}) and poorer classes generally (Jn 6^{13}, cf. Jos *BJ* v. x. 2).

The first step in bread-making, after thoroughly sifting and cleaning the grain, was to reduce it to flour by rubbing, pounding, or grinding (cf. Nu 11^{8}). In the first process, not yet extinct in Egypt for certain grains, the grain was rubbed between two stones, the 'corn-rubbers' or 'corn-grinders,' of which numerous specimens have been found at Lachish and Gezer (*PEFSt*, 1902, 326; 1903, 118; cf. Erman, *Egypt*, 180 for illust. of actual use). For the other two processes see MORTAR and MILL respectively. Three qualities of flour are distinguished—a coarser sort got by the use of the pestle and mortar, the 'beaten (RV 'bruised'

corn' of Lv 2[14. 16], ordinary flour or 'meal,' and the 'fine meal' for honoured guests (Gn 18[6]) or 'fine flour' for a king's kitchen (1 K 4[22]) and the ritual meal-offerings.

The flour was then mixed with water and kneaded in the wooden basin or **kneading-trough** (Ex 8[3] 12[34]). In a case of urgency the dough was at once made into **cakes** and fired. These unleavened cakes were termed *mazzoth* and were alone permitted for the altar and during Passover and the immediately following Feast of Unleavened Cakes (*Mazzoth*). On ordinary occasions, however, a small lump of yesterday's baking, which had been reserved for the purpose, was broken down and mixed with to-day's 'batch.' The whole was then set aside for a few hours till thoroughly leavened (see LEAVEN).

Three modes of firing bread are found in OT, as in the East at the present day. (*a*) The first is represented by Elijah's 'cake baken on the hot stones' (1 K 19[6] RVm). A few flat stones are gathered together, and a fire lighted upon them. When the stones are sufficiently heated, the embers are raked aside, the cakes are laid on the stones and covered with the embers. After a little the ashes are again removed, the cake is turned (Hos 7[8]) and once more covered. Presently the cake is ready. (*b*) In Syria and Arabia to-day a convex iron plate is much used, especially among the Bedouin. It is placed over a small fire-pit with the convex side uppermost, on which the cakes of dough are laid and fired. The Hebrew **'baking-pan'** (Lv 2[5] 7[9] RV) must have resembled this species of iron 'girdle.' (*c*) The settled population, however, chiefly made use of one or other of the various kinds of **oven**, then as now called *tannur*. In one form, which may be termed the bowl-oven, since it consists of a large clay bowl inverted, with a movable lid, the heat is applied by heaping cattle dung, etc., on the *outside*. The cakes are baked on the heated stones covered by the oven. In other parts of the country the jar-oven is used. This is really a large earthenware jar which is heated by fuel, consisting of stubble (Mal 4[1]), grass (Mt 6[30]), dry twigs (1 K 17[12]) and the like, placed in the bottom of the jar. When the latter is thoroughly heated, the cakes are applied to the inside walls. From this type was developed the pit-oven, which was formed partly in the ground, partly built up of clay and plastered throughout, narrowing from the bottom upwards. Many of these pit-ovens have been discovered in the recent excavations. It is to the smoke issuing from one of these, while being heated, that the smoke of the ruined cities of the plain is compared in Gn 19[28] (EV **furnace**, and often unnecessary rendering for 'oven'). Such no doubt were the ovens of the professional bakers in the street named after them in Jerusalem (Jer 37[21]).

Bread-making was at all times the special charge of the women of the household. Even when, as we have just seen, baking became a recognized industry, a large part of the baker's work had been, as now in the East, merely to fire the bread baked by the women at home.

A considerable variety of **bakemeats** (Gn 40[17], lit. 'food, the work of the baker') is met with in OT, but only in a few cases is it possible to identify their nature or form. The ordinary cake—the **loaf** of OT and NT—was round and fairly thick; such at least was the rolling 'cake of barley bread' of Jg 7[13]. These cakes were always broken by the hand, never cut. A cake frequently used for ritual purposes (Ex 29[2] and often) seems, from its name, to have been pierced with holes like the modern Passover-cakes. The precise nature of the **cracknels** of 1 K 14[3] (Amer. RV 'cakes') is unknown. The **wafer**, often named in ritual passages (cf. also Ex 16[31]), was evidently a very thin species of cake. For what may be called the pastry of the Hebrews, the curious in these matters are referred to the art. 'Bakemeats' in the *Encyc. Bibl.* col. 460 f.

A. R. S. KENNEDY.

BREAKFAST.—See MEALS.

BREASTPLATE.—See ARMOUR, 2 (*c*).

BREASTPLATE (of the High Priest).—In the directions for the official dress of the high priest, as laid down by the priestly writer, a prominent place is occupied by the breastplate or pectoral. The fuller designation 'the breastplate of judgment' (Ex 28[15], Sir 45[10]) is significant of the purpose of the breastplate, which was to form a fitting receptacle or pouch for the Urim and Thummim (wh. see), by means of which judgment was pronounced. The special directions for the making of the breastplate are given in Ex 28[13-30] (cf. 39[8-21]). It was made of an oblong piece of richly wrought linen, which, folded in two, formed a square of half a cubit, or 9 inches, in the side. Attached to the outer side were four rows of precious stones in gold settings, twelve in all, each stone having engraved upon it the name of a tribe 'for a memorial before J" continually' (28[29]). The breastplate was kept in position by means of two cords of 'wreathen work' of gold, by which it was attached to a couple of gold 'ouches' (probably rosettes of gold filigree) on the shoulder-pieces of the ephod, while the lower part was fastened to the ephod by a 'lace of blue' (28[28]) at each corner.

A. R. S. KENNEDY.

BREECHES.—Rather short drawers of white linen ordered to be worn by the priests on grounds of modesty (Ex 28[42], Lv 16[4], Ezk 44[18], Sir 45[8]). Josephus describes those worn in his time in his *Ant.* III. vii. 1. The modern trousers are represented in AV by **hosen** (wh. see).

A. R. S. KENNEDY.

BRETHREN OF THE LORD.—Jesus was Mary's first-born (Lk 2[7]), and she subsequently (according to the view accepted in the present article) bore to Joseph four sons, James, Joseph, Judas, and Simon, and several daughters (Mt 13[55-56] = Mk 6[3]). During His ministry the Lord's brethren did not believe in Him. They sneered at Him (Jn 7[3-5]), and once they concluded that He was mad, and wished to arrest Him and convey Him away from Capernaum (Mk 3[21. 31]). After the Resurrection, however, convinced by so tremendous a demonstration, they joined the company of the believers (Ac 1[14]).

In early days, partly at least in the interests of the notion of Mary's perpetual virginity, two theories were promulgated in regard to the 'Brethren of the Lord.' (*a*) They were supposed to be *sons of Joseph by a former marriage*, having thus no blood-relationship with Jesus. So Origen, Clement of Alexandria, Epiphanius. (*b*) They were held to be His *cousins, sons of Mary, the wife of Alphæus* (Mt 27[56] = Mk 15[40]); 'brother' here implying merely kinship, as Abraham calls himself and his nephew Lot 'brethren' (Gn 13[8]), and Laban calls Jacob, his sister's son, his 'brother' (29[15]). So Jerome and Augustine. That Mary, the wife of Alphæus and mother of James the Little, was a sister of Mary the mother of Jesus, is an inference from Jn 19[25], where it is supposed that only three women are mentioned: (1) His mother, (2) His mother's sister, viz., Mary, the wife of Clopas (= Alphæus), and (3) Mary Magdalene. But there are probably four: (1) His mother, (2) her sister Salome, the mother of the sons of Zebedee (cf. Mt. = Mk.), (3) Mary, the wife of Clopas, and (4) Mary Magdalene. It is very unlikely that two sisters should have been named Mary; and moreover, James, the son of Alphæus, was an Apostle (Mt 10[3] = Mk 3[18] = Lk 6[15]), and none of the Lord's brethren was an Apostle in His life-time (cf. Ac 1[13-14]).

DAVID SMITH.

BRIBERY.—See CRIMES AND PUNISHMENTS, § 5.

BRICK.—The use of sun-dried bricks as building material in OT times, alongside of the more durable limestone, is attested both by the excavations and by Scripture references (see HOUSE). The process of brick-making shows the same simplicity in every age and country. Suitable clay is thoroughly moistened,

and reduced to a uniform consistency by tramping and kneading (Nah 3^{14} RV 'go into the clay, and tread the mortar'). It then passes to the brick-moulder, who places the right quantity in his mould, an open wooden frame with one of its four sides prolonged as a handle, wiping off the superfluous clay with his hand. The mould is removed and the brick left on the ground to dry in the sun. Sometimes greater consistency was given to the clay by mixing it with chopped straw and the refuse of the threshing-floor, as related in the familiar passage Ex 5^{7-19}. As regards the daily 'tale of bricks' there referred to, an expert moulder in Egypt to-day is said to be able to turn out no fewer than 'about 3000 bricks' *per diem* (Vigouroux, *Dict. de la Bible*, i. 1932). The Egyptian bricks resembled our own in shape, while those of Babylonia were generally as broad as they were long. According to Flinders Petrie, the earliest Palestine bricks followed the Babylonian pattern.

There is no evidence in OT of the making of kiln-burnt bricks, which was evidently a foreign custom to the author of Gn 11^3. The **brickkiln** of 2 S 12^{31}, Nah 3^{14} is really the **brick-mould** (so RVm). In the obscure passage Jer 43^9 RV has **brickwork**. A curious ritual use of bricks as incense-altars is mentioned in Is 65^3.

Reference may also be made to the use of clay as a writing material, which was introduced into Palestine from Babylonia, and, as we now know, continued in use in certain quarters till the time of Hezekiah at least. Plans of buildings, estates, and cities were drawn on such clay tablets, a practice which illustrates the command to Ezekiel to draw a plan of Jerusalem upon a tile or clay brick (4^1, see the elaborate note by Haupt in 'Ezekiel' (*PB*), 98 ff.). A. R. S. Kennedy.

BRIDE, BRIDEGROOM.—See Marriage.

BRIDGE.—Only 2 Mac 12^{13} AV, where RV reads the proper name *Gephyrun*. For the extreme antiquity of the arch see Arch.

BRIDLE.—See Bit.

BRIER.—See Thorns.

BRIGANDINE.—The 'brigand' was originally simply a light-armed irregular foot soldier, and the coat of mail which he wore was called a 'brigandine.' The word is used in Jer 46^4 51^3 (RV 'coat of mail'). See Armour.

BRIMSTONE, or sulphur, is one of the chemical elements. It is found in volcanic regions both uncombined as a deposit and also as a constituent of the gases (sulphur di-oxide and sulphuretted hydrogen) which are exhaled from the earth or dissolved in the water of hot springs. Such sulphur springs are abundant in the Jordan Valley and on the shores of the Dead Sea. The account of the destruction of the Cities of the Plain (Gn $19^{24.\ 28}$, Lk 17^{29}) states that the Lord rained upon them 'brimstone and fire from the Lord out of heaven,' and the most generally accepted view is that the disaster was due to an eruption of petroleum, caused by an earthquake. This is more probable on geological grounds than a volcanic eruption. In either case the 'brimstone' would not be solid sulphur, but the choking gases mentioned above, which would accompany the rain of fire (see Driver, *in loc.*; Tristram, *Land of Israel*, 353 f.; Dawson, *Egypt and Syria*, 129 f.). This passage suggests the imagery of a number of others in which 'fire and brimstone' are agencies of destruction (Ps 11^6, Ezk 38^{22}, Rev $9^{17.\ 18}$ 14^{10} 19^{20} 20^{10} 21^8). In the last three of these the peculiar feature of the 'lake' may be a reminiscence of a volcanic crater filled with molten lava and exhaling sulphurous fumes (cf. the 'great mountain burning with fire,' Rev 9^6). In Dt 29^{23} there is a warning that if Israel is disobedient, their whole land will be 'brimstone and salt,' like the desolate region round the Dead Sea. In Is 34^9 a similar threat is uttered against Edom. In Is 30^{33} the 'breath of the Lord' kindling Tophet, is like a stream of brimstone. James Patrick.

BROAD PLACE.—See City.

BROID.—To broid or to braid is to plait. Both spellings are used in AV, 1 Ti 2^9 'with broided hair' (Gr. 'in plaits'), Jth 10^3 'braided the hair of her head.'

BROIDER.—This Eng. word has no connexion with *broid*. It means to adorn cloth with needlework. The mod. form is *embroider*. 'Broider' occurs in Ex 28^4 and in Ezk $16^{10.\ 13.\ 18}$ 26^{16} $27^{7.\ 16.\ 24}$. See Embroidery.

BRONZE.—See Brass.

BROOCH.—Ex 35^{22} RV, for AV 'bracelets.' See Ornaments, § 5.

BROOK.—The Heb. words thus rendered are—**1.** *'Aphīq*, meaning the actual bed of the stream (Ps 42^1), tr. also by 'stream' and 'river.' **2.** *Ye'ōr*—almost always used of the Nile and water-trenches of Egypt. It is tr. 'brook' only in Is $19^{6.\ 7.\ 8}$. Once it is used for the water-channel (Job 28^{10}); once (Is 33^{21}) it is rendered 'stream'; while in Dn 12 it stands for the Tigris. **3.** *Mīkhal* (2 S 17^{20}), a word of uncertain derivation and meaning. **4.** *Nachal* is the most usual word for EV 'brook.' It is the exact equivalent of the Arab *wādy*, which means a valley containing a stream of water. It may be applied to the valley (Nu 21^{12} etc.), or to the water-course alone (Dt 9^{21} etc.), which is still 'the wady,' even after it has escaped from the valley.

The slopes of the mountain range of Western Palestine are deeply furrowed by a succession of great wadys. The sides of the mountains that dip into the Jordan Valley are far steeper than those to the W., and the streams flowing eastward plunge down through awful chasms, worn deep with the lapse of ages. In the longer descent westward the valleys frequently open into beautiful and fertile glades. For the most part the brooks, fed only by the rain, dry up in the summer-time, and the mills along their banks fall silent, waking to fresh activity again only with the music of the rushing storm. There are, however, streams fed by perennial springs, such as *el-'Aujeh* and the Kishon, W. of Jordan, and the Yarmuk and the Jabbok on the east.
W. Ewing.

BROOM.—See Juniper.

BROTHER.—See Family, and Brethren of the Lord.

BROTHERLY LOVE.—*Philadelphia* is not 'brotherlike love,' but 'brother-love,' the love one has for brothers or sisters, *scil.* 'love of the brethren,'—so AV in 1 P 1^{22} and RV uniformly (add Ro 12^{10}, 1 Th 4^9, He 13^1, 2 P 1^7). The adjective in 1 P 3^8 should be rendered 'loving your brethren,' not 'loving as brethren' (AV, RV). This adj. appears in classical Gr. in its primary (family) sense, as the epithet, *e.g.*, of the Græco-Egyptian king Ptolemy *Philadelphus*, and of Attalus II. of Pergamus, founder of Philadelphia (Rev 1^{11} etc.), named after this king. The term received no wider application in either Greek or Jewish (OT) ethics; Jews called each other 'brethren' as being 'children of the stock of Abraham' (Ac 13^{26}). First occurring in its religious use in 1 Thess., *philadelphia* looks like a coinage of St. Paul's; but its elements lie in the teaching of Jesus. 'Calling no one on earth father' because they 'have one Father, the heavenly Father,' His disciples are 'all brothers' (Mt $23^{8.\ 9}$; cf. 6^9): the love of the natural household is transferred, with a deepened sense, to 'the household of faith' (see Gal 6^{10}, Eph 2^{19}). This sentiment is formed in the community gathered around Christ its 'first-born,' the family of the 'sons' and 'heirs of God and joint-heirs with Christ' (Ro $8^{14-17.\ 29}$). 'Go to my brethren,' the Risen Lord had said, 'and tell them, I ascend unto my Father and your Father' (Jn 20^{17}; cf. Mt $12^{49.\ 50}$ 28^{10}); He required them to cherish toward each other the love He showed toward them, making this the mark of discipleship (Jn $13^{34.\ 35}$ $15^{12.\ 13}$, 1 Jn $2^{7.\ 8}$ 3^{11} $4^{20.\ 21}$, 2 Jn^5, 1 Co 8^{11} etc.).

The body to which this love belongs is called 'the brotherhood' in 1 P 2^{17} (also 5^{9}), where 'love to the brotherhood' is associated with respect for humanity and fear of God as a fundamental Christian instinct (cf. 1 Th 4^{9}, Col 3^{14}, 1 Co 13, etc.). St. Paul describes this affection as the mutual 'care' of 'members' of 'one body' (1 Co $12^{12\text{-}27}$); it forbids envy, unkindness, schism; it animates, and virtually includes, all services and duties of Christians towards each other (1 Co 13, Gal $5^{13\text{-}15}$); it is the first 'fruit of the Spirit' (Gal 5^{22}, cf. $4^{6.\ 7}$ 5^{6}), the fruit of God's love to us and the test of our love to God (1 Jn $4^{11\text{-}21}$), 'the fulfilment of the law' (Ro $13^{8\text{-}10}$), and the crown of Christian purity (1 P 1^{22}); the Cross supplies its model and its inspiration (Eph 4^{31}–5^{2}, 1 Jn 3^{16}). When St. Paul speaks of 'love,' he means 'brother-love' in the first place, but not exclusively (Gal 6^{10}, 1 Th 5^{15}, Ro $12^{18\text{-}21}$; cf. Mt $5^{43\text{-}48}$ etc.). Amongst the manifestations of *philadelphia*, hospitality (*philoxenia*) is conspicuous (He $13^{1.\ 2}$, 1 P $4^{8\text{-}10}$, 3 Jn $5\text{-}8$); also 'communication' or 'ministering to the necessities of the saints' (Ro $12^{12.\ 13}$ 15^{25}, He 6^{10} 13^{16}, 1 Jn $3^{17.\ 18}$). The prominence, and strangeness to the world, of this feature of primitive Christianity are strikingly attested by the *Epistle to Diognetus*, § 1, Tertullian's *Apol.* § 39, and (from outside) Lucian's *de Morte Peregrini*, xii. 16, and Julian's *Epist.* 49.

G. G. Findlay.

BROWN.—See Colours, § 2.

BRUIT.—A bruit (pronounced as *brute*) is a rumour or report (Fr. *bruit*, from *bruire* to roar). Thus 2 Mac 4^{39} 'the bruit of his manliness was spread everywhere'; Nah 3^{19} 'all that hear the bruit of thee shall clap the hands over thee.'

BUCKET.—See House, 9.

BUCKLE.—See Ornaments, § 5.

BUCKLER.—See Armour, 2 (*a*).

BUGEAN.—A descriptive epithet applied to Haman in Ad. Est 12^{6} RV (AV has 'Agagite'). *Bougaios* occurs in Homer (*Il.* xiii. 824, *Od.* xviii. 79) as a term of reproach ='bully' or 'braggart.' Whether the Sept. intended it in this sense, or as a gentilic adjective, is wholly uncertain.

BUILDER.—See Arts and Crafts, 3.

BUKKI.—**1.** Son of Jogli, a prince of the tribe of Dan, and one of the ten men entrusted with the task of dividing the land of Canaan among the tribes of Israel (Nu 34^{22}). **2.** Son of Abishua and father of Uzzi, fifth in descent from Aaron in the line of the high priests through Phinehas (1 Ch $6^{5.\ 51}$, Ezr 7^{4}). In 1 Es 8^{2} he is called **Boccas**, for which **Borith** is substituted in 2 Es 1^{2}.

BUKKIAH.—A Levite of the sons of Heman, and leader of the sixth band or course in the Temple service (1 Ch $25^{4.\ 13}$).

BUL.—1 K 6^{38}, the Canaanite name for the month which the Babylonians termed **Marcheshvan.** See Time.

BULL, BULLOCK.—See Ox.

BULRUSH.—See Reed.

BULWARK.—See Fortification and Siegecraft.

BUNAH ('intelligence').—A man of Judah, a son of Jerahmeel (1 Ch 2^{25}).

BUNCH.—Besides meaning *bundle* (of hyssop, Ex 12^{22}, Heb. 'something *tied* together') and *cluster* (of raisins, 2 S 16^{1}, 1 Ch 12^{40}, Heb. 'something *dried*'), bunch is used also for the hump of a camel in Is 30^{6}. Cf. Shaks. *Rich. III.* I. iii. 248—

'This pois'nous bunch-back'd toad.'

BUNDLE.—A bundle of money is spoken of in Gn 42^{35}, of myrrh in Ca 1^{13}, of life in 1 S 25^{29} (on wh. see *Exp. Times*, xvii. 435); also in Jer 10^{17} RVm a bundle for a journey (see Driver's *Jer.* p. 354); and in NT of tares (Mt 13^{30}) and of sticks (Ac 28^{3}).

BUNNI, Neh 9^{4} 10^{15} 11^{15}, but in each case perhaps the text is corrupt.

BURDEN.—The word so rendered in the OT is derived from a root which means to 'lift' or 'carry.' It has the two senses of an actual burden and a prophetic utterance. Instances of the former are 2 K 5^{17}, Neh 13^{19}, Nu 4^{15}. Related usages are frequent; in Is 22^{25} the word suggests the pressure of something hanging on a peg, in Nu 11^{11} the responsibility and in Hos 8^{10} the privilege of government, in Ps 38^{4} the responsibility for sin. The second sense is that of a solemn utterance, and the marginal alternative 'oracle' (Is 14^{28} *et al.*) is to be preferred. It was customary to explain this use of the word as due to the threatening character of the utterance; but many of the utterances are not threatening (cf. Zec 12. $9^{1.\ 9\text{-}17}$; in Pr 30^{1} and 31^{1} RV puts 'oracle' in the text and 'burden' in the margin), and the word-play in Jer $23^{33ff.}$ involves a reproof of the men who were disposed to regard the oracle of God as literally a burden. Most utterances of the prophets, moreover, were of necessity from their occasion minatory. 'Burden' in this second usage denotes simply something taken up solemnly upon the lips, both weighty in itself and weighty in its communication. It is not used of merely human utterances, but always carries with it the suggestion of Divine inspiration, actual or falsely assumed (La 2^{14}).

In the NT, Ac 21^{3} is an instance of the literal use. The figures are easy. The word is used for the ordinances of the Law as interpreted by the Pharisees (Mt 23^{4}, Lk 11^{46}), for the prohibitions of the Apostolic decree (Ac 15^{28}; cf. Rev 2^{24}), for the pressure and load of life (Mt 20^{12}), for an exacting or even legitimate charge upon others (2 Co 11^{9} $12^{13f.}$), for the imagined difficulties of following Christ (Mt 11^{30}). Two other kinds of burdens with their right treatment are contrasted. Other men's errors and sorrows must be shared in sympathy (Gal 6^{2}); though in the service of Christ there can be no transfer of obligations, but each man must carry his own kit and do his own duty (Gal 6^{5}).

R. W. Moss.

BURGLARY.—See Crimes and Punishments, § 6.

BURIAL.—See Mourning Customs, Tomb.

BURNING.—See Crimes and Punishments, § 11.

BURNING BUSH.—See Bush.

BURNT-OFFERING.—See Sacrifice.

BUSH (*seneh*, Ex $3^{2\text{-}4}$, Dt 33^{16}).—The 'burning bush' has traditionally been supposed to be a kind of bramble (*Rubus*), of which Palestine has several varieties, but one of the thorny shrubs of Sinai of the acacia family would seem more probable. Sacred bushes and trees are common in Palestine and Arabia. 'In (*or* at) the bush' in Mt 12^{26} || Lk 20^{37} = the passage dealing with the burning bush (RV 'in *the place concerning* the bush').

E. W. G. Masterman.

BUSHEL.—See Weights and Measures.

BUTLER.—See Cupbearer.

BUTTER.—See Food, Milk.

BUZ.—**1.** The second son of Nahor and Milcah, and nephew of Abraham (Gn 22^{21}). Elihu, one of the friends of Job (Job 32^{2}), is called a **Buzite**, and may have belonged to a tribe of that name against which judgments are denounced by Jeremiah (Jer 25^{23}). **2.** A man of the tribe of Gad (1 Ch 5^{14}).

BUZI.—The father of the prophet Ezekiel (ch. 1^{3}) and consequently a member of the priestly house of Zadok. Of the man himself nothing is known. Jewish writers were led to identify him with Jeremiah, partly by a supposed connexion of the name with a verb meaning 'despise,' and partly by a theory that when the father of a prophet is named it is to be understood that he also was a prophet.

BUZITE.—See Buz.

BY.—In the Authorized Version *of* is generally used for the agent and *by* for the instrument. Thus Mt 1^{22} 'that it might be fulfilled which was spoken of (RV 'by') the Lord by (RV 'through') the prophet.'

In 1 Co 4^{4} 'I know nothing by myself,' *by* means *contrary to, against*, as in Hamilton's *Catechism*, 1559 (the Tabil), 'Jugis quhilk fur lufe of rewardis dois ony thing by the ordour of justice'; also fol. vii., 'cursit ar thai quhilk gangis by ye commondis of God.'

BY AND BY.—In AV 'by and by' means *immediately*, not as now *after some time*. Thus Lk 21^{8} 'the end is not by and by' (RV 'immediately').

BYWAY.—See Roads.

C

CAB.—See Weights and Measures.

CABBON (Jos 15^{40}).—A town of Judah near Eglon. See Machbena.

CABIN.—The Eng. word 'cabin' is now chiefly confined to an apartment in a ship, but was formerly used of any small room. It occurs in AV for the cell (which is the word in AVm and RV) in which Jeremiah was confined (Jer 37^{16}). Cf. Spenser, *FQ* I. vi. 23—

> 'So long in secret cabin there he held
> Her captive to his sensual desire.'

CABUL (Jos 19^{27}, 1 K 9^{13}).—A town of Asher on the border of Zebulun. The district was ceded by Solomon to Tyre. Prob. the large village *Kabul*, E. of Acco.

CÆSAR.—This is the *cognomen* or surname of the *gens Julia*, which was borne, for example, by its most illustrious representative, Caius Julius Cæsar. The emperor Augustus (B.C. 23–A.D. 14) had it by adoption, and was officially named 'Imperator Cæsar Augustus.' His stepson, the emperor Tiberius, officially 'Tiberius Cæsar Augustus' (A.D. 14–37), had it through his adoption by Augustus. It was borne also, amongst other less important persons, by the emperor Caius Cæsar Germanicus (nicknamed 'Caligula,' 'Boots') (A.D. 37–41), who was a son of Germanicus, the adopted son of the emperor Tiberius. These alone among the Roman emperors had it as a family name, but all the emperors bore it as a title except Vitellius (A.D. 69), and hence we find it continued in the titles *Kaiser* and *Czar*. The beginning of this use is seen in the NT. There the name is found always, except twice (Lk 2^{1} 3^{1}), by itself, simply equal to 'the Emperor.' The remaining emperors of the 1st cent. are Claudius (wh. see), Nero (wh. see), Galba (9 June 68–15 Jan. 69), Otho (15 Jan.–25 Apr. 69), Vitellius (2 Jan. 69–20 [?] Dec. 70), Vespasian (69–79), Titus (71–79–81), Domitian (81–96), Nerva (96–98), Trajan (97–98–117). A. Souter.

CÆSAR'S HOUSEHOLD.—In Ph 4^{22} 'they that are of Cæsar's house' send special greetings to the Philippians. St. Paul wrote from Rome, where he was in semi-captivity, and some of the Christians in Rome belonged to the efficient and talented body of slaves and freedmen who worked in the Imperial palace and performed varied service for the emperor Nero. The number of these servants was very large, and amongst them were accountants, governors of provinces, secretaries, stewards, etc., as well as a great many officials concerned with humbler duties. They were persons of influence and often of considerable wealth, drawn from all nations within the Empire. The testimony of inscriptions makes it certain that most of the persons named in Ro 16 were 'of Cæsar's household.' A. Souter.

CÆSAREA (mod. *Kaisariyeh*).—A city rebuilt by Herod the Great on the site of Straton's Tower, on the coast of Palestine, between Joppa and Dora. Its special features were—a large harbour protected by a huge mole and by a wall with 10 lofty towers and colossi; a promenade round the port, with arches where sailors could lodge; a temple of Augustus raised on a platform, and visible far out at sea, containing two colossal statues of Rome and the Emperor; a system of drainage whereby the tides were utilized to flush the streets; walls embracing a semicircular area stretching for a mile along the sea-coast; two aqueducts, one of them 8 miles in length, displaying great engineering skill; a hippodrome; an amphitheatre capable of seating 20,000 persons; a theatre; a court of justice, and many other noble structures. The city took 12 years to build, and Herod celebrated its completion (B.C. 10–9) with sumptuous games and entertainments which cost £120,000. Herod used the port for his frequent voyages. Here he condemned to death his two sons Alexander and Aristobulus. After the banishment of Herod's successor Archelaus, Cæsarea became the official residence of the Roman procurators of Palestine (broken only by the brief interval during which it was under the independent rule of Herod Agrippa I., who met his tragic death here in B.C. 44 [Ac 12^{20-23}]). The fifth of these, Pontius Pilate, ordered a massacre in the hippodrome of Cæsarea of those Jews who had flocked to implore the removal from Jerusalem of the profane eagle standards and images of the Emperor recently introduced. Only on their baring their necks for death and thus refusing to submit, did Pilate revoke the order, and direct the ensigns to be removed. Christianity early found its way here, Philip probably being the founder of the Church (Ac 8^{41}), while Paul passed through after his first visit to Jerusalem (Ac 19^{30}). Cæsarea was the scene of the baptism of Cornelius (Ac 10). Here also the Holy Spirit for the first time fell on heathen, thus inaugurating the Gentile Pentecost (v.^{44}). Paul may have passed through Cæsarea (Ac 18^{22}) at the time when numbers of Jewish patriots, captured by Cumanus, had here been crucified by Quadratus, legate of Syria. It was at Cæsarea that Paul's arrest in Jerusalem was foretold by Agabus (Ac 21^{8-14}). Here he was imprisoned for two years under Felix (Ac 23). During that time a riot broke out between Greeks and Jews as to their respective rights, and Felix ordered a general massacre of the Jews to be carried out in the city. On the recall of Felix, Nero sent Porcius Festus, who tried Paul (Ac 25^{9}) and also allowed him to state his case before Herod Agrippa II. and Berenice (Ac 26). The wickedness of the last procurator, Gessius Florus, finally drove the Jews into revolt. A riot in Cæsarea led to a massacre in Jerusalem, and simultaneously 20,000 of the Jewish population of Cæsarea were slaughtered. During the Great War, Cæsarea was used as the base for operations, first by Vespasian, who was here proclaimed Emperor by his soldiers (A.D. 69), and latterly by his son Titus, who completed the destruction of Jerusalem. The latter celebrated the birthday of his brother Domitian by forcing 2500 Jews to fight with beasts in the arena at Cæsarea. The city was made into a Roman colony, renamed *Colonia Prima Flavia Augusta Cæsarensis*, released from taxation, and recognized as the capital of Palestine.

Several Church Councils were held at Cæsarea. It was from A.D. 200 to 451 the residence of the Metropolitan bishop

of Palestine. Origen taught there, and Eusebius was its bishop from A.D. 313 to 340. It was the birthplace of Procopius, the historian. In A.D. 548 the Christians were massacred by the Jews and Samaritans. In 638 it surrendered to the Moslems under Abu Obeida. It was recovered in 1102 by Baldwin I., who massacred the Saracens in the mosque, once the Christian cathedral. The loot contained the so-called 'Holy Grail' of mediæval legend. Saladin recaptured Cæsarea in 1187, but it was retaken by Richard I. in 1192. The city, however, was so ruined that when restored it covered only one-tenth of the original ground. In 1251 Louis IX. fortified it strongly. In 1265 it was stormed by Sultan Bibars, who utterly demolished it. To-day it is a wilderness of dreary ruins, tenanted only by a few wandering shepherds.

G. A. Frank Knight.

CÆSAREA PHILIPPI.—The scene of Christ's charge to Peter (Mt 16^{13-20}, Mk 8^{27}). Here was a sanctuary of Pan—a fact still remembered in the modern name *Banias*—and when Herod the Great received the territory from Augustus in B.C. 20, he erected here a temple. His son Philip refounded the city, and changed its name from Paneas to *Cæsarea* in honour of Augustus—adding his own name to distinguish the town from the similarly named city founded by his father on the sea-coast. For a while it was called *Neronias*, but ultimately the old name came once more to the surface and ousted the others. Here Titus celebrated with gladiatorial shows the capture of Jerusalem. It was captured by the Crusaders in 1130, and finally lost by them to the Moslems in 1165. It lies 1150 ft. above the sea in a recess of the Hermon mountains, and is well watered. Under the ancient castle of the Crusaders a copious stream issued from a cave, now much choked with fallen fragments of rock, where was the shrine of Pan. The modern village is small, and the remains of the Roman city meagre. R. A. S. Macalister.

CAGE.—Birds were taken to market in a cage or coop of wicker work (Jer 5^{27}); a similar cage might hold a decoy-bird in fowling (Sir 11^{30}). One of Ashurbanipal's hunting scenes shows a cage of strong wooden bars from which a lion is being let loose (cf. Ezk 19^{8} RV). In Rev 18^{2} render, with RV, 'hold' or 'prison' for AV 'cage.'

A. R. S. Kennedy.

CAIAPHAS.—Joseph Caiaphas, the son-in-law of Annas (Jn 18^{13}), was high priest between A.D. 18 and 36; and thus 'the memorable year' of our Lord's trial fell in the course of his pontificate (Jn 11^{51} 18^{13}). He was, like all the priestly order, a Sadducee; and he was a man of masterful temper, with his full share of the insolence which was a Sadducæan characteristic. He figures thrice in the NT. **1.** After the raising of Lazarus, the rulers, alarmed at the access of popularity which it brought to Jesus, convened a meeting of the Sanhedrin to determine what should be done. Caiaphas presided *ex officio*, and with a high hand forced a resolution that Jesus should be put to death (Jn $11^{47ff.}$). **2.** He presided at the subsequent meeting of the Sanhedrin when Jesus was tried and condemned; and there again he displayed his character by his open determination to find Him guilty, and his shameless disregard of the forms of law in order to bring about that end (Jn 18^{24}, Mt 26^{57-68} = Mk 14^{53-65} = Lk 22^{66-71}). **3.** He took part in the examination of Peter and John (Ac 4^{6}).

David Smith.

CAIN.—In Gn 4^{1} the name (*Qayin*) is derived from *qānāh*, 'procure.' This, however, is linguistically impossible. It is probably to be connected with a root signifying to 'forge' in metal (cf. vv.$^{22-24}$).

1. (*a*) vv.$^{1-16}$ (J). Cain and Abel are represented as the sons of Adam and Eve. But it is clear that the narrative was at one time independent of Adam and Eve; it presupposes a much later stage in human progress. The distinction between pastoral and agricultural life (v.^{2}), and between cereal and animal offerings (vv.$^{3.\ 4}$), the custom of blood-revenge (v.^{14}), and the large increase in the number of human beings implied in Cain's fear of being slain (vv.$^{14.\ 15}$), in his possession of a wife (v.^{17}), and in his erection of a city (*ib.*), all show that a long period must be understood to have elapsed since the primitive condition of the first pair. The meaning of certain passages in the story is uncertain; vv.$^{7.\ 13.\ 15}$ must be studied in the commentaries. When Cain was condemned to be a fugitive and a wanderer, he feared death in revenge for his murder of Abel; but Jahweh 'appointed a sign' for him. This is not explained, but the writer probably thought of it as something which rendered Cain sacrosanct, so that, according to a deeply rooted Semitic conception, it would be a defilement and a crime to touch him (see art. Holiness). And he went and dwelt (v.^{16}) in the land of Nōd ('Wanderland'). The fact that the story appears to describe conditions long subsequent to those of the first pair has led many writers to hold that Cain is the eponymous ancestor of a tribe, and that the tradition was intended to explain the wild and wandering life of Arabian nomads. This kind of life, so different from the prosperous peace of settled agricultural communities, must have been the result of a primitive curse, incurred by some crime. And the narrative relates that the settled, agricultural Cainite tribe ruthlessly destroyed members of an adjacent tribe of pastoral habits; that the fear of strict blood-revenge was so great that the Cainites were obliged to leave their country, and become wandering nomads; and that some tribal sign or badge—such as a tattoo, or incisions in the flesh—was adopted, which marked its possessors as being under the protection of their tribal god. It is further conjectured, owing to the formation of the two names from the same root, that 'Cain' stands for the Kenites (cf. Nu 24^{22}, Jg 4^{11} with RVm). See Driver, *Genesis*, p. 72.

(*b*) vv.$^{17-24}$ seem to contain a different tradition, but incorporated also by J. Cain's erection of a city scarcely seems to harmonize with his being a fugitive and a wanderer in fear of his life. The purpose of the tradition was to explain the origin of early arts and social conditions—*e.g.* the beginnings of city-life (v.^{17}), polygamy (v.^{19}), nomad life (v.^{20}), music (v.^{21}), metallurgy (v.^{22}).

2. The value of the story lies, as always, mainly in its religious teaching. We know not of how much crude superstition and polytheism the tradition may have been divested by the prophetical writer who edited it. But in its present form, the connexion of Cain with Adam and Eve suggests the thought of the terrible effects of the Fall: the next generation reaches a deeper degree of guilt; Cain is more hardened than Adam, in that he feels no shame but boldly tries to conceal his guilt; and the punishment is worse—Adam was to till the ground with labour, but Cain would not henceforth receive from the earth her strength. The story teaches also the sacredness of human life, the moral holiness of God, and the truth that a result of sin is a liability to succumb to further sin (v.^{7b}).

3. In the NT Cain is referred to in He 11^{4}, Jude ^{11}, 1 Jn 3^{12}. The latter passage must be explained by vv.$^{9.\ 10}$. The children of God—*qua* children of God—cannot sin; and conversely the children of the devil cannot do righteousness or love one another. Cain, then, murdered his brother because he belonged to the latter category, and his brother to the former.

A. H. M'Neile.

CAINAN.—**1.** The son of Enos and father of Mahalaleel (Lk 3^{37}). See Kenan. **2.** The son of Arphaxad (Lk 3^{36}, which follows LXX of Gn 10^{24} 11^{12}). The name is wanting in the Heb. text of the last two passages.

CAKE.—See Bread.

CALAH.—The *Kalach* of the inscriptions, one of the great fortresses which after the fall of Nineveh (cf. Jon 4^{11} and the Greek writers) were supposed to make up that city. Both Nineveh and Calah were, however, always separate in structure and in administration. Calah lay on the site of the great modern mounds of *Nimrūd*, as was first proved by the explorer Layard.

In Gn $10^{11f.}$ it is said to have been founded by Nimrod, and, along with Nineveh and other cities, to have formed part of 'the great city.' It was the capital, or at least the chief royal residence, under several of the greatest Assyrian kings, whose palaces have been excavated by modern explorers. Here also was found the famous black obelisk of Shalmaneser II.

J. F. McCURDY.

CALAMOLALUS (1 Es 5^{22}).—A corrupt place-name, probably due to a conglomeration of the two names Lod and Hadid in Ezr 2^{33} (cf. Neh 7^{37}).

CALAMUS.—See REED.

CALCOL.—A Judahite, a descendant of Zerah (1 Ch 2^{6}), otherwise described in 1 K 4^{31} (where AV has **Chalcol**) as a son of Mahol, famous for wisdom, but surpassed by Solomon.

CALDRON.—See HOUSE, § 9.

CALEB ('dog,' one of the numerous animal names in the OT which testify to early totemistic conceptions). —The son of Jephunneh (Nu 13^{6}). As an *individual*, he appears as one of the spies who were sent to 'spy out the land' of Canaan. He represented the tribe of Judah, and, together with Joshua, advocated an immediate attack upon the land; the fear of the people he denounces as rebellion against Jahweh (Nu 14^{9}); this, however, is resented by the people, who threaten to stone both him and Joshua. The carrying out of this threat is frustrated by the appearance of the Shekinah ('the glory of the Lord') in the Tabernacle (v.^{10}). As a reward for his faithfulness Caleb is specially singled out for Jahweh's favour (Nu $14^{24.\ 30.\ 38}$, Dt 1^{36}). He is thus one of the great champions of Jahweh.

As a name of a *clan*, Caleb (=Calebites) formed a branch of the children of Kenaz, an Edomite tribe, who settled in the hill-country north of the Negeb; they had possessions also in the Negeb itself (Jos $14^{13\text{-}15}$, 1 S 30^{14}, 1 Ch $2^{42ff.}$); they ultimately became absorbed in the tribe of Judah. W. O. E. OESTERLEY.

CALEB-EPHRATHAH.—Named in 1 Ch 2^{24} as the place where Hezron died. It is not improbable, however, that we should read: 'after Hezron died, Caleb came unto Ephrath the wife of Hezron his father.'

CALENDAR.—See TIME.

CALF, GOLDEN.—The incident of 'the golden calf' is related in detail in Ex 32 (cf. Dt $9^{7\text{-}21}$), a chapter which belongs to the composite Prophetic source of the Pentateuch (JE). At the request of the people, who had begun to despair of Moses' return from the mount, Aaron consented to make a god who should go before them on the journey to Canaan. From the golden ear-rings of their wives and children he fashioned an image of a young bull; this, rather than 'calf,' is the rendering of the Heb. word in the present connexion. The view that 'calf is diminutive and sarcastic for bull' is precluded by the use of the word elsewhere to denote the young but mature animal. A 'feast to J″' was proclaimed for the following day, and an altar erected on which sacrifice was offered. The sequel tells of Moses' return, of the destruction of the image, and finally of Moses' call to his tribesmen, the sons of Levi, to prove their zeal for the pure worship of J″ by taking summary vengeance on the backsliders, 3000 of whom fell by their swords.

Two to three centuries later, **bull images** again emerge in the history of Israel. Among the measures taken by Jeroboam I. for the consolidation of his new kingdom was one which was primarily designed to secure its independence of the rival kingdom of the South in the all-important matter of public worship. With this end in view, perhaps also with the subsidiary purpose of reconciling the priesthood of the local sanctuaries to the new order of things, Jeroboam set up two golden 'calves,' one at Bethel and the other at Dan, the two most important sanctuaries, geographically and historically, in his realm (1 K $12^{26\text{-}33}$, 2 Ch $11^{14f.}$). Of the workmanship of Jeroboam's 'calves,' as of that of Aaron, it is impossible to speak with certainty. The former probably, the latter possibly (cf. Ex 32^{20}), consisted of a wooden core overlaid with gold. The view that the Heb. term necessarily implies that the images were small, has been shown above to be groundless. It is also uncertain whether the other chief sanctuaries of the kingdom were at a later period provided with similar images, the leading passage (Am 8^{14}) being capable of another interpretation.

With regard to the religious significance of this action on the part of Jeroboam, it is now admitted on all hands that the bulls are to be recognized as symbols of J″. He, and He alone, was worshipped both in the wilderness (see Ex 32^{5} 'a feast to J″') and at Bethel and Dan under the symbol of the golden bull. For the source of this symbolism we must not look to Egypt, as did the scholars of former days, but to the primitive religious conceptions of the Semitic stock to which the Hebrews belonged. Evidence, both literary and monumental, has accumulated in recent years, showing that among their Semitic kin the bull was associated with various deities as the symbol of vital energy and strength. Jeroboam, therefore, may be regarded as having merely given official sanction to a symbolism with which the Hebrews had been familiar, if not from time immemorial, at least since their association with the Canaanites.

A comparison of Ex 32^{8} with 1 K 12^{28} shows that the two narratives have a literary connexion, of which more than one explanation is possible. In the opinion of most recent scholars, the author or editor of Ex 32 has adapted the traditional material on which he worked so as to provide a polemic, in the spirit of Hosea, against the established worship of the Northern Kingdom, which is here represented as condemned in advance by J″ Himself (Ex $32^{7f.}$). The attitude of Amos to this feature of the established worship at Bethel is not so evident as might have been expected, but of the attitude of Hosea there can be no doubt. It is one of profound scorn and bitter hostility (see $8^{5f.}$ 10^{5} 13^{2}—the last passage gives the interesting detail that the bulls were kissed like the black stone in the Kaaba at Mecca). In the same spirit, and in harmony with the true character of the religion of J″), as revealed through the prophets who succeeded Hosea, the Deuteronomic editor of the Books of Kings repeatedly characterizes the introduction of the bull images into the cult of J″ as the sin wherewith Jeroboam made Israel to sin (1 K 14^{16} 15^{26} etc.). A. R. S. KENNEDY.

CALITAS.—One of the Levites who undertook to repudiate his 'strange wife,' 1 Es 9^{23}. He bore a second name, **Colius**. A Levite of the same name, and probably the same person, is mentioned in v.^{48} as one of those who expounded the Law. See also KELAIAH.

CALLISTHENES (2 Mac 8^{33}).—A Syrian, captured by the Jews in a small house, where he had taken refuge after the great victory over Nicanor and Gorgias, in B.C. 165 (cf. 1 Mac $4^{1\text{-}34}$). At a festival in celebration of the victory, the Jews burnt Callisthenes to death, because he had set fire to the portals of the Temple (cf. 1 Mac 4^{38}).

CALNEH, CALNO.—**1.** Calneh is associated in Gn 10^{10} with Babylon, Erech, and Accad as the earliest cities of Shinar. The Talmudic assertion that 'Calneh means Nippur' receives some support from the age and importance of Nippur, but it is not known that this was ever the name of that city. *Kulunu*, the early name of an important city near Babylon, may be meant. **2.** Calneh, linked with Hamath and Gath in Am 6^{2}, is probably the Kulnia (Kullani) associated with Arpad and Hadrach, Syrian cities, in the Assyrian 'tribute' lists, *Kullanhu* now six miles from Arpad. **3.** Calno,

compared with Carchemish in Is 10^9, is probably the same as No. 2. C. H. W. Johns.

CALVARY (Lk 23^{33}).—See Golgotha.

CALVES OF THE LIPS.—Hos 14^2 (AV 'so will we render the calves of our lips'; RV ' . . . [as] bullocks [the offering of] our lips'), an obscure passage. A very slight change of the MT yields the LXX and Syr. rendering 'the *fruit* of our lips.'

CAMEL.—The bones of camels are found among the remains of the earliest Semitic civilization at Gezer, B.C. 3000 or earlier, and to-day camels are among the most common and important of domesticated animals in Palestine. They have thus been associated with every era of history in the land. Two species are known: the one-humped *Camelus dromedarius*, by far the more common in Bible lands; and the Bactrian, two-humped *Camelus bactrianus*, which comes from the plateau of Central Asia. This latter is to-day kept in considerable numbers by Turkomans settled in the *Jaulan*, and long caravans of these magnificent beasts may sometimes be encountered coming across the Jordan into Galilee or on the Jericho-Jerusalem road. The *C. dromedarius* is kept chiefly for burden-bearing, and enormous are the loads of corn, wood, charcoal, stone, furniture, etc., which these patient animals carry: 600 to 800 lbs. are quite average loads. Their owners often ride on the top of the load, or on the empty baggage-saddle when returning; Moslem women and children are carried in a kind of palanquin—the camel's furniture of Gn 31^{34}. For swift travelling a different breed of camel known as *hajîn* is employed. Such a camel will get over the ground at eight to ten miles an hour, and keep going eighteen hours in the twenty-four. These animals are employed near Beersheba, and also regularly to carry the mails across the desert from Damascus to Baghdad. They may be the 'dromedaries' of Est 8^{10}.

Camels are bred by countless thousands in the lands to the E. of the Jordan, where they form the most valuable possessions of the Bedouin, as they did of the Midianites and Amalekites of old (Jg 7^{12}). The Bedouin live largely upon the milk of camels (Gn 32^{15}) and also occasionally eat their flesh, which was forbidden to the Israelites (Dt 14^7, Lv 11^4). They also ride them on their raids, and endeavour to capture the camels of hostile clans. The *fellahin* use camels for ploughing and harrowing.

The camel is a stupid and long-enduring animal, but at times, especially in certain months, he occasionally 'runs amok,' and then he is very dangerous. His bite is almost always fatal. The camel's hair which is used for weaving (Mk 1^6, Mt 3^4) is specially taken from the back, neck, and neighbourhood of the hump: over the rest of the body the ordinary camel has his hair worn short. His skin is kept anointed with a peculiar smelling composition to keep off parasites. The special adaptation of the camel to its surroundings lies in its compound stomach, two compartments of which, the *rumen* and the *reticulum*, are especially constructed for the storage of a reserve supply of water; its hump, which though useful to man for attachment of burdens and saddles, is primarily a reserve store of fat; and its wonderful fibrous padded feet adapted to the softest sandy soil. The camel is thus able to go longer without food and drink than any other burden-bearing animal, and is able to traverse deserts quite unadapted to the slender foot of the horse and the ass. On slippery soil, rock or mud, the camel is, however, a helpless flounderer. The camel's food is chiefly *tibn* (chopped straw), *kursenneh*, beans, oil-cake, and occasionally some grain. There seems, however, to be no thorn too sharp for its relish.

In the NT references to the camel it is more satisfactory to take the expressions 'swallow a camel' (Mt 23^{24}) and 'It is easier for a camel to go through the eye of a needle,' etc. (Mt 19^{24}||), as types of ordinary Oriental proverbs (cf. the Talmudic expression 'an elephant through a needle's eye') than to weave fancied and laboured explanations. The present writer agrees with Post that the gate called the 'needle's eye' is a fabrication. E. W. G. Masterman.

CAMEL'S HAIR.—See Camel, Dress, § 1.

CAMON.—See Kamon.

CAMP.—See War.

CAMPHIRE (*kōpher*, Ca 1^{14} 4^{13}) is the **henna** plant (*Lawsonia alba*), a small shrub which may still be found at Engedi. It is a great favourite with the people of Palestine to-day, and a 'cluster' of the flowers is often put in the hair; the perfume is much admired. It is also extensively used for staining the hands (especially the nails), the feet, and the hair; it stains an ochre-red, but further treatment of the nails with a mixture of lime and ammonia turns the colour almost black. Old women frequently redden their hair, and Moslems their beards, by means of henna. E. W. G. Masterman.

CANA.—A Galilæan village, where Christ turned water into wine (Jn 2^1) and healed with a word a nobleman's son who lay sick at Capernaum (4^{46}). Nathanael was a native of this place (21^2). Three sites have been suggested as identifications, any one of which would satisfy the meagre indications. These are *Kanat el-Jelîl*, perhaps the most probable, north of Sephurieh; '*Ain Kana*, east of Nazareth; and *Kefr Kenna*, north-east of, and a little farther from, the same town. The last is the site fixed upon by ecclesiastical tradition. R. A. S. Macalister.

CANAAN.—See next art.; Ham, Palestine.

CANAANITES.—A name given in the J document to the pre-Israelitish inhabitants of Palestine (*e.g.* Gn $24^{3\text{-}7}$ 38^2, Ex $3^{8.\ 17}$ $13^{5.\ 11}$, Nu $14^{43.\ 45}$ $21^{1.\ 3}$, Jg $1^{1.\ 5.\ 17.\ 28.\ 29.\ 30.\ 33}$).

In this usage the P document concurs, though the E document generally calls them **'Amorites'** (wh. see). The E document (Nu 13^{29}) says that the Canaanites dwell by the sea, and the Amorites in the mountains. All the writers unite in calling Palestine the land of **Canaan.** Opinions differ as to whether the people were named from the land or the land from the people. The earliest usage in the el-Amarna tablets (where it is called *Kinahhi* and *Kinahni*) and in the Egyptian inscriptions of the XIXth dynasty, seems to confine the name to the low land of the coast (cf. *KIB* v. 50.41, 151.50; and Müller, *Asien und Europa*, 205 ff.). The Phœnicians, much later, on their coins called their land *Canaan*; and two or three Greek writers testify that they called it *Chna'* (cf. Schröder, *Phön. Sprache*, 6 ff.). A view proposed by Rosenmüller has been held by many modern scholars, viz.:—that Canaan means 'lowland,' and was applied to the seacoast of Palestine, as opposed to the central range and the Lebanons. If this view were correct, the Canaanites would have received their name after settling in the coast-land. This view has been proved incorrect by Moore (*Proc. of Am. Or. Soc.* 1890, p. lxvii ff.). Probably 'Canaanite' was a tribal name, and the people gave their name to the land (cf. Paton, *Early History of Syria and Palestine*, 68). It appears from Dt 3^9 that the language of the Canaanites differed only dialectically from that of the Amorites. Both peoples were therefore closely related. Probably the Canaanites were a later wave of Amorites. In Is 19^{18} Hebrew is called 'the language of Canaan,'—a statement which is substantiated by the Moabite Stone, the Phœnician inscriptions, and the Hebrew idioms in the el-Amarna tablets. It appears from the latter that the Canaanites had given their name to the country before B.C. 1400. Paton connects their migration with that movement of races which gave Babylonia the Kassite dynasty about B.C. 1700, and which pushed the Hyksos into Egypt. Probably their coming was no later than this.

In Jg. 1 we are told of many Canaanites whom Israel did not at first conquer. After the time of Solomon,

however, those resident in the high lands who had not been absorbed into the Israelitish tribes (cf. ISRAEL, §§ 3, 11), were reduced to task-work. The coming of the Philistines pushed the Canaanites out of the maritime plain south of Mt. Carmel, so that ultimately the Phœnicians were the only pure Canaanites left. The leading Phœnician cities were such commercial centres that 'Canaanite' afterwards became equivalent to 'trader' (cf. Hos. 12^8, Is 23^8, Zeph 1^{11}, Ezk 17^4, Pr 31^{24}). GEORGE A. BARTON.

CANANÆAN or **CANAANITE** occurs in Mt 10^4 and Mk 3^{18} as a designation of Simon, one of the disciples of Jesus. The first is the correct reading, the Gr. *Kananaios* being the transliteration of *kan'ānayyā* (a late Heb. derivative from *kannā'*='jealous'). It is rendered in Lk 6^{15} and Ac 1^{13} by *Zēlōtēs* (zealot). The Cananæans or **Zealots** were a sect founded by Judas of Gamala, who headed the opposition to the census of Quirinius (A.D. 6 or 7). They bitterly resented the domination of Rome, and would fain have hastened by the sword the fulfilment of the Messianic hope. During the great rebellion and the siege of Jerusalem, which ended in its destruction (A.D. 70), their fanaticism made them terrible opponents, not only to the Romans, but to other factions amongst their own countrymen.

CANDACE.—Queen of Ethiopia. A eunuch belonging to her, in charge of her treasure, was baptized by Philip (Ac 8^{27}). The name was borne by more than one queen of Ethiopia. The Candace who invaded Egypt in B.C. 22 (Strabo) is, of course, earlier than this. A Candace is perhaps named on one of the pyramids of Meroe. See CUSH. F. LL. GRIFFITH.

CANDLE, CANDLESTICK.—See LAMP.

CANE.—See REED.

CANKERWORM.—See LOCUST.

CANNEH.—A town named with Haran and Eden (Ezk 27^{23}), not identified. Mez (*Gesch. der Stadt Harrān*, 34) suggests that it may be a clerical error for *bĕnē*, i.e. *bĕnê Eden*, 'sons of Eden' (see Guthe, *Bibelwörterbuch*, *s.v.*). W. EWING.

CANON OF THE OLD TESTAMENT.—1. Explanation of terms.—The word 'Testament' is the Eng. tr. of the Gr. *Diathēkē*, which in its turn represents the Heb. *Bĕrīth* or 'Covenant.' The epithet 'Old' was introduced by Christians after the NT had come into being. Jews recognize no NT, and have a polemic interest in avoiding this designation of their Holy Scripture. The Gr. word *kanōn*, meaning primarily a measuring-rod, a rule, a catalogue, was applied by Christian authors of the 4th cent. to the list of books which the Church acknowledged to be authoritative as the source of doctrine and ethics. In investigating how the Hebrew race formed their Bible, these later appellations of their sacred books have to be used with the reservations indicated.

2. The three periods of formation.—Briefly stated, the process of forming the OT Canon includes three main stages. Under the influence of Ezra and Nehemiah, the Law (*Torah*) as in the Pentateuch was set apart as Holy Scripture; at some date prior to B.C. 200, the Prophets (*Nebīīm*), including the prophetic interpretation of history in the four books—Joshua, Judges, Samuel, Kings—had been constituted into a second canonical group; by B.C. 132, most, though not all, of the remaining books ranked as Scripture. This third group was defined, and the OT Canon finally fixed, by the Synod of Palestinian Jews held at Jamnia, near Joppa, about the year A.D. 90.

3. Pre-canonical conditions.—(*a*) *The art of writing.* The formation of language and the invention of writing must precede the adoption of a sacred book. An illiterate race can have no Scripture. Israel's language was in its main features an inheritance from the common ancestors of the Semites; even its religious vocabulary was only in part its own creation. As to writing, the Semites in Babylonia had used the cuneiform syllabic script, and Egypt had invented the hieroglyphs before the Hebrews had arisen as a separate race. But, happily for the Canon, an alphabet had become the possession of some of the Semitic family before the Hebrews had anything to put on record. The provincial governors of Canaan about B.C. 1400 sent their reports to Egypt in Babylonian cuneiform; whereas Mesha, king of Moab, and Panammu, king of Ya'di in North Syria, in extant inscriptions from about B.C. 900, make use of an Aramaic alphabet. After B.C. 1400, and some time before B.C. 900, must therefore be placed the genesis of the Hebrew alphabet.

(*b*) *Absence of any precedent.*—In the case of other sacred books, the influence of a historical precedent has contributed to their adoption. Recognizing the OT, Christians were predisposed to use a literary record in preserving the revelation they had received. Similarly Islam admitted the superiority of 'the people of a book' (Jews and Christians), and were easily induced to accord like sanctity to their own Koran. But such a precedent did not come into operation in the early religion of Israel. It is true that the Code of Hammurabi (*c.* B.C. 2200) was recorded on stone, and publicly set forth as the rule of civil life in Babylonia. But this method of regulating communal life can hardly have affected the earliest legislators in Israel. The relation of the Code of Hammurabi to the Mosaic Laws appears to be correctly indicated by Mr. Johns: 'The coexisting likenesses and differences argue for an independent recension of ancient custom deeply influenced by Babylonian law.' Egypt also had literature before Moses, but the Hebrews appear to have acted on an independent initiative in producing and collecting their religious literature. The OT Canon is thus peculiar in being formed as the first of its kind.

(*c*) *Religious experience.*—Other conditions of a less general kind have also to be noted. The religious leaders of the people must have had definite convictions as to the attributes of Jehovah before they could judge whether any given prophet or document were true or false. The life depicted in the book of Genesis reveals a non-writing age, when religious experience and unwritten tradition were the sole guides to duty. The Sinaitic legislation, although it formed the basis of national life, did not till late in the monarchy penetrate the popular consciousness. Mosaic Law provided that Divine guidance would be given through the voice of prophets and of priests (Dt 18^{18} 19^{17} 21^5 24^8); with these living sources of direction, it would be less easy to feel dependence on a book. The symbolism of a sacrificial system compensated for the want of literature. It was only after books of various kinds had become prevalent that the utility of writing began to be appreciated. Isaiah (30^8), about B.C. 740, perceives that what is inscribed in a book will be permanent and indisputable. On the other hand, Hosea (8^{12}), about B.C. 745, sees a limit to the efficacy of a copious literature. The exponents of the traditional Law appear to have applied it with arbitrary freedom. Even a high priest in Josiah's reign had apparently had no occasion to consult the Law-book for a long period. Variations appear in the reasons annexed even to the Decalogue; and the priests who offered incense to the brazen serpent in the Temple in the days of Hezekiah cannot have regarded the Tables of the Law in the light of canonical Scripture.

4. Josiah's reformation.—The first trace of a Canon is to be found in the reign of King Josiah about B.C. 621. By this time the Northern Kingdom had disappeared with the Fall of Samaria (B.C. 722). It had left behind, as its contribution to the future Bible, at least the works of Hosea and the Elohist historian. The prophets, Isaiah I., Amos, and Micah, had delivered their message a century ago, and their words were

in the possession of their disciples. The fate of the ten tribes had vindicated the prophetic warnings. The beginnings of Israel's history were made familiar by the beautiful narratives of the Jahwist historian. Many songs were known by heart, and contributed to the growth of a feeling that the nation had a Divine mission to fulfil. Laws, that had been kept for rare reference in the sanctuary, were studied by disciples of the prophets, and were expounded with a new sense of their Divine obligation. The annals of the monarchy had been duly recorded by the official scribes, but their religious significance was as yet unthought of. Other books, which afterwards disappeared, were also in circulation. Such were 'the Book of the Wars of the Lord' (Nu 21^{14}), and 'the Book of Jashar' (Jos 10^{13}, 2 S 1^{18}). In such conditions at Jerusalem there came about Josiah's reformation, described in 2 K 22. 23.

5. Inspiration recognized in the Bk. of Deuteronomy.—A book identified on satisfactory grounds with our Deuteronomy (excluding possibly the preface and the appendix) was discovered in the Temple and read to the king. In consequence, Josiah convened a general assembly at Jerusalem, and read the words of the book to all the people. All parties agreed that this Law-book should constitute a solemn league and covenant between themselves and Jehovah. The grounds of its acceptance are its inherent spiritual power, the conviction it produced that it truly expressed the will of Jehovah, and also its connexion with the great name of Moses. The book was not imposed merely by royal authority; the people also 'stood to the covenant.' These conditions combine to give Deuteronomy canonical authority of an incipient kind from that date onwards (B.C. 622).

6. Pentateuch made canonical. The next stage in the growth of the Canon is found in the time of Ezra and Nehemiah (B.C. 457–444). Much had happened in the intervening 170 years. The captivity in Babylon (B.C. 586–536) intensified national feeling and made their books more precious to the exiles. Temple ceremonial had now no place in religious practice; and spiritual aspiration turned to prayer and reading, both public and private. Fresh expositions of the Mosaic Law were prepared by the prophet Ezekiel (B.C. 592–570), and by the anonymous priest who put the Law of Holiness (Lv 17–26) into written form. Just as the Fall of Jerusalem in A.D. 70 supplied the incentive for recording in the Mishna the oral tradition of the Pharisees, so in Babylon expatriation impelled the priestly families to write out their hereditary usages, thus forming the document known as the Priestly Code. The problem of suffering, national and individual, was considered in the work of the Second Isaiah and in the book of Job. The past history of Israel was edited so as to show the method of Divine Providence. The Restoration of the Temple (B.C. 516) and the prophecies of Haggai and Zechariah began a new chapter in the story of Judaism. Many of the Jews remained in Babylon, and continued their activity in the study of the national literature. From Babylon they sent Ezra the scribe (B.C. 457) and Nehemiah (B.C. 444) with help for the Jerusalem community. Under the influence of these leaders the Pentateuch was made canonical (Neh 8–10). This work had been formed by constructing a 'Harmony' of the various expositions of Mosaic Law (Ex 20–23, Deut., Lv 17–26, and the Priestly Code) and combining these with the histories of the Jahwist and the Elohist. The initial cosmology shows the high plane of religious thought that had now been attained. Some opposition appears to have come from the priests, who favoured mixed marriages and a Samaritan alliance; but the people as a whole 'make a sure covenant and write it. And our princes, our Levites, and our priests seal unto it' (Neh 9^{38}). That this Canon included only the Torah is proved by the fact that the Samaritans, who were severed from Judaism shortly after Nehemiah's time, never had any Canon beyond the Pentateuch. Their apocryphal Joshua does not prove that Ezra's Canon was the Hexateuch. Had Joshua been attached to the Law, the LXX version of it would have been less inaccurate. Nor is it easy to see how a book so solemnly adopted could ever after have been relegated to a secondary place.

7. Canon of the Prophets.—The next addition to the Canon consists of the Prophets, reckoned as 8 books—Joshua, Judges, Samuel, Kings, Isaiah, Jeremiah, Ezekiel, and the Twelve (Minor Prophets) forming one book. No account of their canonization is available, and the process has to be inferred from what is known of the period. The books themselves give some guidance. Under the influence of Deut., history was studied so as to reveal the progress of a Divine purpose. The books of Kings record events down to about B.C. 560, hence their preparation for the Canon must have been some time later. Isaiah includes the works of the first and second of that name, besides chapters from later sources. The redaction of the whole must have been made at a time when the separate authorship was forgotten. Jeremiah (B.C. 627–586) is supplemented by extracts from the book of Kings written after 560. The Twelve include Malachi, who wrote between B.C. 458 and 432. Jonah and Zechariah are also late, and the latter book has a supplement of uncertain date. Internal evidence thus implies that when the Law was made canonical, the prophets had not been carefully edited or collected into one group. The Chronicler, writing about B.C. 300, recognizes that the Law has become Holy Scripture, but he makes the freest use of the history in Samuel and Kings. After Malachi the people became well aware that the voice of true prophecy had ceased (Zec 13^{2}, Neh $6^{7.\ 14}$, Ps 74^{9}, 1 Mac 9^{27} etc.). The predictions of the prophets had been ominously vindicated by the course of history. Such observations would tend continually to increase the veneration for the prophetic literature. The rivalry of Hellenic culture after the conquests of Alexander the Great (*c.* B.C. 300) may possibly have suggested to the Jews an increase of their own sacred Canon. At all events, the canonization of the prophetic literature had become matter of past history by B.C. 200. This limit is fixed by the testimony of Jesus ben-Sira, who writes the book in the Apocrypha called Ecclesiasticus. His praise of the famous men in Israel (chs. 44–50) shows that the Law and the Prophets were invested with canonical authority in his day. The Lectionary of the Synagogue would quickly establish the unique position of the Law and the Prophets as Holy Scripture (cf. Ac $13^{15.\ 27}$).

8. The Hagiographa made canonical.—The third division of the OT is called in Hebrew *Kethūbhīm*, *i.e.* 'Writings.' In Greek the name is *Hagiographa*, *i.e.* 'Sacred Writings.' In a Hebrew Bible these books are arranged in the following order:—

1. The Poetical Books: Psalms, Proverbs, Job.
2. The Five *Megilloth* ('Rolls'): Canticles, Ruth, Lamentations, Ecclesiastes, Esther.
3. Daniel, Ezra-Nehemiah, Chronicles.

This group is much more varied in form and substance than the first two parts of the Canon. Several of these books may have been prized as highly as the Prophets, though their inclusion in the Second Canon would have been incongruous. The Psalter, for instance, had been for long familiar through its use in Temple services; and its influence on religious life was great, apart from any declaration of canonicity. But as some Psalms (*e.g.* 74, 79) appear to have been composed about B.C. 170–160, the final collection of the smaller hymnaries into the Psalter of five books cannot have been made before B.C. 150. The priestly summary of history in Chron., Ezr.-Neh. would be widely accept-

able in an age when the Priestly Code was the dominant influence. The book about Daniel, published during the Maccabæan persecutions (B.C. 165), quickly won recognition and proved its religious worth.

(*a*) *Disputed books.*—A hesitating approval was extended to Esther, Canticles, and Ecclesiastes, owing to the nature of their contents. Other books, apocalyptic and apocryphal, were competing for a place in the religious library. There is no means of showing how or when the third group was separated from other books. The conjecture is probable that the effort of Antiochus Epiphanes to destroy the copies of the Law may have evoked the determination to preserve the later religious literature by giving it a place in the Canon.

(*b*) *Prologue to Sirach.*—The earliest testimony to the existence of sacred books in addition to the Law and the Prophets is given in the Prologue to Ecclesiasticus. The grandson of ben-Sira wrote in Egypt about B.C. 132, and made a Greek translation of his kinsman's 'Wisdom.' In the preface he refers three times to 'the Law, the Prophets, and the other books of our fathers.' He speaks of Greek versions of these books. But this statement does not say that the third group was definitely completed. In the 1st cent. A.D., the schools of Hillel and Shammai differed as to whether Ecclesiastes was in the Canon or not.

(*c*) *New Testament.*—The NT expresses a doctrine of Holy Scripture; it acknowledges a threefold division (Lk 24^{44}); it implies that Chronicles was the last book in the roll of the OT (Mt 23^{35}, Lk 11^{51}); but it does not quote Esther, Cant., Eccl., and leaves undecided the question whether these disputed books were as yet admitted to the Canon.

(*d*) *Philo.*—Philo of Alexandria (d. A.D. 40) acknowledges the inspiration of Scripture (the Mosaic Law pre-eminently), and quotes many of, but not nearly all, the OT books. His use of the Greek Apocrypha for information only, suggests, however, that he did know of a Palestinian limit to the third group.

(*e*) *Josephus.*—Josephus (A.D. 100), defending his earlier books against adverse reviews, maintains that Jewish records had been made by trained historians. The elegant inconsistencies of Greek narratives had no place in his authorities.

'It is not the case with us,' he says (*c. Apion.* i. 8), 'to have vast numbers of books disagreeing and conflicting with one another. We have but two-and-twenty, containing the history of all time, books that are justly believed in. . . . Though so great an interval of time has passed, no one has ventured either to add or to remove or to alter a syllable; and it is the instinct of every Jew from the day of his birth to consider these books as the teaching of God, to abide by them, and, if need be, cheerfully to lay down life in their behalf.'

The number 22 is probably due to his reckoning, with the LXX, Ruth and Judges as one, and Lamentations and Jeremiah as one. It is less likely that he refused to count Cant. and Eccl. as Scripture. His words reveal the profound reverence now entertained for the OT as a whole, although individuals may still have cherished objections to particular books.

(*f*) *Synod of Jamnia.*—The completion of the Hebrew Canon must be associated with a synod held at Jamnia, near Joppa, where the Sanhedrin settled after Jerusalem was taken by Titus (A.D. 70). The popularity of the Alexandrian OT, including Apocrypha, and the growing influence of NT books caused the Rabbinical teachers to remove all doubt as to the limits of their Scripture. 'All Holy Scriptures defile the hands (the Hebrew phrase for 'are canonical'): Canticles and Ecclesiastes defile the hands.' Such was the dictum at Jamnia (*c.* A.D. 90) to which Rabbi 'Akiba (d. A.D. 135) appealed in dismissing the possibility of reopening discussion on the limits of the Canon.

9. Text.—The Hebrew Bible was now complete. Elaborate precautions were taken to secure an unchangeable text; and a system of vowel-signs was invented some centuries later to preserve the old pronunciation. It has been considered strange that the oldest dated MS of the OT should be so recent as A.D. 916, whereas the Greek Bible and NT are found in MSS of the 4th and 5th centuries. This may be due to the requirement of the Synagogue that the copy in use should be perfect, and that any roll deficient in a word or letter should be suppressed, if not destroyed. The vigilant care of copies in use lessened the interest in superseded MSS.

10. Relation of the Church to the OT.—The NT freely acknowledges Divine inspiration in the OT. Such a formula as 'All this was done that it might be fulfilled which was spoken of the Lord by the prophet' (Mt 1^{22}), implies that the Supreme Disposer of events had intimated His purpose through the prophets. Posterity, therefore, rightly apprehends any occurrence when it has detected its place in the scheme of things foretold by the prophets. But it is also recognized that Scripture may be misapplied, and that therefore criticism is essential. The interpretation of the OT must differ among Jews and Christians. The logic of events cannot be ignored, and the Advent of the Messiah cannot be treated as a negligible accident. The attitude of our Lord has the effect of making the OT a subordinate standard as compared with His own words and the teaching of the Apostles. He did not report the word of the Lord as received by vision or prophecy; in His own name He supplied what was wanting in Law and Prophets. He did not pronounce any book in itself adequate to determine the communion between the Living God and living men; all Scripture must be illuminated by the *testimonium Spiritus Sancti.* The 24 Hebrew books are valid for the Church only in so far as their authority is sanctioned by the NT. But, subject to this limitation, the OT remains 'profitable for teaching, for reproof, for correction, for instruction which is in righteousness' (2 Ti 3^{16}).

D. M. Kay.

CANON OF THE NEW TESTAMENT.—1. Title.—The Greek word 'canon,' meaning originally a 'rod' and so a 'rule for measuring,' is used in a variety of senses by the Patristic writers, among the most familiar instances being the expressions 'rule of truth' and 'rule of faith' for the doctrinal teaching officially recognized by the bishops. Hence, since we meet with the phrase 'canonical books' in Origen, as rendered by Rufinus' translation, before we see the substantive 'canon' applied to the list of NT books, it has been argued that the adjective was first used in the sense of 'regulative,' so that the phrase means 'the books that regulate faith or morals.' But the substantive must mean the 'list' of books, and in Athanasius we have a passive participle in the phrase '*canonized* books,' *i.e.* books belonging to the Canon; soon after which the actual word 'canon' is applied to the books of the NT by Amphilochius, the bishop of Iconium (end of 4th cent. A.D.). The NT Canon, then, is the list of NT books, and this simple meaning, rather than 'the regulative books,' is the more likely interpretation of the expression to have occurred to people who were in the habit of using the term for lists of officials, lists of festivals, etc. The question of the Canon differs from questions of the authenticity, genuineness, historicity, inspiration, value, and authority of the several NT books in concerning itself simply with their acceptance in the Church. Primarily the question was as to what books were read in the churches at public worship. Those so used became in course of time the Christian Scriptures. Then, having the value of Scripture gradually associated with them, they came to be treated as authoritative. The first stage is that of use in the form of Church lessons; the second that of a standard of authority to be employed as the basis of instruction, and to be appealed to in disputed cases of doctrine or discipline.

CANON OF THE NEW TESTAMENT

2. The Formation of the Canon in the 2nd Century.—The very earliest reading of NT books in the churches must have occurred in the case of epistles addressed to particular churches, which of course were read in those churches; next come the circular letters (*e.g.* Eph., 1 Peter), which were passed round a group of churches. Still this involved no repeated liturgical use of these writings as in a church lectionary. During the obscure period of the sub-Apostolic age we have no indication of the use of epistles in church worship. Clement of Rome assumed that the church at Corinth was acquainted with 1 Corinthians, although he was writing nearly 40 years after St. Paul had sent that Epistle to the church, and a new generation had arisen in the interval; but there is no proof or probability that it was regularly read at the services. The earliest references to any such reading point to the Synoptic Gospels as alone having this place of honour, together with the OT prophets. This was the case in the worship described by Justin Martyr (1 *Apol.* lxvii.). A little later Justin's disciple Tatian prepared his Harmony (*Diatessaron*) for use in the church at Edessa. This was constructed out of all four Gospels; *i.e.* it included John, a Gospel probably known to Justin, though not included in his Memoirs of the Apostles. As yet no epistles are seen in the place of honour of church reading side by side with OT Scriptures. But long before this a collection had been made by Marcion (*c.* A.D. 140) in his effort to reform the Church by recalling attention to the Pauline teaching which had fallen into neglect. Marcion's Canon consisted of a mutilated Gospel of St. Luke and 10 Epistles of St. Paul (the 3 Pastoral Epistles being omitted). Although other early Church writers evidently allude to several of the Epistles (*e.g.* Clemens Rom., Ignatius, Polycarp, 'Barnabas'), that is only by way of individual citation, without any hint that they are used in a collection or treated as authoritative Scripture. Marcion is the earliest who is known to have honoured any of the Epistles in this way. But when we come to Irenæus (180) we seem to be in another world. Irenæus cites as authoritative most of the books of the Christian Scriptures, though he does not appear to have known Hebrews. We now have a NT side by side with the OT; or at all events we have Christian books appealed to as authoritative Scripture, just as in the previous generation the LXX was appealed to as authoritative Scripture. Here is evidence of a double advance: (1) in the addition of the Epistles to the Gospels as a collection, (2) in the enhancement of the value of all these books for the settlement of questions of doctrine.

This is one of the most important developments in the thought and practice of the Church. And yet history is absolutely silent as to how, when, where, and by whom it was brought about. Nothing is more amazing in the history of the Christian Church than the absence of all extant contemporary references to so great a movement. The 30 years from Justin Martyr, who knew only a collection of 3 Gospels as specially authoritative, and that simply as records of the life and teaching of Christ, to Irenæus, with his frequent appeals to the Epistles as well as the Gospels, saw the birth of a NT Canon, but left no record of so great an event. Irenæus, though bishop of Lyons and Vienne in Gaul, was in close communication with Asia Minor where he had been brought up, and Prof. Harnack conjectures that bishops of Asia Minor in agreement with the Church at Rome deliberately drew up and settled the Canon, although we have no historical record of so significant an event. It may be, however, that Irenæus was himself a pioneer in a movement the necessity of which was recognized as by common consent. Some authoritative standard of appeal was wanted to save the essence of Christian teaching from being engulfed in the speculations of Gnosticism. The Gospels were not sufficient for this purpose, because they were accepted by the Gnostics, who, however, interpreted them allegorically. What was needed was a standard of doctrinal truth, and that was found in the Epistles.

Near this time we have the earliest known Canon after that of Marcion, the most ancient extant list of NT books in the Catholic Church. This is named the 'Muratorian Fragment,' after its discoverer Muratori, who found it in a 7th or 8th cent. monk's commonplace book in the Ambrosian Library at Milan, and published it in 1740. The fragment is a mutilated extract of a list of NT books made at Rome probably before the end of the 2nd cent., since the author refers to the episcopate of Pius as recent (*nuperrime temporibus nostris*), and Pius I., who died in A.D. 157, is the only bishop of Rome of that name in the early age to which unquestionably, as internal evidence indicates, the original composition must be assigned. The fragment begins in the middle of a sentence which appears to allude to St. Peter's connexion with our Second Gospel, and goes on to mention Luke as the Third Gospel and John as the Fourth. Therefore it evidently acknowledged the 4 Gospels. Then it has Acts, which it ascribes to Luke, and it acknowledges 13 Epistles of Paul—admitting the Pastorals, but excluding Hebrews, though it subsequently refers to 'an Epistle to the Laodiceans,' and another 'to the Alexandrians forged under the name of Paul,' as well as 'many others' which are not received in the Catholic Church 'because gall ought not to be mixed with honey.' Further, this Canon includes Jude, 2 Epistles of John, and the Apocalypse, which it ascribes to John. It also has the Book of Wisdom, which it says was 'written by the friends of Solomon in his honour,' and the Apocalypse of Peter, although acknowledging that there is a minority which rejects the latter work, for we read 'we receive moreover the Apocalypses of John and Peter only, which [latter] some of our body will not have read in the church.' This indicates that the author's church as a whole acknowledges the Apocalypse of Peter, and that he associates himself with the majority of his brethren in so doing, while he candidly admits that there are some dissentients. Lastly, the Canon admits Hermas for private reading, but not for use in the church services. We have here, then, most of our NT books; but, on the one hand, Hebrews, 1 and 2 Peter, James, and one of the 3 Epistles of John are not mentioned. They are not named to be excluded, like the forged works referred to above; possibly the author did not know of their existence. At all events he did not find them used in his church. On the other hand, Wisdom, without question, and the Apocalypse of Peter, though rejected by some, are included in this canon, and Hermas is added for private reading.

Passing on to the commencement of the 3rd cent., we come upon another anonymous writing, an anti-gambling tract entitled 'Concerning dice-players' (*de Aleatoribus*), which Prof. Harnack attributes to Victor of Rome (A.D. 200–230). In this tract the *Shepherd of Hermas* and the *Didache* are both quoted as 'Scripture.' The author refers to three divisions of Scripture: (1) Prophetic writings—the OT Prophets, the Apocalypse, Hermas; (2) the Gospels; (3) the Apostolic Writings—Paul, 1 John, Hebrews.

Neither of these Canons can be regarded as authoritative either ecclesiastically or scientifically, since we are ignorant of their sources. But they both indicate a crystallizing process, in the Church at Rome about the end of the 2nd and beginning of the 3rd centuries, that was tending towards our NT, though with some curious variations. The writings of the Fathers of this period agree in the main with Irenæus in their citations from most of the NT books as authoritative—a condition very different from that of Justin Martyr half a century earlier. Two influences may be recognized as bringing this result about: (1) use in churches at public worship, (2) authoritative appeals against heresy—especially Gnosticism. It was necessary to settle what books

should be read in church and what books should be appealed to in discussion. The former was the primary question. The books used at their services by the churches, and therefore admitted by them as having a right to be so employed, were the books to be appealed to in controversy. The testing fact was church usage. Canonical books were the books read at public worship. How it came about that certain books were so used and others not is by no means clear. Prof. Harnack's theory would solve the problem if we could be sure it was valid. Apart from this, (1) traditional usage and (2) assurance of Apostolic authorship appear to have been two grounds relied upon.

Turning to the East, we find Clement of Alexandria (A.D. 165–220) acknowledging the 4 Gospels and Acts, and 14 Epistles of Paul (Hebrews being included), and quoting 1 and 2 John, 1 Peter, Jude, and the Apocalypse. He makes no reference to James, 2 Peter, or 3 John, any of which he may perhaps have known, as we have no list of NT books from his hand, for he does not name these books to reject them. Still, the probability as regards some, if not all, of them is that he did not know them. In the true Alexandrian spirit, Clement has a wide and comprehensive idea of inspiration, and therefore no very definite conception of Scriptural exclusiveness or fixed boundaries to the Canon. Thus he quotes Barnabas, Clement of Rome, Hermas, the Preaching of Peter, the Apocalypse of Peter, and the Sibylline Writings as in some way authoritative. He was a literary eclectic who delighted to welcome Christian truth in unexpected places. Still he had a NT in two volumes which he knew respectively as 'The Gospel' and 'The Apostle' (see Euseb. *HE* VI. 14). Origen (A.D. 184–253), who was a more critical scholar, treated questions of canonicity more scientifically. He acknowledged our books of the OT and some parts of the Apocrypha, such as 1 Mac.; and in the NT the 4 Gospels, Acts, 13 Epistles of Paul, Hebrews (though the latter as of doubtful authorship; nevertheless in his homily on Joshua he seems to include it among St. Paul's works, since he makes them 14, when he writes that 'God, thundering on the 14 trumpets of his [*i.e.* Paul's] Epistles, threw down even the walls of Jericho, that is all the instruments of idolatry and the doctrines of the philosophers'), 1 Peter, 1 John, Revelation. He does not directly mention the Epistles of James or Jude, although he seems to refer to them once in a rhetorical way, classing Peter, James, and Jude with the 4 Evangelists as represented by Isaac's servants—if we are to trust Rufinus' version. He mentions 2 Peter and 2 and 3 John as of disputed genuineness, and refers to the Gospel of the Hebrews in an apologetic tone, the Gospels of Peter and James, and the Acts of Paul, and quotes Hermas and Barnabas as 'Scripture,' while he admits that, though widely circulated, Hermas was not accepted by all. It is a significant fact, however, that he wrote no commentaries on any of those books that are not included in our NT.

3. The Settlement of the Canon in the Fourth and Fifth Centuries.—An important step towards the settlement of the Canon on historical and scientific lines was taken by Eusebius, who, with his wide reading and the great library of Pamphilus to resort to, also brought a fair and judicious mind to face the problems involved. Eusebius saw clearly that it is not always possible to give a definite affirmative or negative answer to the question whether a certain book should be in the Canon. Therefore he drew up three lists of books—(1) The books that are admitted by all, (2) the books which he is disposed to admit although there are some who reject them, (3) the books that he regards as spurious. A fourth class, which really does not come into the competition for a place in the Canon, consists of heretical works which 'are to be rejected as altogether absurd and impious' (*HE* III. 25). The *first* class, consisting of the books universally acknowledged, contains the 4 Gospels; Acts; the Epistles of Paul—which in one place (iii. 3) are reckoned to be 14, and therefore to include Hebrews, although in another place (vi. 14) Hebrews is placed in the second class, among the disputed books; 1 Peter; 1 John; and Revelation (doubtfully). The *second* class, consisting of books widely accepted, though disputed by some (but apparently all admitted by Eusebius himself), contains James; Jude; 2 Peter—regarded in another place (iii. 3) as spurious; 2 and 3 John. The *third* class, consisting of spurious works, contains the Acts of Paul; the Shepherd of Hermas; the Apocalypse of Peter; the Didache; and perhaps, according to some, the Revelation. Under the orders of Constantine, Eusebius had 50 copies of the Scriptures sumptuously produced on vellum for use in the churches of Constantinople. Of course these would correspond to his own Canon and so help to fix it and spread its influence. After this the fluctuations that we meet with are very slight. Athanasius in one of his *Festal Letters* (A.D. 365) undertakes to set forth in order the books that are canonical and handed down and believed to be Divine. His NT exactly agrees with our Canon, as does the NT of Epiphanius (*c.* A.D. 403). Cyril of Jerusalem (who died A.D. 386) gives a list of 'Divine Scriptures' which contains all the NT except the Revelation; and Amphilochius of Iconium (A.D. 395) has a versified catalogue of the Biblical books, in which also all our NT books appear except the Revelation, which he regards as spurious; Amphilochius refers to doubts concerning Hebrews and to a question as to whether the number of Catholic Epistles is 7 or 3. Even Chrysostom (who died A.D. 405) never alludes to the Revelation or the last 4 Catholic Epistles. But then he gives no list of the Canon. One of the *Apostolical Canons* (No. 85), which stand as an appendix to the 8th book of the *Apostolical Constitutions* (85), and cannot be dated earlier than the 4th cent. in their present form, gives a list of the books of Scripture. Sirach is here placed between the OT and the NT with a special recommendation to 'take care that your young persons learn the wisdom of the very learned Sirach.' Then follow the NT books—the 4 Gospels, 14 Epistles of Paul (Hebrews therefore included in this category), 2 Epistles of Peter, 3 of John, James, Jude, 2 Epistles of Clement, the 8 books of the *Constitutions*, Acts. Thus, while Clement and even the *Apostolical Constitutions* are included, the Revelation is left out, after a common custom in the East. Manifestly this is an erratic Canon.

Returning to the West, at this later period we have an elaborate discussion on the Canon by Augustine (A.D. 430), who lays down rules by which the canonicity of the several books claimed for the NT may be determined. (1) There are the books received and acknowledged by all the churches, which should therefore be treated as canonical. (2) There are some books not yet universally accepted. With regard to these, two tests are to be applied: (*a*) such as are received by the majority of the churches are to be acknowledged, and (*b*) such as are received by the Apostolic churches are to be preferred to those received only by a smaller number of churches and these of less authority, *i.e.* not having been founded by Apostles. In case (*a*) and (*b*) conflict, Augustine considers that 'the authority on the two sides is to be looked upon as equal' (*Christian Doctrine*, II. viii. 12). Thus the tests are simply Church reception, though with discrimination as to the respective authority of the several churches. The application of these tests gives Augustine just our NT.

Jerome (A.D. 420) also accepts our NT, saying concerning Hebrews and the Revelation that he adopts both on the authority of ancient writers, not on that of present custom. He is aware that James has been questioned; but he states that little by little in course of time it has obtained authority. Jude was even rejected by most people because it contained quotations from

Apocryphal writings. Nevertheless he himself accepts it. He notes that 2 and 3 John have been attributed to a presbyter whose tomb at Ephesus is still pointed out. The immense personal influence of Augustine and the acceptance of Jerome's Vulgate as the standard Bible of the Christian Church gave fixity to the Canon, which was not disturbed for a thousand years. No General Council had pronounced on the subject. The first Council claiming to be Œcumenical which committed itself to a decision on the subject was as late as the 16th cent. (the Council of Trent). We may be thankful that the delicate and yet vital question of determining the Canon was not flung into the arena of ecclesiastical debate to be settled by the triumph of partisan churchmanship, but was allowed to mature slowly and come to its final settlement under the twofold influences of honest scholarship and Christian experience. There were indeed local councils that dealt with the question; but their decisions were binding only on the provinces they represented, although, in so far as they were not disputed, they would be regarded as more or less normative by those other churches to which they were sent. As representing the East we have a Canon attributed to the Council of Laodicea (*c.* A.D. 360). There is a dispute as to whether this is genuine. It is given in the MSS variously as a 60th canon and as part of the 59th appended in red ink. Half the Latin versions are without it; so are the Syriac versions, which are much older than our oldest MSS of the canons. It closely resembles the Canon of Cyril of Jerusalem, from which Westcott supposed that it was inserted into the canons of Laodicea by a Latin hand. Its genuineness was defended by Hefele and Davidson. Jülicher regards it as probably genuine. This Canon contains the OT with Baruch and the Epistle of Jeremy, and all our NT *except* the Revelation. Then in the West we have the 3rd Council of Carthage (A.D. 397), which orders that 'besides the Canonical Scriptures nothing be read in the Church under the title of Divine Scriptures,' and appends a list of the books thus authorized in which we have the OT, the Apocrypha, and just our NT books. Here we have a whole province speaking for those books; when we add the great authority of Augustine, who belongs to this very province, and the influence of the Vulgate, we can well understand how the Canon should now be considered fixed and inviolable. Thus the matter rested for ten centuries.

4. Treatment of the Canon at the Renaissance and the Reformation.—The question of the Canon was revived by the Renaissance and the Reformation, the one movement directing critical, scholarly attention to what was essentially a literary question, the other facing it in the interest of religious controversy. Erasmus writes: 'The arguments of criticism, estimated by the rules of logic, lead me to disbelieve that the Epistle to the Hebrews is by Paul or Luke, or that the Second of Peter is the work of that Apostle, or that the Apocalypse was written by the Evangelist John. All the same, I have nothing to say against the contents of these books, which seem to me to be in perfect conformity with the truth. If, however, the Church were to declare the titles they bear to be canonical, then I would condemn my doubt, for the opinion formulated by the Church has more value in my eyes than human reasons, whatever they may be'—a most characteristic statement, revealing the scholar, the critic, the timid soul—and the satirist (?). Within the Church of Rome even Cardinal Cajetan—Luther's opponent at Augsburg—freely discusses the Canon, doubting whether Hebrews is St. Paul's work, and whether, if it is not, it can be canonical. He also mentions doubts concerning the five General Epistles, and gives less authority to 2 and 3 John and Jude than to those books which he regards as certainly in the Holy Scriptures. The Reformation forced the question of the authority of the Bible to the front, because it set that authority in the place of the old authority of the Church. While this chiefly concerned the book as a whole, it could not preclude inquiries as to its contents and the rights of the several parts to hold their places there. The general answer as to the authority of Scripture is an appeal to 'the testimony of the Holy Spirit.' Calvin especially works out this conception very distinctly. The difficulty was to apply it to particular books of the Bible so as to determine in each case whether they should be allowed in the Canon. Clearly a further test was requisite here. This was found in the 'analogy of faith' (*Analogia fidei*), which was more especially Luther's principle, while the testimony of the Holy Spirit was Calvin's. With Luther the Reformation was based on justification by faith. This truth Luther held to be confirmed (*a*) by its necessity, nothing else availing, and (*b*) by its effects, since in practice it brought peace, assurance, and the new life. Then those Scriptures which manifestly supported the fundamental principle were held to be *ipso facto* inspired, and the measure of their support of it determined the degree of their authority. Thus the doctrine of justification by faith is not accepted because it is found in the Bible; but the Bible is accepted because it contains this doctrine. Moreover, the Bible is sorted and arranged in grades according as it does so more or less clearly, and to Luther there is 'a NT within the NT,' a kernel of all Scripture, consisting of those books which he sees most clearly set forth the gospel. Thus he wrote: 'John's Gospel, the Epistles of Paul, especially Romans, Galatians, Ephesians, and 1 Peter—these are the books which show thee Christ, and teach all that it is needful and blessed for thee to know even if you never see or hear any other book, or any other doctrine. Therefore is the Epistle of James a mere epistle of straw (*eine rechte stroherne Epistel*) since it has no character of the gospel in it' (Preface to NT[1], 1522; the passage was omitted from later editions). Luther places Hebrews, James, Jude, and the Apocalypse at the end of his translation, after the other NT books, which he designates 'the true and certain capital books of the NT, for these have been regarded in former times in a different light.' He regards Jude as 'indisputably an extract or copy from 2 Peter.' Nevertheless, while thus discriminating between the values of the several books of the NT, he includes them all in his translation. Luther's friend Carlstadt has a curious arrangement of Scripture in three classes, viz. (1) The Pentateuch and the 4 Gospels, as being 'the clearest luminaries of the whole Divine truth'; (2) The Prophets 'of Hebrew reckoning' and the acknowledged Epistles of the NT, viz. 13 of Paul, 1 Peter, 1 John; (3) the Hagiographa of the Hebrew Canon, and the 7 disputed books of the NT. Dr. Westcott suggested that the omission of Acts was due to its being included with Luke. Calvin is more conservative with regard to Scripture than the Lutherans. Still in his Commentaries he passes over 2 and 3 John and the Revelation without notice, and he refers to 1 John as 'the Epistle of John,' and expresses doubts as to 2 Peter; but he adds, with regard to the latter, 'Since the majesty of the Spirit of Christ exhibits itself in every part of the Epistle, I feel a scruple in rejecting it wholly, however much I fail to recognize in it the genuine language of Peter' (*Com. on 2 Peter*, Argument). Further, Calvin acknowledges the existence of doubts with respect both to James and to Jude; but he accepts them both. He allows full liberty of opinion concerning the authorship of Hebrews; but he states that he has no hesitation in classing it among Apostolical writings. In spite of these varieties of opinion, the NT Canon remained unaltered. At the Council of Trent (1546) for the first time the Roman Catholic Church made an authoritative statement on the Canon, uttering an anathema (*'anathema sit'*) on anybody who did not accept in their integrity all the books contained in the Vulgate. Thus the Apocrypha is treated as equally canonical with the OT books; but the NT Canon is the same in Roman

Catholic and Protestant Canons. Translations of the Bible into the vernacular of various languages laid the question of the Canon to rest again, by familiarizing readers with the same series of books in all versions and editions.

5. The Canon in Modern Criticism.—In the 18th cent. the very idea of a Canon was attacked by the Deists and Rationalists (Toland, Diderot, etc.); but the critical study of the subject began with Semler (1771–5), who pointed out the early variations in the Canon and attacked the very idea of a Canon as an authoritative standard, while he criticised the usefulness and theological value of the several books of the NT. Subsequent controversy has dealt less with the Canon as such than with the authenticity and genuineness of the books that it contains. In the views of extreme negative criticism canonicity as such has no meaning except as a historical record of Church opinion. On the other hand, those who accept a doctrine of inspiration in relation to the NT do not connect this very closely with critical questions in such a way as to affect the Canon. Thus doubts as to the authorship of the Pastoral Epistles, 2 Peter, James, etc., have not given rise to any serious proposal to remove these books from the NT. The Canon rests mainly on tradition and usage. But the justification for it when this is sought is usually found (1) in the Apostolic authorship of most of the NT books; (2) in the Apostolic atmosphere and association of the remaining books; (3) in the general acceptance and continuous use of them in the churches for centuries as a test of their value; (4) in their inherent worth to-day as realized in Christian experience. It cannot be said that these four tests would give an indefeasible right to every book to claim a place in the Canon if it were not already there—*e.g.* the small Epistle of Jude; but they throw the burden of proof on those who would disturb the Canon by a serious proposal to eject any of its contents; and in fact no such proposal—as distinct from critical questions of the dates, authorship, historicity, etc., of the several books—is now engaging the attention of scholars or churches. W. F. Adeney.

CANOPY.—A loan-word from the Gr. *kōnōpeion*, a mosquito-net. It is used to render this word in the description of the bed of Holofernes with its mosquito-curtain (Jth 10^{21} etc.); also in Is 4^{5} RV for Heb. *chuppah* in the sense of a protective covering. This Heb. word is becoming naturalized in English to denote the canopy under which a Jewish bridegroom and bride stand while the wedding ceremony is being performed. A. R. S. Kennedy.

CANTICLES.—See Song of Songs.

CAP.—See Dress, § 5 (*a*).

CAPER-BERRY (*abīyyōnah*).—Ec 12^{5} RV; AV 'desire.' The RV tr. is supported by the LXX, Pesh. and the Mishna. The caper-berry is the fruit of *Capparis spinosa*, a common Palestine plant, which, largely on account of its habit of growing out of crevices in walls, has been identified with the **hyssop** (wh. see). Various parts of the caper plant are extensively used as medicine by the *fellahīn*. The familiar capers of commerce are the flower buds. The 'failure' of the caper-berry in old age may have been its ceasing to act as a stimulant, either as an aphrodisiac or a stomachic. E. W. G. Masterman.

CAPERNAUM.—The headquarters of Christ in His Galilæan ministry, after His rejection at Nazareth (Mt 4^{13}, Jn 2^{12}). Here he healed the centurion's palsied servant (Mt 8^{5-13}, Lk 7^{2-10}), provided the half-shekel for the Temple tribute (Mt 17^{24}), taught in the synagogue (Mk 1^{21}, Lk 4^{31}, Jn 6^{59}), performed many miracles (Mk 1^{23}–2^{12}, Lk 4^{33-41}), taught humility to the disciples (Mk 9^{33}), healed a nobleman's son by a word from Cana (Jn 4^{46}). For its unbelief He denounced the city (Mt 11^{23}, Lk 10^{15}). Though it was evidently a town of considerable importance, the site is forgotten and is a matter of dispute. The two sites most in favour are *Tell Hum* and *Khan Minyeh*, both on the north side of the Sea of Galilee, the former about midway between the latter and the mouth of the Jordan. At *Tell Hum* are extensive ruins, including the remains of a synagogue. Khan Minyeh does not show such important remains, and, as these seem all to be *Arab*, the balance of probability is on the side of *Tell Hum*, whose name should probably be written *Telhum*, and regarded as a corruption of *Caphar Tanhum*, the Talmudic form of the city's name (see the latest discussion on the subject in *PEFST* 1907, p. 220). If the remains at *Tell Hum* are not Capernaum, it is difficult to say what important city they represent (see Sanday's art. 'Capernaum' in Hastings' *DCG*). R. A. S. Macalister.

CAPH or **KAPH.**—Eleventh letter of Heb. alphabet, and as such used in the 119th Psalm to designate the 11th part, each verse of which begins with this letter.

CAPHARSALAMA (1 Mac 7^{31}).—Apparently near Jerusalem. *Kefr Sūlwān*, the village of Siloam, is possibly intended.

CAPHIRA (1 Es 5^{19}).—A town of Benj., inhabitants of which returned with Zerubbabel; called in Ezr 2^{25} **Chephirah**; cf. Neh 7^{29}.

CAPHTOR.—The region whence the Philistines came to Palestine (Am 9^{7}, Jer 47^{4}). Hence in Dt 2^{23} *Caphtorim* means the Philistines. In Gn 10^{14} *Caphtorim* is used of the country itself in place of Caphtor; it should be placed in the text immediately after Casluhim. Many identifications of Caphtor have been attempted. The favourite theory has been that it means the island of Crete (cf. Cherethites). Next in favour is the view that Caphtor was the coast of the Egyptian Delta. It has also been identified with Cyprus. The correct theory is suggested by inscriptions of Ramses III. of Egypt (*c.* B.C. 1200), who tells of his having repelled a great invasion by enemies who had entered Syria and Palestine from the north. The leaders of these barbarians were called *Purusati*, which (Egyp. *r* being Sem. *l*) is equivalent to the Heb. *Pelishtī*. Connecting these facts with the circumstance that the southern coast of Asia Minor, more especially Cilicia, was called *Kefto* or *Kafto* in the Egyptian inscriptions, it appears very probable that this Kafto and Caphtor are identical. The further conjecture might be hazarded that the writing of the Hebrew *waw* as a vowel-letter in an original *Kafto* gave rise to the additional *rēsh*. Compare the similar case Ashkenaz. J. F. McCurdy.

CAPPADOCIA.—A large district in the mid-eastern part of Asia Minor, formed into a Roman province in A.D. 17. It was administered by a *procurator* sent out by the reigning emperor, being regarded as an unimportant district. In A.D. 70 Vespasian united it with Armenia Minor, and made the two together a large and important frontier province, to be governed by an ex-consul, under the title of *legatus Augusti pro prætore*, on the emperor's behalf. The territory to the N. and W. of Cilicia, the kingdom of the client-king Antiochus, was incorporated in it at the time, and it afterwards received various accessions of territory. Jews from Cappadocia are mentioned in Ac 2^{9}, and their presence there (*c.* B.C. 139) is implied in 1 Mac 15^{22} where a letter in their favour is addressed by the Roman Senate to king Arathes. Cappadocia was not visited by St. Paul, probably as insufficiently Romanized, but it was one of the provinces to which 1 Peter (? about A.D. 70–80) was sent. A. Souter.

CAPTAIN.—This word occurs very frequently in the OT (AV and RV), and appears to have been favoured by the translators as a comprehensive term to denote a ruler, or a military commander of any unit, whatever its size might be. In modern military language it means especially the commander of a company of infantry, numbering about 100 to 110 men, and is

quite unsuitable as a translation. It represents in OT 13 different Hebrew words. In Ezekiel it is often used for the secular head of the Messianic kingdom: 'prince' will there and often elsewhere do as a rendering; 'officer' and 'chief' will suit other passages. There are further places where none of these words will do as a translation. In the NT it translates four Greek words, and means: (1) Jn 18[12], Ac 22[28] a Roman military officer, a tribune of the soldiers, in command of about 1000 men, constituting the garrison of Jerusalem (hence Rev 6[15] 19[18] in a general sense); (2) Lk 22[4. 52], Ac 4[1] etc., the captain of the Temple, a Levite, who had under him a body of police, probably themselves also priests, whose duty it was to keep order in the Temple at Jerusalem and guard it by night; (3) He 2[10] (RV 'author') leader, initiator; (4) Ac 28[16] AV 'captain of the guard' (wanting in RV), a doubtful reading and of doubtful sense. See also ARMY, § 2. A. SOUTER.

CAPTIVITY.—See ISRAEL, I. 23.

CARABASION (1 Es 9[34]).—A corrupt name of one of those who put away their 'strange' wives. It seems to correspond to **Meremoth** in Ezr 10[36].

CARAVAN.—See TRADE AND COMMERCE.

CARBUNCLE.—See JEWELS AND PRECIOUS STONES.

CARCAS (Est 1[10]).—One of the seven eunuchs or chamberlains of king Ahasuerus.

CARCHEMISH was the northern capital of the Hittite empire, but was probably also of consequence before the era of the Hittites, as it commanded the principal ford of the Euphrates on the right bank, and was therefore indispensable to travel and commerce in Northern Syria. It was shown by George Smith to have lain on the site of the modern Jerablus or Hierapolis. It was an obstacle to the march of the invading Egyptians about B.C. 1600. Several Assyrian conquerors attempted to capture it. It was taken finally by Sargon in B.C. 717 (cf. Is 10[9]), after which it became the capital of an Assyrian province. Here Nebuchadrezzar defeated Pharaoh-necho in B.C. 605, and thus ended the latest native Egyptian *régime* in Asia (Jer 46[2], 2 Ch 35[20]). J. F. McCURDY.

CAREFULNESS.—*Careful* and *carefulness* do not express approbation in the English of the Bible, as they do now. To be careful is to be too anxious, to worry. 'Be careful for nothing,' says St. Paul (Ph 4[6]), and 'I would have you without carefulness' (1 Co 7[32]). Latimer says: 'Consider the remedy against carefulness, which is to trust in God.' Again, to be *careless* is not blameworthy, meaning simply to be without apprehension, to feel safe, as Jg 18[7] 'they dwelt careless, after the manner of the Zidonians, quiet and secure.'

CARIA (S.W. of Asia Minor) is mentioned only in 1 Mac 15[23] as one of the districts to which the Roman Senate sent a letter in favour of the Jews in B.C. 139–138. It was free at that date, with its inland States federated. The more important States, Rhodes, etc., are separately named. A. SOUTER.

CARITES occurs in the *Kethībh* of the Heb. text and margin of RV in 2 S 20[23], where the *Kerē* has *Cherethites*, and in RV of 2 K 11[4], where the AV has *captains* (RVm *executioners*). The Carites were possibly Phil. mercenaries from Caria, as the Cherethites were from Crete.

CARMEL.—**1.** A town in the mountains south of Hebron, in the territory of Judah (Jos 15[55]). Here Saul set up a memorial of his conquest of the Amalekites (1 S 15[12]), and here Nabal (1 S 25[2]) and Uzziah (2 Ch 26[10] AV) had property. It was the home of Hezrai or Hezro, one of David's followers (2 S 23[35], 1 Ch 11[37]). It is identified with *Kurmul*, about 10 miles S.E. of Hebron. **2.** A hilly promontory by which the sea-coast of Palestine is broken, forming the south side of the bay of *Acca*. It continues as a ridge running in a S.E. direction, bordering the plain of Esdraelon on the S., and finally joining the main mountain ridge of the country in the district round about Samaria. On this ridge was Jokneam, reduced by Joshua (Jos 12[22]). The promontory was included in the territory of Asher (19[26]). It was the scene of Elijah's sacrifice (1 K 18), and hither after Elijah's translation Elisha came on the way to Samaria (2 K 2[25]). Elisha was for a time established here (4[25]). The fruitfulness of Carmel is alluded to (Is 33[9] 35[2], Am 1[2]); it was wooded (Mic 7[14]), a fact which made it a good hiding-place (Am 9[3]). The head of the Shulammite is compared to Carmel (Ca 7[5]).

The mountain seems from a very early period to have been a place of sanctity. In the list of Tahutmes III. of places conquered by him in Palestine, Maspero sees in one name the words *Rosh Kodsu*, 'holy headland,' referring to Carmel. The site was probably chosen for the sacrifice whereby the claims of Baal and Jehovah were tested, because it was already holy ground. An altar of Jehovah existed here before Elijah (1 K 18[30]). The traditional site is at the E. end of the ridge, but it is probably a mere coincidence that on the bank of the river Kishon just below there is a mound known as *Tell el-Kasis*, 'the mound of the priest.' Tacitus (*Hist.* ii. 78) refers to the mountain as the site of an oracle; the Druses hold the traditional site of the sacrifice of Elijah sacred; and the mountain has given its name to the Carmelite order of friars.

R. A. S. MACALISTER.

CARMI.—**1.** A Judahite, the father of Achan (Jos 7[1.18], 1 Ch 2[7]). **2.** The Carmi of 1 Ch 4[1] should probably be corrected to **Chelubai**, *i.e.* Caleb (cf. 1 Ch 2[9. 18]). **3.** The eponym of a Reubenite family (Gn 46[9], Ex 6[14], 1 Ch 5[3]), the **Carmites** of Nu 26[6].

CARMONIANS (2 Es 15[30], AV **Carmanians**).—A people occupying an extensive district north of the entrance to the Persian Gulf, between Persis on the west and Gedrosia on the east. They are said to have resembled the Medes and Persians in customs and language. The name survives in the present town and district of *Kirman*. In the above verse the reference is probably to Sapor I. (A.D. 240–273), the founder of the Sassanid dynasty, who, after defeating Valerian, overran Syria, and destroyed Antioch.

CARNAIM, 1 Mac 5[26. 43. 44], and **Carnion,** 2 Mac 12[21. 26] (RVm **Carnain**).—The ancient Ashteroth-karnaim (wh. see).

CARNELIAN.—See **Agate** under JEWELS.

CARNION.—See CARNAIM.

CAROB (Lk 15[16]) RVm.—See HUSKS.

CARPENTER.—See ARTS AND CRAFTS, § 1.

CARPUS.—An inhabitant of Troas, with whom St. Paul stayed, probably on his last journey to Rome (2 Ti 4[13]). The name is Greek, but we have no means of proving his nationality.

CARRIAGE.—This word is always used in the AV in the literal sense of 'something carried,' never in the modern sense of a vehicle used for carrying. Thus Ac 21[15] 'we took up our carriages' (RV 'baggage').

CARSHENA.—One of the wise men or counsellors of king Ahasuerus (Est 1[14]).

CART, WAGON.—The cart, like the chariot, is an Asiatic invention. The earliest wheeled carts show a light framework set upon an axle with solid wheels (illust. in Wilkinson, *Anc. Egyp.* [1878], i. 249). The type of cart in use under the Heb. monarchy may be seen in the Assyrian representation of the siege of Lachish (Layard, *Monuments of Nineveh*, ii. pl. 23), where women captives and their children are shown seated in wagons with a low wooden body (cf. 1 S 6[14]), furnished with wheels of 6 and 8 spokes. They were drawn by a pair of oxen (Nu 7[3. 7. 8])—exceptionally by two cows (1 S 6[7. 10])—yoked to a pole which passed between them, and were used for the transport of

persons (Gn 45[19ff.]) and goods (Nu *l.c.*), including sheaves of grain to the threshing-floor (Am 2[13]). The rendering 'covered wagons' (Nu 7[3]) is doubtful. For the threshing-wagon, see AGRICULTURE, § 3.

A. R. S. KENNEDY.

CASEMENT.—Only Pr 7[6] AV; RV 'lattice,' as Jg 5[28], where the same word is used in both places parallel to 'window.' Cf. also the Heb. text of Sir 42[11] 'Let there be no lattice to the room where thy daughter dwells.' See, further, HOUSE, § 7.

CASIPHIA.—A settlement in the neighbourhood of Ahava (wh. see) in North Babylonia (Ezr 8[17]), whose site has not been identified. J. F. McCURDY.

CASLUHIM.—A name occurring in Gn 10[14], 1 Ch 1[12] in connexion with the names of other peoples there spoken of as descended from Mizraim, esp. the Caphtorim and Philistines.

CASPHOR (1 Mac 5[26. 36], AV **Casphon**; 2 Mac 12[13] **Caspin**).—Near a large lake in Gilead. The site is unknown.

CASSIA.—**1.** *qiddah*, Ex 30[24], Ezk 27[19]. **2.** *qetsi'ōth*, Ps 45[8]. Both these words apparently refer to some kind of cassia wood. The cassia bark from the *Cinnamomum cassia* is very similar in smell and properties to cinnamon (wh. see). E. W. G. MASTERMAN.

CASTANET.—See MUSIC AND MUSICAL INSTRUMENTS.

CASTLE.—**1.** In Gn 25[16], Nu 31[10], 1 Ch 6[54], an obsolete, if not erroneous, rendering in AV of a word denoting a nomad 'encampment' (so RV).

2. In 1 Ch 11[5. 7] AV speaks of the 'castle' of Zion, the citadel or acropolis of the Jebusite city, but RV renders as in 2 S 5[7. 9] '**stronghold.**' A different word (*birah*) is used of the castle or fort which in Nehemiah's day defended the Temple (Neh 2[8] 7[2]), and of the fortified royal residence of the Persian kings at Susa (Neh 1[1], Est 1[2] etc.; RV '**palace,**' marg. 'castle'). The fortress in Jerusalem to which the authors of the books of Maccabees and Josephus give the name of Acra, is termed 'the castle' in 2 Mac 4[27] 5[5] 10[20] AV, where RV has throughout '**citadel**' (so also 1 Mac 1[33] and elsewhere). See, further, CITY, FORTIFICATION AND SIEGECRAFT, § 4. A. R. S. KENNEDY.

CASTOR AND POLLUX.—See DIOSCURI.

CAT.—This animal is mentioned only in the Apocr. (Ep. Jer v.[22] [Gr. 21]). There are two species of wild cat in the Holy Land.

CATERPILLAR.—See LOCUST.

CATHOLIC EPISTLES.—The title of 'Catholic' was given by the early Church to the seven Epistles which bear the names of James, Peter, Jude, and John. There is much uncertainty as to the meaning of the title. Perhaps the most probable explanation is that this group of Epistles was looked upon as addressed to the Church generally, while the Pauline Epistles were written to particular churches and were called forth by local circumstances.

CATHUA (1 Es 5[30]).—One of the heads of families of Temple servants who returned with Zerubbabel from captivity. It appears to correspond to **Giddel** in Ezr 2[47]; cf. Neh 7[49].

CATTLE.—The word commonly used in OT is *miqneh*, meaning primarily possessions or wealth—oxen, camels, sheep, and goats being the only wealth of peoples in a nomadic stage of civilization. It includes sometimes horses and asses, *e.g.* Ex 9[3], Job 1[3]. The word is also sometimes rendered 'possessions' (*e.g.* Ec 2[7]), 'flocks' (Ps 78[48]), and 'herds' (Gn 47[18]). For other words rendered in EV 'cattle,' see BEAST. See also OX, SHEEP, SHEPHERD, etc. E. W. G. MASTERMAN.

CAUDA (AV wrongly **Clauda**; now *Gaudho*) is an island off the S. coast of Crete. St. Paul's ship, sailing from Myra to Rome, shortly after rounding Cape Matala was making in a W.N.W. direction, when a sudden strong wind coming from E.N.E. drove it along at a rapid rate for about 23 miles, till it got under the lee of Cauda (Ac 27[16]). Such a change of wind is frequent there at the present day. A. SOUTER.

CAUL.—The Eng. word '**caul**' is used (1) in Is 3[18] for a veil of net-work. (2) In Ex 29[13], Lv 3[4. 10. 15] 4[9] 7[4] 8[16. 25] 9[10. 19] for the fatty mass at the opening of the liver (wh. see). (3) In Hos 13[8] for the pericardium.

CAUSEY.—This Eng. word was used in the original edition of AV in 1 Ch 26[16. 18], and in the margin of Pr 15[19] and Is 7[3]. It is now found only in Pr 15[19] marg., being changed in modern editions in the other places into **causeway**. The Heb. word is literally 'a raised way,' and is used of a public road, but never of a street in a city. The word 'causey' is still used in Scotland for the raised footpath by the side of a road or street.

CAVE.—The soft limestone hills of Palestine abound in caves, natural and artificial; and these must have attracted attention from a very early period. The aboriginal race of Horites were cave-dwellers, and the excavation at Gezer has revealed remains of a probably analogous race in W. Palestine. Lot (Gn 19[30]) and David (1 S 22[1] etc.) dwelt for a time in caves; and their use as places of hiding and refuge is illustrated by many passages, *e.g.*, Jos 10[16], Jg 6[2], 1 K 18[4] etc. Caves were also used, at all periods in the history of Palestine, for sepulture, as in the case of Machpelah (Gn 23). Probably the most remarkable series of caves yet discovered in Palestine are the great labyrinths tunnelled in the hills round *Beit Jibrin*; one of these, in *Tell Sandahannah*, contains sixty chambers, united by doors and passages, and groups containing fourteen or fifteen chambers are quite common in the same hill. Another artificial cave near *Beit Jibrin* contains a hall 80 ft. high and 400 ft. long; it has now fallen in. Other groups of caves, only less extensive, occur in various parts of Palestine on both sides of the Jordan. Little or nothing is known about the history of these great excavations; no definite information about their origin has yet been yielded by them, so far as they have been scientifically explored. R. A. S. MACALISTER.

CEDAR (*erez*).—The finest of the trees of Lebanon, the principal constituent of its 'glory' (Is 35[2] 60[13]); it was noted for its strength (Ps 29[5]), its height (2 K 19[23]) and its majesty (1 K 4[33], 2 K 14[9], Zec 11[1. 2]). Its wood was full of resin (Ps 104[16]), and, largely on that account, was one of the most valuable kinds of timber for building, especially for internal fittings. It was exceedingly durable, being not readily infected with worms, and took a high polish (cf. 1 K 10[27], Ca 1[17], Jer 22[14]). It was suitable, too, for carved work (Is 44[14. 15]). In all these respects the 'cedar of Lebanon' (*Cedrus Libani*) answers to the requirements. Though but a dwarf in comparison with the Indian cedar, it is the most magnificent tree in Syria; it attains a height of from 80 to 100 feet, and spreads out its branches horizontally so as to give a beautiful shade (Ezk 31[3]); it is evergreen, and has characteristic egg-shaped cones. The great region of this cedar is now the Cilician Taurus Mountains beyond Mersina, but small groves survive in places in the Lebanon. The most famous of these is that at *Kadisha*, where there are upwards of 400 trees, some of great age. In a few references *erez* does not mean the *Cedrus Libani*, but some other conifer. This is specially the case where 'cedar-wood' is used in the ritual of cleansing after defilement by contact with a leper (Lv 14[4]) or a dead body (Nu 19[6]). Probably *erez* here is a species of juniper, *Juniperus Sabina*, which grows in the wilderness. The reference in Nu 24[6] which grows in the wilderness. The reference in Nu 24[6] to 'cedar trees beside the waters' can hardly apply to the Lebanon cedar, which flourishes best on bare mountain slopes. E. W. G. MASTERMAN.

CEDRON.—See KIDRON.

CEILED, CEILING.—See CIELED, CIELING.

CELLAR.—See HOUSE.

CENCHREÆ (AV *Cenchrea* is wrong) was the southern harbour of Corinth, and was on the Saronic Gulf about 7 miles E. of Corinth. It was a mere village, and existed solely for the transit of goods to and from Corinth. Thence St. Paul set sail for Syria (Ac 18^{18}). Phœbe, the lady commended for her service to the church here (Ro 16^{1}), carried St. Paul's Epistle to Rome.

A. SOUTER.

CENDEBÆUS.—A general of Antiochus VII. Sidetes, who was given the command of the sea-coast, and sent with an army into Palestine in order to enforce the claims of Antiochus against Simon Maccabæus. In a battle which took place in a plain not far from Modin the Jews gained a complete victory over Cendebæus, and pursued the Syrians as far as Kidron and the neighbourhood of Ashdod (1 Mac 15^{38} 16^{9}; cf. Jos. *Ant.* XIII. vii. 3).

CENSER.—See FIREPAN, INCENSE.

CENSUS.—See QUIRINIUS.

CENTURION.—A centurion was a Roman military officer, corresponding in the number of infantry commanded by him (100) to the modern 'captain,' but in his status like our non-commissioned officers. The passage to the higher ranks was even more difficult in his case than it is amongst our non-commissioned officers. However, the chief centurion of a legion, known as the 'centurion of the first (chief) pike,' was sometimes promoted to the equestrian order. The Capernaum centurion (Mt 8^{5-13}, Lk 7^{2-10}) was probably in Herod's army, not in the Roman army strictly so called. Some of those mentioned in the NT were on special service in command of their units, and separated from the cohorts or legions of which they formed a part.

A. SOUTER.

CEPHAS.—See PETER.

CHABRIS.—One of the three rulers of Bethulia (Jth 6^{15} 8^{10} 10^{6}).

CHADIASAI (AV 'they of **Chadias**', 1 Es 5^{20}.)—They are mentioned as returning, to the number of 422, with Zerubbabel. There are no corresponding names in the lists of Ezra and Nehemiah.

CHÆREAS (AV **Chereas**) held command at the fortress of Gazara, *i.e.* probably Jazer in the trans-Jordanic territory (see 1 Mac 5^{6-8}). He was slain upon the capture of Gazara by Judas Maccabæus (2 Mac 10^{32-38}).

CHAFF.—See AGRICULTURE, § 3.

CHAIN is used in two different senses. 1. Chains for securing prisoners are denoted by a variety of words in OT and NT, which are also rendered by '**bonds**' or '**fetters**,' although the monuments show that ropes were more generally used for this purpose. 2. A chain of precious metal was worn as a sign of rank, as by Joseph and Daniel, or purely as an ornament. See ORNAMENTS, § 2.

A. R. S. KENNEDY.

CHALCEDONY.—See JEWELS AND PRECIOUS STONES.

CHALDÆA, CHALDÆANS.—The Heb. *Kasdim* is generally rendered 'Chaldees' (Gn 11^{28}), and in Jer 50^{10} 51^{24} 24^{5} 25^{12}, and often, is used for 'Babylonian.' The word is derived from the Bab. name *Kaldū* for the district S.E. of Babylonia proper, on the sea-coast as it then was. From B.C. 1000 onwards its capital was Bit Yakin. The people were Aramæans, independent and aggressive. In the time of Babylonian weakness they pushed into the country, and Merodach-baladan was a Chaldæan usurper. Nabopolassar was also a Chaldæan, and, from his time, Chaldæa meant Babylonia. The Chaldæans were Semites and not the same as the Kashdu, Kashshu, or Kassites, who conquered Babylonia, and ruled it from the 13th cent. B.C. onwards, but they came through, and probably had absorbed a part of, the country to which the Kassites had already assured the name *Kashda*.

The name as applied since Jerome to the Aramaic portions of Daniel and Ezra is incorrect. The use of the term 'Chaldæan' (Dn 1^{4} and often) to denote a class of astrologers is not found in native sources, but arose from a transfer of a national name to the Babylonians in general, and occurs in Strabo, Diodorus, etc. It can hardly be older than Persian times.

C. H. W. JOHNS.

CHALK-STONES (Is 27^{9} only).—The expression is of much interest, as showing that the practice of burning limestone and slaking with water was followed in Pal. in OT times.

CHALLENGE.—To 'challenge' in the language of AV is to *claim*, as in Golding's tr. of Calvin's *Job*, p. 578; 'Iob neuer went about to challenge such perfection, as to haue no sinne in him.' The word occurs in Ex 22^{9}, in the heading of Is 45 'By his omnipotency he challengeth obedience,' and in Job 3^{5} AVm.

CHALPHI (AV **Calphi**).—The father of Judas, one of the two captains of Jonathan Maccabæus who stood firm in a battle fought against the Syrians at Hazor in N. Galilee (1 Mac 11^{70}).

CHAMBER.—Now obsolescent, is used by AV in a variety of connexions where modern usage employs 'room,' as *e.g.* 'bed-chamber,' 'upper chamber,' etc. See, generally, HOUSE. For the Temple chambers, see TEMPLE.

CHAMBERLAIN.—In OT the word occurs in 2 K 23^{11} and repeatedly in Est., where the original is '**eunuch**' (*sārîs*); but it is generally believed that this name is not to be taken always in a literal sense, and hence it is often rendered by the word 'officer.' In Esther, however, the chamberlain evidently belongs to that class of persons who are entrusted with the watchful care of the harems of Oriental monarchs. In NT at Ac 12^{20} it is said that the people of Tyre and Sidon sought the favour of Herod Agrippa through the mediation of Blastus 'the king's chamberlain,' showing that the office was one of considerable influence. The word occurs again in AV in Ro 16^{23}, but is rendered in RV more accurately 'treasurer of the city.'

CHAMBERS OF THE SOUTH.—See STARS.

CHAMELEON.—The chameleon (*Chamæleon vulgaris*) is a very common Palestine lizard. It may be found on hot days clinging with its bird-like feet and prehensile tail to the trees, or passing with slow and deliberate walk over the ground. It is remarkable for its marvellous protective gift of changing the colour of its skin to resemble its surroundings, and for its eyes which, moving independently, one looking backwards while the other looks to the front, give it an unusual range of vision. Even to-day it is supposed by the ignorant, as in olden times, to live upon air. In reality it lives on small insects, catching them by means of its long sticky tongue, which it can protrude and withdraw with extraordinary quickness. Two words in Lv 11^{30} are rendered 'chameleon' in the Eng. versions. In the AV *kōach* is so translated, but in the RV we have '**land crocodile**' (see LIZARD); while in the RV *tinshemeth*—'mole' in AV—is tr. 'chameleon.' Both renderings are very uncertain. See MOLE.

E. W. G. MASTERMAN.

CHAMOIS (*zemer*, Dt. 14^{5}).—The tr. of *zemer* as 'chamois' in EV and as 'camelopard,' *i.e.* giraffe, in LXX, are both certainly incorrect, as neither of these animals occurs in Palestine. Tristram suggests the wild sheep, *Ovis tragelaphus*, an animal about 3 feet high with long curved horns. It is well known to the Bedouin.

E. W. G. MASTERMAN.

CHAMPAIGN.—This spelling in modern editions of AV has replaced *champion* (Dt 11^{30}, Jth 5^{1}) and *cham-*

pian (Ezk 37[2] marg.) of the 1611 edition of AV. The word means an open plain.

CHANCELLOR.—See Beeltethmus and Rehum.

CHANGES OF RAIMENT (Gn 45[22], Jg 14[12f.], 2 K 5[5]). —A literal tr. of a Heb. expression which not merely denotes a change of garments in the modern sense, but implies that the 'changes' are superior, in material or texture or both, to those ordinarily worn. Hence 'gala dresses,' 'festal robes,' or the like, may be taken as a fair equivalent. Gifts of such gala robes have always been common in the East as special marks of favour or distinction. Cf. Dress, § 7.

A. R. S. Kennedy.

CHANUNEUS (AV **Channuneus**), 1 Es 8[48].—A Levite, answering to **Merari,** if to anything, in the parallel list in Ezr 8[19].

CHAPHENATHA (1 Mac 12[37]).—Close to Jerusalem on the east. Unknown.

CHAPITER.—See Temple.

CHAPMAN.—A chapman is a trader, the word being still used in some places for a travelling merchant. It occurs in 2 Ch 9[14] AV and RV, and also in 1 K 10[15] RV. The Amer. RV has 'trader' in both places.

CHARAATHALAN (AV **Charaathalar**), 1 Es 5[36].—A name given to a leader of certain families who returned under Zerubbabel. But 'Charaathalan leading them and Allar' is due to some perversion of the original, which has 'Cherub, Addan, Immer,' three names of *places* in Babylonia, *from which* the return was made (Ezr 2[59]; cf. Neh 7[61]).

CHARAX (2 Mac 12[17], RV 'to Charax,' AV 'to Characa').—East of Jordan, and apparently in the land of Tob. Unknown.

CHAREA, 1 Es 5[32] = **Harsha,** Ezr 2[52], Neh 7[54].

CHARGER.—An obsolete word for a large flat dish on which meat was served. The Amer. RV everywhere substitutes 'platter,' *e.g.* Nu 7[13ff.], Mt 14[8] and parallels.

CHARIOT.—The original home of the chariot was Western Asia, from which it passed to Egypt and other countries. In OT chariots are associated mainly with war-like operations, although they also appear not infrequently as the 'carriages,' so to say, of kings, princes, and high dignitaries (Gn 50[9], 2 K 5[9], Jer 17[25]; cf. Ac 8[28ff.] the case of the Ethiopian eunuch) in times of peace. When royal personages drove in state, they were preceded by a body of 'runners' (2 S 15[1], 1 K 1[5]).

The war chariot appears to have been introduced among the Hebrews by David (2 S 8[4] LXX), but it did not become part of the organized military equipment of the State till the reign of Solomon. This monarch is said to have organized a force of 1400 chariots (1 K 10[26], 2 Ch 1[14]), which he distributed among the principal cities of his realm (1 K 9[19] 10[26]). At this time, also, a considerable trade sprang up in connexion with the importation of chariots and horses. It was not from Egypt, however, which was never a horse-breeding country, that these were imported as stated in the corrupt text of 1 K 10[28f.], but from two districts of Asia Minor, in the region of Cappadocia and Cilicia, named Musri and Kuë (see Skinner, *Cent. Bible, in loc.*). In the following verse a chariot from Musri is said to have cost 600 shekels of silver (see Money), and a horse 150, but the Gr. text gives 100 shekels and 50 shekels respectively. Similarly in 2 K 7[6] the reference is to the chariotry of the Hittites and their allies of Musri.

Until the Macedonian period, when we first hear of chariots armed with scythes (2 Mac 13[2]), the war chariot of antiquity followed one general type, alike among the Assyrians and the Egyptians, the Hittites and the Syrians. It consisted of a light wooden body, which was always open behind. The axle, fitted with stout wheels with 6 or 8 spokes (for the Heb. terms see 1 K 7[33]), was set as far back as possible for the sake of greater steadiness, and consequently a surer aim. The pole was fixed into the axle, and after passing beneath the floor of the chariot was bent upwards and connected by a band of leather to the front of the chariot. The horses, two in number, were yoked to the pole. Traces were not used. In Assyrian representations a third horse sometimes appears, evidently as a reserve. The body of the chariot naturally received considerable decoration, for which, and for other details, reference may be made to Wilkinson's *Anc. Egyp.* (1878), i. 224–241, and Rawlinson's *Five Great Monarchies* (1864), ii. 1–21, where numerous illustrationss are also given. The 'chariots of iron' of the ancient Canaanites (Jos 17[16], Jg 1[19] 4[3]) were chariots of which the woodwork was strengthened by metal plates.

In Egypt and Assyria the normal number of the occupants of a war chariot was two—the driver, who was often armed with a whip, and the combatant, an archer whose bow-case and quiver were usually attached to the right-hand side of the car. Egyptian representations of Hittite chariots, however, show three occupants, of whom the third carries a shield to protect his comrades. This was almost certainly the practice among the Hebrews also, since a frequently recurring military term, *shālīsh,* signifies 'the third man,' presumably in such a chariot.

Mention may be made, finally, of the chariots set up at the entrance to the Temple at Jerusalem, which were destroyed by Josiah. They were doubtless dedicated originally to J", although they are termed by the Hebrew historian 'chariots of the sun' (2 K 23[11]), their installation having been copied from the Babylonian custom of representing Shamash, the sun-god, riding in a chariot. A. R. S. Kennedy.

CHARITY.—The word 'charity' never occurs in AV in the sense of *almsgiving,* but always with the meaning of *love.* It comes from the Vulg. *caritas,* which was frequently used to translate the Greek *agapē,* probably because *amor* had impure associations, and because *dilectio* (which is sometimes so used) was scarcely strong enough. Wyclif followed the Vulg., as did afterwards the Rhemish translators. Tindale and the Genevan Version preferred 'love'; but in the Bishops' Bible 'charity' was again often used, and the AV followed the Bishops in this. In the RV, however, 'charity' never occurs, the Gr. *agapē* being everywhere rendered 'love.'

For **Feast of Charity** (Jude [12] AV) see Love Feast.

CHARM.—See Amulets and Charms; and Magic Divination and Sorcery.

CHARME (1 Es 5[25]).—Called **Harim,** Ezr 2[39], Neh 7[42]. The form in 1 Es. is derived from the Heb., and not from the Gr. form in the canonical books.

CHARMIS (Gn 46[9]).—Son of Melchiel, one of three rulers or elders of Bethulia (Jth 6[15] 8[10] 10[6]).

CHASE.—See Hunting.

CHASEBA (1 Es 5[31]).—There is no corresponding name in the lists of Ezra and Nehemiah.

CHASTITY.—See Crimes and Punishments, and Marriage.

CHEBAR.—A canal in Babylonia (Ezk 1[1ff.]) beside which the principal colony of the first Exile of Judah was planted. It has been identified by the Pennsylvania expedition with the canal *Kabaru,* named in cuneiform documents of the time of Artaxerxes I. It apparently lay to the east of Nippur. The name means 'great.' Hence for 'the river Chebar' we may read 'the Grand Canal.' J. F. McCurdy.

CHECKER WORK.—A designation applied in 1 K 7[17] (only) to the net-ornament on the pillars before the Temple.

CHEDOR-LAOMER.—An early king of Elam, who, according to Gn 14, exercised dominion over a considerable part of Western Asia. His vassals, Amraphel, king of Shinar, Arioch, king of Ellasar, and Tidal, king of Goiim, helped him to defeat the Canaanite princes of Sodom, Gomorrah, Admah, Zeboiim, and Zoar, who had rebelled against him after having acknowledged his authority for twelve years. Chedor-laomer and his allies defeated the Canaanite princes in the valley of Siddim, and sacked Sodom and Gomorrah. But the story relates that they were in turn defeated by 'Abram, the Hebrew,' who surprised them by night and recovered the spoil of Sodom and his nephew Lot. The name of Chedor-laomer is a purely Elamite name (*Kudur-Lagamar* or *Kutir-Lagamar*), though it has not yet been found upon the inscriptions as that of an early king of Elam. But the recent excavations of M. de Morgan at Susa confirm the Biblical story, by revealing the considerable part which Elam played in the early history of Western Asia. L. W. KING.

CHEEK.—The seat of health and beauty (Ca 1^{10} 5^{13}). To be smitten on the cheek was the climax of insult and violence. That the command in Mt 5^{39} is not to be interpreted literally is shown by Christ's own protest in Jn 18^{23}. C. W. EMMET.

CHEESE.—See MILK.

CHELAL.—One who had married a foreign wife (Ezr 10^{30}).

CHELLIANS.—Probably the inhabitants of the town Chellus (wh. see). Cf. Jth 1^{9} 2^{23}.

CHELLUS.—From the text (Jth 1^{9}) this place is supposed to have been situated S.W. of Jerus. near Betane and N. of Kadesh and the 'river of Egypt,' *i.e.* the *Wady-el-'Arish*; but any certain identification is impossible.

CHELOD.—Jth 16^{b} reads, not as AV and RV 'many nations of the sons of Chelod assembled themselves to battle,' but 'there came together many nations unto the array (or ranks) of the sons of Cheleul.' It is not certain whether the 'many nations' are allies of Nebuchadrezzar or of Arphaxad, or whether they come to help or to fight the 'sons of Chelod.' Probably $v.^{6b}$ summarizes $v.^{6a}$; hence 'sons of Chelod' should be Nebuchadrezzar's army. But he is, in Jth., king of Assyrians, not Chaldæans. No probable conjecture as to Aram. original has been made.

CHELUB.—1. A descendant of Judah (1 Ch 4^{11}). **2.** The father of Ezri, one of David's superintendents (1 Ch 27^{26}).

CHELUBAI (1 Ch 2^{9}).—Another form of **Caleb.** Cf. 1 Ch $2^{18.\ 42}$, and see CALEB, and CARMI, No. **2.**

CHELUHI.—One of the sons of Bani who had married a foreign wife (Ezr 10^{35}).

CHEMARIM.—In EV this word is found only in Zeph 1^{4}; but the original of which it is the transliteration is used also at 2 K 23^{5} and Hos 10^{5}, and in both instances *Chĕmārim* is placed in the margin of AV and RV. *Chōmer*, of which *Chĕmārim* is the plural, is of Aram. origin, and when used in Syr. carries no unfavourable connotation. In the Heb. of the OT, however, *Chĕmārim* always has a bad sense; it is applied to the priests who conducted the worship of the calves (2 K 23^{5}, Hos 10^{5}), and to those who served the Baalim (Zeph 1^{4}). Kimchi believed the original significance of the verbal form was 'to be black,' and explained the use of the noun by the assertion that the idolatrous priests wore black garments. Others take the root to mean, 'to be sad,' the *chumra* being a sad, ascetic person, a monk or priest.

CHEMOSH.—The national god of the Moabites (Nu 21^{29}; in Jg 11^{24} probably 'Chemosh' is a scribal or other error for 'Milcom' [wh. see], who held the same position among the Ammonites). His rites seem to have included human sacrifice (cf. 2 K 3^{27}). It was for this 'abomination of Moab' that Solomon erected a temple (1 K 11^{7}), later destroyed by Josiah (2 K 23^{13}). N. KOENIG.

CHENAANAH.—1. A Benjamite (1 Ch 7^{10}). **2.** The father of Zedekiah the false prophet in the reign of Ahab (1 K 22^{11}, 2 Ch 18^{10}).

CHENANI.—A Levite (Neh 9^{4}).

CHENANIAH.—Chief of the Levites at the removal of the ark from the house of Obed-edom (1 Ch $15^{22.\ 27}$), named among the officers and judges over Israel (26^{29}).

CHEPHAR-AMMONI ('village of the Ammonites,' Jos 18^{24}).—A town of Benjamin. Probably the ruin *Kefr 'Āna* near Bethel.

CHEPHIRAH ('village,' Jos 9^{17} 18^{26}, Ezr 2^{25}, Neh 7^{29}). —One of the four Hivite cities which made peace with the Hebrews; re-peopled after the Captivity, having belonged to Benjamin; called in 1 Es 5^{19} **Caphira.** Now *Keftreh* S.W. of Gibeon.

CHEQUER WORK.—See SPINNING AND WEAVING.

CHERAN.—One of the children of Dishon, the son of Seir, the Horite (Gn 36^{26}, 1 Ch 1^{41}).

CHERETHITES AND PELETHITES.—These were mercenary soldiers, who probably began to attach themselves to David whilst he was an outlaw (2 S 22^{2} etc.), and subsequently became the king's bodyguard and the nucleus of his army (2 S 8^{18} 15^{18} $20^{7.\ 23}$, 1 K $1^{38.\ 44}$, 1 Ch 18^{17}). Benaiah, whom Josephus calls 'captain of the guard' (*Ant.* VII. xi. 8), was their commander. They accompanied David in his retreat from Jerusalem (2 S 15^{18}), fought against Absalom (2 S $20^{7.\ 23}$), acted as Solomon's bodyguard at his coronation (1 K $1^{38.\ 44}$). The Cherethites were a Philistine clan (1 S 30^{14}), dwelling on the coast (Ezk 25^{16}, Zeph 2^{5}); and the name *Pelethites* may have been a corrupt form of *Philistines*. Unwillingness to believe that foreigners stood so near the national hero led certain Jewish scholars to assert that the two clans were Israelites. The appellation 'Cherethite' seems to be connected with Crete, and there is good ground (but see CAPHTOR) for the belief that Caphtor, from which Am 9^{7} says the Philistines came, is to be identified with Crete. The LXX of Ezk 25^{16}, Zeph 2^{5} uses *Cretans* as the equivalent of *Cherethites*. J. TAYLOR.

CHERITH.—The 'brook' by which Elijah lived (1 K $17^{3.\ 5}$) was 'before,' *i.e.* on the E. of Jordan. The popular identification of Cherith with the *Wady Kelt* between Jerusalem and Jericho is unwarranted.

CHERUB (Ezr 2^{59}, Neh 7^{61}).—One of the places from which certain families, on the return from Babylon, failed to prove their register as genuine branches of the Israelite people. See CHARAATHALAN.

CHERUBIM.—1. The most important passage for determining *the origin* of the Hebrew conception of the cherubim is Ps 18^{10}. The poet, in describing a theophany of Jehovah, represents the God of Israel as descending to earth on the black thunder-cloud: 'He rode upon a cherub and did fly, yea, he soared on the wings of the wind.' According to this passage, the cherub is a personification of the storm-cloud, or, as others prefer to interpret, of the storm-wind which bears Jehovah from heaven to earth.

2. We shall next discuss the part the cherubim play *in the religious symbolism of the OT*. In the Tabernacle there were two small golden cherubim, one at each end of the mercy-seat. It was these figures that invested the ark with its special significance as an emblem of the immediate presence of Jehovah. Cherubic figures were embroidered on the curtain separating the Holy of Holies from the Holy Place, and on the other tapestries of the sanctuary. In the Temple two huge cherubim of olive wood, overlaid with gold, overshadowed the ark with

their wings (1 K 6^{23-28}). Cherubic figures were also found among the other decorations of the Temple (1 K $6^{29.\ 32.\ 35}$). In both sanctuaries they are figures of religious symbolism; they act as bearers of Deity, and are consequently emblematic of Jehovah's immediate presence. Hence we have the phrase 'Thou that sittest on the cherubim' (Ps 80^{1} *et al.*). In Ezekiel's inaugural vision (ch. 1) the four composite figures of the living creatures are in a later passage termed cherubim (10^{2}). They support the firmament on which the throne of Jehovah rests, and in this connexion we again have them as bearers of Deity. In the Paradise story, the cherubim perform another function; they appear as guardians of the tree of life (Gn 3^{24} J). A different version of this story is alluded to by Ezekiel ($28^{14.\ 16}$); according to this prophet, a cherub expels the prince of Tyre from Eden, the garden of God. In both these passages they perform the function of guardians of sacred things, and in view of this it is probable that, in the Temple and Tabernacle, they were looked upon as guardians of the contents of the ark as well as emblems of the Divine presence.

3. As to *the figure* of the cherubim in the sanctuaries we have no clue, and Josephus is probably correct when he says that no one knows or can guess their form. The prophet Ezekiel and the results of Babylonian excavations assist us in solving the enigma. The prophet's living creatures were composite figures, each having the face of a man, a lion, an ox, and an eagle. We are not to suppose that these forms corresponded exactly to anything that the prophet had seen, but he worked out these figures in his gorgeous imagination, combining elements Hebrew and Babylonian. The native element is to some extent an unsolved riddle, but of the contribution made by Babylonian art there can be no reasonable doubt. The huge composite figures with human head, eagle's wings, and bull's body, which were placed as guardians at the doors of temples and palaces in Babylonia, supplied the prophet with the material for his vision. The writer of the story of the Garden of Eden had some such figures in mind. Basing his conjecture on Ezekiel's vision, Schultz (*OT Theol.* ii. p. 236) imagines that the cherubim of the sanctuary were composite figures with feet of oxen, wings of eagles, manes of lions, and human bodies and faces, standing upright and spreading their wings over the ark. This view is somewhat problematic. Cheyne and Dillmann prefer to associate them with the griffin, which so often appears in mythology as a guardian of sacred treasures. The former asserts that the Hebrew cherubim were of Hittite origin. It is not correct to suppose that they were directly borrowed either from the Babylonians or the Hittites, but the Hebrew imagination combined foreign and native elements as they were suited to its purpose. The derivation of the Heb. word from the Bab. *kurubu*, a designation of the steer-god, is, although advocated by Delitzsch, exceedingly uncertain and is denied by Zimmern. We are now in a position to judge the three theories as to the nature of the cherubim,—that they were (1) real, (2) symbolical, and (3) mythical. That they were higher angelic beings with actual existence is now generally discarded. They were in reality creations of the imagination, the form being borrowed from mythological sources and afterwards invested with a symbolic meaning.

4. In Jewish theology the cherubim are one of the three highest classes of angels, the other two being the *seraphim* and *ophanim*, which guard the throne of the Most High. They appear as youthful angels in Rabbinical literature. Philo allegorizes them as representing two supreme attributes of God—His goodness and authority; he also mentions other views (for Jewish ideas, cf. *JE s.v.*). The living creatures of the Apocalyptic vision are borrowed from Ezekiel's imagery. Starting with this passage (Rev $4^{6ff.}$), and borrowing elements from Jewish theology, some Christian theologians have incorrectly maintained that the cherubim of Scripture were supramundane spiritual essences.

JAMES A. KELSO.

CHESALON.—Near Kiriath-jearim on the border of Judah (Jos 15^{10}). Now the village *Kesla* on the hill N. of Kiriath-jearim.

CHESED.—One of the sons of Nahor and Milcah (Gn 22^{22} J). He is obviously here introduced into the genealogy of the Terahites as the presumptive forefather of the Kasdim or Chaldæans. This probably represents a different tradition from that in P, where Ur of the Chaldees (*i.e.* Kasdim) is spoken of as the dwelling place of Terah (Gn 11), Nahor's father.

CHESIL (Jos 15^{30}).—The LXX reads *Bethel*, probably for *Bethul*, as in the parallel passage, Jos 19^{4}, and *Chesil* of MT is prob. a textual error.

CHESTNUT TREE (*'armōn*, Gn 30^{37}, Ezk 31^{8}. RV **plane**).—There is no doubt that the RV is correct. The chestnut tree is only an exotic in Palestine, but the plane (Arab. *dilb*) is one of the finest trees of the land. It attains great development; a wonderful specimen, which has a small room or shop within its hollow trunk, is to be seen in one of the streets of Damascus. The plane (*Planus orientalis*) peels its outer layers of bark annually, leaving a white streaky surface. It flourishes specially by watercourses (Sir 24^{14}).

E. W. G. MASTERMAN.

CHESULLOTH (Jos 19^{18}).—The same as **Chisloth-tabor**, Jos 19^{12}. A place on the border of Zebulun. Now the ruin *Iksâl* at the foot of the Nazareth hills, in the fertile plain W. of Tabor.

CHETH.—Eighth letter of Heb. alphabet, and as such used in the 119th Psalm to designate the 8th part, each verse of which begins with this letter.

CHEZIB (Gn 38^{5}).—See ACHZIB, No. **2.**

CHIDON.—The name, acc. to 1 Ch 13^{9}, of the threshing-floor where Uzzah was struck dead for rashly touching the ark (see UZZAH). In 2 S 6^{6} the name is given as **Nacon.** No locality has ever been identified with either name.

CHIEF OF ASIA.—Ac 19^{31}; RV 'chief officers of Asia'; RVm 'Asiarchs.' See ASIARCH.

CHILD, CHILDREN.—1. Value set on the possession of children.—Throughout the Bible a noteworthy characteristic is the importance and happiness assigned to the possession of children, and, correspondingly, the intense sorrow and disappointment of childless parents. Children were regarded as Divine gifts (Gn 4^{1} 33^{5}), pledges of God's favour, the heritage of the Lord (Ps 127^{3}). It followed naturally that **barrenness** was looked upon as a reproach, *i.e.* a punishment inflicted by God, and involving, for the woman, disgrace in the eyes of the world. Thus, Sarah was despised by her more fortunate handmaid Hagar (Gn 16^{4}); Rachel, in envy of Leah, cried, 'Give me children or else I die' (Gn 30^{1}); Hannah's rival taunted her to make her fret, because the Lord had shut up her womb (1 S 1^{6}); Elisabeth rejoiced when the Lord took away her 'reproach among men' (Lk 1^{25}). 'He maketh the barren woman to keep house and to be a joyful mother of children' (Ps 113^{9}), cries the Psalmist as the climax of his praise. The reward of a man who fears the Lord shall be a wife like a fruitful vine, and children like olive branches round about his table (Ps 128^{3}). Our Lord refers to the joy of a woman at the birth of a man into the world (Jn 16^{21}). Not only is natural parental affection set forth in these and similar passages, but also a strong sense of the worldly advantages which accompanied the condition of parentage. A man who was a father, especially a father of sons, was a rich man; his position was dignified and influential; his possessions were secured to his family, and his name perpetuated. 'Be fruitful and multiply' was a blessing desired by every married couple—for the sake of the latter part

of the blessing, the necessary accompaniment of fruitfulness—'replenish the earth, and subdue it; and have dominion'; for fatherhood involved expansion of property and increase in importance and wealth.

2. The filial relationship.—The position of children was one of complete subordination to their parents. Gn 22, Jg 11[39], and the sacrifices to Molech of children by their parents (Lv 18[21] 20[2-5], 2 K 23[10], Jer 32[35]) indicate that the father had powers of life and death over his children; these powers are limited in Dt 21[18-21]. Reverence and obedience on the part of children towards their parents were strongly enjoined (Ex 20[12], Lv 19[3], Dt 27[16], Pr 1[8] etc.). Any one smiting or cursing his father or mother is to be put to death (Ex 21[15. 17]). Any one who is disrespectful to his parents is accursed (Dt 17[16]). Irreverence on the part of children towards an older person is visited by a signal instance of Divine judgment (2 K 2[23. 24]). Several passages in the Book of Proverbs urge care, even to severity, in the upbringing of children (Pr 3[12] 13[24] 15[5] 22[6] 29[15] etc.). The outcome of this dependence of children upon their parents, and of their subordination to them, was an intensely strong sense of the closeness of the filial bond, and a horror of any violation of it. A son who could bring himself to defy his father and break away from his home life was indeed no longer worthy to be called a son (Lk 15[19]). The disobedience of Israel is bewailed in penitence by the prophet because it appears to him like the most heinous crime, the rebellion of children against a loving father: 'Surely they are my people, children that will not err. . . . In his love and in his pity he redeemed them, . . . and he bare them and carried them all the days of old. But they rebelled' (Is 63[8-10]). In this connexion some of the sentences in our Lord's charge to the Twelve must have fallen upon startled ears (Mt 10[21. 35-38]). Children were expected to follow in the footsteps of their parents and to resemble them. Hence such expressions as 'Abraham's children,' which carried the notion of resemblance in character. Hence also the figurative use of the word 'children': 'children of transgression' 'children of disobedience.' Phrases like these are closely connected with others in which the words 'children' or 'sons' are used in a spiritual sense conveying the ideas of love and trust and obedience. St. Peter speaks of 'Mark, my son.' In touching anxiety for their spiritual welfare, St. Paul, writing to the Galatians, addresses them: 'My little children'; and St. John, in his Epistles, is fond of the same expression.

3. The feeling for childhood.—Tenderness towards child life, appreciation of the simplicity, the helplessness, of children, affection of parents for their children, and children for their parents: all these are features of the Bible which the most superficial reader cannot fail to observe. There are many touching and vivid examples of and references to parental love. All the sons and daughters of Jacob rose up to comfort him for the loss of Joseph, but he refused to be comforted (Gn 37[35]). 'If I be bereaved of my children, I am bereaved' (43[14]), is his despairing cry when Benjamin also is taken from him—Benjamin, 'a child of his old age, a little one . . . and his father loveth him' (44[20]). Hannah dedicated her little son to the service of the Lord in gratitude for his birth; and then year by year 'made a little robe and brought it to him' (1 S 2[19]). David fasted and lay all night upon the ground praying for the life of his sick child (2 S 12[16]). The brief account of the death of the Shunammite's boy is a passage of restrained and pathetic beauty (2 K 4[18ff.]). Isaiah's feeling for the weakness and helplessness of children is displayed in the mention of the words first articulated by his own son (Is 8[4]); and in his description of the time when the earth should be full of the knowledge of the Lord, and little children, still dependent for life and protection upon their mother's care, should, without fear of harm on her part, be allowed to play among wild beasts and handle the asp and the adder (11[6-9]). Zechariah dreams of the happy time when Jerusalem shall be full of boys and girls playing in the streets (Zec 8[5]). The beauty of a child's humble simplicity is acknowledged by the Psalmist, who likens his own soul to a weaned child with its mother (Ps 131[2]); unconsciously anticipating the spirit of One, greater than he, who said that only those who became as little children should in any wise enter the Kingdom of heaven (Mt 18[3]), and who gave thanks to His Father for revealing the things of God to 'babes' (Mt 11[25]).

E. G. Romanes.

CHILDREN (SONS) OF GOD.—There are a few passages in the OT in which the term 'sons of God' is applied to angelic beings (Gn 6[1-4], Job 1[6] 2[1] 38[7]; cf. Dn 3[25] RV). Once the judges of Israel are referred to as 'gods,' perhaps as appointed by God and vested with His authority (but the passage is very obscure; may the words be ironical?), and, in parallel phrase, as 'sons of the Most High' (Ps 82[6], cf. Jn 10[34]; also, Ps 29[1], 89[6] RVm).

With these exceptions, the term, with the correlative one of 'Father,' designates the relation of men to God and of God to men, with varying fulness of meaning. It is obvious that the use of such a figure has wide possibilities. To call God 'Father' may imply little more than that He is creator and ruler of men (cf. 'Zeus, father of gods and men'); or it may connote some phase of His providence towards a favoured individual or nation; or, again, it may assert that a father's love at its highest is the truest symbol we can frame of God's essential nature and God's disposition towards all men. Similarly, men may conceivably be styled 'children of God' from mere dependence, from special privilege, from moral likeness, or finally from a full and willing response to the Divine Fatherhood in filial love, trust, and obedience. It is, therefore, not surprising that the Scripture facts present a varying and progressive conception of God as Father and of men as His children.

I. In the OT.—The most characteristic use of the figure is in connexion with God's providential dealings with His people Israel. That favoured nation as a whole is His 'son,' He their 'Father': it is because *this* tie is violated by Israel's ingratitude and apostasy that the prophets rebuke and appeal, while here, too, lies the hope of final restoration. Thus Hosea declares that God loved Israel and called His 'son' out of Egypt (Hos 11[1], cf. Ex 4[22] 'Israel is my son, my firstborn'); and, in spite of the Divine rejection of the Northern Kingdom (Hos 1[9] *Lo-ammi*, 'not my people'), prophesies that it shall still be said to them 'ye are the sons of the living God' (1[10]). So too Isaiah: 'I have nourished and brought up children, and they have rebelled against me . . . Israel doth not know, my people doth not consider' (1[2. 3]). In Deuteronomy the same figure is used (1[31] 8[5] 14[1. 2]), and in the Song of Moses (Dt 32) receives striking development. God is the 'Father' of Israel, whom He begat by delivering them from Egypt, nourished in the wilderness and established (vv.[6. 10-15. 18]); the people are His 'sons and daughters,' His 'children' (vv.[19. 20]). Yet they are warned that this sonship has moral implications, and may be forfeited by neglect of them (v.[5] 'they have dealt corruptly with him, they are not his children'); and the hint is given of the bringing in of the Gentiles through a sonship based, not on national privilege but on faith and obedience (v.[21], cf. Ro 10[12. 13. 19]).

Thus the relation is not merely formal but ethical, and on both sides. The Divine Fatherhood towards Israel is manifested in protecting and redeeming love: it involves the Divine faithfulness, to which His people may make appeal in their extremity (Jer 31[9. 18-20], Is 43[6] 63[16] 64[8-12]). The fact of Israel's sonship carries with it the obligation of filial response: 'a son honoureth his father . . . if then I be a Father, where is mine

CHILDREN (SONS) OF GOD

honour?' (Mal 1[6]). But such response is, of necessity, not only national, but also, and first, individual; and the way is opened for a conception of God as Father of every man (cf. Mal 2[10]), and of all men as, at least potentially, 'children of God.'

The *Psalms* have been left for separate reference. For if the religion of Israel had really attained to any clear conception of God as Father and of men as His children, it would most naturally find utterance in these compositions, in which we have at once the devoutest expression of the personal religious consciousness and the chosen vehicle of the worship of the congregation. But the dominating conception is of God as King and of man as His servant. True, the Divine care for man and the Divine help are set forth under a wealth of imagery: God is shield, rock, fortress, refuge, shepherd, light, salvation, but not Father. Twice only is the name used of Him, not as appellative but in simile, to describe His tender mercies. He is 'a Father of the fatherless' (Ps 68[5]); 'Like as a father pitieth his children, so the Lord pitieth them that fear him' (103[13], cf. Is 66[13]). Once the term 'thy children' is applied to 'Israel, even the pure in heart' (Ps 73[15. 1]); and in several passages the term 'son of God' is used of the theocratic king, as representing ideal Israel (Ps 2[7]; see also Ps 89[26. 27], 2 S 7[14], He 1[5]).

It cannot, then, be said that in the OT we have a doctrine of men as 'children of God,' springing from, and developed under, a conception of God as essentially Father. Nor is it clear that later Judaism made advance towards this closer and more individual conviction of sonship.

Bousset affirms that 'the belief comes to light, more and more frequently the nearer we approach to Jesus' own time, that God is the Father of each individual believer' (*Jesus*, p. 113, Eng. ed.). But against this may be set the judgment of Wendt: 'In the later Judaism, down to the time of Jesus, there was by no means a development of the conception of God . . . inclining to a more prevalent use of the name of Father. The development proceeded rather in the way of enhancing to the utmost the idea of God's transcendent greatness and judicial authority over men. According to the Pharisaic view, the moral relation of man to God was one of legal subjection' (*Teaching of Jesus*, i. 190).

The relevant passages in the Apocrypha, at least, leave the gulf unbridged between OT and NT (To 13[4], Wis 5[5] 14[3], Sir 23[1. 4] 36[12] 51[10], Ad. Est 16[16]), and nowhere does our Lord's teaching appear in sharper contrast to current religious ideas than in relation to the Divine Fatherhood (*e.g.* Jn 8[39-42]).

II. In the NT.—The outstanding fact is that in the self-revelation of Jesus Christ, as well as in His teaching, the *characteristic* name for God is 'Father.' He enters into full inheritance of the OT conception of the Divine power and transcendence, proclaims a Kingdom of God, and develops its meaning for His disciples; but the King is also Father, and the stress of Christ's teaching on this side is not on the Kingship but on the Fatherhood of God. In what *unique* sense He knew God as 'His own Father,' Himself as 'Son of God,' we do not here inquire (see Jesus Christ), noting only how simply, in the deepest experiences of joy or trouble, His faith uttered itself in the name 'Father' (Mt 11[25] 26[39], Lk 23[46]). But there was that in His religious consciousness which He could freely share with His disciples as 'children of God': the faint and halting analogy of the OT became through Him a clear and steadfast revelation of the Divine Fatherhood, and of sonship, in its fullest sense, as the possible and indeed normal relation of human to Divine.

1. The Synoptic Gospels.—The essential and universal Fatherhood of God appears in such sayings as that of Mt 5[43-48], and, supremely, in the parable of the Prodigal Son. Even when, as generally, it is in discourse to the disciples that the term 'your Father' is used, it still connotes what is in God, awaiting in man that obedient recognition which is sonship. It is the appeal of Christ to His disciples against hypocrisy, unforgivingness, lack of faith (Mt 6[1. 15. 26]); it stands as symbol of the Divine providence, forgiveness, redemption—in a word, of the Divine love (Lk 6[36] 11[13], Mk 11[25]), and hence it gives the ground and manner of all access to God,—'Whensoever ye pray, say, Father' (Lk 11[2]).

If with Jesus the Fatherhood of God lies in His disposition towards men, not in the mere fact that He created them, so the filial relationship is ethical. God *is* Father, men must *become* children. In the Synoptic Gospels the term implying generation—'child (children) of God'—is not used, and the references to 'sons of God' are few, though sufficient to emphasize the moral conditions of sonship. Thus, the peacemakers 'shall be called sons of God' (Mt 5[9]): love to one's enemies has for its motive 'that ye may become sons of your Father which is in heaven' (Mt 5[45], cf. Lk 6[35]). But since sonship is virtually identical with membership of the Kingdom of God, these direct references must be supplemented by the many sayings in which the conditions of entrance into the Kingdom are laid down: it is the *righteous* (and what the term means is set forth in the Sermon on the Mount) who 'shall shine forth as the sun in the kingdom of their Father' (Mt 13[43]).

2. The Gospel (and 1 Ep.) of St. John.—In the Fourth Gospel (considered here rather than in its chronological sequence, for the sake of comparison with the Synoptics) certain elements in our Lord's revelation of the Father receive new emphasis.

(*a*) The *unique* Sonship of Jesus is the prevailing theme (Jn 1[14. 18] 20[31]). Hence the Synoptic phrase 'your Father' all but disappears. What it implies is not absent, but is to be reached through a rich unfolding of, and fellowship with, the personal religious consciousness of Jesus Himself, under the terms 'my Father' and, especially, 'the Father.' Only once does He speak to the disciples of 'your Father,' when, after His resurrection, He links them with Himself as 'brethren' in the message, 'I ascend unto my Father and your Father, and my God and your God' (Jn 20[17], cf. 14[20]).

(*b*) The sonship of the disciples is to be attained *through Jesus Christ*: 'No one cometh unto the Father but through me' (Jn 14[6]). What is exceptional in the Synoptics (Mt 11[25], Lk 10[22]) becomes the normal teaching of the Fourth Gospel: to see, know, believe, love, confess the Son, is the one way of access to the Father (Jn 14–17, 1 Jn 2[23]). Moreover, the impulse of attraction to Christ is itself from the Father (Jn 6[44. 65]), and the Divine initiative, as well as the completeness of the break required with 'the world' and 'the flesh' (1 Jn 2[16], Jn 3[6]), is described as being 'born anew,' 'born of the Spirit,' 'born of God' (Jn 3[3-8] 1[13], 1 Jn 3[9]). In 1 Jn. the moral fruits of this new birth are set forth—righteousness, incapability to sin, love, faith in the Son of God, victory over the world (1 Jn 2[29] 3[9] 4[7] 5[1. 4]).

These are the elements which combine in the conception of sonship in the Johannine writings: the actual phrase 'children (not 'sons') of God' occurs Jn 1[12] 11[52], 1 Jn 3[1. 2. 10] 5[2].

3. The Epistles of St. Paul.—St. Paul speaks both of 'children of God' and of 'sons of God.' His doctrine comprises the mystical and the ethical elements already noted, while it is enriched and developed by additional features. In his speech at Athens (Ac 17[28]) he for a moment adopts the Greek point of view, and regards all men as the 'offspring' of God. Apart from this, he—like the Fourth Gospel, but in his own way—connects sonship with faith in Christ: it is part of his doctrine of redemption, a status and privilege conferred by God upon men through faith in Christ, attested by the indwelling Spirit and His fruits. 'Ye are all sons of God, through faith, in Christ Jesus' (Gal 3[26]); 'The Spirit himself beareth witness with our spirit, that we are children of God' (Ro 8[16]); 'As many as are led by the Spirit of God, these are sons of God' (Ro 8[14]). It is as 'children of God' that his converts have a moral mission to the world (Ph 2[15]).

The idea of sonship as a Divinely conferred status is expressed by St. Paul under the Roman custom of 'adoption' (wh. see), by which a stranger could be legally adopted as 'son' and endowed with all the privileges of the 'child' by birth (Eph 1^{5-14}, cf. Ro 8^{29}). The figure suggests fresh points of analogy. To the Romans, St. Paul makes moral appeal on the ground that in exchange for the 'spirit of bondage' they had received the 'spirit of adoption, whereby we cry, Abba, Father' (Ro 8^{15}). In the passage Gal 3^{23}–4^{7} he likens the state of the faithful under the Law to that of 'young children' needing a 'tutor'; 'heirs,' yet, because under guardians, differing nothing from 'bondservants.' The Law as 'tutor' has led them to Christ, in whom they are now 'sons of God'; Christ has 'redeemed' them from the bondage of Law that they might 'receive the adoption of sons,' and, because they are sons, 'God sent forth the Spirit of his Son into our hearts, crying, Abba, Father.' The spiritual sonship, open to all believers, should be no stumbling-block to Israel, though to them specially belonged 'the adoption' (Ro 9^{4}). It fulfils the typical distinction within Israel itself of 'children of the flesh' and 'children of the promise': by Divine election alone men become 'children of God,' 'sons of the living God' (Gal 4^{28}, Ro $9^{8.\ 26}$).

St. Paul further conceives of sonship as looking forward for its full realization. We are 'waiting for our adoption, to wit the redemption of our body' (Ro 8^{23}). As Christ was Son of God, yet was by His resurrection 'declared to be the Son of God with power' (Ro 1^{4}), so will deliverance from the 'bondage of corruption' reveal the 'sons of God,' and all creation shall share in 'the liberty of the glory of the children of God' (Ro 8^{18-25}). This ultimate realization of sonship is 'to be conformed to the image of his Son, that he might be the firstborn among many brethren' (Ro 8^{29}, cf. 1 Jn 3^{2}). Finally, the greatness and the certainty of the future glory are set forth under the thought of the son as 'heir' (Ro 8^{17}, Gal 4^{1-7}; cf. Eph 1^{14-18}).

4. Other NT writers.—The opening chapters of the *Epistle to the Hebrews* emphasize the greatness and finality of a revelation through the Son, who in stooping to redeem men is not ashamed to call them 'brethren'; they are 'children' whose nature He shares, 'sons' who through Him are brought to glory (He 2^{9-18}). And at the close of the Epistle the readers are exhorted to regard suffering as the Divine chastening, which marks them out as 'sons' and comes from 'the Father of spirits' (12^{4-13}).

If the *Ep. of St. James* suggests a universal view of the Fatherhood of God in the phrases '*the* God and Father,' '*the* Lord and Father,' '*the* Father of lights' (Ja 1^{27} 3^{9} 1^{17}), it also endorses the deeper spiritual sonship under the figure, 'Of his own will he brought us forth by the word of truth' (1^{18}). The same metaphor of spiritual birth is used by *St. Peter*. In 1 P 1^{23} this birth, as in James, is through the 'word' of God; in 1^{3} it is attributed to the resurrection of Jesus Christ, and is joined with the Pauline thought of an inheritance yet to be fully revealed. The name 'Father' appears as the distinctively Christian name for God—'if ye call on him as Father' (1^{17}). But the idea of sonship is not developed: the thought does not occur in the enumeration of Christian privileges in 2^{1-10}, where the phrase 'sons of the living God' is absent from the reference to Hosea, though found in the corresponding reference by St. Paul (cf. 1 P 2^{10} with Ro $9^{25.\ 26}$).

Finally, in *Revelation* we meet with this figure of sonship, with emphasis on its ethical side, in the vision of the new heaven and the new earth: 'He that overcometh shall inherit these things: and I will be his God, and he shall be my son' (Rev 21^{7}, cf. v.^{8}).

S. W. Green.

CHILDREN, SONG OF THE THREE.—See Apocrypha, p. 42^{b}.

CHILEAB.—The second son of David by Abigail, the widow of Nabal the Carmelite (2 S 3^{3}). In 1 Ch 3^{1} he is called **Daniel**.

CHILIARCH (Rev 19^{18} RVm).—See Band.

CHILIASM.—A peculiar doctrine of the future, based upon a developed and literalized exposition of the eschatological pictures of the NT. It includes the doctrine of the **Millennium** (whence its name fr. Gr. *chilioi*), that is to say, the period of 1000 years between the resurrection of the saints and that of the rest of the dead, of the visible appearance of Christ to establish His Kingdom of risen saints and defeat an equally literal Antichrist, and of the Last Judgment.

The germ of developed Chiliasm is to be found in the teaching of the Apostles, and particularly in Rev. 20; but it seems to have had no great prominence in doctrinal development until the middle of the 2nd cent., when it spread from Asia Minor, particularly among the Jewish Ebionites. Justin Martyr believed in the earthly reign of Christ, but knew that some orthodox Christians did not. Papias describes the coming Kingdom with the extravagant imagery of the Jewish Apocalyptic. The Montanists were extreme chiliasts, but Origen opposed the doctrine. Augustine may be said to have given the death-blow to the chiliastic expectation in the early Church by his identification of the Church with the Kingdom of God on earth; and throughout the Middle Ages his view obtained.

A revival of chiliastic conceptions came with the Reformation, when attention was again concentrated on NT teaching. The fanatics among the reforming sects, particularly the Anabaptists at Münster, expected the speedy establishment of Christ on earth, apparently taking some steps towards preparation therefor. The Augsburg and Helvetic Confessions, however, condemn Chiliasm, and the leading Reformers, while they expected the speedy coming of Christ, did not attempt to literalize descriptions of this event. Throughout the 17th cent. the chiliastic views again appear—a fact doubtless due, as in the time of the early Church and of the Reformation, to persecution. The view, however, was never regarded as strictly orthodox, although advocated by prominent writers on both the Continent and in England.

In modern times Chiliasm has been championed by a number of prominent theologians, but particularly by sects like the Mormons, the Second Adventists, and, as pre-millenarians, by many professional evangelists. There is, however, no uniformity in these chiliastic views, except as to the belief in the coming of the Millennium (see Millennium), in which all share. The opinions as to the nature of the Kingdom also range from extremely sensuous views like those of certain of the early Church Fathers to the highly socialistic views of men like Oetinger. At the present time, outside of the circle of the pre-millenarians, chiliastic views have little influence, and the tendency is strong to substitute belief in social evolution, under the inspiration of Christianity, for the cataclysmic establishment of a literal kingdom by Jesus at His second Advent.

Shailer Mathews.

CHILION and **Mahlon** were the two sons of Elimelech and Naomi (Ru $1^{1.\ 2}$). They married women of the Moabites—Mahlon marrying Ruth, and Chilion Orpah (Ru 4^{10})—and after a sojourn of ten years in Moabite territory died there. *Chilion* means 'wasting away.' *Mahlon* means 'sickly.' Neither of these names occurs elsewhere in the Bible. The two names occur in varying order in Ru 1^{2} and 4^{9}, so that no conclusion can be drawn as to which was the elder.

CHILMAD occurs in Ezk 27^{23} at the close of the list of nations that traded with Tyre. The name has been thought to be the Aram. form of *Charmande*, a town on the Euphrates mentioned by Xenophon (*Anab.* i. 5. 10). George Smith identified Chilmad with the

modern *Kalwādha* near Baghdad—but neither of these conjectures has much probability.

CHIMHAM.—Probably the son (cf. 1 K 2[7]) of Barzillai the Gileadite, who returned with David from beyond Jordan to Jerusalem after the death of Absalom (2 S 19[31f.]). See, further, GERUTH-CHIMHAM.

CHIMNEY.—See HOUSE, § 7.

CHINNERETH.—A city (Dt 3[17], Jos 11[2] [in latter spelt **Chinneroth**] 19[35]) which gave its name to the **Sea of Chinnereth** (Nu 34[11], Jos 12[3] 13[27]), the OT designation of the Sea of Galilee. The site of the town is uncertain, but it follows Rakkath (probably Tiberias), and may have been in the plain of Gennesaret (cf. 1 K 15[20]).

CHIOS.—An island in the Ægean Sea opposite the Ionian peninsula in Asia Minor. In the 5th cent. B.C. the inhabitants were the richest of all the Greeks. The city was distinguished in literature also, and claimed to be the birth-place of Homer. Up to the time of Vespasian it was, under the Roman Empire, a free State. The chief city was also named Chios. St. Paul passed it on his last voyage in the Ægean Sea (Ac 20[15]).

A. SOUTER.

CHISLEV (AV **Chisleu**, Neh 1[1], Zec 7[1]).—See TIME.

CHISLON ('strength').—Father of Elidad, Benjamin's representative for dividing the land (Nu 34[21] P).

CHISLOTH-TABOR, Jos 19[12].—See CHESULLOTH.

CHITHLISH (Jos 15[40], AV **Kithlish**).—A town in the Shephelah of Judah. The site is unknown.

CHITTIM (1 Mac 1[1] 8[5]) for **Kittim** (wh. see).

CHIUN.—Am 5[26] (see REPHAN, SICCUTH). As shown by the appositional phrase 'your god-star,' this name refers to the Assyr. *Kaiwanu*, the planet Saturn (=Ninib, war-god), whose temple, Bit Ninib, in the province of Jerusalem is mentioned by the Egyptian governors of this city as early as B.C. 1450. The translation of the word as an appellative ('pedestal') by some is due to the vocalization of the Massoretes, who are supposed to have considered it a common noun. However, it is far more probable that they, conscious of its reference, substituted for the original vowels those of the word *shiqqūts* ('abomination')—an epithet often applied to strange gods.

N. KOENIG.

CHLOE (mentioned only in 1 Co 1[11]).—St. Paul had been informed of the dissensions at Corinth prob. by some of her Christian slaves. Chloe herself may have been either a Christian or a heathen, and may have lived either at Corinth or at Ephesus. In favour of the latter is St. Paul's usual tact, which would not suggest the invidious mention of his informants' names, if they were members of the Corinthian Church.

CHOBA (Jth 4[4]; **Chobai** 15[4. 5], noticed with Damascus).—Perhaps the land of Hobah (wh. see).

CHOIR (Neh 12[8] RVm).—See PRAISE.

CHOLA.—An unknown locality mentioned in Jth 15[4].

CHOLER is used in Sir 31[20] 37[30] in the sense of a disease, 'perhaps cholera, diarrhœa'—*Oxf. Eng. Dict.* (RV 'colic'); and in Dn 8[7] 11[11] in the sense of bitter anger. Both meanings are old, and belonged indeed to the Lat. *cholera* as early as the 3rd and 4th centuries.

CHORAZIN.—A place referred to only in the denunciation by Christ (Mt 11[21], Lk 10[13]). It is with probability identified with *Kerazeh*, north of Tell Hum, where are remains of pillars, walls, etc., of basalt.

R. A. S. MACALISTER.

CHORBE (AV **Corbe**), 1 Es 5[12]=**Zaccai,** Ezr 2[9], Neh 7[14].

CHOSAMÆUS (1 Es 9[32]).—It is not improbable that the Gr. reading is due to a copyist's error, especially seeing that the three proper names that follow Simeon in the text of Ezr 10[31] are omitted in 1 Esdras.

CHRIST.—See JESUS CHRIST, and MESSIAH.

CHRISTIAN.—This name, from very early times the distinctive title of the followers of Jesus Christ, occurs only thrice in NT (Ac 11[26] 26[28], 1 P 4[16]).

1. Time and place of origin.—Our only information on this point comes from Ac 11[26]. It was in Antioch, and in connexion with the mission of Barnabas and Saul to that city, that the name arose. It has sometimes been suggested that the infrequent use of 'Christian' in the NT points to a considerably later origin, and that the author of Acts had no better reason for assigning it to so early a date than the fact that the founding of the first Gentile church appeared to him to be an appropriate occasion for its coming into use. But apart from St. Luke's well-established claim, as the historian of Christ and early Christianity, to have 'traced the course of all things accurately from the first,' his own non-employment of the word as a general designation for the disciples of Christ suggests that he had no reason other than a genuine historical one for referring to the origin of the name at all.

2. Authors of the name.—(1) It is exceedingly unlikely that it was originally adopted by the *Christians* themselves. As the NT shows, they were in the habit of using other designations—'the disciples' (Ac 11[26] and *passim*), 'the brethren' Ac 9[30], Ro 16[14] and constantly), 'the elect' (Ro 8[33], Col 3[12]), 'the saints' (Ac 9[13], Ro 12[13]), 'believers' (Ac 5[14], 1 Ti 4[12]), 'the Way' (Ac 9[2] 19[9]). But in NT times we never find them calling themselves Christians. In Ac 26[28] it is king Agrippa who employs the name. And though in 1 P 4[16] it comes from the pen of an Apostle, the context shows that he is using it as a term of accusation on the lips of the Church's enemies.

(2) It cannot have been applied to the followers of Jesus by the *Jews*. The Jews believed in 'the Christ,' *i.e.* 'the Anointed One,' the Messiah; and they ardently looked for Him to come. But it was their passionate contention that Jesus of Nazareth was not the Christ. To call His followers Christians was the last thing they would have thought of doing. They referred to them contemptuously as 'this sect' (Ac 28[22], cf. 24[5. 14]), and when contempt passed into hatred they called them 'Nazarenes' (Ac 24[5], cf. Jn 1[46]). It is true that Agrippa, a Jewish king, makes use of the name; but this was nearly 20 years after, and when, in that Roman world with which he lived in close relations, it had become the recognized designation of the new faith.

(3) Almost certainly the name owed its origin to the non-Christian *Gentiles* of Antioch. As these Antiochenes saw Barnabas and Saul standing day by day in the market-place or at the corners of the streets, and proclaiming that the Christ had come and that Jesus was the Christ, they caught up the word without understanding it, and bestowed the name of 'Christians' on these preachers and their followers. Probably it was given, not as a mere nickname, but as a term of convenience. Yet doubtless it carried with it a suggestion of contempt, and so may be compared to such titles as 'Puritan' and 'Methodist' originally applied by those who stood outside of the spiritual movements which the names were meant to characterize.

3. The spread of the name.—Originating in this casual way, the name took deep root in the soil of human speech, and the three passages of the NT in which it occurs show how widely it had spread within the course of a single generation. In Ac 26[28] we find it on the lips of a Jewish ruler, speaking in Cæsarea before an audience of Roman officials and within 20 years after it was first used in Antioch. A few years later St. Peter writes to 'the elect who are sojourners of the Dispersion in Pontus, Galatia, Cappadocia, Asia, and Bithynia' (1 P 1[1]); and, without suggesting that 'Christian' was a name which the Church had yet adopted as its own, he assumes that it was perfectly familiar to the 'elect' themselves over a vast region of the Dispersion; and further implies that by this time, the time probably of Nero's persecution (A.D. 64),

to be called a Christian was equivalent to being liable to suffer persecution for the sake of Christ (4[16]). It was later still that St. Luke wrote the Book of Acts; and when he says that the disciples were called Christians *first* in Antioch (Ac 11[26]), he evidently means that this was a name by which they were now commonly known, though his own usage does not suggest that they had even yet assumed it themselves.

Outside of the NT we find Tacitus and Suetonius testifying that the designation Christian (or 'Chrestian') was popularly used in Rome at the time of the Neronian persecution; while from Pliny, early in the 2nd cent., we learn that by his day it was employed in Roman courts of law. 'Are you a Christian?' was the question he was himself accustomed to put to persons brought before him on a charge of being followers of Christ. By the time of Polycarp's martyrdom (soon after the middle of the 2nd cent.), the term of accusation and cross-examination has become one of joyful profession. 'I am a Christian' was Polycarp's repeated answer to those who urged him to recant. It was natural that those who were called 'to suffer as Christians' should come to glory in the name that brought the call and the opportunity to confess Christ. And so a name given by the outside world in a casual fashion was adopted by the Church as a title of glory and pride.

4. The meaning attached to the name.—The original meaning was simply 'a follower of Christ.' The Antiochenes did not know who this Christ was of whom the preachers spoke; so little did they know that they mistook for a proper name what was really a designation of Jesus. But, taking it to be His personal name, they called Christ's disciples 'Christians,' just as Pompey's followers had been called 'Pompeians,' or the adherents of Herod's dynasty 'Herodians.' No doubt they used the word with a touch of good-humoured contempt—the Christians were the followers of somebody or other called Christ. It is contempt again, but of an intenser kind, that seems to be conveyed by Agrippa's words to St. Paul, 'With but little persuasion thou wouldest fain make me a Christian!' (Ac 26[28]). In 1 Peter a darker shadow has fallen upon the name. Nero has made it criminal to be a Christian, and the word is now one not of scorn merely, but of hatred and fear. The State ranks a Christian with murderers and thieves and other malefactors (cf. 1 P 4[14] with v.[15]). On its adoption by the Church, deeper meanings began to be read into it. It testified to the dignity of the Church's Lord—'the Anointed One,' the rightful King of that Kingdom which hath no end. It proclaimed the privileges that belonged to Christians themselves; for they too were anointed with the oil of God to be a holy generation, a royal priesthood. Moreover, in Greek the word *christos* ('anointed') suggested the more familiar word *chrestos* ('gracious'). The Christians were often misnamed 'Chrestians' from an idea that the founder of their religion was 'one Chrestos.' And this heathen blunder conveyed a happy and beautiful suggestion. It is possible that St. Peter himself is playing on the word 'Christ' when he writes (1 P 2[3]), 'If so be ye have tasted that the Lord is gracious (*chrestos*).' And by and by we find Tertullian reminding the enemies of the Church that the very name 'Chrestians,' which they gave to Christ's people in error, is one that speaks of sweetness and benignity.

5. The historical significance of the name.—(1) It marked the distinct *emergence of Christianity from Judaism*, and the recognition of its right to a separate place among the religions of the world. Hitherto, to outsiders, Christianity had been only a Jewish sect (cf. the words of Gallio, Ac 18[14. 15]), nor had the first Apostles themselves dreamt of breaking away from synagogue and Temple. But the Antiochenes saw that Christ's disciples must be distinguished from the Jews and put into a category of their own. They understood, however dimly, that a new religion had sprung up on the earth, and by giving its followers this new name, they helped to quicken in the mind of the Church itself the consciousness of a separate existence. (2) It marked the fact, not heretofore realized, that Christianity was *a religion for the Gentiles*. Probably it was because the missionaries to Antioch not only preached Christ, but preached Him 'unto the Greeks also' (Ac 11[20]), that the inhabitants discerned in these men the heralds of a new faith. It was not the way of Jewish Rabbis to proffer Judaism to Greeks in the market-place. Christianity appeared in Antioch as a universal religion, making no distinction between Jew and Gentile. (3) It is not without significance that it was 'first in Antioch' that the Christians received this name. It shows how *the Church's centre of gravity was shifting*. Up to this time Christians as well as Jews looked to Jerusalem in everything as the mother of them all. But Jerusalem was not fitted to be the chief city of a universal faith. Paul saw this clearly—helped to it without doubt by his experiences at this very time. And so Antioch became the headquarters of his missionary labours, and through him the headquarters of aggressive Christianity in the early Apostolic age (13[1ff.] 14[26f.] 15[1ff.] [22ff.] [35ff.] 18[22ff.]). It served as a stepping-stone for that movement, inevitable from the day when Christianity was first preached unto the Gentiles, which by and by made Rome, the metropolis of the world, the mother-city also of the universal Church. (4) The name marked the fact that Christianity was not the religion of a book or a dogma, an idea or an institution, but *a faith that centred in a Person*. The men of Antioch were mistaken when they supposed that Christ was a personal name, but they made no mistake in thinking that He whose name they took to be Christos was the foundation-stone of this new faith. By calling the disciples Christians they became unconscious prophets of the truth that Christianity, whether regarded from the side of historical revelation or of personal experience, is all summed up in the Person of Jesus Christ.

J. C. Lambert.

CHRISTIANITY.—When the name 'Christian' (see preceding art.) had come to be the specific designation of a follower of Jesus Christ, it was inevitable that the word 'Christianity' should sooner or later be used to denote the faith which Christians profess. The word does not occur in the NT, however, and first makes its appearance in the letters of Ignatius early in the 2nd century. But for 1800 years it has been the regular term for the religion which claims Jesus Christ as its founder, and recognizes in His Person and work the sum and substance of its beliefs.

Christianity presents itself to us under two aspects—objective and subjective, past and present, world-historical and personal. It is a great fact of universal history, but also a truth of personal experience. It is a revelation given from above, but also an appropriation effected from within. We must think of it therefore (1) as it was historically revealed to the world; (2) as it is realized in the life of the individual.

I. **Christianity as a Historical Revelation.**—In dealing with this part of the subject two opposite mistakes must be avoided. (1) First the mistake of those who confound history with dogma, principles with institutions, and read back into Christianity as a Divine revelation the later creeds and rites and orders of the Church. It was inevitable that the Christian religion in the course of its history should clothe itself in outward forms, but it is not to be identified with the forms it has assumed. In dealing with the subject, we are limited, of course, by the plan of this work, to the Biblical material. But apart from that, the view taken in the present article is that, in seeking to discover Christianity in its essential nature, we must accept the NT as our authority and norm, inasmuch as there alone we find the historical record of the life and self-witness of Jesus Christ, and

also the writings of that Apostolic group which moved in the immediate light of His manifestation as that was given not only in His life on earth, but in His death and resurrection and their extraordinary spiritual results.

(2) On the other hand, we must avoid the error of those who, when they insist on going 'back to Christ,' and demand the substitution of the Christ of history for the Christ of dogma, assume that nothing that is supernatural can be historical, and that the Christ whom we find in the NT—the Christ of the Incarnation and the Resurrection and the Atonement, the Christ who wrought miracles and claimed to be the Son of God, and was so accepted by those who had known Him in the flesh and subsequently knew Him in the Spirit—is not the Jesus of history at all. To this it can only be said here that the reality of alleged supernatural facts, like the reality of any other alleged facts, depends upon the evidence, and is not to be ruled out by any presuppositions. Further, that while from the nature of the case there is a difference between the teaching of Jesus during His earthly ministry and the teaching of the Apostles regarding the risen Christ, the evidence of our Lord's own consciousness and history, even as we find it in the Synoptic Gospels, points to the correctness of the Apostolic conclusions about Him. We therefore hold that whatever Christianity is, it is not what certain modern writers describe as 'the religion of Jesus,' but something very different; and that as it is not to be confounded with churchly dogmas and institutions, it is just as little to be identified with an ethical theism based on the beauty of Christ's character and the pure precepts of His Sermon on the Mount. The men who were first called Christians (Ac 11^{26}) had never seen Jesus or listened to His teaching, and the gospel that laid its grasp upon them and won for them this distinctive name was neither a bare repetition of the Master's teaching nor a mere exhibition of His perfect life. On the contrary, it was such a gospel as meets us in the Epistles of St. Paul and the sermons reported in Acts—the gospel of One who not only lived a spotless life and spake as never man spake, but died for our sins and was raised again for our justification, and was thereby declared to be the Son of God with power. It is in accordance, therefore, with the original application of the name 'Christian' that in seeking for the meaning of the word 'Christianity' we should make full use of the Apostolic testimony regarding Christ.

1. As a religion appearing in history, Christianity had its *historical relations* and its *historical roots*. (*a*) It was related to all *the old ethnic faiths*, and to every religious experience of vision and longing, of striving and despair, that the soul of man had ever known. The modern study of Comparative Religion is enabling us to realize this as it has never been realized before; but the NT makes the general truth perfectly plain. God speaks to man in the visible world (Ro 1^{20}), He writes His law on the natural heart (2^{15}), He never leaves Himself without witness (Ac 14^{17}). And on their part men grope through the darkness after God (Ac 17^{27}), being dimly conscious of the truth that they are also His offspring (v.^{28}). And so when Christ comes, He comes not only as the Light of the world (Jn 8^{12}), but as the true Light which lighteth every man that cometh into it (1^{9})—a statement which implies that even apart from His historical manifestation in Judæa, the heavenly Christ was the Light and Life of all men, and that there is a sense in which a soul may be 'naturally Christian' as Tertullian said.

(*b*) But while Christianity was and is related to all the ethnic faiths, it was deeply rooted in *the soil of the OT*. In the pagan religions we find many anticipations of Christianity, but in Judaism there is a definite and Divine preparation for it. Law and prophecy, priesthood and sacrifice all contributed directly to this result. St. Paul declares that 'the law was our schoolmaster to bring us unto Christ' (Gal 3^{24}). The Evangelists draw attention again and again to the fact, so evident to every discerning reader of Scripture, that the prophets were heralds of the Christ who was to come. The author of Hebrews shows us that the ministries of Tabernacle and Temple were examples and shadows of Christ's heavenly Priesthood. In the Fourth Gospel we find Jesus Himself affirming that 'salvation is of the Jews' (Jn 4^{22}); and in that very sermon in which He sets forth the manifesto of His own Kingdom, He proclaims that He came to fulfil and not to destroy the Law and the Prophets of Israel (Mt 5^{17}).

2. But notwithstanding its historical connexions with the past, Christianity was *a religion absolutely new*. The pagan faiths, so far from explaining its origin, serve rather to reveal the world's great need of it. St. Paul seized on this truth when he saw in the altar at Athens inscribed 'To an Unknown God,' an unconscious appeal to the Christian missionary to declare the God and Father of Jesus Christ (Ac $17^{22ff.}$). And even Judaism no more accounts for Christianity than the soil accounts for the mighty tree which springs out of it. While carefully relating Himself to Judaism, Jesus no less carefully discriminated between the permanent and the passing in its institutions. He claimed the right not only to give a fresh reading of its ancient laws (Mt $5^{21ff.\ 27ff.}$), but even to abrogate certain laws altogether (vv.$^{33ff.\ 38ff.\ 43ff.}$). He set Himself not merely above 'them of old time' (Mt 5 *passim*), but above Moses ($19^{7ff.}$‖, $22^{24ff.}$‖, Jn $6^{32ff.}$) and Solomon (Mt 12^{42}‖), Abraham (Jn $8^{53ff.}$) and David (Mt $22^{41ff.}$‖). It was this freedom of Jesus in dealing with the old religion that astonished His hearers: 'He taught them as having authority, and not as their scribes' ($7^{28f.}$). Moreover, His attitude of independence towards Judaism is illustrated by the opposition of the Jewish leaders to Himself. His condemnation and crucifixion is the standing proof that He and His religion did not grow out of Judaism by any process of natural evolution. St. Paul sets the immense difference between the two faiths in the clearest light by his contrast, so fully worked out in Rom. and Gal., between the Law of Moses and the grace of Christ. And very soon in the history of the early Church there came that inevitable crisis which decided that though Judaism had been the cradle of Christianity, it was not to be its nursing-mother (cf. Fairbairn, *Christ in Modern Theology*, p. 52); that Christianity was not a mere spiritualized Judaism, but a new and universal religion recognizing no distinction between Jew and Greek, circumcision and uncircumcision, and seeing in Christ Himself the 'all in all.'

3. When, with the NT as our guide, we seek for the *essential features* of objective Christianity, the following characteristics present themselves:—

(*a*) It is *a revelation of God through the life and in the Person of Jesus Christ*. Upon this the vast majority of those who call themselves Christians are practically agreed. 'God was in Christ' (2 Co 5^{19}); and in the human face of Jesus there so shone the brightness of the Eternal Glory (4^{6}) that he that hath seen Him hath seen the Father (Jn 14^{9}). In His teaching Jesus revealed God to us as our Father in heaven; in His own tenderness and pity and boundless love for men He showed us what the heavenly Fatherhood really means. And so, as we read the Gospels, the assurance grows that in looking on the face of Jesus Christ we are seeing right into the heart of the invisible God.

There are those, however, who, while fully admitting all this, yet hesitate to recognize in the historical Jesus a personal revelation of the Divine nature in human form. For them Jesus as the Revealer has the worth of God without being Himself God. But this is not the Christ who is presented to us in the NT; and if we fall short of the NT view of Christ, our Christianity will not be the Christianity of the NT. If, on the other hand, we take the Gospels and Epistles as our authorities, we must hold upon their evidence not only that 'God was in Christ,' but that He so

dwelt in Christ that Christ Himself was God; and that historical Christianity is nothing less than an immediate revelation of the Divine nature through the incarnation of God in Jesus Christ.

(*b*) Christianity is the religion not only of the revelation of God but of *the redemption of man*. The paganism that reared altars to an unknown God proved impotent to redeem human life from the dominion of evil (see Ro $1^{21ff.}$), while the visions of the Divine that came to true Israelites only made them more deeply conscious of their sin and need (cf. Is 6^{5}). The purpose of Jesus is announced in His very name; He came 'to save his people from their sins' (Mt 1^{21}). His own testimony runs: 'The Son of Man came to seek and to save that which was lost' (Lk 19^{10}). St. Paul sets Christ before us as the Divine Reconciler and Redeemer. God was in Christ *reconciling the world unto Himself* (2 Co 5^{19}, cf. Ro 5^{10}); He sent forth His Son that we might have redemption through His blood, and might receive the adoption of sons (Gal $4^{4.5}$, Eph 1^{7}). And it is the witness of the whole NT that Christ accomplished His work of seeking and saving, of reconciling and redeeming, by taking our sins upon Him, by suffering with men and for them, by dying at last on the cross the Just for the unjust, by rising from the dead and sitting down at God's right hand to dispense those spiritual gifts and powers whereby we are enabled to overcome the world.

(*c*) It follows from what has just been said that Christianity is the religion of *perfected character*. Whatever may be the case with other faiths, Christianity permits of no divorce between religion and morality. It is not from the pains of sin merely that Jesus comes to redeem us, but from sin itself. In keeping with this He sets up an ideal standard of personal attainment—'Ye shall be perfect,' He says, 'as your heavenly Father is perfect' (Mt 5^{48}). Unlike the religions of the pagan world, Judaism was based upon a moral law of wonderful purity and breadth. But the law which Jesus gave and which His Apostles enforced is broader and loftier beyond comparison—a law for heart and mind as well as for the outward life, forbidding unreasonable anger equally with murder (v.$^{21ff.}$), and unholy desire no less than adultery (v.$^{27f.}$). Moreover, Christ not only enjoined this heavenly standard of character, but exemplified it personally. It is not a theoretical ideal that He sets before us, but one that has been realized in a human life. The ethics of Jesus are the ethics of His own example; 'the mind of Christ' is the Christian's indwelling law (Ph 2^{5}).

(*d*) Christianity is the religion of *a regenerated society*. It has the promise not of personal perfection only, but of the establishment of a Society pure, blessed, and world-wide. 'The kingdom' was the characteristic word of Jesus in proclaiming His message; and so both Mt. and Mk. describe His gospel as 'the gospel of the kingdom' (Mt 4^{23} 9^{35}, Mk 1^{14}). And as the rule of a Divine King is the first implication of the word, the second is the harmonious relation of the subjects of the Kingdom to one another. Love is the rule of the Kingdom (Mt $5^{43ff.}$ ||, Jn 13^{34} $15^{12.17}$); and love from its very nature is the fulfilling of all social law (Ro $13^{8.10}$, Gal 5^{14}). The Church which Christ established is the organization of this social Kingdom for moral and religious ends (Mt $16^{18f.}$ 18^{17}). And when Christ's people shall have been joined together in a perfect harmony of brotherly love and mutual co-operation, even as they are severally joined to Him who is their Head (Ro 12^{5}, 1 Co 12^{27}, Eph $1^{22f.}$ $4^{15f.}$ 5^{23}), there will come the realization of that perfect Society which is variously shadowed forth in the NT under the figures of a Kingdom from which there have been cast forth all things that cause stumbling (Mt 13^{41}), a glorious Church without spot or wrinkle or any such thing (Eph 5^{27}), a Holy City, the New Jerusalem, 'descending out of heaven from God' (Rev $21^{10f.}$).

II. Christianity as a Personal Experience.—Christianity is not only a revelation in history, but a reality of personal life. Without Christians there would be no Christianity. What is it then that constitutes men Christians, and so translates the historical fact of the revelation of Jesus Christ into the religion which has lived through the centuries and surrounds us to-day?

1. Here *faith* is the fundamental thing. Just as Christianity, regarded as a historical revelation, may all be summed up in the fact of Christ, so, when it is considered as a personal reality, it may all be included in the faith that lays hold of and appropriates Christ. The whole effort of Jesus during His earthly ministry was directed to this end—to secure faith in Himself. And when His death and resurrection and the experiences of Pentecost had revealed Him to His followers in His fuller glory, faith in Christ crucified and risen became the first demand of the Christian preacher (Ac $2^{36ff.}$ $3^{15f.}$ 8^{37} $11^{20f.}$ $13^{38f.}$ etc.). So much was this the case, that before the disciples were called 'Christians' they were called 'believers' (Ac 5^{14} 10^{45} 16^{1}, 1 Ti 4^{12}), while others were distinguished from them as unbelievers (Ac 14^{2}, 1 Co 6^{6} and *passim*). And as Christ had shown Himself to be, not the revealer of the Father only, but the bringer of redemption to sinful men, faith in Him came to mean specifically trust in Him as One who was able to meet the sinner's greatest need—the need of redemption from sin. So St. Peter called upon the Jews in Jerusalem to repent and be baptized 'in the name of Jesus Christ unto the remission of sins' (Ac 2^{38}). So St. Paul in like manner, when the Philippian jailor cried out in the night, 'What must I do to be saved?' replied, 'Believe on the Lord Jesus, and thou shalt be saved' (Ac $16^{30.31}$)—words which contain in brief the essence of the Apostolic testimony as to the way of salvation. And when we would learn from the NT how the Christianity of those who have trusted in Christ is to live and increase and be perfected, we find that it is faith again, still clinging to Christ, that is the vital principle of the life which faith has begun. Through faith Christ dwells in our hearts (Eph 3^{17}). This is the secret of that abiding in Christ which secures His abiding in us (Jn 15^{4}), and results in the fruitfulness that makes us worthy to be called His disciples (v.^{8}).

2. The next principle of the Christian life is *obedience*. Between faith and obedience there is no opposition any more than between the roots of a tree and its fruits and flowers. And yet, in the one case as in the other, the secret spring of life and its outward manifestations may be distinguished and separately considered. The root of Christianity, as we have seen, is the *religious* principle of faith; but from that root there grows an *ethical* practice bringing life into conformity with all Divine laws. The actual conduct of professedly Christian people has always served as the world's rough test of Christianity. As applied by the world, it is a rude, imperfect test; for the obedience wrought by faith is a product far too fine and subtle to be fully judged by 'the world's coarse thumb and finger.' The law by which a Christian walks is a law that it needs a Christian mind to appreciate. But though often roughly applied, the test of obedience to God is an unfailing gauge of what claims to be Christianity. It was Christ Himself who said, 'Therefore by their fruits ye shall know them. Not every one that saith unto me, Lord, Lord, shall enter into the kingdom of heaven; but he that doeth the will of my Father which is in heaven' (Mt $7^{20.21}$).

3. The third great principle is *love*. For Christianity is *social* as well as ethical and religious. It is a Divine Kingdom whose subjects stand in a definite relation not only to their King but to all their fellows. Now love is the proper attitude of every Christian to all those of whatsoever name for whom Christ died; and love binds men together as they are bound by nothing else. Even worldly kingdoms are beginning to learn, through the gradual infiltration of Christian ideas into the general mind, that neither force nor mutual self-

interest is the true bond of society, but the brotherhood of love. How to produce and secure such brotherhood remains the difficulty for the statesmen of the world. But Jesus, who first gave clear utterance to this great social law, also furnished the sufficient motive for giving effect to it within His own Kingdom. His love to them inspires His disciples to love one another (Jn 13^{34} 15^{12}), and also to love all men after the example of the Divine 'philanthropy' (Mt $5^{43ff.}$ ||; cf. Tit 3^{4}, Ro 5^{8}). And so the faith in Christ which in the ethical sphere blossoms into obedience to God, fills the social sphere with the bloom and fragrance of a universal love to man. Thus once more we are brought back to Him who is at once the object of Christian faith and its 'leader and perfecter' (He 12^{2}). And whether we think of Christianity as revealed or realized, as a historical manifestation of the Divine or a present human experience, we may justly say that it is all comprehended in Jesus Christ Himself.

J. C. Lambert.

CHRISTOLOGY.—See Person of Christ.

CHRONICLES, I. AND II.—**1. Position in Canon.**—It is quite clear from linguistic and other considerations that Chron.-Ezr.-Neh. originally formed one book. As the first part of this large work dealt with a period which was already covered by Samuel and Kings, it was omitted, to begin with, in the formation of the Canon; while the latter part of the book, dealing with the ecclesiastical life of Jerusalem after the Exile, was granted a place. Only as the liturgical and ritual interest became more and more strong was it seen that Chron. contained matter of special importance from that point of view. Hence the book was included in the Canon after Ezr. and Neh., which had originally formed its second and concluding portion. In the English Bible, which follows the LXX, the original order has been restored, but Chron. is the last book in the Hebrew canon. Its Hebrew name is *Dibhre Hayyāmim*, *i.e.* 'the Annals.' The LXX entitled it the *Paraleipomena*, or 'things left out,' a reference to the fact that Chron. contains much not found in the earlier narratives of Samuel and Kings. Our word 'Chronicles' is the Anglicized form of *Chronicon*, the name given to the book by Jerome in translating *Dibhre Hayyāmim*.

2. Aim.—The key to the understanding and estimation of Chron. lies in a clear grasp of its aim. It is not history, as we understand the term, but history rewritten from a late standpoint, with the intention of carrying back into a remote past the origin of customs which the writer considered to be vital for true faith. He is concerned with the history of Judah, and that history interests him only in so far as it has special reference to the worship and institutions of the second Temple. This determines his choice of matter, and the treatment of such facts as he selects. The Northern Kingdom, politically so much more important than the kingdom of Judah, hardly comes within his range of view, and is referred to only when the narrative absolutely necessitates it.

3. Contents.—With this clue the contents of the book are easily grouped.

(i) 1 Ch 1–9, Adam to the death of Saul. These chapters are filled mainly with genealogical tables, but even in these the ecclesiastical interest is supreme. Judah and Levi have the greatest space given to them (2^{3}–4^{23} 6).

(ii) 1 Ch 10–29, from the death of Saul to the accession of Solomon.

(iii) 2 Ch 1–9, the reign of Solomon.

(iv) 2 Ch 10–36, from the division of the kingdom down to the fall of Jerusalem, and the restoration edict of Cyrus.

The material is most carefully chosen, with the object of bringing out the importance of Judah, the greatness of the line of David, the religious value of Jerusalem, and the position of the Levites. A comparison of the narrative in Chron. with the earlier narratives of Samuel and Kings will do more than anything else to convince the reader of the pragmatism of the Chronicler.

(*a*) *Omissions in Chronicles.*—The whole career of Samuel; the reign of Saul, except its close; the struggle David had to establish himself on the throne; the story of Uriah and Bathsheba; the story of Amnon and Tamar; Absalom's rebellion and David's flight; the characteristically Oriental intrigues attending Solomon's accession; his alliances with foreign women and his idolatries in later life; his struggle against disaffection and rebellion; practically the entire history of the Northern Kingdom;—all these sections are omitted, with the view of suppressing what might be held to be discreditable to the religious heroes.

(*b*) *The additions* to the narrative show how the Chronicler's thoughts ran. He gives, as we should have expected, full statistical lists (1 Ch 12); he describes at length matters that have to do with the gradual elevation of the sanctuary at Jerusalem (1 Ch 13. 15. 16); he details the ordering of the Temple ministry and the genealogies of its members (1 Ch 22–29). There is a large class of additions connected with ritual, and especially with musical matters, a fact which has led to the suggestion that the writer was perhaps one of the musicians (2 Ch $5^{12.\ 13}$ $7^{1.\ 3.\ 6}$ $13^{8\text{-}12}$ $17^{8.\ 9}$ $20^{19.\ 21}$). He so handles historical events as to make them bear out his particular theory of the working of Providence. To love God is to be blessed; to sin against God is immediately to feel the pressure of His hand; the religious meaning of particular events is pointed out to the wrong-doers by prophets of the Lord (1 Ch $10^{13.\ 14}$, 2 Ch 12^{2} $13^{3\text{-}21}$ $15^{1\text{-}15}$ $16^{7\text{-}12}$ 20^{37} $21^{10.\ 16\text{-}19}$). In 2 Ch 8^{11} the removal of the daughter of Pharaoh, whom Solomon had married, from the city of David to the house that he had built for her, is said to have been occasioned by the house of David having become too holy because of the coming of the ark. The compiler of Kings assigns no such reason for the removal to the new house (1 K 3^{1} 7^{8} 9^{24}). It was a stumbling-block to the later writer that so bad a king as Manasseh should have enjoyed so long a reign, and so he is described as latterly a penitent, although Kings has no thought of any such change (cf. 2 Ch $33^{11\text{-}19}$ with 2 K 21 and Jer 15^{4}).

(*c*) *Alterations* have been made in the narrative with the view of removing what seemed offensive to the later age. Kings distinctly says that Asa and Jehoshaphat did not abolish the high places, although they did what was right in the sight of the Lord (1 K 15^{14} 22^{43}). Such a conjunction of well-doing with idolatry is incredible to the Chronicler, so he says that the high places *were* abolished by these kings (2 Ch 14^{5} 17^{6}). He finds it necessary to change several narratives in the interests of the Levites, who were not assigned so important a place in matters of ritual under the monarchy as in the days when he was writing (cf. 1 Ch 13. 15 with 2 S 6; 2 Ch 5^{4} with 1 K 8^{3}). According to the original account (2 K 11), Jehoiada was assisted in his rebellion against Athaliah by the foreign bodyguard. In 2 Ch 23 the bodyguard is replaced by the Levites. The rule of the second Temple did not allow aliens to approach so near to the sacred things.

Occasionally there is a misunderstanding of the older narrative. 1 K 22^{48} tells how Jehoshaphat built 'Tarshish-ships,' *i.e.* large sea-going vessels such as were used by the Phœnicians for their trade on the Mediterranean, for the South Arabian gold trade. The Chronicler thinks that 'Tarshish-ships' means 'ships to go to Tarshish' (2 Ch 20^{37}).

4. Historicity.—It is thus evident that Chron. is not to be considered as history, in the sense in which we now use the word. The events of the time with which the writer deals have been treated in a particular religious interest. Some facts have been stated not simply as

they were in themselves, but as they appeared to one whose vision was influenced by his theological viewpoint. Other facts have been suppressed when they interfered with the conveying of the impression that David and Solomon were almost immaculate kings. To a past age were attributed the customs and ceremonial of the days in which the writer lived. The Priests' Code was supposed to have been recognized and observed by David even before the Temple was built. Again and again an anachronism has been committed that the Levites might have the place of honour in the record. Some special features of this method of writing history are:

(*a*) *Exaggerated numbers.*—Every one has felt difficulty with regard to these numbers. Palestine to-day is by no means thinly populated, but the total number of its inhabitants is only about 600,000. At its greatest prosperity the number may have reached 2½ millions. But we read (2 Ch 13[3. 17]) that Abijah with 400,000 men fought against Jeroboam with 800,000, and killed 500,000 of them. Asa (2 Ch 14[8]) takes the field against Zerah the Ethiopian, who has 1,000,000 men, with 300,000 men of Judah, and 280,000 of Benjamin, the smallest of the tribes, which had previously been practically wiped out by the slaying of 25,000 men (Jg 20[46]). When the numbers can be checked by the parallel passages in the older narrative, the tendency of the Chronicler to exaggerate is manifest. 1 Ch 18[4] 19[18] make David capture 7000 horsemen and slay 7000 chariotmen, while 2 S 8[4] 10[18] give 700 of each. According to 1 Ch 21[25], David pays 600 shekels of gold for Ornan's threshing-floor, while according to 2 S 24[24] he gives only 50 shekels of silver. David gathers together for the building of the Temple, according to 1 Ch 22[14], 100,000 talents of gold and 1,000,000 talents of silver; but, according to 1 K 10[14], the whole revenue in gold of the kingdom, in the much richer days of Solomon, was only 666 talents of gold.

(*b*) *Anachronisms* creep in to show that the writer was carrying back to that earlier day the customs and names of his own time. 1 Ch 26[18] states that one of the gates of the Temple—the first Temple—was called Parbar. There is here the double mistake of supposing that the Temple existed in David's time, and that one of the gates of the first Temple had a Persian name. 1 Ch 29[7] speaks of the coin 'daric' or 'dram' as being current in the time of David. This coin was Persian, and was current in Palestine only after the Captivity.

(*c*) *The speeches* put into the mouths of the personages have not been taken from any ancient document, but bear on every line the characteristics of the very peculiar Hebrew style of the Chronicler.

5. Date.—1 Ch 3[17-24] appears to give six generations of the descendants of Zerubbabel, and would thus bring the book down to about B.C. 350. The precise rendering of the passage is, however, a little uncertain. Evidence as to date is clearer from Neh., which, as we have seen, was originally part of Chronicles. Neh 12[11] speaks of Jaddua, who was, as we know from Josephus, a contemporary of Alexander the Great (B.C. 333). Neh 12[22] mentions the reign of Darius the Persian, *i.e.* Darius III., who reigned B.C. 336–332. Chron. must therefore be dated about B.C. 300.

6. Sources.—Chron. contains several additions to the narrative of Samuel and Kings—additions that have not been inserted because of any special ecclesiastical interest (2 Ch 11[9-12. 17. 23] 14[9-15] 20. 25[5-10. 13] 26[6-15] 28[5-15]). Does the Chronicler then preserve any fresh and original tradition, or does he merely work up older material? Apart from Samuel and Kings, his main authority was a work cited under a variety of different titles, 'the Book of the Kings of Israel and Judah' (2 Ch 27[7] 35[27] 36[8]), 'the Book of the Kings of Judah and Israel' (2 Ch 16[11] 25[26] 28[26]). This book must have contained genealogical tables (1 Ch 9[1]), as well as other particulars not mentioned in any book that has come down to us (2 Ch 27[7] 33[18]). Another source is the 'Midrash of the Book of Kings' (2 Ch 24[27]). A *midrash* was an exposition of the religious lessons that could be drawn from a historical work; Chron. itself is an excellent instance of a *midrash*, and this earlier *midrash* may have been the writer's model. He frequently refers to writings quoted under the name of prophets: 1 Ch 29[29] (Samuel, Nathan, and Gad), 2 Ch 9[29] (Nathan, Ahijah, and Iddo), 12[15] (Shemaiah and Iddo), 13[22] (Iddo), 26[22] (Isaiah). As he never cites at the same time the 'Book of the Kings of Israel and Judah,' it is probable that these passages, connected with the various prophets, were only excerpts from that book. From the extracts that Chron. preserves of this book it is probable that it was post-exilic, unless indeed the Chronicler in using it has thoroughly transformed its style and diction into his own.

Chron., then, so far from being a fresh source for the period of which it treats, is a *midrash* of Jewish order. The history is treated in a particular religious interest, the customs and ritual of the later age are carried back into the earlier. The book is evidence not of the condition of things under the monarchy, but of the religious belief and ceremonial observances of a time when national life had ceased, and when the people's interest was confined to the worship of the Temple.

R. Bruce Taylor.

CHRONOLOGY OF THE OLD TESTAMENT.—The importance of a fixed era by which to date events was not discovered by the Hebrews until after their national existence came to an end. All the endeavours to fix such an era which we find in our OT—like the dating of the building of Solomon's Temple 480 years from the Exodus (1 K 6[1])—belong to the post-exilic period. During the existence of the monarchy all that was thought necessary was to date by the years of the reigning king. If we had a complete series of public documents for all the reigns, this would answer very well for historical purposes. But what has actually come down to us is at best only a fragmentary series of notices based in part on official records.

Numerical statements there are in plenty in the Bible, and among them all those in the Books of Kings most deserve attention as the basis for a scientific chronology. At first sight their accuracy seems to be guaranteed, because they check each other for the time covered by the two kingdoms of Israel and Judah. Not only does the author give us the length of the reigns in the two lines, but he has taken pains to work out a series of synchronisms, that is, he dates the accession of each king by the regnal year of his contemporary monarch in the other kingdom. But comparison of these figures with each other shows that they cannot all be accurate. For example, we learn that Jehoshaphat of Judah came to the throne in the fourth year of Ahab of Israel; also that Ahab reigned 22 years. Yet we are told that Ahaziah, who followed Ahab after his death, came to the throne in the seventeenth year of Jehoshaphat, and in addition that Ahaziah's brother Jehoram, who could be crowned only after the two years' reign assigned to the latter, succeeded in the eighteenth of Jehoshaphat (1 K 22[41. 51], 2 K 3[1]).

This example makes us give up the synchronisms and turn our attention to the length of reigns, where we have reason to suppose that the figures are drawn from earlier documents. The history gives a convenient point of division at the accession of Jehu in Israel and of Athaliah in Judah, for these two came to the throne in the same year. The two series of lengths of reigns ought to give the same sum for the period. But they do not. In one line we find 95 years and in the other 98.

It is possible that the discrepancy here is due to the mode of reckoning. The reigns are given as so many years without regard to fractions, yet it will be manifest that few if any reigns are an exact number of years with no months or days. Where the method of dating by regnal years is in vogue, the fractions may be treated in

two ways. If a king dies in the tenth year of his reign, for example, the calendar year may continue to be called his tenth; and the next calendar year will be the first of his successor. But it will also be possible to begin at once to date by the first year of the new king, making the next calendar year his second. In this latter case the public records will show more years (judging by the dates) than there actually are, by one in each reign. According to this method, the number of years from Rehoboam to Athaliah would be 90, which cannot be far from correct. The next period, however,—from Athaliah to Hezekiah, and from Jehu to the fall of Samaria,—gives us greater difficulty. Here we find the sum of years in one line to be greater than in the other by more than twenty. The various hypotheses which have been advanced to overcome this discrepancy do not concern us in the present article. All that we need to note is that the figures of the Hebrew text do not give us a sure basis for a chronology.

If this is true in what we have reason to suppose is the most reliable of the OT dates, the case is even worse when we examine the earlier period of the history. No doubt the authors of the Pentateuchal narratives thought themselves able to give the length of time which had elapsed from the creation of the world. There is no other way to interpret their language. In the genealogy of the sons of Adam, for example (Gn 5), we read how Adam was 130 years old when he begat Seth, Seth 105 years old when he begat Enosh, and so on down to the six hundredth year of Noah's life, in which the Flood came. The summing up of the figures gives us 1656 years from the Creation to the Flood.

The unhistorical character of the numbers in this table is now generally conceded. The conclusions of natural science concerning the duration of man upon the earth are enough to invalidate the calculation. But this gives additional interest to the inquiry as to what the authors had in mind. It has been pointed out that if to the sum we have just obtained we add the years from the Flood to the Exodus of Israel from Egypt, we get 2666, that is, two-thirds of 4000. Now the interest that the writer had in this calculation was probably due to the theory which he had formed or which had come down to him by tradition, that the length of time from the Creation to the coming of the Messiah would be 4000 years.

Four thousand is 100 generations of 40 years each. Any one who is familiar with the OT figures will recall how common it is to find 40 years as a round number. The 40 years of the wilderness wandering, 40 years of peace in the time of several of the Judges, 40 years each for David and Solomon, are sufficiently marked. Then we recall the 480 years from the Exodus to the building of the Temple—12 generations of 40 years each. It is probable also that a similar term was counted from the building of the Temple to its rebuilding under Darius or to the end of the Exile, while it is not without significance that the duration of the Northern Kingdom was calculated to be 240 years.

All this shows that these late Biblical writers were dominated by a theory. It must be noticed also that more than one theory had an influence. The Greek translators, working in the second century before Christ, had a Hebrew text which differed considerably from ours in this matter of numbers. They reckoned nearly 600 years more from the Creation to the Flood than the sum in our Bible, while from the Flood to the Call of Abraham they make nearly 800 more. The copy of the Pentateuch which circulated among the Samaritans has a still different system. The question which of these systems is the earliest is still unsettled. It may be said to have only an academic interest, since we know that no one of them gives us authentic data for the antiquity of the world.

Fortunately our appreciation of the Bible does not depend upon the accuracy of its dates. In general the picture it gives of the sequence of events from the time of the Judges down to the Fall of Jerusalem is correct. Of late years we have received welcome light on the dates of certain Biblical events from the Assyrian and Babylonian inscriptions. These empires had made great advances in astronomy, and consequently in the regulation of the calendar. While they did not date from a fixed era, they had a reckoning of time which secured accuracy for their historical records. Each calendar year was named for an official whom we call an *eponym*, and records were kept showing the series of eponyms with brief notes of the events in each one's year. These lists have come down to us in fragmentary form, but we are able by them to correct some of the dates of our Hebrew history. The accuracy of the Babylonian system has been tested by its records of eclipses as far back as the year B.C. 763.

More than a hundred systems of Biblical Chronology have been invented or reckoned out—another testimony to the uncertain nature of the Biblical data. The received system, which has found a place in the margin of our reference Bibles, is well known to be that of the learned Archbishop Ussher. By the Babylonian canon we are now able to correct its figures. These are for the early period too high. Thus for David, Ussher gives us the date 1056. But reckoning back from the earliest Assyrian allusion to Israel, this should be about 1010. The amount of error is less as we come down to later times, and disappears at the Fall of Samaria. From David down to the capture of Babylon by Cyrus, therefore, we are able to give approximately correct dates for our history. Before the time of David there must be some uncertainty, which up to the present time has not been much mitigated by the Egyptian inscriptions. From the time of the rebuilding of the Temple under Darius we are also in uncertainty, though this period does not bulk largely in the received OT.

H. P. Smith.

CHRONOLOGY OF THE NEW TESTAMENT.—In this article it is proposed first to examine the books of the NT, so as to determine as far as possible their relative chronology,—that is, the length of time between the principal events narrated; and then to investigate the points of contact between the NT and secular history, and thus to arrive at the probable dates of the incidents in the former. It must, however, be remembered that the Gospels and Acts are not biographies or histories in the modern sense of the terms. The writers had a religious object; they wished to teach contemporary Christians to believe (Jn 20^{31}), and were not careful to chronicle dates for the benefit of posterity. Sir W. Ramsay points out (*St. Paul the Traveller*[6], p. 18) that a want of the chronological sense was a fault of the age, and that Tacitus in his *Agricola* is no better (until the last paragraph) than the sacred writers. It must also be noted that reckoning in old times was inclusive. Thus 'three years after' (Gal 1^{18}) means 'in the third year after' (cf. Ac $19^{8.\ 10}$ with 20^{31}); 'three days and three nights' (Mt 12^{40}) means 'from to-day to the day after to-morrow' (Mt 17^{23}). Cf. also Gn $42^{17f.}$

I. Relative Chronology.—**1. Interval between our Lord's birth and baptism.**—This is determined by Lk 3^{23} to have been about 30 years, but the exact interval is uncertain. The RV translates: 'Jesus himself, when he began (lit. beginning) [to teach (cf. Mk 4^{1})], was about thirty years of age,' and so most moderns, though the word 'beginning,' standing by itself, is awkward; it perhaps denotes the real commencement of the Gospel, the chapters on the Birth and Childhood being introductory (Plummer). The difficulty of the phrase was early felt, for the Old Syriac and the Peshitta Syriac omit the participle altogether, and Clement of Alexandria (*Strom.* i. 21) has merely 'Jesus was coming to his baptism, being about,' etc. The AV, following Irenæus and also the Valentinians whom he was opposing, renders: 'began to be about 30 years of age,' which can

mean only that Jesus was 29 years old. Irenæus (*Haer.* II. xxii. 4 f.) says that Jesus was baptized 'being 30 years old,' having 'not yet completed his 30th year,' He 'then possessing the full age of a teacher.' The translation of AV is judged to be grammatically impossible, though it is odd that the Greek-speaking Irenæus did not discover the fact, unless we are to suppose that his Latin translator misrepresents him. Let us, then, take the RV translation; but what is the meaning of 'about 30 years'? Turner (art. 'Chronology of NT' in Hastings' *DB*—the most complete modern work on the subject in English) and Plummer (*St. Luke, in loc.*) think that any age from 28 to 32 would suit; but Ramsay, who remarks that St. Luke's authority for his early chapters was clearly a very good one, and that he could not have been ignorant of the real age, thinks that the phrase must mean 30 plus or minus a few months. There seems to be some doubt as to the age when a Levite began his ministry at this time, as the age had varied; but we may follow Irenæus in thinking that 30 was the full age when a public teacher began his work. On this point, then, internal evidence by itself leaves us a latitude of some little time, whether of a few months or even of a few years.

2. Duration of the ministry.—Very divergent views have been held on this subject. (*a*) Clement of Alexandria (*loc. cit.*), and other 2nd and 3rd cent. Fathers, the *Clementine Homilies* (xvii. 19, 'a whole year'), and the Valentinians (quoted by Irenæus, II, xxii. 1), applying 'the acceptable year of the Lord' (Is 61^2; cf. Lk $4^{18f.}$) literally to the ministry, made it last for one year only. The Valentinians believed that Jesus was baptized at the beginning, and died at the end, of His 30th year. A one-year ministry has also been advocated by von Soden (*EBi*, art. 'Chronology') and by Hort (see below). The latter excises 'the passover' from Jn 6^4. This view is said to be that of the Synoptists, who, however, give hardly any indications of the passing of time. (*b*) The other extreme is found in Irenæus (*loc. cit.*), who held, as against the Valentinians, that the ministry lasted for more than ten years. He takes the feast of Jn 5^1 to be a Passover, but does not mention that of Jn 6^4. He considers, however, that the Passovers mentioned in Jn. are not exclusive; that Jesus was a little less than 30 years old at His baptism, and over 40 when He died. This appears (he says) from Jn $8^{56f.}$, which indicates one who had passed the age of 40; and moreover, Jesus, who came to save all ages, must have 'passed through every age,' and in the decade from 40 to 50 'a man begins to decline towards old age.' He declares that this tradition came from 'John the disciple of the Lord' through 'those who were conversant in Asia with' him—*i.e.* probably Papias; and that the same account had been received from other disciples. But here Irenæus almost certainly makes a blunder. For a 3rd cent. tradition that Jesus was born A.D. 9, was baptized A.D. 46, and died A.D. 58 at the age of 49, see Chapman in *JThSt* viii. 590 (July, 1907). (*c*) Eusebius (*HE* i. 10), followed as to his results provisionally by Ramsay (*Was Christ born at Bethlehem?*[3], p. 212 f.), makes the ministry last over three years ('not quite four full years'), and this till lately was the common view. Melito (*c.* A.D. 160) speaks of Jesus working miracles for three years after His baptism (*Ante-Nic. Chr. Lib.* xxii. p. 135). (*d*) Origen and others, followed by Turner (*op. cit.* p. 409 f.), Sanday (art. 'Jesus Christ' in Hastings' *DB*, p. 610 ff.), and Hitchcock (art. 'Dates' in Hastings' *DCG*, p. 415 f.), allow a little more than two years for the ministry ('Judas did not remain so much as three years with Jesus,' *c. Cels.* ii. 12).

Indications of a ministry of more than a single year are found in the Synoptics; *e.g.* Mk 2^{23} (harvest) 6^{39} (spring; 'green grass'), for the length of the journeys of 6^{56}–10^{32} shows that the spring of 6^{39} could not be that of the Crucifixion. Thus Mk. implies at least a two years' ministry. In Lk. also we see traces of three periods in the ministry: (1) 3^{21}–4^{30}, preaching in the wilderness of Judæa and in Nazareth and Galilee, briefly recorded; (2) 4^{31}–9^{50}, preaching in Galilee and the North, related at length; (3) $9^{51\text{-end}}$, preaching in Central Palestine as far as Jerusalem. Ramsay (*op. cit.* p. 212) takes each of these periods as corresponding roughly to one year. In Jn. we have several indications of time: $2^{13.\ 23}$ (Passover), 4^{35} (four months before harvest; harvest near), 5^1 ('a feast' or 'the feast'), 6^4 (Passover, but see below), 7^2 (Tabernacles, autumn), 10^{22} (Dedication, winter). In two cases (5^1 6^4) there is a question of text; in 5^1 the reading 'a feast' is somewhat better attested, and is preferable on internal grounds, for 'the feast' might mean either Passover or Tabernacles, and since there would be this doubt, the phrase 'the feast' is an unlikely one. If so, we cannot use 5^1 as an indication of time, as any minor feast would suit it. In 6^4 Hort excises 'the passover' (Westcott-Hort, *NT in Greek*, App. p. 77 ff.). But this is against all MSS and VSS, and rests only on the omission by Irenæus (who, however, merely enumerates the Passovers when Jesus went up to Jerusalem; yet the mention of 6^4 would have added to his argument), and probably on Origen (for him and for others adduced, see Turner *op. cit.* p. 408); on internal grounds the omission is very improbable, and does not in reality reconcile Jn. and the Synoptics, for the latter when closely examined do, as we have seen, imply more than a single year's ministry. The note of time in Jn 4^{35} seems to point to (say) January ('there are yet four months and then cometh the harvest'), while the spiritual harvest was already ripe ('the fields . . . are white already unto harvest'), though Origen and others less probably take the former clause to refer to the spiritual, the latter to the material, harvest, which lasted from 15th April to 31st May (see Westcott, *Com. in loc.*). We may probably conclude then that in the ministry, as related in Jn., there were not fewer than three Passovers, and that it therefore lasted (at least) rather more than two years. But did the Fourth Evangelist mention all the Passovers of the ministry? Irenæus thought that he mentioned only some of them; and though his chronology is clearly wrong, and based (as was that of his opponents) on a fanciful exegesis, Lightfoot (*Sup. Rel.* p. 131) and Westcott (*Com.* p. lxxxi.) are inclined to think that in this respect he may to a very limited extent be right. Turner, on the other hand, considers that the enumeration in Jn. is exclusive, and that the notes of time there are intended to correct a false chronology deduced from the Synoptics. On the whole we can only say that the choice apparently lies between a ministry of rather over two years, and one of rather over three years; and that the probability of the former appears to be slightly the greater.

3. Interval between the Ascension and the conversion of St. Paul.—We have no certain internal evidence as to the length of this interval. Ac $2^{46f.}$ may imply a long or a short time. We have to include in this period the spread of the Church among the Hellenists, the election of the Seven, and the death of Stephen, followed closely by St. Paul's conversion. For this period Ramsay allows 2½ to 4 years, Harnack less than one year; but these conclusions come rather from external chronology (see II.) than from internal considerations. It is quite probable that in the early chapters of Acts St. Luke had not the same exact authority that he had for St. Paul's travels, or even for his Gospel (see Lk $1^{2f.}$).

4. St. Paul's missionary career.—The relative chronology of St. Paul's Christian life may be determined by a study of Acts combined with Gal 1^{18} 2^1. Indications of time are found in Ac 11^{25} 18^{11} $19^{8.\ 10}$ $20^{6.\ 16.\ 31}$ $21^{1\text{-}5.\ 27}$ $24^{1.\ 11.\ 27}$ $25^{1.\ 6}$ $27^{9.\ 27}$ $28^{7.\ 11\text{-}14.\ 17.\ 30}$. With these data we may reconstruct the chronology; but there is room for uncertainty (1) as to whether the visit to Jerusalem in Gal 2^1 was that of Ac 11^{30} or that of Ac 15^4, and whether the 'three years' and 'fourteen

years' of Gal 1^{18} 2^{1} are consecutive (so Lightfoot, Rackham), or concurrent (so Ramsay, Turner, Harnack); (2) as to the length of the First Missionary Journey; and (3) as to the later journeys after the Roman imprisonment. If the 'three years' and 'fourteen years' are consecutive, a total of about 16 years (see above) is required for the interval between the conversion and the visit of Gal 2^{1}. But as the interval at Tarsus is indeterminate, and the First Journey may have been anything from one to three years, all systems of relative chronology can be made to agree, except in small details, by shortening or lengthening these periods. For a discussion of some of the doubtful points named see art. GALATIANS [EP. TO THE], § 3, and for the details of the events see art. ACTS OF THE APOSTLES, § 5 ff.

The following table, in which the year of St. Paul's conversion is taken as 1, gives the various events. Ramsay's calculation is taken as a basis, and the differences of opinion are noted in brackets [H = Harnack, T = Turner, R = Ramsay, L = Lightfoot].

1, 2. Conversion near Damascus, Ac 9^{3} 22^{5} 26^{12}; retirement to Arabia, Gal 1^{17}; preaching in Damascus, Ac $9^{20\text{-}22}$ (?), Gal 1^{17}.
3. First visit to Jerusalem, Ac 9^{26}, Gal 1^{18}, 'three years after' his conversion.
4–11. At Tarsus and in Syria-Cilicia, Ac 9^{30}, Gal 1^{21} [so HR, but T gives two years less, L three years less].
12. To Antioch with Barnabas, Ac 11^{26}.
13. Second visit to Jerusalem, with alms, 11^{30} [= Gal 2^{1}, R ?]
14–16. First Missionary Journey, to Cyprus, 13^{4}; Pamphylia, and Southern Galatia (Pisidian Antioch, 13^{14}; Iconium, 13^{51}; Lystra, 14^{6}; Derbe, 14^{20}), and back by Attalia to Antioch, 14^{26} [so HR; TL give one year less].
17. Apostolic Council and third visit to Jerusalem, 15^{4} [= Gal 2^{1}, TL?; so Sanday and most commentators].
18–20. Second Missionary Journey, from Antioch through Syria-Cilicia to Derbe and Lystra, Ac 15^{41} 16^{1}; through the 'Phrygo-Galatic' region of the province Galatia to Troas, $16^{6\text{-}8}$; to Macedonia, 16^{11}; Athens, 17^{15}; and Corinth, 18^{1}, where 18 months are spent; thence by sea to Ephesus, 18^{19}; Jerusalem (fourth visit), 18^{22}; and Antioch, where 'some time' is spent, 18^{23}.
21–24. Third Missionary Journey, from Antioch by the 'Galatic region' and the 'Phrygian region,' 18^{23}, to Ephesus, 19^{1}, where two years and three months are spent, $19^{8.10}$; by Troas 2 Co 2^{12}, to Macedonia, Ac 20^{1}; and Corinth, 20^{2} (see 2 Co 13^{1}), where three months are spent; thence back by Macedonia to Troas, Miletus, and Cæsarea, $20^{1f.\ 15}$ 21^{8}; fifth visit to Jerusalem, 21^{17}; and arrest, 21^{33}; imprisonment at Cæsarea, 23^{33}.
25. In Cæsarea, 24^{27}.
26. Departure for Rome, autumn, 27^{1}; shipwreck off Malta, 28^{1}.
27. Arrival at Rome, 28^{16}.
28. (end) or 29 (early). Acquittal.
29–34. Later journeys and death [so R; L gives one year less, T two years less].

II. POINTS OF CONTACT WITH GENERAL HISTORY.—It will be useful to give the dates of the earlier emperors, and those of the procurators of Judæa. Some of the latter dates are approximate only; information as to them is derived from Josephus' *Antiquities*, and to some extent from his *Jewish Wars* (*BJ*).

ROMAN EMPERORS.

Augustus	[B.C. 31 (*a*)]–A.D. 14 (Aug. 19)
Tiberius	14–37 (Mar. 16)
Caligula (Gaius)	37–41 (Jan. 24)
Claudius	41–54 (Oct. 13)
Nero	54–68
Galba	68–69
Otho	69
Vitellius	69
Vespasian	69–79
Titus	79–81
Domitian	81–96

(*a*) *i.e.* the battle of Actium; Julius Cæsar died B.C. 44, and Eusebius dates Augustus' reign from that year (*HE* i. 5, 9), as does also Irenæus (*Haer.* III. xxi. 3).

RULERS OF JUDÆA.

Herod the Great, king (*a*)	B.C. 37–4
Archelaus, ethnarch (*b*)	B.C. 4–A.D. 6
Procurators. Coponius (*c*)	A.D. 6–9 ?
Marcus Ambivius (*d*)	9–12 ?
Annius Rufus (*e*)	12–15 ?
Valerius Gratus (*f*)	15–26
Pontius Pilate (*g*)	26–36
Marcellus (*h*)	36–37 ?
Marullus (*i*)	37–41 ?
Herod Agrippa, king (*j*)	41–44
Procurators. Cuspius Fadus (*k*)	44–46 ?
Tiberius Alexander (*l*)	46 ?–48
Cumanus (*m*)	48–52
Antonius Felix (*n*)	52–58 or 59 ?
Porcius Festus (*o*)	59?–61
Albinus (*p*)	61–65
Gessius Florus (*q*)	65–66

(*a*) He had been king *de jure* since B.C. 40. (*b*) Josephus, *Ant.* XVII. xi. 4, xiii. 2; he reigned over nine years. (*c*) *ib.* XVIII. i. 1; he arrived with Quirinius at the time of the taxing, Ac 5^{37}. (*d*) *ib.* ii. 2. (*e*) *ib.*; in his time 'the second emperor of the Romans [Augustus] died.' (*f*) *ib.*; sent by Tiberius; he ruled eleven years. (*g*) *ib.* and iv. 2; he ruled ten years and was deposed and sent to Rome, arriving there just after Tiberius' death; Turner makes his accession to office A.D. 27. (*h*) *ib.* iv. 2; sent temporarily by Vitellius, governor of Syria. (*i*) *ib.* vi. 10; sent by Caligula on his accession. (*j*) *ib.* and XIX. v. 1; made king by Claudius on his accession, having been previously given the tetrarchies of Philip and Lysanias by Caligula. (*k*) *ib.* XIX. ix. 2; sent by Claudius on Agrippa's death. (*l*) *ib.* XX. v. 2. (*m*) *ib.* (*n*) *ib.* vii. 1, viii. 9; brother of Pallas; sent by Claudius; in his time was the rebellion of one Theudas; recalled by Nero, see below, § 12. (*o*) *ib.* viii. 9 ff. (*p*) *ib.* ix. 1; sent by Nero on Festus' death; while he was on his way to Judæa, 'the brother of Jesus who was called Christ, whose name was James,' was stoned by the Jews. (*q*) *ib.* xi. 1; the last procurator; he was appointed through the influence of Poppæa; his bad government precipitated the Jewish War.—For the procurators see also *BJ* II. viii. 1, ix. 4, xi. 6, xii. 1 f. 8, xiii. 7, xiv. 1 f., etc.

1 Date of the nativity.—Early chronology is in such confusion that it is very difficult to assign exact dates to the various events, and the early Fathers give us little or no guidance. Clement of Alexandria (*Strom.* i. 21) says that our Lord was born 194 years 1 month 13 days before the death of Commodus [A.D. 192], in the 28th year of Augustus; but his dating of Commodus is wrong (see 4 below). The calculation of our Christian era, due to Dionysius Exiguus in the 6th cent., is obviously wrong by several years. Even the dating by the regnal years of emperors is open to considerable doubt, as it is not always certain from what epoch calculation is made; *e.g.* whether from the death of the predecessor, or from the association with the predecessor as colleague. For the birth of Christ indications have been found in the death of Herod, the Lukan census, and the Star of the Magi.

(*a*) *Death of Herod.*—This probably took place B.C. 4, possibly B.C. 3. His son Archelaus (Mt 2^{22}), who succeeded him in part of his dominions with the title of ethnarch, was deposed (Dion Cassius, LV. 27) in the consulship of Lepidus and Arruntius (A.D. 6), either in his ninth (so Joseph. *BJ* II. vii. 3) or in his tenth year (so *Ant.* XVII. xiii. 2; and the *Life*, § 1, speaks of his tenth year). This would give the above dates for Herod's death; for various considerations which make B.C. 4 the preferable date see Turner, *op. cit.* p. 404. We must then place our Lord's birth one or two years before at least, for Herod slew the male children of two years old and under (Mt 2^{16}), and we have to allow for the sojourn in Egypt.

(*b*) *The Lukan census* (Lk $2^{1ff.}$) would suit the result just reached; see art. LUKE [GOSPEL ACC. TO], § 7

(*c*) *The Magi.* Kepler calculated the date of the Nativity from a conjunction of planets, which he believed the 'star in the east' to be (Ramsay, *Was Christ born at Bethlehem?*[3], p. 215 ff.). But it is impossible to build chronological results on such an uncertain basis.

The date arrived at by Ramsay from these considerations is B.C. 6 (summer), by Turner, B.C. 6 (spring) or B.C. 7. We must remain in ignorance of the day and month. The calculations which give Dec. 25 and Jan. 6 are both based on a fanciful exposition and a wrong

date for the Crucifixion; see the present writer's art. 'Calendar' in Hastings' *DCG* i. 261 f.

2. The Baptism of our Lord.—According to St. Luke (3^1), the Baptist began to preach in the fifteenth year of Tiberius, Pilate being procurator. Eusebius (*HE* i. 10) says that Christ was baptized in the fourth year of Pilate's governorship, and (*HE* i. 9) that Pilate was appointed 'about the twelfth year of the reign of Tiberius'; the latter statement is quoted from Josephus (*Ant.* XVIII. ii. 2), but the former seems to be Eusebius' own deduction from St. Luke. But Pilate cannot have reached Palestine before A.D. 26 or 27, as his ten years ended shortly before Tiberius' death in A.D. 37, and no date later than A.D. 27 is possible for our Lord's baptism, if we take into account the date of the Nativity and St. Luke's statement of our Lord's age. It is probable, therefore, that Pilate's accession to office and John's appearance as a preacher both belong to the same year, say A.D. 26. Does this, however, suit St. Luke's phrase, 'the 15th year of the rule (or hegemony) of Tiberius,' for that is the exact phrase? The 15th year from the death of Augustus would be Aug. A.D. 28 to Aug. A.D. 29. Ramsay supposes (*Was Christ born at Bethlehem?*, p. 202) that 'the rule of Tiberius' is dated from the grant by Augustus of a share in the government of the provinces just before he celebrated his triumph over the people of Pannonia and Dalmatia, Jan. 16, A.D. 12; and this would bring us to *c.* A.D. 25–26. This system of counting years is not found elsewhere, but it is quite a possible one. Turner inclines to the same supposition.

3. The rebuilding of the Temple.—In Jn 2^{20}, at a Passover not long after the Baptism, the Jews say that the Temple was 46 years in building, which, since the Temple was hardly completed at the outbreak of the War (Joseph. *Ant.* XX. ix. 7), can only mean that the rebuilding had begun 46 years before the Passover in question. But this rebuilding began in Herod's 18th year *de facto* (*ib.* XV. xi. 1; for the computation of *BJ* I. xxi. i., see Turner, p. 405); *i.e.* the Passover of B.C. 19 would be that of the first year of the rebuilding, and therefore the Passover of A.D. 27 that of the 46th year. This would agree with the result already reached.

4. Date of the Crucifixion.—The Fathers seem to have known nothing certainly as to the exact year of our Lord's death. Clement of Alexandria (*loc. cit.*), who believed in a one-year ministry, gives the 16th year of Tiberius, 42½ years before the Destruction of Jerusalem (this would be A.D. 28), which was 128 years 10 months 3 days before the death of Commodus (this would make the latter 7 years too late). A common tradition (Tertullian [?], *adv. Jud.* 8 [*Patr. Lat.* ii. 656]; Lactantius, *Div. Inst.* IV. 10, *de Mort. Pers.* 2 [*Patr. Lat.* vi. 474, vii. 194]) assigns the Crucifixion to the consulship of L. Rubellius Geminus and C. Fifius (?) Geminus—Hippolytus (*in Dan.* iv.) and the *Acts of Pilate* give the names as Rufus and Rubellio,—*i.e.* A.D. 29, or possibly A.D. 28. The latest possible year is A.D. 33 (so Eusebius, *HE* i. 10), for Josephus (*Ant.* XVIII. iv. 3, 6) relates that Caiaphas was deposed just before he tells us of the death of Herod Philip, which occurred in the 20th year of Tiberius, *i.e.* A.D. 33–34, reckoning from Augustus' death; Josephus' order has every appearance of being chronological.

Now, it is not certain on which day of the month Nisan the Friday of the Passion fell. We must put aside Westcott's suggestion that our Lord died on a Thursday, as contradicting entirely the Eastern idea of 'the third day' and 'after three days' (see above). But the Synoptics would suggest that our Lord ate the Passover with the disciples on 14th Nisan, and died on the 15th, while Jn. would lead us to suppose that He died on 14th Nisan at the time of the killing of the lambs. The determination of this difficult question will only affect the chronological investigation if in a possible year of the Passion only Nisan 15 or only Nisan 14 can positively be said to have fallen on a Friday. But there is some uncertainty in the reckoning of Nisan. The Jewish months were lunar, and (in early times at least) the first day of the month was not that of the true new moon, but that on which it was first visible. This would be some 30 hours later than the true new moon. But it seems certain that the Jews at the time of the Gospel narrative had some sort of calendrical rules or some rough cycle to determine the first day of a lunar month; otherwise the Jews of the Dispersion would never have been sure of observing the Passover all on the same day, and the difference of a cloudy or of a bright sky on a particular day would introduce confusion. Thus we have to exercise great caution. A table of the true new moons, and of the days when the moon may be presumed to have been first visible, from A.D. 27 to 36 inclusive, is given by Dr. Salmon (*Introd.*, lect. XV.). His result is that in A.D. 27, 30, 33, 34, one or other of the two days Nisan 14 and 15 might have fallen on a Friday. We may omit the first and last of these years, and we have left A.D. 30 and 33. But A.D. 29, which has the best traditional support, is also calendrically possible. Taking the equinox as March 21, Nisan 14 that year would be Sunday, April 18; the moon would have been first visible on Monday, April 4. But the equinox was not then, as now, accurately determined, and Turner (*op. cit.* p. 411 f.) gives an argument for believing that Nisan in A.D. 29 was really the month before that supposed by Salmon. In that case Nisan 14 would fall on one of the three days March 17–19, of which March 18 was a Friday. Thus A.D. 29 is admissible, and the choice almost certainly lies between it and A.D. 30; for A.D. 33 is hard to fit in with the calculation as to the Nativity, and no doubt that year was selected because of the dating of the 'fifteenth year' of Lk 3^1 from the death of Augustus. Of the two years, then, A.D. 30 is chosen by Lightfoot, Salmon, and Wieseler; A.D. 29 by Turner, and in this conclusion Ramsay now acquiesces (*Was Christ born*, etc.? [3], p. 202), as does also Sanday (art. 'Jesus Christ' in Hastings' *DB*, p. 610). Of the days of the month, Nisan 14 is upheld by Claudius Apollinaris (*c.* 150), Clement of Alexandria, Hippolytus, Tertullian (?), Africanus; and by many moderns, *e.g.* Sanday (art. 'Jesus Christ' in Hastings' *DB*) and Westcott. Nisan 15 is supported by Origen, pseudo-Cyprian, Ambrose, Chrysostom; and in modern times by Edersheim (*LT*), Lewin (*Fasti sacri*), and McClellan (*Com. on NT*). But the choice between these days should be determined by internal evidence of the Gospels rather than by the chronological investigations, which are too uncertain to be trustworthy.

5. Aretas and the occupation of Damascus.—Turner deduces the earliest possible date for the conversion of St. Paul from the incident of 2 Co $11^{32f.}$, and accordingly gives A.D. 38 for the first visit to Jerusalem, A.D. 35 or 36 for the Conversion. But, in the opinion of the present writer, for reasons stated in art. ARETAS, the incident cannot be used in determining the chronology at all. If it is so used, the date is consistent with the view that the second visit synchronizes with the Apostolic Council (above, i. 4). Ramsay, however (*St. Paul*[6], p. xiv), adduces as an external support for his date (A.D. 33) for St. Paul's conversion, a 4th cent. oration found in St. Chrysostom's works, which says that Paul served God 35 years and died at the age of 68. If he died in A.D. 67, this would give A.D. 33 for the Conversion. But Patristic chronology is very erratic.

6. Herod Agrippa the Elder received Herod Philip's tetrarchy and the title of king early in A.D. 37 from Caligula, and somewhat later Antipas' tetrarchy (Josephus, *BJ* II. ix. 6); and Claudius gave him the whole of his grandfather's kingdom, which he held for three years till his death, 'as he had governed his tetrarchies three other years' (*ib.* xi. 6). We see from his coins, which were issued up to his ninth year, that he died in A.D. 44 or 45; probably his 'second year' began with the Nisan next after his accession in A.D. 37.

CHRONOLOGY OF THE NEW TESTAMENT

Of these two dates, then, Josephus enables us to choose A.D. 44. This fixes Ac $12^{20ff.}$, though the events of Ac $12^{1ff.}$ need not have been immediately before Agrippa's death; and gives A.D. 41 for his accession to Herod the Great's dominions. It is therefore probable, but not certain, that the Cornelius episode (Ac 10) must be dated before A.D. 41, as it is not likely that a centurion of the Italic cohort would be stationed at Cæsarea during Agrippa's semi-independent rule (see art. CORNELIUS).

7. The Famine.—This was predicted by Agabus, and happened in the reign of Claudius (Ac $11^{27ff.}$). If we can date the famine, it will help us to fix St. Paul's second visit to Jerusalem, as this was occasioned by the sending of alms through him to the famine-stricken Christians there. In Claudius' reign there were many famines, and not in every country at the same time. We read of Helena, queen of Adiabene, a convert to Judaism, arriving at Jerusalem in the middle of the famine, apparently in the procuratorship of Tiberius Alexander, probably therefore after the summer of A.D. 46 (Joseph. *Ant.* XX. ii. 5, v. 2). Orosius, a Spanish writer who visited Palestine A.D. 415, puts the famine in Claudius' fourth year, *i.e.* in A.D. 44 (*Hist.* vii. 6), but Ramsay (*St. Paul*[6], p. 68) shows that his dates at this period are a year too early; thus we arrive at A.D. 45. It is probable that a bad harvest in A.D. 45 resulted in a famine in A.D. 46, and St. Paul's visit might then be either in the middle of the famine, or at any rate during the preceding winter, when the bad harvest showed that the famine was imminent.

8. Sergius Paulus.—The term of office of this proconsul cannot be dated (for the inscription referring to it, see art. ACTS OF THE APOSTLES, § 12); but, as the proconsuls in A.D. 51, 52 are known, St. Paul's visit to Cyprus must have been before that.

9. Claudius' expulsion of the Jews.—The edict (Ac 18^{2}) is mentioned by Suetonius. Tacitus, whose *Annals* are defective for the early years of Claudius, speaks only of the expulsion of astrologers in A.D. 52 (*Ann.* xii. 52). Suetonius (*Claudius*, § 25) says that the edict was due to Jewish tumults 'at the instigation of one Chrestus,' a confusion not unnatural in a heathen writer. Orosius (*Hist.* vii, 6) quotes Josephus as saying that the decree was made in the ninth year of Claudius, *i.e.* A.D. 49, but this should probably be (as above, **7**) A.D. 50. Josephus, as a matter of fact, does not refer to the matter at all, so that Orosius' authority must have been some other writer. The arrival of Aquila and Priscilla at Corinth, if we accept Orosius' statement, must have been later than this, perhaps in A.D. 51 (so Ramsay; Turner puts it one year, Harnack three years earlier).

10. Gallio.—Achaia had been made a senatorial province by Claudius in A.D. 44, and the proconsulship of Gallio, who seems to have arrived at the *end* of St. Paul's stay at Corinth (Ac 18^{12}), was no doubt several years later than this. Gallio was brother to Seneca, who was in disgrace A.D. 41–49, but was recalled and made prætor in A.D. 50. Pliny (*HN* xxxi. 33) says that Gallio became consul; this was probably after his proconsulship in Achaia. He is said by Seneca (*Ep.* 104) to have caught fever in Achaia, and this is the only indication outside Acts of his proconsulship. The probability is that he did not hold this office while Seneca was out of favour at Court, and therefore A.D. 50 would be the earliest year for the incident of Ac 18^{12}. It may have happened some few years later.

11. The Passover at Philippi.—Ramsay (*St. Paul*[6], p. 289 f.) considers that St. Paul left Philippi on a Friday (Ac 20^{6}). He traces back the journey from the departure from Troas (v.[7]), on the assumption that the sermon and Eucharistic celebration at Troas were on what we call Sunday night. But would any Eastern call this 'the first day of the week' (see art. 'Calendar,' I. 1 in Hastings' *DCG*)? If Ramsay's calculation be accepted, the further assumption is that St. Paul, who was in haste to reach Jerusalem, left Philippi on the morrow of the Passover, which therefore fell on Thursday. But in A.D. 57 it is calculated that it did so fall (April 7), and this therefore is Ramsay's date for St. Paul's fifth visit to Jerusalem and his arrest there. There is a triple element of doubt in this calculation—(*a*) as to the day on which Troas was left, (*b*) whether St. Paul started from Philippi on the day after the Passover, (*c*) as to the calculation of the Passover. We must therefore probably dismiss this element in calculating the years, though Ramsay's date is for other reasons quite probable.

12. Felix and Festus.—Felix married Drusilla, sister of Agrippa II., not long after the latter's accession to the tetrarchies of Herod Philip and Lysanias (*c.* A.D. 52–53); for she had married Azizus of Emesa on Agrippa's accession, and 'no long time afterward' deserted him for Felix (Joseph. *Ant.* XX. vii. 1, 2). Thus St. Paul's arrest could not have been before the summer of A.D. 54. Felix seems to have become procurator in A.D. 52, but previously he had held some office in Samaria (and possibly in Judæa) under, or concurrently with, Cumanus; and this accounts for the 'many years' of Ac 24^{10} (see art. FELIX). An apparent contradiction between Tacitus, Josephus, and Eusebius is resolved by Turner (*op. cit.* p. 418) as against Harnack (*Chronologie*, p. 233 f.), who interprets Eusebius as meaning that Felix came into office in A.D. 51.

The date of Festus' arrival is greatly disputed. Lightfoot, Wieseler, and Schürer conclude that it could not have been before A.D. 60 or 61, because of Ac 24^{10}, and because Josephus' description of the events which happened under Felix implies the lapse of many years. But for these events five or six years are amply sufficient; and for the 'many years' see above. Eusebius (*Chronicle*), followed by Harnack, says that Festus arrived in the second year of Nero, *i.e.* Oct. A.D. 55 to Oct. A.D. 56. But Eusebius probably makes the first year of an emperor begin in the September after his accession (Turner, p. 418), and this would make the second year to be Sept. A.D. 56 to Sept. A.D. 57; accordingly Rackham (*Acts*, p. 454) gives A.D. 57 for Festus' arrival. Another argument for an early date for Festus' arrival is that Felix was acquitted, after his recall, through the influence of his brother Pallas (Joseph. *Ant.* XX. viii. 9), and this could only have been (it is said) while Pallas was still in office (Josephus says that Pallas 'was at that time held in the greatest honour by' Nero). But he was dismissed just before Britannicus' 14th birthday, in the spring of A.D. 55 (Tacitus, *Ann.* xiii. 14 f.). This, however, would make Festus' arrival in any case too early; it would be in the summer of A.D. 54, before Claudius' death, which contradicts Eusebius (*Chron.*, and *HE* ii. 22). Harnack supposes that Tacitus wrote 'fourteenth birthday' in error for 'fifteenth.' It is, however, preferable to suppose that Pallas still retained influence even after he had left office. Turner suggests that at any rate the acquittal of Felix, when accused by the Jews, shows that Poppæa had not yet acquired her influence over Nero. This began in A.D. 58, though he did not marry her till A.D. 62, the year of Pallas' murder by him. This consideration, then, militates against Lightfoot's date (A.D. 60 or 61). Harnack's date (A.D. 56) comes from following Eusebius; and accordingly he dates the events of Acts two or three years at least before Ramsay and Turner. Even that early date, if Pallas was still in office when Felix was acquitted, is not easy to reconcile with Tacitus' statement. It does not seem safe to rely on Eusebius' chronology in this case, considering that in other cases it is so inaccurate.

13. Persecutions of Nero and Domitian.—(1) *Death of St. Peter and of St. Paul.*—There is no good reason for supposing that the two Apostles died on the same day or even in the same year, though we may probably conclude that they both were martyred under Nero. Their joint commemoration is due to their bodies having been transferred to the Catacombs together on June 29, A.D.

258 (so the Philocalian calendar, A.D. 354). Clement of Rome (*Cor.* 5) mentions them in the same connexion as examples of patience; Ignatius, writing to the Romans (§ 4), says: 'I do not enjoin you as Peter and Paul did'; Tertullian says that they were both martyred at Rome under Nero (*Scorp.* 15, *de Præscr.* 36 [*Patr. Lat.* ii. 174 f., 59]), and so Origen (Euseb. *HE* iii. 1); Dionysius of Corinth says 'about the same time' (Euseb. *HE* ii. 25); Caius (*c.* A.D. 200) describes their graves near Rome (Euseb. *ib.*). Prudentius (*Peristeph.* xii. 5), in the 4th cent., is the first to say that they died on the same day. Eusebius puts their death at the very end of Nero's reign, *i.e.* not long before A.D. 68. The determining considerations are: (*a*) the connexion of their deaths with the fire at Rome in July A.D. 64; (*b*) the necessary interval after St. Paul's acquittal for his later travels, which would take some three years; and this, if we took Lightfoot's chronology (*Clement*, i. 75 n.), would probably prevent us from fixing on A.D. 64 as the year of St. Paul's death; (*c*) the date of St. Peter's First Epistle, if a genuine work; and (*d*) the fact that St. Mark attended both Apostles, the suggestion being that he served St. Peter after St. Paul's death. The last consideration, if true, would make St. Peter's martyrdom the later of the two. The date of 1 Peter is a difficulty. It makes Christianity a crime (1 P 4^{14}, so in Rev.), and it is said by Pfleiderer not to have been so before the reign of Trajan. At first Christians were accused of ill doing; at a later period they were put to death *as Christians*. Ramsay gives reasons for believing that the change was made by Nero, and developed in the interval A.D. 68–96 under the Flavian emperors (*Ch. in Rom. Emp.* pp. 245, 252 ff., 280). The fact of persecutions being mentioned makes it unlikely that 1 Peter was written before A.D. 64 (Lightfoot, *Clement*, ii. 498 f.), and its indebtedness to some of St. Paul's Epistles implies some interval after they were written. Dr. Bigg, however (*Internat. Crit. Com.*), pleads for a much earlier date, in an argument that will not bear abbreviation: he thinks that the persecutions mentioned were not from the State at all, but from the Jews. Ramsay, on the other hand, thinks that the provinces of Asia Minor cannot have been so fully evangelized as 1 Peter implies before A.D. 65, and that the Epistle was written *c.* A.D. 80, soon after which date St. Peter died. But this is against all the Patristic testimony, which there is little reason to reject. Probably, then, we must date the death of both Apostles in Nero's reign. Two of the arguments mentioned above—on the one hand that the two martyrdoms must have been in close connexion with the Roman fire; and, on the other hand, that St. Mark can only have attended on the one Apostle after the other's death—appear to have little weight. If, as seems likely from what has already been said, the general scheme of chronology adopted by Lightfoot and Wieseler places the events of Acts a year or two too late all through, the argument for postponing the date of St. Paul's death, to allow for his travels, falls, although the later date for the death is in itself quite probable. On the whole, the conclusion seems to be that the martyrdoms may have taken place at any time between A.D. 64 and A.D. 68, more probably towards the end than towards the beginning of that period, though not necessarily in the same year.

(2) *The Apocalypse.*—This work gives us our last chronological indications in NT. Like 1 Peter, it implies persecution for the Name; but, unlike 1 Peter, it implies emperor-worship. The tone of antagonism to the Empire is entirely different from that of St. Paul's Epistles and the Acts. Rome-worship was greatly developed by Domitian, and was scarcely at all prominent in Nero's time. This feature in Rev., then, points to the scene being laid in the Domitianic persecution; and that date is argued for by Swete (*Apocalypse*, p. xcv. ff.—the most complete English commentary on the work) and Ramsay (*Ch. in Rom. Emp.* p. 295 ff.). It is accepted by Sanday (*JThSt* viii. 481 ff., July 1907). Lightfoot, however (*Bibl. Ess.* p. 51, *Sup. Rel.* p. 132), and Westcott (*St. John*, Introd. p. lxxxiv.) argue for a date during Nero's persecution, mainly because of the difference of style between Rev. and Jn., the latter being dated late in the century; this argument assumes identity of authorship, and makes little allowance for a possible difference of scribes. Other arguments for the Neronic date have been taken from the number of the Beast, which is supposed to spell, in Hebrew letters, the names Nero Cæsar, and from the indication as to the 'kings' (emperors) in 17^{10}. The earlier date was in fashion a generation ago, but a reaction has lately set in, and the opinion of Irenæus is now largely supported, namely, that the book was written towards the end of the reign of Domitian, who died A.D. 96 (Iren. *Haer.* v. 30. 3; Euseb. *HE* iii. 18). The evidence seems to preponderate largely in favour of the supposition that the last decade of the 1st cent. is that illustrated by the last book of the NT Canon.

III. Results.—The following table gives the dates arrived at by Harnack, Turner, Ramsay, and Lightfoot, respectively. The results of Lightfoot are in the main also those of Wieseler, Lewin, and Schürer. To the present writer the intermediate dates seem to be the only ones which fulfil all the necessary conditions; but Turner's year for St. Paul's conversion appears less probable than Ramsay's. In view, however, of the confusion in reckoning Imperial years, lunar months, and the like, it would be vain to expect anything like certainty in determining NT dates. [In the table *w* = winter, *sp* = spring, *s* = summer, *a* = autumn.]

	H.	T.	R.	L.
Nativity of Christ, B.C.	..	7*w* or 6*sp*	6*s*	..
Baptism of Christ, A.D.	..	27*sp*	25*w* or 26*sp*	..
Crucifixion	29 or 30	29	29	30
Conversion of St. Paul	30	35 or 36	33	34
First Visit to Jerusalem	33	38	35	37
Second Visit	44	46	45*a* and 46*sp*	45
First Miss. Journey	45–46 ?	47–48	47–49	48–49
Council (Third Visit)	47	49	49*w* and 50*sp*	51
Second M. J. and Fourth Visit	47–50	49–52	50–53	51–54
Third Miss. Journey	50–54	52–56	53–57	54–58
Fifth Visit and arrest	54	56	57	58
Festus succeeds	56	58*s*	59*s*	60 or 61
St. Paul's arrival in Rome	57*sp*	59*sp*	60*sp*	61*sp*
Acquittal	..	61*sp*	61*w* or 62*sp*	63*sp*
Death of St. Paul	64	64 or 65	67	67
Death of St. Peter	64	64 or 65	80	64

A. J. Maclean.

CHRYSOLITE, CHRYSOPRASE.—See Jewels and Precious Stones.

CHURCH.—1. The word *ecclesia*, which in its Christian application is usually tr. 'church,' was applied in ordinary Greek usage to the duly constituted gathering of the citizens in a self-governing city, and it is so used of the Ephesian assembly in Ac 19^{39}. It was adopted in the LXX to tr. a Heb. word, *qāhāl*, signifying the nation of Israel as assembled before God or considered in a religious aspect (Jg 21^{8}, 1 Ch 29^{1}, Dt 31^{30} etc.). In this sense it is found twice in the NT (Ac 7^{38} RV 'church,' He 2^{12} RV '**congregation**'). The term is practically equivalent to the familiar '**synagogue**' which, however, was more frequently used to translate another Heb. word, '*ēdhāh*. This will probably explain our Lord's words in Mt 18^{17}. For 'synagogue' was the name regularly applied after the Babylonian exile to local congregations of Jews formally gathered for common worship, and from them subsequently transferred to similar congregations of Hebrew Christians (Ja 2^{2}). 'Tell it to the *ecclesia*' can hardly refer directly to communities of Jesus' disciples, as these did not exist in the time of the Galilæan ministry, but rather to the Jewish congregation, or its representative court, in the place to which the disputants might belong. The renewal of the promise concerning binding and loosing

in v.[18] (cf. 16[19]) makes against this interpretation. And the assurance of Christ's presence in v.[20] can have reference only to gatherings of disciples. But it may well be that we have these sayings brought together by Matthew in view of the Christian significance of *ecclesia*. There is no evidence that *ecclesia*, like 'synagogue,' was transferred from the congregation of Israel to the religious assemblies which were its local embodiment. But, though not the technical term, there would be no difficulty in applying it, without fear of misunderstanding, to the synagogue. And this would be the more natural because the term is usually applied to Israel in its historical rather than in its ideal aspect (see Hort, *Christian Ecclesia*, p. 12).

2. *Ecclesia* is used constantly with its Christian meaning in the Pauline Epistles. Its earliest use chronologically is probably in 1 Th 1[1]. But the growth of its use is best studied by beginning with Acts. Here the term first occurs in 5[11], applied to the Christians of Jerusalem in their corporate capacity. In 1[15] St. Peter is represented as standing up 'in the midst of the brethren.' Thus from the first Christians are a brotherhood or family, not a promiscuous gathering. That this family is considered capable of an ordered extension is evident (*a*) from the steps immediately taken to fill a vacant post of authority (1[25]), and (*b*) from the way in which converts on receiving baptism are spoken of as added to a fellowship (2[47] AV 'added to the church,' but see RV) which continues in the Apostles' teaching, and the bond of a common table and united prayer (2[42. 46]). This community is now called 'the assemblage of them that believed' (4[32]), the word used, as compared with its employment elsewhere, suggesting not a throng or crowd but the whole body of the disciples. In Ex 12[6] we have the phrase 'the whole assembly of the congregation (Gr. *synagōgē*) of Israel.' When, therefore, it became necessary to find a collective name for 'the believers,' *ecclesia*, the alternative to 'synagogue,' was not unnaturally chosen. For the disciples meeting in Jerusalem were, as a matter of fact, the true Israel (Gal 6[16]), the little flock to whom was to be given the Messianic Kingdom (Lk 12[32]). Moreover, they were a Christian synagogue, and, but for the risk of confusion, might have been so called. The name, therefore, as applied to the primitive community of Jesus, is on the one hand universal and ideal, on the other local and particular. In either case the associations are Jewish, and by these the subsequent history of the name is determined.

3. As Christianity spread, the local units of the brotherhood came to be called *ecclesiæ* (Ac 9[31] 13[1] 14[23] 15[41] 20[17] etc.), the original community being now distinguished as 'the *ecclesia* in Jerusalem' (8[1]). Thus we reach the familiar use of the Pauline Epistles, *e.g.* the *ecclesia* of the Thessalonians (1 Th 1[1]), of Laodicea (Col 4[16]), of Corinth (1 Co 1[2]); cf. 1 P 5[13], Rev 2[1] etc. They are summed up in the expression 'all the *ecclesiæ* of Christ' (Ro 16[16]). This language has doubtless given rise to the modern conception of 'the churches'; but it must be observed that the Pauline idea is territorial, the only apparent departure from this usage being the application of the name to sections of a local *ecclesia*, which seem in some instances to have met for additional worship in the houses of prominent disciples (Ro 16[5], 1 Co 16[19] etc.). The existence of independent congregations of Christians within a single area, like the Hellenistic and Hebrew synagogues (see Ac 6[1. 9]), does not appear to be contemplated in the NT.

4. The conception of a Catholic Church in the sense of a constitutional federation of local Christian organizations in a universal community is post-Apostolic. The phrase is first found in Ignatius (*c.* A.D. 115; see Lightfoot, *Apost. Fathers*, Pt. 2. ii. p. 310). But in the 1st cent. the Church of Jerusalem, as the seat of Apostolic authority (Ac 8[1. 14]), still exercises an influence upon the other communities, which continues during the period of transition to the world-wide society. At Jerusalem Saul receives the right hand of fellowship and recognition from the pillar Apostles (Gal 2[9]). Thence Apostles go forth to confirm and consolidate the work of evangelists (Ac 8[14]). Thither missionaries return with reports of newly-founded Gentile societies and contributions for the poor saints (Ac 15[2] 24[17], 1 Co 16[1-3]). It is this community that promulgates decisions on problems created by the extension of Christianity (Ac 15[22-29]). Till after the destruction of the city in A.D. 71 this Church continued, under the presidency of James the Lord's brother (Gal 2[12], Ac 12[17] 15[13] 21[18]), and then of other members of the Christian 'royal family' (Eusebius, *HE* iii. 11, 19, 20), to be the typical society of Jesus' disciples.

5. But already in the NT that ideal element, which distinguished the primitive fellowship as the Kingdom of Messiah, is beginning to express itself in a conception of the *ecclesia* which, while it never loses touch with the actual concrete society or societies of Christians, has nevertheless no constitutional value. It is scarcely possible to suppose that the adoption of the name *ecclesia* for the Christian society was altogether unrelated to the celebrated use of the word by the Lord Himself in His conversation with the disciples at Cæsarea Philippi (Mt 16[13-20]||). Two suggestions with regard to this passage may be dismissed. The first is that it was interpolated to support the growth of ecclesiastical authority in the 2nd cent.; this rests solely on an assumption that begs the question. The second is that *ecclesia* has been substituted for 'kingdom' in our Lord's utterance through subsequent identification of ideas. But the occasion was one that Christ evidently intended to signalize by a unique deliverance, the full significance of which would not become apparent till interpreted by later experience (cf. Mt 10[38], Jn 6[53]). The metaphor of building as applied to the nation of Israel is found in the OT (Jer 33[7]; cf. Am 9[11], Ps 102[16]). There is therefore little doubt that Jesus meant His disciples to understand the establishment of Messiah's Kingdom; and that the use of the less common word *ecclesia*, far from being unintentional, is designed to connect with the new and enlarged Israel only the spiritual associations of Jehovah's congregation, and to discourage the temporal aspirations which they were only too ready to derive from the promised Kingdom.

6. The **Kingdom of God,** or of Heaven, is a prominent conception in the Synoptic Gospels. It is rather the Kingdom than the King that Christ Himself proclaims (Mk 1[14. 15], cf. Mt 4[17]). The idea, partially understood by His contemporaries, was broadened and spiritualized by Jesus. It had been outlined by prophets and apocalyptic writers. It was to realize the hopes of that congregation of Israel which had been purchased and redeemed of old (Ps 74[2]), and of which the Davidic monarchy had been the pledge (Mic 4[8], Is 55[3] etc.). Typical passages are Dn 2[44] 7[14]. This was the Kingdom which the crowd hailed at the Triumphal Entry (Mt 21[9]||). Christ begins from the point of Jewish expectation, but the Kingdom which He proclaims, though not less actual, surpasses any previous conception in the minds of His followers. It is already present (Lk 11[20] 17[21] RVm) in His own Person and work. It is revealed as a historical institution in the parables of the Tares (Mt 13[24ff.]) and the Drag-net (13[47ff.]). Other parables present it as an ideal which no historical institution can satisfy, *e.g.* Treasure hid in a field (13[44]), a merchantman seeking goodly Pearls (13[45]), a grain of Mustard Seed (13[31. 32]). We cannot solve the problem involved in Christ's various presentations of the Kingdom by saying that He uses the word in different senses. He is dealing with a reality too vast to be submitted to the human understanding otherwise than in aspects and partial views which no powers of combination will enable us adequately to adjust. The twofold conception of the Kingdom as at once a reality and an ideal is finally brought home by those utterances of Jesus

which refer its realization to the end of the age. Daniel's prophecy is to be realized only when the Son of Man shall come in His Kingdom (24[3. 15] 25[31] 26[64]). It is then that the blessed are to inherit what nevertheless was prepared for them from the beginning of time (25[34]). And all views of the Kingdom which would limit it to an externally organized community are proved to be insufficient by a declaration like that of Lk 17[20. 21]. But even when contemplated ideally, the Messianic Kingdom possesses those attributes of order and authority which are inseparable from a society (Mt 19[28]).

It is hardly to be doubted, therefore, that the name *ecclesia*, as given to the primitive community of Christians at Jerusalem, even if suggested rather by the synagogue than by our Lord's declaration to St. Peter, could not be used without identifying that society with the Kingdom of God, so far as this was capable of realization in an institution, and endowing it with those ideal qualities which belong thereto. The descent of the Holy Spirit upon the disciples at Pentecost, fulfilling as it did the expectation of a baptism of fire that was to accompany the establishment of the Kingdom (Ac 1[5], 2[3. 4], Mt 3[11]), connects the Church with the Kingdom, and the scattering of its members after Stephen's death (Ac 8[1]) would begin to familiarize the disciples with the idea of the unity in Christ unbroken by local separation (cf. 8[1] and 9[31]).

7. But it is only in the theology of St. Paul that we find the Kingdom of the Gospels interpreted in terms of the actual experience of the Christian *ecclesia*. The extension of the fellowship beyond the limits of a single city has shown that the ideal Church cannot be identified *simpliciter* with any Christian community, while the idealization of the federated *ecclesiæ*, natural enough in a later age, is, in the absence of a wider ecclesiastical organization, not yet possible. It is still further from the truth to assert that St. Paul had the conception of an invisible Church, of which the local communities were at best typical. 'We have no evidence that St. Paul regarded membership of the universal *ecclesia* as invisible' (Hort, *Christian Ecclesia*, p. 169). The method by which the Apostle reached his doctrine of the Church is best illustrated by his charge to the elders at Miletus to feed the flock of God over which the Holy Ghost had made them overseers (Ac 20[28]). Here the local Ephesian Church represents practically God's Church purchased with His precious blood (v.[28]), a real community of which visibility is an essential characteristic, but which by the nature of the case is incapable of a complete manifestation in history. The passage combines in a remarkable degree the three elements in the Divine Society, namely, the redeemed congregation of Israel (Ps 74[2]), the Kingdom or *ecclesia* of Messiah (Mt 16[18]), and the body established upon the Atonement (Col 1[20-22], Eph 2[13]). All three notes are present in the teaching of the Epistles concerning the *ecclesia*. It is the historical fact of the inclusion of the Gentiles (Eph 2[13]) that is the starting-point. Those nations which under the old covenant were alien from the people of God (Eph 2[12]) are now included in the vast citizenship or polity (v.[19ff.]) which membership in a local *ecclesia* involves. The Church has existed from all eternity as an idea in the mind of God (3[3-11]), the heritage prepared for Christ (1[10. 11]). It is the people of possession (1[14], cf. 1 P 2[9], Tit 2[14]), identified with the commonwealth of Israel (Eph 2[12]), and as such the immediate object of redemption (5[25]); but through the reconciliation of the Cross extended (2[14]), and, as it were, reincorporated on a wider basis (v.[15]), as the sphere of universal forgiveness (v.[16]), the home of the Spirit (v.[18]), and the one body of Christ (4[12] etc.), in which all have access to the Father (2[18]). The interlaced figures of growth and building (4[12. 16]), under which it is presented, witness to its organic and therefore not exclusively spiritual character. Baptism, administered by the local *ecclesiæ* and resulting in rights and duties in respect of them, is yet primarily the method of entrance to the ideal community (Ro 6[3. 4], 1 Co 12[13], Gal 3[27. 28], Eph 4[5]), to which also belong those offices and functions which, whether universal like the Apostolate (1 Co 12[27. 28]) or particular like the presbyterate (Ac 20[17. 28]; cf. 1 Co 12[8-11], Eph 4[11]), are exercised only in relation to the local societies. It is the Church of God that suffers persecution in the persons of those who are of 'the Way' (1 Co 15[9], Ac 8[3] 9[1]); is profaned by misuse of sacred ordinances at Corinth (1 Co 11[22]); becomes at Ephesus the pillar and ground of the truth (1 Ti 3[15]).

That St. Paul, in speaking of the Church now in the local now in the universal sense, is not dealing with ideas connected only by analogy, is proved by the ease with which he passes from the one to the other use (Col 4[15. 16]; cf. 1[18. 24] and Eph. *passim*). The Church is essentially visible, the shrine of God (1 Co 3[16. 17]), the body of Christ (Eph 1[23] etc.); schism and party-strife involving a breach in the unity of the Spirit (4[3]). Under another figure the Church is the bride of Christ (5[25ff.]), His complement or fulness (1[23]), deriving its life from Him as He does from the Father (v.[22], 1 Co 11[3]).

8. Thus the Biblical view of the Church differs alike from the materialized conception of Augustine, which identifies it with the constitutionally incorporated and œcumenical society of the Roman Empire, with its canon law and hierarchical jurisdiction, and from that Kingdom of Christ which Luther, as interpreted by Ritschl, regarded as 'the inward spiritual union of believers with Christ' (*Justification and Reconciliation*, Eng. tr. p. 287). The principle of the Church's life is inward, so that 'the measure of the stature of the fulness of Christ' remains the object of Christian hope (Eph 4[13]). But its manifestation is outward, and includes those ministries which, though marred, as history shows, by human failure and sin, are set in the Church for the building up of the body (v.[11. 12]). Just as members of the legal Israel are recognized by our Lord as sons of the Kingdom (Mt 8[12]), so the baptized are the called, the saints, the members of the body. There is no warrant in the NT for that sharp separation between membership in the legal worshipping Church and the Kingdom of God which is characteristic of Ritschlianism.

9. The Church in its corporate capacity is the primary object of redemption. This truth, besides being definitely asserted (Eph 5[25. 27], Ac 20[28], Tit 2[14]), is involved in the conception of Christ as the second Adam (Ro 5[12-21], 1 Co 15[20-22]), the federal head of a redeemed race; underlies the institutions of Baptism and the Eucharist; and is expressed in the Apostolic teaching concerning the two Sacraments (see above, also 1 Co 10[16-18] 11[20-34]). The Church is thus not a voluntary association of justified persons for purposes of mutual edification and common worship, but the body in which the individual believer normally realizes his redemption. Christ's love for the Church, for which He gave Himself (Eph 5[25]), constituting a royal priesthood, a holy nation, a people of possession (1 P 2[5. 9]) through His blood (Eph 2[13]), completes the parallel, or rather marks the identity, with the historical Israel. Membership in Abraham's covenanted race, of which circumcision was the sign (Gn 17[9]), brought the Israelite into relation with Jehovah. The sacrifices covered the whole 'church in the wilderness' (Ac 7[38]), and each worshipper approached God in virtue of his inclusion in the holy people. No foreigner might eat of the Passover (Ex 12[45]). The propitiatory ritual of the Day of Atonement was expressly designed for the consecration of the whole nation (Lv 16). So the sacrifice of the Cross is our Passover (1 Co 5[7]). The worship of the Christian congregation is the Paschal feast (v.[8], cf. He 13[10-15]). In Christ those who are now fellow-citizens have a common access to the Father (Eph 2[18], He 10[22]). Through the Mediator of a new covenant (12[24]) those

that are consecrated (10[14. 22]) are come to the Church of the first-born (12[23]), which includes the spirits of the perfected saints (*ib.*) in the fellowship of God's household (Eph 2[19], He 10[21]). See also following article.

J. G. Simpson.

CHURCH GOVERNMENT.—**1.** The general development seems fairly clear, though its later stages fall beyond NT times. The Apostles were founders of churches, and therefore regulated and supervised the first arrangements; then were added sundry local and unlocal rulers; then the unlocal died out, and the local settled down into the three permanent classes of bishops, elders, and deacons. The chief disputed questions concern the origin of the local ministry, its relation to the other, and the time and manner in which it settled down under the government of (monarchical) bishops.

2. Twice over St. Paul gives something like a list of the chief persons of the Church. In 1 Co 12[28] he counts up—'first, apostles; second, prophets; third, teachers; then powers; then gifts of healing, helps, governments, kinds of tongues.' It will be noticed that all the words after the first two plainly describe functions, not offices. A few years later (Eph 4[11]) he tells us how the ascended Lord 'himself gave some as apostles, some prophets, some evangelists, some pastors and teachers, for the work of service' (*diakonia*)—they are all of them 'deacons' (*diakonoi*), whatever more they may be.

3. At the head of both lists is the **Apostle.** The Apostles were not limited to the Eleven, or to the number twelve, though twelve was always the ideal number (1 Co 15[5], Rev 21[14]; perhaps Ac 2[14] 6[2]). Whether Matthias *remained* an Apostle or not, Paul and Barnabas were certainly Apostles (*e.g.* Ac 14[14]), and so was James the Lord's brother (Gal 1[19]). The old disciples Andronicus and Junias (not Junia) were 'notable' Apostles (Ro 16[7]). On the other hand, Timothy seems excluded by the greetings of several Epistles (*e.g.* 2 Co.), and Apollos by the evidence of Clement of Rome, who most likely knew the truth of the matter.

The Apostle's first qualification was to have seen the risen Lord (Ac 1[22], 1 Co 9[5]), for his first duty was to bear witness of the Resurrection. This qualification seems never to have been relaxed in NT times. A direct call was also needed, for (1 Co 12[28], Gal 1[1], Eph 4[11]) no human authority could choose an Apostle. The call of Barnabas and Saul was acknowledged (Ac 13[3]) by a commission from the church at Antioch; and if Matthias remained an Apostle, we must suppose that the direct call was represented by some later Divine recognition.

Therefore the Apostle was in no sense a local official. His work was not to serve tables, but to preach and to make disciples of all nations, so that he led a wandering life, settling down only in his old age, or in the sense of making, say, Ephesus or Corinth his centre for a while. The stories which divide the world among the Twelve are legends: the only division we know of was made (Gal 2[9]) at the Conference, when it was resolved that the Three should go to the Jews, Paul and Barnabas to the Gentiles. With this preaching went the founding and general care of churches, though not their ordinary government. St. Paul interferes only in cases of gross error or *corporate* disorder. His point is not that the Galatians are mistaken, but that they are altogether falling away from Christ; not that the Corinthian is a bad offender, but that the church sees no great harm in the matter. He does not advise the Corinthians on further questions without plain hints (1 Co 6[5] 10[14] 11[14]) that they ought to have settled most of them for themselves.

4. Next to the Apostle comes the shadowy figure of the **Prophet.** He too sustained the Church, and shared with him (Eph 2[20] 3[5]) the revelation of the mystery. He spoke 'in the spirit' words of warning, of comfort, or it might be of prediction. He too received his commission from God and not from men, and was no local officer of a church, even if he dwelt in the city. But he was not an eye-witness of the risen Lord, and 'the care of all the churches' did not rest on him. Women also might prophesy (1 Co 11[5]), like Philip's daughters (Ac 21[9]) at Cæsarea, or perhaps the mystic Jezebel (Rev 2[20]) at Thyatira. Yet even in the Apostolic age prophecy (1 Th 5[20]) is beginning to fall into discredit, and false prophets are flourishing (1 Jn., 2 Pet., Jude). This may be the reason for the marked avoidance of the name 'Apostle' by and of St. John.

5. It will be seen that St. Paul's lists leave no place for a local ministry of office, unless it comes in under 'helps and governments' on 'pastors and teachers.' Yet such a ministry must have existed almost from the first. We have (1) the appointment of the Seven at Jerusalem (Ac 6); (2) elders at Jerusalem in the years 44, 50, 58 (11[30] 15[6. 22] 21[18]), appointed by Paul and Barnabas in every church about 48 (14[23]), mentioned Ja 5[14]; at Ephesus in 58 (Ac 20[17]), mentioned 1 P 5[1]; (3) Phœbe a deaconess at Cenchreæ in 58 (Ro 16[1]), bishops and deacons at Philippi in 63 (Ph 1[1]). Also in the Pastoral Epistles, Timothy at Ephesus about 66 is (1 Ti 3, 4) in charge of four orders: (1) bishops (or elders) (5[1]); (2) deacons; (3) deaconesses (3[11]) ('women' [in Gr. without the article] cannot be wives of deacons); (4) widows. With Titus in Crete only bishops are mentioned (Tit 1[5]). To these we add (5) the prominent *quasi*-episcopal positions of James at Jerusalem in 44 (Ac 12[17]), in 50, and in 58; and (6) of Timothy and Titus at Ephesus and in Crete.

To these we must *not* add (1) the 'young men' (*neōteroi*) who carried out Ananias (Ac 5[6]). [The tacit contrast with *presbyteroi* is of age, not office, for it is *neaniskoi* who bury Sapphira]; (2) the indefinite *proistamenoi* of 1 Th 5[12] and Ro 12[8], and the equally indefinite *hēgoumenoi* of some unknown church shortly before 70 (He 13[7. 17]). [If these are officials, we can say no more than that there are several of them]; (3) the angels of the seven churches in Asia. [These cannot safely be taken literally.]

6. The questions before us may be conveniently grouped round the three later offices of Bishop, Elder, and Deacon. But *bishop* and *deacon* seem at first to have denoted functions of oversight and service rather than definite offices. The *elder* carries over a more official character from the synagogue; but in any case there is always a good deal of give and take among officials of small societies. If so, we shall not be surprised if we find neither definite institution of offices nor sharp distinction of duties.

(1) **Deacons.** The traditional view, that the choice of the Seven in Ac 6 marks the institution of a permanent order of deacons, is open to serious doubt. The opinion of Cyprian and later writers is not worth much on a question of this kind, and even that of Irenæus is far from decisive. The vague word *diakonia* (used too in the context of the Apostles themselves) is balanced by the avoidance of the word 'deacon' in the Acts (*e.g.* 21[8] Philip the evangelist, one of the Seven). Since, however, Phœbe was a deaconess at Cenchreæ in 58, there were probably deacons there and at Corinth, though St. Paul does not mention any; and at Philippi we have bishops and deacons in 63. In both cases, however, the doubt remains, how far the name has settled into a definite office. See art. Deacon.

(2) **Elders.** Elders at Jerusalem receive the offerings in 44 from Saul and Barnabas. They are joined with the Apostles at the Conference in 50, and with James in 58. As Paul and Barnabas appoint elders in every city on their first missionary journey, and we find elders at Ephesus in 58, we may infer that the churches generally had elders, though there is no further certain mention of them till the Pastoral Epistles and 1 Peter. Probably Ja 5[12] is earlier, but there we cannot be sure that the word is official.

The difference of name between elders and bishops may point to some difference of origin or duties; but in NT (and in Clement of Rome) the terms are practi-

cally equivalent. Thus the elders of Ephesus are reminded (Ac 20^{28}) that they are bishops. In the Pastoral Epistles, Timothy appoints 'bishops and deacons'; Titus, 'elders and deacons,' though Timothy also (1 Ti 5^{17}) has elders under him. The qualifications of the elder, as described to Titus, are practically those of the bishop as given to Timothy, and it is added (Tit 1^{7}) that the elders must be such 'because the bishop must be blameless,' etc.—which is decisive that the bishop's office was at least as wide as the elder's. Moreover, in both cases the duties implied are ministerial, not what we call episcopal. If the elder's duty is to rule (1 Ti 5^{17}), he does it subject to Timothy, much as a modern elder rules subject to his bishop.

(3) **Bishops.** See Bishop. H. M. Gwatkin.

CHURCHES, ROBBERS OF.—This is in Ac 19^{37} an AV mistranslation (RV has 'robbers of temples'). Even the RV is inexact. The word ought to be translated simply 'sacrilegious persons,' that is, persons acting disrespectfully to the goddess of Ephesus. In 2 Mac 4^{42} (RV 'author of the sacrilege') the expression is applied to Lysimachus, brother of Menelaus the high priest, who perished in a riot caused by sacrilege (B.C. 170). A. Souter.

CHURCHES, SEVEN.—See Angels of the Seven Churches, Revelation [Book of], also the artt. on Ephesus, Smyrna, etc.

CHUSI (Jth 7^{18}), mentioned with Ekrebel (*'Akrabeh*), is possibly *Kuzah*, 5 miles S. of Shechem and 5 miles W. of 'Akrabeh.

CHUZA (Amer. RV **Chuzas**).—The steward of Herod Antipas. His wife Joanna (wh. see) was one of the women who ministered to our Lord and His disciples (Lk 8^{3}).

CIELED, CIELING (Amer. RV 'ceiled,' 'ceiling'). The latter occurs only 1 K 6^{15}, where it has its modern signification (reading, however, 'unto the beams [or rafters] of the cieling).' The verb, on the other hand, should everywhere be rendered **'panelled'** (2 Ch 3^{5}, Jer 22^{14}, Ezk 41^{16}, Hag 1^{4} 'your panelled houses'), the reference being to the panels of cedar or other costly wood with which the inner walls were lined. See House, § 4. A. R. S. Kennedy.

CILICIA.—A district in the S.E. corner of Asia Minor, which in NT times was divided into two portions. The Roman province Cilicia, which is alone referred to in the NT, stretched from a little E. of Corycus to Mt. Amanus, and from the Cilician Gates and Anazarbus to the sea. For administrative purposes it was combined with Syria and Phœnicia. The sense of the unity of Syria and Cilicia is seen clearly in Gal 1^{21} (also in Ac $15^{23.\ 41}$). The capital of the province Cilicia was Tarsus (Ac 21^{39} 22^{3}). The other portion to which the name was applied was the client-kingdom of king Antiochus, which was under the suzerainty of Rome, and included Cilicia Tracheia (Rugged Cilicia) to the W., as well as a belt surrounding the Roman province on the N. and E. Neither district has as yet been thoroughly explored. A. Souter.

CIMMERIANS.—The name, which has come to us through the Greek, of the people known as **Gomer** (wh. see) in the Bible, the *Gimirrē* of the cuneiform inscriptions. J. F. McCurdy.

CINNAMON (Ex 30^{23}, Pr 7^{17}, Ca 4^{14}, Rev 18^{13}).—Almost without doubt the product of *Cinnamomum zeylanicum* of Ceylon. The inner bark is the part chiefly used, but oil is also obtained from the fruit. Cinnamon is still a favourite perfume and flavouring substance in Palestine. E. W. G. Masterman.

CIRCUIT occurs 4 times in AV: 1 S 7^{16} (a late and doubtful passage, acc. to which Samuel went on circuit to various high places), Job 22^{14} (RVm and Amer. RV 'vault,' *i.e.* the vault of heaven), Ps 19^{6} (of the sun's course in the heavens), Ec 1^{6} (of the circuits of the wind). Besides retaining these instances, RV substitutes 'made [make] a circuit' for AV 'fetch a compass' in 2 S 5^{23}, 2 K 3^{9}, Ac 28^{13}. See Compass.

CIRCUMCISION.—This rite is not of Israelite origin; there are some good grounds for the belief that it came to the Israelites from the Egyptians. The fact of a flint being used for its performance (Jos $5^{2.\ 3}$) witnesses to the immense antiquity of the rite. Its original meaning and object are hidden in obscurity, though the theory that it was regarded as a necessary preliminary to marriage has much to commend it. Among the Israelites it became the sign of the Covenant People; whoever was uncircumcised could not partake of the hopes of the nation, nor could such join in the worship of Jahweh; he could not be reckoned an Israelite (Gn 17^{14}). Not only was every Israelite required to undergo circumcision, but even every slave acquired by the Israelites from foreign lands had likewise to be circumcised (Gn $17^{12.\ 13}$); according to Ex $12^{48.\ 49}$ even a stranger sojourning in the midst of Israel had to submit to the rite, at all events if he wished to join in the celebration of the Passover. Originally male children were not circumcised in Israel (cf. Jos 5^{5-9}), but boys had to undergo it on arriving at the age of puberty; but in later days the Law commanded that every male child should be circumcised on the eighth day after birth (Lv 12^{3}).

In the OT there are two accounts as to the occasion on which circumcision was first practised by the Israelites; according to Gn 17^{10-14} the command was given to Abraham to observe the rite as a sign of the covenant between God and him, as representing the nation that was to be; while according to Ex $4^{25.\ 26}$ its origin is connected with Moses. It was the former that, in later days, was always looked upon as its real origin; and thus the rite acquired a purely religious character, and it has been one of the distinguishing marks of Judaism ever since the Exile. The giving of a name at circumcision (Lk 1^{59} 2^{21}) did not belong to the rite originally, but this has been the custom among Jews ever since the return from the Captivity, and probably even before.

In the early Church St. Paul had a vigorous warfare to wage against his Judaizing antagonists, and it became a vital question whether the Gentiles could be received into the Christian community without circumcision. As is well known, St. Paul gained the day, but it was this question of circumcision, which involved of course the observance of the entire Mosaic Law, that was the rock on which union between the early Christians and the Judaizing Christians split. Henceforth the Jewish and the Christian communities drifted further and further apart.

Circumcision in its symbolic meaning is found fairly frequently in the OT; an 'uncircumcised heart' is one from which disobedience to God has not been 'cut off' (see Lv 26^{41}, Dt 10^{16} 30^{6}); the expression 'uncircumcised lips' (Ex $6^{12.\ 30}$) would be equivalent to what is said of Moses, as one who 'spake unadvisedly with his lips' (Ps 106^{33}, cf. Is 6^{5}); in Jer 6^{10} we have the expression 'their ear is uncircumcised' in reference to such as will not hearken to the word of the Lord. A like figurative use is found in the NT (*e.g.* Col $2^{11.\ 13}$).

W. O. E. Oesterley.

CISTERN.—In Palestine, the climate and geological formation of the country render the storage of water a prime necessity of existence. Hence cisterns, mostly hewn in the solid rock, were universal in Bible times, and even before the Hebrew conquest (Dt 6^{11}, Neh 9^{25}, both RV). Thus at Gezer it has been found that 'the rock was honeycombed with cisterns, one appropriated to each house [cf. 2 K 18^{31}] or group of houses . . . (and) fairly uniform in character. A circular shaft, about 3 feet in diameter and 5 feet deep, cut through the rock, expands downwards into a chamber roughly square or circular in plan, about 13 to 25 feet in diameter and generally about 20 feet deep. . . . The wall is

generally covered with coarse plaster' (*PEFSt* 1903, 111 f.).

A cistern might contain only rain water conveyed from the court or flat roof during the rainy season by gutters and pipes, or might be fed by a conduit led from a spring at a distance. The largest of the innumerable cisterns of Jerusalem, the 'great sea' in the Haram area, which is estimated to have held 3,000,000 gallons, derived its water-supply partly from surface drainage and partly from water brought by a conduit from Solomon's Pools near Bethlehem (Wilson).

The mouth of a cistern, through which the water was sometimes drawn by a wheel (Ec 12^{6}), was legally required to have a cover (Ex 21^{33}, cf. Jos. *Ant.* iv. viii. 37). A disused or temporarily empty cistern formed a convenient place of detention, as in the case of Joseph (Gn $37^{20ff.}$) and of Jeremiah (Jer $38^{6ff.}$).

A. R. S. Kennedy.

CITADEL (1 Mac 1^{33} 3^{45} etc. [RVm]).—See Fortification, § 4.

CITHERN (1 Mac 4^{54} AV).—See Music.

CITIES OF THE PLAIN.—See Plain [Cities of the].

CITIZENSHIP.—See Paul, Rome.

CITY.—The surprisingly large number of places in the 'least of all lands' which receive in Scripture the honourable designation of 'city' is in itself evidence that the OT 'cities,' like the NT 'ships,' must not be measured by modern standards. The recent excavations in Palestine have confirmed this conclusion. In his recent work, *Canaan d'après l'exploration récente* (1907), the Dominican scholar, Father Vincent, has prepared plans on a uniform scale of the various sites excavated (see *op. cit.* 27 ff. with plate). From these the modest proportions of an ancient Canaanite or Hebrew city may be best realized. The area of Lachish, for example, did not exceed 15 acres; Taanach and Megiddo each occupied from 12 to 13 acres—an area about equal to the probable extent of the Jebusite city on Ophel captured by David (2 S $5^{6ff.}$). Gezer, at the time of its greatest expansion, did not exceed 23 acres, or thereby, the circuit of its outer wall being only 1500 yards, about ⅓ of the extent of the present wall of Jerusalem.

With the exception of cities on the sea-board, the situation of the Canaanite city was determined, as elsewhere in that old world, by two supreme considerations—the presence of an adequate water-supply and the capability of easy defence against the enemy. 'The cities of Canaan,' says Vincent, 'were almost invariably perched upon a projecting spur of a mountain slope, or upon an isolated eminence in the plain: Megiddo, Gezer, Tell-es-Safy [Gath?]—not to mention the hill of the primitive Jerusalem—are characteristic examples of the former site, Taanach and Lachish of the latter.' With this well-known fact agrees the mention of the 'cities on their mounds' (Jos 11^{13} RV, Jer 30^{18} RVm [Heb. *tillīm*, the Arabic *tell*, now so common in the topographical nomenclature of Western Asia]).

The relation between the city and the dependent villages was regarded as that of a mother (2 S 20^{19} 'a mother in Israel') and her daughters, a point lost in our rendering '**villages**' (*e.g.* Jos $15^{32.\ 36.\ 41}$ and *passim*), though noted in the margins. From these the city was outwardly distinguished by its massive **walls** (cf. Nu 13^{28}, Dt 1^{28} 'walled up to heaven'), on the construction of which recent excavation has thrown a flood of new light (see Fortification). Close to, if not actually upon, the walls, houses were sometimes built, as we learn from Jos 2^{15} (cf. 2 Co 11^{33}).

The **streets** are now seen to have been exceedingly narrow and to have been laid out on no definite plan, 'a maze of narrow crooked causeways and blind alleys,' as at Gezer. Only at the intersection of the more important streets, and especially near the city gates, were **broad places** (Jer 5^{1}, Neh $8^{1.\ 3.\ 16}$ RV—where AV, as often, has 'streets')—the **markets** (Mt 11^{16}, Lk 11^{43}) and **market-places** (Mt 20^{3}, Lk 7^{32}) of NT—where the citizens met to discuss public affairs, the children to play, and the elders to dispense justice. The importance of the **gates**, which were closed at nightfall (Jos 2^{5}), is treated of in art. Fortification and Siegecraft, § 5. During the night the **watchmen** mounted guard on the ramparts, or went 'about the city' (Ca 3^{3}, Is 62^{6}; cf. Ps 127^{1}). A feature of an Eastern city in ancient as in modern times was the aggregation in a particular street or streets of representatives of the same craft or occupation, from which the name of the street or quarter was derived (see Arts and Crafts, § 10).

The **houses** were absurdly small to Western ideas (see House), for the city folk lived their life in the courts and streets, retiring to their houses mainly to eat and sleep. Every city of any importance, and in particular every royal city, had its **castle**, citadel, or acropolis, as the excavations show, to which the inhabitants might flee as a last defence. Such was the '**strong tower** within the city' of Thebez (Jg 9^{51}). Indeed the common term for city (*'ir*) is often used in this restricted sense; thus the '**stronghold** of Zion' is re-named 'David's castle' or citadel (2 S 5^{7}, AV 'city of David'), and the 'city of waters' (12^{27}) at Rabbath-ammon is really the 'water fort.'

As regards the **water-supply**, it was essential, as we have seen, to have one or more springs in the immediate vicinity, to which 'at the time of evening' (Gn 24^{11}) the city maidens went forth to draw (see Well). Against the long rainless summer, and especially against the oft-recurring cases of siege, it was not less necessary that the city should be provided with open **pools** and covered **cisterns** for the storage of water. Mesha, king of Moab, tells in his famous inscription how, as there was 'no cistern in the midst of' a certain city, he 'said to all the people: make you each a cistern in his house' (cf. Cistern).

In the internal affairs of the city the king in Canaanite days was supreme. Under the Hebrew monarchy and later, law and justice were in the hands of 'the **elders** of the city' (Dt 19^{12} $21^{3ff.}$, Ru 4^{2} etc.). In addition to freemen, possessing the full rights of **citizenship**—the 'men of the city' *par excellence*—with their wives and children, the population will have included many slaves, mostly captives of war, and a sprinkling of **sojourners** and passing **strangers** (see Stranger).

No city, finally, was without its **sanctuary** or **high place**, either within its own precincts, as in most cities of note (see High Place), or on an adjoining height (1 S $9^{12ff.}$). With due religious rites, too, the city had been founded in far-off Canaanite, or even, as we now know, in pre-Canaanite days, when the **foundation sacrifice** claimed its human victim (see House, § 3). A survival of this wide-spread custom is almost certainly to be recognized in connexion with the rebuilding of Jericho, the foundation of which was laid by Hiel the Bethelite, 'with the loss of Abiram his first born,' and whose gates were set up 'with the loss of' his youngest son, Segub (1 K 16^{34} RV).

A. R. S. Kennedy.

CLASPS.—See Taches.

CLAUDA.—See Cauda.

CLAUDIA.—A Roman Christian, perhaps wife of **Pudens** and mother of Linus (2 Ti 4^{21}); but Lightfoot (*Clement*, i. 76) shows that this is improbable. The two former names are found in a sepulchral inscription near Rome, and a Claudia was wife of Aulus Pudens, friend of Martial. If these are identified, Claudia was a British lady of high birth; but this is very unlikely.

A. J. Maclean.

CLAUDIUS.—Claudius, the fourth Roman emperor, who bore the names Tiberius Claudius Cæsar Augustus Germanicus, reigned from (24th) 25th Jan. 41 till his murder on 13th Oct. 54 A.D. He was a son of Nero Claudius Drusus (the brother of the emperor Tiberius) and Antonia minor (a daughter of the triumvir Mark

Antony and Octavia, sister of the emperor Augustus), and was born on 1st August 10 B.C. at Lyons. From childhood he was weakly, and a prey to disease, which affected his mind as well as his body. This caused him to be neglected and despised. He was, however, a man of considerable ability, both literary and administrative, as he showed when he was called to succeed his own nephew Gaius (Caligula) as emperor. He has been compared with James I. (VI. of Scotland) in both his weak and his strong points. It was in his reign that the first real occupation of Britain by the Romans took place. He is twice mentioned in Acts (11^{28} and 18^{2}). The great famine over the whole of the Roman world which Agabus foretold took place in his reign. The expulsion of Jews from Rome, due to dissensions amongst them, occurred in the year 50. This latter date is one of the few fixed points of chronology in the Book of Acts. The reign of Claudius was satisfactory to the Empire beyond the average. The government of the provinces was excellent, and a marked feature was the large number of public works executed under the emperor's supervision.

A. SOUTER.

CLAUDIUS LYSIAS. See LYSIAS.

CLAW.—In Dn 4^{33} 'claw' means a bird's claw; but in Dt 14^{6} and Zec 11^{16} it has the obsolete meaning of an animal's hoof.

CLAY.—See POTTERY.

CLEAN AND UNCLEAN.—Introductory.—The words 'clean,' 'unclean,' 'purity,' 'purification,' have acquired in the process of religious development a spiritual connotation which obscures their original meaning. Their primitive significance is wholly ceremonial; the conceptions they represent date back to a very early stage of religious practice, so early indeed that it may be called pre-religious, in so far as any useful delimitation can be established between the epoch in which spell and magic predominated, and that at which germs of a rudimentary religious consciousness can be detected.—In a conspectus of primitive custom, one of the most wide-spread phenomena is the existence of 'taboo.' Anthropology has yet to say the last word about it, and its general characteristics can be differently summarized. But, broadly speaking, taboo springs from the religion of fear. The savage met with much which he could not understand, which was supra-normal to his experience. Such phenomena appeared to him charged with a potency which was secret and uncanny, and highly energetic. They were therefore to be avoided with great care; they were 'taboo' to him. It would be rash to dogmatize about the origin of this notion; it most probably dates back to days prior to any conscious animistic beliefs, and may even be traceable ultimately to instincts which mankind shares with the higher animals. No doubt in later times the idea was artificially exploited in deference to the exigencies of ambition and avarice on the part of chiefs and priests, to the distrust of innovations (cf. Ex 20^{25}, Dt $27^{5.6}$, Jos 8^{31}), to the recommendations of elementary sanitation, etc. But originally the savage regarded as taboo certain persons, material substances, and bodily acts or states which he considered to possess a kind of transmissible electric energy with which it was very dangerous to meddle; and these taboos were jealously guarded by the sanctions of civil authority, and later of religious belief.

It seems probable that even at such an early epoch taboos could be viewed from two distinct points of view. A taboo might be either a blessing or a curse, according as it was handled by an expert or a layman. Thus blood produced defilement, but, properly treated, it might remove impurity. A chief or king was taboo, and to touch him produced the primitive equivalent of 'king's evil'; and yet his touch could remove the disease it created. The reasons for this twofold point of view are very obscure, and do not come within the scope of this article. But the differentiation seems to have existed in a confused way at the earliest era. Afterwards this notion crystallized into a very vital distinction. On the one hand we find the conception of holiness as expressing an official consecration and dedication to the Divine beings. A sanctuary, a season, a priest or chief, were set apart from common life and placed in a peculiar relation of intimacy to God or the gods; they were tabooed as holy. On the other hand, certain taboos were held to arise from the intrinsic repulsiveness of the object or condition, a repulsiveness which affected both God and man with dislike. Such taboos were due to the essential uncleanness of their object.

With the rise of animistic beliefs and practices this differentiation was reinforced by the dualism of benevolent and malignant spirits. Uncanny energy varied according as it arose from the one or the other class, and much care must be taken to propitiate the one and avert the power of the other. Thus on the one side we find sacrificial ritual, which has as its object to please the good demons, and on the other side we have a cathartic ritual, which aims at expelling evil demons from the vicinity (cf. Lv 16, where the two notions are united in one ceremony). But even after the growth of such refinements, ideas and rules survived which can be explained only as relics of primitive and even primeval taboo customs. A still later stage is seen when rules of purity are attributed to the conscious command of God, and their motive is found in His own personal character (Lv 11^{44}). The Jewish sacred books teem with references which demonstrate the survival of primitive taboos. Thus Frazer draws especial attention to the Nazirite vows (Nu 6^{1-21}), to the Sabbath regulations (Ex $35^{2.3}$), to the views as to death (Nu $19^{11ff.}$), and childbirth (Lv 12). Similarly the origin of the conception of holiness may be seen in the idea that it is transmissible by contact (Ex 29^{37} 30^{29}, Lv 6^{27}, Ezk 44^{19}), or in the penalty for meddling with a holy object (1 S 6^{19}, 2 S 6^{7}); whilst allusions to ritual uncleanness occur frequently in Ezekiel, and the legislation on the subject forms a large part of Leviticus and Deuteronomy. In some cases these ideas may have arisen in protest against historical developments of Hebrew custom. Thus it has been supposed that the Nazirite vows originated in the desire for a return to primitive simplicity by way of contrast to the habits of Palestinian Canaanites. But many of the regulations about uncleanness can be explained only by a reference to primitive ritualism, with its conceptions of objects charged with a secret energy which the ordinary man does well to shun.

The word 'clean,' it may be remarked, conveyed originally no positive idea. A clean object was one which was not under a taboo, which had contracted no ceremonial taint. And so again 'purification' meant the removal of a ceremonial taint by ceremonial means, the unclean object being thus restored to a normal condition. Fire and liquids were the best media of purification. Similarly **'common,'** the opposite of 'holy,' merely meant 'undedicated to God,' and expressed no ethical or spiritual notion. In fact, when the conceptions of holiness and uncleanness had been definitely differentiated, the rule would be that, though the holy must be clean, the clean need in no way be holy. Later thought, however, confused the two ideas (cf. Ac 10^{14}).

I. UNCLEANNESS IN THE OT.—The consequences of uncleanness and the methods of purification naturally differed in different races. But in the Jewish religion uncleanness was always held to disqualify a man for Divine worship and sacrifice. In practice a certain amount of laxity seems to have been tolerated (Ezk 22^{26} 44^{7}), though this did not pass without protest (Ezk 44^{9}, Is 52^{1}). But, strictly, an unclean man was debarred from religious offices (Lv $7^{19.20}$); and nobody could perform them in an unclean place, *e.g.* in any land but Palestine (2 K 5^{17}, Hos 9^{3}).

The Jewish rules about uncleanness can be roughly classified under five main heads: sexual impurity, uncleanness due to blood, uncleanness connected with food, with death, and with leprosy. This division is not scientific; some rules are equally in place in more than one class; but at present none but a rough classification is possible.

1. Sexual impurity.—All primitive religions display great terror of any functions connected, however remotely, with the organs of reproduction. Sexual intercourse produced uncleanness; and later animism taught that demons watched over such periods and must be averted with scrupulous care. The time when marriage is consummated was especially dangerous, and this idea is clearly seen in To 8^{1-3}, though this instance is unique in Jewish sacred literature. But, apart from this, the Jews considered all intercourse to defile till evening, and to necessitate a purificatory bath (Lv 15^{18}). Under certain circumstances, when cleanness was especially important, complete abstinence from women was required (Ex 19^{15}). Thus, too, from 1 S 21^{5} it appears as if soldiers on a campaign came under this regulation; perhaps because war was a sacred function, duly opened with religious rites (cf. 2 S 11^{11}), and this may also be the cause for a bridegroom's exemption from military service for a year after marriage (Dt 24^{5}).

Uncircumcision was regarded as unclean. The reason for this is not obvious; rites of circumcision were performed by many primitive nations at the time of puberty (whether for decorative purposes, or in order to prepare a young man or woman for marriage, or for some other reason), and it is possible that among the Jews this custom had been thrown back to an earlier period of life. Or it may be that they regarded circumcision as imposing a distinct tribe-mark on the infant. The condition of uncircumcision might be held as unclean because it implied foreign nationality. Taboos on strangers are very common in savage nations.

Seminal emission made a man unclean till the evening, and necessitated bathing and washing of clothes (Lv $15^{16.\ 17}$).

Childbirth was universally regarded as a special centre of impurity, though among the Jews we find no evidence that the new-born child was subject to it as well as the mother. The mother was completely unclean for seven days; after that she was in a condition of modified impurity for 33 days, disqualified from entering the sanctuary or touching any hallowed thing. (These periods were doubled when the baby was a girl.) After this, in order to complete her purification, she must offer a lamb of the first year and a pigeon or turtle dove, though poorer people might substitute another pigeon or dove for the lamb (Lv 12, cf. Lk 2^{24}).

Analogous notions may perhaps be traced in the prohibition of any sexual impersonation (Dt 22^{5}), any mingling of different species (Dt 22^{9-11}, Lv 19^{19}), and in the disqualifications on eunuchs, bastards, and the Ammonites and Moabites, the offspring of an incestuous union (Dt 23^{1-6}); though some of these rules look like the product of later refinement.

Human excreta were sources of uncleanness (Dt 23^{12-14}); but the directions on this subject very possibly date from the epoch of magical spells, and arose from the fear lest a man's excrement might fall into an enemy's hands and be used to work magic against him.

The prohibition to priests of woolen garments which caused sweat, is possibly an extension of a similar notion (Ezk 44^{17-18}). Finally, the abstinence from eating the sinew of the thigh, which in Gn 32^{32} is explained by a reference to the story of Jacob, may have originated in the idea that the thigh was the centre of the reproductive functions.

2. Uncleanness due to blood.—The fear of blood dates back in all probability to the most primeval times, and may be in part instinctive. Among the Jews it was a most stringent taboo, and their aversion from it was reinforced by the theory that it was the seat of life (Dt 12^{23}). A clear instance of the all-embracing nature of its polluting power is seen in Dt 22^{8}. The same idea would probably cause the abstinence from eating beasts of prey, carrion birds, and animals which had died without being bled (Ezk 4^{14}, Ex 22^{31}, Lv 17^{15} 22^{8}). To break this rule caused defilement (1 S 14^{33}, Ezk 33^{25}). Such a taboo is so universal and ancient that it cannot reasonably be accounted for by the Jewish hatred for heathen offerings of blood.

The taboos on menstrual blood and abnormal issues must come under this category or that of sexual impurity. Menstruation was terribly feared. It was exceedingly dangerous for a man even to see the blood. The woman in such a condition was unclean for seven days, and her impurity was highly contagious (Lv 15^{19-24}). Similarly, abnormal issues produced contagious uncleanness for seven days after they had stopped. The purification required was the offering of two turtle doves and two young pigeons. A man had also to bathe and wash his clothes, but we are not told that a woman was under the same necessity, though it is hardly credible that she was exempt (Lv $15^{2-15.\ 25-30}$).

3. Uncleanness connected with food.—Anthropology no longer explains all food taboos as survivals of totemism, though no doubt this explanation may account for some. It appears rather that 'theriolatry' was the more general phenomenon. For reasons which cannot even be conjectured in many cases, certain animals were treated as sacred, and tabooed accordingly; it might be that the animal was very useful or very dangerous or very strange; the savage had no consistent theory of taboo. Some animals may be cases of sympathetic taboo; they were not eaten from the fear lest their qualities should be imparted to the consumer. In later times some animals might be tabooed from more elaborate motives. But food taboos cover so wide a range, and appear in many cases so inexplicable, that no single derivation of them can be adequate.

The Jews themselves dated the distinction between clean and unclean animals from an early antiquity (cf. Gn 7^{2} and 8^{20}); Gn 9^{3}, however, appears to embody a theory of antediluvian vegetarianism.

The lists of clean and unclean beasts are given in Lv 11 and Dt $14^{4ff.}$ It is impossible to give any certain explanation of the separate items. Clean animals are there classified as those which part the hoof, are cloven-footed, and chew the cud. But this looks like an attempt of later speculation to generalize regulations already existent. The criterion would exclude the ass, horse, dog, and beasts of prey, which are nowhere mentioned as unclean. The last class, as we have seen, would probably be so on different grounds. The horse and dog seem to have been connected with idolatrous rites (2 K 23^{11}, Is 66^{3}), and so perhaps were forbidden. But Jg 6^{4} appears to treat the ass as an ordinary article of diet. (The circumstances in 2 K 6^{25} are exceptional.) The rule that a kid must not be seethed in its mother's milk (Ex 23^{19} 34^{26}, Dt 14^{21}) is difficult to account for. A magical conception appears to underlie the prohibition, and it has been suggested that some nations used to sprinkle the broth on the ground for some such purposes. In that case the taboo would be of great antiquity. But the matter is not at present satisfactorily explained. The taboo on the tree in Eden (Gn 3^{3}) hardly calls for discussion. So far as we know, it had no subsequent history; and the general colouring of the story makes it improbable that the prohibition had any origin in Jewish custom.

4. Uncleanness connected with death.—Death, as well as birth, was a source of great terror to the savage. The animistic horror of ghosts and theories of a continued existence after death, gave a rationale for such terror; but it probably existed in pre-animistic days, and the precautions exercised with regard to dead bodies were derived partly from the intrinsic mysterious-

ness of death, partly from the value of a corpse for magical purposes. Among the Jews a corpse was regarded as exceptionally defiling (Hag 2^{13}). Even a bone or a grave caused infectious uncleanness, and graves were whitened in order to be easily recognizable. He who touched a corpse was unclean for seven days (Nu $19^{11ff.}$). Purification was necessary on the third and seventh days; and on the latter the unclean person also washed his clothes and bathed. A corpse defiled a tent and all open vessels in it. For similar reasons warriors needed purification after a battle (Nu 31^{19-24}); a murderer defiled the land and had to flee to a city of refuge, where he must remain till the death of the high priest (Nu 35). It has been suggested that this provision was due to the notion that the high priest, the temporary representative of Jahweh, was regarded as suffering from the defilement of murder as God suffered, and as the land suffered (Dt 21^{1}). It is singular that apparently a person who was unclean from touching a corpse might yet eat the Passover (Nu 9^{6-12}).

The kinsmen of a dead man were usually also unclean; Hos 9^{4} points to a similar idea among the Jews. Indeed, mourning customs were in origin probably warnings of such impurity. Some of the most common are prohibited in Dt 14^{1} and Lv 19^{28}, perhaps because of their heathenish associations.

The ritual of purification from corpse-defilement, described in Nu 19, must be of high antiquity. The purifying medium was water, the blood and ashes of a red heifer, with cedar, hyssop, and scarlet. This was sprinkled over the unclean person on the third and seventh days, and the priest and attendants who performed the ceremony were themselves defiled by it till evening, and needed purification (cf. Dt 21). The ritual thus unites the three great cathartic media, fire, water, and aromatic woods and plants. The last, perhaps, were originally considered to be efficacious in expelling the death-demons by their scent.

5. Uncleanness connected with leprosy.—Orientals considered leprosy the one specially unclean disease, which required not healing but cleansing (cf. Nu 12^{12}). It appears to have been a kind of elephantiasis, and Lv 13 gives directions for its diagnosis. If pronounced unclean, the leper was excluded from the community (cf. 2 K 7^{3}). He could not attend a synagogue service in a walled town, though in open towns a special part of the synagogue was often reserved for lepers. If he was cured, he must undergo an elaborate process of purificatory ritual (Lv 14), including (*a*) the sacrifice of one bird and the release of another, perhaps regarded as carrying away the demon; fragrant plants, water, and the blood of the dead bird were used at this stage; (*b*) the washing of clothes, shaving of the hair, and bathing of the body; then (*c*) after seven days' interval this second process was repeated; and finally (*d*) on the eighth day sacrifices were offered, and the man ceremonially cleansed with the blood and oil of the sacrifice.

II. Uncleanness in the NT.—Legal casuistry carried the cathartic ritual to a high pitch of complexity, and Jesus came into frequent conflict with the Jewish lawyers over the point (cf. Mk 7^{1-5}). He denounced it energetically (Lk 11^{38}, Mt 15^{10}), and, by insisting on the supreme importance of moral purity, threw ceremonial ideas into a subordinate position. The full force of this teaching was not at once realized (cf. Ac 10^{14}). The decree in Ac 15^{29} still recommends certain taboos. But St. Paul had no illusions on the subject (cf. Ro 14^{14}, 1 Co 6^{13}, Col $2^{16.\ 20-22}$, Tit 1^{15}). In practice he made concessions to the scruples of others (Ac 21^{26}, Ro 14^{20}) as Jesus had done (Mk 1^{44}); and it was recognized that a man who had scruples must not be encouraged to violate them. But it was inevitable that with the process of time and reflexion, ceremonial prohibitions and ritualistic notions of cleanness should disappear before the Christian insistence on the internal elements in religion. There are certain survivals of such notions even now, and ceremonialism is not extirpated. But its scope is very narrow, and it is the custom to explain such ritual regulations as survive, on grounds that accord better with the spirit of Christianity and the ideas of civilized society. A. W. F. Blunt.

CLEMENT.—The name of a fellow-worker with St. Paul (Ph 4^{3}). There are no sufficient grounds for identifying him with Clement, bishop of Rome, the writer of the *Epistle to the Church of Corinth*.

J. G. Tasker.

CLEOPAS.—Only Lk 24^{18}; whether to be identified with Clopas of Jn 19^{25} and Alphæus of Mt 10^{3} etc., is a matter of dispute.

CLEOPATRA.—1. A daughter of Ptolemy Epiphanes. She married in B.C. 173 her own brother Ptolemy Philometor (Ad. Est 11^{1}), and afterwards her second brother Ptolemy Physcon (Liv. xlv. 13, *Epit.* 59; Justin, xxxviii. 8). She greatly favoured the Jews in Egypt (Jos. *c. Apion.* ii. 5), and encouraged Onias IV. in the erection of the temple at Leontopolis (Jos. *Ant.* XIII. iii. 2). **2.** A daughter of Ptolemy Philometor. In B.C. 150 she was given in marriage by her father to Alexander Balas (1 Mac $10^{57.\ 58}$; Jos. *Ant.* XIII. iv. 1). When Balas was driven into Arabia, she became (B.C. 146), at her father's bidding, the wife of his rival, Demetrius Nikator (1 Mac 11^{12}; Jos. *Ant.* XIII. iv. 7; Liv. *Epit.* 52).

CLOKE (AV and RV, but Amer. RV 'cloak').—See Dress, § 4.

CLOPAS (AV **Cleophas**) is named only in Jn 19^{25}. See Alphæus and Brethren of the Lord.

CLOSET.—The Gr. word so rendered in NT properly denotes 'a store-chamber' as Lk 12^{24} RV, then any inner or more private room as opposed to the living-room; so Mt 6^{6}, Lk 12^{3} RV 'inner-chamber.' Cf. 1 K 20^{30} 22^{25}, lit. 'a chamber within a chamber,' and House, § 2. For Jl 2^{16} see Driver, *Joel and Amos, in loc.*

A. R. S. Kennedy.

CLOTHES, CLOTHING.—See Dress.

CLOUD.—In Scripture, as with us, the clouds are the visible masses of aqueous vapour, darkening the heavens, sources of rain and fertility, telling the present state of the weather or indicating a coming change. They serve also for figures of instability and transitoriness (Hos 6^{4}), calamity (La 2^{1}), the gloom of old age (Ec 12^{2}), great height (Job 20^{6}), immense numbers (He 12^{1}). The following points should be noted. **1.** The poetic treatment in Job. The waters are bound up securely in the clouds, so that the rain does not break through (26^{8}); when the ocean issues from chaos like a new-born child, God wraps it in the swaddling-bands of clouds (38^{9}); the laws of their movements are impenetrable mysteries (36^{29} 37^{16} 38^{37}). **2.** The cloud indicates the presence of God, and at the same time veils the insufferable brightness of His glory (Ex 16^{10} 19^{9} etc.). Similarly the bright cloud betokens the Father's presence, and His voice is heard speaking from it (Mt 17^{5}). But a dark cloud would effectually hide Him, and thus furnishes a figure for displeasure (La 3^{44}). At Rev 10^{1} the cloud is an angel's glorious robe. **3.** The **pillar of cloud and fire** directs and protects the journeyings of the Exodus (Ex 13^{21}, Ps 105^{39}). This corresponds with the fact that armies and caravans have frequently been directed by signals of fire and smoke. **4.** The cloud alternates with the cherub as Jahweh's chariot (Ps 18^{10}, Is 19^{1}). Indeed, the cherub is a personification of the thunder-cloud. The Messianic people and the Messiah Himself sweep through the heaven with clouds (Dn 7^{13}, Mk 14^{62}, Rev 1^{7}), or on the clouds (Mt 26^{64}): hence the later Jews identified Anani (='He of the clouds,' 1 Ch 3^{24}) with the Messiah. The saints are to be caught up in the clouds (1 Th 4^{17}). The Messiah's throne is a white cloud (Rev 14^{14}). **5.** In the 'Cloud Vision' of Apoc. Bar 53–73, the cloud from which the twelve

streams of water pour is 'the wide world which the Almighty created'—a very peculiar piece of imagery.
J. Taylor.

CLOUT.—Jer 38[11-12] 'old cast clouts.' The word is still used in Scotland for cloths (as in 'dish-clout'), but for clothes only contemptuously. Formerly there was no contempt in the word. Sir John Mandeville (*Travels*, Macmillan's ed. p. 75) says, 'And in that well she washed often-time the clouts of her son Jesu Christ.' The verb 'to clout' occurs in Jos 9[5], of shoes (Amer. RV 'patched').

CLUB.—Only Job 41[29] RV, for AV '**dart.**' The stout shepherd's club, with its thick end probably studded with nails, with which he defended his flock against wild beasts, is rendered by '**rod**' in Ps 23[4] and elsewhere.

CNIDUS.—A city of Caria, in S.W. of Asia Minor. It was the dividing point between the S. and W. coasts of Asia Minor, and at this point St. Paul's ship changed its course in the voyage to Rome (Ac 27[7]). It contained Jewish inhabitants as early as the 2nd cent. B.C. (1 Mac 15[23]), and had the rank of a free city. A. Souter.

COAL.—Mineral coal was unknown in Bible times. Wherever 'coal' (or 'coals') is mentioned, therefore, we must in the great majority of cases understand wood or charcoal. Several species of wood used for heating purposes are named in Is 44[14-16], to which Ps 120[4] adds 'coals of broom' (RVm). In two cases, however, the 'live coal' of Isaiah's vision (Is 6[6]) and the 'coals' on which was 'a cake baken' for Elijah (1 K 19[6]), the Heb. word denotes a hot stone (so RVm—see Bread). The charcoal was generally burned in a **brasier** (Jer 36[22ff.] RV, AV 'hearth') or chafing-dish, the 'pan of fire' of Zec 12[6] RV. See, further, House, § 7.

Coal, or rather charcoal, supplies several Scripture metaphors, the most interesting of which is illustrated by the expression of the wise woman of Tekoa, 'thus shall they quench my coal that is left' (2 S 14[7]). By this she means, as shown by the following words, the death of her son and the extinction of her family, an idea elsewhere expressed as a putting out of one's lamp (Pr 13[9]). A. R. S. Kennedy.

COAST.—Coast, now confined to the shore of the sea, was formerly used of the border between two countries, or the neighbourhood of any place. When St. Paul 'passed through the upper coasts' (Ac 19[1]), he was in the interior of Asia Minor. Herod 'slew all the children that were in Bethlehem, and in all the coasts thereof' (Mt 2[16]).

COAT.—See Dress, §§ 2 (*d*), 4.

COAT OF MAIL.—See Armour, Arms, § 2 (*c*).

COCK.—Mt 26[34. 74], Mk 13[35] 14[30. 72], Lk 22[34. 60. 61], Jn 13[30] 18[27]. Cocks and hens were probably unknown in Palestine until from two to three centuries before Christ's time. In the famous painted tomb at Marissa (see Mareshah), a work of about B.C. 200, we have the cock depicted. Cocks and hens were introduced from Persia. The absence of express mention of them from the Law, and the fact that it is a 'clean' bird, have made it possible for the Jews for many centuries to sacrifice these birds on the eve of the Day of Atonement—a cock for each male and a hen for each female in the household. Talmudic tradition finds references to the cock in Is 22[17], Job 38[36], and Pr 30[31], but all these are very doubtful. The '**cock-crowing**' was the name of the 3rd watch of the night, just before the dawn, in the time of our Lord. During this time the cocks crow at irregular intervals. E. W. G. Masterman.

COCKATRICE.—See Serpent.

COCKER.—Sir 30[9] 'Cocker thy child, and he shall make thee afraid,' that is 'pamper.' Cf. Shaks. *King John* v. i. 70—

'Shall a beardless boy,
A cocker'd silken wanton, brave our fields?'

and Hull (1611), 'No creatures more cocker their young than the Asse and the Ape.' The word is not found earlier than the 15th century. Its origin is obscure.

COCKLE (*bo'shāh*, Job 31[40]).—AVm 'stinking weeds' or RVm 'noisome weeds' are both more correct. Sir J. Hooper has suggested 'stinking arums,' which are common Palestine plants, but the more general rendering is safer. E. W. G. Masterman.

CŒLE-SYRIA, 'Hollow Syria,' is properly the great hollow running N. and S. between the Lebanon and Anti-Lebanon ranges (1 Es 4[48]; Strabo, xvi. 2). It corresponds to the *Biq'ath ha-Lebānōn* of Jos 11[17] etc.; possibly also to *Biq'ath Aven* of Am 1[5]. The first element of the name persists in the modern name of the valley S. of Baalbek, *el-Buqā'*. The Orontes drains the valley northward, and the Litāni southward, both rivers rising near Baalbek. The soil is rich, producing splendid crops of wheat, etc., while some of the finest vineyards in Syria clothe the adjoining slopes.

'Cœle-Syria' came to have a wider significance, covering indeed, with Phœnicia, all the Seleucid territory S. of the River Eleutherus (2 Mac 3[5] etc.; Strabo, xvi. 753). In 1 Es 2[17] etc., Cœle-Syria and Phœnicia denote the whole Persian province, stretching from the Euphrates to the borders of Egypt. Josephus reckons the country E. of Jordan to Cœle-Syria (*Ant.* I. xi. 5, XIII. xiii. 2 f., etc.), including in it Scythopolis, the only member of the Decapolis west of the river. W. Ewing.

COFFER occurs only in 1 S 6[8. 11. 15], and the Heb. term *'argāz*, of which it is the tr., is also found nowhere else. It appears to have been a small chest which *contained* (?) the golden figures sent by the Philistines as a guilt-offering.

COFFIN.—Gn 50[26] only (of the disposal of Joseph's body in Egypt). Israelitish burial rites (see Mourning Customs, Tomb) did not include the use of coffins.

COHORT.—See Band, Legion.

COINS.—See Money.

COL-HOZEH ('seeing all').—A Judahite (Neh 3[15] 11[6]).

COLIUS (1 Es 9[23]).—See Calitas, Kelaiah.

COLLAR.—See Ornaments, § 2.

COLLEGE.—This stands in AV (2 K 22[14], 2 Ch 34[22]) for the Heb. *mishneh*, which RV correctly renders 'second quarter,'—a quarter of the city lying to the north (Zeph 1[10]), and possibly referred to in Neh 11[9], where our versions have 'second over the city.' The idea of a 'college' came from the Targ. on 2 K 22[14], 'house of instruction.' J. Taylor.

COLONY.—The word *colonia* is a pure Latin word, which is written in Greek letters in the only place where it occurs in the Bible (Ac 16[12]), and expresses a purely Roman institution. It is a piece of Rome transported bodily out of Rome itself and planted somewhere in the Roman Empire. In other words, it is a collection of Roman citizen-soldiers settled on a military road to keep the enemies of the Empire in check. These retained their citizenship of Rome and constituted the aristocracy of every town in which they were situated. Their constitution was on the model of Rome and the Italian States. A number of places are mentioned in the NT which were really *coloniæ*, but only one, Philippi, is so *named*, and the reason for this naming is no doubt that the author of Acts was proud of this city, with which he had some connexion. Pisidian Antioch, Lystra, Corinth, and Ptolemais, not to mention others, were *coloniæ*. Sometimes these *coloniæ* were merely settlements of veterans for whom their generals had to find a home.
A. Souter.

COLOSSÆ was an ancient city of Phrygia (Roman province Asia), at one time of great importance, but dwindling later as its neighbour Laodicea prospered. It was situated in the upper part of the valley of the Lycus, a tributary of the Mæander, about 10 miles from Laodicea, and 13 from Hierapolis. The

three cities naturally formed a sphere of missionary labour for Epaphras (Epaphroditus), an inhabitant of Colossæ (Col $4^{12.\ 13}$), Timothy (Col 1^{1}), and others. St. Paul himself never visited any of them (Col 2^{1}). It has been suggested with great probability that in Rev 1^{11} 3^{14} the single church of Laodicea must represent the other churches of the Lycus valley also. The church in Colossæ had developed Judaizing tendencies which St. Paul found it necessary to combat in the Epistle which has come down to us. If, as seems certain, 'the epistle from Laodicea' (Col 4^{16}) is our 'Epistle to the Ephesians,' it also was read in the church at Colossæ. Both letters were carried from Rome by Tychicus, who was accompanied by Onesimus, whose master Philemon was an inhabitant of Colossæ. See also following article.

A. Souter.

COLOSSIANS, EPISTLE TO THE.—1. Authenticity.—This Epistle is one of the ten Epistles of St. Paul included in Marcion's collection (A.D. 140). It appears to have been accepted without question as genuine both by Churchmen and by heretics, and is referred to by the Muratorian Fragment, by Irenæus, and by Clement of Alexandria. Its authenticity remained undisputed till the early part of last century, and was then contested only on internal grounds of style and subject-matter.

As to the first objection, the Epistle is marked, to a greater degree than St. Paul's earlier writings, by 'a certain ruggedness of expression, a want of finish that borders on obscurity.' The vocabulary also differs in some respects from that of the earlier writings, but this is amply accounted for by the difference of subject. As a matter of fact, the resemblances in style to St. Paul's other writings are as marked as the differences; and in any case arguments from style in disproof of authenticity are very unreliable. The later plays of Shakespeare, as compared with those of his middle period, show just the same condensation of thought and want of fluency and finish.

The argument from subject-matter is more important. The Epistle was regarded by earlier German critics as presupposing a fully developed system of Gnostic teaching, such as belongs to the middle of the 2nd cent., and a correspondingly developed Christology. But a more careful study of the Epistle has shown that what St. Paul has in view is not a system of teaching, but rather a tendency. Words like *plērōma*, to which later Gnosticism gave a technical sense, are used in this Epistle with their usual non-technical signification. And our study of early Christian and Jewish thought has shown that Gnostic tendencies date from a much earlier time than the great Gnostic teachers of the 2nd cent., and are, indeed, older than Christianity. The Christology of the Epistle certainly shows an advance on that of St. Paul's earlier Epistles, especially in the emphasis laid on the cosmical activity of the pre-incarnate Christ. This may be accounted for in part by the special purpose of the Epistle (see below), and in part by a development in St. Paul's own Christological ideas. It is irrational to deny the authenticity of an Epistle claiming to be St. Paul's, merely because it shows that the mind of the Apostle had not remained stagnant during a period of imprisonment that must have given him special opportunities for thought. (See Ephesians.)

Many German critics, such as Harnack and Jülicher, are now in agreement with the leading British scholars in accepting the Epistle as St. Paul's. The authenticity of the Epistle is sustained by its close relation to the Epistle to Philemon, the Pauline authorship of which is hardly seriously disputed. (On the relation of our Epistle to the Epistle to the Ephesians see Ephesians.)

2. Integrity and Text.—The integrity of the Epistle is now generally admitted, though certain obscurities in the text have given rise to some conjectural emendations. Holtzmann attempted to prove that this Epistle and the Epistle to the Ephesians are recensions of one original Epistle of St. Paul's, which he tried to reconstruct by extracting a Pauline nucleus of about forty verses; but his conclusions have not been accepted by later scholars. More recently, von Soden has proposed the rejection of about nine verses, but not on any adequate grounds. It would have been no easy task to interpolate a genuine Epistle of St. Paul's, jealously guarded as it would have been by the Church to which it was sent.

3. Time and Place of Writing.—The Epistle to the Colossians belongs to the group of four Epistles written by St. Paul in captivity ($4^{3.\ 18}$). Of this group three—the Epistles to 'the Ephesians,' to the Colossians, and to Philemon—were written at the same time and sent by the same messenger, Tychicus. The remaining Epistle of the group—that to the Philippians—was almost certainly written from Rome towards the end of St. Paul's two years' imprisonment there. The other three Epistles were most probably written from Rome, though some critics have dated them from the period of St. Paul's imprisonment at Cæsarea.

4. Occasion and Purpose.—Most of St. Paul's Epistles were written under some definite external stimulus. In the case of this Epistle two events seem to have led to its composition. (1) Epaphras, who had been the first evangelist of the Colossians, and who seems to have held at Colossæ a position somewhat similar to that which Timothy is represented in the Pastoral Epistles as holding in Ephesus, had come to Rome bringing information as to the special needs and dangers of the Colossian Church. As he elected to remain at Rome, and apparently shared for a time the Apostle's imprisonment (Philem ^{23}), Tychicus was sent to Asia, taking with him this letter. (2) Onesimus, a runaway slave from Colossæ, had found his way to Rome and had there come under the influence of St. Paul. The Apostle took advantage of Tychicus' journey to send Onesimus back to his master at Colossæ, with a letter of commendation (see Philemon).

The special purpose of the Epistle, as distinct from its general purpose as a message of goodwill, was to warn the Colossian Christians against a danger of which Epaphras had no doubt informed St. Paul. The exact nature of the so-called Colossian heresy is a matter of some uncertainty. On its doctrinal side it was probably a blend of Jewish Kabbalistic ideas with floating Oriental speculations. It appears to have denied the direct agency of God in the work of creation, and to have inculcated the worship of angels and other mysterious powers of the unseen world (2^{18}). On its practical side it combined rigorous asceticism (2^{23}) and strict observance of Jewish ceremonial (2^{16}) with an arrogant claim to special enlightenment in spiritual things (2^{18}). Its special danger lay in the fact that it tended to obscure, or even to deny, the unique grandeur of the ascended Lord, the one Mediator, through faith in whom the life of the Christian was lifted into the new atmosphere of liberty. On one side, therefore, this Epistle may be compared with He 1, where the supremacy of the Son over all angels is strongly insisted on, while on the other side it takes up the line of thought of the Epistle to the Galatians—the relation of the Christian life to external ordinances. The way in which St. Paul deals with the question can best be seen by a short summary of the Epistle.

5. Summary.—After the usual salutation, thanksgiving, and prayer, in which St. Paul associates Timothy with himself (perhaps because he was known personally to the Colossian Church), he plunges at once into a doctrinal statement (1^{13}–2^{3}) of the Person and Work of Christ, who is the image of the invisible God, the origin and goal of all created things, in whom all the fulness (*plērōma*) of the Godhead abides. After a personal reference to his own commission and to his sufferings for the Church, he passes to the directly controversial part of the Epistle (2^{4}–3^{4}), warning the Colossians against being led astray by strange philosophies. The fulness of the Godhead is in Christ; He is over all principalities and powers; the life of externally imposed ordinances—'Touch not, taste not, handle not'—is a life to which the Christian has died in Christ. He has risen to a new life whose centre and secret are in heaven. He must still mortify the deeds of the flesh, but from

a new motive and in the power of a new life. The third section of the Epistle (3^5–4^6) applies this principle to various relations of life—the mutual relation of Christians, husbands and wives, children and fathers, slaves and masters; and lastly, to the relation of St. Paul to them, and to their relation with the world. The closing section (4^{7-18}) deals with personal matters—with the mission of Tychicus, with whom St. Paul tactfully associates Onesimus; with St. Mark's proposed visit, in connexion with which St. Paul writes a word of special commendation, showing how completely the former discord has been healed. Then follow a warm commendation of Tychicus, greetings from Luke and Demas, instructions for exchanging letters with the neighbouring Church of Laodicea, and a final message for Archippus, who had apparently succeeded, in Epaphras' absence, to the supervision of the Colossian Church.

J. Howard B. Masterman.

COLOURS.—The colours named in OT and NT, as in other ancient literatures, are few in number, and of these several are used with considerable latitude.

1. White as the colour of snow in Is 1^{18}, of the teeth described as milk-white (Gn 49^{12}), and of horses (Zec 1^8 $6^{3.\ 6}$); also of wool (Rev 1^{14})—the prevailing colour of the Palestinian sheep being white (see Ca 4^2 6^6)—and of garments (Ec 9^8, Mk 9^3). **Gray** (and **grey**) occurs only in the expression 'gray hairs,' while **grisled** (lit. 'grey,' from French *gris*) apparently means black with white spots (Gn 31^{10}, Zec $6^{3.\ 6}$; cf. **6** below). **Green** is not a colour adjective (in Est 1^6 read as RVm), but a noun signifying green plants and herbs, as *e.g.* in Gn 1^{30} and Mk 6^{39}. A kindred word rendered **greenish** (Lv 13^{49} 14^{37}) is probably a greenish **yellow**, since it is also used in Ps 68^{13} of 'yellow gold.'

2. The darker colours likewise merge into each other, black and brown, for example, not being clearly distinguished. **Black** is the colour of hair (Ca 5^{11} 'black as a raven'), of horses (Zec $6^{2.\ 6}$, Rev 6^5), and of ink (2 Co 3^3). In Ca 1^5 the same Heb. word signifies dark-complexioned (AV 'black'). Laban's black sheep (Gn $30^{32ff.}$ RV) were probably dark brown (AV **brown**).

3. Red is the colour of blood (2 K 3^{22}), and of grape juice (Is 63^2). The same word is used of the reddish-brown colour of the 'red heifer' of Nu 19, and of the chestnut horse of Zechariah's vision (1^8, AV 'red'), although the precise colour distinction between the latter and his companion, the **sorrel** (AVm **bay**; in Zec 6^3 EV 'bay' should prob. be 'strong,' and in v.7 [by a slight change of text] perh. 'red') horse, is not clear. 'Red' is used also of the sky (Mt $16^{2f.}$—lit. 'of the colour of fire').

4. Crimson and **scarlet** are shades of the same colour, and were both derived from the same insect, the *coccus ilicis* or cochineal, which 'attaches itself to the leaves and twigs of the *quercus coccifera*' (Post), and is termed in Hebrew 'the scarlet worm.' Scarlet-coloured garments were regarded as a mark of distinction and prosperity (2 S 1^{24}, Pr 31^{21}), but in OT scarlet is most frequently mentioned as one of the four liturgical, or, as we should say, ecclesiastical colours (see below). **Vermilion** is mentioned as a pigment (Jer 22^{14}, Ezk 23^{14}).

5. Associated with scarlet in the Priests' Code of the Pentateuch are found two colours, *'argāmān* rendered **purple,** and *tĕkhēleth* rendered **blue.** In reality these are two shades of purple, the red tone predominating in the former, the blue tone in the latter. Since blue predominates in our modern purple, it would be well to drop the cumbrous terms red-purple or purple-red, and blue-purple or purple-blue, in favour of the simpler names **purple** and **violet,** as in the margin of Est 1^6 8^{15} (AV). Both shades were obtained by the use, as a dye, of a colourless fluid secreted by the gland of a shell-fish, the *murex trunculus,* which was found in great quantities on the Phœnician coast. Hence Tyre became the chief seat of the manufacture of the purple cloth for which Phœnicia was famous throughout the ancient world (cf. Ezk $27^{7.\ 16}$). Purple raiment is repeatedly mentioned in Scripture as worn by kings and nobles. It was as 'King of the Jews' that our Lord was derisively robed in purple (Mk 15^{17}, Jn 19^2).

In the Priests' Code, as has been noted, from Ex 25 onwards, 'violet' (AV 'blue'), 'purple,' and 'scarlet' are used—and always in this order—to denote the fine linen thread, spun from yarn that had been dyed these colours (see esp. Ex 35^{25}), which, with the natural white thread, was employed in weaving the rich material for the various hangings of the Tabernacle, and for certain parts of the priests' dress.

6. Jacob's small cattle, **'ring-straked, speckled, and spotted'** (Gn 30^{39} etc.), showed white mixed with black or brown in the case of the sheep, and black mixed with white in the case of the goats. For Joseph's 'coat of many colours' see Dress, **2** (*d*).

It may be added that the art of **dyeing** was one in which the Jews of later times excelled. According to tradition, as we have just seen, purple and scarlet—also red (Ex 26^{14})—dyes were known as early as the Exodus time (cf. Jg 5^{30} RVm). In NT times, as may be seen from the Mishna, dyeing was a flourishing branch of native industry. The true Tyrian purple was always a monopoly, and consequently imported; but many less costly dyes were known, such as the cochineal insect for scarlet, dyer's woad (*isatis*) for true blue, madder (Heb. *pūah*, cf. Tola ben-Puah, *i.e.* 'Cochineal, son of Madder,' Jg 10^1), and others. A. R. S. Kennedy.

COLT is applied in the Bible not to the young horse, but to the young ass, and once (Gn 32^{15}) to the young camel. Outside the Bible it is not applied to the young of any animal but the horse.

COMFORT, from late Lat. *confortare,* 'to strengthen,' 'reinforce,' denoted in old Eng. (*a*) physical, or (*b*) mental refreshment of an active kind (*invigoration, encouragement*)—obsolete meanings. In modern use it denotes (*c*) mental refreshment of the softer kind (*consolation*). Sense (*a*) appears in Gn 18^5, Jg $19^{5.\ 8}$, Ca 2^5; (*c*) elsewhere in OT. In NT, 'comfort' usually represents a Gr. verb and noun, common in Paul, which include any kind of animating address; in this connexion the sense (*b*) prevails, as in Ac 9^{31} 16^{40}, Ro 1^{12} 15^4, 2 Co 13^{11} etc.; the tenderer signification (*c*) appears in Mt 5^4, 2 Co $1^{3ff.}$ etc. For the above Gr. *noun,* however, AV fourteen times writes **'consolation'** (interchanging 'comfort' and 'consolation' in 2 Co 1^{3-7}), alike in senses (*b*) and (*c*): this RV replaces seven times (in Paul) by 'comfort.' 'Comfort' is also in AV the rendering of a second and rarer group of Gr. words denoting *consolation* (in sorrow): so in Jn $11^{19.\ 31}$, 1 Co 14^3, and Ph 2^1 (cf. AV and RV), 1 Th 2^{11} 5^{14}; the original of 'comfort' (*soothing*) in Col 4^{11} is an isolated expression kindred to the last. 'Of good comfort' in Ph 2^{19} renders a fourth Gr. word = *in good heart, cheerful*; while 'of good comfort' in Mt 9^{22} ‖ = *of good cheer* in v.^{2} and elsewhere (so RV here, and in Mk 10^{49}).

For OT and NT, comfort has its source in the tender love of God for His people, and for the individual soul; it is mediated (in the NT) by the sympathy of Christ, the visitings of the Holy Spirit, the help of brethren, and the hope of glory; it counteracts the troubles of life, and the discouragement of work for God: see esp. Jn 16^{33}, Ro 5^{2-5}, 2 Co 1^{3-7}. G. G. Findlay.

COMFORTER.—See Advocate.

COMING OF CHRIST.—See Parousia.

COMMANDMENTS.—See Ten Commandments.

COMMENTARY (2 Ch 13^{22} 24^{27} RV).—The Heb. (*midrash*) has been adopted into English. But the Midrash is not exactly what we understand by a commentary; it is 'an imaginative development of a thought or theme suggested by Scripture, especially a didactic or homiletic exposition, or an edifying religious story' (Driver).

COMMERCE.—See TRADE AND COMMERCE.

COMMON.—In Ac $10^{14f.}$ synonymous with 'ceremonially unclean' (cf. Mk 7^2, and see CLEAN AND UNCLEAN).

COMMUNICATION.—While 'conversation' in AV means *manner of life, conduct,* 'communication' means *conversation, talk.* So Col 3^6 'filthy communication' (RV 'shameful speaking') and elsewhere. The verb 'to communicate' is now used in a restricted sense, so that its occurrences in AV, where it has the general meaning of making common cause with one, may be misunderstood. Cf. the Rhemish tr. of Jn 4^9: 'For the Jews do not communicate with the Samaritanes' (AV 'have no dealings with').

COMMUNION (Gr. *koinōnia*).—In EV *koinōnia* is tr. 'communion' in only 3 passages (1 Co 10^{16}, 2 Co 6^{14} 13^{14}), while it is frequently rendered '**fellowship**' (AV 12, RV 15 times), and twice 'contribution' or 'distribution' (Ro 15^{26}, 2 Co 9^{13} [RV has 'contrib.' in both cases; AV 'contrib.' in the first passage, 'distrib.' in the second]). But it is 'communion' that brings us nearest to the original, and sets us in the path of the right interpretation of the word on every occasion when it is used in the NT.

Koinōnia comes from an adj. which means 'common,' and, like 'communion,' its literal meaning is a *common* participation or sharing in anything. Similarly, in the NT the concrete noun *koinōnos* is used of a partner in the ownership of a fishing-boat (Lk 5^{10}); the verb *koinōnein* of sharing something with another, whether by way of giving (Ro 12^{13}, Gal 6^6) or of receiving (Ro 15^{27}, 1 Ti 5^{22}); and the adj. *koinōnikos* (1 Ti 6^{18}) is rendered 'willing to communicate.'

1. *Koinōnia* meets us first in Ac 2^{42}, where RV as well as AV obscures the meaning not only by using the word 'fellowship,' but by omitting the def. article. The verse ought to read, 'And they continued stedfastly in the apostles' teaching and the *communion,* in the breaking of bread and the prayers.' And the meaning of 'communion' in this case can hardly be doubtful. The reference evidently is to that 'having all things common' which is referred to immediately after (v.$^{44f.}$), and the nature and extent of which St. Luke explains more fully at a later stage (4^{32}–5^4). It appears that 'the communion' was the regular expression for that '**community of goods**' which was so marked a feature of the Christianity of the first days, and which owed its origin not only to the unselfish enthusiasm of that Pentecostal period and the expectation of the Lord's immediate return, but to the actual needs of the poorer Christians in Jerusalem, cut off from the means of self-support by the social ostracism attendant on excommunication from the synagogue (Jn $9^{22.\ 34}$ 12^{42} 16^2).

2. The type of *koinōnia* in Jerusalem described in Ac 2 seems to have disappeared very soon, but its place was taken by an organized *diakonia,* a daily 'ministration' to the poor ($6^{1.\ 2}$). And when the Church spread into a larger world free from the hostile influences of the synagogue, those social conditions were absent which in Jerusalem had seemed to make it necessary that Christ's followers should have all things common. But it was a special feature of St. Paul's teaching that Christians everywhere were members one of another, sharers in each other's wealth whether material or spiritual. And in particular he pressed constantly upon the wealthier Gentile churches the duty of taking part in the *diakonia* carried on in Jerusalem on behalf of the poor saints. In this connexion we find him in 2 Co 8^4 using the striking expression 'the *koinōnia* of the *diakonia* ['the communion of the ministration'] to the saints.' The Christians of Corinth might have communion with their brethren in Jerusalem by imparting to them out of their own abundance. Hence, by a natural process in the development of speech, the *koinōnia,* from meaning a common participation, came to be applied to the gifts which enabled that participation to be realized. In Ro 15^{26} and 2 Co 9^{13}, accordingly, the word is properly enough rendered 'contribution.' And yet in the Apostolic Church it could never be forgotten that a contribution or collection for the poor brethren was a form of Christian communion.

3. From the first, however, 'communion' undoubtedly had a larger and deeper sense than those technical ones on which we have been dwelling. It was out of the consciousness of a common participation in certain great spiritual blessings that Christians were impelled to manifest their partnership in these specific ways. According to St. Paul's teaching, those who believed in Christ enjoyed a common participation in Christ Himself which bound them to one another in a holy unity (1 Co 1^9, cf. v.$^{10ff.}$). In the great central rite of their faith this common participation in Christ, and above all in His death and its fruits, was visibly set forth: the cup of blessing was a communion of the blood of Christ; the broken bread a communion of the body of Christ (1 Co 10^{16}). Flowing again from this common participation in Christ there was a common participation in the Holy Spirit, for it is from the love of God as manifested in the grace of Christ that there results that 'communion of the Holy Ghost' which is the strongest bond of unity and peace (2 Co 13^{14}; cf. v.^{11}, Ph $2^{1f.}$). Thus the communion of the Christian Church came to mean a fund of spiritual privilege which was common to all the members but also peculiar to them, so that the admission of a man to the communion or his exclusion from it was his admission to, or exclusion from, the Church of Christ itself. When the Jerusalem Apostles gave 'the right hands of communion' to Paul and Barnabas (Gal 2^9), that was a symbolic recognition on their part that these missionaries to the uncircumcision were true disciples and Apostles of Christ, sharers with themselves in all the blessings of the Christian faith.

4. We have seen that in its root-meaning *koinōnia* is a partnership either in giving or in receiving. Hence it was applied to Christian duties and obligations as well as to Christian privileges. The right hands of communion given to Paul and Barnabas were not only a recognition of grace received in common, but mutual pledges of an Apostolic service to the circumcision on the one hand and the heathen on the other (Gal 2^9). St. Paul thanks God for the 'communion' of the Philippians in the furtherance of the gospel (Ph 1^5), and prays on behalf of Philemon that the 'communion' of his faith may become effectual (Philem ^{6}), *i.e.* that the Christian sympathies and charities inspired by his faith may come into full operation. It is the same use of *koinōnia* that we find in He 13^{16}, where the proper rendering is 'forget not the welldoing and the communion.' Here also the communion means the acts of charity that spring from Christian faith, with a special reference perhaps to the technical sense of *koinōnia* referred to above, as a sharing of one's material wealth with the poorer brethren.

5. In all the foregoing passages the *koinōnia* seems to denote a mutual sharing, whether in privilege or in duty, of Christians with one another. But there are some cases where the communion evidently denotes a more exalted partnership, the partnership of a Christian with Christ or with God. This is what meets us when St. Paul speaks in Ph 3^{10} of the communion of Christ's sufferings. He means a drinking of the cup of which Christ drank (cf. Mt $20^{22f.}$), a moral partnership with the Redeemer in His pains and tears (cf. Ro 8^{17}). But it is St. John who brings this higher *koinōnia* before us in the most absolute way when he writes, 'Our communion is with the Father and with his Son Jesus Christ' (1 Jn 1^3, cf. v.^{6}), and makes our communion one with another depend upon this previous communion with God Himself (v.^{7}, cf. v.^{6}). Yet, though the *koinōnia* or communion is now raised to a higher power, it has still the same meaning as before. It is a mutual sharing, a reciprocal giving and receiving. And in his Gospel St.

John sets the law of this communion clearly before us when he records the words of the Lord Himself, 'Abide in me, and I in you' (Jn 15[4]). The communion of the human and the Divine is a mutual activity, which may be summed up in the two words *grace* and *faith*. For grace is the spontaneous and unstinted Divine giving as revealed and mediated by Jesus Christ, while faith in its ideal form is the action of a soul which, receiving the Divine grace, surrenders itself without any reserve unto the Lord. J. C. Lambert.

COMMUNITY OF GOODS.—See Communion.

COMPASS.—A 'compass' is the space occupied by a circle, or the circle itself: Pr 8[27] 'he set a compass upon the face of the deep' (AVm and RV 'a circle') usually explained of the horizon, which seems to be a circle resting on the ocean. To 'fetch a compass' (Nu 34[5], Jos 15[3], 2 S 5[23], 2 K 3[9]) is to make a circuit or simply 'go round.' The tool for making a circle is a compass (Is 44[13]).—See Arts and Crafts, § 1.

COMPASSION.—See Pity.

CONANIAH.—**1.** A Levite who had charge of the tithes and offerings in the time of Hezekiah (2 Ch 31[12. 13]). **2.** A chief of the Levites in Josiah's reign (2 Ch 35[9]); called in 1 Es 1[9] **Jeconias.**

CONCISION.—A name applied contemptuously by S. Paul (Ph 3[2]) to the merely fleshly circumcision (Gr. *katatomē*; the ordinary word for 'circumcision' is *peritomē*).

CONCORDANCES.—The Latin word *concordantiæ*, for an alphabetical list of the words of Scripture drawn up for purposes of reference to the places where they occur, was first used by Hugo de Sancto Caro, who compiled a Concordance to the Vulgate in 1244. This was revised by Arbottus (1290), and became the basis of a Hebrew Concordance by Isaac Nathan (1437–45). Nathan's work was revised and enlarged by John Buxtorf, the elder, whose *Concordantiæ Bibliorum Hebraicæ* (1632) held the place of standard Concordance for two centuries, and served as the model for many others. John Taylor's *Hebrew Concordance adapted to the English Bible, disposed after the manner of Buxtorf* (2 vols. folio, Norwich, 1754–57), is another link in the succession. The first Concordance to the English Bible is that of John Marbeck (folio, London, 1550). The earliest Concordance to the Septuagint is Conrad Kircher's (1607). The first Greek NT Concordance was published at Basle anonymously in 1546. In the use of the following lists it will be understood that, while the most recent works, other things being equal, are to be preferred, there is so much common material that many of the older works are by no means obsolete.

1. Hebrew.—Fuerst, *Libr. Sacrorum Vet. Test. Concordantiæ Heb. atque Chald.* (1840); *The Englishman's Hebrew and Chaldee Concordance of OT* (2 vols., Bagster); B. Davidson, *A Concordance of the Heb. and Chaldee Scriptures* (Bagster, 1876); Bagster's *Handy Hebrew Concordance* [an invaluable work]; Mandelkern, *Vet. Test. Concordantiæ* (folio, Leipzig, 1896), and a smaller edition without quotations (Leipzig, 1897).

2. Greek.—(*a*) The Septuagint.—Bagster's *Handy Concordance of the Septuagint*; Hatch-Redpath's *Concordance of the Septuagint and other Greek Versions of the OT*, with two supplemental fasciculi (Clarendon Press, 1892–97). This is the standard work, replacing Trommius' *Concordantiæ Græcæ Versionis vulgo dictæ LXX Interpretum* (2 vols. Amst. 1718).

(*b*) The NT.—*The Englishman's Greek Concordance of the NT* (Bagster); C. F. Hudson, *Greek Concordance to NT*, revised by Ezra Abbot (do.); Schmoller, *Concordantiæ manuales NT græci* (1890); Bruder, *Concordantiæ omnium vocum NT græci*[4] (1888). All these works are now superseded by Moulton-Geden's *Concordance to the Greek Testament* (Edinburgh, T. & T. Clark, 1897).

3. English.—Until recent times the standard work was Cruden's *Complete Concordance to the Holy Scriptures* (1st ed. 1738. Cruden's is truly a marvellous work, and was frequently copied, without acknowledgment, in subsequent productions. It was even issued in abridgment—the most useless and provoking of all literary products). More recent works are Eadie's *Analytical Concordance*; Young's *Analytical Bible Concordance* (Edin. 1879–84), with supplem. vol. by W. B. Stevenson; Strong's *Exhaustive Concordance* (Hodder & Stoughton, 1894); Thoms's *Concordance to RV of NT* (1882). W. F. Adeney and J. S. Banks.

CONCUBINE.—See Family, Marriage, § 6.

CONCUPISCENCE.—Concupiscence is intense desire, always in a bad sense, so that it is unnecessary to say 'evil concupiscence' as in Col 3[5]. The reference is nearly always to sexual lust.

CONDUIT.—See Jerusalem.

CONEY (EV tr. of *shāphān*, RVm **rock badger**).—The *Hyrax syriacus*, called by the Arabs *wabr*, also the *ghanam beni Israel* (the sheep of the children of Israel). The coney is a small rabbit-like animal, with short ears and a mere stump of a tail. It has stiff greyish-brown hair, with softer, lighter-coloured hair on the belly; it is nocturnal in its habits, and lives in holes in the rocks. Conies are very plentiful along the rocky shores of the Dead Sea, and also in the Lebanon, especially above Sidon; they can, however, be seen as a rule only between sunset and sunrise. They are gregarious in their habits, and disappear into their rocky fastnesses (Ps 104[18], Pr 30[24. 26]) with the greatest rapidity on the slightest approach of danger. The Bedouin, when hunting them, lie hidden for many hours during the night close to their holes. They feed on grass and sweet-smelling herbs, and their flesh is esteemed for eating by the Bedouin; they do not actually 'chew the cud' (Lv 11[5], Dt 14[7]), though they work their jaws in a way that resembles a ruminant. Structurally the coney is so peculiar as to have an order, the *Hyracoidea*, to itself. E. W. G. Masterman.

CONFECTION.—This word in AV means *perfume* (Ex 30[35]), and 'confectionary' (1 S 8[13]), means *perfumer*.

CONFESSION.—In Eng. the words 'confess,' 'confession' denote either a profession of faith or an acknowledgment of sin; and they are used in EV in both of these meanings.

1. Confession of faith.—(1) In the OT the word 'confess' is found in this sense only in 1 K 8[33. 35] = 2 Ch 6[24. 26]. But the acknowledgment of God as God and the proclamation of personal trust in Him meet us continually in the lives or on the lips of patriarchs, prophets, and psalmists. The Book of Psalms in particular is a storehouse of confessional utterances in prayer and song (see 7[1] 48[14] etc.).

(2) Coming to the NT, we find that 'confess' is of frequent occurrence in the sense we are considering, and that confession now gathers expressly round the Person and the Name of Jesus Christ. Moreover, the idea of confession has been elaborated, its immediate relation to faith and vital importance for salvation being clearly brought out.

(*a*) *The meaning of confession.*—In the earlier period of our Lord's ministry, confession meant no more than the expression of belief that Jesus was the expected Messiah (Jn 1[41]). Even the title 'Son of God' (Mt 8[29]‖, cf. Jn 1[34. 49]) at this stage can be used only in its recognized Messianic sense (Ps 2[7]). A great advance in faith and insight is marked by St. Peter's confession at Cæsarea Philippi, 'Thou art the Christ, the Son of the living God' (Mt 16[16]‖). This was the highest point reached by Apostolic belief and profession during the Lord's earthly ministry, and it anticipated those later views of Christ's true nature which found embodiment in the Creeds of the Church. After the Resurrec-

tion, confession of Christ carried with it readiness to bear witness to that supreme fact (Jn 20[28. 29], Ro 10[9]); and this of course implied an acceptance of the historical tradition as to His marvellous life and character which made it impossible for death to hold Him (cf. Ac 2[24]). All that was at first demanded of converts, however, may have been the confession 'Jesus is Lord' (1 Co 12[3]; cf. Ph 2[11], 2 Ti 1[8]); a view that is confirmed by the fact of their being baptized 'into (*or* in) the name of the Lord' (Ac 8[16] 10[48] 19[5]). At a later period the growth of heresy made a more precise confession necessary. In the Johannine Epistles it is essential to confess, on the one hand, that 'Jesus Christ is come in the flesh' (1 Jn 4[2. 3], 2 Jn [7]), and, on the other, that 'Jesus is the Son of God' (1 Jn 4[15]). With this developed type of confession may be compared the gloss that has been attached to the narrative of the Ethiopian eunuch's baptism (Ac 8[37], see RVm), probably representing a formula that had come to be employed as a baptismal confession. It was out of baptismal formulas like this that there gradually grew those formal 'Confessions' of the early Church which are known as the Apostles' and the Nicene Creeds.

(*b*) *The value of confession.*—Upon this Jesus Himself lays great stress. If we confess Him before men, He will confess us before His Father in heaven; if we deny Him, He will also deny us (Mt 10[32f.] ||, cf. Mk 8[38]). The glorious blessing He gave to St. Peter at Cæsarea Philippi was the reward of the Apostle's splendid profession of faith; and it contained the assurance that against the Church built on the rock of believing confession the gates of Hades should not prevail (Mt 16[17-19]). In the Epp. the value of confession is emphasized not less strongly. According to St. Paul, the spirit of faith must speak (2 Co 4[13]), and confession is necessary to salvation (Ro 10[8-10]). And St. John regards a true confession of Christ as a sign of the presence of the Divine Spirit (1 Jn 4[2]), a proof of the mutual indwelling of God in man and man in God (v.[15]).

2. Confession of sin.—(1) This holds a prominent place in the OT. The Mosaic ritual makes provision for the confession of both individual (Lv 5[1ff.] 26[40]) and national (16[21]) transgressions; and many examples may be found of humble acknowledgment of both classes of sin, for instance in the Penitential Psalms and in such prayers as those of Ezra (10[1]), Nehemiah (1[6. 7]), and Daniel (9[4ff. 20]). It is fully recognized in the OT that confession is not only the natural expression of penitent feeling, but the condition of the Divine pardon (Lv 5. 6, Ps 32[5], Pr 28[13]).

(2) In the NT 'confess' occurs but seldom to express acknowledgment of sin (Mt 3[6] = Mk 1[5], Ja 5[16], 1 Jn 1[9]). But the duty of confessing sin both to God and to man is constantly referred to, and the indispensableness of confession in order to forgiveness is made very plain (Lk 18[10f.], 1 Jn 1[9]).

(*a*) *Confession to God.*—This meets us at many points in our Lord's teaching—in His calls to repentance, in which confession is involved (Mt 4[17] = Mk 1[15], Lk 11[29. 32] 24[47]), in the petition for forgiveness in the Lord's Prayer (Mt 6[12], Lk 11[4]), in the parables of the Prodigal Son (Lk 15[17. 18. 21]) and the Pharisee and the Publican (18[10f.]). It is very noteworthy that while He recognizes confession as a universal human need (Lk 11[4]||), He never confesses sin on His own account or shares in the confessions of others.

(*b*) *Confession to man.*—Besides confession to God, Christ enjoins confession to the brother we have wronged (Mt 5[23. 24]), and He makes it plain that human as well as Divine forgiveness must depend upon readiness to confess (Lk 17[4]). In Ja 5[16] (RV) we are told to confess our sins one to another. The sins here spoken of are undoubtedly sins against God as well as sins against man. But the confession referred to is plainly not to any official of the Church, much less to an official with the power of granting absolution, but a mutual unburdening of Christian hearts with a view to prayer 'one for another.' J. C. Lambert.

CONFIRMATION.—The noun 'confirmation' is used only twice in AV (Ph 1[7], He 6[16]), the reference in the first case being to the establishment of the truth of the gospel, and in the second to the ratification of a statement by an oath. The verb 'confirm,' however, is found frequently in both OT and NT, in various shades of meaning, but with the general sense of strengthening and establishing. The only questions of interest are (1) whether 'confirm' is used in NT to denote the ecclesiastical rite of Confirmation; and (2) whether that rite is referred to under the 'laying on of hands.'

1. There are 3 passages in Acts (14[22] 15[32. 41]) in which Paul and Barnabas, or Judas and Silas, or Paul by himself, are said to have confirmed 'the souls of the disciples,' 'the brethren,' 'the churches.' In none of these is there any indication of the performance of a rite, and the natural suggestion is that the word is used simply of a spiritual strengthening.

2. In the 'Order of Confirmation' in the Book of Common Prayer, 'the laying on of hands upon those that are baptized and come to years of discretion,' as performed by the bishop, is said to be done 'after the example of Thy holy Apostles.' Presumably the reference is to such passages as Ac 8[15-17] 19[6], He 6[2]. In the passages in Acts, however, the imposition of hands is associated with the impartation of extraordinary spiritual gifts, while of He 6[2] no more can be said than that in the early Church the act appears to have been closely associated with baptism. That it might precede baptism instead of following it is shown by Ac 9[17. 18]; which further shows that it might be performed by one who was not an Apostle or even an official of the Church. In all likelihood it was simply a natural and beautiful symbol accompanying prayer (Ac 8[15]), which had come down from OT times (Gn 48[14]), and had been used by Christ Himself in the act of blessing (Mt 19[13-15]). See, further, Laying on of Hands.

J. C. Lambert.

CONFISCATION.—See Ban, § 2, Excommunication.

CONFUSION OF TONGUES.—See Tongues [Confusion of].

CONGREGATION, ASSEMBLY.—In AV these terms are both employed to render either of the two important Heb. words '*ēdhah* and *qāhāl*, with a decided preference, however, in favour of 'congregation' for the former, and 'assembly' for the latter. In RV, as we read in the Revisers' preface, an effort has been made to secure greater uniformity on these lines. Of the two, *qāhāl* is the more widely distributed, although neither is frequent in pre-exilic literature; '*ēdhah*, which is not used in the prophetic or Deuteronomic sources of the Pentateuch, is found at least 115 times in the Priests' Code alone, where it denotes *the theocratic community of Israel as a whole*, the church-nation in its relation to J". The full designation, as found in Nu 1[2] and a score of times elsewhere, is '(the sum of) all the congregation of the children of Israel,' which is the equivalent of the Deuteronomic phrase 'all the assembly (*qāhāl*) of Israel' (Dt 31[30], RV and AV 'congregation'). In the older and more secular writers the same idea would have been expressed by 'the sum of the people' of Israel, as in 2 S 24[2].

It is extremely doubtful if there is any valid ground for the attempts to find a distinction between the two expressions 'congregation' and 'assembly,' even within P itself, as if 'assembly' represented either 'picked members of the congregation' (*EBi* col. 345), or the latter in its capacity as an assembly of worshippers. For in one and the same verse P employs 'congregation' and 'assembly' as synonymous terms, as in Lv 4[13], Nu 16[3] RV, and in the priestly redaction of Jg 20[1f.], the whole body of the people being intended

in every case. The only two passages which seem to imply that the 'assembly' was a limited section of the 'congregation,' viz. Ex 12^{6}, Nu 14^{5} 'all the assembly of the congregation,' etc., clearly show conflate readings (cf. LXX.). What difference, finally, can be detected between 'the assembly of J"' of Nu 16^{3} 20^{4} (cf. Dt $23^{3.\ 4}$) and 'the congregation of J"' of 27^{17} 31^{16}—all P passages?

In the LXX '*ēdhah* is in most cases rendered by *synagōgē*, *qāhāl* by *ecclēsia*, both being used, according to Schürer, without essential distinction to signify the religious community of Israel, in this agreeing, as has been argued above, with the original and with our AV. The subsequent history of these terms in the Jewish and early Christian Churches is of considerable interest. Later Judaism, as Schürer has shown, began to distinguish between *synagōgē* and *ecclēsia* in the direction of applying the former in an empirical, the latter in an ideal, sense, the one to signify the religious community in a particular place, the other 'the community of those called by God to salvation,' the ideal Israel. This Jewish usage explains how, while *synagōgē* is occasionally found in early Patristric literature in the sense of 'the Christian congregation,' its rival finally gained the day. The Christian synagogue became 'the Church,' while the Jewish Church remains 'the synagogue' (see under Church, Synagogue).

The expression **solemn assembly,** in which 'solemn' has its etymological, but now obsolete, sense of 'stated,' 'appointed' (lit. 'yearly,' *sollennis*), represents a third Heb. word applicable originally to any religious gathering (Am 5^{21}, Is 1^{13}, 2 K 10^{20}), but afterwards limited to those appointed for the seventh day of the Feast of Unleavened Cakes (*Mazzoth*, Dt 16^{8}), and the eighth of the Feast of Booths (Lv 23^{36}, Nu 29^{35}).

'Holy **convocation**' occurs frequently in the Priestly sections of the Pentateuch (esp. Lv. 17–26 [H]).

The '**mount of the congregation,** in the uttermost parts of the north' (Is 14^{13} RV), to which the king of Babylon aspired, was the Babylonian Olympus or abode of the gods. An echo of this mythological conception is probably to be found in the similar phrase Ps 48^{2}.

For **tabernacle of the congregation** see Tabernacle.

A. R. S. Kennedy.

CONIAH (Jer $22^{24.\ 28}$) = **Jehoiachin** (wh. see).

CONSCIENCE.—The term occurs 30 times in the NT; it signifies *joint knowledge*. The two things known together may be two motives, two deeds, etc.; or the comparison instituted may be between a standard and a volition, etc. Self or others may be judged, and approval (Ac 23^{1} 24^{16}, Ro 9^{1}, 2 Co 1^{12}, 1 Ti $1^{5.\ 19}$ 3^{9}, 2 Ti 1^{3}, He 13^{18}, 1 P $3^{16.\ 21}$) or disapproval (Jn 8^{9}, He 9^{9} $10^{2.\ 22}$) may be the issue. The conviction that a certain course of conduct is right is accompanied by a sense of obligation, whether that course receives (Ro 13^{5}) or fails to secure (1 P 2^{19}, Ac $4^{19.\ 20}$) legal confirmation. The belief on which the consciousness of duty depends is not necessarily wise (1 Co $8^{7.\ 10.\ 12}$, Ac 26^{9}), though the holders of the belief should receive careful consideration on the part of more enlightened men (Ro 15^{1}, 1 Co 8. $10^{25\text{-}29}$). Unfaithfulness to moral claims leads to fearful deterioration, resulting in confusion (Mt $6^{22.\ 23}$) and insensitiveness (1 Ti 4^{2}, Tit 1^{15}).

1. Sphere.—The sphere of conscience is volition in all its manifestations. That which merely happens and offers to us no alternative movement lies outside morality. Let there be a possibility of choice, and conscience appears. Appetites, so far as they can be controlled; incentives of action admitting preference; purposes and desires,—all deeds and institutions that embody and give effect to human choice; all relationships that allow variations in our attitude give scope for ethical investigation, and in them conscience is directly or indirectly implicated. Conscience makes a valuation. It is concerned with right, wrong; worthiness, unworthiness; good, bad; better, worse. This appraisement is ultimately occupied with the incentives that present themselves to the will, in regard to some of which (envy and malice, for instance) there is an immediate verdict of badness, and in regard to others a verdict of better or worse. The dispositions that are commended by the Saviour's conduct and teachings —purity of heart, meekness, mercifulness, desire for righteousness, etc.—are recognized as worthy of honour. The conscience censures the selfishness of the Unjust Judge (Lk 18^{6}), and assents to the injunction of considerateness and justice (Ph 2^{4}). The rightness of many general statements is discerned intuitively, and is carried over to the deeds that agree therewith. Sidgwick considers that the statement 'I ought not to prefer my own lesser good to the greater good of another' is axiomatic, and that some such intuitively discerned principle is a necessary foundation of morals. We do not question the baseness of some pleasures; their curse is graven on their foreheads. Both mediately and immediately we arrive at ethical convictions. The appearance in one's life of a person of distinguished excellence will cause many virtues to shine in our estimation. The mind surveying a course of conduct can judge it as bad or good on the whole. A precept to seek to raise the whole tone of one's life (Mt 5^{48}, Col 4^{12}) is felt to be reasonable, and as the capacity for improvement is greater in man than in any other creature, better motives, deeds, habits, aims, characters may righteously be demanded.

2. Obligation.—'In the recognition of any conduct as right there is involved an authoritative prescription to do it.' This feeling of oughtness—which is the core of conscience—can be exhibited but not analyzed. It is an ultimate. It is unique. It is an evidence within the soul that we are under government. There is a 'categorical imperative' to aim at that which we have admitted to be right. From the duty discerned there issues a command which cannot be silenced so long as the duty is present to the mind. Likings or dislikings, hopes or fears, popularity or unpopularity—no matter what may be advanced,—the dictatorial mandate is unaltered:

> ''Tis man's perdition to be safe,
> When for the truth he ought to die.'

When Jesus Christ asserts His supremacy and demands deference to Himself at all costs, He does so as the incarnation of the moral law. To be His friend is to be under His orders (Jn 15^{14}), and one is bound to follow Him without regard to any claims that can be urged by self or kindred (Mt $10^{37.\ 38}$, Lk 14^{33}). Let it be ascertained that this is the way and the command is at once heard, 'Walk ye in it.' The peremptory claim made by conscience is eminently reasonable, because it rests upon what we have admitted to be right. It is a provision in our nature that links—or that would link if we were loyal—belief and practice, and would cause us to be builders as well as architects. 'Had it strength as it has right; had it power as it has manifest authority, it would absolutely govern the world' (Butler, *Serm.* ii.).

3. The ethical feeling.—The perception of oughtness has its own emotional tone. There is, of course, a sense of relief when the mind has arrived at a decision; but is there not an additional element? Is there not an inclination—at least a faint one—in favour of the behest? And in men habitually conscientious, is not the inclination immediate and strong? All men are clearly aware that they are wrong in case of refusal to obey. Man is a born judge of himself, and the verdict that results from self-examination brings peace or uneasiness. Herod is ill at ease by reason of self-judgment (Mk 6^{20}), and so is Felix (Ac 24^{25}). Peter sees himself as one who has broken the law, and the light hurts him (Lk 5^{8}). All the best men have had some experience like that of Isaiah (6^{5}) and that of Job (42^{6}), for with them the moral susceptibility has been great. All the

emotional accompaniments of penitence and remorse, as well as the glow incident to the hearing of noble deeds—all anticipations of the Lord's 'Well done!' are instances of moral feeling. These pleasures and pains are a class by themselves. They are as distinct from those of sensation and intellect as colours are distinct from sound. That pleasures are qualitatively different was rightly maintained by J. S. Mill, though his general theory was not helped by the opinion. In consciousness we know that sorrow for sin is not of the same order as any physical distress, nor is it to be ranked with the feeling of disappointment when we are baffled in a scientific inquiry. The difference between the moral and the unmoral emotions is one of kind and not of quantity, of worth and not of amount: some pleasures low in the scale of value are very intense, while the moral satisfactions may have small intensity and yet are preferred by good men to any physical or intellectual delights. It should be noticed that the pleasure attendant upon a choice of conduct known to be right may be not unmixed; for the feelings, clinging for a while to that which has been discarded, interfere with the satisfaction due to the change that has been made. Converts are haunted by renounced beliefs, and their peace is disturbed; beside the main current of emotion there is a stream which comes from past associations and habits.

4. Education of conscience.—(1) No training can impart the idea of right: it is constitutional. (2) Malevolent feelings (as vindictiveness, the desire to give pain gratuitously) are known by all to be wrong; immediately they are perceived at work, they are unconditionally condemned. (3) The inward look makes no mistake as to our meaning, gets no wavering reply to such questions as, 'Do you desire to have full light? to know all the facts? to be impartial? to act as a good man should act in this particular?' For this accurate self-knowledge provision is made in our nature. (4) Some general moral principles are accepted as soon as the terms are understood. (5) When two competing incentives are to be judged, we know, and cannot be taught, which is the higher. (6) The imperative lodged in a moral conviction is intuitively discerned. 'I do not know how to impart the notion of moral obligation to any one who is entirely devoid of it' (Sidgwick). (7) The feeling of dishonour comes to us without tuition when we have refused compliance with known duty. Belonging to a moral order, we are made to react in certain definite ways to truths, social relations, etc. The touch of experience is enough to quicken into action certain moral states, just as the feelings of cold and heat are ours because of the physical environment, and because we are what we are. We can evoke while we cannot create the elementary moral qualities. 'An erring conscience is a chimera' (Kant). 'Conscience intuitively recognizes moral law; it is supreme in its authority; it cannot be educated' (Calderwood). These sentences are not intended to deny that in the application of principles there is difficulty. One may readily admit the axioms of geometry, and yet find much perplexity when asked to establish a geometrical theorem the truth of which directly or indirectly flows from the axioms. The Apostle Paul prayed that his friends might improve in moral discrimination (Ph 1^{10}, Col 1^{9}). We have to learn what to do, and often the problems set by our domestic, civic, and church relationships are hard even for the best and wisest to solve. The scheme of things to which we belong has not been constructed with a view to saving us the trouble of patient, strenuous, and sometimes very painful investigation and thought.

5. Implications.—Of the many implications the following are specially noteworthy. The feeling of responsibility suggests the question, to Whom? Being under government, we feel after the Ruler if haply we may find Him. Jesus tells us of the 'Righteous Father.' The solemn voice of command is His. The preferences which we know to be right are His. The pain felt when righteous demands are resisted, and the joy accompanying obedience, are they not His frown and smile? Neither our higher self nor society can be the source of an authority so august as that of which we are conscious. To the best minds we look for guidance; but there are limits to their rights over us, and how ready they are to refer us to Him before whom they bow! We are made to be subjects of the Holy One. Admitting that we are in contact with Divine Authority, and that His behests are heard within, the encouraging persuasion is justified that He sympathizes with the soul in its battles and renders aid (Ph $2^{12.\ 13}$). The inference that it is God with whom we have to do makes it fitting for us to say that conscience is man's capacity to receive progressively a revelation of the righteousness of God. But is law the last word? May there not be mercy and an atonement? Cannot the accusing voices be hushed? May the man who admits the sentence of conscience be pardoned? Conscience is a John the Baptist preparing the way for the Saviour, who has a reply to the question 'What must I do to be saved?'

W. J. Henderson.

CONSECRATION.—See Clean and Unclean, Nazirite.

CONSOLATION.—See Comfort.

CONSUMPTION.—The Heb. word (*kālāh*) which is translated 'consummation' in Dn 9^{27} is rendered 'consumption' in Is 10^{23} 28^{22}, these Eng. words having then the same meaning. Cf. Foxe, *Actes and Mon.*, 'Christ shall sit . . . at the right hand of God till the consumption of the world.' Consumption occurs also with the same meaning in Is 10^{22} (Heb. *killyōn*). But in Lv 26^{16}, Dt 28^{22} it is used of a disease of the body. See Medicine.

CONTENTMENT.—**1.** The word does not occur in the OT, but the duty is implied in the Tenth Commandment (Ex 20^{17}), and the wisdom of contentment is enforced in Pr 15^{17} 17^{1} by the consideration that those who seem most enviable may be worse off than ourselves. But the bare commandment 'Thou shalt not covet' may only stir up all manner of coveting (Ro $7^{7f.}$); and though a man may sometimes be reconciled to his lot by recognizing a principle of compensation in human life, that principle is far from applying to every case. It is not by measuring ourselves with one another, but only by consciously setting ourselves in the Divine presence, that true contentment can ever be attained. Faith in God is its living root (cf. Ps 16^{6} with v.^{5}; also Hab $3^{17f.}$).

2. In the NT the grace of contentment is expressly brought before us. Our Lord inculcated it negatively by His warnings against covetousness (Lk 12^{15-21}), positively by His teaching as to the Fatherhood of God (Mt 6^{25-32}‖) and the Kingdom of God (v.^{33}, cf. v.$^{19f.}$). St. Paul (Ph 4^{11-13}) claims to have 'learned the secret' of being content in whatsoever state he was. The word he uses is *autarkēs*, lit. 'self-sufficient.' It was a characteristic word of the Stoic philosophy, implying an independence of everything outside of oneself. The Apostle's self-sufficiency was of a very different kind (see v.^{13}), for it rested on that great promise of Christ, 'My grace is sufficient (*arkei*) for thee' (2 Co 12^{9}). Christian contentment comes not from a Stoic narrowing of our desires, but from the sense of being filled with the riches of Christ's grace. For other NT utterances see 1 Ti 6^{8}, He 13^{5}.

J. C. Lambert.

CONVENIENT.—This Eng. word often has in AV its primary meaning of *befitting*, as Ro 1^{28} 'God gave them over to a reprobate mind, to do those things which are not convenient' (RV 'fitting'). So in the trans. of *Agrippa's Van Artes* (1684) 'She sang and danc'd more exquisitely than was convenient for an honest woman.'

CONVERSATION.—In EV the word is always used in the archaic sense of 'behaviour,' 'conduct.' In the OT, AV gives it twice (Ps 37[14] 50[23]), representing Heb. *derek*='way' (cf. RV and RVm). In the NT it is used in AV to render three sets of words. (1) The noun *anastrophē*='behaviour' (Gal 1[13], Eph 4[22], 1 Ti 4[12], He 13[7], Ja 3[13], 1 P 1[15. 18] 2[12] 3[1. 2. 16], 2 P 2[7] 3[11]), RV substituting in each case 'manner of life,' 'manner of living,' 'life,' 'living,' or 'behaviour'; the vb. *anastrephesthai*='to behave oneself' (2 Co 1[12], Eph 2[3]). (2) The noun *politeuma*='citizenship' or 'commonwealth' (Ph 3[20]); the vb. *politeuesthai*='to act as a citizen' (Ph 1[27]). (3) *tropos*='manner,' 'character,' lit. 'turning' (He 13[5]). Cf. RV and RVm throughout. The main point to notice is that in every case 'conversation' in the Bible refers not to speech merely, but to *conduct*.

J. C. Lambert.

CONVERSION.—The noun occurs only in Ac 15[3] (*epistrophē*), but in AV 'convert' is found several times both in OT (Heb. *shūbh*) and NT (Gr. *epistrephō*, *strephō*) to denote a spiritual turning, RV in most cases substituting **'turn.'** 'Turn' is to be preferred because (1) in the Eng. of AV 'convert' meant no more than 'turn'; (2) 'conversion' has come to be employed in a sense that often goes beyond the meaning of the originals. RV has further corrected AV by giving act. 'turn' for pass. 'be converted' in Mt 13[15] 18[3], Mk 4[12], Lk 22[32], Jn 12[40], Ac 3[19] 28[27], where the Gr. vbs. are reflexive in meaning. In OT *shūbh* is used to denote a turning, whether of the nation (Dt 30[10], 2 K 17[13] etc.) or of the individual (Ps 51[13], Is 55[7] etc.). In NT *epistrephō*, *strephō* are used esp. of individuals, but sometimes in a sense that falls short of 'conversion' as the conscious change implied in becoming a Christian. Mt 18[3] was spoken to true disciples, and the 'conversion' demanded of them was a renunciation of their foolish ambitions (cf. v.[1]). Lk 22[32] was addressed to the leader of the Apostles, and his 'conversion' was his return to his Master's service after his fall. In Acts and Epp., however, 'convert' or 'turn' is employed to denote conversion in the full Christian sense (Ac 3[19] 9[35] 11[21] 14[15] [cf. 15[3] 'conversion'], 2 Co 3[16], 1 Th 1[9]). Conversion as a spiritual fact comes before us repeatedly in the Gospels (Lk 7[47ff.] 15[17ff.] 19[8ff.] 23[42. 43]) and in the history of the Apostolic Church (Ac 2[41. 47] 8[5. 6. 12] 9[35ff.] 16[30ff.] etc.). RV brings out the fact that in the NT conversion (as distinguished from regeneration [wh. see]) is an activity of the soul itself, and not an experience imposed from above. This view of its nature is confirmed when we find repentance (Ac 3[19] 26[20]; cf. Ezk 14[6] 18[30]) and faith (Ac 11[21]; cf. 20[21]) associated with it as the elements that make up the moral act of turning from sin and self to God in Christ. J. C. Lambert.

CONVINCE.—Adams (*Serm.* ii. 38) says: 'Whatsoever is written is written either for our instruction or destruction; to convert us if we embrace it, to convince us if we despise it.' This is the meaning of 'convince' in the AV. It is what we now express by *convict*. Thus Jude [15] 'to convince all that are ungodly among them of their ungodly deeds.'

COOKING AND COOKING UTENSILS.—See House, § 9.

COPPER.—See Brass, and Mining and Metals.

COPPERSMITH (2 Ti 4[14]).—See Alexander, Arts and Crafts, § 2.

COR.—See Weights and Measures.

CORAL.—See Jewels and Precious Stones.

COR-ASHAN (AV Chor-ashan, 1 S 30[30]) is the present reading of MT, but the orig. text was undoubtedly **Bor-ashan**. The place may be the same as **Ashan** of Jos 15[42] 19[7].

CORBAN.—See Sacrifice and Offering.

CORD, ROPE.—Hebrew possesses a considerable number of words rendered, without any attempt at uniformity, by 'cord,' 'rope,' and a variety of other terms. It is difficult for the English reader to recognize the same original in the Psalmist's bow 'string' (Ps 11[2]) and the 'green **withs**' (RVm 'new bowstrings') with which Samson was bound; or again in the tent ropes of Is 33[20] (EV 'cords') and the ships' **'tacklings'** of v.[23]. The former set were probably of animal sinews or gut, the latter of twisted flax. The stronger ropes were of three strands (Ec 4[12]). No doubt the fibres of the palm and, as at the present day, goats' hair were spun into ropes. The process of rope-making from leather thongs is illustrated on an Egyptian tomb, the **'wreathen work'** (lit. 'rope-work') of Ex 28[14] (see RV), where, however, gold wire is the material used. Ec 12[6] speaks also of a silver cord, and Job 41[2] of a 'rope of rushes' (see RVm). The Gr. word for the cords of our Saviour's scourge (Jn 2[15]) and the ropes of Ac 27[32] also denoted originally such a rope.

The everyday use of cords for binding evil-doers suggested the metaphor of the wicked man 'holden with the cords of his sin' (Pr 5[22]), while from the hunter's snares comes the figure of Ps 140[5]; also 'the cords of death' of Ps 116[3] RV. A. R. S. Kennedy.

CORE.—See Korah.

CORIANDER SEED (*gad*, Ex 16[31], Nu 11[7]).—A product of the *Coriandrum sativum*, a common cultivated plant all over the East. It has a carminative action on the stomach. It is a globular 'fruit' about twice the size of a hemp seed. E. W. G. Masterman.

CORINTH was the capital of the Roman province Achaia, and, in every respect except educationally (see Athens), the most important city in Greece in Roman times. It was also a most important station on the route between E. and W., the next station to it on the E. being Ephesus, with which it was in close and continual connexion. Its situation made it a leading centre of Christianity. The city occupied a powerful position at the S. extremity of the narrow isthmus which connected the mainland of Greece with the Peloponnese. Its citadel rises 1800 feet above sea-level, and it was in addition defended by its high walls, which not only surrounded the city but also reached to the harbour Lechæum, on the W. (1½ miles away). The other harbour, Cenchreæ, on the E., on the Saronic Gulf, was about 8½ miles away. The view from the citadel is splendid. The poverty of the stony soil and the neighbourhood of two quiet seas made the Corinthians a maritime people. It was customary to haul ships across from the one sea to the other on a made track called the Diolkos. This method at once saved time and protected the sailors from the dangers of a voyage round Cape Malea (S. of the Peloponnese). Larger ships could not, of course, be conveyed in this way, and in their case the goods must have been conveyed across and transhipped at the other harbour. The place was always crowded with traders and other travellers, and we find St. Paul speaking of Gaius of Corinth as 'my host and of the whole Church' (Ro 16[23]).

The city had been destroyed by the Romans in 146 B.C., but exactly a hundred years afterwards it was refounded by Julius Cæsar as a *colonia*, under the name *Laus Julia Corinthus* (see Colony). A number of Roman names in the NT are found in connexion with Corinth: Crispus, Titius Justus (Ac 18[7. 8]), Lucius, Tertius, Gaius, Quartus (Ro 16[21-23]), Fortunatus (1 Co 16[17]). The population would consist of (1) descendants of the Roman colonists of 46 B.C., the local aristocracy; (2) resident Romans, government officials and business men; (3) a large Greek population; (4) other resident strangers, of whom Jews would form a large number (their synagogue Ac 18[4]). Of these some joined St. Paul (Ac 18[4-8], Ro 16[21], 1 Co 9[20]), and the hatred against him in consequence led to a plot against his life. The

church, however, consisted chiefly of non-Jews (see 1 Co 12[2]).

St. Paul did not at first intend to make Corinth a centre of work (Ac 18[1]), but a special revelation altered his plans (Ac 18[9-10]), and he remained there at least 18 months. The opposition he met in the Jewish synagogue made him turn to the Gentiles. St. Paul left the baptism of his converts almost entirely to his subordinates, and himself baptized only Stephanas (1 Co 16[15]), Gaius (Ro 16[23]), and Crispus, the ruler of the synagogue (1 Co 1[14-16]). Some weeks after his arrival in Corinth, St. Paul was joined by Silas and Timothy, returning from Macedonia. News brought by Timothy caused him to write there the First Ep. to the Thess. (1 Th 3[6]), and the Second was probably written there also, immediately after the receipt of an answer to the First. While St. Paul was in Corinth, **Gallio** came there as proconsul of the second grade to govern Achaia, probably in the summer of the year 52 A.D. The Jews brought an action before him against St. Paul, but Gallio, rightly recognizing that his court could take no cognizance of a charge of the sort they brought, dismissed the action. St. Paul's preaching was thus declared to be in no way an offence against Roman law, and in future he relied more on his relation to the State, against the enmity of the Jews. After the examination Gallio permitted the populace to show their hatred to the Jews (Ac 18[17]). It was in Corinth that St. Paul became acquainted with Prisca and Aquila (Ac 18[2. 3. 18. 26]), and he lived in their house during all his stay. They worked at the same industry as himself, and no doubt influenced his plans for later work. They also left for Ephesus with him.

Christianity grew fast in Corinth, but the inevitable dissensions occurred. Apollos had crossed from Ephesus to Corinth (Ac 18[27], 2 Co 3[1]) and done valuable work there (Ac 18[27. 28], 1 Co 1[12]). He unconsciously helped to bring about this dissension, as did also Cephas, if (but see next art. § 3) he visited Corinth. The subject of these dissensions is, however, more appropriately dealt with under the following two articles. The Apostle wrote at least three letters to the church: the first, which is lost (1 Co 5[9]); the second, which we call First Corinthians, and which was probably carried by Titus (Timothy also visited Corinth at the instance of St. Paul, 1 Co 4[17]); the third, our Second Corinthians, which was taken by Titus and Luke (2 Co 8[16-18] 12[18]). St. Paul spent three months in Greece, chiefly no doubt at Corinth, in the winter of 56–57. Whether the Corinthians actually contributed or not to St. Paul's collection for the poor Christians at Jerusalem must remain uncertain (but see p. 159[b], § 2 *ad fin.*). A. SOUTER.

CORINTHIANS, FIRST EPISTLE TO THE.—1. Occasion of the Epistle.—Some four or five years had elapsed since St. Paul's first evangelization of Corinth when he addressed the present Epistle to the Christians in that great centre of commerce. No doubt there had been frequent communications, especially during the Apostle's stay in Asia, for the journey between Corinth and Ephesus was a very easy one; but the communications were probably by letter only. A former epistle is mentioned in 1 Co 5[9], in which St. Paul had bidden his disciples 'to have no company with fornicators'—advice which was no doubt considered hard to obey in the most vicious and pleasure-loving city of the world, and which to some extent is modified in the present Epistle (5[10f.]); and a letter from the Corinthians to St. Paul is the immediate object of the Apostle's writing on the present occasion (7[1]). But before answering it, he reproves the Corinthians for certain abuses which he had heard of from 'the [household] of Chloe' (1[11]), namely, schism and party spirit, a bad case of incest, and litigiousness; for 'they of Chloe' seem to have been St. Paul's informants on all these matters. Chloe was perhaps a woman of importance who carried on a trade in Corinth, as Lydia of Thyatira did at Philippi (Ac 16[14]). She therefore not improbably belonged to Asia Minor—the reference to her seems to imply that she was not a Corinthian,—and 'they of Chloe' would be her agents who passed to and fro between Ephesus and Corinth. Having reproved the Corinthians for these abuses, the Apostle answers the questions put in their letter to him, as to marriage and other social questions; perhaps also as to Christian worship, the doctrine of the Resurrection, and the collection for the poor of Judæa. We may consider these topics in order.

2. The state of the Corinthian Church.—It will be remembered that the majority of the Christians at Corinth were Gentiles, though there were some Jews among them (Ro 16[21], 1 Co 7[18] 9[20] 12[13]), including such influential men as Crispus (Ac 18[8]) and (probably) Sosthenes (Ac 18[17], 1 Co 1[1]). It was the heathen antecedents of the Corinthians that led to most of the evils for which St. Paul rebukes them (6[11] 12[2]). The Apostle, though he had not intended to stay long in Corinth when he first went there, desiring to return to Macedonia (1 Th 2[18]), yet, when his wish was found to be impracticable, threw himself with all his heart into the task of making heathen Corinth, the famous trade centre which lay on one of the greatest routes of communication in the Empire, into a religious centre for the spread of the gospel (cf. Ac 18[5]). But the difficulties were not those with which he had met in Athens, where the philosophic inhabitants derided him. At Corinth the vices of the city had lowered the tone of public opinion; and when St. Paul preached Christ crucified with all plainness of speech (1 Co 1[17ff.]), many heard him gladly, but retained with their nominal Christianity their old heathen ideas on morals. He preached no longer 'wisdom' to the Jewish lawyer or the Greek sophist (1[20]), but salvation to the plain man; the Gentiles had no sense of sin, and the preaching of a personal Saviour was to them 'folly' (1[23]). We need not indeed suppose, as Sir W. Ramsay (*Expositor* VI. [i.] 98) points out, that the passage 1[26ff.] describes Corinthian Christians as distinguished from those in other places; the disciples at Corinth were not merely the 'dregs of society,' separated from the rest of the population, as the negro from the white man in some countries to-day. Ramsay thinks that the special work of the Church was to raise the thoughtful and educated middle classes. It certainly included men of means (11[20ff.]). Still, the upper classes and the learned were everywhere less attracted by Christianity than were the poor, with certain conspicuous exceptions, such as St. Paul himself.

It has been debated how far the Church was organized at Corinth at this time. The ministry is seldom referred to in these two Epistles; the 'bishops and deacons' of Ph 1[1] are not mentioned; but we read of apostles, prophets, and teachers (12[28]). It would, however, be unsafe to conclude that there was not a settled local ministry at Corinth. St. Paul had certainly established presbyters in every Church on his First Journey (Ac 14[23]), and so apparently in Asia on his Second (20[17]). In this Epistle the regular ministers are perhaps not explicitly mentioned, because they were the very persons who were most responsible for the disorders (Goudge, *Westminster Com.* p. xxxvi), while in ch. 12 the possession of 'spiritual gifts' is the subject of discussion, and the mention of the regular ministry would not be germane to it. A settled order of clergy is implied in 9[7. 12. 14].

3. Party Spirit at Corinth.—It is more correct to say that there were parties in the Church than that the Corinthians had made schisms. We read, not of rival organizations, but of factions in the one organization. It is noteworthy that Clement of Rome (*Cor.* 1, 47), writing less than 50 years later, refers to the factions prevalent at Corinth in his time. The Greeks were famous for factions; their cities could never combine together for long. In St. Paul's time there was a Paul-party, and also an Apollos-party, a Cephas-party, and a Christ-party (1[12]), though the words 'but I [am] of Christ' are interpreted by Estius (*Com.* ed. Sausen, ii.

110) and many Greek and Latin commentators, and also perhaps by Clement of Rome (see below, § **10**), as being St. Paul's own observation: 'You make parties, taking Paul, Apollos, Cephas as leaders, but I, Paul, am no party man, I am Christ's' (cf. 3^{23}). If, however, we take the more usual interpretation that there were four parties, we may ask what lines of thought they severally represented. The Apollos-party would probably consist of those who disparaged St. Paul as not being sufficiently eloquent and philosophical (cf. $2^{1.\ 13}$, Ac 18^{24}, 2 Co 10^{10} 11^{6}). The Cephas-party would be the party of the circumcision, as in Galatia. At Corinth the great dispute about the Law was as yet in its infancy; it seems to have grown when 2 Corinthians was written (see § **7** (*c*) below). The Christ-party, it has been conjectured, was the ultra-latitudinarian party, which caricatured St. Paul's teaching about liberty (cf. Ro 6^{1}); or (Alford) consisted of those who made a merit of not being attached to any human teacher, and who therefore slighted the Apostleship of St. Paul. Another view is that the Christ-party consisted of the Judaizers mentioned in 2 Co. and Gal. as denying St. Paul's Apostleship (Goudge, p. xxi.: cf. 2 Co 10^{7} where St. Paul's opponents claim to be peculiarly Christ's); but it is not easy in that case to distinguish them from the Cephas-party. There is no sufficient reason for deducing from 1 Co 1^{12} 9^{5} that St. Peter had visited Corinth, and that this party consisted of his personal disciples.—St. Paul, then, reproves all these parties, and most emphatically those who called themselves by his name. They were united by baptism with Christ, not with him (1^{13}).

4. Moral Scandals (ch. 5).—A Christian had married his (probably heathen) step-mother. Perhaps his father had been separated from her on his becoming a Christian, but (if 2 Co 7^{12} refers to this incident) was still alive; and the son thereupon married her. The Corinthian Church, in the low state of public opinion, did not condemn this, and did not even mention it in their letter to St. Paul. St. Paul reproves them for tolerating 'such fornication as is not even among the Gentiles' [the word 'named' of the AV text has no sufficient authority]. There is a difficulty here, for the heathen tolerated even more incestuous connexions, as between a man and his half-sister. Ramsay (*Exp.* VI. [i.] 110) supposes the Apostle to mean that the Roman law forbade such marriage. The Roman law of affinity was undoubtedly very strict, and Corinth, as a colony, would be familiar with Roman law; though the law was not usually put in force. The Jews strongly denounced such connexions (Am 2^{7}). The Apostle says nothing of the punishment of the heathen step-mother (cf. 1 Co 5^{12}), but the man is to be 'delivered unto Satan' (5^{5}, cf. 1 Ti 1^{20}).

This phrase probably means simple excommunication, including the renouncing of all intercourse with the offender (cf. 5^{13}); though many take it to denote the infliction of some miraculous punishment, disease, or death, and deny that the offender of 2 Co 2 and 7 is the incestuous Corinthian of 1 Co 5. Ramsay conjectures that the phrase is a Christian adaptation of a pagan idea, that a person wronged by another but unable to retaliate should consign the offender to the gods and leave punishment to be inflicted by Divine power; Satan would be looked on as God's instrument in punishing the offender; and the latter, being cast out of the Christian community, would be left as a prey to the devil.

5. Legal Scandals.—St. Paul rebukes the Corinthians for litigiousness, 6^{1-8}. This passage is usually interpreted as superseding heathen imperial tribunals by voluntary Christian courts for all cases, such as the Jews often had. Ramsay (*Exp.* VI. [i.] 274) suggests that the Apostle, who usually treats Roman institutions with respect, is not here considering serious questions of crime and fraud at all, nor yet law courts whether heathen or Christian, but those smaller matters which Greeks were accustomed to submit to arbitration. In Roman times, as this procedure developed, the arbiters became really judges of an inferior court, recognized by the law, and the magistrates appointed them. In this view St. Paul reproves the Corinthians for taking their umpires from among the heathen instead of from among their Christian brethren.

6. Questions of Moral Sin and of Marriage (6^{12}–7^{40}).—Probably the passage 6^{12-20} is part of the answer to the Corinthian letter. The correspondent had said, 'All things are lawful for me.' But all things (the Apostle replies) are not expedient. 'Meats are for the belly, and the belly for meats' (*i.e.* just as food is natural to the body, so is impurity). But both are transitory, and the body as a whole is for the Lord; in virtue of the Resurrection fornication is a serious sin, for it destroys the spiritual character of the body. True marriage is the most perfect symbol of the relation between Christ and the Church ($6^{15ff.}$; cf. Eph $5^{23ff.}$). In ch. 7 the Apostle answers the Corinthians' questions about marriage. It is usually thought that they wished to extol asceticism, basing their view on our Lord's words in Mt $19^{11f.}$, that they suggested that celibacy was to be strongly encouraged in all, and that the Apostle, though agreeing as an abstract principle, yet, because of imminent persecution and Jesus' immediate return ($7^{26.\ 29}$), replied that in many cases celibacy was undesirable. But Ramsay points out that such a question is unnatural to both Jews and Gentiles of that time. The better heathen tried to enforce marriage as a cure for immorality; while the Jews looked on it as an universal duty. Ramsay supposes, therefore, that the Corinthians wished to make marriage compulsory, and that St. Paul pleads for a voluntary celibacy. Against this it is urged that the Essenes (a Jewish sect) upheld non-marriage. But it is difficult to think, in view of 11^{11} and Eph $5^{23ff.}$, that St. Paul held the celibate life to be essentially the higher one, and the married life only a matter of permission, a concession to weakness.—After positive commands as to divorce ($7^{10ff.}$) the Apostle answers in $7^{25ff.}$ another question: which would be either (see above) a suggestion that fathers should be discouraged from finding husbands for their daughters, or that they should be compelled to do so. On the latter supposition, St. Paul says that there is no obligation, and that the daughter may well remain unmarried. The subject is concluded with advice as to widows' re-marriage.

7. Social Questions (8^{1}–11^{1}).—(*a*) *Food.*—Another question was whether Christians may eat meats which had previously been offered to idols, as most of the meat sold in Corinth would have been. St. Paul's answer is a running commentary on the Corinthians' words (so Lock, *Exp.* v. [vi.] 65; Ramsay agrees): 'We know that we all have knowledge; we are not bound by absurd ceremonial restrictions.' Yes, but knowledge puffeth up; without love and humility it is nothing; besides not *all* have knowledge. 'The false gods are really non-existent; we have but one God; as there is no such thing really as an idol we are free to eat meats offered in idol temples.' But there are weaker brethren who would be scandalized. 'Meat will not commend us to God: it is indifferent.' But do not let your liberty cause others to fall (note the change of pronoun in $v.^{8f.}$).

Why is the decree of Ac 15^{29} not quoted? Lock suggests that it is because at Corinth there was no question between Jew and Gentile, but only between Gentile and Gentile, and Jewish opinion might be neglected. Ramsay (*Exp.* VI. [ii.] 375) thinks that the decree is not mentioned because it was the very subject of discussion. The Corinthians had said (he supposes): 'Why should we be tied down by the Council's decree here at Corinth, so long after? We know better than to suppose that a non-existent idol can taint food.' St. Paul replies, maintaining the spirit of the decree, that offence must not be given to the weaker brethren (so Hort).

(*b*) *Idol Feasts* (8^{10-13} 10^{14}–11^{1}).—St. Paul absolutely forbids eating at idol feasts. Probably many of the Corinthians had retained their connexion with pagan

clubs. The pagan feast meant a brotherhood or special bond of union; but the two kinds of brotherhood were incompatible. A Christian who, out of complaisance, attends an idol feast, is really entering a hostile brotherhood.

(*c*) *Digression on Forbearance* (9^{1}–10^{13}).—St. Paul says that he habitually considers the rights of others and does not press his own rights as an Apostle to the full; he implies that the Corinthians should not press their liberty so as to scandalize others. This passage shows how little as yet the Judaizers had been at work in Corinth. St. Paul announces his position as an Apostle, and the right of the Christian minister to live of the gospel, but he will not use his rights to the full (9^{18} RV). He teaches self-denial and earnestness from the example of the Isthmian games ($9^{24ff.}$), and shows that the Israelites, in spite of all their privileges, fell from lack of this self-discipline. It is noteworthy that he speaks of '*our* fathers' (10^{1}). Perhaps, having addressed the Gentiles in particular in ch. 9, he now turns to the Jewish section of the Corinthian Church; he refers to a Rabbinical legend in 10^{4}. Or he may be considering the whole Church as being the spiritual descendants of Israel.

8. Christian Worship (11^{2}–14^{40}).—(*a*) *Veiling of Women.*—In reply (as it seems) to another question, St. Paul says that it is the Christian custom for men 'praying or prophesying' to have their heads uncovered, but for women to have theirs covered. This apparently trivial matter is an instance of the application of Christian principles to Christian ceremonial. The Jews of both sexes prayed with head covered and with a veil before the face (cf. 2 Co $3^{14ff.}$); therefore St. Paul's injunction does not follow Jewish custom. It is based on the subordination of the woman to the man, and is illustrated by the existence of regulated ranks among the angels; for this seems to be the meaning of 11^{10}.

(*b*) *The Eucharist.*—The Corinthians joined together in a social meal—somewhat later called an Agape or Love-feast—and the Eucharist, probably in imitation both of the Last Supper and of the Jewish and heathen meals taken in common. To this combination the name 'Lord's Supper' (here only in NT) is given. But the party-spirit, already spoken of, showed itself in this custom; the Corinthians did not eat the *Lord's* supper, but their own, because of their factions. St. Paul therefore gives the narrative of our Lord's Institution as he himself had received it, strongly condemns those who make an unworthy communion as 'guilty of the body and the blood of the Lord,' and inculcates preparation by self-probation.

It is chiefly this passage that has led some to think that the writer of the Epistle is quoting the Synoptic Gospels (see below, § 10); the Lukan account, as we have it in our Bibles, is very like the Pauline. But the deduction is very improbable. Even if our Lukan text is right, the result is only what we should have expected, that the companion of St. Paul has taken his master's form of the narrative, which he would doubtless have frequently heard him use liturgically, and has incorporated it in his Gospel. As a matter of fact, however, it is not improbable that the Lukan form was really much shorter than the Pauline, and that some early scribe has lengthened it to make it fit in with 1 Co $11^{23ff.}$ (Westcott-Hort, *NT in Greek*, ii. Append. p. 64).

(*c*) *Spiritual Gifts* (chs. 12–14).—The public manifestation of the presence of the Spirit known as 'speaking with tongues' (see art. Tongues [Gift of]), seems to have been very common at Corinth. After the magnificent digression of ch. 13, which shows that of all spiritual gifts love is the greatest, that it alone is eternal, that without it all other gifts are useless, St. Paul applies the principle that spiritual gifts are means to an end, not an end in themselves; and he therefore upholds 'prophecy' (*i.e.*, in this connexion, the interpretation of Scripture and of Christian doctrine) as superior to speaking with tongues, because it edifies all present. He says, further, that women are to keep silence (*i.e.* not to prophesy?) in the public assemblies ($14^{34f.}$, cf. 1 Ti 2^{12}). In 11^{5} (cf. Ac 21^{9}) some women are said to have had the gift of prophecy; so that we must understand that they were allowed to exercise it only among women, or in their own households. But possibly the Apostle has chiefly in his mind questions asked by women in the public assemblies (cf. 14^{35}).

9. The Resurrection of the Body (ch. 15).—This, the only doctrinal chapter of the Epistle, contains also the earliest evidence for our Lord's resurrection. Apparently the Gentile converts at Corinth felt a great difficulty in accepting the doctrine of the resurrection of the body; it appeared to them too material a doctrine to be true (15^{12}, cf. 2 Ti 2^{18}). St. Paul replies that Christ has risen, as many still alive can testify, and that therefore the dead will rise. For his treatment of the subject see art. Paul the Apostle, iii. **10.** The Corinthian scepticism does not seem to have died out at the end of the century, for Clement of Rome, writing to Corinth, strongly emphasizes the doctrine (*Cor.* 24f.).

St. Paul concludes the Epistle with directions about the regular collecting of alms for the poor Christians of Judæa, and with personal notices and salutations.

10. Date and genuineness of the Epistle.—It is referred to as St. Paul's by Clement of Rome, *c.* A.D. 95 (*Cor.* 47), who speaks of the parties of Paul, Cephas, and Apollos, but omits the Christ-party (see above § 3); we cannot infer from his phrase 'the Epistle of the blessed Paul' that he knew only one Epistle to the Corinthians, as early usage shows (Lightfoot, *Clement*, ii. 143). There are other clear allusions in Clement. Ignatius (*Eph.* 18f.) refers to 1 Co $1^{20.}$ $^{23f.}$ 4^{13} and probably 2^{8}; Polycarp (§ 11) quotes 1 Co 6^{2} as Paul's; references are found in the *Martyrdom of Polycarp*, in Justin Martyr, and in the *Epistle to Diognetus*; while Irenæus, Clement of Alexandria, and Tertullian at the end of the 2nd cent. quote the Epistle fully. Of the 2nd cent. heretics the Ophites and Basilides certainly knew it. Internal evidence fully bears out the external; no Epistle shows more clearly the mark of originality; and the undesigned coincidences between it and Acts, which Paley draws out, point in the same direction. It is in fact one of the four 'generally accepted' Epistles of St. Paul. See art. Paul the Apostle, i. 2, for the general arguments adduced against their genuineness. Against that of our Epistle in particular it has been alleged that it is dependent on Romans—thus, 4^{6} ('the things which are written') is said to be a quotation of Ro 12^{3}, surely a most fanciful idea—and on the Synoptic Gospels, especially in two particulars, the account of the Last Supper (see § 8 (*b*) above), and that of the Resurrection appearances of our Lord ($15^{4ff.}$). The real problem of the latter passage, however (as Goudge remarks, p. xxvii.), is not to account for the extent to which it runs parallel with the Gospels, but to explain why it does not run more nearly parallel with them. Few will be convinced by a criticism which practically assumes that a Christian writer of the 1st cent. could only know the facts of our Lord's earthly life from our Gospels. We may then take the genuineness of the Epistle as being unassailable.

If so, what is its date? Relatively to the rest of the Pauline chronology, it may be approximately fixed. In the year of his arrest at Jerusalem, St. Paul left Corinth in the early spring, after spending three months there (Ac $20^{3.}$ ^{6}). He must therefore have arrived there in late autumn or early winter. This seems to have been the visit to Corinth promised in 2 Co 13^{1}, which was the *third* visit. Two visits in all must have therefore preceded 2 Cor. (some think also 1 Cor.), and in any case an interval of some months between the two Epistles must be allowed for. In 1 Co 16^{6} the Apostle had announced his intention of wintering in Corinth, and it is possible that the visit of Ac 20^{3} is the fulfilment of this intention, though St. Paul certainly did not carry out all his plans at this time (2 Co $1^{15f.}$ ^{23}). If so, 1 Cor. would have been written from Ephesus in the spring of the year before St. Paul's arrest at Jerusalem.

This date is favoured by the allusion of $5^{7f.}$, which suggests to many commentators that the Easter festival was being, or about to be, celebrated when St. Paul wrote. It is a

little doubtful, however, whether the Gentile churches kept the annual as well as the weekly feast of the Resurrection at this early date; see art. 'Calendar, The Christian,' in Hastings' *DCG* i. 256.

Ramsay (*St. Paul the Trav.* p. 275) thinks that we must date our Epistle some six months earlier, in the second autumn before St. Paul's arrest. The events alluded to in 2 Cor. require a long interval between the Epistles. Moreover, the Corinthians had begun the collection for the poor Jews 'a year ago' when St. Paul wrote 2 Cor. (8^{10} 9^{2}), and it seems, therefore, that at least a year must have elapsed since the injunction of 1 Co 16^{1}. It is suggested, however, that we should rather translate the phrase 'last year,' and that to one who used the Macedonian calendar, and who wrote in the autumn, 'last spring' would also be 'last year,' for the new year began in September. On the whole, however, the argument about the Easter festival seems to be precarious, and the conditions are probably better satisfied if a longer interval be allowed, and the First Epistle put about 18 months before St. Paul's arrest. The *absolute*, as opposed to the relative, date will depend on our view of the rival schemes given in art. CHRONOLOGY OF THE NT, § iii.

A. J. MACLEAN.

CORINTHIANS, SECOND EPISTLE TO.—1. Circumstances of the Epistle.—The circumstances of this Epistle are more difficult to discover than those of any other of St. Paul's Epistles. The historical situation has been well described as a 'trackless forest,' and as a consequence the views of writers are very varied. We may best start by noticing that the Epistle was clearly written when the Apostle was burdened by some great anxiety, perhaps physical, but assuredly spiritual (11^{28}). This anxiety seems to have been connected with at least three things: (*a*) a mission of Titus; (*b*) a letter St. Paul had written to Corinth, either our 1 Cor., or an Epistle now lost (7^{8}); (*c*) the treatment of some offender at Corinth, either the guilty one of 1 Co 5^{1}, or some resolute opponent of St. Paul's authority. In 13^{1} we read of a projected *third* visit (for such seems the most natural interpretation of the words), and this presupposes a second visit of which we have no record. Four questions then need to be answered. (1) *Why* Titus' mission should have caused anxiety? (2) *What* was the letter that led to St. Paul's concern as to its effect? (3) *Who* was the offender referred to? (4) *When* did the second visit take place?

2. St. Paul and Corinth.—The Church was founded in 53 or 54 on the Second Missionary Journey (Ac 18^{1}). St. Paul remained there two years. After leaving, he kept up communications (2 Co 12^{17}), though it was only at Ephesus on the Third Missionary Journey in 56 (Ac 19^{1}) that he could resume personal intercourse. While there, he heard of the terrible immorality, and wrote a short letter (1 Co 5^{9}), ordering them to have no intercourse with fornicators. This letter, now lost, may be referred to in 2 Co 1^{13}; and if so, it may have contained a statement that he would come to Corinth before going to Macedonia. This project, however, was altered (1 Co 16^{5}). About the same time (A.D. 56) he *possibly* paid a second visit from Ephesus to Corinth, which caused him great pain and grief (2 Co 2^{1} $12^{14.\ 21}$ 13^{1}). Then in the spring of 57 he wrote 1 Cor., and on the strength of his Apostolic authority ordered the punishment of the incestuous person (1 Co 5^{1-5}). At the same time he sent Timothy on a mission (1 Co 4^{17} 16^{10}) to support and supplement his letter. It is possible that Timothy returned with the sad news that the Church refused to carry out St. Paul's orders, or possibly that there was a growing opposition to his authority under some Judaizing ringleader. Then followed the mission of Titus, carrying with him a letter, our 1 Cor., or another now lost (2 Co 2^{3} 7^{8}), in which St. Paul insisted on Church discipline. Paul leaves Ephesus owing to riot (Ac 19), expects to see Titus in Troas, but does not meet him until they reach Macedonia in the summer or autumn of 57 (2 Co $2^{12.\ 13}$). The news Titus brought from Corinth is mixed. The majority of the Church had obeyed his orders and punished the offender (2 Co 2^{6-11}), but the Judaizers had grown stronger in opposition to the Apostle, charging him with inconsistency, false Apostleship, boasting, and money-making. They were also probably endeavouring to thwart his collections for Jerusalem (1 Co 16^{1}, 2 Co 8^{9}). Not least of all was the still existing danger for Gentile converts of relapsing into heathen worship and impurity (2 Co 6^{14} 7^{1} 12^{19-21}). As a result of this news, St. Paul writes our 2 Cor., in which (1) he expresses great satisfaction at the good news of discipline exercised against evildoers, (2) justifies the collection for Jerusalem, and (3) vindicates his Apostolic authority. Then followed a visit (the third) to Corinth, and a stay of three months (Ac 20^{3}).

The most uncertain point is the place of the *second* visit. As above stated, it is thought by some to have taken place before our 1 Cor. was written, though others suggest it should come soon after Timothy's mission and as a result of his failure. On this view, however, it is difficult, if not impossible, to account for Titus' mission. It is also urged (Robertson in Hastings' *DB*) that a place for the second visit cannot be found anterior to our 1 Cor., and it must therefore be removed altogether from the sphere and circumstances of our two Epistles. It is also uncertain whether the offender is the one of 1 Cor., as seems more probable, or some entirely different person who was a virulent opponent of St. Paul's Apostolic authority. Godet makes out a strong and almost convincing case for a different set of circumstances in 2 Cor. from those in 1 Corinthians. There is equal uncertainty as to the letter about which St. Paul was anxious. Most probably it is one now lost, and not our 1 Corinthians. Denney (*Expos. Bible*) considers the connexion between 1 and 2 Cor. so close as to need no hypotheses of additional Epistles now lost. He would explain 2 Cor. entirely out of 1 Corinthians. Bernard favours this view (so formerly Plummer). On the other hand, Godet places the second visit between our 1 and 2 Cor., which visit is thought to be the painful and recent one in 2 Co $1^{8f.\ 23}$. The following, modified from Robertson (Hastings' *DB* i. 495), is perhaps the best scheme of events:—(1) Foundation of Church at Corinth (Ac 18^{1-5}). (2) Apollos at Corinth (Ac 19^{1}, 1 Co 1^{12}). (3) St. Paul at Ephesus (Ac 19^{1}). [The second visit to Corinth if before our 1 Cor.] (4) Lost letter of 1 Co 5^{9} (perhaps announcing the plan of 2 Co 1^{15}). (5) Some would put second visit to Corinth here. (6) Visit of Stephanas and others from Corinth to St. Paul at Ephesus (1 Co $16^{17.\ 18}$), asking for advice on certain matters (1 Co 7^{1} 8^{1}). (7) 1 Cor. sent by Titus and the 'brother' (2 Co 12^{18}). (8) St. Paul determines to pay a double visit to Corinth (2 Co 1^{15}). (9) Painful news from Corinth through Titus leads to a change of plan. (10) A severe letter sent. (11) Titus sent to Corinth (2 Co 7^{7-15}), with, on the whole, favourable results. (12) Titus returns and meets St. Paul in Macedonia. (13) Titus sent to Corinth with 2 Corinthians. (14) St. Paul's visit to Corinth and three months' stay (Ac 20^{3}).

It is interesting to note the happy results of this letter. Not only did the Apostle go again to Corinth, but actually wintered there. Still more, it was during these three months that he wrote his great Epistle to the Romans, the quiet tone and massive strength of which bear witness to the restfulness of the Apostle's mind and heart, as well as to the complete victory over the Judaizers. Not least of all, his favourite project—the collection for Jerusalem—was brought to a successful completion, and the Church of Corinth had some of its members included in the delegation to Jerusalem (Ac 20^{4}). His vigorous Epistle was therefore not in vain, and Corinth and the whole Church have been the gainers by it in the overruling providence of God.

3. Date.—1 Cor. was written in the spring of 57, and 2 Cor. probably in the same year, though it is impossible to say definitely what was the exact interval between them. The all-engrossing topic of the collection for Jerusalem (chs. 8 and 9) indicates the date as during the time of the Third Missionary Journey. St. Paul had left Asia (1^{8}), and had passed through Troas (2^{12}), and was in Macedonia (2^{13} 9^{2}). From Ac 20^{3} we know that he wintered at Corinth, and so 2 Cor. fits in exactly

with Ac 20². Waite (*Speaker's Com.*) therefore suggests October 57 and not earlier. This would suit the circumstances of Timothy's and Titus' visits, and account for the great change at Corinth towards St. Paul. Godet would put just over a year between the two Epistles, arguing that such a change of circumstances and tone could not have arisen within a few months.

4. Integrity.—There is no ground for supposing that the letter is not now in its original form. Recent attempts to separate it into two letters and to identify one of them (chs. 10–13) with the supposed lost painful Epistle, are not only not convincing in their arguments, but also have the great weight of textual criticism and Church tradition against them. It is impossible to suppose that all trace of such textual changes could have been entirely removed. Our authorities for the text are early enough to make us question the possibility of a sufficient time elapsing for so serious a modification of the original text. The subject-matter entirely agrees with the situation described above. The strong feelings under which the Epistle was written, and the conflicting emotions which swayed the Apostle, amply account for its ruggedness and abruptness.

5. Character.—Not even Galatians gives so full a revelation of the Apostle's mind and soul as does 2 Corinthians. It has been rightly called 'Paul's *Apologia*,' and as 1 Cor. is the first chapter of Ecclesiastical History, so 2 Cor. is the first chapter of Ecclesiastical Biography. It reveals the personal character of the great Apostle of the Gentiles in its twofold aspect of tenderness and strength, gentleness and severity, meekness and indignation. In questioning his Apostolic authority, the Judaizers were really questioning the gospel he preached, and indirectly the Master he loved and served. We are not surprised, therefore, to notice the vehemence of his vindication and the torrent of irony and denunciation with which he overwhelms his opponents. Here as nowhere else we see the man he was, stern yet tender, with a will of steel and yet a heart of wax. The iron hand and the velvet glove are combined in no common degree. His spiritual experiences are also brought out here as nowhere else; his visions (12¹), his 'thorn' (v.⁷), his conflicts (2¹⁰ 12⁷), his physical weakness (4⁷), his constant sufferings (11²³⁻²⁷). We see something of what he had to endure from his unscrupulous Judaizing foes in their remarks about his personal appearance (10¹⁰), his fickleness (1¹⁷), his pretended Apostleship and Jewish birth (11²²), and his doubtful, if not dishonest, motives about the collection (6³). But if we see what he *endured*, we see also what he *enjoyed* in union with his Master. We have not a few indications of his personal relation to Christ and his oneness with his Master in suffering (1⁵ 4¹⁰), fellowship (12⁸· ⁹), and the hope of glory (5¹). The keynote of chs. 1–9 is 'comfort in tribulation,' and of chs. 10–13 'boasting in weakness.' The Epistle is thus noteworthy for its remarkable revelation of the inner life of the Apostle as he faced his enemies, pleaded with his friends, bore the burden of the care of all the Churches, and lived in fellowship and communion with His unseen Lord and Master.

The doctrinal element of the Epistle is necessarily not prominent, but the foundations of the characteristic Pauline position are both assumed and seen. The comparison between the two dispensations (ch. 3), the teaching about Christ's death (5¹⁴⁻²¹), the eschatology (4¹⁶–5⁸), the Christology (8⁹), and the Trinitarian expression of the concluding Benediction (13¹⁴), are among the leading Apostolic thoughts.

6. Authenticity.—There are but slight traces of the Epistle in the writers of the 2nd and 3rd centuries, though this is not to be wondered at, because of its personal rather than doctrinal character. The evidence for the text of the Epistle is, of course, practically on the same basis as that of 1 Corinthians. The real proofs of authenticity are internal, and are found in the character of the Epistle. It is too manifestly Pauline in its intensely individual character to be other than genuine, and hence it has long been one of the four undisputed Epistles of Paul.

7. Analysis.—The personal and emotional nature of the contents makes analysis far less easy than that of Epistles which were written under very different, because quieter, circumstances. Perhaps we may best understand and master the contents of the Epistle if, generally following Godet, we analyze it under its three main sections. Their connexion is mainly chronological: 1¹²–7¹⁶ dealing with the *past* in relation to himself and Corinth, 8¹–9¹⁵ dealing with a special and important matter of *present* duty, and 10¹–13¹⁰ taking up a question that affected the entire *future* of his relations to them and the whole Church.

(1) Personal Introduction, 1¹⁻¹¹.
(2) 1¹²–7¹⁶. Himself and his ministry with special reference to Corinth. *The Past.*
  (*a*) 1¹²–2¹¹. Explanation of his change of plans.
  (*b*) 2¹²–7³. After personal references he passes to discuss the Christian ministry.
    i. Its power, 2¹⁴–4⁶.
    ii. Its tribulations and hopes, 4⁷–5¹⁰.
    iii. Its object and source, 5¹¹⁻²¹.
    iv. Its fulfilment by himself, 6¹–7³.
  (*c*) 7⁴⁻¹⁶. The return of Titus and its glad results.
(3) 8¹–9¹⁵. His efforts on behalf of the poor saints in Jerusalem. *The Present.*
  (*a*) 8¹⁻⁵. The example of Macedonia.
  (*b*) 8⁶–9⁵. The new mission of Titus.
  (*c*) 9⁶⁻¹⁵. The Corinthian Church encouraged to give.
(4) 10¹–13¹⁰. His approaching visit to Corinth, and the consequent need of a personal vindication in the face of enemies. *The Future.*
  (*a*) 10¹⁻¹⁸. His claim to Apostolic authority.
  (*b*) 11¹–12¹⁸. His claim to superiority of Apostleship.
  (*c*) 12¹⁹–13¹⁰. His contemplated visit and mode of procedure.
(5) Personal conclusion, 13¹¹⁻¹³.

[NOTE—The chronology given above follows Lightfoot. According to Turner (Hastings' *DB*, art. 'Chronology of the NT') the dates would all be two years earlier.]

W. H. GRIFFITH THOMAS.

CORMORANT (Lv 11¹⁷, Dt 14¹⁷, *shālāk*).—The *shālāk*, as the meaning of the word implies, was some kind of plunging bird. Two varieties of cormorant, *Phalacrocorax carbo* and *P. pygmæus*, occur in Palestine both on the sea coasts and on inland waters, *e.g.* the Dead Sea. It was an 'unclean' bird. See also PELICAN.

E. W. G. MASTERMAN.

CORN.—This term may be taken to include—(1) Barley, (2) Wheat, (3) Fitches, (4) Lentils, (5) Beans, (6) Millet, (7) Rye, wrong translation for 'Vetches,' (8) Pulse—for most of which see separate articles. Rye and oats are not cultivated in Palestine.

E. W. G. MASTERMAN.

CORNELIUS.—A 'proselyte of the gate' or 'devout man' (Ac 10¹, see art. ACTS OF THE APOSTLES, § 6), whose baptism was a step forward towards admitting the Gentiles into the Church. He was a Roman centurion of the Italic cohort (see art. BAND). An inscription recently discovered near Vienna shows that an Italic cohort was stationed in Syria *c.* A.D. 69, and this makes St. Luke's statement (once said to be an anachronism) quite probable. If the presence of such an officer in Cæsarea was not possible during the semi-independent rule of Agrippa (A.D. 41–44), we must date the episode before that; but we cannot assert such an impossibility.

A. J. MACLEAN.

CORNER, CORNER-STONE.—**1.** The special sanctity which in the Hebrew mind attached to corners is to be regarded as an inheritance from certain primitive and widely-spread animistic conceptions. Several of these were taken up and, so to say, 'regularized' in the later legislation (cf. the remarks on Azazel under ATONEMENT [DAY OF]). Examples will be found in the ideas associated with the corners of the altar (Zec 9¹⁵), usually termed the 'horns' (ALTAR, § 7), the unreaped corners

of the field (Lv 19[9]; Agriculture, § 3), the corners of the beard and head-hair (v.[27]) and of the upper garment or cloak (Fringes).

2. Another illustration is found in the importance attached among many peoples to the corner-stone in the foundation course of every important building, which was laid with religious rites, including, in early times, the burial beneath it of a human victim (see House, § 3). The corrected text of Is 28[16] speaks of 'a precious foundation corner-stone,' which is neither Zion (as usually interpreted), nor the future Messiah, but a calm trust in J″; hence the prophet adds 'he that trusts shall not be moved' or 'put to shame' (LXX, cf. 1 P 2[6] and Kittel, *Bib. Heb.*). Jer 51[26] and Job 38[6] both associate the corner-stone with the foundations. Hence the figurative use of the word for the chief men of the State, as its 'corners,' *i.e.* supports and defences (Jg 20[2], 1 S 14[38] [cf. marg.], Is 19[13] RV, Zec 10[4]). On the other hand, the stone of Ps 118[22] which became 'the head of the corner' (RV)—the reference is to Zion—is understood by many to be the corner-stone of the *topmost* course (cf. the **head stone** of Zec 4[7], which is different from the 'foundation' of v.[9]). In NT this passage and Is 28[16] receive a Messianic application, Jesus Christ being both the foundation and the head of His Church (Mt 21[42]‖, Ac 4[11], 1 P 2[6f.]).

A. R. S. Kennedy.

CORNET.—See Music and Musical Instruments.

CORRUPTION.—Jewish anthropology conceived of man as composed of two elements, the physical body and the soul. At death the soul went to Sheol, and the body decayed. The term 'corruption' came, therefore, to stand for the physical aspects of that state which followed death and preceded the resurrection. In this sense it is used in Ac 2[27. 31] 13[34-37], 1 Co 15[42. 50]; cf. also 1 Co 15[53-54]. There is no evidence that it had a moral force, although some have found such an implication in Gal 6[8], where the reference is rather to a belief that the wicked will not share in the glories of the resurrection. Neither is it a term to indicate annihilation, which idea does not seem to have been held by the Palestinian Jews. Jesus through His resurrection is represented (2 Ti 1[10]) as having brought life and incorruption to light. The resurrection as a part of salvation is thus placed in sharpest contrast with the condition of the personality following physical death, since, as St. Paul says (2 Co 5[1f.]), for a man who is saved, the decomposition of the physical body is but an occasion for the assumption of an incorruptible heavenly body.

Shailer Mathews.

COS.—An island off the coast of Caria, S.W. of Asia Minor, famous for its fertility and beauty. It was a Dorian colony, and a great seat of the worship of Æsculapius and of the study of medicine. Its position made it also an important place from a trade point of view, as it lay on the cross lines of traffic between Greece, Asia Minor, Syria, and Egypt. It is uncertain whether Cos, which had been a faithful ally of the Romans, was incorporated in the province of Asia in B.C. 139 (see Caria), but it certainly was a part of it in the time of Augustus. Its trade connexion made it one of the Jewish centres of the Ægæan. The Jews there were favoured by the Romans in B.C. 139–138 (1 Mac 15[23]). It was a place on the route of the Jewish pilgrims to Jerusalem (cf. Ac 21[1]). Herod the Great was a benefactor of the people of Cos.

A. Souter.

COSAM.—An ancestor of Jesus (Lk 3[28]).

COSMOGONY.—See Creation.

COSSÆANS.—A name adapted from the Greek form of Bab. *Kasshē*, a semi-barbarous people inhabiting the mountain region between Elam and Media proper. They answer to Cush (wh. see) in Gn 10[8] (and 2[13]?) as distinguished from the African Cush. They were a powerful people between the 18th and the 12th centuries B.C., during which time Babylonia was ruled by a Cossæan dynasty.

J. F. McCurdy.

COTTON is the better tr. (so RVm) of *karpas*, which in AV and RV is tr. 'green,' Est 1[6]. It was either muslin or calico.

E. W. G. Masterman.

COUCH.—See House, § 8. The verb 'to couch' occurs in Dt 33[13] 'the deep that coucheth beneath.' The word means simply to *lie down*, but it is used almost exclusively of animals, as is the Heb. word also. The subterranean deep, says Driver, is perhaps pictured as a gigantic monster.

COULTER.—Only 1 S 13[20f.] for the word elsewhere rendered 'plow-share,' and so it should be here, as the Hebrew plough, like its Syrian representative to-day, had no coulter. See Agriculture, § 1.

COUNCIL.—See Sanhedrin. For the Council of Ac 15, Gal 2, see Paul, Galatians [Ep. to], § 3.

COUNSELLOR.—This is the spelling in modern editions of the AV. In the ed. of 1611 it is 'counseller,' except in Ezr 8[25], Pr 12[20] 15[22], where the spelling is 'counsellour.' The word is used mostly of a king's counsellor, or more generally of one who gives counsel. But in Dn 3[2. 3] it means a justice; and in Mk 15[43], Lk 23[50], it is used of Joseph of Arimathæa as a member of the Sanhedrin. In Dn 3[24. 27] 4[36] 6[7] the peculiar word rendered 'counsellor' in AV is hesitatingly translated by Driver 'minister'; RV retains 'counsellor.'

COUNTERVAIL.—To countervail (Est 7[4], Sir 6[15]) is to make up for, give an equivalent, as in More's *Utopia*: 'All the goodes in the worlde are not liable to countervayle man's life.'

COURAGE.—In Dn 11[25] 'courage' is the rendering of the Heb. word for 'heart'; in Am 2[16] 'courageous' is literally 'stoutest of heart.' Elsewhere in the OT the root-ideas of the words generally used are 'to be firm' (*'āmēts*) and 'to be strong' (*chāzaq*). Courage, being a quality of mind, has manifold manifestations, as, *e.g.* in the sufferer's endurance, the reformer's boldness, and the saint's 'wrestling' (Eph 6[12]), as well as in the soldier's valour. Professor Sorley says that moral courage is 'the control of the fear of social evils (disgrace or ridicule from those who determine the opinion of the community), whereas the ordinary application of courage is to the fear of physical evils' (Baldwin, *Dict. of Philosophy*, i. 239).

In the NT the Gr. noun for 'courage' is found only in Ac 28[15]. The corresponding verb is rendered uniformly in the RV 'be of good cheer'; but a later form of the same verb occurs six times, and is tr. in RV 'be of good courage.' The comparative rarity of the word 'courage' implies no disparagement of the virtue, for exhortations to 'be strong,' and to 'fear not' are frequent. T. H. Green, comparing Greek and Christian ideals of virtue (*Prolegomena to Ethics*, p. 277 ff.), shows how greatly the conception of moral heroism has been widened. Courage or fortitude is defined as 'the will to endure even unto death for a worthy end'; therefore the Christian may be courageous 'in obscure labours of love as well as in the splendid heroism at which a world might wonder.'

J. G. Tasker.

COURSE.—See Priests and Levites, III. 2 (*b*).

COURT.—See House, § 2; Justice; Tabernacle; Temple.

COUSIN.—Elisabeth is called Mary's 'cousin' in Lk 1[36], and the relationship is often understood in the modern sense of that word. But 'cousin' in the English of 1611 meant no more than kinsman or kinswoman. The relationship between Mary and Elisabeth is not known.

COVENANT.—The term is of frequent occurrence in the Bible, and is used in the general sense of a compact or agreement between parties, and also in the more

technical and legal sense of an arrangement entered into by God, and confirmed or sealed with the due formalities. The Hebrew word (*berîth*) has a similarly wide signification; whilst the Greek (*diathēkē*) is used alike in the classics and on the papyri in the further sense of 'testament' or 'will,' though Aristophanes (*Av.* 439) is a good witness for the meaning of mutual agreement. The rendering 'testament' is retained by the RV in two places only (He 9$^{16.\ 17}$; cf. margin of Gal 3^{15}), and is perpetuated in the titles given to the two main parts of the Bible (see TESTAMENT).

As for the formalities in concluding a covenant, the primitive way seems to have been for the two parties to swallow each a drop of the other's blood, thus becoming covenant-brothers. This actual mingling of blood soon became distasteful, and substitutes were found, such as the cutting of sacrificial animals into two parts, between which the contracting parties passed (Gn 15$^{10.\ 17}$, Jer 34$^{18f.}$), the meat probably being eaten afterwards in a joint meal. This ritual appears to have been inherited from the nomadic period, and it afterwards generally gave way to a solemn oath or invocation of God, combining a pledge to observe the covenant (Gn 26^{31}, He 6^{17}) and the imprecation of a curse on non-observance (Dt 27$^{15ff.}$). Sometimes a handshake took the place of the oath (Ezr 10^{19}, Pr 6^{1} 17^{18} 22^{26}, 1 Ch 29^{24} marg., 1 Mac 6^{58}), or was added to it (Ezk 17^{18}). In very early times an agreement between two men was sometimes confirmed by setting up a pillar or a heap of stones (Gn 31$^{44-48}$), the religious sanction being added (Gn 31$^{49f.\ 53}$). When God was Himself directly one of the parties, and an obligation was thought to be assumed by Him rather than by both, a token was substituted (Gn 9^{12}); but in these cases the transaction takes the form chiefly of a pledge or assurance, though the idea of some obligation upon the other party is often implicit. Compacts would often be made or confirmed at a shrine; and the god was invoked as a witness (Gn 31$^{49ff.}$, Jos 24^{27}, 2 K 11^{4} 23^{3}), or a sacrificial meal accompanied the act (Gn 26^{30} 31^{54}, 2 S 3^{20}). Sprinkling of sacrificial blood (Ex 24^{8}, Zec 9^{11}, He 9^{20}) was a specially solemn indication of God's approving presence and of the obligations undertaken; and its significance survives and is deepened in the death of Christ (He 10^{29} 13^{20}) and in the Eucharist (Mt 26^{28}, Mk 14^{24}, Lk 22^{20}, 1 Co 11^{25}).

Of the covenants referred to in Scripture, there are two classes. **1.** *Covenants between men.*—These, again, are of several kinds, the most frequent being international alliances (*e.g.* Gn 21^{27}, Jos 9^{6}, Ps 83^{5}, Am 1^{9}), judicial decisions and codes (Sir 38^{33}, possibly Ex 24^{7}), agreements between a ruler and the people (2 S 5^{3}, Dn 9^{27}), and civil and domestic compacts of every variety. The word was used for alliances of friendship (1 S 18^{3}, Ps 55^{20}), and of marriage (Pr 2^{17}, Mal 2^{14}). By an easy metaphor, a covenant in the sense of an imposed will may be made with the eyes (Job 31^{1}); or, in the other sense of agreement, with the stones (Job 5^{23}), but not with Leviathan (Job 41^{4}), because of his greatness and intractability, nor wisely with death either in scorn of God (Is 28$^{15.\ 18}$) or in yearning (Wis 1^{16}). In Dn 11^{22} 'the prince of the covenant' is sometimes rendered 'a prince in league with him'; but if the other translation stands, 'covenant' will represent the nation as a religious community (cf. Dn 11$^{28.\ 30}$, Ps 74^{20}), and the prince will be the high priest, Onias III., who was deposed by Antiochus about B.C. 174. Similarly in Mal 3^{1} 'the messenger of the covenant' may be the attendant of God, His instrument in dealing with the nation (cf. RVm).

2. *Covenants between God and men.*—The idea of a covenant with Adam, beyond the simple injunction of Gn 2$^{16.\ 17}$, has been found by some writers in Sir 17^{12}, which is more easily interpreted of the transactions on Horeb (Dt 5^{3}). In Ps 25^{14}, as in 55^{20}, the word has its fundamental meaning of an alliance of friendship, with a specific allusion in the former case to the Deuteronomic covenant of the tenth verse. In other cases the technical meaning of an agreement with signs and pledges is more conspicuous. The Noachian covenant (Gn 6^{18} 9$^{8-17}$, Is 54$^{9f.}$, Jer 33$^{20.\ 25}$) guarantees the stability of natural law. The covenant with Abraham (Gn 15^{18} 17$^{2-21}$) was confirmed in its promise to Isaac and Jacob (Ex 2^{24}, Lv 26^{42}, Ps 105$^{9f.}$), and ensured a blessing through their seed to all nations, circumcision being adopted as the token (cf. Ac 7^{8}, 1 Mac 1^{15}). Of still greater significance was the covenant at Horeb or Sinai (Ex 19^{5} 34$^{10.\ 27f.}$ *et al.*), which was renewed in the plains of Moab (Dt 29^{1}), and is frequently referred to in the OT. It was really a constitution given to Israel by God, with appointed promise and penalty, duly inscribed on the tables of the covenant (Dt 9$^{9.\ 11.\ 15}$), which were deposited in the ark (Dt 10$^{2.\ 5}$, 1 K 8$^{9.\ 21}$, 2 Ch 5^{10}, He 9^{4}). Elsewhere the covenant is described as set forth in words (Ex 34^{28}, Dt 29^{9}) and written in a book (Ex 24^{7}, 2 K 23^{2}). Amongst other covenants of minor importance are that with Phinehas establishing an everlasting priesthood in his line (Nu 25$^{12f.}$), and that with David establishing an everlasting kingdom (Ps 89$^{3f.}$, Jer 33^{21}; cf. 2 S 7). Joshua and the people covenant to serve Jehovah only (Jos 24^{25}); so Jehoiada and the people (2 K 11^{17}). Hezekiah and the people solemnly agree to reform the worship (2 Ch 29^{10}); Josiah (2 K 23^{3}) and Ezra (10^{3}) lead the people into a covenant to observe the Law.

Whilst the Sinaitic covenant is rightly regarded as the charter of the Jewish dispensation, the establishment by God of a new constitution was contemplated by a series of prophets (Jer 31$^{31.\ 33}$ 32^{40} 50^{5}, Is 55^{3} 59^{21} 61^{8}, Ezk 16$^{60.\ 62}$ 20^{37} 34^{25}). Some of the pledges were new, and not confined in their range to Israel, whilst the Messianic Servant becomes 'for a covenant of the people' (Is 42$^{6f.}$ 49^{8}; cf. 'messenger of the covenant,' Mal 3^{1}). The Sinaitic covenant is thus transformed, and, whilst continuing as a note of racial separation until the period for the Incarnation was come, gave way then to a new dispensation with increased emphasis on personal religion and the provision of means adequate to ensure it (He 8$^{6-13}$). Yet the ancient covenant, even that with Abraham, was everlasting (Gn 17^{7}), and still stands in its supreme purpose (Lv 26$^{44f.}$, Ac 3^{25}, Ro 11$^{26f.}$) of making men the people of God, the new elements consisting mainly in the adoption of more effective influences and inspiration. The Exile is sometimes thought of as marking the dissolution of the Old Covenant (Jer 31$^{31ff.}$), though the new one was not fully introduced until some centuries later. The act of making the New Covenant is compared with the transactions in the wilderness (Ezk 20$^{36ff.}$). On God's part there is forgiveness with the quickening of the inner life of man (Ezk 36$^{24ff.}$). And both the activity and the blessedness are associated with the Messianic expectations (Jer 33$^{15f.}$, Ezk 37$^{21-28}$, Lk 1^{20}).

In the later OT writings the word 'covenant,' as appears from the previous citations, has lost much of its technical signification, and does not always denote even a formal act of agreement, but becomes almost a synonym, and that without much precision, for the conditions of religion (Ps 103^{18}). St. Paul recognizes a series of covenants (Ro 9^{4}, Eph 2^{12}) on an ascending scale of adequacy (2 Co 3^{6}, Gal 4$^{24ff.}$; cf. He 7^{22} 8$^{6ff.}$); and Sinai is but a stage (Gal 3$^{15ff.}$) in the course from Abraham to Christ.

Of special phrases, two or three may present some difficulty. 'A covenant of salt' (Nu 18^{19}, 2 Ch 13^{5}) is a perpetual covenant, the eating of salt together being a token of friendship as sealed by sacred hospitality. 'The salt of the covenant' (Lv 2^{13}) has probably the same primary suggestion, as a natural accompaniment of the sacrificial meal, and with it constituting an inviolable bond. Sometimes the two great divisions of Scripture are called the books of the Old and of the New Covenant respectively. The name 'Book of the Covenant' (see next article) is given

to Ex 20^{22}–23; that of 'Little Book of the Covenant' to Ex 34^{11-26}. A distinction is often drawn between the Covenant of Works, assumed to have been made by God with Adam (Gn 2^{17}), and that of Grace or Redemption (2 Ti 1^{9}), whereby Christ becomes to man the medium of all spiritual blessings. R. W. Moss.

COVENANT, BOOK OF THE.—The oldest code of Hebrew law which has come down to us is contained in Ex 20^{22}–23^{33}. It receives its name from the expression in Ex 24^{7}, while its character as a covenant is demonstrated by the promises attached to the keeping of it (23^{20-33}). Owing to the confused form in which the Book of Exodus has been transmitted, doubt has been expressed as to the limits of the Book of the Covenant. Some maintain that the words in 24^{7} refer only to ch. 23; others would make them include 21–23; Driver holds with the generally accepted opinion that the code begins with 20^{22}. The close proximity of the Decalogue (20^{1-17}) might lead to the inference that both codes were given at the same time. But the Book of the Covenant is certainly not a law that was 'delivered'; it is a series of decisions gradually gathered together. It has been incorporated by the compiler at this particular place in the Book of Exodus, with the intention of bringing the ancient codes together.

1. Contents.—These fall into two broad divisions:—

(1) *mishpātim*, or 'judicial decisions.' In early Semitic life justice was administered according to a series of *tōrōth*, or judicial and priestly decisions, originally transmitted orally, but gradually written down for more exact use as precedents. The Book of the Covenant was such a series, and was probably committed to writing, in the first instance, to serve as a hand-book for those who had to administer the law. Hypothetical cases are put in the regular form, 'If . . . then . . .': *e.g.* 21^{26} 'If a man smite the eye of his servant or the eye of his maid that it perish; (then) he shall let him go free for his eye's sake.' Sometimes the form changes slightly; the crime and the punishment attached to it are stated in the briefest possible way: *e.g.* 21^{12} 'He that smiteth a man so that he die shall be surely put to death.' This collection of *mishpātim* reflects an extremely simple state of society. It deals with the rights of the male and female slave (21^{1-11}); murder and homicide (vv.$^{12-15}$); injuries to the body, not resulting in death (vv.$^{16-32}$); injuries to cattle (vv.$^{33-36}$); theft (22^{1-5}); arson (v.^{6}); breach of trust (vv.$^{7-13}$); loans (vv.$^{14.\ 15.\ 25-27}$); seduction (vv.$^{16.\ 17}$). The injunctions put in the shorter form cover murder, abduction, the cursing of parents, bestiality ($21^{12.\ 15.\ 16.\ 17}$ 22^{19}). The prominence given in this code to the ox, ass, and sheep (21^{28}–22^{10}) shows that it was originally drawn up for a society that was predominantly agricultural. In several respects, however, the code indicates a considerable measure of progress. A limitation is imposed on the *lex talionis*, in the drawing of a distinction between premeditated murder and accidental homicide. The service of a slave cannot last beyond six years unless with his own consent, and then his determination to remain in slavery is sealed by a solemn act. Apart from retaliation there is no punishment, except a pecuniary compensation. The thief who will not make restitution is the only wrong-doer who loses his liberty. The position of women is that the daughter is the property of her father, who receives money for her when he gives her in marriage, and also exacts from any who should dishonour her the price she would have brought as a bride; the injury is thought of as being done not to the daughter, who is only a chattel, but to the father.

(2) *debārim*, or 'commands.' In form, these are akin to the commands of the Decalogue, being introduced with 'Thou shalt,' or 'Thou shalt not.' In substance, they are concerned with religious observances to a much greater extent than the *mishpātim*, and do not give the same prominence to agricultural life. 20^{24-26} deals with the construction of an altar. (Stade, *Bibl. Theol.* § 57, thinks that this command is the product of a period of reaction in the time of the later monarchy, and that it was aimed at the brazen altar which Solomon had made, and at the centralization of worship in Jerusalem.) Other matters dealt with are witchcraft (22^{18}); the treatment of strangers (v.^{21}); the reviling of God (or judges) and rulers (vv.$^{28.\ 29}$); the offering of the first fruits and firstlings (vv.$^{29.\ 30}$); the eating of animals found torn in the field (v.^{31}); just judgment ($23^{1-3.\ 6-8}$); the year of rest, and the Sabbath (vv.$^{10-12}$); feasts (vv.$^{14-16}$). The three feasts mark points in the agricultural year, the beginning and the end of harvest and the end of the vintage. Leaven is not to be eaten in connexion with the blood of the sacrifice, and the fat of the sacrifice is to be burned the same night (23^{16-19}); but apart from these there are no matters of sacrificial ritual insisted on. Whoever sacrifices to any other god than Jehovah is to be placed under the ban (22^{20}). 23^{20-33} seems to be the work of the compiler. The familiar style of Deut. appears in v.^{23}; but in this section there would appear to be vestiges of an older text (23^{28-31}).

2. Date.—As to the date of the Book of the Covenant, there is no evidence save what the document itself affords us. But the state of society reflected in it is primitive. Agriculture is the industry of the people. The law of blood-revenge is just beginning to be modified; woman has as yet no property in herself; sacrifice is emerging from its primitive domestic character; there is as yet no clear conception of a State. The code would thus seem to date from the days of the desert wandering, and to be older than the Decalogue itself. See, further, artt. Exodus and Hexateuch.

R. Bruce Taylor.

COVETOUSNESS.—In the Bible, covetousness is a crime. In the Ten Commandments it is put under the ban along with murder, adultery, theft, and slander (Ex 20^{17}, Dt 5^{21}). Achan was guilty of this crime, and was stoned to death (Jos 7^{16-26}). Every occurrence of the word or the thing in the OT is connected with a prohibition or a curse (Ps 10^{3} 119^{36}, Pr 21^{26} 28^{16}, Is 57^{17}, Hab 2^{9}). In the NT adultery and covetousness are usually classed together (1 Co 5^{11} $6^{9.\ 10}$, Col 3^{5}, 2 P 2^{14}). This conjunction of sensual sin and love of money probably rests upon the authority of Jesus (Mk $7^{21.\ 22}$). Jesus and the Apostles declared that the worshipper of Bacchus and the worshipper of Venus and the worshipper of Mammon belong to one and the same class. Grasping avarice is as incompatible with the spirit of self-sacrifice taught in the NT as is the selfish indulgence in drink or the grosser indulgence in vice. The Bible puts the covetous man in the same category with the murderer and the thief. The Christian Church needs to study anew the Bible teaching concerning covetousness, as found in Jer 22^{17}, Mic 2^{2}, Lk 12^{15}, Ro 7^{7}, Eph $5^{3.\ 6}$, 1 Ti 6^{10}, He 13^{5}, and other passages. No covetous man has any inheritance in the Kingdom of God. D. A. Hayes.

COZBI.—The Midianitess slain by Phinehas (Nu $25^{15.\ 18}$).

COZEBA, 1 Ch 4^{22} = **Achzib, No. 2.**

CRACKNELS.—See Bread.

CRAFT, in the sense of 'trade,' survives in RV only in Rev 18^{22} 'no craftsman of whatever craft.' In Ac 18^{3} $19^{25.\ 27}$ 'trade' or 'business' has been substituted for AV 'craft.' 'Craftsman' and 'craftsmen,' however, are retained. See list under Arts and Crafts.

CRANE.—In Is 38^{14} and Jer 8^{7} *sūs* or *sīs* is rendered in AV 'crane,' RV correctly 'swallow' [wh. see]. In the same passages '*agūr* is rendered in AV 'swallow,' RV 'crane.' The crane (*Grus communis*) is the largest bird which visits W. Palestine; its length is four feet. They arrive in large flocks in the winter (Jer 8^{7}). Its trumpet-

ing note is strangely described (in Is 38[14] EV) as 'chattering,' and this makes the translation somewhat doubtful. E. W. G. Masterman.

CRATES.—A deputy left in charge of the citadel at Jerusalem (Acra) when the regular governor, Sostratus, was summoned to Antioch by Antiochus Epiphanes, in consequence of a dispute with the high priest Menelaus (2 Mac 4[29]). Crates was 'over the Cyprians': probably he was sent to Cyprus shortly afterwards, when, in B.C. 168, Antiochus obtained possession of the island.

CREATION.—One of the most convincing proofs of the composite authorship of the Pentateuch has always been found in the existence side by side of two independent and mutually irreconcilable accounts of the creation of the world. The first, Gn 1[1]–2[4a], forms the introduction of the Priestly Code (P), which was compiled, as is now generally acknowledged, in the 5th cent. B.C. The second, Gn 2[4bff.], opens the Jahwistic document (J), whose latest portions must be dated at least a century and a half earlier than the compilation of P. These two narratives, while expressing the same fundamental religious ideas, differ profoundly in their concrete conceptions of the process of creation. The account of P starts with a description (v.[2]) of the primeval chaos—a dark formless watery abyss, out of which the world of light and order was to be evolved. Whether this chaotic matter owed its origin to a prior creative act of God is a question depending on a delicate point of grammatical construction which cannot be adequately explained here; but, looking to the analogy of the Babylonian Creation-story (see below), it seems probable that the chaos is conceived as pre-existent, and that the representation of the chapter falls short of the full dogmatic idea of creation as production out of nothing,—an idea first unambiguously expressed in 2 Mac 7[28]. The work of creation then proceeds in a series of eight Divine fiats, viz.: (1) Creation of light and separation of light from the primeval darkness, vv.[3-5]; (2) division of the chaotic waters by the firmament, vv.[6-8]; (3) separation of land and sea, vv.[9. 10]; (4) clothing of the earth with vegetation, vv.[11-13]; (5) formation of the heavenly bodies, vv.[14-19]; (6) production of fishes and birds, vv.[20-23]; (7) land animals, v.[24f.]; and (8) the creation of man in the image of God with dominion over the creatures, v.[26ff.]. The most remarkable formal feature of the record is a somewhat artificial but carefully planned and symmetrical arrangement of the eight works under a scheme of six days. The creative process is thus divided into two parallel stages, each embracing four works and occupying three days, the last day in each division having two works assigned to it. There is an obviously designed, though not quite complete, correspondence between the two series: (1) light ‖ (5) luminaries; (2) waters and firmament ‖ (6) fishes and fowls; (3) dry land ‖ (7, 8) terrestrial animals; (4) trees and grasses, and (on the sixth day) the appointment of these as the food of men and animals. The significance of the six days' scheme is revealed in the closing verses (2[1-3]), where the resting of the Creator on the seventh day is regarded as the antitype and sanction of the Jewish Sabbath-rest. It is not improbable that the scheme of days is a modification of the original cosmogony, introduced in the interest of the Sabbath law; and this adaptation may account for some anomalies of arrangement which seem to mar the consistency of the scheme.

In the narrative of J (2[4bff.]), the earth as originally made by Jahweh was an arid lifeless waste, in which no plant could grow for lack of moisture, and where there was no man to till the ground (vv.[5. 6]). The idea of man's superiority to the other creatures is here expressed by placing his creation, not at the end as in P, but at the beginning (v.[7]); followed by the planting of the garden in which he was to dwell and from whose trees he was to derive his food (vv.[8. 9. 15-17]); the forming of beasts and birds to relieve his solitude and awake his craving for a nobler companionship (vv.[18-20]); and lastly of the woman, in whom he recognizes a part of himself and a helpmeet for him (vv.[21-23]). The express reference to the welfare of man in each act of creation makes it doubtful whether a systematic account of the origin of things was contemplated by the writer, or whether the passage is not rather to be regarded as a poetic clothing of ideas generated by reflexion on fundamental facts of human life and society. It is probable, however, that it contains fragments of a fuller cosmogony which has been abridged and utilized as a prologue to the story of Paradise and the Fall. On either view, the divergence from the account of P is so obvious as to preclude the attempt to harmonize the two, or to treat the second as merely supplementary to the first.

Much ingenuity has been expended in the effort to bring the Biblical record of creation into accord with the facts disclosed by the modern sciences of Geology and Astronomy. Naturally such constructions confine their operations to the systematic and semi-scientific account of Gn 1; for it has probably never occurred to any one to vindicate the scientific accuracy of the more imaginative narrative of J. But even if we were to admit the unique claim of the first chapter to be a revealed cosmogony, the difficulty of harmonizing it with the teachings of science is seen to be insurmountable as soon as the real nature of the problem to be solved is fairly apprehended. It is not sufficient to emphasize the general idea of gradation and upward progress as common to science and Scripture, or to point to isolated coincidences, such as the creation of fishes before mammals, or the late appearance of man on the earth: the narrative must be taken as a whole, and it must be shown that there is a genuine parallelism between the order of days and works in Gn 1 and the stages of development recognized by science as those through which the universe has reached its present form. This has never been done; and after making every allowance for the imperfection of the geological record, and the general insecurity of scientific hypothesis as distinguished from ascertained fact, enough is known to make it certain that the required correspondence can never be made out. Thus the formation of the sun and moon after the earth, after the alternation of day and night, and even after the emergence of plant-life, is a scientific impossibility. Again, the rough popular classifications of Genesis (plants, aquatic animals, birds, land animals, etc.) are, for scientific purposes, hopelessly inadequate; and the idea that these groups originated *as wholes*, and in the order here specified, is entirely contrary to the 'testimony of the rocks.' But, indeed, the whole conception of the universe on which the cosmogony of Genesis rests opposes a fatal barrier to any valid reconciliation with scientific theory. The world whose origin is here described is a solid expanse of earth, surrounded by and resting on a world-ocean, and surmounted by a rigid vault called the **firmament**, above which the waters of a heavenly ocean are spread. Such a world is unknown to science; and the manner in which such a world was conceived to have come into being cannot truly represent the process by which the very different world of science and fact has been evolved. This fact alone would amply justify the emphatic verdict of Professor Driver: 'Read without prejudice or bias, the narrative of Gn 1 creates an impression *at variance with the facts revealed by science*: the efforts at reconciliation . . . are but different modes of obliterating its characteristic features, and of reading into it *a view which it does not express*' (*Westm. Com.* 'Genesis,' p. 26).

To form a correct estimate of the character and religious value of the first chapter of Genesis, it has to be borne in mind that speculative theories of the origin of the universe were an important element of all the

higher religions of antiquity. Many of these cosmogonies (as they are called) are known to us; and amidst all the diversity of representation which characterizes them, we cannot fail to detect certain underlying affinities which suggest a common source, either in the natural tendencies of early thought, or in some dominant type of cosmological tradition. That the Hebrew cosmogony is influenced by such a tradition is proved by its striking likeness to the Babylonian story of creation as contained in cuneiform tablets from Ashurbanipal's library, first unearthed in 1872. From these Assyriologists have deciphered a highly coloured mythological epic, describing the origin of the world in the form of a conflict between Marduk, god of light and supreme deity of the pantheon of Babylon, and the power of Chaos personified as a female monster named *Tí'āmat* (Heb. *Tĕhōm*). Wide as is the difference between the polytheistic assumptions and fantastic imagery of the Babylonian narrative and the sober dignity and elevated monotheism of Genesis, there are yet coincidences in general outline and in detail which are too marked and too numerous to be ascribed to chance. In both we have the conception of chaos as a watery abyss, in both the separation of the waters into an upper and a lower ocean; the formation of the heavenly bodies and their function in regulating time are described with remarkable similarity; special prominence is given to the creation of man; and it may be added that, while the *order* of creation differs in the two documents, yet the separate works themselves are practically identical. In view of this pervading parallelism, it is clear that the Hebrew and Babylonian cosmogonies are very closely related; and the only question open to discussion is which of them represents more faithfully the primary tradition on which each is based. Looking, however, to the vastly higher antiquity of the Babylonian narrative, to its conformity (even in points which affect the Biblical record) to the climatic conditions of the Euphrates Valley, and to the general indebtedness of Israel to the civilization of Babylon, it cannot reasonably be doubted that the Hebrew narrative is dependent on Babylonian models; though it is of course not certain that the particular version preserved in the tablets referred to is the exact original by which the Biblical writers were influenced.

From this point of view we are able to state the significance of the Scripture account of creation in a way which does justice at once to its unrivalled religious value and to its lack of scientific corroboration. The *material* is derived from some form of the Babylonian cosmogony, and shares the imperfection and error incident to all pre-scientific speculation regarding the past history of the world. The Scripture writers make no pretension to supernatural illumination on matters which it is the province of physical investigation to ascertain. Their *theology*, on the other hand, is the product of a revelation which placed them far in advance of their heathen contemporaries, and imparted to all their thinking a sanity of imagination and a sublimity of conception that instinctively rejected the grosser features of paganism, and transformed what was retained into a vehicle of Divine truth. Thus the cosmogony became a classical expression of the monotheistic principle of the OT, which is here embodied in a detailed description of the genesis of the universe that lays hold of the mind as no abstract statement of the principle could do. In opposition to the heathen theogonies, the world is affirmed to have been *created, i.e.* to have originated in the will of God, whose Personality transcends the universe and exists independently of it. The spirituality of the First Cause of all things, and His absolute sovereignty over the material He employs, are further emphasized in the idea of the word of God as the agency through which the various orders of existence were produced; and the repeated assertion that the world in all its parts was 'good,' and as a whole 'very good,' suggests that it perfectly reflected the Divine thought which called it into being. When to these doctrines we add the view of man, as made in the likeness of God, and marked out as the crown and goal of creation, we have a body of spiritual truth which distinguishes the cosmogony of Gn 1 from all similar compositions, and entitles it to rank amongst the most important documents of revealed religion.

JOHN SKINNER.

CREATURE.—In AV 'creature' is used in the general (and original) sense of 'what is created.' Thus 2 Co 5^{17} 'if any man be in Christ, he is a new creature'; 1 Ti 4^{4} 'for every creature of God is good.' In Ro $8^{19.\ 20.\ 21}$ it is not merely living creatures in the modern use of the word that wait for deliverance, but the whole creation of God (as AV itself has it in v.^{22}).

CREDITOR.—See DEBT.

CREED (or *Credo* [AS. *creda*], taken from the first word of the Latin confession of faith = Greek 'symbol' [*symbolon, symbolum*]).—An ecclesiastical (non-Biblical) term, signifying 'the faith' objectively and as explicitly declared, 'the articles of' Christian 'belief' drawn up in systematic and authoritative form. 'The Creeds' denote the three great historical Confessions of the early Church—'the Apostles',' the Nicene or Constantinopolitan (325, 381 A.D.), and the Athanasian (of Latin origin, 6th century); 'the Creed' commonly means the Apostles' Creed alone. This last can be traced, in its simplest form, to the 2nd century; see Lumby's *Hist. of the Creeds*, or Swete's *Apostles' Creed*. Shaped in their developed form by doctrinal controversy and Conciliar definition, the Creeds owe their origin to the necessities of worship and the instinct of public confession in the Church, felt at baptism to begin with. Christian believers formed the habit, when they met, of reciting their common faith, and this recitation assumed a fixed rhythmical form; so that the creed is akin to the hymn and the doxology. Its beginnings are visible in the NT—see Mt 16^{16} 28^{19}, Ro $10^{9.\ 10}$, 1 Co 8^{6} 12^{3} (RV), Eph 4^{4-6}, 1 Ti 3^{16}, 1 Jn 4^{2}; and further back, for the OT and the Synagogue, in the *Shema* of Dt 6^{4}.

G. G. FINDLAY.

CREEPING THINGS.—In the EV this term is the tr. of two distinct words, which have no etymological connexion, and in usage are not synonymous. The Hebrew words are *remes* and *sherets*. It is unfortunate that the latter term is tr. 'creeping thing,' for the root means to *swarm*. It includes both terrestrial and aquatic animals which appear in great swarms; in Gn 1^{20} it refers to the creatures that teem in the waters, while in other passages it includes insects, as locusts, crickets, and grasshoppers (Lv 11^{20-23}), together with the smaller quadrupeds as the weasel and mouse, as well as reptiles proper (Lv 11^{29-31}). The verb is used of frogs (Ex 8^{3}). Etymologically *remes* signifies that which *glides* or *creeps*, and for its usage the two crucial passages are Gn 1^{24} and 1 K 4^{33}. In the latter the entire animal kingdom is popularly divided into four classes: beasts, birds, creeping things, and fishes (cf. Hos 2^{18}). In Gn 1^{24} the land animals are put into three groups: cattle, creeping things, and beasts of the earth. By eliminating the first and third classes, which respectively include domesticated quadrupeds, and the wild animals, we see that the expression 'creeping things' is, roughly speaking, equivalent to our term 'reptiles,' exclusive of those which are aquatic. Delitzsch defines *remes* as 'the smaller creeping animals that keep close to the earth'; Dillmann as creatures 'which move along the ground either without feet or with imperceptible feet.' From this discussion it is evident that the two are not interchangeable terms. *Remes* has also a wider signification: in Ps 104^{25} it is used of marine animals, in Gn 9^{3} (EV 'moving thing') it includes all living creatures. See, further, the careful discussion by Professor Driver in Hastings' *DB* i. 517 f.

JAMES A. KELSO.

CRESCENS.—A companion of St. Paul in his final imprisonment, sent by him to Galatia (2 Ti 4^{10}), *i.e.* either to Asiatic Galatia, or possibly to Gaul. A late Western tradition treats him as the founder of the Churches of Vienne and of Mayence. His memory is honoured in the Roman Martyrology on June 27, in the Greek Menologion on May 30, and there he is treated as one of the seventy disciples, and a bishop of Chalcedon.

CRESCENTS.—See AMULETS, § 4, and ORNAMENTS, § 3.

CRETE, CRETANS.—Crete, the modern *Candia*, is an island 60 miles S. of Greece proper, about 150 miles long, and varying in breadth from 30 to 7 miles, with mountains as high as 7000 feet. It is about equidistant from Europe, Asia, and Africa, and was inhabited from the earliest times of which we have any knowledge. The researches of Mr. Arthur J. Evans and others have revealed traces of a very ancient civilization, including an alphabet hitherto unknown. In historical times it was famed for its archers, who were valued in the armies of Europe. It was conquered by Rome in B.C. 67, and became, in conjunction with the district Cyrenaica on the N. of Africa, a Roman senatorial province, governed by a proconsul. Jews were early to be found there, and were very numerous. Some were present at Pentecost in the year of the crucifixion (Ac 2^{11}). St. Paul's ship, on the voyage to Rome, sailed along the Cretan coast close in (Ac 27^{7}), and came to Fair Havens near Lasea. These places were on the S. coast, which had few harbours.

The epithets which a native of the island, the poet Epimenides (flourished B.C. 600), flung at the Cretans, are quoted in a somewhat un-apostolic manner in the Epistle to Titus (1^{12}). Epimenides styled them 'always liars, evil beasts of prey, lazy gluttons.' Such vituperation, though countenanced by others also, must not be taken too seriously. The ancients were much given to it, and it probably reveals as much of the natures of the persons who used it as of those to whom it was applied. Greeks in general are not, and were not, famous for truthfulness, for instance. When and by whom Christianity was planted in Crete cannot be said. It is probable that it was well established there in the 1st century. In the Epistle to Titus we find Titus introduced as having been left by St. Paul in charge of the churches. A. SOUTER.

CRIB is the modern **manger** (Lk 2^{7}), which contained the fodder for oxen (Pr 14^{4}), asses (Is 1^{3}), and doubtless other live stock as well.

CRICKET.—Lv 11^{22} (AV 'beetle'). See LOCUST.

CRIME.—In 1611 the word 'crime' had not lost its early meaning of *accusation*, whence Ac 25^{16} 'the crime laid against him' (RV 'matter,' but in Ac 23^{29} the same Gr. word is translated 'charge' in both AV and RV). It is possible, that in Job 31^{11} 'crime' is used in the more modern sense; elsewhere it means 'charge.'

CRIMES AND PUNISHMENTS.—The term 'crimes' is here used loosely in the sense of punishable offences, including not merely crimes (*crimina*) in the sense of breaches of the criminal law in the modern sense, and torts (*delicta*) or breaches of the civil law, but also those offences in the sphere of religion and worship to which definite penalties were attached. Within the limits of this article it is possible to present only a summary of the more important and typical punishable offences recognized in the various Hebrew law-codes. The latter, indicated by the usual symbols, are: (1) BC, the oldest code, known as the Book of the Covenant, Ex 20^{22}–23^{33}, with which for convenience sake is joined the Decalogue of Ex $20^{2\text{-}17}$; (2) D, the Deuteronomic Code, Dt 12–28; (3) H, the Holiness Code, Lv 17–26; and (4) P, the great collection of laws known as the Priests' Code, and comprising the rest of the legislative material of the Pentateuch. In the case of P alone will it be necessary to name the books (Ex., Lv., or Nu.) to which reference is made.

The penal offences of the Pentateuch may be conveniently grouped under the three heads of crimes against J″, against society (including property), and against the individual.

1. A. CRIMES AGAINST J″, or offences in the sphere of religion and worship.—Although it is true that misdemeanours of every kind were in the last resort offences against J″, who was regarded as the only fountain of law and justice, it will be convenient to group under this head those belonging to the special sphere of religious belief and its outward expression in worship. Among these the first place must be given to the **worship of heathen deities**—condemned in the strongest terms in BC (from 20^{3} onwards) and D—and of **the heavenly bodies**, D 17^{3} (cf. 4^{19}). The penalty is death under the ban (BC 22^{20}, D $13^{12ff.}$ [see BAN]), or by stoning (D 17^{5}). Inseparable from this form of apostasy is the crime of **idolatry**, entailing the curse of God (D 27^{15}). **Blasphemy**, or profanation of the Divine name, is forbidden in all the codes; the penalty is death by stoning (H $24^{13ff.}$). The **practice of magic**, wizardry, and similar black arts, exposes their adepts and those who resort to them to the same penalty (H 20^{27}).

2. The punishment for doing 'any **work on the Sabbath day**' is death, but only in the later legislation (Ex 31^{15} [probably H] 35^{2} [P]; cf. the very late Haggadic section, Nu $15^{32ff.}$). For neglect of ordinances, to use a familiar phrase, such as **failing to observe the fast** of the Day of Atonement (H 23^{29}), or to keep the Passover (Nu 9^{13} [P], an offender was liable to be 'cut off from his people'; see below). This was also the punishment prescribed for a number of offences that may be grouped under the head of **sacrilege**, such as partaking of blood (Lv 7^{27} [P]), and the unauthorized manufacture and use of the holy anointing oil (Ex $30^{22f.}$ [P]).

3. B. CRIMES AGAINST SOCIETY.—As the family, according to Hebrew ideas, was the unit of society, the crimes that mar the sanctities of family life may be taken first. Such pre-eminently was **adultery**, severely condemned in all the codes, the punishment for both parties being death (D 22^{22}, H 20^{10}). In a case of **seduction** the man was required to marry her whom he had wronged, if her father gave consent (BC $22^{16f.}$), paying the latter a 'dowry,' *i.e.* the usual purchase price (see MARRIAGE), estimated in D 22^{29} at 50 shekels of silver. On the other hand, the penalty for **rape**, if the victim was betrothed, was death (D $22^{25ff.}$), as it was for unnatural crimes like **sodomy** (H 18^{22} 20^{13} 'thou shalt not lie with mankind as with womankind') and **bestiality** (BC 22^{19}, H $20^{15f.}$). The **marriage of near kin** is forbidden in H $18^{6\text{-}18}$ under seventeen heads (see MARRIAGE). **Incest** with a step-mother or a daughter-in-law was punishable by the death of both parties (H $20^{11f.}$), while for a man to marry 'a wife and her mother' was a crime that could be expiated only by the death of all three, and that, as many hold (see below), by being burnt alive (*ib.* v.^{14}). Ordinary **prostitution** is condemned by H 19^{29} (cf. D 22^{21})—for a priest's daughter the punishment was even death by burning (21^{9})—while the wide-spread heathen practice of establishing religious prostitutes, male and female, at the local sanctuaries is specially reprobated in D $23^{17f.}$, where the male prostitute is to be recognized under the inexact term 'sodomite,' and the contemptuous 'dog.'

4. To carry **disrespect for** one's **parents** to the extent of smiting (BC 21^{15}), or cursing them (BC 21^{17}, H 20^{9}), or even of showing persistent contumacy (D $21^{18ff.}$), entailed the extreme penalty of death at the hands of the local authorities.

5. Everything that would tend to impair the impartial and effective administration of justice is emphatically condemned in the Hebrew codes, the giving and receiving of **bribes**, in particular, being forbidden

even in the oldest legislation (BC 23[8] 'for a gift blindeth them that have sight'). Against those who would defeat the ends of justice by **perjury** and **false witness**, the law is rightly severe (D 19[15ff.]). **Tale-bearing** (H 19[16]), and the spreading of a report known to be false (BC 23[1]), are condemned, while in the more heinous case of a man **slandering** his newly-wedded wife, the elders of the city are to amerce him in an hundred shekels (D 22[13-21]).

6. Property had also to be protected against **theft** (BC 20[15]) and **burglary** (22[2]), with which may be classed the crime of **removing the boundary-stones** of a neighbour's property to increase one's own (D 19[14]), and the use of **false weights and measures** (D 25[15ff.], H 19[35ff.]). The earliest code likewise deals with **trespass** (BC 22[5]), and **arson** or wilful fire-raising (*ib.* v.[6]), for which the penalty in either case was restitution.

7. C. CRIMES AGAINST THE INDIVIDUAL.—BC 21[15-28] deals with various forms of **assault**, a crime to which the pre-Mosaic *jus talionis* (see below) was specially applicable. **Kidnapping** a freeman was a criminal offence involving the death penalty (BC 21[16], D 24[17]). **Murder** naturally has a place in the penal legislation of all the codes from BC 20[13] onwards. The legislators, as is well known, were careful to distinguish between murder deliberately planned and executed (BC 21[14], D 19[11f.]) and unpremeditated **homicide** or **manslaughter** (BC 21[13], D 19[4ff.], and esp. P, Nu 35[9ff.]). The former, with certain exceptions (BC 21[20] 22[2]), entailed capital punishment in accordance with the fundamental principle laid down in Gn 9[6]; in the case of 'the man-slayer' special provision was made for the mitigation of the ancient right of blood revenge (see REFUGE [CITIES OF]).

8. PUNISHMENTS.—From the earliest period of which we have any record two forms of punishment prevailed among the Hebrews and their Semitic kinsfolk, viz. retaliation and restitution. **Retaliation,** the *jus talionis* of Roman law, received its classical expression in the oldest Hebrew code: 'thou shalt give life for life, eye for eye, tooth for tooth, hand for hand, foot for foot, burning for burning, wound for wound, stripe for stripe' (BC 21[23f.]). The *talio*, as has already been mentioned, was specially applicable in cases of injury from assault. When life had been taken, whether intentionally or unintentionally, the right of enforcing the *jus talionis* lay with the dead man's next of kin (see KIN [NEXT OF]).

In BC **restitution** varies from fivefold for an ox, and fourfold for a sheep that has been stolen and thereafter killed or sold, to twofold if the animal is still in the thief's possession (BC 22[1-4]), and finally to a simple equivalent in the case of wilful damage to a neighbour's property (*ib.* v.[5f.]). **Compensation** by a money payment was admitted for loss of time through bodily injury (BC 21[19]), for loss of property (vv.[33-35]), but not, in Hebrew law, for loss of life, except in the cases mentioned BC 21[30]. The payments of 100 shekels and 50 shekels respectively ordained in D 22[19. 29] appear to the modern eye as **fines**, but fall in reality under the head of compensation paid to the father of the women in question.

9. In the penal code of the Hebrews there is a comparative lack of what may be termed intermediate penalties. **Imprisonment,** for example, has no place in the Pentateuch codes as an authorized form of punishment, although frequent cases occur in later times and apparently with legal sanction (see Ezr 7[26]). The use of the **stocks** also was known to the Jewish (Jer 20[2f.]) as well as to the Roman authorities (Ac 16[24]). **Beating** with rods and **scourging** with the lash were also practised. The former seems intended in D 25[1ff.], but later Jewish practice substituted a lash of three thongs, thirteen strokes of which were administered (cf. 2 Co 11[24]). Many, however, would identify the punishment of this passage of D with the favourite Egyptian punishment of the bastinado. **Mutilation,** apart from the *talio*, appears only as the penalty for indecent assault (D 25[11f.]).

10. The regular form of capital punishment was death by **stoning**, which is prescribed in the Pentateuch as the penalty for eighteen different crimes, including Sabbath-breaking. 'For only one crime—murder—is it the penalty in all the codes.' The execution of the criminal took place outside the city (H 24[14]), and according to D 17[7] the witnesses in the case cast the first stone (cf. Jn 8[7]). In certain cases the dead body of the malefactor was **impaled** upon a stake; this, it can hardly be doubted, is the true rendering of D 21[22f.] (AV 'hang him on a tree'), and of the same expression elsewhere. **Hanging** or strangulation is mentioned only as a manner of suicide (2 S 17[23], Mt 27[5]). **Crucifixion,** it need hardly be said, was a Roman, not a Jewish, institution. **Beheading** appears in Mt 14[10]‖, Ac 12[2], Rev 20[4].

11. The meaning of the expression frequently found in P, 'to be cut off from his people, from Israel,' etc., is uncertain; most probably it denotes a form of **excommunication,** with the implication that the offender is handed over to the judgment of God, which also seems to be intended by the **banishment** of Ezr 7[26] (note margin). A similar division of opinion exists as to the penalty of **burning,** which is reserved for aggravated cases of prostitution (H 21[9]) and incest (20[19]). Here the probability seems in favour of the guilty parties being burned alive (cf. Gn 38[24]), although many scholars hold that they were first stoned to death. The most extreme form of punishment known to the codes, in that a whole community was involved, is that of total destruction under **the ban** of the first degree (see BAN) prescribed for the crime of apostasy (BC 22[20], more fully D 13[15-17]).

A. R. S. KENNEDY.

CRIMSON.—The word *tōlā'*, tr. in Is 1[18] 'crimson' and in La 4[5] **'scarlet,'** is usually tr. **'worm'** (wh. see), exactly as the Arab. *dūdeh*, the common word for 'worm,' is to-day also used in Palestine for the imported cochineal insect. The Palestine insect is the female *Coccus ilicis* of the same Natural Order as the American *C. cacti*; it feeds on the holm-oak.

E. W. G. MASTERMAN.

CRISPING PINS.—Is 3[22] AV; RV **satchel** (see BAG).

CRISPUS.—The chief ruler of the Jewish synagogue at Corinth (Ac 18[8]). Convinced by the reasonings of St. Paul that Jesus was the Messiah, he believed with all his house. The Apostle mentions him (1 Co 1[14]) as one of the few persons whom he himself had baptized.

CRITICISM.—Biblical criticism is divided into two branches: (1) *Lower Criticism*, which is concerned with the original text of Scripture—the Hebrew of the OT and the Greek of the NT, by reference to (*a*) the external evidence of MSS, versions, and citations in ancient literature, and (*b*) the intrinsic evidence of the inherent probability of one reading as compared with a rival reading, judged by such rules as that preference should be given to the more difficult reading, the shorter reading, the most characteristic reading, and the reading which accounts for the alternative readings (see TEXT OF THE NT); (2) *Higher Criticism*, which is concerned with the authorship, dates, and circumstances of origin, doctrinal character and tendency, historicity, and other such questions concerning the books of Scripture, as far as these matters can be determined by a careful examination of their contents, comparing the various sections of each one with another, or comparing the books in their entirety with one another, and bringing all possible light to bear upon them from history, literature, antiquities, monuments, etc.

The title of the second branch of criticism is often misunderstood in popular usage. The Lower Criticism being little heard of except among experts, while the Higher Criticism is often mentioned in public, the true comparison suggested is not perceived, and the latter phrase is taken to indicate a certain arrogance on the part of advanced critics, and contempt for the older scholarship. Then the

word 'criticism' is also taken in its popular sense as implying captiousness and faultfinding. Further, the most startling, and therefore the most generally observed, results of criticism being destructive of preconceived notions, criticism itself has been regarded as a negative process, and even as an attack on the Bible It is not to be denied that there are Higher Critics whose arguments may be construed in this way; but these are a minority, and there are also Higher Critics who are not only loyal to the Divine revelation in Scripture, but whose work may be described as largely constructive. Higher criticism itself is neutral; it has no bias; it is a scientific process. The champions of accepted views are compelled to use this process when arguing with scholars who take up positions with which they disagree. But, strictly speaking, it is not a controversial weapon. It is a powerful instrument for ascertaining facts about the history of the Bible. Seeing, however, that a certain amount of odium has been attached to the title—however unwarrantably—perhaps it would be better to substitute a phrase less liable to misinterpretation—such as the expression 'Historical method.' For in point of fact it is in the application of this method, which has been found so fruitful in other regions of study, to the Bible, that the actual work of the Higher Criticism is carried on. The several parts of Scripture are viewed in their places in the total development of the literature to which they belong, with regard to the spirit of the times in which they were produced, and as themselves throwing light on the problem of their own origin and purpose. In place of the external evidence of testimony conjoined to mere tradition, attention is now given more carefully to the internal evidence of literary and doctrinal characteristics.

Traces of the 'Higher' Criticism are to be discovered among the Fathers, *e.g.* in Origen with his discussion of the authorship of Hebrews, in Dionysius of Alexandria's critical objections to the ascription of the Revelation to the author of the Fourth Gospel, etc. It was revived at the Renaissance by Reuchlin and Erasmus, and it was fearlessly pursued by Martin Luther. But the scientific development of the method begins with Michaelis (1750) and Semler (1771), especially the latter, for Michaelis did not fully develop his critical views till he issued the 4th ed. of his *Introduction to the NT* (1788). Eichhorn went further in raising a criticism of the NT Canon (1804), and was opposed by Hug, a Roman Catholic writer, in a very scholarly work. A little later came de Wette (1826), who pursued the new critical method with moderation and great precision of scholarship. Credner followed on similar lines (1836). Meanwhile Guericke, Olshausen, and Neander opposed the contemporary trend of criticism. A new departure was taken by Ferdinand Christian Baur in 1831, who introduced the 'tendency' criticism, the result of which has come to be known as the 'Tübingen hypothesis,' according to which there was a sharp division in the early Church between St. Paul and the twelve Apostles, and which regarded the several NT books as in some cases inspired by the tendency of one or other of these parties, and as in other cases written with a view to effect a reconciliation between them in the interest of a subsequent Catholic unity. Zeller (1842) and Schwegler (1846) followed on the same lines. A little later (1850) one of Baur's disciples, Albrecht Ritschl, threw a bombshell into the Tübingen camp by starting from the same position as his master, but advancing to very different conclusions. The Tübingen hypothesis was advocated in England by S. Davidson; but its extreme positions have been given up by most scholars, although it had a later representative in Hilgenfeld, and its spirit has been continued in Pfleiderer.

Meanwhile new problems have emerged, represented in a free critical manner by the Holtzmanns, Weizsäcker, Wernle, etc., while the Ritschlian school has been brought down to recent times in Harnack, Jülicher, etc. A line of negative criticism, first seen in Bruno Bauer (1850), who gave up all historicity in the Gospels, and denied the genuineness of any of St. Paul's Epistles, was revived during the latter part of the 19th cent. in Holland, by Loman and Steck. Schmiedel took up an extreme negative position with regard to the Gospels, but he has since modified it, and Van Manen has argued against the genuineness of all St. Paul's Epistles. In the second half of the last cent. the historicity of the Gospels and the genuineness of all the Pauline Epistles were maintained by Lightfoot, Westcott, Hort, and others in the first rank of scholarship. Zahn, with great learning, argues for a conservative position, and the tendency of the mediating school represented by Harnack and Jülicher is to admit the genuineness of much the greater part of the NT, the exceptions with this school being especially Eph., 2 Thess., the Pastorals, 1 and 2 Peter, James. There is a tendency to connect the Fourth Gospel more closely with St. John, even among those who do not attribute it immediately to the pen of the Apostle.

Criticism came later into contact with the OT; but here it has been much more revolutionary, and not only extremists but nearly all scholars of eminence have now come to agreement with regard to the main points of the new position. It may be said to have commenced with Lessing and Herder in their literary treatment of Scripture; but this did not seriously affect the historical position. That was first attacked on modern critical lines by Vatke early in the 19th cent., but his work met with universal disapproval, due in a great measure to its difficult Hegelianism. We come to more intelligible positions in Ewald, the first edition of whose *History of Israel* appeared in 1843–52, and contained criticism of authorities, four of which he distinguished in the Pentateuch. Then K. H. Graf (1866), following hints of Reuss, dropped in the lecture-room, but never published by that cautious scholar, put forth the hypothesis which became the basis of the subsequently developed theory of the early history of Israel, and thus gave rise to the phrase 'the Grafian hypothesis,' according to which the Priestly legislation of the Pentateuch came later than Deuteronomy, and was only incorporated with the earlier work of the Deuteronomist after the Exile. Meanwhile Colenso was working at the historical difficulties of the Pentateuch, and he was followed by Kuenen, whose *Religion of Israel* (1869–70) drew attention to the great 8th cent. prophets as affording the true basis of that religion, rather than the Pentateuch which is later in date, and the references of which to earlier times can be best appreciated after a study of the prophets. This study of the prophets, as the key to the OT, was greatly promoted in England by Robertson Smith, who also introduced the newer views of the OT generally to English readers. Wellhausen's *History of Israel* (1878) worked out a view of the early history, on the basis of the analysis of the documents along the lines laid down by Graf, with such clearness and force that his positions have come to be accepted by most OT scholars, especially as they were subsequently more fully developed (1884). Reuss, after keeping silence on the subject for half a century, published his own views on the OT (1879), and these also tended to confirm the Grafian theory. Even Franz Delitzsch, after long maintaining a conservative standpoint, moved at last a good way towards the accepted theory, and thus proved his openness of mind and loyalty to truth. Less radical positions than that of Kuenen and Wellhausen have been defended by Dillmann, Schrader, Nöldeke, Strack, Ryssel, Kittel. On the other hand, we see in Duhm, among the more recent critics, an advance of disintegrating criticism, especially with regard to the prophets; and a quite unique attitude is taken up by Cheyne. But English scholars are more in agreement with the views of Driver and G. Adam Smith, who accept the main positions of Wellhausen and assign a primary place to the prophets as the chief exponents of the higher religion of Israel, in which the world possesses a genuine revelation of the mind and will of God of the highest value for all ages.

W. F. Adeney.

CROCODILE.—(1) *livyāthān*, Ps 74^{14}, Is 27^{1}, Job $41^{1ff.}$. The last reference is almost certainly to the crocodile,

which is adopted in RVm. See LEVIATHAN. (2) *hayyath qāneh*, 'the wild beast of the reeds,' Ps 68[30] RV, is thought by many to be the crocodile or the hippopotamus as symbolizing Egypt. (3) In Jer 14[6] *tannīm* is in RVm 'crocodiles.' See DRAGON. For 'land crocodile' see LIZARD. The crocodile probably still exists in the *Nahr ez-Zerka*, S. of Mount Carmel, called by Pliny the Crocodile River. It is supposed to have been brought there by some Egyptian settlers. A dead crocodile was brought from there to the late Rev. J. Zeller of Nazareth. Herr Schumacher reports that he saw one there, and quite recently a number of crocodile's eggs were brought from this river and sold in Jerusalem. A stuffed specimen is in the *PEF* museum, London.

E. W. G. MASTERMAN.

CROSS.—The cross in its literal sense is dealt with under CRUCIFIXION, but there are certain spiritual uses of the word in the NT that call for separate consideration. (1) It is *a symbol of self-sacrifice.*—According to the Gospels, Jesus on at least three occasions affirmed the necessity for those who would follow Him of taking up the cross (Mt 10[38]; Mk 8[34] = Mt 16[24] = Lk 9[23]; [Mk 10[21] only in AV]; Lk 14[27]). The words imply a prophetic anticipation of His own experience on Calvary; but even although on Christ's earliest use of them this special application was hidden from His disciples (cf. Mt 16[21] 20[19]), the figure of bearing one's cross would convey a quite intelligible meaning. In Galilee multitudes had been crucified after the rebellion under Judas the Gaulonite (Jos. *Ant.* XVII. x. 10, *BJ* II. v. 2); in Jerusalem, as we see from the execution of two robbers side by side with Jesus, a crucifixion must have been an ordinary incident of the administration of Roman law. And as it was usual to compel a *cruciarius* to carry to the place of execution the transverse beam (*patibulum*) of his own cross, Christ's figure would have a meaning as plain as it was vivid. But, unlike the wretched *cruciarius*, His disciples of their own free will were to take up the cross and follow Him.

(2) It is *a thing of shame.*—The author of Hebrews tells us how Jesus 'endured the cross, despising shame' (12[2]). Both to the Roman and to the Jew the death of the cross was the most shameful death a man could die—to the former because reserved by Roman usage for slaves, foreigners, or desperate criminals; to the latter because it came under the curse denounced by the Jewish Law upon any one whose dead body hung upon a tree (Dt 21[23]; cf. Gal 3[13]). To Jew and Gentile alike this was the great 'stumbling-block of the cross' (Gal 5[11], 1 Co 1[23]). And even St. Paul himself regards 'the death of the cross' as the very lowest point in Christ's long pathway of humiliation (Ph 2[8]).

(3) There are certain theological uses of the word peculiar to the Pauline writings. St. Paul makes the cross *a summary of the gospel.* Thus for 'the preaching of the gospel' in 1 Co 1[17] he substitutes in v.[18] 'the word of the cross,' and in v.[23] 'the preaching of Christ crucified' (cf. 2[2]). Again in Gal 6[12] he speaks of suffering persecution 'for the cross of Christ,' where the meaning evidently is 'for the confession of faith in the Christian gospel.' And when he glories in 'the cross of our Lord Jesus Christ' (v.[14]), the cross is used, as the clauses following show, to epitomize the saving work of Jesus both *for* us and *in* us.

(4) Further, in the Pauline theology the cross is set forth as *the great instrument of reconciliation.* It is 'through the blood of his cross' that Christ has effected a reconciliation between God and man (Col 1[20ff.]). He took out of the way the bond written in ordinances that was against us, 'nailing it to the cross' (2[14]). It is 'through the cross' that He has reconciled the Gentile and the Jew, abolishing that 'law of commandments' which rose between them like a middle wall of partition (Eph 2[14-16]). And there are glimpses of a still wider reconciliation accomplished by Jesus through His cross—a reconciliation of all things unto God the Father, whether they be things upon the earth or things in the heavens (Col 1[20], cf. Eph 1[10]).

(5) Once more, the cross is to St. Paul *the symbol of a mystical union with Christ Himself.* In the great figure of the Gospels (Mt 10[38]||) cross-bearing stands for the imitation of Christ. St. Paul goes deeper, and sees in the cross a crucifixion with Christ from which there springs a possession of the indwelling life of Christ (Gal 2[20]). The old man is crucified (Ro 6[6]), that a new man may rise from the dead (cf. v.[4]). The flesh is crucified, with its passions and lusts (Gal 5[24]), that the Christian may live and walk by the Spirit (v.[25]). And yet this mysticism of the cross never causes the Apostle to lose sight of the cross as the means of an objective redemption. On the contrary, he regards the two ideas as inseparably connected; and, glorying in the cross of our Lord Jesus Christ, does so because through it (*a*) the world—the sphere of external ordinances—is crucified unto him; and (*b*) he himself is crucified unto the world (Gal 6[14]).

J. C. LAMBERT.

CROW occurs once in Apocr. (Bar 6[54]), where the helplessness of idols is illustrated by the remark that 'they are as crows between heaven and earth.' See also RAVEN.

CROWN.—1. In the OT.—The word represents several Heb. terms with distinct meanings. (1) *zēr*, properly an edge or border, with the suggestion of a twisted or wreathed appearance. It occurs only in Ex (25[11] and frequently). It is always of gold, and in the furniture of the Tabernacle surrounds the ark, the table of shew-bread and its border, the altar of incense. RVm gives as alternative renderings 'rim,' 'moulding.' Its purpose seems to have been ornamental merely. —(2) *nēzer*, properly 'mark of separation or consecration' (fr. *nāzar* 'to separate, consecrate'; whence *nāzir* = 'Nazirite'). Originally it was no more than a fillet to confine hair that was worn long (W. R. Smith, *RS*[2] p. 483). It is used of the crown set upon the forehead of the high priest (Ex 29[6] etc.)—a plate of pure gold with the engraving 'Holy to J"' (39[30], cf. Lv 8[9]), and also of the crown worn by Heb. kings (2 S 1[10], 2 K 11[12]). In both cases it was the symbol of consecration.—(3) *kether*, similar in meaning to (2) but without the idea of consecration, is used in Est. (1[11] 2[17] 6[8]) to denote the **diadem** of a Persian king or queen.—(4) *'atārah*, the word that is most frequent and of the most general significance. It is applied to the crown worn by kings, whether Jewish (2 S 12[30] etc.) or foreign (1 Ch 20[2], Est 8[15] [cf. 6[8]]), to the wreath worn at banquets (Is 28[1. 3], Ezk 23[42]); but also in a fig. sense, as when, *e.g.* a virtuous woman is called her husband's crown (Pr 12[4]), a hoary head the crown of old age (16[31]), the Lord of hosts the crown of His people (Is 28[5]).—(5) *qodhqōdh* is the crown or top of the head, as in the expression 'from the sole of his foot even unto his crown' (Job 2[7]); cf. Gn 49[26], Dt 33[20] etc.—The vb. 'to crown' is comparatively rare in the OT: *'ātar* (corresponding to (4) above) is found in Ps 8[5] 65[11] 103[4], Ca 3[11], Is 23[8]; *kathar* (corresp. to (3)) in Pr 14[18]; *nāzar* (corresponding to (2)) in Nah 3[17].

2. In the NT.—In AV 'crown' represents two Gr. words: (1) *stephanos* (whence *stephanoō*, 'to crown'), (2) *diadema*; the former being the badge of merit or victory, the latter (found only in Rev 12[3] 13[1] 19[12]) the mark of royalty. This distinction, though not strictly observed in LXX, is properly maintained in RV, where (2) is in each case rendered 'diadem.' The *stephanos* (properly 'wreath' = Lat. *corona*) was the **garland** given as a prize to the victors in the games (1 Co 9[25]; cf. 2 Ti 2[5]). It is the word applied to our Lord's 'crown of thorns' (Mt 27[29], Mk 15[17], Jn 19[2. 5]). It is used figuratively of the 'crown of righteousness' (2 Ti 4[8]), 'of life' (Ja 1[12], Rev 2[10]), 'of glory' (1 P 5[4]). St. Paul applies it to his converts as being his joy and reward (Ph 4[1] 1 Th 2[19]); and in Rev. it is

employed in various symbolical connexions (4[4. 10] 6[2] 9[7] 12[1] 14[14]).

J. C. LAMBERT.

CRUCIFIXION.—**1. Its nature.**—Crucifixion denotes a form of execution in which the condemned person was affixed in one way or another to a cross (Lat. *crux*) and there left to die. The Gr. term rendered 'cross' in the Eng. NT is *stauros* (*stauroō*='crucify'), which has a wider application than we ordinarily give to 'cross,' being used of a single stake or beam as well as of a cross composed of two beams. The crucifixion of living persons does not meet us on OT ground (unless it be in Ezr 6[11]; see RV), though death by hanging does (Est 7[10]. The *stauroō* of LXX here renders the Heb. *talah*='to hang'); but the hanging up of a dead body, especially on a tree, is familiar (Jos 10[26]; cf. 1 S 31[10], 2 S 4[12] 21[12]), and is sanctioned by the Law (Dt 21[22]), with the proviso that a body thus hung, as something accursed, must be removed and buried before nightfall (v.[23]). This enactment explains Jn 19[31], Gal 3[13], as well as the reff. in the NT to the cross as a tree (Ac 5[30] 10[39] 13[29], 1 P 2[24]).

2. Its origin and use.—The origin of crucifixion is traced to the Phœnicians, from whom it passed to many other nations, including both Greeks and Romans. Among the latter it was exceedingly common, but was confined almost exclusively to the punishment of slaves, foreigners, or criminals of the lowest class, being regarded as incompatible with the dignity of any Roman citizen (cf. Cic. *in Verr.* i. 5, v. 61, 66). This explains why, as tradition affirms, St. Paul was beheaded, while St. Peter and other Apostles, like the Master Himself, were put to death on the cross.

3. Forms of the cross.—The primitive form was the *crux simplex*—a single post set upright in the earth, to which the victim was fastened; or a sharp stake on which he was impaled. The Roman cross was more elaborate, consisting of two beams, which, however, might be put together in different ways. Three shapes are distinguished: (1) The *crux commissa* (T), shaped like a capital T, and commonly known as St. Anthony's cross; (2) the *crux immissa* (†), the form with which we are most familiar; (3) the *crux decussata* (X), shaped like the letter X, and known as St. Andrew's cross. Early Christian tradition affirms that it was on (2) that Jesus died (*e.g.* Iren. *Hær.* ii. 24, § 4; Justin, *Trypho*, 91); and this is confirmed by the statements of the Gospels as to the 'title' that was set above His head (Mt 27[37], Mk 15[26], Lk 23[38], Jn 19[19f.]).

4. Method and accompaniments of crucifixion.—These are very fully illustrated in the Gospel narratives of the death of Jesus, to which we shall now especially refer. Immediately after being condemned to the cross, a prisoner was brutally scourged. [In the case of Jesus the scourging appears to have taken place before His condemnation (Jn 19[1]), and to have been intended by Pilate as a compromise with the Jews between the death sentence and a verdict of acquittal (Lk 23[22]).] The cross-beam (*patibulum*), not the whole cross, was then laid on his shoulders, and borne by him to the place of execution, while his *titulus* (Jn 19[19f.], Gr. *titlos*, Eng. 'title') or tablet of accusation hung around his neck, or was carried before him by a herald. If it was only the *patibulum* that Jesus carried, the probable failure of His strength by the way, leading to the incident of Simon the Cyrenian (Mt 27[32]‖), must be attributed not to the weight of His burden, but to sheer physical exhaustion aggravated by loss of blood through scourging, as well as to the anguish that pressed upon His soul.

Arrived at the place of execution, which both with the Romans and the Jews was outside of the city (see art. GOLGOTHA), the condemned was stripped of his clothing by the soldiers detailed to carry out the sentence, who immediately appropriated it as their lawful booty (Mt 27[35]‖). He was then laid on the ground, the cross-beam was thrust beneath his shoulders, and his hands were fastened to the extremities, sometimes with cords, but more usually, as in the case of Jesus (Jn 20[25], Lk 24[39f.]; cf. Col 2[14]), with nails. The beam was next raised into position and securely fixed to the upright already planted in the ground. On the upright was a projecting peg (*sedile*) astride of which the victim was made to sit, thereby relieving the strain on the pierced hands, which might otherwise have been torn away from the nails. Finally the feet were fastened to the lower part of the upright, either with nails (Lk 24[39f.]) or with cords.

The cross was not a lofty erection—much lower than it is usually represented in Christian art (cf. Mt 27[48]‖). Hanging thus quite near the ground, Jesus, in the midst of His last agonies, was all the more exposed to the jeers and insults of the bystanders and passers-by. It was a custom in Jerusalem to provide some alleviation for the physical tortures and mental sufferings of the crucified by giving him a stupefying draught. This was offered to Jesus before He was nailed to the cross; but He refused to take it (Mt 27[34]). He would drink every drop of the cup that His Father had given Him, and go on to death with an unclouded consciousness. But for this we could hardly have had those 'Seven Words from the Cross' which come to us like the glorious rays that shoot from a sun sinking in awful splendour.

In crucifixion the pains of death were protracted long—sometimes for days. Even when the victims were nailed and not merely tied to the cross, it was hunger and exhaustion, not loss of blood, that was the direct cause of death. Sometimes an end was put to their sufferings by the *crurifragium*—the breaking of their legs by hammer-strokes. It is not likely that in ordinary circumstances the Jews would induce a Roman governor to pay any attention to the law of Dt 21[22f.]. But, as the day following our Lord's crucifixion was not only a Sabbath, but the Sabbath of Passover week, Pilate was persuaded to give orders that Jesus and the two robbers crucified along with Him should be despatched by the *crurifragium* and their bodies removed (Jn 19[31]). The soldiers broke the legs of the robbers first, but when they came to Jesus they found that He was already dead. One of them, either in sheer brutality or to make sure of His death, ran a spear into His side. The blood and water that gushed out (Jn 19[34], cf. 1 Jn 5[6. 8]) have been held by some medical authorities to justify the opinion that the Saviour died of a broken heart. His death being certified, Joseph of Arimathæa, who had begged the body from Pilate, removed it from the cross and laid it in his own sepulchre (Mt 27[57ff.]‖).

J. C. LAMBERT.

CRUELTY.—The word 'cruelty' has nearly disappeared from our Bibles. The RV has introduced 'rigour' and 'violence' in its stead. However, many instances of cruelty remain in the OT records, and some of these seem to have the sanction of Scripture. Such passages as Dt 20[17], Jos 6[21], 2 S 12[31] no longer trouble the devout student of the Bible as they once did. He now recognizes the fact that in the Bible we have a faithful record of the slow evolution of spiritual ideals, and that the revelation of the NT brands as un-Christian and inhuman many things that were written by the ancient scribes and some things that were done by ancient saints. The spirit of Elijah may not be the spirit of Christ (Lk 9[55]). Cruelty is un-Christian; kindness is the law of the Christian life.

D. A. HAYES.

CRUSE.—See HOUSE, § 9.

CRYSTAL.—See JEWELS AND PRECIOUS STONES.

CUB in Ezk 30[5] is almost certainly a corruption of *Lub* (*i.e.* Lybia), as was read by LXX. The 'Libya' of AV is a mistranslation of Put (see RV). Cf. Nah 3[9], where Lybians are mentioned along with Cush (Ethiopia), Egypt, and Put, as here; also 2 Ch 12[3] 16[8].

CUBIT.—See Weights and Measures.

CUCKOW (*shachaph*, Lv 11[16], Dt 14[15], RV 'seamew,' following LXX).—Although cuckoos are common in Palestine, and their voices may be heard all over the land in the spring, yet there is good reason for rejecting this translation. The Heb. root implies 'leanness,' and the 'unclean' bird referred to must have been some kind of gull. E. W. G. Masterman.

CUCUMBERS.—Two varieties of cucumber are very common in Palestine. The *Cucumis sativus* (Arab. *khyār*), a smooth-skinned, whitish cucumber of delicate flavour, is a prime favourite with the Arabs. It is cool and juicy, but for cultivation requires abundant water. The second (*C. chate*, Arab. [in Jerusalem] *faqqūs*, [in Syria] *qiththā*) is a long slender cucumber, less juicy than the former. The reference in Nu 11[5] is probably to the latter, which is an Egyptian plant. The **'lodge** in a garden of cucumbers' (Is 1[8]) is the rough booth erected by the owner, raised, as a rule, high upon poles, from which he may keep guard over his ripening vegetables. When the harvest is over, the 'lodge' is not taken down but is allowed to drop to pieces. It is a dreary ruin of poles and dried branches during more than half the year. E. W. G. Masterman.

CUMI.—See Talitha Cumi.

CUMMIN.—The seed of an umbelliferous plant, the *Cuminum cyminum* (*syriacum*), widely cultivated in and around Palestine. It is used to flavour dishes, and, more particularly, bread; in flavour and appearance it resembles carraway; it has long been credited with medicinal properties; it certainly is a carminative. It is even now beaten out with rods (Is 28[27]). Tithes of cummin were paid by the Jews (Mt 23[23]).
E. W. G. Masterman.

CUN.—See Berothah.

CUNNING.—As a subst. 'cunning' in AV means either *skill* or *knowledge*; as an adj. either *skilful* or *wise* (we cannot say *knowing*, for that adj. has also degenerated). It is the pres. participle of the Anglo-Sax. verb *cunnan*, which meant both 'to know' and 'to be able.' In the Preface to the Wyclifite version of 1388 we read of 'the Holy Spyrit, author of all wisdom and cunnynge and truth.'

CUP.—**1.** In OT the rendering of various words, the precise distinction between which, either as to form or use, is unknown to us. The usual word is *kōs*, the ordinary drinking-vessel of rich (Gn 40[11. 13. 21]) and poor (2 S 12[3]) alike, the material of which varied, no doubt, with the rank and wealth of the owner. Joseph's divining cup (*gābhīa'*, Gn 44[2ff.]) was of silver, and, we may infer, of elaborate workmanship, since the same word is used for the **bowls** (AV) or cups (RV), *i.e.* the flower-shaped ornamentation, on the candlestick of the Tabernacle. That the *gābhīa'* was larger than the *kōs* is clear from Jer 35[5]. The *kĕsāvōth* of 1 Ch 28[17] were more probably **flagons**, as RV in Ex 25[29] 37[16] (but Nu 4[7] RV 'cups'). The *'aggān* (Is 22[24]) was rather a **basin**, as Ex 24[6], than a cup (EV).

In NT *potērion* is the corresponding name of the ordinary drinking-cup (water Mt 10[42] etc., wine 23[25] etc.). The 'cup of blessing' (1 Co 10[16]) is so named from the *kōs habberākhah* of the Jewish Passover (wh. see, also Eucharist).

2. The word 'cup' has received an extended figurative application in both OT and NT. (*a*) As in various other literatures, 'cup' stands, esp. in Psalms, for the happy fortune or experience of one's earthly lot, mankind being thought of as receiving this lot from the hand of God, as the guest receives the wine-cup from the hand of his host (Ps 16[5] 23[5] 73[10] etc.). But also, conversely, for the bitter lot of the wicked, Ps 11[6] (cf (*c*) below), and in particular for the sufferings of Jesus Christ, Mt 20[22. 23], Mk 10[38. 39] 14[36], Lk 22[42], Jn 18[11]. (*b*) Another figure is the 'cup of salvation' (lit. 'of deliverances'), Ps 116[13]. The reference is to the wine of the thank-offerings, part of the ritual of which was the festal meal before J" (cf. vv.[14a. 17ff.]). (*c*) By a still bolder figure the punitive wrath of the offended Deity is spoken of as a cup which the guilty, Israelites and heathen alike, must drain to the dregs. So Jer 25[15ff.] (the wine-cup [of] fury), Ezk 23[32-34], Is 51[17ff.] ('the cup of trembling,' RV 'staggering'), Zec 12[2] (RV 'cup of reeling'), Ps 75[8], Rev 14[10] 16[19] 18[6], for all which see the commentaries. (*d*) Lastly, we have 'the cup of consolation' offered to the mourners after the funeral-rites, Jer 16[7] (cf. Pr 31[6]).

CUPBEARER.—An officer of considerable importance at Oriental courts, whose duty it was to serve the wine at the table of the king. The first mention of this officer is in the story of Joseph (Gn 40[1-15]), where the term rendered **butler** in EV is the Heb. word which is rendered in other passages 'cupbearer.' The holder of this office was brought into confidential relations with the king, and must have been thoroughly trustworthy, as part of his duty was to guard against poison in the king's cup. In some cases he was required to taste the wine before presenting it. The position of Nehemiah as cupbearer to Artaxerxes Longimanus was evidently high. Herodotus (iii. 34) speaks of the office at the court of Cambyses, king of Persia, as 'an honour of no small account,' and the narrative of Nehemiah shows the high esteem of the king, who is so solicitous for his welfare that he asks the cause of his sadness (2[2]). The cupbearers among the officers of king Solomon's household (1 K 10[5]) impressed the queen of Sheba, and they are mentioned among other indications of the grandeur of his court, which was modelled upon courts of other Oriental kings.

CUPBOARD (1 Mac 15[32]).—A sideboard used for the display of gold and silver plate. This is the earliest meaning of 'cupboard'; cf. Greene (1592), 'Her mistress . . . set all her plate on the cubboorde for shew.'

CURSE.—See Ban and Excommunication.

CURTAIN.—See Tabernacle.

CUSH in OT designates **Ethiopia**, and is the only name used there for that region. It is the same as the Egyptian *Kash* or *Kesh*. Broadly speaking, it answers to the modern Nubia. More specifically, the Egyptian *Kash* extended southwards from the first Cataract at Syene (Ezk 29[10]), and in the periods of widest extension of the empire it embraced a portion of the Sudan. It was conquered and annexed by Egypt under the 12th Dynasty (*c.* B.C. 2000) and remained normally a subject country. After the decline of the 22nd (Libyan) Dynasty, the Cushites became powerful and gradually encroached on northern Egypt, so that at length an Ethiopian dynasty was established (the 25th, 728–663), which was overthrown by the Assyrians. Within this period falls the attempt of Tirhakah, king of Cush, to defeat Sennacherib of Assyria in Palestine (2 K 19[9]).

In Gn 10[6] Cush is a son of Ham, though his descendants as given in v.[7] are mostly Arabian. Surprising also is the statement in 2 Ch 14[9ff.] that Zerah the Cushite invaded Judah in the days of Asa, at a time when the Cushites had no power in Egypt. An attempt has been made to solve these and other difficulties by the assumption of a second Cush in Arabia (cf. 2 Ch 21[16]). Instructive references to the Cushite country and people are found in Am 9[7], Is 18[1f.], Jer 13[23]. Cushites were frequent in Palestine, probably descendants of slaves; see 2 S 18[21ff.], Jer 36[14] 38[7ff.]. These were, however, possibly Arabian Cushites. For the explanation of the Cush of Gn 10[8ff.], and possibly of 2[13], see Cossæans. J. F. McCurdy.

CUSH as a personal name occurs only in the title of Ps 7. He is described as a Benjamite, and was probably a follower of Saul who opposed David.

CUSHAN (Hab 3[7]) = Arabian (?) **Cush** (wh. see).

CUSHAN-RISHATHAIM.—King of Mesopotamia, or

Aram-naharaim, first of the oppressors of Israel, from whom Othniel, son of Kenaz, delivered them after eight years (Jg 3^{8-10}). It has been conjectured that he was a king of the Mitanni, whose territory once covered the district between the Euphrates and Habor, or that 'Aram' is a mistake for *Edom*, 'Rishathaim' for *Resh-hat-temani*, 'chief of the Temanites.' The name has not yet received any monumental explanation, and its nationality is unknown. C. H. W. Johns.

CUSHI, CUSHITE.—The word *Cūshī* occurs with the article in Nu 12^{1}, 2 S 18^{21}; without the article in Jer 36^{14}, Zeph 1^{1}. **1.** With the article it is probably merely an expression of nationality, 'the Cushite' (see Cush). It was looked upon as a disgrace that Moses should have married a Cushite. **2.** Without the article the word is used merely as a proper name. It is borne by (1) the great-grandfather of Jehudi, the latter one of Jehoiakim's courtiers (Jer 36^{14}); (2) the father of the prophet Zephaniah (Zeph 1^{1}).

CUSHION.—See Pillow.

CUSTOM(S) (Mt 17^{25}, Ro 13^{7}): 'receipt of custom' (Mt 9^{9}, Mk 2^{14}, Lk 5^{27}).—This is to be carefully distinguished from 'tribute' (wh. see). The customs were paid on the value of goods, in Galilee and Peræa to the Herods, but in the Roman province of Judæa to the procurator as agent of the Roman government. The 'receipt of custom' was the collector's office.

A. Souter.

CUTH, CUTHAH.—One of the cities from which Sargon brought colonists to take the place of the Israelites whom he had deported from Samaria, B.C. 722 (2 K $17^{24.\ 30}$). These colonists intermingled with the Israelite inhabitants who were left by Sargon; and their descendants, the Samaritans, were in consequence termed by the Jews 'Cuthæans.' According to the old Arabic geographers, Cuthah was situated not far from Babylon. This view is borne out by the Assyrian inscriptions, from which we learn that *Kutî* (or *Kutu*) was a city of Middle-Babylonia. It has now been identified with the modern *Tell Ibrāhim*, N.E. of Babylon, where remains of the temple of Nergal (cf. v.^{30}) have been discovered.

CUTHA (1 Es 5^{32}).—His sons were among the Temple servants who returned from Babylon with Zerubbabel.

CUTTING OFF FROM THE PEOPLE.—See Crimes and Punishments, § 11.

CUTTINGS IN THE FLESH.—This expression occurs only in Lv 19^{28} 21^{5}. The former passage runs thus: 'Ye shall not make any cuttings in your flesh for the dead. . . . I am the Lord.' The same prohibition, otherwise expressed in the original, is found in the earlier Deuteronomic legislation (Dt 14^{1}). The reference is to the practice, not confined to the Hebrews or even to their Semitic kinsfolk, of making incisions in the face, hands (Jer 48^{37}), and other parts of the body to the effusion of blood, as part of the rites of mourning for the dead (see Marks, § 4), and by a natural transition, to which the wearing of sackcloth forms a parallel, in times of national calamity. The custom is referred to without condemnation by the pre-Deuteronomic prophets, see Hos 7^{14} (corrected text, as RVm), and esp. Jer 16^{6} 41^{5} 47^{5}.

The underlying motive of this practice and the reasons for its legislative prohibition have been variously stated. It may be regarded as certain, however, that the practice had its root in primitive animistic conceptions regarding the spirits of the departed. The object in view may have been either so to disfigure the living that they should be unrecognizable by the malignant spirits of the dead, or, more probably, by means of the effusion of blood—which originally, perhaps, was brought into contact with the corpse—to maintain or renew the bond of union between the living and the dead.

The explanation just given is confirmed by the allied practice, springing from similar motives, of shaving off the whole (Ezk 44^{20}, cf. Bar 6^{31}) or part of the head hair or of the beard in token of mourning (Is 15^{2} 22^{12}, Ezk 7^{18}, Am 8^{10} etc.). Both practices, the incisions and the shaving, are named together in the legislative passages above cited. Thus Dt 14^{1} forbids '**baldness** between the eyes,' *i.e.* the shaving of the front of the scalp, 'for the dead'; in Lv 19^{27} it is forbidden to 'round the corners' of the head, *i.e.* to shave the temples (cf. Jer 9^{26} 25^{23}, where certain desert tribes are named 'the corners clipt,' from their habit of shaving the temples, see Hair), and to 'mar the corners of the beard' (cf. Jer 48^{37}). These references recall the wide-spread heathen practice of hair-offerings, which goes back to the antique conception that the hair, like the blood, is the seat of life.

The reason of the twofold prohibition now becomes apparent. With the growth of loftier conceptions of J" and His worship, these practices, with their animistic background and heathen associations, were seen to be unworthy of a people who owed exclusive devotion to their covenant God, a thought implied in the concluding words of Lv 19^{28} 'I am Jahweh.' The practice of gashing the body till the blood ran, as part of the ritual of Baal worship, is attested by 1 K 18^{28}.

The further prohibition of Lv 19^{28} 'nor print any marks upon you,' refers to another widely prevalent custom in antiquity, that of *tattooing* and even branding (3 Mac 2^{29}) the body with the name or symbol of one's special deity, a practice to which there is a reference in Is 44^{5}, to be rendered as in RVm, 'another shall write on his hand, Unto the Lord,' or, better, as one word, 'Jahweh's.' A. R. S. Kennedy.

CYAMON, Jth 7^{3} = **Jokneam** (wh. see).

CYLINDER.—Ca 5^{14} RVm for EV 'ring.' See Ring.

CYMBAL.—See Music and Musical Instruments.

CYPRESS.—(1) *tirzah* (Is 44^{14}, RV '**holm oak**') stands for some tree with very hard wood, the meaning of the root (in Arabic) being *to be hard*. 'Holm oak' is the rendering of the oldest Latin translation. This is the *Quercus ilex*, a tree now rare W. of the Jordan, but still found in Gilead and Bashan; (2) *te'ashshur* (Is 41^{19} RVm). Both AV and RV have 'box tree' (wh. see); (3) *berōsh* (2 S 6^{5} RVm). Both AV and RV have '**fir** wood' (see also Is 55^{13}). In Palestine to-day cypresses are extensively planted, especially in cemeteries.

E. W. G. Masterman.

CYPRUS.—An island in the N.E. corner of the Levant, within sight of the Syrian and Cilician coasts. Its greatest length is 140 miles, breadth 60 miles. In configuration it consists of a long plain shut in on the N. and the S.W. by mountain ranges.

In the OT the name Cyprus does not occur, but undoubtedly the island is referred to under the name **Kittim,** which is the same as the name of the Phœnician town Kition, now Larnaka. In Gn 10^{4} Kittim is spoken of as a son of Javan, together with Tarshish and Elishah. This probably implies that the earliest population of Cyprus was akin to the pre-Hellenic population of Greece. In Ezk 27^{6} the isles of Kittim are spoken of as supplying Tyre with boxwood. But the name Kittim is used also of the West generally, as in Dn 11^{30} of the Romans (cf. Nu 24^{24}).

The early importance of Cyprus was due to its forests and its copper. Its copper has long ago been exhausted, and owing to neglect its forests have perished. But throughout the 'bronze age,' which for Ægæan countries may roughly be reckoned as B.C. 2000 to B.C. 1000, its copper was exported not only to Syria but to Egypt and to Europe, and, mixed with the tin brought by Phœnicians from Cornwall and the West, it provided the metal from which both weapons and ornaments were made. Hence the name *copper* is derived from Cyprus. When the iron age began, this metal also was obtained from Cyprus.

Doubtless the copper was first exported by Phœnicians, who early founded Kition and other towns in Cyprus, and introduced the worship of the Syrian Aphrodite who became known to the Greeks as the 'Cyprian goddess.' But the Greeks themselves were not long behind the Phœnicians in the island,—the settlers were doubtless Peloponnesians disturbed by the Dorian invasions, and they used what the Greeks called the Arcadian dialect. They brought with them the Ægæan civilization, as relics found in the island prove conclusively. Paphos, Soli, Salamis were Greek settlements, the last being named from the island off the coast of Attica. But the Greeks soon combined with the Phœnicians. They adopted what was probably in origin a Hittite alphabet, in which every syllable is represented by a separate sign, and this lasted till the 4th century.

Cyprus did not develop as an independent power. Before B.C. 1450 it was made tributary to Egypt. About B.C. 1000 it was subject to Tyre, and with Phœnicia it passed into the hands of Sargon, the Assyrian, about B.C. 700. Sargon left an inscription at Kition, and later Assyrian kings record tribute received from Cyprus. About B.C. 560 Amasis of Egypt reduced the island, and it passed with Egypt to Cambyses of Persia in B.C. 525. It took part in the Ionian revolt of B.C. 501, but was quickly reduced, and supplied Xerxes with a fleet in B.C. 480. Athens made repeated attempts to secure the island, but the mixed population prevented any strong Hellenic movement, and it only passed definitely into Greek hands by submission to Alexander the Great after the battle of Issus in B.C. 333. On the division of his empire it fell to the Ptolemys of Egypt, until it was annexed by Rome in B.C. 57. It was made a separate province after the battle of Actium in B.C. 31, becoming at first an 'imperial' province, but being afterwards transferred to 'senatorial' government, so that in Ac 13[7] St. Luke rightly describes the governor as a proconsul.

Jews first settled in Cyprus under the Ptolemys, and their numbers there were considerable before the time of the Apostles. Barnabas is described as a Cypriot Jew, and when he and St. Paul started from Antioch on the First Missionary Journey, they first of all passed through Cyprus (Ac 13[4-12]). They landed at Salamis, then a Greek port flourishing with Syrian trade, now deserted—with its harbour silted up—three miles from Famagusta. Here they preached in the synagogue, where their message was probably not entirely new (Ac 11[19]), and then journeyed through 'the whole island' (RV) to New Paphos in the W.—a three or four days' journey, even if they preached nowhere on the way. New Paphos, like Old Paphos, was the seat of the worship of Aphrodite (see PAPHOS), and was at this time the Roman capital. (For the incidents connected with the proconsul and the *magus*, see artt. SERGIUS PAULUS and BAR-JESUS.)

Besides Barnabas we have mention of Mnason, an 'original convert,' as coming from Cyprus (Ac 21[16]), but we have no knowledge of how the Church grew in the island until it included 15 bishoprics. The Jews of Cyprus took part in the great rising of their race which took place in A.D. 117 (when Trajan was busy with Parthia), and they are said to have massacred 240,000 of the Gentile population. The revolt was suppressed without mercy, and all Jews were expelled from the island.

Under the Byzantine emperors Cyprus suffered much from their misrule, and from the Saracens. Seized in 1191 by Richard Cœur de Lion, it was sold to the Knights Templars. From 1479 to 1570 it was held by the Venetians. After three centuries of Turkish rule it passed under British rule in 1878, by a convention which still requires it to pay tribute to the Sultan. But it has scarcely recovered prosperity. Various causes have lessened the rainfall, it is troubled with malaria, its mineral resources were long ago worked out and its forests destroyed. There are no good roads, and communication is kept up by bullock-carts and mules. Its best ports (Larnaka and Limasol) are open roadsteads.

A. E. HILLARD.

CYRENE.—Capital of Libya (Tripoli) in N. Africa (Ac 2[10]), the home of numerous Jews who with the 'Libertines' (freedmen from Rome?) and Alexandrians had a synagogue of their own at Jerusalem (Ac 6[9]). Many of these became Christians, as Simon and his sons (doubtless), Mk 15[21]; Lucius, Ac 13[1]; and those in Ac 11[20] who preached to the 'Greeks' (*v.l.* 'Hellenists').

A. J. MACLEAN.

CYRENIUS.—See QUIRINIUS.

CYRUS.—Referred to as 'king of the Persians,' 2 Ch 36[22], Ezr 1[1], Dn 10[1], and often; 'the Persian,' Dn 6[28]; 'king of Babylon,' Ezr 5[13]. He is regarded in Is 40–48 as specially destined by Jahweh to redeem Israel and execute Divine judgment upon Babylon, to set free the captives and restore Jerusalem and its Temple. He had not known Jahweh before his call, but carried out his mission in Jahweh's name, and is styled 'the friend of Jahweh' and 'Jahweh's anointed.' The Cyrus of whom these high expectations were formed was the founder of the Persian Empire. His grandfather was also called Cyrus (*Kurush*, Bab. *Kurash*, Heb. *Koresh*). He was an Aryan and descended from Achæmenes (Hakhamanish). At first he was king of Persia and Anshan or Anzan, an Elamite province, capital at Susa (Shushan), and vassal of Media. The contemporary cuneiform inscriptions are—(1) a cylinder inscription of Nabonidus, last king of Babylonia, from Sippara; (2) an annalistic tablet of Cyrus written shortly after his conquest of Babylonia; (3) a proclamation of Cyrus of the same date. Nabonidus' account was written soon after Cyrus, 'a petty vassal' of Astyages (Istuvegu), king of the Manda, with his small army had conquered Astyages (B.C. 549). This led to the withdrawal of the Manda from Harran, and left Nabonidus free to restore the temple of Sin there. Cyrus soon made himself master of the whole Median empire, but was faced by an alliance of Crœsus, king of Lydia, Nabonidus of Babylon, and Amasis of Egypt. On the fall of Crœsus, Cyrus turned to Babylonia, where Nabonidus had long estranged the inhabitants of the capital by his neglect of the sacred feasts and worship of Marduk. Belshazzar, his son, defended the land, but was defeated at Opis, and on 14th Tammuz, Sippara fell 'without fighting.' On the 16th, Gobryas (Gubaru, Ugbaru) entered Babylon without resistance, and Cyrus followed on the 3rd of Marcheshvan, B.C. 539–8, and was received, according to his own account, by all classes, especially by priests and nobles, as a liberator. He claims to have restored to their homes the exiles from Babylonia and their gods, and prays that these gods may daily intercede for him with Marduk and Nabu, whose worshipper he professes to be. Cyrus reigned about nine years from this time, and in the last year handed over the sovereignty of Babylon to his son Cambyses.

The career of Cyrus so impressed the popular imagination, that the classical writers adorn his story with a variety of legendary incidents for which no confirmation can be produced. The policy which Cyrus pursued towards the Jews is variously estimated, but all accounts agree in stating that the restoration of the Temple was started by him, and in claiming him as a worshipper of Jahweh.

C. H. W. JOHNS.

D

DABBESHETH.—A town in the westward border of Zebulun (Jos 19[11]), identified with *Dabsheh*, E. of '*Acca*.
R. A. S. Macalister.

DABERATH.—A city said in Jos 19[12] to belong to Zebulun, but in Jos 21[28] and 1 Ch 6[72] to be a Levitical city in Issachar. Probably it was on the border between the two tribes. It has been identified with *Daburieh* at the foot of Tabor. R. A. S. Macalister.

DABRIA.—One of the five scribes who wrote to the dictation of Ezra (2 Es 14[24]).

DACUBI, 1 Es 5[28] = **Akkub,** Ezr 2[42], Neh 7[45].

DAGGER.—See Armour, Arms, § 1 (*c*).

DAGON.—A god whose worship was general among the Philistines (at Gaza, Jg 16[23], 1 Mac 10[83. 84] 11[4]; at Ashkelon, 1 S 5[2]; prob. at Beth-dagon [wh. see], which may at one time have been under Philistine rule). Indeed, the name Baal-dagon inscribed in Phœnician characters upon a cylinder now in the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford, and the modern place-name *Beit Dajan* (S.E. of Nablus), indicate an existence of his cult in Phœnicia and Canaan. An endeavour to identify the god with Atargatis (wh. see) is responsible for the explanation of the name as a diminutive (term of endearment) of *dag* ('fish'), and also for the rendering of 'only Dagon was left' (1 S 5[4]) as 'only the fishy part was left.' Though there is nothing to contradict the supposition that Dagon was a fish-god, it is more probable that originally he was an agricultural deity (named from *dagan* = 'grain,' cf. 1 S 6[4. 5]), from which position he developed into a war-god (1 Ch 10[10]) and apparently even into a national deity (1 S 5[3–6][18]). An identification of this god with the Babylonian Dagan is doubtful (see Jensen, *Kosmologie*, 449 ff.; and Jastrow, *Rel. of Bab. and Assyr.*, Index). N. Koenig.

DAISAN, 1 Es 5[31] = **Rezin,** Ezr 2[48], Neh 7[50]. The form in 1 Es. is due to confusion of Heb. *r* and *l*.

DALAN, 1 Es 5[37] = **Delaiah,** Ezr 2[60].

DALETH.—Fourth letter of Heb. alphabet, and as such used in the 119th Psalm to designate the 4th part, each verse of which begins with this letter.

DALMANUTHA.—Hither Christ sailed after feeding the four thousand (Mk 8[10]). In Mt 15[39] **Magadan** is substituted. No satisfactory conjecture has yet been offered as to the explanation of either name, or the identification of either place. R. A. S. Macalister.

DALMATIA.—A mountainous district on the E. coast of the Adriatic Sea. More exactly used, it is the southern half of the Roman province Illyricum (wh. see). The writer of the Second Epistle to Timothy makes Titus journey there (2 Ti 4[10]). A. Souter.

DALPHON (Est 9[7]).—The second son of Haman, put to death by the Jews.

DAMARIS.—A convert at Athens (Ac 17[34]). As women of the upper classes were kept more in the background there than in Macedonia or Asia Minor, she was probably not of noble birth (cf. 17[4. 12]). The name is perhaps a corruption of Damalis, 'a heifer.' The Bezan MS omits it. A. J. Maclean.

DAMASCUS.—1. Situation, etc.—The chief city of N. Syria, situated in lat. 33° 30′ N. and long. 36° 18′ E. It lies in a plain east of the Anti-Lebanon, famous for its beauty and fertility, and watered by the Barada River, the Abanah (wh. see) of the Bible. The luxuriance of its gardens has long been renowned: the English traveller W. G. Browne in 1797 noted that the fruit-trees were so numerous that those which died and were cut down were sufficient to supply the town with firewood. Its population is estimated at from 150,000 to 220,000. It derives its modern importance from local manufactures (woodwork, furniture, artistic metal and textile work), from its situation and convenience as a market for the desert tribes, and from its religious significance as the starting-point of the annual Syrian pilgrim caravan to Mecca. Railways run from Damascus to Haifa, Beyrout, and Mezerib, and the important line to Mecca, begun in 1901, is expected to be finished in 1910. The writer of Canticles, in his appreciation of the sensuous beauty of scenery, has not forgotten Damascus: the nose of the Shulammite is compared to the 'tower of Lebanon which looketh toward Damascus' (Ca 7[4]).

The history of Damascus begins in remote antiquity: the time of its foundation is quite unknown; but that a settlement should have been founded in so desirable a locality was inevitable from the very beginning of human association. It was probably already an ancient city at the time of the Tell el-Amarna tablets, on which we meet with its name more than once. It also appears in the tribute lists of Thothmes III. as *Demesku*.

2. OT references.—In the Biblical history we first meet with the name of Damascus as a territorial indication in defining the line of Abram's pursuit of the five kings (Gn 14[15]). In Gn 15[2] the name of Abram's steward is given in the MT as *Dammesek Eliezer* (so RV)—a name probably corrupt. It is explained in the Aram., Targum, and Syr. as 'Eliezer the Damascene,' which gives sense, though it presupposes a most improbable corruption in the Hebrew text. We must therefore pass this passage by with the remark that it is not unlikely that Abram's servant was a native of Damascus. We hear nothing more of Damascus till 2 S 8[5. 6], which describes David's capture of the city as a reprisal for its assistance given to Hadadezer, king of Zobah; David garrisoned it and reduced it to a tributary condition (cf. 1 Ch 18[5]). The general of Hadadezer, however, Rezon by name, succeeded in establishing himself as king in Damascus in the time of Solomon, and made himself continuously a very troublesome neighbour (1 K 11[23. 24]). In the wars between Asa and Baasha (1 K 15[17ff.], 2 Ch 16[2ff.]) the king of Judah invoked the aid of Ben-hadad, king of Syria, whose royal city was Damascus, against his Israelite enemy. By gifts he persuaded him to break the truce already existing between Ben-hadad and Israel, and to join partnership with Judah. Accordingly Ben-hadad proceeded to harass Baasha on his northern borders, and so induced him to desist from his plan of erecting border fortifications between the two Hebrew kingdoms. Hostilities continued between Syria and Israel till the days of Ahab: Ahab's sparing of Ben-hadad after the battle of Aphek and his making a truce with him, were the cause of a prophetic denunciation (1 K 20[42]). In the reign of Jehoram, the Syrian general Naaman came to be cleansed of leprosy (2 K 5), and Elisha's directions led to his famous depreciating comparison of the muddy Jordan with the clear-flowing Abanah and Pharpar (v.[12]). The Chronicler (2 Ch 24[23]) reports a victorious invasion of Judah by Damascus in the days of Joash. The city of Damascus was re-taken by Jeroboam II. (2 K 14[28]), though the circumstances are not related; but must have been lost again immediately, for we find the Syrian king Rezin there (2 K 16) oppressing Ahaz, so that he was led to the policy, which (as Isaiah foresaw, 7. 10[5-11]) proved suicidal, of calling in the aid of Tiglath-pileser, king of Assyria, and submitting himself as a vassal of that great king. Prophetic denunciations of Damascus, as of the other enemies of the Hebrews, are found in Is 17, Jer 49[23], Am 1[3-5], and Zec 9[1]. Damascus as a commercial centre was always of great importance, and Ezekiel (27[18]) alludes to its trade in vines and wool. It is, of course, included in the imaginary restoration of the kingdom (Ezk 47[17]).

3. NT references.—Damascus appears only in connexion with St. Paul. Here took place his miraculous conversion (Ac 9. 22. 26) with the well-known attendant circumstances, and his escape from Aretas (wh. see), the governor, by being lowered in a basket over the wall (Ac 9^{25}, 2 Co $11^{32.\ 33}$), and hither he returned after his Arabian retirement (Gal 1^{17}).

4. Later history.—The late extra-Biblical history is very complicated. In 333 B.C., after the battle of Issus, the city was surrendered to Parmenio, the general of Alexander the Great, and during the subsequent Græco-Egyptian wars it fell more than once into the hands of the Ptolemys. In 111 B.C., on the partition of Syria between Antiochus Grypus and A. Cyzicenus, the latter obtained possession of the city. His successor, Demetrius Eucærus, invaded Palestine in 88 B.C. and defeated Alexander Jannæus at Shechem. His brother, who succeeded him, was driven out by the Arabian Haritha (Aretas). For a while it remained in Arab hands, then, after a temporary occupation by Tigranes, king of Armenia, it was conquered by Metellus, the Roman general. It was a city of the Decapolis. The great temple of the city was by one of the early Christian emperors—probably Theodosius—transformed into a church. It is now the principal mosque of the city, but was partly destroyed by fire in 1893. Since 635 Damascus has been a Muslim city, though governed from time to time by different tribes and dynasties of that faith. It was conquered by the Seljuks in 1075. The Crusaders never succeeded in making a strong position for themselves in the city. In 1860 about 6000 Christians were massacred by the Muslim population of the city. Few remains of antiquity are to be seen in the modern city, which is attractive principally for its undiluted Oriental life and its extensive markets and bazaars. The mosque just mentioned, a mediæval castle, and part of the ancient walls, are the principal relics. Of course, there are the usual traditional sites of historical events, but these are not more trustworthy at Damascus than anywhere else in Syria and Palestine.

R. A. S. Macalister.

DAMNATION.—The words 'damn,' 'damnable,' and 'damnation' have, through their use in the literature of theology, come to express *condemnation to everlasting punishment*. But in the English Bible they mean no more than is now expressed by 'condemn' or 'condemnation.' In some places a better translation than 'condemnation' is 'judgment,' as in Jn 5^{29} 'the resurrection of damnation' (Gr. *krisis*, RV 'judgment'). See Judgment.

DAN.—According to the popular tradition, Dan was the fifth son of Jacob, and full brother of Naphtali, by Bilhah, Rachel's handmaid (Gn $30^{6.\ 8}$). Rachel, who had no children, exclaimed '*dananni*' ('God hath judged me'), and, therefore, he was called *Dan*. As in the case of so many names, this is clearly a 'popular etymology.' It is probable that Dan was an appellative, or titular attribute, of some deity whose name has not come down to us in connexion with it, or it may even be *the name* of a god as Gad was (cf. the Assyr. proper names *Ashur-dān* ['Ashur is judge'], *Aku-dāna* ['the moon-god is judge'] of the period of Hammurabi). Its feminine counterpart is *Dinah* (Jacob's daughter by Leah), which as the name of the half-sister of Dan is probably reminiscent of some related clan that early lost its identity.

Of this eponymous ancestor of the tribe tradition has preserved no details, but some of the most interesting stories of the Book of Judges tell of the exploits of the Danite Samson, who, single-handed, wrought discomfiture in the ranks of the Philistines. These are heroic rather than historical tales, yet suggestive of the conditions that prevailed when the tribes were establishing themselves.

P makes Dan a large tribe. With his characteristic love of large numbers he gives the fighting strength of Dan in the Wilderness census as 62,700, more than that of any other except Judah (Nu 1^{38}; cf. 26^{43}, Moab census). All the other data point in the opposite direction. J (Jg 18^{11}) speaks of it as a 'family'; elsewhere Dan is said to have had only one son, Hushim or Shuham (Gn 46^{23}, Nu 26^{42}). The tribe at first occupied the hill-country in the S.W. of Ephraim, and thence attempted to spread out into the valleys of Aijalon and Sorek. That it ever reached the sea, either here or in its later northern home, is unlikely, notwithstanding the usual interpretation of Jg 5^{17}, a passage which yields no wholly satisfactory meaning. (But see Moore, *Judges*, *ad loc.*). In this region the Danites were severely pressed by the 'Amorites' = (Canaanites). The major portion were compelled to emigrate northward, where they found at the foot of Mt. Hermon an isolated city, Laish or Leshem, situated in a fertile tract of country (Jos 19^{47}, Jg 18). This city with its unsuspecting inhabitants the Danites ruthlessly destroyed. A new city was built, to which they gave the name of Dan. In this colony there were only 600 armed men with their families. On their way thither they induced the domestic priest of an Ephraimite, Micah, to accompany them with his sacred paraphernalia, an ephod, a graven and a molten image, and the *teraphim*. These were duly installed in a permanent sanctuary, in which the descendants of Moses are said to have ministered until the Captivity (Jg 18^{30}). That the remnant of the family left in the South was either destroyed by its enemies, or, more likely, absorbed by the neighbouring tribes, is made probable by Jg 1^{35}, which ascribes the victory over their enemies to the 'house of Joseph.' Gn 49^{17} says 'Dan shall be a serpent in the way, an adder in the path'; and Dt 33^{22}, 'Dan is a lion's whelp,' etc. These characterizations are more applicable to a small tribe of guerilla fighters, versed in cunning strategy, wont to strike a quick blow from ambush at a passing troop, than they are to the more sustained measures of warfare of a large and powerful body. See also Tribes.

James A. Craig.

DAN.—A city in northern Palestine, once called **Laish** (Jg 18^{29}) or **Leshem** (Jos 19^{47}), though the ancient record of the battle of four kings against five gives the later name (Gn 14^{14}). It was a city remote from assistance, and therefore fell an easy prey to a band of marauding Danites, searching for a dwelling-place. It was in the north boundary of Palestine. The story of the Danites stealing the shrine of Micah is told to account for its sanctity, which Jeroboam I. recognized by setting up here one of his calf-shrines (1 K 12^{29}). It was perhaps the same as **Dan-jaan,** one of the borders of Joab's census district (2 S 24^{6}). It was captured by Ben-hadad (1 K 15^{20}). It is identified with *Tell el-Kadi* on account of the similarity of meaning of the names (Arabic *kadi* = Hebrew *dan* = 'judge')—a very dangerous ground for such speculations. The site, however, would suit the geographical context of the narratives.

R. A. S. Macalister.

DANCING.—See Games.

DANIEL.—**1.** Two passages in the Book of Ezekiel ($14^{14\text{-}20}$ 28^{3}), written respectively about B.C. 592 and 587, mention a certain Daniel as an extraordinarily righteous and wise man, belonging to the same class as Noah and Job, whose piety availed with God on behalf of their unworthy contemporaries. All three evidently belonged to the far-distant past: Ezekiel's readers were familiar with their history and character. Daniel, occupying the middle place, cannot be conceived of as the latest of them. He certainly was not a younger man than the prophet who refers to him, as the hero of the Book of Daniel would have been. For Dn $1^{1\text{-}3}$ makes the latter to have been carried into captivity in B.C. 606, a mere decade prior to Ezk 14. **2.** See Abigail. **3.** A priest who accompanied Ezra from Babylon to Jerusalem (Ezr 8^{2}, Neh 10^{6}). He was head of his father's house, and traced his descent from Ithamar. At 1 Es 8^{29} the name is spelled *Gamelus* or **Gamael,** which probably rests on a corrupt Heb. text. Driver (*Daniel*, p. xviii.) notes that amongst his contemporaries were 'a Hananiah (Neh 10^{23}), a Mishael (8^{4}), and an Azariah (10^{2}); but the coincidence is probably acci-

dental.' It is, however, quite as likely that the author of Dn. borrowed the three names from Nehemiah.

J. Taylor.

DANIEL, BOOK OF.—1. Authorship and Date.—The first six chapters of this book contain a series of narratives which tell of (*a*) the fidelity of Daniel and his friends to their religion, and (*b*) the incomparable superiority of their God to the deities of Babylon. The remaining six chapters relate four visions seen by Daniel and the interpretation of them. Chs. 1–6 speak of Daniel in the third person; in 7–12 he is the speaker (yet see 7^1 10^1). But both parts are from the same pen, and the *primâ facie* impression is that of an autobiography. Porphyry argued against this in the 3rd cent. A.D., and it is now generally abandoned, for such reasons as the following: (1) In the Jewish Canon Dn. stands in the third division, 'the Writings.' Had it been the production of a prophet of the 6th cent. it would have been put in the second division, 'the Prophets.' (2) Neither the man nor the book is mentioned in the list of Sir 44–50 (*c.* B.C. 200): and Sir 49^{15} seems to have been written by one who was not acquainted with the story. (3) There is no reason for believing that a collection of sacred writings, including Jer., had been formed in the reign of Darius, as is implied in Dn 9^2. (4) The Heb. of Dn. is of a later type than even that of Chronicles. The Aramaic is a West-Syrian dialect, not in use at the Bab. court in the 6th century. More Persian words are employed than a Heb. author would be familiar with at the close of the Bab. empire. In a document composed prior to the Macedonian conquest we should not have found the three Greek words which are here used. (5) There are inaccuracies which a contemporary would have avoided. It is doubtful whether Nebuchadnezzar besieged Jerusalem in B.C. 606 ($1^{1.\ 2}$). The name 'Chaldæans' as designating the learned class is a later usage (2^2). Belshazzar was not 'the king' (5^1), nor was Neb. his ancestor ($5^{2.\ 11}$). Darius the Mede never 'received the kingdom' (5^{31}). Xerxes did not follow Artaxerxes (11^2) but preceded him. (6) The relations between Syria and Egypt, from the 4th to the 2nd cents. B.C., are described with a fulness of detail which differentiates Dn 7. 11 from all OT prophecy: see the precision with which the reign of Antiochus Epiphanes is related in ch. 11; the events from 323–175 occupy 16 verses; those from 175–164 take up 25; at v.^{34} the lines become less definite, because this is the point at which the book was written; at v.^{40} *prediction* begins, and the language no longer corresponds with the facts of history. There can be little doubt that Dn. appeared about B.C. 166. Its object was to encourage the faithful Jews to adhere to their religion, in the assurance that God would intervene. The unknown writer was intensely sure of the truths in which he believed: to him and to his readers the historical setting was but a framework. Not that he invented the stories. We saw in the preceding article that the exiled Jews knew of a Daniel, famous for piety and wisdom. Round his name, in the course of the ages, stories illustrative of these qualities had gathered, and the author of our book worked up the material afresh with much skill.

2. Language, Unity, Theology.—(1) From 2^{4b} to 7^{28} is in *Aramaic*. Four explanations have been offered: (*a*) This section was originally written in Aramaic, about B.C. 300, and incorporated, with additions, into the work of 166. (*b*) The corresponding portion of a Heb. original was lost and its place filled by an already current Aram. translation. (*c*) The author introduced the 'Chaldees' as speaking what he supposed was their language, and then continued to write it because it was more familiar than Heb. to himself and his readers. (*d*) The likeliest suggestion is that the entire book was Aramaic, but would not have found admission into the Canon if it had not been enclosed, so to speak, in a frame of Heb., the sacred language.

(2) The *unity of the book* has been impugned by many critics, but it is now generally agreed that the question is settled by the harmony of view and consistency of plan which bind the two halves together. The text has suffered more or less in $1^{20.\ 21}$ 6^{20} 7^5 $9^{4\text{-}20}$ $10^{4.\ 8.\ 9}$ 10^{20}–11^2 $12^{11\text{f.}}$.

(3) The *theological features* are what might be expected in the 2nd cent. B.C. Eschatology is prominent. The visions and their interpretations all culminate in the final establishment of the Kingdom of God. And in this connexion it should be mentioned that Dn. is the earliest example of a fully developed *Apocalypse*. The doctrine of the Resurrection is also distinctly asserted: *individuals* are to rise again; not all men, or even all Israelites, but the martyrs and the apostates. At no earlier period is there such an angelology. Watchers and holy ones determine the destinies of an arrogant king. Two angels have proper names, Gabriel and Michael. To each nation a heavenly patron has been assigned, and its fortunes here depend on the struggle waged by its representative above.

3. Text.—The early Church set aside the LXX in favour of the less paraphrastic version of Theodotion. In both translations are found the Additions to Daniel. (1) 67 verses are inserted after 3^{22}, consisting of (*α*) the *Prayer of Azarias*, (*β*) details concerning *the heating of the furnace*, (*γ*) the *Benedicite*. These teach the proper frame of mind for all confessors, and dilate on the miraculous element in the Divine deliverance. (2) *The History of Susanna*, which demonstrates God's protection of the unjustly accused and illustrates the sagacity in judgment of the youth who is rightly named *Daniel*, 'El is my judge.' (3) *Bel and the Dragon*, two tracts which expose the imbecility of idolatry, and bring out Daniel's cleverness and God's care for His servant in peril. Swete (*Introd. to OT in Greek*, p. 260) rightly remarks that internal evidence appears to show that (1) and (2) originally had a separate circulation.

J. Taylor.

DAN-JAAN.—Joab and his officers in taking the census came 'to Dan-jaan and round about to Zidon' (2 S 24^6). No such place is mentioned anywhere else in OT, and it is generally assumed that the text is corrupt. It has indeed been proposed to locate Dan-jaan at a ruin N. of Achzib which is said to bear the name *Khan Dāniān*; but this identification, although accepted by Conder, has not made headway. The reference is more probably to the city of Dan which appears so frequently as the northern limit of the kingdom.

DANNAH (Jos 15^{49}).—A town of Judah mentioned next to Debir and Socoh. It was clearly in the mountains S.W. of Hebron, probably the present *Idhnah*.

DAPHNE.—A place mentioned in 2 Mac 4^{33} to which Onias withdrew for refuge, but from which he was decoyed by Andronicus and treacherously slain. It is the mod. *Beit el-Mâ* ('House of Waters') about 5 miles from Antioch. Daphne was famous for its fountains, its temple in honour of Apollo and Diana, its oracle, and its right of asylum. (See Gibbon, *Decline and Fall*, c. xxiii.)

DARA (1 Ch 2^6).—See Darda.

DARDA.—Mentioned with Ethan the Ezrahite, Heman, and Calcol as a son of Mahol, and a proverbial type of wisdom, but yet surpassed by Solomon (1 K 4^{31}). In 1 Ch 2^6 apparently the same four (**Dara** is probably an error for *Darda*) are mentioned with Zimri as sons of Zerah, the son of Judah by Tamar (Gn 38^{30}). See also Mahol.

DARIC.—See Money, § 3.

DARIUS.—**1.** Son of Hystaspes, king of Persia (B.C. 521–485), well known from the classical historian Herodotus, and, for the early part of his reign, from his own tri-lingual inscription on the rocks at Behistun.

He allowed the Jews to rebuild the Temple. The prophets Haggai and Zechariah encouraged the people to go on with the work, and when Tattenai, the Persian governor of Syria, demanded their authority, they alleged a decree of Cyrus. On reference being made to Darius and the decree being found, the king confirmed it, and ordered facilities to be afforded for the building. It was completed in the 6th year of his reign (Ezr 4. 5. 6, Hag 1^{1} 2^{10}, Zec 1^{17}). **2.** Darius the Persian (Neh 12^{22}). Possibly Darius Codomannus, the last king of Persia (B.C. 336–330), 1 Mac 1^{1}. **3.** 'Darius' in 1 Mac 12^{7} (AV) is an error for the Spartan 'Arius' (wh. see). **4.** 'Darius the Mede' (Dn 11^{1}), son of Ahasuerus of the seed of the Medes (9^{1}), is said (5^{31}) to have succeeded to the kingdom of Babylon after Belshazzar's death, and to have been sixty-two years old when he received the kingdom. This account does not answer to what we know of any king called Darius. Gobryas was he who actually received the kingdom for Cyrus, entering Babylon on the 16th of Tammuz, four months before Cyrus made his triumphal entry. He too appointed governors in Babylon (cf. Dn 6^{1}), and seems from the Babylonian Chronicle to have been in the attack which resulted in Belshazzar's death. Whether Gobryas is intended, whether Darius was another name of his, or whether some mistake has crept into the text, cannot be decided without fresh evidence. It is certain that no king of Babylon called Darius succeeded Belshazzar or preceded Cyrus.

C. H. W. JOHNS.

DARKNESS.—See LIGHT.

DARKON.—His sons were among those who returned with Zerubbabel (Ezr 2^{56}, Neh 7^{58}); called in 1 Es 5^{33} **Lozon.**

DARK SAYING.—See PARABLE (in OT), § 1.

DARLING.—Ps 22^{20} 'Deliver my darling from the power of the dog'; 35^{17} 'rescue my soul from their destructions, my darling from the lions.' The Heb. word (*yāhīdh*) means an only son. In the Psalms it is used poetically of the psalmist's own life, as his unique and priceless possession.

DART.—See ARMOUR, ARMS, § 1 (*b*).

DATES.—See CHRONOLOGY.

DATHAN.—See KORAH.

DATHEMA (1 Mac 5^{9}).—A fortress in Bashan. It may perhaps be the modern *Dāmeh* on the S. border of the Lejā district, N. of Ashteroth-karnaim.

DAUGHTER.—See FAMILY.

DAVID ('beloved').—The second and greatest of the kings of Israel; the youngest of the eight sons of Jesse the Bethlehemite; he belonged to the tribe of Judah. The details of his life are gathered from 1 S 16^{3}–1 K 2^{11}, 1 Ch 11^{1}–29^{30} (besides some scattered notices in the earlier chapters of 1 Ch.), the Psalms which bear on this period, and Bk. VII of the *Antiquities* of Josephus, though this latter adds but little to our knowledge. It is necessary to bear in mind two points of importance in dealing with the records of the life of David: firstly, the Hebrew text is, in a number of cases, very corrupt (notably in the books of Samuel), and in not a few passages the Alexandrian (Greek) version is to be preferred; secondly, our records have been gathered together from a variety of sources, and therefore they do not present a connected whole; that they are for this reason sometimes at variance with each other stands in the natural order of things.

1. Early years.—David was a shepherd by calling, and he continued this occupation until he had reached full manhood; the courage and strength sometimes required for the protection of flocks make it clear that he was more than a mere youth when he first appeared upon the scene of public life (1 S $17^{34.\ 35}$). There are altogether three different accounts of David's entry upon the stage of life.

(i) 1 S $16^{1\text{-}13}$. David is here represented as having been designated by Jahweh as Saul's successor; Samuel is sent to Bethlehem to anoint him; all the seven sons of Jesse pass before the prophet, but the Spirit does not move him to anoint any of them; in perplexity he asks the father if he has any more children, whereupon the youngest is produced, and Samuel anoints him. Graphic as the story is, it strikes one as incomplete. Samuel does not even know of the existence of Jesse's youngest son; the future king of Israel is introduced as a mere stripling whom nobody seems to know or care about, and he is left as abruptly as he is introduced. From all we know of Israel's early heroes, a man was not raised to be a leader of the people unless or until he had first proved himself in some way to be the superior of his fellows. It was, of course, different when the monarchy had been securely established and the hereditary succession had come into vogue; though even then there were exceptions, *e.g.* in the case of Jehu. This was clearly so in the case of Saul, who had the reputation of being a 'mighty man of valour' (1 S 9^{2}); and in the parallel case of the anointing of one to be king while the throne was still occupied, viz. Jehu, it is not an unknown man who is anointed (see 1 K 19^{16}, 2 K $9^{3ff.}$). The story, therefore, of David's anointing by Samuel strikes one as being an incomplete fragment.

(ii) 1 S $16^{14\text{-}23}$. In this second account, the servants of Saul recommend that the king should send for someone who is a 'cunning player on the harp,' in order that by means of music the mental disorder from which he is suffering may be allayed. The son of Jesse is proposed, and forthwith sent for; when Saul is again attacked by the malady—said to be occasioned by 'an evil spirit from the Lord'—David plays upon the harp, and Saul 'is refreshed' in spirit. In this account David is represented as a grown man, for it is said that Saul made him his armour-bearer.

(iii) 1 S 17. The Greek version omits a large part of this account (vv.$^{12\text{-}31.\ 55\text{-}58}$), which seems itself to have been put together from different sources. According to it, David's first appearance was on the eve of a battle between the Israelites and the Philistines. His father is in the habit of sending him to the Israelite camp with provisions for his three eldest brothers, who are among the warriors of the Israelite army; on one such occasion he finds the camp in consternation on account of the defiance of a Philistine hero, the giant Goliath. This man offers to fight in single combat with any Israelite who will come out and face him, but in spite of the high reward offered by the king to any one who will slay him—namely, great riches and the king's daughter in marriage—nobody appears to answer the challenge. David gathers these details from different people in the camp, and, feeling sure of the help of Jahweh, determines to fight the giant. He communicates his purpose to Saul, who at first discourages him, but on seeing his firmness and confidence arms him and bids him go forth in the name of Jahweh. David, however, finds the armour too cumbersome, and discards it, taking instead nothing but five smooth stones and a sling. After mutual defiance, David slings one of his stones; the giant is hit, and falls down dead; David rushes up, draws the sword of the dead warrior, and cuts off his head. Thereupon panic takes hold of the Philistine host, and they flee, pursued by the Israelites, who thus gain a complete victory (see ELHANAN).

It is worthy of note that each of these three accounts which introduce David to history connects with him just those three characteristics which subsequent ages loved to dwell upon. The first presents him as the beloved of Jahweh (cf. his name, 'beloved'), who was specially chosen, the man after God's own heart, the son of Jesse; the second presents him as the harpist, who was known in later ages as the 'sweet psalmist of Israel'; while the third, which is probably the nearest to actual history, presents him as the warrior-

hero, just as, in days to come, men would have pictured him whose whole reign from beginning to end was characterized by war.

David's victory over Goliath had a twofold result; firstly, the heroic deed called forth the admiration, which soon became love, of the king's son Jonathan; a covenant of friendship was made between the two, in token of which, and in ratification of which, Jonathan took off his apparel and armour and presented David with them. This friendship lasted till the death of Jonathan, and David's pathetic lamentation over him (2 S 1^{25-27}) points to the reality of their love. But secondly, it had the effect of arousing Saul's envy; a not wholly unnatural feeling, considering the estimation in which David was held by the people in consequence of his victory; the adage—assuredly one of the most ancient authentic fragments of the history of the time—

'Saul hath slain his thousands,
And David his ten thousands'

was not flattering to one who had, in days gone by, been Israel's foremost warrior. For the present, however, Saul conceals his real feelings (1 S $18^{10.\ 11}$ are evidently out of place), intending to rid himself of David in such a way that no blame would seem to attach itself to him. In fulfilment of his promise to the slayer of Goliath, he expresses his intention of giving his daughter Michal to David for his wife; but as David brings no dowry,—according to Hebrew custom,—Saul lays upon him conditions of a scandalous character (1 S $18^{25.\ 26}$), hoping that, in attempting to fulfil them, David may lose his life. The scheme fails, and David receives Michal to wife. A further attempt to be rid of David is frustrated by Jonathan (19^{1-7}), and at last Saul himself tries to kill him by throwing a javelin at him whilst playing on his harp; again he fails, for David nimbly avoids the javelin, and escapes to his own house. Thither Saul sends men to kill him, but with the help of his wife he again escapes, and flees to Ramah to seek counsel from Samuel. On Samuel's advice, apparently, he goes to Jonathan by stealth to see if there is any possibility of a reconciliation with the king; Jonathan does his best, but in vain (20^{1-42}), and David realizes that his life will be in danger so long as he is anywhere within reach of Saul or his emissaries.

2. David as an outlaw.—As in the case of the earlier period of David's life, the records of this second period consist of a number of fragments from different sources, not very skilfully put together. We can do no more here than enumerate briefly the various localities in which David sought refuge from Saul's vindictiveness, pointing out at the same time the more important episodes of his outlaw life.

David flies first of all to *Nob*, the priestly city; his stay here is, however, of short duration, for he is seen by Doeg, one of Saul's followers. Taking the sword of his late antagonist, Goliath, which was wrapped in a cloth behind the ephod, he makes for *Gath*, hoping to find refuge on foreign soil; but he is recognized by the Philistines, and fearing that they would take vengeance on him for killing their hero Goliath, he simulates madness (cf. Ps 34 title),—a disease which by the Oriental (even to-day by the Bedouin) is looked upon as something sacrosanct. By this means he finds it easy enough to make his escape, and comes to the '*cave of Adullam*.' Here his relations come to him, and he gathers together a band of desperadoes, who make him their captain. Finding that this kind of life is unfitted for his parents, he takes them to *Mizpeh* and confides them to the care of the king of Moab. On his return he is advised by the prophet Gad (doubtless because he had found out that Saul had received information of David's whereabouts) to leave the stronghold; he therefore takes refuge in the forest of *Hereth*. While hiding here, news is brought to him that the Philistines are fighting against Keilah; he hastens to succour the inhabitants by attacking the Philistines; these he overcomes with great slaughter, and thereupon he takes up his abode in *Keilah*. In the meantime Saul's spies discover the whereabouts of the fugitive, and David, fearing that the men of Keilah will deliver him up to his enemy, escapes with his followers to the hill-country in the wilderness of *Ziph*. A very vigorous pursuit is now undertaken by Saul, who seems determined to catch the elusive fugitive, and the chase is carried on among the wilds of *Ziph*, *Maon*, and *Engedi*. [Some portions of the narrative here seem to be told twice over with varying detail (cf. 1 S $23^{19ff.}$ with $26^{1ff.}$, and $24^{1ff.}$ with $26^{4ff.}$).] It is during these wanderings that Saul falls into the power of David, but is magnanimously spared. The episode connected with David's dealings with Nabal, and his taking Abigail and Ahinoam for his wives, also falls within this period (1 S 24. 25. 26). At one time there seemed to be some hope of reconciliation between Saul and David ($26^{24.\ 25}$), but evidently this was short-lived, for soon afterwards David escapes once more, and comes with six hundred followers to the court of Achish, king of Gath. This time Achish welcomes him as an ally and gives him the city of *Ziklag*. David settles in Ziklag, and stays there for a year and four months (27^{7}), occupying the time by fighting against the enemies of his country, the Geshurites, Amalekites, etc. At the end of this time, war again breaks out between the Israelites and the Philistines. The question arises whether David shall join with the forces of Achish against the Israelites; David himself seems willing to fight on the side of the Philistines (29^{8}), but the princes of the Philistines, rightly or wrongly, suspect treachery on his part, and at the request of Achish he returns to *Ziklag*. On his arrival here he finds that the place has been sacked by the Amalekites, and forthwith he sets out to take revenge. This is ample and complete; part of the spoil which he acquires he sends as a present to the elders of Judah and to his friends (30^{26-31}), a fact which shows that there was a party favourable to him in Judah; and this was possibly the reason and justification of the mistrust of the Philistine princes just mentioned. In the meantime the war between Israel and the Philistines ends disastrously for the former, and Saul and Jonathan are slain. David receives news of this during his sojourn in Ziklag. With this ends the outlaw life of David, for, leaving Ziklag, he comes to Hebron, where the men of Judah anoint him king (2 S 2^{4}).

3. David as king.—(*a*) *Internal affairs.*—For the first seven years of his reign David made Hebron his capital. In spite of his evident desire to make peace with the followers of Saul (2 S 9), it was but natural that a vigorous attempt should be made to uphold the dynasty of the late king, at all events in Israel, as distinct from Judah (see ISHBOSHETH). It is therefore just what we should expect when we read that 'there was long war between the house of Saul and the house of David' (3^{1}). The final victory lay with David, and in due time the elders of Israel came to him in Hebron and anointed him their king. As ruler over the whole land David realized the need of a more central capital; he fixed on Jerusalem, which he conquered from the Jebusites, and founded the royal city on Mt. Zion, 'the city of David' (5^{7}). Thither he brought up the ark with great ceremony ($6^{12f.}$), intending to build a permanent temple for it (7^{2}), but the prophet Nathan declares to him that this is not Jahweh's will. David's disappointment is, however, soothed, for the prophet goes on to tell him that though he may not build this house, Jahweh will establish the house of David (*i.e.* in the sense of lineage) for ever (v.^{11}). David then enters in before Jahweh and offers up his thanksgiving (vv.$^{18-29}$).

One of the darker traits of David's character is

illustrated by the detailed account of the Bathsheba episode (11^2 12^{25}); so far from seeking to curb his passion for her on hearing that she is married, he finds ways and means of ridding himself of the husband, after whose death Bathsheba becomes his queen. The marriage was destined to influence materially the history of Israel (see ADONIJAH). But the most serious event in the history of the reign of David, so far as the internal affairs of the kingdom were concerned, was the rebellion of his son Absalom. Of an ambitious nature, Absalom sought the succession, even at the expense of dethroning his father. How he set about preparing the ground for the final *coup* is graphically described in 2 S 15^{1-6}. After four [forty in the EV should be read 'four'] years of suchlike crafty preparation, the rebellion broke out; a feast at Hebron, the old capital, given by Absalom to the conspirators, was the signal for the outbreak. At first Absalom was successful; he attacked Jerusalem, from which David had to flee; here, following the advice of Ahithophel, he took possession of the royal harem, a sign (in the eyes of the people of those days) of the right of heritage. The most obvious thing to do now would have been for Absalom to pursue David before he had time to gather an army; but, against the advice of Ahithophel, he follows that of Hushai—a secret friend of David—who succeeds in inducing Absalom to waste time by lingering in Jerusalem. Ahithophel, enraged at the failure of his plans, and probably foreseeing what the final result must be, leaves Absalom and goes to his home in Giloh and hangs himself (2 S 17^{23}). In the meantime David, hearing what is going on in Jerusalem, withdraws across the Jordan, and halts at Mahanaim; here he gathers his forces together under the leadership of Joab. The decisive battle follows not long after, in the 'forest of Ephraim'; Absalom is completely defeated, and loses his life by being caught in a tree by the head whilst fleeing. Whilst thus hanging he is pierced by Joab, in spite of David's urgent command that he should not be harmed. The touching account of David's sorrow, on hearing of Absalom's death, is given in 2 S 18^{23-33}. A second rebellion, of a much less serious character, was that of Sheba, who sought to draw the northern tribes from their allegiance; it was, however, easily quelled by Joab (ch. 20).

The rebellion (if such it can be called) of Adonijah occurred at the very end of David's reign. This episode is dealt with elsewhere (see ADONIJAH), and need not, therefore, be described here.

(*b*) *External affairs.*—Unlike most of his dealings with foreigners, David's first contact, as king, with those outside of his kingdom, viz. with the Syrians, was of a peaceful character. Hiram, king of Tyre, sent (according to 2 S 5^{11}, 1 Ch 14^1) artificers of different kinds to assist David in building. But this was the exception. One of the characteristics of David's reign was its large number of foreign wars. It is, however, necessary to bear in mind that in the case of a newly-established dynasty this is only to be expected. The following is, very briefly, a list of David's foreign wars; they are put in the order found in 2 Sam., but this order is not strictly chronological; moreover, it seems probable that in one or two cases duplicate, but varying, accounts appear: Philistines (5^{17-25}), Moabites (8^2), Zobah ($8^{3.\ 4}$), Syrians (8^{5-13}), Edomites (8^{14}), Ammonites, Syrians (10^1 11^1 12^{26-31}), and Philistines (21^{15-22}). David was victorious over all these peoples, the result being a great extension of his kingdom, which reached right up to the Euphrates (cf. Ex 23^{31-33}, Dt 11^{23-25}). Wars of this kind presuppose the existence of a, comparatively speaking, large army; that David had a constant supply of troops may be gathered from the details given in 1 Ch 27.

While it is impossible to deny that the *rôle* of musician in which we are accustomed to picture David is largely the product of later ages, there can be no doubt that this *rôle* assigned to him is based on fact (cf. *e.g.* 1 S 1^{17-27}, 2 S 22^{2-51} = Ps 18, Am 6^5), and he must evidently be regarded as one of the main sources of inspiration which guided the nation's musicians of succeeding generations (see art. PSALMS).

The character of David offers an intensely interesting complex of good and bad, in which the former largely predominates. As a ruler, warrior, and organizer, he stands pre-eminent among the heroes of Israel. His importance in the domain of the national religion lies mainly in his founding of the sanctuary of Zion, with all that that denotes. While his virtues of open-heartedness, generosity, and valour, besides those already referred to, stand out as clear as the day, his faults are to a large extent due to the age in which he lived, and must be discounted accordingly.

W. O. E. OESTERLEY.

DAVID, CITY OF.—See JERUSALEM.

DAY.—See TIME.

DAY OF ATONEMENT.—See ATONEMENT [DAY OF].

DAY OF THE LORD.—The day in which Jehovah was expected to punish sinful Hebrews and the enemies of Israel, and to establish at least the righteous remnant of His people in political supremacy. The Hebrews believed implicitly that their God Jehovah was certain to defeat all rivals. Before Amos this view had not reached a definite eschatology, and probably involved only a general expectation of the triumph of Israel and Israel's God. With Amos, however, the conception of punishment became less ethnic and more moral. The sins of Israel itself deserved punishment, and Amos declared that the luxury of the nation, with all its economic oppression, had grown hateful to Jehovah, and unless abandoned would bring fearful punishment (Am 2^{6-8} 3^{9-15} 5^{10-13} 6^{4-8}). The righteousness of Jehovah demanded that the sins of His people as well as those of the heathen should be punished. After Amos the thought of an awful day of Divine punishment was extended from Israel to a world of sinners. According to Zephaniah (1^{2-18} 2^{4-15}), punishment was now to come upon all wicked persons, both Jews and Gentiles, because of wrong. So, too, the unknown prophet who wrote under the name of Malachi. Ezekiel ($30^{2f.}$ 34^{12} $39^{8f.}$), however, reverted to the same national thought of a 'day of battle,' in which Jehovah would conquer all Israel's foes; and to some extent this same national idea is represented by Joel (2^{18-27}). With the later prophets there is to be seen an element of reconstruction as well as punishment in Jehovah's action. Sinners, whether Jews or Gentiles, are to be punished, but a pious remnant is to be saved, the beginnings of a new Israel.

It is clear that this conception of a great Day of Jehovah underlies much of the Messianic expectation of apocryphal literature. The establishment of a remnant of a pious Israel was the germ of the hope of the Messianic kingdom; and the Day of Jehovah itself became the **Day of Judgment,** which figures so largely in both Jewish and Christian Messianism. It fact, it is not too much to say that the eschatology of Judaism is really a development of the implications of the prophetic teaching as to the Day of Jehovah.

SHAILER MATHEWS.

DAY'S JOURNEY.—A 'day's journey' (Nu 11^{31}, 1 K 19^4, Jon 3^4, Lk 2^{44}; cf. three days' journey, Gn 30^{36}, Ex 3^{18} etc.; seven days, Gn 31^{23}) was not, like the 'sabbath day's journey' (see WEIGHTS AND MEASURES), a definite measure of length, but, like our 'stone's throw,' 'bow-shot,' etc., a popular and somewhat indefinite indication of distance. This would naturally vary with the urgency and *impedimenta* of the traveller or the caravan. Laban in hot pursuit of Jacob, and the Hebrew host in the wilderness, may be taken to represent the extremes in this matter of a 'day's journey' (reff. above), although it is scarcely possible to take literally

the 'seven days' journey' of the former (Gn 31^{23})—from Haran to Gilead, *circa* 350 miles in 7 days. From 20 to 30 miles is probably a fair estimate of an average day's journey with baggage animals. A. R. S. Kennedy.

DAYSMAN.—A daysman is an arbiter. The compound arose from the use of the word 'day' in a technical sense, to signify a day for dispensing justice. The same use is found in Gr.; thus 1 Co 4^{3} 'man's judgment' is literally 'man's day.' The word occurs in Job 9^{33} 'Neither is there any daysman betwixt us' (AV and RV margin 'umpire'). Tindale translates Ex 21^{22}, 'he shall paye as the dayesmen appoynte him' (AV 'as the judges determine').

DAYSPRING.—An old English expression denoting the dawn ('the day sprynge or dawnynge of the daye gyveth a certeyne lyght before the rysinge of the sonne,' Eden, *Decades*, 1555, p. 264). It occurs in Job 38^{12} 'Hast thou . . . caused the dayspring to know his place?'; Wis 16^{28} 'at the dayspring pray unto thee' (RV 'at the dawning of the day'). Virtually the same expression occurs in Jg 19^{25} and 1 S 9^{26}; cf. also Gn 32^{24} and Ps 65^{8} (east and west called 'the outgoings of the morning and evening'). In Lk 1^{78} the expression 'dayspring from on high' probably goes back to a Heb. original which was a well-understood personal designation of the Messiah (combining the ideas of 'light' and 'sprout'); it would then be a poetical equivalent for 'Messiah from heaven.'

G. H. Box.

DAY STAR.—See Lucifer.

DEACON.—The Gr. word *diakonos*, as well as the corresponding verb and abstract noun, is of very frequent occurrence in the text of the NT, but in EV is always translated 'servant' or 'minister' except in Ph 1^{1}, 1 Ti 3^{8-13}, where it is rendered 'deacon,' these being the only two passages where it is evidently used in a technical sense.

In the Gospels the word has the general meaning of 'servant' (cf. Mt 20^{26}|| 23^{11}, Jn $2^{5.\ 9}$). St. Paul employs it constantly of one who is engaged in Christian service, the service of God or Christ or the Church (*e.g.* 2 Co 6^{4} 11^{23}, Col 1^{23-25}), but without any trace as yet of an official signification. Once in Romans we find him distinguishing *diakonia* ('ministry') from prophecy and teaching and exhortation (12^{6-8}); but it seems evident that he is speaking here of differences in function, not in office, so that the passage does not do more than foreshadow the coming of the diaconate as a regular order.

In Acts the word *diakonos* is never once employed, but 6^{1-6}, where we read of the appointment of the Seven, sheds a ray of light on its history, and probably serves to explain how from the general sense of one who renders Christian service it came to be applied to a special officer of the Church. The Seven are nowhere called deacons, nor is there any real justification in the NT for the traditional description of them by that title. The qualifications demanded of them (v.^{3}, cf. v.^{5}) are higher than those laid down in 1 Timothy for the office of the deacon; and Stephen and Philip, the only two of their number of whom we know anything, exercise functions far above those of the later diaconate ($6^{8ff.}$ $8^{5-13.\ 26ff.}$). But the fact that the special duty to which they were appointed is called a *diakonia* or ministration (v.^{1}) and that this ministration was a definite part of the work of the Church in Jerusalem, so that 'the *diakonia*' came to be used as a specific term in this reference (cf. Ac. 11^{29} 12^{25}, Ro $15^{25.\ 31}$, 2 Co 8^{4} $9^{1.\ 12.\ 13}$), makes it natural to find in their appointment the germ of the institution of the diaconate as it meets us at Philippi and Ephesus, in two Epp. that belong to the closing years of St. Paul's life.

It is in these Greek cities, then, that we first find the deacon as a regular official, called to office after probation (1 Ti 3^{10}), and standing alongside the bishop in the ministry of the Church (Ph 1^{1}, 1 Ti 3^{1-13}). As to his *functions* nothing is said precisely. We can only infer that the *diakonia* of the deacons in Philippi and Ephesus, like the *diakonia* of the Seven in Jerusalem, was in the first place a ministry to the poor. The forms of this ministry would of course be different in the two cases, as the social conditions were (see art. Communion), but in the Gentile as in the Jewish world it would naturally be a service of a responsible, delicate, and often private kind—an inference that is borne out by what is said in 1 Tim. as to the deacon's qualifications.

Comparing these *qualifications* with those of the bishop, we observe that the difference is just what would be suggested by the names bishop or 'overseer' and deacon or 'servant' respectively. Bishops were to rule and take charge of the Church (1 Ti 3^{5}); deacons were to 'serve well' (v.^{13}). Bishops must be 'apt to teach' (v.^{2}); deacons were only called to 'hold the mystery of the faith in a pure conscience' (v.^{9}). That the work of the deacon and his fellow-servant the deaconess (wh. see) was of a house-to-house kind is suggested by the warnings given against talebearing (v.^{8}) and backbiting (v.^{11}). That it had to do with the distribution of Church moneys, and so brought temptations to pilfering, is further suggested by the demand that the deacon should not be greedy of filthy lucre (v.^{8}) and that his female counterpart should be 'faithful (*i.e.* trustworthy) in all things' (v.^{11}).

J. C. Lambert.

DEACONESS.—The word does not occur in EV except as a RVm reading in Ro 16^{1}. In this verse Phœbe is described as 'a *diakonos* of the church that is at Cenchreæ.' AV and RV render 'servant,' RVm 'deaconess.' Against the latter must be noted: (1) There is no evidence of the deacon (wh. see) in the NT till we come to the Ep. to the Philippians, and it is most unlikely that when Romans was written there would be an official deaconess. (2) Cenchreæ was one of the ports of Corinth; and in St. Paul's letters to the Corinthian Church there is a notable absence of any signs of a definite ecclesiastical organization in that city. The conclusion is that the *diakonia* of Phœbe in Cenchreæ, like the *diakonia* ('ministry') of Stephanas and his household in Corinth (1 Co 16^{15}), was a gracious but unofficial ministry to the saints (cf. Ro 16^{2b}).

In 1 Ti 3^{11}, however, although the word 'deaconess' is not used, it is almost certain that female deacons are referred to. AV misleads us by making it appear that the wives of deacons are spoken of; RV corrects this by rendering 'Women in like manner must be grave, not slanderers, temperate, faithful in all things.' And when the whole passage (vv.$^{8-13}$) is read, it seems evident that the women referred to in v.^{11} are *diakonoi* 'in like manner' as the men described both before and after. We know from Pliny, writing early in the 2nd cent., that by that time there were deaconesses in the Christian Churches of Bithynia (*Ep.* x. 96). And in the ancient world the need must have been early felt for a class of women who could perform some at least of the duties of the diaconate for their own sex in particular.

J. C. Lambert.

DEAD.—See Death.

DEAD SEA.—An inland lake 47 miles long and from $2\frac{3}{4}$ to 9 miles in breadth, which receives the waters of the Jordan. Its level is 1293 ft. below that of the Mediterranean, being the lowest body of water on the surface of the earth. It has no outlet, and the water received by it is all carried off by evaporation. In consequence, the waters of the Lake are impregnated with mineral substances to a remarkable degree; they yield 25 per cent. of salt, whereas the ocean yields but 4 to 6 per cent.

The modern name is of late origin (first used apparently by Pausanias) and refers to the total absence of life in its waters. It has no Scripture warrant; Hebrew writers speak of it as the 'Salt Sea' (Gn 14^{3}, Nu 34^{3},

Jos 15[5] etc.), the 'sea of the Arabah' (Dt 3[17] 4[49]), the 'east *or* eastern sea' (Ezk 47[18], Jl 2[20]). In Arabic it is known as *Bahr Lut*, 'the sea of Lot,' a name which, however, is more probably due to the direct influence of the history as related in the Koran than to a survival of local tradition. Somewhere near the sea were **Sodom and Gomorrah,** but whether north or south of it is not settled; the one certain fact about their sites is that the popular belief that they are *covered* by the waters of the Lake is quite inadmissible.

The Dead Sea owes its origin to a fault or fracture produced in the surface of the region by the earth-movements whereby the land was here raised above the sea-level. This fault took place towards the end of the Eocene period; it extends along the whole Jordan valley from the Gulf of Akabah to Hermon; and it may be taken as fairly certain that the general appearance of the Lake has not radically altered during the whole time that the human race has existed in the world.

Round the border of the Lake are numerous small springs, some bursting actually under its waters, others forming lagoons of comparatively brackish water (as at *'Ain Feshkhah* on the western side). In these lagoons various specimens of small fish are to be found; but in the main body of the water itself life of any kind is impossible.

Recent observations tend to show that the surface of the Lake is slowly rising. An island that was a conspicuous feature at the N. end disappeared under the surface in 1892, and has never been seen since.

R. A. S. Macalister.

DEAFNESS.—See Medicine.

DEAL.—A deal is a part or share. It is still in use in the phrase 'a great deal' or 'a good deal.' In AV occurs 'tenth deal' (RV 'tenth part'), the Heb. *'issārōn* being a measure used in meal-offerings. See Weights and Measures, II.

DEATH.—I. In the OT.—**1.** The Heb. term *māweth* and our corresponding word 'death' alike spring from primitive roots belonging to the very beginnings of speech. One of man's first needs was a word to denote that stark fact of experience—the final cessation of life to which he and the whole animated creation, and the very trees and plants, were all subject. It is, of course, in this ordinary sense of the term as denoting a physical fact that the expressions 'death' and 'die' are mostly used in the Scriptures.

2. The Scriptures have nothing directly to say as to the place of death in the economy of nature. St. Paul's words in Ro 5[12ff.] as to the connexion between sin and death must be explained in harmony with this fact; and, for that matter, in harmony also with his own words in Ro 6[23], where death, the 'wages of sin,' cannot be simply physical death. The Creation narratives are silent on this point, yet in Gn 2[17] man is expected to know what it is to die. We are not to look for exact information on matters such as this from writings of this kind. If the belief enshrined in the story of the Fall in Gn 3 regarded death in the ordinary sense as the penalty of Adam and Eve's transgression, they at any rate did not die 'in the day' of their transgression; v.[22] suggests that even then, could he but also eat of 'the tree of life,' man might escape mortality. All we can say is that in the dawn of human history man appears as one already familiar with the correlative mysteries of life and death.

3. From the contemplation of the act of dying it is an easy step to the thought of death as a state or condition. This is a distinct stage towards believing in existence of some kind beyond the grave. And to the vast mass of mankind to say 'he is dead' has never meant 'he is non-existent.'

4. Divergent beliefs as to what the state of death is show themselves in the OT.—(*a*) In numerous instances death is represented as *a condition of considerable activity and consciousness.* The dead are regarded as 'knowing ones,' able to impart information and counsel to the living. Note, the term translated 'wizards' in EV in Lv 19[31] 20[6], Is 8[19] 19[3] really denotes departed spirits who are sought unto or inquired of 'on behalf of the living.' A vivid instance of this belief is furnished in the story of the Witch of En-dor (1 S 28). So also in Is 14[9. 10], where we have a graphic description of the commotion caused in Sheol by the arrival of the king of Babylon, a description with which we may compare the dream of 'false Clarence' in Shakespeare's *Rich. III.*, i. 4. The reference to the dead under the term 'gods' (*elōhim*), as in 1 S 28[13], is noticeable. Whether in all this we have a relic of ancient Semitic ancestor-worship (as *e.g.* Charles maintains in his Jowett Lectures on *Eschatology*) or no, it seems to represent very primitive beliefs which survived in one form and another, even after the stern Jahwistic prohibition of necromancy was promulgated. They may also have affected the treatment of the dead, just as even yet there are usages in existence amongst us in regard to behaviour towards the dead which are probably traceable to very primitive pre-Christian ideas and beliefs.

(*b*) Jahwism might well forbid resort to necromancers with their weird appeals to the dead for guidance and information, for in its view the state of death was *one of unconsciousness, forgetfulness, and silence* (see Ps 88[12] 94[17] 115[17] etc.). The present world is emphatically 'the land of the living' (Ps 27[13] 116[9] etc.). Those that are in Sheol have no communion with Jahweh; see the Song of Hezekiah in Is 38, and elsewhere. Sheol appears inviting to a soul in distress because it is a realm of unconscious rest (Job 3[17f.]); and there is nothing to be known or to be done there (Ec 9[10]). It is true that here and there glimpses of a different prospect for the individual soul show themselves (*e.g.* Job 19[25ff.] and probably Ps 16[10f.]); but the foregoing was evidently the prevalent view in a period when the individual was altogether subservient to the nation, and the religious concerns of the latter were rigorously limited to the present life.

(*c*) Other ideas of death as not terminating man's existence and interests were, however, reached in later prophetic teaching, mainly through the thought of the worth of the individual, the significance of his conscious union with God, and of the covenant relations established by God with His people (Jer 31; cf. Ezk 18). 'Thou wilt not leave us in the dust.'

5. Death as standing in penal relation to man's sin and unrighteousness is frequently insisted on. That this is something more than natural death is clear from such an antithesis as we have in Dt 30[15. 19] ('life and good: death and evil'), and this set in strict relation to conduct. Cf. the burden of Ezk 18, 'the soul that sinneth it shall die,' with the correlative promise of life: similarly Pr 15[10]. All this points to some experience in the man himself and to conditions outlasting the present life. On the other hand, the thought of dying 'the death of the righteous' (Nu 23[10]) as a desirable thing looks in the same direction. And why has the righteous 'hope in his death' (Pr 14[32])?

6. As minor matters, OT poetical uses of references to death may be merely pointed out. 'Chambers of death,' Pr 7[27]; 'gates,' Ps 9[13] (=state); 'bitterness of death,' 1 S 15[32], Ec 7[26]; 'terrors,' Ps 55[4]; 'sorrows,' Ps 116[3] (=man's natural dread); 'shadow of death,' Job, Ps., the Prophets, *passim* (=any experience of horror and gloom, as well as with reference to death itself); 'the sleep of death,' Ps 13[3] (to be distinguished from later Christian usage); 'snares of death,' Prov. *passim*, etc. (=things leading to destruction); the phrase 'to death,' as 'vexed unto death,' Jg 13[7]; 'sick,' 2 K 20[1] (=to an extreme degree).

II. In the Apocrypha.—The value of the Apocrypha in connexion with the study of Scriptural teaching and usage here is not to be overlooked. Notice *e.g. Wisdom* chs. 1–5, with its treatment of the attitude of the ungodly towards death ('Let us eat and drink, for to-morrow we

die'), of the problem of the early, untimely death of the good, and of immortality in relation to the ungodly and the righteous; *Sirach*, in which no clear conception of immortality appears, the best that can be said, to alleviate sorrow for the dead, being that 'the dead is at rest' (38[23]): in which also the fear of death is spoken of as besetting all ranks of men (40), and we are told who they are to whom death comes as a dread foe, and again who may welcome death as a friend (41).

III. In the NT.—**1. The teaching of Jesus.**—(*a*) It is noticeable that our Lord has *nothing to say directly concerning death as a physical phenomenon*. He offers no explanation touching those matters in the experience of death which have always excited the curiosity of men, and in this respect His attitude is in strong contrast with that found in Rabbinical writings. He makes no use of the conception of 'the angel of death,' so characteristic of the latter, and traceable perhaps in language such as that of 1 Co 15[26], He 2[14], and Rev 20[13. 14].

(*b*) *No stress is laid on death as an evil in itself*. In the few stories which we have in the Gospels of His raising the dead to life, the raising is never represented as a deliverance and a good for the person brought back. Compassion for the sorrows of those bereaved is the prime motive: in the case of Lazarus, it is expressly added that the restoration was 'for the glory of God' (Jn 11[4. 40]). Still, those aspects of death which make the living and active shrink from it are incidentally recognized. Jesus in Rabbinic phrase speaks of *tasting* death (Mk 9[1]||) and of *seeing* death (Jn 8[51. 52]): and the feeling underlying such expressions is the very antithesis of that attaching to 'seeing life' and 'seeing many days.' Death is to common human feeling an unwelcome, though inevitable, draught. This gives point also to our Lord's promise that the believer shall never die (Jn 11[26]). At the same time, there is no reference in His teaching to natural death as the solemn end of life's experiences and opportunities, unless an exception be found in the saying about working 'while it is day' (Jn 9[4]): but contrast with this as to tone a passage like Ec 9[10].

(*c*) Jesus speaks of *death as a sleep* (Mk 5[39], Jn 11[11-13]); but the same euphemistic use is found in OT and in extra-Biblical writers. It did not of itself necessarily lessen the terrors of death (see Ps 13[3]); but we owe it to Christ and the Christian faith mainly that such a representation of death has come to mitigate its bitterness,—such a use as is also found elsewhere in NT (*e.g.* 1 Th 4[13ff.]). This conception of death is, of course, to be limited to its relation to the activities and interests of this world. It is a falling asleep after life's day—and 'we sleep to wake': but there is nothing here to shed light on such questions as to whether that sleep is a prolonged period of unconsciousness or no.

(*d*) Natural death is lost sight of in the much larger and more solemn conception of *the condition of man resulting from sin*, which in the Fourth Gospel is particularly described as 'death' (see Jn 5[24] 6[50] 8[21. 24]). The exemption and deliverance promised in Jn 11[25f.] relate to this spiritual death, and by that deliverance natural death is shorn of its real terrors. This condition, resulting from sin and separation from God, may be regarded as incipient here and tending to a manifest consummation hereafter, with physical death intervening as a moment of transition and deriving a solemn significance from its association with the course and state of sin (see Beyschlag, *NT Theol.*, Eng. tr. ii. p. 56 f.). The corresponding language of 1 Ep. of John is not to be overlooked (3[14]) as exemplifying Johannine phraseology. The conception, however, is not found exclusively in the Johannine writings. Note the saying in Lk 9[60] as bearing on this point. In Mt 7[13f.] 'destruction' is the antithesis of 'life' (and cf. Mt 5[29f.] 18[11], Mk 8[35], Jn 3[16] etc.); but the conception of 'perishing' covers the deep experience of spiritual death, the loss of all that really makes the man.

(The phrase 'die the death' in EV, in Mk 7[10] and parallel, may be noticed as being not a literal translation of the Greek, but a mid-English emphatic expression, now archaic.)

2. The rest of the NT.—We may notice the following points: (*a*) The Pauline doctrine that *natural death is the primitive consequence of sin*, already referred to, is to be explained as the common Jewish interpretation of the OT account of the Fall, and finds no direct support in the Gospels. The feeling that 'the sting of death is sin' is, however, widely existent in NT. (*b*) *The use of the term 'death' as denoting a certain spiritual state* in which men may live and be still destitute of all that is worth calling 'life,' is quite common (Eph 2[1. 5] 5[14], Col 2[13], 1 Ti 5[6], Ja 1[15], Jude [12], Rev 3[1]). (*c*) A mystical and figurative use of the notion of death as denoting *the change from a sinful to a new life* is noticeable. The believer, the man spiritually alive, is also 'dead to sin' (Ro 6[2], 1 P 2[24]), is 'dead with Christ' (Ro 6[8], Col 2[20] etc.). (*d*) The expression '*eternal death*' is found nowhere in NT, common as its use is in religious and theological language. It is the correlative, easily suggested by the expression 'eternal life' which is so conspicuous a topic of NT teaching, and it serves loosely as an equivalent for the antitheses to 'life' or 'eternal life' that actually occur, such as 'destruction' (Mt 7[13]), 'the eternal fire' (Mt 18[8]), 'eternal punishment' (Mt 25[46]). Cf. also 'the second death' in Rev 21[8]. If we substitute for 'eternal' some other rendering such as 'of the ages' or 'æonian,' it but serves to remind us of the profound difficulties attaching to the predication of eternity in relation to the subject of man's destiny or doom.

J. S. Clemens.

DEBATE.—This word had formerly the meaning of 'strife,' as in the Geneva tr. of Gn 13[7], 'there was debate betweene the heardmen of Abrams cattell, and the heardmen of Lots cattell.'

DEBIR.—The king of Eglon, who acc. to Jos 10[3] joined other four kings against Joshua, but was defeated and put to death along with his allies at Makkedah.

DEBIR.—**1.** A town first known as **Kiriath-sepher** (Jos 15[15], Jg 1[11]) in the neighbourhood of Hebron, and inhabited by Anakim (Jos 11[21]), conquered by Joshua (10[38] 11[21] 12[13]), or more specifically by Othniel (15[15]), assigned as a Levitical city (21[15], 1 Ch 6[58]) in the tribe of Judah (Jos 15[49]). An alternative name **Kiriath-sannah**, once recorded (15[49]), is probably a corruption of Kiriath-sepher, due primarily to the similarity of *p* and *n* in the old Hebrew alphabet. It has been doubtfully identified with *edh-Dhaheriyeh* near Hebron; till the site can be identified and examined, the attractive speculations based on the apparent meaning of the older name ('City of Books' or 'Scribes') must be left in the region of theory.

2. A place named in the northern boundary of Judah, near the valley of Achor (Jos 15[7]). The name still survives as the appellation of a place in this neighbourhood.

3. A place, not identified, in the border of the trans-Jordanic territory of Gad (Jos 13[26]). An alternative reading is **Lidebir** (cf. Lo-debar).

R. A. S. Macalister.

DEBORAH ('bee').—**1.** Rebekah's nurse, who accompanied her mistress to her new home on her marrying Isaac (Gn 24[59]). She was evidently held in great reverence, as the name of the site of her grave in Bethel shows, *Allon-bacuth*, the 'terebinth of weeping' (Gn 35[8]).

2. The fourth of the leaders, or 'Judges,' of Israel; called also a 'prophetess,' *i.e.* an inspired woman—one of the four mentioned in the OT—of the tribe of Issachar (Jg 5[15]), wife of Lappidoth (4[4]). Her home was between Bethel and Ramah in the hill-country of Ephraim; here the Israelites came to her for judgment and guid-

ance. She was the real deliverer of the Israelites, who had sunk into a state of feebleness and impotence, through the oppression of Jabin, king of Hazor (see BARAK). A personality of great power and outstanding character, she was looked up to as a 'mother in Israel' (5[7]), and was instant both in word and in deed in fulfilling her calling of 'Judge.' Her rôle is the more remarkable in that the general position of women in those days was of a distinctly subordinate character.

Deborah's Song (Jg 5[2-31]) is one of the most ancient and magnificent remains of early Hebrew literature. It is a song of victory, sung in memory of Israel's triumph (under the leadership of Deborah and Barak) over Sisera and the kings of Canaan. The vivid pictures which the poem brings up before the mind's eye make it certain that the writer (whether Deborah or another) lived at the time of the events described. The parallel, and somewhat later, account (in prose) of the same battle (Jg 4[4-24]) agrees in the main with the poem, though there are many differences in the details. The Song is divided into four distinct sections:

Praise to Jahweh, and the terror of His approach, vv.[2-5].
Condition of Israel prior to Deborah's activity, vv.[6-11].
Gathering of the tribes of Israel, vv.[12-18].
Victory of Israel and death of Sisera, vv.[19-31].

The chief importance of the Song lies in the historical *data* it contains, and in the light it throws on some of early Israel's conceptions of Jahweh. Of the former, the main points are that at this time the Israelites had securely settled themselves in the mountainous districts, but had not as yet obtained any hold on the fertile lands of the Plain; that unity had not yet been established among the tribes of Israel; and that the 'twelve tribes' of later times had not yet all come into existence.

Of the latter, the main points are: that Jahweh has His dwelling-place on the mountains in the South; that, therefore, He has not yet come to dwell among His people, though He is regarded as specifically the God of Israel; that He comes forth from His dwelling-place to lead His people to battle; and that His might and strength are so great that the very elements are shaken at His approach.

The Hebrew text is in some places (notably in vv.[8. 10-15]) very corrupt; but the general sense is clear.

3. The mother of Tobit's father; she seems to have taught her grandchild the duty of almsgiving (To 1[8]).

W. O. E. OESTERLEY.

DEBT.—1. In OT.—Loans in the OT period were not of a commercial nature. They were not granted to enable a man to start or extend his business, but to meet the pressure of poverty. To the borrower they were a misfortune (Dt 28[12. 44]); to the lender a form of charity. Hence the tone of *legislation* on the subject.

Usury is forbidden in all three codes (Ex 22[25] [JE], Dt 23[19], Lv 25[36] [H]); it was making a profit out of a brother's distress. In Dt. it may be taken from a foreigner. Pledges were allowed, but under strict limitations (Dt 24[10], Job 24[3]). In Dt 15 is a remarkable law providing for the 'letting drop' of loans every seventh year (see Driver, *ad loc.*). Its relation to the law of the Sabbatical year in Ex 23[10] (JE), Lv 25[1] (H) is not clear, but the cessation of agriculture would obviously lead to serious financial difficulties, and debtors might reasonably look for some relief. This consideration makes for the modern view, that the passage implies only the suspension for a year of the creditor's right to demand payment. It must be admitted, however, that apart from *a priori* considerations the obvious interpretation is a total remission of debts (so the older, and Jewish commentators). Foreigners do not come under the law. The other codes have no parallel, except where the debt may have led to the bondage of the debtor's person.

Historically the legislation seems to have been largely ignored. In 2 K 4[1-7] a small debt involves the bondage of a widow's two sons (cf. Is 50[1], Mt 18[23]), and Elisha helps her not by invoking the law, but by a miracle. In Neh 5 mortgaged lands and interest are restored under the pressure of an economic crisis. Nehemiah himself has been a creditor and taken usury. There is an apparent reference to Dt 15 in Neh 10[31]. In later times the strictness of the law was evaded by various legal fictions: Hillel introduced a system of 'contracting out.' That loans played a large part in social life is shown by frequent references in the Prophets, Psalms, and Proverbs (Is 24[2], Ps 15[5] 37[21], Pr 19[17] 28[8]). Jer 15[10] shows that the relation between debtor and creditor was proverbially an unpleasant one. In Ps 37[21] it is part of the misfortune of the wicked that he shall be unable to pay his debts; there is no reference to dishonesty. Pr. 22[7], Sir 18[33] warn against borrowing, and Sir 29 has some delightful common-sense advice on the whole subject.

2. In NT.—Loans are assumed by our Lord as a normal factor in social life (Mt 25[27], Lk 16[5] 19[23]). Lk 6[34. 35] suggests that the Christian will not always stand on his rights in this respect. *Debt* is used as a synonym for *sin* in Mt 6[12] (cf. the two parables Mt 18[23], Lk 7[41]; and Col 2[14]). The context of these passages is a sufficient warning against the external and legalistic view of sin which might be suggested by the word itself. Christ does not imply that it is a debt which can be paid by any amount of good deeds or retributive suffering. The word is chosen to emphasize our duty of forgiveness, and it has a wide meaning, including all we owe to God. The metaphor of the money payment has ceased to be prominent, except where it is implied by the context.

C. W. EMMET.

DECALOGUE.—See TEN COMMANDMENTS.

DECAPOLIS.—Originally a league of ten cities, Greek in population and constitution, for mutual defence against the Semitic tribes around them. It must have come into existence about the beginning of the Christian era. The original ten cities, as enumerated by Pliny, were Scythopolis, Pella, Dion, Gerasa, Philadelphia, Gadara, Raphana, Kanatha, Hippos, and Damascus. Other cities joined the league from time to time. The region of Decapolis (Mt 4[25], Mk 5[20] 7[31]) was the territory in which these cities were situated; that is (excluding Damascus), roughly speaking, the country S.E. of the Sea of Galilee.

R. A. S. MACALISTER.

DECEASE.—The Gr. word *exodos* ('exodus,' 'outgoing') is translated 'decease' in Lk 9[31] and 2 P 1[15], the meaning being departure out of the world. In this sense the Gr. word is used also in Wis 3[2] 7[6], Sir 38[23]. The opposite, *eisodos*, is used of the 'coming' of Christ. The only other occurrence of the Gr. *exodos* in NT is in He 11[22], of the Exodus from Egypt (AV and RV 'departure').

DECENTLY.—1 Co 14[40], 'Let all things be done decently and in order,' that is, in a comely, handsome manner; for that is the old meaning of 'decent,' and it is the meaning of the Gr. word used.

DECISION.—Duly constituted and recognized authorities have the power of decision granted to them in all questions of right in the Bible. Moses (Ex 18[13]), the judges (1 S 7[16]), and the kings (1 K 3[16ff.]) exercise this power upon occasion. Questions of right between Christian brethren are to be decided by Church courts and not by civil authorities (Mt 18[17], 1 Co 6[1-8]). The only method of decision sanctioned in the NT is the exercise of godly judgment on the part of the individual to whom authority has been granted. The casting of lots by heathen soldiers (Mk 15[24]) and the sortilege of Ac 1[21-26] cannot be cited as examples for the Christian Church. No instance of the casting of lots can be found after Pentecost. The Spirit of a sound mind now decides what is right and what is true.

D. A. HAYES.

DECISION, VALLEY OF.—The phrase is found only in Jl 3[14] 'Multitudes, multitudes in the valley of decision;

for the day of Jehovah is near in the valley of decision.' This valley is evidently the valley of Jehoshaphat mentioned in the preceding context (vv.[2. 12]). The decision is that of Jehovah Himself, His final judgment upon the heathen assembled. The scene of this judgment has been fixed by Jews, Roman Catholics, and Mohammedans in the Valley of the Kidron. The valley of Jehoshaphat has been identified with the Valley of the Kidron since the time of Eusebius. Orelli, Michaelis, Robinson, and others think the valley of this prophecy is purely a symbolic one, the valley of 'Jehovah's judgment,' as the Heb. name *Jehoshaphat* ('Jehovah hath judged') suggests. D. A. Hayes.

DECREE.—What theologians speak of as the 'decrees of God,' and describe as one, immutable, eternal, all-embracing, free, etc., do not receive this designation in Scripture. The equivalents are to be sought for under such headings as Election, Predestination, Providence, Reprobate. In the EV the term is frequently used in Esther, Ezra, Daniel, with different Heb. and Aram. words, for royal decrees (in Dn 6 RV 'interdict'; in 2^9 RV 'law,' elsewhere 'decree'). In the NT also the Gr. word *dogmata* is employed of decrees of Cæsar (Lk 2^1, Ac 17^7); in Ac 16^4 it is used of decrees of the Church; elsewhere (Eph 2^{15}, Col. 2^{20}) it is tr. **'ordinances.'** The nearest approach to the theological sense of the term is, in OT, in the Heb. word *hōk*, ordinarily tr. **'statute,'** which is used in various places of God's sovereign appointments in nature and providence (Job 28^{26}, Ps 148^6, Pr 8^{29}, Jer 5^{22}, Zeph 2^2). The Hebrews had not the modern conception of 'laws of nature,' but they had a good equivalent in the idea of the world as ordered and founded by God's decrees; as regulated by His ordinances (cf. Ps $104^{5.\ 9}$ 119^{88-91}, Jer $10^{12ff.}$). The same word is used in Ps 2^7 of God's 'decree' regarding His king; in Dn $4^{17.\ 24}$ (Aram.) we have 'decree' of 'the watchers' and 'the most High.' James Orr.

DEDAN.—A north Arabian people, according to Gn 10^7 descended from Cush, and according to 25^3 from Abraham through Keturah. The combination is not difficult to understand when we remember the Arabian affiliations of the Cushites (cf. Is 21^{13}). In Ezk 25^{13} Dedan is placed almost within the Edomite territory, which it must have bordered on the south-east (cf. Jer 25^{23} 49^8). The Dedanites were among the Arabian peoples who sent their native wares to the markets of Tyre (Ezk 27^{20}). In Ezk 27^{15} read 'Rodan' (Rhodians) for 'Dedan.' J. F. McCurdy.

DEDICATION.—See House, § 3.

DEDICATION, FEAST OF THE.—After the desecration of the Temple and altar by Antiochus Epiphanes, Judas Maccabæus re-consecrated them in B.C. 165 on the 25th day of Chislev (December); cf. 1 Mac 4^{52-59}, 2 Mac 10^6. This event was henceforward celebrated by a feast all over the country (Jn 10^{22}). It lasted 8 days. There was no suspension of business or labour, and but few additions were made to the ordinary synagogue services. The special feature of the festival was the illumination of private houses, whence came its alternative name—'the Feast of Lights.' (There were divergent rules for these illuminations in the various schools of traditionalists.) It was an occasion for feasting and jollity: the people assembled at the synagogues, carrying branches of palms and other trees; the services were jubilant, no fast or mourning could begin during the period, and the Hallel (Pss 113–118) was chanted. The resemblances of this celebration to the Feast of Tabernacles were perhaps intentional. A. W. F. Blunt.

DEEP.—See Abyss.

DEER.—See Fallow-deer, Hart.

DEFENCED.—In AV 'defenced' means 'provided with fences,' 'protected,' 'fortified.' It is used in AV of fortified cities, and once (Zec 11^2 marg.) of a forest.

DEFILEMENT.—See Clean and Unclean.

DEGREES, SONGS OF.—See Psalms.

DEHAITES (AV *Dehavites*, Ezr 4^9).—The Dehaites were among the peoples settled in Samaria by Osnappar, *i.e.* probably the Assyr. king Ashurbanipal. The name has been connected with that of a nomadic Persian tribe, the *Daoi*, mentioned in Herod. i. 125, or with the name of the city *Du'-ūa*, mentioned on Assyr. contract-tablets; but these identifications are very doubtful.

DELAIAH.—**1.** One of the sons of Elioenai (1 Ch 3^{24}, AV **Dalaiah**). **2.** A priest and leader of the 23rd course of priests (1 Ch 24^{18}). **3.** The son of Shemaiah (Jer $36^{12.\ 25}$). **4.** The son of Mehetabel, and father of Shemaiah (Neh 6^{10}). **5.** The head of a family that returned with Zerubbabel (Ezr 2^{60}=Neh 7^{62}). The name in 1 Es 5^{37} is **Dalan.**

DELILAH.—The Philistine woman who betrayed Samson into the hands of the Philistines. See Samson.

DELOS.—A small rocky island in the Ægæan Sea, which has played an extraordinary part in history. It was the seat of a wide-spread worship of Apollo, who, with his sister Artemis, was said to have been born there. In B.C. 478 it was chosen as the meeting-place of the confederacy of Greek States united against their common enemy the Persians, and became a rival of Athens. In the 2nd and 1st cents. B.C. it became a great harbour, and was under Roman protection from B.C. 197 to 167. It was later a portion of the Roman province Achaia. It is mentioned in the famous letter of the Romans in favour of the Jews (B.C. 139–138, 1 Mac 15^{16-23}). It was a great exchange, where slaves and other products of the E. were bought for the Italian market. It was the scene in B.C. 87 of a horrible massacre carried out by Mithradates, king of Pontus, who slaughtered 80,000 Italians there and in neighbouring islands. It never fully recovered, and in the Empire became insignificant. A. Souter.

DELUGE.—1. The Biblical story, Gn 6^{5-9} 17 [6^{1-4} is probably a separate tradition, unconnected with the Deluge (see Driver, *Genesis*, p. 82)]. The two narratives of J and P have been combined; the verses are assigned by Driver as follows: J 6^{5-8} $7^{1-5.\ 7-10.\ 12.\ 16b.\ 17b.\ 22.\ 23}$ $8^{2b-3a.\ 6-12.\ 13b.\ 20-22}$; P 6^{9-22} $7^{6.\ 11.\ 13-16a.\ 17a.\ 18-21.\ 24}$ $8^{1.\ 2a.\ 3b-5.\ 13a.\ 14-19}$ 9^{1-17}. J alone relates the sending out of the birds, and the sacrifice with which J″ is so pleased that He determines never again to curse the ground. P alone gives the directions with regard to the size and construction of the ark, the blessing of Noah, the commands against murder and the eating of blood, and the covenant with the sign of the rainbow. In the portions in which the two narratives overlap, they are at variance in the following points. (*a*) In P one pair of every kind of animal (6^{18-20}), in J one pair of the unclean and seven of the clean ($7^{2.\ 3}$), are to be taken into the ark. (In 7^9 a redactor has added the words 'two and two' to make J's representation conform to that of P.) The reason for the difference is that, according to P, animals were not eaten at all till after the Deluge (9^3), so that there was no distinction required between clean and unclean. (*b*) In P the cause of the Deluge is not only rain but also the bursting forth of the subterranean abyss (6^{11}); J mentions rain only (v.[12]). (*c*) In P the water begins to abate after 150 days (8^3), the mountain tops are visible after 8 months and 13 days (7^{11} 8^5), and the earth is dry after a year and 10 days (8^{14}); in J the Flood lasts only 40 days (7^{12} 8^6), and the water had begun to abate before that.

2. The Historicity of the story.—The modern study of geology and comparative mythology has made it impossible to see in the story of the Deluge the literal record of an historical event. (The fact that marine

fossils are found on the tops of hills cannot be used as an argument, for (i.) the same argument could be used —and is actually used by native tribes—to prove other flood-stories in various parts of the globe; and (ii.) though it proves that some spots which are now at the tops of hills were at one time submerged, that is not equivalent to asserting that a flood ever occurred which covered the whole planet—apart from the extreme improbability that the submergence of mountains was within the period of man's existence.) The difficulties in the story as it stands are immense. (*a*) All the water in the world, together with all the vapour if reduced to water, would not cover the whole earth to the height of Mt. Ararat. And if it had, it is impossible to imagine how it could have dried up in a year and 10 days (not to speak of 40 days), or whither it could have flowed away. (*b*) If only a single family survived, it is impossible to account for the wide variety of races and languages. (*c*) The means of safety is not a ship, but simply a huge chest, which would instantly capsize in a storm. It is popularly assumed that it had a hull, shaped like that of a ship; but of this nothing is said in the Heb. narrative. (*d*) The collection by Noah of a pair of every kind of animal, bird, and creeping thing, which would include species peculiar to different countries from the arctic regions to the tropics, is inconceivable. And no less so the housing of them all in a single chest, the feeding and care of them by eight persons, the arrangements to prevent their devouring one another, and the provision of the widely diverse conditions of life necessary for creatures from different countries and climates. From every point of view it is clear that the story is legendary, and similar in character to the legends which are found in the folk-lore of all peoples.

3. The Cause of the Deluge.—This is stated to be rain ($7^{11b.\ 12}$), and the bursting forth of the subterranean abyss. It must be studied in connexion with other flood-stories. Such stories are found principally in America, but also in India, Cashmir, Tibet, China, Kamschatka, Australia, some of the Polynesian Islands, Lithuania, and Greece. In the great majority of cases the flood is caused by some startling natural phenomenon, which often has a special connexion with the locality to which it belongs; *e.g.* the melting of the ice or snow, in the extreme N. of America; earthquakes, on the American coastlands where they frequently occur; the submergence or emergence of islands, in districts liable to volcanic eruptions; among inland peoples the cause is frequently the bursting of the banks of rivers which have been swollen by rains. Sometimes the stories have grown up to account for various facts of observation; *e.g.* the dispersion of peoples, and differences of language; the red colour, or the pale colour, of certain tribes; the discovery of marine fossils inland, and so on. In some cases these stories have been coloured by the Bible story, owing to the teaching of Christian missionaries in modern times, and often mixed up with other Bible stories, and reproduced with grotesque details by local adaptation. But there are very many which are quite unconnected with the story of Noah. (For a much fuller discussion of the various flood-stories see the valuable art. 'Flood' in Hastings' *DB* ii.) It is reasonable, therefore, to treat the Hebrew story as one of these old-world legends, and to look for the cause of it in the natural features of the land which gave it birth. And we are fortunate in the possession of an earlier form of the legend, which belongs to Babylonia, and makes it probable that its origin is to be ascribed to the inundation of the large Babylonian plain by the bursting forth of one of the rivers by which it is intersected, and perhaps also, as some think, to the incursion of a tidal wave due to an earthquake somewhere in the South. This, among a people whose world was bounded by very narrow limits, would easily be magnified in oral tradition into a universal Deluge.

4. The Babylonian story.—(*a*) One form of the story has long been known from the fragments of Berosus, an Egyptian priest of the 3rd cent. B.C. It differs in certain details from the other form known to us; *e.g.* when the birds return the second time, clay is seen to be attaching to their legs (a point which finds parallels in some N. American flood-legends); and not only the hero of the story, Xisuthros, and his wife, but also his daughter and the pilot of the ship are carried away by the gods.

(*b*) The other and more important form is contained in Akkadian cuneiform tablets in the British Museum, first deciphered in 1872. It is part of an epic in 12 parts, each connected with a sign of the Zodiac; the Flood story is the 11th, and is connected with Aquarius, the 'water-bearer.' Gilgamesh of Uruk (Erech, Gn 10^{10}), the hero of the epic, contrived to visit his ancestor Ut-napishtim, who had received the gift of immortality. The latter is in one passage called Adra-hasis, which being inverted as Hasis-adra appears in Greek as Xisuthros. He relates to Gilgamesh how, for his piety, he had been preserved from a great flood. When Bel and three other gods determined to destroy Shurippak, a city 'lying on the Euphrates,' Ea warned him to build a ship. He built it 120 cubits in height and breadth, with six decks, divided into 7 storeys, each with 9 compartments; it had a mast, and was smeared with bitumen. He took on board all his possessions, 'the seed of life of every kind that I possessed,' cattle and beasts of the field, his family, servants, and craftsmen. He entered the ship and shut the door. Then Ramman the storm-god thundered, and the spirits of heaven brought lightnings; the gods were terrified; they fled to heaven, and cowered in a heap like a dog in his kennel. On the 7th day the rain ceased, and all mankind were turned to clay. The ship grounded on Mt. Nisir, E. of the Tigris, where it remained 6 days. Then Ut-napishtim sent forth a dove, a swallow, and a raven, and the last did not return. He then sent the animals to the four winds, and offered sacrifice on an altar at the top of the mountain. The gods smelled the savour and gathered like flies. The great goddess Ishtar lighted up the rainbow. She reproached Bel for destroying all mankind instead of one city only. Bel, on the other hand, was angry at the escape of Ut-napishtim, and refused to come to the sacrifice. But he was pacified by Ea, and at length entered the ship, and made a covenant with Ut-napishtim, and translated him and his wife to 'the mouth of the rivers,' and made them immortal.

The similarities to the Heb. story, and the differences from it, are alike obvious. It dates from at least B.C. 3000, and it would pass through a long course of oral repetition before it reached the Hebrew form. And herein is seen the religious value of the latter. The genius of the Hebrew race under Divine inspiration gradually stripped it of all its crude polytheism, and made it the vehicle of spiritual truth. It teaches the unity and omnipotence of J"; His hatred of sin and His punishment of sinners; but at the same time His merciful kindness to them that obey Him, which is shown in rescuing them from destruction, and in entering into a covenant with them.

5. It is strange that, apart from Gn 9^{28} $10^{1.\ 32}$ 11^{10}, there are only two allusions in the OT to the Flood, Is 54^{9} and Ps 29^{10} (the latter uncertain; see commentaries). In the Apocr.: 2 Es $3^{9f.}$, Wis 10^{4}, Sir $44^{17f.}$ (40^{10} in LXX, but not in Heb.). In the NT: Mt $24^{38f.}$, Lk 17^{27}, He 11^{7}, 1 P 3^{20}, 2 P 2^{5}. A. H. M'Neile.

DEMAS (= Demetrius?).—A companion of St. Paul in his first Roman imprisonment (Col 4^{14}, Philem ^{24}). There is some indication (cf. Ph $2^{20f.}$) that even then Demas was not altogether trusted; and later he forsook the Apostle, 'having loved this present world' (2 Ti 4^{10}). He was apparently a native of Thessalonica.

A. J. Maclean.

DEMETRIUS.—1. *Soter*, the son of Seleucus *Philopator*. In his boyhood he was sent (B.C. 175) to Rome as a hostage, but made his escape after the death of his uncle, Antiochus Epiphanes. Landing at Tripolis, he was joined by large bodies of the people, and even by the bodyguard of his cousin, Antiochus Eupator. Eupator was soon defeated and put to death, and in B.C. 162, Demetrius was proclaimed king (1 Mac 7^{1-4}, 2 Mac $14^{1.\ 2}$; Jos. *Ant.* XII. X. 1). After seven years, Alexander Balas (wh. see) was set up as a claimant to

the crown of Syria (B.C. 153); and he and Demetrius competed for the support of Jonathan (1 Mac 10^{1-21}; Jos. *Ant.* XIII. ii. 1–3). Balas prevailed in spite of the attempts of his rival to outbid him (1 Mac 10^{25-45}). In B.C. 150 a decisive engagement took place, in which Demetrius was defeated and slain (1 Mac 10^{48-50}; Jos. *Ant.* XIII. ii. 4).

2. *Nikator*, sent by his father, *D. Soter*, for safety to Cnidus after the success of Balas seemed probable. After several years of exile he landed (B.C. 147) with an army of Cretan mercenaries on the Cilician coast, and finally inflicted a fatal defeat upon Balas (B.C. 145) on the banks of the Œnoparas, from which event Demetrius derived his surname (1 Mac 11^{14-19}; Jos. *Ant.* XIII. iv. 8). He bought off the opposition of Jonathan by the addition of three Samaritan provinces to Judæa, and the exemption from tribute of the country thus enlarged (1 Mac 11^{20-37}; Jos. *Ant.* XIII. iv. 9). After varying fortunes in the war with Tryphon (wh. see), Demetrius invaded the dominions of the king of Parthia, by whom, in B.C. 138, he was taken prisoner (1 Mac 14^{1-3}). Upon regaining his liberty at the end of ten years, he undertook a war against Ptolemy *Physkon* of Egypt. Having been defeated by Zabinas at Damascus, he fled to Ptolemais, and thence to Tyre, where in B.C. 125 he was murdered (Jos. *Ant.* XIII. ix. 3), possibly at the instigation of his wife Cleopatra (App. *Syr.* 68; Liv. *Epit.* lx.).

3. *Eukairos*, grandson of *D. Nikator*. On the death of his father he established himself in Cœle-Syria, with Damascus as his capital (Jos. *Ant.* XIII. xiii. 4). When civil war broke out between Alexander Jannæus and his Pharisee subjects, the latter invited the assistance of Demetrius (Jos. *Ant.* XIII. xiii. 5, *BJ* I. iv. 4), who defeated Jannæus in a pitched battle near Shechem (Jos. *Ant.* XIII. xiv. 1, *BJ* I. iv. 5). After a chequered career, Demetrius fell into the hands of the Parthians, by whom he was detained in captivity until his death (Jos. *Ant.* XIII. xiv. 3).

4. 5. Two persons of the name are mentioned in NT—the ringleader in the riot at Ephesus (Ac 19^{24}), and a disciple commended by St. John (3 Jn ^{12}). Probably the same name occurs in a contracted form as *Demas*.

DEMON.—The word does not occur in AV. In RV it is substituted for 'devil' in the margin of many passages, and the American Committee was in favour of its adoption in the text. Twice it stands in the text (Dt 32^{17}, Ps 106^{37}), representing a root found in both Assyr. and Arab., and denoting a species of genii or demi-gods, who were conceived as invested with power for good or evil, and to whom even human sacrifices were offered. So in Bar 4^{7}; and in the same sense probably 'devils' is used in 1 Co 10^{20} and Rev 9^{20}. For the conception of demon as an influence or spirit, exclusively evil, see DEVIL; and for the phenomena, see POSSESSION and EXORCISM.

R. W. MOSS.

DEMOPHON (2 Mac 12^{2}).—A Syrian commandant in Palestine under Antiochus *Eupator*.

DEN.—The five Heb. words represented by 'den' signify respectively 'hollow place' (Is 32^{14}), 'thicket' (Ps 10^{9}), 'place of ambush' (Job 37^{8}), 'dwelling' (Job 38^{40}), 'light hole' or 'eyeball' (Is 11^{8}); but the last passage may be corrupt.

J. TAYLOR.

DENARIUS.—See MONEY, §§ 6. 7.

DEPUTY.—1. AV of Est 8^{9} 9^{3} (RV 'governor') as tr. of *pechāh*. See GOVERNOR. 2. AV of Ac $13^{7.\ 8.\ 12}$ 18^{12} 19^{38} (RV 'proconsul') as tr. of Gr. *anthupatos*. See PROCONSUL. 3. RV of Jer $51^{23.\ 28}$ (AV 'ruler'), Dn $3^{2.\ 3}$ 6^{7} (AV 'governor') as tr. of *sāgān* or its Aram. equivalent. The term denotes in these passages a superior official or prefect of the Babylonian Empire. It is applied elsewhere (Ezr 9^{2}, Neh 2^{16} $4^{14.\ 19}$ etc.) to petty officials in Judah (EV 'rulers,' RVm 'deputies'). 4. AV and RV of 1 K 22^{47} as tr. of *nizzāb* (lit. 'one set up *or* appointed'), used of the vassal-king of Edom.

DERBE.—A city in the ethnic district Lycaonia, and in the region Lycaonia-Galatica of the Roman province Galatia, on the main road from Iconium (or Lystra) S.E. to Laranda. The modern villages *Losta* and *Gudelissin* are built on the ruins of the city or its territory. Amyntas, king of Galatia, had conquered it, and in B.C. 25 it passed with the rest of his territory into the hands of the Romans. From A.D. 41 to 72 it was the frontier city of the province, and was honoured with the prefix *Claudio*. It was in this period that St. Paul visited it (Ac 14^{6}), and then retraced his steps to Lystra, etc. On his second journey, coming from Cilicia, he reached it first and then went on to Lystra, as he did also on the third journey. Gaius of Derbe was one of the representatives of Galatia in the deputation which carried the collection for the poor Christians in Jerusalem (Ac 20^{4}). Derbe was on the whole one of the least important places visited by St. Paul, and appears little in history.

A. SOUTER.

DESCENT INTO HADES.—The general meaning of the word 'hell' (Hades) in the OT is the *unseen, hidden* place. It is the shadowy dwelling-place of the spirits of the dead. At first there was no idea of a distinction between good and bad. But such an idea grew up, and in the NT our Lord sanctioned the belief. In the parable of Dives and Lazarus (Lk 16^{19-31}), while the soul of Dives was said to be in torment the soul of Lazarus was taken to the society of Abraham. The promise to the penitent robber (Lk 23^{43}) 'To-day shalt thou be with me in Paradise,' points in the same direction.

The Apostles seem to have taught from the first that the soul of Christ Himself passed into Hades at His death. This appears in the first sermon of St. Peter (Ac 2^{24-31}), when he quotes Ps 16^{10}, 'Thou wilt not leave my soul in Hades,' as a prophecy of the Resurrection. St. Paul also, adapting some words from Dt 30^{13}, wrote to the Romans (10^{7}) that it is not necessary to search the depth, since Christ is risen from the dead. His reference to 'the lower parts of the earth' in Eph 4^{9} has been interpreted to mean 'came down to earth in the Incarnation': 'Now this, he ascended, what is it but that he also descended first into the lower parts of the earth?' But the phrase had been used in Ps 63^{9} with reference to Hades, and has probably that meaning in this passage also. Through obedience even unto death, Christ became Lord of the under world also, and in His descent asserted His Lordship (Ph 2^{10}).

Thus we find the way prepared for explanation of the difficult passage 1 P 3^{18-20}: 'Because Christ also suffered for sins once, the righteous for the unrighteous, that he might bring us to God; being put to death in the flesh, but quickened in the spirit; in which also he went and preached unto the spirits in prison, which aforetime were disobedient, when the long-suffering of God waited in the days of Noah, while the ark was a preparing'; cf. 4^{6} 'For unto this end was the gospel preached even to the dead, that they might be judged according to men in the flesh, but live according to God in the spirit.'

Until the time of St. Augustine this passage was interpreted to mean that Christ preached to the spirits of men and women who were drowned in the Flood. The Apostle bids his readers take courage from the fact that Christ's death was followed by a quickening in the spirit. If persecution should bring them to death also, similar increase of spiritual energy would follow. There is a reference to the Ascension in v.^{22}, which marks the time that Christ preached and excludes the idea that Christ in Noah preached to the men of Noah's time, which was first suggested by St. Augustine. This view, however, though supported in modern times by the great names of Hammond, Pearson, and Barrow, is generally regarded as impossible.

There is one other interpretation, which must be

mentioned as a possible alternative. Some critics suggest that the preaching was to the fallen angels mentioned in 2 P 2[4], Jude [6], either after Christ's death or before the Incarnation. The word 'spirits' is used of angels in the NT (Ac 23[8]), but is used also of spirits of the dead (He 12[23], cf. Lk 24[37-39]), and 1 P 4[6] seems to prove that this is the sense here.

We may pass by fanciful theories such as that the passage refers to the preaching of Enoch regarded as an incarnation of the Messiah. The apocryphal Book of Enoch records preaching of punishment to fallen angels, but says nothing of a preaching of salvation to the souls of men. And the word 'preached' in 1 P 3[19] implies preached the gospel.

If it is asked why should only one set of sinners be mentioned, we may reply that they were typical sinners, whose fate, as Dr. Bigg shows (*Com., ad loc.*), was much questioned at the time when St. Peter wrote. There is some evidence that a belief was current in the Jewish schools to the effect that a time of repentance would be allowed to the sinners who perished in the Flood before the final judgment. We may hope for fresh light on the point from further research, and for the present may rest content with the interpretation which enables us to quote these passages in 1 P. as proving that moral distinctions exist in Hades, and that moral change is possible for moral beings there as here, unless they sin against light.

A. E. Burn.

DESERT.—See Wilderness.

DESTROY (utterly).—See Ban.

DEUEL.—Father of Eliasaph, prince of Gad (Nu 1[14] 7[42. 47] 10[20]) = **Reuel,** Nu 2[14] (perhaps the original name).

DEUTERONOMY.—1. Structure, Origin, Influence.—The book consists of three speeches (1[6]–4[40], 5–26. 28, 29[2]–30[20]) and two poems (chs. 32. 33), all of which are represented as having been uttered by Moses on the plains of Moab before the crossing of Jordan. The slight narrative (chs. 27. 31. 34) is concerned mainly with the last days of Moses. Chapters 1–3, however, contain an historical sketch cast into the form of a speech.

Chs. 5–26. 28[1-46] are a unity with a formal opening (4[44-49]) and close (29[1]); and this section, apart from some later additions, is homogeneous. Thus chs. 5–11 elaborate those principles concerning Jahweh and His relation to His people which give a peculiar character to the Hebrew polity; chs. 12–26 develop these into a code of law; 28[1-46] pronounces blessings on obedience, curses on disobedience. This section, it is now agreed, was the Law-book found in the Temple in the 18th year of Josiah (B.C. 622–621), which formed the basis of the reform described in 2 K 22 f. Thus Josiah abolished the high places in Judah and Jerusalem (22[8. 13]), and confined legitimate worship to the sanctuary at Jerusalem; and this centralization of the cult is the dominating idea of Dt 5–26. Again, Josiah purified the Jahweh-worship from baser elements, destroying the Asherah (2 K 23[6], cf. Dt 16[21f.]) and the houses of sodomy (2 K 23[7], cf. Dt 23[17f.]). His opposition to idolatry was directed against the same forms as those denounced in Deut. (cf. the sun-worship, 2 K 23[5. 11], Dt 17[3]; and the worship of Milcom, 23[10. 13], Dt 12[31]). The Passover, celebrated in his day at Jerusalem, is stated to have been unique (2 K 23[21ff.]); and Deut. forbids the celebration of the Passover elsewhere than in Jerusalem (16[5f.]). The king abolished the superstitious means of learning the Divine will (2 K 23[24]), which Deut. forbids (18[10ff.]). The demands of the Law-book and the performance of the king are parallel.

It is, however, a more difficult question how far the reforms which Josiah instituted in obedience to Deut. were new, and how far they were a return to older practices from which the nation had degenerated during the early monarchy. Three other codes can be distinguished in the Pentateuch, and a comparison of these with Deut. helps to determine its place in the development of Israel's religion. An examination of the social legislation in Deut. leads to the conclusion that it is later than the Book of the Covenant (Ex 20–23[33]). Though we are not justified in calling Deut. a deliberate expansion of this legislation, it certainly represents a more developed state of society, as is seen, *e.g.*, in its numerous laws about contracts. And in one particular it controls the cult at a cardinal point which Exod. left vague: the 'every place where Jahweh records his name' (Ex 20[24]) has become 'the place which Jahweh shall choose to put his name there' (Deut. *passim*). When Deut. is compared with the Law of Holiness (Lv 17–26), the codes are seen to be framed for different purposes—Leviticus as a handbook for priests, Deut. as a layman's manual. But their legislation is parallel. Compared with P, Deut. is earlier, for questions left uncertain in Deut. are decided in P. See further, art. Hexateuch.

The few references in Deut. to events in Israel's history bear out the conclusion thus reached, for they are dependent on JE, but show no acquaintance with P's history. It is difficult, *e.g.*, to explain the absence of Korah in Dt 11[6], if the author read Nu 16 in its present form, where Korah from P has been woven into the early story. When chs. 1–3 (see below) are included in this scrutiny, they support the inference that Deut. was an independent book, before P was incorporated with JE.

There are further indications of the date at which this code was introduced. Thus Deut. insists throughout on one sanctuary, at which legitimate worship can be offered to Jahweh.

The extent to which this dominates the code is not to be measured merely by the number of times the command is repeated. Older customs are recast in consequence of this change. The Passover alters its character from a family to a national festival (16[5f.]). A central tribunal is set up to replace the decisions at the local shrines (17[8f.]). Asylums for the manslayer are needed (19[11ff.]), since the village altars where he once found safety (Ex 21[14]) are abolished, etc.

Now this was an innovation in Israel. Elijah, far from condemning the high places, is indignant at the sacrilege which has thrown down the altars of Jahweh (1 K 19[10]). When he leaves the polluted land to seek Jahweh, he makes his way not to Jerusalem, but to Horeb (contrast Is 2[2f.]). Hosea and Amos find much to condemn in the worship which was practised at Bethel and Dan, but never suggest that any worship offered at these shrines was *ipso facto* illegitimate. Yet these were the religious teachers of the nation. Deut., again, forbids the erection of pillars beside Jahweh's altars (12[3f.]); it is difficult to understand how Isaiah (19[19]) could have associated a pillar with Jahweh-worship, had this law been accepted in his day. The worship of the host of heaven—one of the few forms of idolatry specified in Deut.—is not mentioned till it receives severe blame from the prophets of the 7th cent. (Jer 8[2] 19[13] 32[29], Zeph 1[5]). But this Assyrian cult became a real danger to Israel's religion, when Manasseh came under Eastern influences.

Hezekiah is the first king of whom we learn that he attempted to remove the high places (2 K 18[14]). Evidently, however, this was an unpopular step, for the Rabshakeh was able to appeal to the conservative instincts of the nation against a king who practised such questionable innovations (18[22]). What impelled Hezekiah was a religious, not a political, motive. The splendid monotheistic teaching of Isaiah carried with it the inference 'One God, one sanctuary.' Besides, the abuses which were associated with the local shrines compelled the religious leaders of the nation, who had been influenced by the teaching of Hosea and Amos, to go to the root and abolish such worship altogether. The one means of purifying their worship was to sever it from the high places with their Canaanite associa-

tions. Political events helped them. The fall of N. Israel (B.C. 722) carried with it the condemnation of the worship which was practised there, and swept away the worshippers who were attached to it. The deliverance of Jerusalem from Sennacherib threw a glory round the sanctuary of which Jahweh had so signally vindicated the inviolability. Probably a body of reformers framed their code in Hezekiah's later years. They did not create a new legislation, they recast and put a new spirit into an older code. It would have been impossible to secure the acceptance of a brand-new code from a whole people.

Efforts have been made to break up Dt 5–26 into several sections, and to trace their origin. These have not been very convincing: they have relied too much on a proof of difference of origin derived from the use of the singular or the plural number in forms of address to the people. But they have proved that older elements and varied elements have been fused together into this Law-book.

Under Manasseh there followed a strong reaction, which resorted even to persecution. The reformers' Law-book was forgotten, the reformers themselves may have been martyred. But the code itself survived to be discovered under Josiah, and to become the basis of a pregnant reform.

Opinion is divided as to whether chs. 1–3 are by the hand which wrote the main work. The fact that in $1^{2ff.}$ Moses is represented as speaking to men who had witnessed the Exodus, while in $2^{14ff.}$ that generation is represented as dead, seems decisive that they are not. The chapters may have been added as an historical introduction to a separate edition of the code. The fact that their history is based on JE proves that this must have been early.

Chapters 4^{1-40} 29 f. belong together, and are a later addition in view of new circumstances, viz., the prospect or the reality of exile.

The Song (32^{1-43}), with its double introduction ($31^{16-22.\ 30}$) and close (32^{44}), is a didactic poem, giving an interpretation of Israel's entire history, and bearing traces of influence from the Wisdom literature. It may date from the 7th cent. or the Exile.

The Blessing (ch. 33) dates from a time when N. Israel in the flush of its vigour could anticipate further conquests (v.^{17}), since Eastern Israel had regained part of its lost territory (v.^{20}). It may belong to the reign of Jeroboam II. (B.C. 782–43), by whom the Syrians of Damascus were defeated.

Ch. 27 is difficult to assign. It evidently breaks the connexion of 26 and 28, and as evidently is composite. The Levites in v.$^{14ff.}$ carry out what in v.$^{12ff.}$ the tribes are commissioned to do, and there are no blessings uttered at all. There may be early elements in v.$^{4ff.}$, but it is best to confess that the chapter is still a *crux*.

2. Main principles.—(*a*) The fundamental principle of the book is the *unity of Jahweh*, who is God of the whole earth (10^{14}), and who is more than the God of Israel, since He has relations to other nations apart from their relations to Israel (9^{5} 12^{31}). This carries with it the consequence that idolatry is the supreme sin (6^{14} $17^{2ff.}$ etc.). To avoid even the possibility of such a crime, intercourse with other nations is severely restrained ($7^{1ff.}$ etc.), and older customs of worship are forbidden (16^{21} etc.).—(*b*) As He is God of the whole earth, Jahweh's *will* is the moral law, and in connexion with its requirements He rewards and punishes (cf. the teaching of Amos). As God of Israel, the fundamental principles of His relation to His people are also ethical.—(*c*) Yet Jahweh is not merely a lifeless moral principle or glorified code. His *love* to His people was shown, before they could prove any desert ($9^{4f.}$ etc.). He gave them their land—a gift they must not imagine themselves to have merited ($8^{7ff.}$). Hence love is the supreme return for His love ($6^{4f.}$ etc., and cf. Hosea). Hence also there is room for worship and for prayer. Their cult, an expression of their loving gratitude, is to be joyous in character, not like the darker superstitions to which national disaster and foreign rites were making them incline (12^{18} etc.).—(*d*) A religion, the heart of which is loving gratitude, naturally expresses itself in *humanity* towards all with whom men live, and even towards the lower animals ($22^{1f.}$ etc. $6f.$ etc.). A religion also with so strong a sense of the Divine personality brings with it respect for human personality ($24^{10f.}$).—(*e*) As personal and loving, Jahweh can and does *reveal Himself*. Through His self-revelation He is the historic God of Israel. This is emphasized in contrast with the baalim, who, as gods of Canaan, had no historic connexion with Israel. Jahweh has made known Himself and His will by the deeds He has wrought for and among His people. (Hence it was a right instinct which led to the addition of chs. 1–3 with their record of Jahweh's past guidance.)—(*f*) This element enters now into the *cult*. It gives fresh historic associations to the national festivals and weds them to the great events of their past. See especially ch. 26, where all Israel's past is made to enter into the worship of the individual Israelite, and where also emphasis is laid on the truth that the fruits of the land are not from the baalim, but from Jahweh's bounty (cf. Hos 2^{8}).—(*g*) Such a religion, with its strong sense of the historic unity of God's dealings with His nation, and its conviction of the reasonableness of God's demands, can and ought to be *taught*. Children are to have it explained to them ($6^{6f.}$ 11^{19}); and means are to be used to bring it to men's thoughts daily (6^{9} 11^{20}). Most of the outward observances are thus brought into connexion with great vivifying principles, so that this code becomes the finest illustration of an effort made to bring religious principles home to a nation in its entire work and life.

A. C. Welch.

DEVIL.—The word came into English from Greek either directly or through its Latin transliteration. Used with the definite article, its original meaning was that of the accuser or traducer of men (see Satan), whence it soon came to denote the supreme spirit of evil, the personal tempter of man and enemy of God. With the indefinite article it stands for a malignant being of superhuman nature and powers, and represents the conception expressed by the Greeks in the original of our term **'demon.'** At first the idea of malignancy was not necessarily associated with these beings, some being regarded as harmless and others as wielding even benign influence; but gradually they were considered as operating exclusively in the sphere of mischief, and as needing to be guarded against by magic rites or religious observances.

1. Earlier conceptions.—Jewish demonology must be traced back to primitive and pre-Mosaic times, when both a form of animism was present in a belief in the ill-disposed activity of the spirits of the dead, and a variety of places and objects were supposed to be rendered sacred by the occupation, permanent or temporary, of some superhuman power. Of these views only traces are to be found in the earliest parts of Scripture, and the riper development of later ages may fairly be ascribed to foreign, and especially Bab. and Greek, influences. That certain animals were believed to be endowed with demonic power appears from Gn 3^{1-15}, though here the serpent itself is represented as demonic, and not yet as possessed by an evil spirit (Wis 2^{24}, Ro 16^{20}). So with the 'he-goats' or satyrs (Lv 17^{7}, 2 Ch 11^{15}, Is 13^{21} 34^{14}), which were evidently regarded as a kind of demon, though without the rich accompaniments of the Greek conception. Their home was the open field or wilderness, where Azazel was supposed to dwell (Lv $16^{8f.}$), and whither one of the birds used in cleansing cases of leprosy was let go to carry back the disease (Lv $14^{7.\ 53}$). On the contrary, the roes and the hinds of the field (Ca 2^{7} 3^{5}) seem to have been thought of as faun-like spirits, for whose aid a lover might hopefully plead. Under Bab. influence the spirit was conceived as abstracted from any

visible form, and as still capable of inflicting injury; hence the need of protection against 'the destroyer' of Ex 12[23]. In Greek thought there took place a development partly parallel. The word used by Hesiod for the blessed soul of a hero becomes with Plato an abstract influence sometimes beneficent and helpful, but emerges in the orators and tragedians as descriptive of baleful genii, who bring misfortune and even revel in cruelty.

2. Later Judaism.—Under these various influences the demonology of later Judaism became somewhat elaborate. The conception of demon or devil was used to embrace three species of existences. (1) It included the national deities, conceived as fallen, but not always as stripped of all power (Ex 12[12], Is 19[1] 24[21], cf. 14[12]). (2) It covered such of the angels as were thought to have been once attendants upon the true God, but to have fallen (2 P 2[4], Jude [6], Ethiop. Enoch chs. 6. 7). For a variety of personal spirits were interposed between God as mediating agencies according to Bab. and Persian views, or, according to the strict Jewish view, as ministers of His will. (3) To these were added—a survival with modification of the primitive animism—the spirits of the wicked dead (Josephus, *Ant.* VIII. ii. 5, *BJ* VII. vi. 3), who were supposed to haunt the tombs, or at least to cause the men they possessed to do so (Mt 8[28]). The devils of later Judaism accordingly are thought of as invisible spirits, to whom every ill, physical or moral, was attributed. Their relation to God was one of *quasi*-independence. At times they do His bidding and are the ministers of His wrath, but in this sense are not classed in Scripture as devils; *e.g.*, the demon of pestilence is the destroying angel or even 'the angel of the Lord' (2 S 24[16], 2 K 19[35], Is 37[36], Ps 78[49]). Yet they were thought to reside in the lower world in an organized kingdom of their own (Job 18[14]; cf. Rev 9[11], Ethiop. Enoch 54[6], Mt 12[24-27]); though the kingdom is not entirely outside the sovereign rule of Jehovah, who is the Lord of all spirits and of the abyss in which they dwell (Enoch 40, Dt 32[22], Job 11[8], Ps 139[8], Lk 16[24]).

3. In the NT.—In the period of the NT the belief in devils as spirits, evil and innumerable, was general amongst the nations, whether Jewish or Gentile; but in Jesus and His disciples the cruder features of the belief, such as the grotesqueness of the functions assigned to these spirits in the literature of the second century, do not appear. The writers of the Gospels were in this respect not much in advance of their contemporaries, and for Jesus Himself no theory of accommodation to current beliefs can be sustained. The Fourth Gospel is comparatively free from the demonic element. Possession is thrice alluded to (7[20] 8[40] 10[28]) as a suggested explanation of Christ's work and influence; but evil generally is traced back rather to the activity of the devil (6[70], where 'a devil' is not a demon, but the word is used metaphorically much as 'Satan' in Mt 16[23], Jn 13[2. 27]), whose subordinates fall into the background. The Synoptics, especially Lk., abound in references to demons, who are conceived, not as evil influences resting upon or working within a man, but as personal spirits besetting or even possessing him. The demon was said to enter into a man (Lk 8[30]) or certain animals (Mt 8[32]), and to pass out (Mt 17[18], Lk 11[14]) or be cast out (Mt 9[34]). This demoniacal possession is referred to as the cause of various diseases, the cases being preponderantly such as exhibit symptoms of psychical disease in association with physical (see POSSESSION). St. Paul and the other writers in the NT evidently shared the views underlying the Synoptics. Possession so called is a familiar phenomenon to them, as it continued to be in the early years of the Church, though there is a marked disposition towards the Johannine view of a central source of evil. St. Paul speaks of doctrines emanating from devils (1 Ti 4[1], where the word should not be taken metaphorically). The devils of 1 Co 10[20] were demigods or deposed idols. St. James recognizes the existence of a number of devils (2[19]), whose independence of God is not complete. The Apocalypse (9[20] 16[14] 18[2]) similarly speaks of a diverse and manifold activity, though again its derivation from a common source is frequent. In all these books the conception of devils seems to be giving way to that of the devil; the former gradually lose any power of initiative or free action, and become the agents of a great spirit of evil behind them.

In the OT this process has advanced so far that the personal name Satan (wh. see) is used in the later books with some freedom, Asmodæus occurring in the same sense in To 3[8. 17]. But in the NT the process is complete, and in every part the devil appears as a personal and almost sovereign spirit of evil, capable of such actions as cannot be explained away by the application of any theory of poetic or dramatic personification. It is he who tempted Christ (Mt 4[1ff.], Lk 4[2ff.]), and in the parables sowed the tares (Mt 13[39]) or snatched up the good seed (Lk 8[12]; cf. 'the evil one' of Mt 13[19]); and for him and his angels an appropriate destiny is prepared (Mt 25[41]). According to Jn., the devil prompted the treason of Judas (13[2]), and is vicious in his lusts, a liar and a murderer (8[44]), a sinner in both nature and act (1 Jn 3[8. 10]). He prolongs the tribulation of the faithful who do not yield to him (Rev 2[18]); after his great fall (12[9]) he is goaded by defeat into more venomous activity (v.[12]), but eventually meets his doom (20[10]). Jude [9] preserves the tradition of a personal encounter with Michael; and St. Peter represents the devil as prowling about in search of prey (1 P 5[8]), the standing adversary of man, baffled by Jesus (Ac 10[38]). To St. James (4[7]) the devil is an antagonist who upon resistance takes to flight. If 'son of the devil' (Ac 13[10]) is metaphorical, St. Paul considers his snare (1 Ti 3[7], 2 Ti 2[26]) and his wiles (Eph 6[11]) real enough. To give opportunity to the devil (Eph 4[27]) may lead to a share in his condemnation (1 Ti 3[6]). Death is his realm (He 2[14], Wis 2[24]), and not a part of the original Divine order; though not inflicted at his pleasure, he makes it subservient to his purposes, and in its spiritual sense it becomes the fate of those who accept his rule. Such language, common to all the writers, and pervading the whole NT, allows no other conclusion than that the forces and spirits of evil were conceived as gathered up into a personal head and centre, whose authority they recognized and at whose bidding they moved.

This opinion is confirmed by the representation of the devil's relation to men and to God, and by many phrases in which he is referred to under other names. He is the moral adversary of man (Mt 13[39], Lk 10[19], Eph 4[27], 1 P 5[8]), acting, according to the OT, with the permission of God (cf. Job 1[9-12]), though with an assiduity that shows the function to be congenial; but in the NT with a power of origination that is recognized, if watched and restrained. Hence he is called the 'tempter' (Mt 4[3], 1 Th 3[5]), and the 'accuser' of those who listen to his solicitation (Rev 12[10]). In hindering and harming men he stands in antithesis to Christ (2 Co 6[15]), and hence is fittingly termed the evil and injurious one (Mt 6[13] 13[19], Jn 17[15], Eph 6[16], 2 Th 3[3], 1 Jn 2[13f. 3[12] 5[18f.]—but in some of these passages it is open to contend that the word is not personal). Bent upon maintaining and spreading evil, he begins with the seduction of Eve (2 Co 11[3]) and the luring of men to doom (Jn 8[44]). Death being thus brought by him into the world (Ro 5[12], Wis 2[24]), by the fear of it he keeps men in bondage (He 2[14]). He entices men to sin (1 Co 7[5]), as he enticed Jesus, though with better success, places every woful obstacle in the way of their trust in Christ (2 Co 4[4]), and thus seeks to multiply 'the sons of disobedience' (Eph 2[2]), who may be rightly called his children (1 Jn 3[10]). In the final apostasy his methods are unchanged, and his hostility to everything good in man becomes embittered and insatiable (2 Th 2[9f.], Rev 20[7f.]).

In regard to the devil's relation to God, the degree of independence and personal initiative is less in the OT than in the NT, but nowhere is there anything like the exact co-ordination of the two. The representation is not that of a dualism, but of the revolt of a subordinate though superhuman power, patiently permitted for a time for wise purposes and then peremptorily put down. In Job 1[6] the devil associates himself with 'the sons of God,' and yet is represented as not strictly classed with them; he has the right of access to heaven, but his activity is subject to Divine consent. Another stage is marked in 1 Ch 21[1], where the statement of 2 S 24[1] is modified as though the devil worked in complete and unshackled opposition to God. In the Book of Enoch he is the ruler of a kingdom of evil, over which kingdom, however, the Divine sovereignty, or at least suzerainty, stands. The NT preserves the conception in most of its parts. God and the devil are placed in antithesis (Ja 4[7]); so 'the power of darkness' and 'the kingdom of the Son of his love' (Col 1[13]), as though the two were entirely distinct. The devil is the prince and personal head of the demons (Mk 3[22]). According to Jn., he is 'the prince of this world' (12[31]), and Jesus is contrasted with him (8[42. 44] 18[36]), and outside the sphere of his influence (14[30]). St. Paul expresses similar views; the devil is 'the god of this world' or age (2 Co 4[4]), 'the prince of the power of the air' (Eph 2[2]), ruling over the evil spirits who are located in the sky or air (Lk 10[18], Rev 12[9]; cf. 'heavenly places,' Eph 6[12]), and who are graded in orders and communities much like the spirits of good (Eph 1[21]). The dualism is so imperfect that Christ has but to speak and the demons recognize His superior authority. He is the stronger (Lk 11[22]), and can even now, under the limitations of the moral probation of men, frustrate the devil's designs (Lk 22[32]), and destroy his works (1 Jn 3[8]), and will eventually bring him to nought (He 2[14]). Already the triumph is assured and partially achieved (Jn 16[11], 1 Jn 4[4]), and Christians share in it (Ro 16[20]). It becomes complete and final at the Parousia (1 Co 15[26], Ps 110[1]).

The *personality of the devil* must consequently be regarded as taught by Scripture. He is not conceived as the original or only source of evil, but as its supreme personal representative. His existence, like that of evil itself, may be ascribed to the permissive will of God, with analogous limitations in each case. The psychical researches of recent years have tended to confirm the belief in spiritual existences, good and bad, and thereby to reduce a fundamental difficulty, which would otherwise attach also in a degree to the belief in the Holy Spirit. And the tradition of a revolt and fall of angels has this in its favour, that it fits in with the belief in devils and the devil, and provides a partially intelligible account of circumstances under which such a belief might take shape. It supplies the preceding chapters in the history, and enables the career to be traced from the first stage of moral choice through the process of hardening of purpose and increasing separation from God to the appropriate abyss at the close. The devil thus becomes a type of every confirmed evil-doer: and the patience and the righteousness of God are alike exemplified.

R. W. Moss.

DEVOTED.—See BAN.

DEW.—The process whereby dew is formed is enhanced in Eastern countries like Palestine, where the surface of the ground and the air in contact therewith are highly heated during the daytime, but where at night, and particularly under a cloudless sky, the heat of the ground is radiated into space and the air becomes rapidly cooled down. The excess of moisture in the air then gently 'falls as dew on the tender herb,' and sometimes so copiously as to sustain the life of many plants which would otherwise perish during the rainless season; or even, as in the case of Gideon, to saturate a fleece of wool (Jg 6[38]). Deprivation of dew, as well as of rain, becomes a terrible calamity in the East. On this account 'dew and rain' are associated in the imprecation called down by David on the mountains of Gilboa (2 S 1[21]); and in the curse pronounced on Ahab and his kingdom by Elijah (1 K 17[1]), as also by the prophet Haggai on the Jews after the Restoration (Hag 1[10]) owing to their unwillingness to rebuild the Temple. In the Book of Job the formation of dew is pointed to as one of the mysteries of nature insoluble by man (Job 38[28]); but in Pr. it is ascribed to the omniscience and power of the Lord (Pr 3[20]). Dew is a favourite emblem in Scripture: (*a*) *richness and fertility* (Gn 27[28], Dt 33[13]); (*b*) *refreshing and vivifying effects* (Dt 32[2], Is 18[4]); (*c*) *stealth* (2 S 17[12]); (*d*) *inconstancy* (Hos 6[4] 13[3]); (*e*) *the young warriors of the Messianic king* (Ps 110[3]).

DIADEM.—See CROWN, and DRESS, § 5.

DIAL (2 K 20[11], Is 38[8]).—The Heb. word commonly denotes 'steps' (see Ex 20[26], 1 K 10[20]), and is so rendered elsewhere in this narrative (2 K 20[9-11], Is 38[8]; AV 'degrees'). The 'steps' referred to doubtless formed part of some kind of sun-clock. According to Herod. ii. 109, the Babylonians were the inventors of the *polos* or concave dial, the *gnomon*, and the division of the day into 12 hours. The introduction by Ahaz of a device for measuring the time may be regarded as a result of his intercourse with the Assyrians (2 K 16[10ff.]), but it is uncertain what kind of clock is intended. See also art. TIME.

DIAMOND.—See ADAMANT, and JEWELS AND PRECIOUS STONES.

DIANA OF THE EPHESIANS.—This name is really erroneous, and it is unfortunate that it has become popularized beyond possibility of correction. The goddess meant is Artemis. There were two conceptions of Artemis in ancient times: (1) the Greek maiden huntress, sister of Apollo; to this conception corresponds the Italian Diana; (2) the mother-goddess, the emblem of fertility, the fountain of nourishment, an Anatolian divinity, who was Grecized under the name of Artemis: this is the goddess referred to in Acts, and she has nothing to do with Diana, representing in fact a contrary idea. While Artemis (Diana) was represented in art attired as a huntress, with the bow and arrows, the Anatolian Artemis was represented with many breasts (*multimammia*), and sometimes in company with two stags. In this form she was worshipped over the whole of Lydia, before Greeks ever settled there, and the same divine power of reproduction was worshipped under other names over most of the peninsula of Asia Minor. The rude idol preserved in her chief temple at Ephesus was said to have fallen from heaven (this is the real meaning of Ac 19[35]), a not uncommon idea in ancient times, which suggests that such images were sometimes meteoric stones. The chief priest, who bore a Persian title, had under him a large company of priestesses. There was also a large body of priests, each appointed for a year, who seem to have been city officials at the same time, and other bodies of ministers. The ritual was of the abominable character which it might be expected to have. The epithet 'great' (Ac 19[34]) is proved by inscriptions to have been characteristically applied to the goddess, and the exclamation in Acts may have been really an invocation. The silver shrines (Ac 19[24]) were small representations of the goddess within her shrine purchased by the rich. The poor bought them in terra-cotta or marble. Both classes dedicated them as offerings to the goddess, in whose temple they would be hung up. When the accumulation became too great, the priests cleared them away, throwing the terra-cotta or marble ones onto the rubbish heap, or into a hole, but securing the others for the melting-pot. All those which survive are naturally in terra-cotta or marble. The goddess

had so many worshippers (Ac 19[27]) that the manufacture of such silver shrines was very profitable.
A. Souter.

DIASPORA.—See Dispersion.

DIBLAH.—An unknown place mentioned by Ezekiel (6[14]). A variant (prob. correct) reading is **Riblah** (wh. see). R. A. S. Macalister.

DIBLAIM.—The father of Gomer, Hosea's wife (Hos 1[3]). See Hosea.

DIBON.—**1.** A city east of the Dead Sea and north of the Arnon, in the land which, before the coming of the Israelites, Sihon, king of the Amorites, had taken from a former king of Moab (Nu 21[26. 30]). The Israelites dispossessed Sihon, and the territory was assigned to Reuben (Jos 13[9. 17]), but the city Dibon is mentioned among those built (or rebuilt) by Gad (Nu 32[3. 34]), hence the name **Dibon-gab** by which it is once called (Nu 33[45]). The children of Israel were not able to retain possession of the land, and in the time of Isaiah Dibon is reckoned among the cities of Moab (Is 15). In Is 15[9] **Dimon** is supposed to be a modified form of *Dibon*, adopted in order to resemble more closely the Heb. word for blood (*dam*), and support the play on words in that verse. The modern name of the town is *Dhiban*, about half an hour N. of 'Ara'ir, which is on the edge of the Arnon Valley. It is a dreary and featureless ruin on two adjacent knolls, but has acquired notoriety in consequence of the discovery there of the Moabite Stone.

2. A town in Judah inhabited in Nehemiah's time by some of the children of Judah (Neh 11[25]). Perhaps it is the same as **Dimonah** (Jos 15[22]) among the southernmost cities of Judah.

DIBRI.—A Danite, grandfather of the blasphemer who was stoned to death (Lv 24[11]).

DICTIONARIES.—1. Of the Bible.—Francis Roberts, *Clavis Bibliorum* (1675); Kitto, *Cyclopædia of Biblical Literature*[3] (3 vols. 1862); Fairbairn, *Imperial Bible Dictionary* (1864–66; new ed. 1888); Smith, *Dict. of Bible* (3 vols., 1860–63), 2nd ed. of vol. i. only (1899), also *Concise Bible Dict.* and *Smaller Bible Dict.*; R. Hunter, *Concise Bible Dict.* (Cassell, 1894); M. G. Easton, *Bible Dict.* (Nelson, 1894); J. Eadie, *Biblical Cyclopædia* (new ed. by Sayce, 1901); C. R. Barnes, *People's Bible Encyc.* (New York and Lond. 1900); J. D. Davis, *Dict. of the Bible* (Philad. 1898); Schaff, *Religious Encyclopædia, or Dictionary of Biblical History*, etc., based on Herzog's *PRE* (3 vols., T. & T. Clark, 1883); M'Clintock-Strong, *Cyclopædia of Biblical, Theological, and Eccles. Literature* (10 vols. and 2 vols. suppl., New York, 1871–1887); Herzog, *Realencyklopädie f. protest. Theol. und Kirche* (18 vols., 1877–88; new ed. by Hauck, 1896 ff.); Zeller, *Bibl. Handwörterbuch illustriert* (1893); Riehm, *Handwörterbuch des bibl. Altertums*[2] (2 vols., 1893); Vigoroux, *Dict. de la Bible* (1895 ff.); Hamburger, *Realencyklopädie f. Bibel und Talmud* (2 vols. and 3 supplements, 1875, 1892); Guthe, *Kurzes Bibelwörterbuch* (1903); *Jewish Encyclopedia* (12 vols., 1901–06); Cheyne & Black, *Encyclopædia Biblica* (4 vols., 1899–1903); Hastings, *Dictionary of the Bible* (4 vols. with extra vol. and indexes, T. & T. Clark, 1898–1904), also *Dictionary of Christ and the Gospels* (2 vols., 1906–08).

2. Hebrew, Aramaic, Syriac.—(*a*) Gesenius, *Thesaurus Philologicus Criticus Linguæ Heb. et Chald. Vet. Test.* (1829–42), also *Lexicon Manuale*, tr. by E. Robinson (1836) and subsequently, with additions and corrections from the author's *Thesaurus* and other works, by S. P. Tregelles (Bagster), Gesenius' *Handwörterbuch*, in Verbindung mit A. Socin und H. Zimmern, bearbeitet von F. Buhl, 13th ed. 1899; B. Davidson, *Analytical Heb. Lexicon* (do.); Fuerst, *Heb. and Chald. Lex. to the OT*, tr. by S. Davidson (Williams & Norgate); Siegfried-Stade, *Heb. Wörterbuch zum AT* (Leipzig, 1893); Brown-Driver-Briggs, *Heb. Lex. to OT* (Oxford, 1906). (*b*) Levy, *Neuheb. und Chald. Wörterbuch über die Talmudim und Midraschim* (4 vols., 1875–89); G. Dalman, *Aram.-Neuheb. Wörterbuch zu Targum, Talmud und Midrasch* (1901). (*c*) Roediger, *Chrestomathia Syriaca* (1868); R. Payne Smith, *Thesaurus Syriacus* (continued by Margoliouth, 1879–1901); also *A Compendious Syriac Dict.*, by J. Payne Smith [Mrs. Margoliouth] (Oxf. 1903); C. Brockelmann, *Lex. Syriacum* (T. & T. Clark, 1895).

3. Greek (esp. NT).—Liddell-Scott, *Greek-English Lexicon*; Robinson, *Greek and English Lexicon of the NT*; Cremer, *Biblico-Theological Lex. of NT Greek*[2] (T. & T. Clark), 3rd Germ. ed. 1881–1883; *Analytical Gr. Lex. to NT* (Bagster); Grimm-Thayer, *Greek-English Lex. of the NT*, being Grimm-Wilke's *Clavis NT* revised and enlarged by Thayer (T. & T. Clark, 1888). Deissmann has a Lex. in hand.

Of the Dictionaries named above, the foll. are most accurate and up to date—(*a*) Bible: Cheyne and Black, *Encyc. Biblica*; Hastings, *Dict. of the Bible*, *Dict. of Christ and the Gospels*, and the present work. (*b*) Hebrew, etc.: Brown-Driver-Briggs, *Heb. Lex.*; Dalman, *Aram.-Neuheb. Wörterbuch*; Margoliouth, *Compend. Syr. Dict.*, or Brockelmann, *Lex. Syr.* (*c*) Greek: Cremer, *Biblico-Theological Lex. of NT.*; Thayer, *Greek-Eng. Lex. of NT.* W. F. Adeney and J. S. Banks.

DIDRACHMA, Mt 17[24] in marg. of EV; AV has 'tribute *money*,' RV correctly 'half-shekel.' See Money, § 7.

DIDYMUS.—See Thomas.

DIET.—In AV, apart from Sir 30[25], where it signifies 'food,' this word occurs only in Jer 52[34], where RV has the more correct 'allowance,' *i.e.* of food, as AV in the parallel passage 2 K 25[30]. In Jer 40[5] the same word is rendered 'victuals,' but RVm 'allowance.'

DIKLAH.—The name of a son of Joktan (Gn 10[27], 1 Ch 1[21]), probably representing a nation or community. The names immediately preceding and following Diklah give no clue to its identification.

DILAN (Jos 15[38]).—A town of Judah, in the same group with Lachish and Eglon. The site is unknown.

DILL.—See Anise.

DIMNAH.—A Levitical city in Zebulun (Jos 21[35]). The name is possibly a copyist's error for **Rimmon** (cf. 1 Ch 6[22], Jos 19[13]).

DIMON, DIMONAH.—See Dibon.

DINAH.—The daughter of Jacob by Leah, and sister of Simeon and Levi, according to Gn 30[21].

This verse appears to have been inserted by a late redactor perhaps the one who added the section Gn 46[8-27] (cf. v.[15]). Nothing is said in 29[31]–30[24] 35[16ff.], where the birth stories of Jacob's children are given, of other daughters of Jacob; but 37[35] (J) and 46[7] (P) speak of 'all his daughters.' P, moreover, clearly distinguishes between his 'daughters' and his 'daughters-in-law.'

In Gn 34 we have a composite narrative of the seizure of Dinah by the Hivite prince, Shechem, the son of Hamor. The probable remnants of J's story make it appear that the tale, as it was first told, was a very simple one. Shechem took Dinah to his house and cohabited with her, and her father and brothers resented the defilement. Shechem, acting on his own behalf, proposed marriage, promising to accept any conditions of dower her father and brothers might impose. The marriage took place, and afterwards her full brothers, Simeon and Levi, slew Shechem and took Dinah out of his house. Jacob rebuked them for this, because of the vengeance it was liable to bring upon his house. Jacob thinks only of consequences here. If, as is generally supposed, Gn 49[5ff.] refers to this act, the reprimand administered was based by him not upon the dread of consequences, but upon the turpitude of a cruel revenge.

The remaining verses of ch. 34 make Hamor spokes-

man for his son. He not only offered generously to make honourable amends for Shechem's misconduct, but also proposed a mutual covenant of general intercourse, including the *connubium*. Jacob and his sons see their opportunity for revenge, and refuse, except upon the one condition that all the males of the city be circumcised. When, as a result, the latter were unable to defend themselves, all the sons of Jacob fell upon them with the sword, sparing only the women and children, whom they took captive with the spoil of the city. The words 'two of' and 'Simeon and Levi, Dinah's brethren' in v.[25] are interpolated (cf. v.[13]). This story is clearly an elaboration of the earlier form, despite its one or two more antique touches, and suggests, moreover, the spirit at work in Ezra's marriage reforms.

The story, like many others, introduced as episodes in the family history of Jacob, should probably receive a tribal interpretation. Simeon and Levi are tribes. Dinah was perhaps a small Israelite clan, according to the traditions closely related to Simeon and Levi; according to the name, possibly more closely to Dan. Schechem, the prince, is the eponymous hero of the city of that name. Hamor is the name of the Hivite clan in possession of the city. The weak Israelite clan, having become detached from the related tribes, was overpowered by the Canaanite inhabitants of Shechem and incorporated. Simeon and Levi, by a wilily plotted and unexpected attack, hoped to effect its deliverance. They were momentarily successful, and inflicted a severe blow upon the Shechemites; but their temerity cost them their tribal existence. A counter-attack of the Canaanites resulted immediately in the decimation of the tribe, and finally in the absorption of their remnants into the neighbouring tribes. The Dinah clan disappeared at the same time. JAMES A. CRAIG.

DINAITES (Ezr 4[9]).—A people settled in Samaria by Osnappar (*i.e.* probably Ashurbanipal). They have been variously identified with the *Da-ja-ēni*, a tribe of western Armenia, mentioned in inscriptions of Tiglath-pileser I.; and with the inhabitants of *Deinaver*, a Median city, or of *Din-Sharru* near Susa. The last view seems the most probable.

DINHABAH.—The capital city of king Bela in Edom (Gn 36[32] = 1 Ch 1[43]). There is some doubt as to its identification. Possibly it is *Thenib*, E.N.E. from Heshbon.

DINNER.—See MEALS, § 2.

DIONYSIA.—A feast in honour of Dionysus, another name of the god Bacchus (2 Mac 6[7]). He was the god of tree-life, but especially of the life of the vine and its produce. The festival celebrated the revival of the drink-giving vine after the deadness of winter. It was accompanied by orgiastic excesses, themselves at once emblematic of, and caused by, the renewed fertility of the soil. The most famous festivals of Dionysus, four in all, were held in Attica at various periods of the year, corresponding to the stages in the life of the vine, the *Anthesteria*, the *Lenæa*, the Lesser and the Greater Dionysia. The Lesser Dionysia was a vintage festival held in the country in December; the Greater Dionysia was held in the city, and it was in connexion with this that the tragedies and comedies were produced in the theatre of Dionysus. Attendance at these plays was an act of worship. In 2 Mac 6[7] we are told that Antiochus compelled the Jews to attend a festival of Dionysus, wearing wreaths of **ivy**, a plant sacred to the god. A. SOUTER.

DIONYSIUS THE AREOPAGITE.—A member of the University Court of the Areopagus at Athens (Ac 17[34]), converted by St. Paul. The writings ascribed to Dionysius are of a much later date. He is by some identified with St. Denys of France.

A. J. MACLEAN.

DIONYSUS.—One of the various names applied to the god who is most commonly called **Bacchus**. It is probable that, to begin with, he was a god of vegetation in general, but as time went on he became identified with the vine exclusively. It is supposed that this specialization originated in Thrace. Later still, the worship, under Assyrian and Babylonian influence, took the form of mysteries, like that of Demeter, the goddess of bread. Mythology speaks of a triumphal journey taken by the god in India. His worship was widely disseminated over Greek lands, and it was assumed that the Jews would have no objection to it (2 Mac 6[7] 14[33]). Ptolemy Philopator also attempted to force the worship of Dionysus, the god of his family, upon the Jews (3 Mac 2[29]). A. SOUTER.

DIOSCORINTHIUS.—See TIME.

DIOSCURI (RVm), or **The Twin Brothers** (RV), or **Castor and Pollux** (AV).—The sign or figurehead of the Alexandrian ship in which St. Paul sailed from Malta (Ac 28[11]), perhaps one of those employed to bring corn to Rome. The Twins (*Gemini*) were the protectors of sailors; in mythology they were sons of Zeus and Leda, and were placed in the sky as a constellation for their brotherly love. A. J. MACLEAN.

DIOTREPHES.—A person, otherwise unknown, who is introduced in 3 John (vv.[9. 10]) as ambitious, resisting the writer's authority, and standing in the way of the hospitable reception of brethren who visited the Church.

DIPHATH occurs in RV and AVm of 1 Ch 1[6], but it is practically certain that AV **Riphath** (wh. see) is the correct reading.

DISALLOW.—1 P 2[4], 'a living stone, disallowed indeed of men, but chosen of God'; 2[7], 'the stone which the builders disallowed.' The Eng. word means emphatically *disowned*, as in the AV heading to 1 S 29, 'David, marching with the Philistines, is disallowed by their princes.' RV gives 'rejected,' as the same Gr. verb is rendered in Mt 21[42], Mk 8[31], Lk 17[25]. But in Nu 30[5. 8. 11] 'disallow' means no more than *disapprove*, as in Barlowe's *Dialogue*, p. 83, 'ye can not fynde that they be dysalowed of God, but rather approved.'

DISCIPLES.—In the ancient world every teacher had his company of disciples or learners. The Greek philosophers and the Jewish Rabbis had theirs, and John the Baptist had his (Mk 2[18] 'the disciples of John and the disciples of the Pharisees'; cf. Jn 1[35], Mt 14[12]). In like manner Jesus had His disciples. The term had two applications, a wider and a narrower. It denoted (1) all who believed in Him, though they remained where He had found them, pursuing their former avocations, yet rendering no small service to His cause by confessing their allegiance and testifying to His grace (cf. Lk 6[13] 19[37], Jn 4[1] 6[60. 66. 67]). (2) The inner circle of the Twelve, whom He called 'Apostles,' and whom He required to forsake their old lives and follow Him whithersoever He went, not merely that they might strengthen Him by their sympathy (cf. Lk 22[28]), but that they might aid Him in His ministry (Mt 9[37] 10[1. 5]), and, above all, that they might be trained by daily intercourse and discipline to carry forward the work after He was gone. These were 'the disciples' *par excellence* (Mt 10[1] 12[1. 49] 15[23. 32], Mk 8[27], Lk 8[9], Jn 11[7] 12[4] 16[17. 29]). See also APOSTLES. DAVID SMITH.

DISCOVER.—In AV 'discover' is used in some obsolete meanings. 1. To *uncover*, make to be seen, as Knox, *Hist.* p. 250, 'who rashly discovering himself in the Trenches, was shot in the head.' So Ps 29[9], 'The voice of the Lord . . . discovereth the forests,' and other passages. 2. To *disclose*, as Shakespeare, *Merry Wives*, II. ii. 190, 'I shall discover a thing to you.' So Pr 25[9], 'discover not a secret to another,' etc. 3. To *descry*, get sight of, as Ac 21[3], 'When we had discovered Cyprus, we left it on the left hand'; 27[39] 'they discovered a certain creek.'

DISCUS.—See GAMES.

DISEASE.—See MEDICINE.

DISH.—See CHARGER; HOUSE, § 9; MEALS, § 5; and TABERNACLE, § 5 (*a*).

DISHAN.—A son of Seir, Gn 36[21. 28. 30] = 1 Ch 1[38. 42].

DISHON.—**1.** A son of Seir (Gn 36[21] = 1 Ch 1[38]). **2.** A son of Anah and grandson of Seir (Gn 36[25], cf. v.[30] = 1 Ch 1[41]; *Dishon* should also be read for MT **Dishan** in Gn 36[26]). Dishan and Dishon are, of course, not individual names, but the eponyms of Horite clans. Their exact location is a matter of uncertainty.

DISPERSION.—The name (Gr. **Diaspora**) given to the Jewish communities outside Palestine (2 Mac 1[27], Jn 7[35], Ja 1[1], 1 P 1[1]). It is uncertain when the establishment of these non-Palestinian communities began. It appears from 1 K 20[34] that an Israelitish colony was established in Damascus in the reign of Ahab. Possibly the similar alliances of David and Solomon with Phœnicia had established similar colonies there. In the 8th cent. Tiglath-pileser III. carried many Israelites captive to Assyria (2 K 15[29]), and Sargon transported from Samaria 27,290 Hebrews (cf. *KIB* ii. 55), and settled them in Mesopotamia and Media (2 K 17[6]). As the Deuteronomic law had not at this date differentiated the religion of Israel sharply from other Semitic religions (cf. Israel), it is doubtful whether these communities maintained their identity. Probably they were absorbed and thus lost to Israel.

The real Dispersion began with the Babylonian Exile. Nebuchadnezzar transplanted to Babylonia the choicest of the Judæan population (2 K 24[12-16] 25[11], Jer 52[15]). Probably 50,000 were transported, and Jewish communities were formed in Babylonia at many points, as at Tel-abib (Ezk 3[15]) and Casiphia (Ezr 8[17]). Here the Jewish religion was maintained; prophets like Ezekiel and priests like Ezra sprang up, the old laws were studied and worked over, the Pentateuch elaborated, and from this centre Jews radiated to many parts of the East (Neh 1[1ff.], To 1[9-22], Is 11[11]). Thus the Jews reached Media, Persia, Cappadocia, Armenia, and the Black Sea. Only a few of these Babylonian Jews returned to Palestine. They maintained the Jewish communities in Babylonia till about A.D. 1000. Here, after the beginning of the Christian era, the Babylonian Talmud was compiled.

In B.C. 608, Necho took king Jehoahaz and probably others to Egypt. In this general period colonies of Jews were living at Memphis, Migdol, Tahpanhes, and Pathros in Egypt (Jer 44[1]). Papyri recently discovered prove the existence of a large Jewish colony and a Jewish temple at the First Cataract, in the 5th cent. B.C. Other Jews seem to have followed Alexander the Great to Egypt (Jos. *BJ* II. xviii. 8; *c. Apion.* ii. 4). Many others migrated to Egypt under the Ptolemys (*Ant.* XII. i. 1, ii. 1 ff.). Philo estimated the number of Jews in Egypt in the reign of Caligula (A.D. 38–41) at a million.

Josephus states that Seleucus I. (312–280) gave the Jews rights in all the cities founded by him in Syria and Asia (*Ant.* XII. iii. 1). This has been doubted by some, who suppose that the spread of Jews over Syria occurred after the Maccabæan uprising (168–143). At all events by the 1st cent. B.C. Jews were in all this region, as well as in Greece and Rome, in the most important centres about the Mediterranean, and had also penetrated to Arabia (Ac 2[11]).

At Leontopolis in Egypt, Onias III., the legitimate Aaronic high priest, who had left Palestine because he hated Antiochus IV., founded, about B.C. 170, a temple which was for a century a mild rival of the Temple in Jerusalem. With few exceptions the Dispersion were loyal to the religion of the home land. Far removed from the Temple, they developed in the synagogue a spiritual religion without sacrifice, which, after the destruction of Jerusalem in A.D. 70, kept Judaism alive. All Jews paid the annual half-shekel tax for the support of the Temple-worship, and at the great feasts made pilgrimages to Jerusalem from all parts of the world (Ac 2[10. 11]). They soon lost the use of Hebrew, and had the Greek translation—the Septuagint—made for their use. Contact with the world gave them a broader outlook and a wider thought than the Palestinian Jews, and they conceived the idea of converting the world to Judaism. For use in this propaganda the *Sibylline Oracles* and other forms of literature likely to interest Græco-Roman readers were produced.

GEORGE A. BARTON.

DISTAFF.—See Spinning and Weaving.

DIVES.—See Lazarus, 2.

DIVINATION.—See Magic, Divination, and Sorcery.

DIVORCE.—See Marriage.

DIZAHAB.—The writer of Dt. 1[1] thought of this as a town on the further side of the Jordan, in the 'Arabah, on the border of Moab, 'over against Suph,' and as belonging to a group of places which he names. Unfortunately the mention of them does not make the matter clear. The site of Suph is unknown. So is that of Paran. The proposed identification of **Tophel** with *et-Tafile*, S.S.E. of the Dead Sea, fails on phonetic grounds. If *'Ain el-Huderah*, between Jebel Musa and 'Akabah, represents a *Hazeroth*, and if *Laban* = *Libnah* (Nu 33[20]), not far from *'Ain el-Huderah*, these are at too great a distance from the 'Arabah. The same is to be said of Burckhardt's suggestion that *Mina ed-Dhahab*, between the Ras Muhammad and 'Akabah, is the place of which we are in search. Most probably the text is corrupt. At Nu 21[14] we find Suphah (Dt 1[1] Suph) in conjunction with Vaheb (see RV); and *Vaheb*, in the original, is almost the same as *Zahab*, which, indeed, the LXX reads. There seems to be some relationship between the two passages, but neither of them has so far been satisfactorily explained. At Gn 36[39] we have **Mezahab** (='waters of gold'): this gives a better sense than *Dizahab*, and may be the proper form of the name.

The Versions do not help us. The LXX has *Katachrysea* (='rich in gold'). The Vulg. (*ubi auri est plurimum*) takes the word as descriptive of the district, 'where is gold in abundance.' The Targums see in it an allusion to the golden calf. And we may add that Ibn Ezra thought it was an unusual designation of a place which commonly went by another name.

J. TAYLOR.

DOCTOR.—In Lk 2[46] it is said that the boy Jesus was found in the Temple, 'sitting in the midst of the doctors.' The doctors were Jewish Rabbis. The Eng. word, like the Greek (*didaskalos*), means simply 'teacher.' So Lk 5[17] and Ac 5[34], where the Gr. for 'doctor of the law' is one word (*nomodidaskalos*). Bacon calls St. Paul 'the Doctor of the Gentiles.'

DOCTRINE.—The only word in the OT that RV as well as AV renders 'doctrine' is *leqaḥ* = 'instruction,' lit. 'what is received' (Dt 32[2], Job 11[4], Pr 4[2], Is 29[24]). In the NT 'doctrine' stands once for *logos* (He 6[1] AV; but cf. RV), otherwise for *didachē* and *didaskalia*, of which the former denotes esp. the act of teaching, the latter the thing that is taught. For *didaskalia* RV has usually retained 'doctrine' of AV, but in the case of *didachē* has almost invariably substituted '**teaching.**' It is noteworthy that *didaskalia* is never used of the teaching of Jesus, always *didachē*; also that *didaskalia* is found chiefly in the Pastoral Epp., and outside of these, with two exceptions (Ro 12[7] 15[4]), is used in a disparaging sense (Mt 15[9], Mk 7[7], Eph 4[14], Col 2[22]). This is in keeping with the distinction between *didachē* as 'teaching' and *didaskalia* as 'doctrine.' It reminds us that at first there were no formulations of Christian belief. The immediate disciples of Jesus had the Living Word Himself; the earliest generation of Christians, the inspired utterances of Apostles and other Spirit-filled men.

J. C. LAMBERT.

DODANIM.—Named in the MT of Gn 10[4] among the descendants of Javan, or Ionians. The LXX and Sam. versions and the parallel passage 1 Ch 1[7] read **Rodanim,** *i.e.* Rhodians. Cf. the true reading of Ezk 27[15] under Dedan.

J. F. McCURDY.

DODAVAHU ('beloved of J″,' AV **Dodavah**).—Father of Eliezer of Mareshah, the prophet who censured Jehoshaphat for entering into alliance with Ahaziah (2 Ch 20[37]).

DODO (so the *Qerē*, *Kethibh* **Dodai**).—**1.** The father of Eleazar, the second of the three captains who were over 'the thirty' (2 S 23[9]). In the parallel list (1 Ch 11[12]) the name is given as Dodo and also 'the Ahohite' for the erroneous 'son of Ahohi.' In the third list (1 Ch 27[4]) Dodai is described as general of the second division of the army, but the words 'Eleazar the son of' appear to have been accidentally omitted. The traditional spelling (*Dodo*) is most probably right: the name *Dudu* has been found on the Tell el-Amarna tablets, apparently as that of an Amorite official at the Egyp. court. **2.** A Bethlehemite, father of Elhanan, one of 'the thirty' (2 S 23[24], 1 Ch 11[26]). **3.** A man of Issachar, the forefather of Tola the judge (Jg 10[1]).

DOE.—RV (Pr 5[19]), AV 'roe,' is in Heb. *ya'ălāh*, the *female ibex*. See '**Wild goat**, *s.v.* GOAT.

DOEG.—An Edomite, and chief of the herdmen [or better, 'runners,' reading *hā-rātsīm* for *hā-rō'īm*] of king Saul. When David fled to Nob to Ahimelech (or Ahijah) the priest, Doeg was there 'detained before the Lord.' Upon his report Saul ordered Ahimelech and his companions to be slain. The order was carried out by Doeg, when the rest of the king's guard shrank from obeying it (1 S 21[7] 22[9-19]). Doeg is mentioned in the title of Ps. 52.

DOG.—All the Bible references to dogs breathe the modern Oriental feeling with regard to them; they refer to the common pariah dogs. These creatures are in all their ways repulsive, and in the majority of cases they have not even outward attractiveness. They live in and around the streets, and act as scavengers. In the environs of Jerusalem, *e.g.* the Valley of Hinnom, where carcases are cast out, they may be seen prowling around and consuming horrible, putrid bodies, or lying stretched near the remains of their meal, satiated with their loathsome repast. Whole companies of dogs consume the offal of the slaughter-house. There is not the slightest doubt that they would consume human bodies to-day had they the opportunity; indeed, cases do occur from time to time (cf. 1 K 14[11] 16[4] 21[19. 23] 22[38], 2 K 9[10. 36], Jer 15[3], Ps 68[23]). All night they parade the streets (Ps 59[6. 14-15]), each company jealously guarding that district which they have annexed, and fighting with noisy onslaught any canine stranger who ventures to invade their territory. Such a quarrel may start all the dogs in the city into a hideous chorus of furious barks. In many parts these creatures are a real danger, and the wise man leaves them alone (Pr 26[17]). When they attach themselves, quite uninvited, to certain houses or encampments, they defend them from all intruders (Is 56[10]). To call a man a 'dog' is a dire insult, but by no means an uncommon one from an arrogant superior to one much below him, and to apply such an epithet to himself on the part of an inferior is an expression of humility (2 K 8[13] etc.). A 'dead dog' is an even lower stage; it is an all too common object, an unclean animal in a condition of putridity left unconsumed even by his companions (1 S 24[14] etc.). The feeling against casting bread to a dog is a strong one; bread is sacred, and to cast it to dogs is even to-day strongly condemned in Palestine (Mk 7[27]).

The shepherd dog (Job 30[1]) is, as a rule, a very superior animal; many of these are handsome beasts of a Kurdish breed, and have the intelligent ways and habits of our best shepherds' dogs at home.

Greyhounds are still bred by some Bedouin in S. Palestine, and are used for hunting the gazelle; they are treated very differently from the pariah dogs. Pr 30[31] is a very doubtful reference to the greyhound; RVm has 'war horse,' LXX 'cock.'

The 'price of a dog' (Dt 23[18]) evidently has reference to degraded practices of the *qedēshīm* ('male prostitutes') connected with the worship at 'Baal' temples.

E. W. G. MASTERMAN.

DOK.—A fortress near Jericho, where Simon the Maccabee, along with two of his sons, was murdered by his son-in-law Ptolemy, 1 Mac 16[15]. The name survives in the modern '*Ain Dûk*, 4 miles N.W. of Jericho.

DOLEFUL CREATURE.—See JACKAL.

DOMINION.—Lordship, or the possession and exercise of the power to rule. In Col 1[16] the word is used in the plural, along with 'thrones, principalities, and powers,' to denote supernatural beings possessed of the power of lordship, and ranking as so many kings, princes, and potentates of the heavenly regions. The same word in the singular, and inessentially the same meaning, appears in Eph 1[21], where allusion is made to the exaltation of Christ 'far above all rule, and authority, and power, and dominion, and every name that is named, not only in this world, but also in that which is to come.' There is no necessary reference in either of these texts to evil angels, but a comparison of what is written in Eph 2[2] 6[12] shows that 'the spiritual hosts of wickedness in the heavenly places' need not be excluded. Similar indefiniteness is apparent in the other two passages, 2 P 2[10], Jude [8], where the same word is found. It is understood by some to refer here to the lordship of civil rulers, or to any concrete representative of such lordship. Others believe that the reference is to angels, either good or evil, as representing some form of supernatural power and dominion, and the reference in the context to Michael, the archangel, not bringing a railing judgment even against the devil, may be thought to favour this view. A third explanation is also possible, and is favoured by the mention in Jude [4] of 'our only Master and Lord, Jesus Christ.' Those ungodly men, who deny the Lord Jesus, would not hesitate to despise, set at nought, and rail at all manner of glorious lordships and dignities. See AUTHORITY, POWER.

M. S. TERRY.

DOOR, DOORKEEPER, DOORPOST.—See HOUSE, § 6. For 'doorkeeper' in the Temple, see PRIESTS AND LEVITES.

DOPHKAH.—A station in the itinerary of the children of Israel (Nu 33[12f.]). This station and the next one, **Alush**, which lie between the 'encampment by the sea' and Rephidim, have not been identified, and they are not alluded to in Exodus. It is possible that *Dophkah* is an erroneous transcription of *Mafkah*, the name of an Egyp. district near the *Wady Maghara*.

DOR.—One of the cities which joined Jabin against Joshua (Jos 11[2]), and whose king was killed (12[23]). It lay apparently on or near the border between Manasseh and Asher, so that its possession was ambiguous (17[11]). The aborigines were not driven out (Jg 1[27]). It was administered by Ben-abinadab for Solomon (1 K 4[11]). Though Josephus refers to it as on the sea-coast, and it is traditionally equated to *Tantura*, north of Cæsarea, the reference to the 'heights of Dor' rather suggests that it was in some hilly district such as the slope of the range of Carmel. The name seems quite forgotten.

R. A. S. MACALISTER.

DORCAS (Gr. form of Aram. *Tabitha*, lit. 'gazelle,' Ac 9[36ff.]).—The name of a Christian woman at Joppa, 'full of good works and almsdeeds,' who, having died, was raised by St. Peter's prayer and the words 'Tabitha, arise.' The description recalls the 'Talitha cumi' scene in Jairus' house (Mk 5[41]).

A. J. MACLEAN.

DORYMENES.—The father of Ptolemy Macron, who was a trusted friend of Antiochus Epiphanes (2 Mac 4[45]), and was chosen by Lysias to command the Syrian army in Pal. in conjunction with Nicanor and Gorgias (1 Mac 3[38]).

DOSITHEUS.—**1.** The priest who, according to a note in one of the Greek recensions of Esther, brought the

book to Alexandria in the 4th year of Ptolemy Philometor (?) and Cleopatra, *c.* B.C. 178 (Ad. Est 11^{1}). **2.** A soldier of Judas Maccabæus, who made a vain attempt to take Gorgias prisoner (2 Mac 12^{35}). **3.** A renegade Jew who frustrated the plot of Theodotus to assassinate king Ptolemy Philopator (3 Mac 1^{3}). **4.** An officer of Judas Maccabæus (2 Mac $12^{19.\ 24}$).

DOTÆA (Jth 3^{9}).—Another form of **Dothan** (wh. see). AV has incorrectly *Judæa*.

DOTHAN (Gn 37^{17}, 2 K $6^{13\text{-}18}$; **Dotæa,** Jth 3^{9}; **Dothaim,** Jth 4^{6} etc.).—To-day, *Tell Dothan*, a remarkable isolated hill at the S.E. corner of a great plain *Sahl 'Arrābeh*; surrounded on three sides by hills (2 K 6^{17}). Clearly a place suitable for defence, it must have been of importance when the neighbouring high-road, still much used, was a main thoroughfare from Damascus to Egypt. The situation is, too, a choice one on account of its abundant fountain, now used to work a mill and irrigate fruit gardens; two ancient wells and a number of empty cisterns (Gn 37^{24}) are also found near the foot of the *tell*. Great herds of cattle, sheep, and goats from the neighbouring abundant pastures, may always be found gathered there in the afternoon drinking from the water and browsing in the shade. Although there are no ancient remains on the surface, traces of walls may be seen all around the hill top. E. W. G. Masterman.

DOUBT (from Lat. *dubitare*, 'to hold two (opinions),' 'hesitate').—**1.** In AV 'doubt' (vb. and noun) six times renders a Gr. vb. meaning 'to be at a loss' or 'quite at a loss'; in all these instances except Jn 13^{22} RV substitutes '**perplexity,**' following the AV rendering of Lk 9^{7} 24^{4}, 2 Co 4^{8}. In this sense 'doubt' is now nearly obsolete; as it is in the meaning *riddle, knotty question*, which it bears in Dn $5^{12.\ 16}$. Not dissimilar is its use in the AV of Jn 10^{24} ('make us to doubt'), where RV, more literally, reads 'hold us in suspense.' Quite archaic also is the use of 'doubt' for 'suspect,' instanced in Sir 6^{13} (AV). **2.** Elsewhere 'doubt' has a religious signification, standing in express or tacit antithesis to 'faith' (wh. see). (*a*) In Mt 21^{21}, Mk 11^{23}, Ac 10^{20} 11^{12}, Ro 14^{23}, Ja 1^{6} (RV), Jude ^{22} (RV), it stands for a vb. signifying 'to be divided in mind (judgment)'—the same Gr. word is rendered 'staggered' in AV, 'wavered' in RV, of Ro 4^{20}; (*b*) in Mt 14^{31} 28^{17} 'to be of two opinions,' 'to waver,' is the force of the original: the vb. above indicates (1) more subjectively, (2) more objectively, a state of *qualified faith*, of faith mixed with misgiving, something between whole-hearted faith and decided unbelief. Thus wavering, faith is robbed of its power; hence such hesitation, in regard to Christ and the promises and commands of God, is strongly deprecated and reproved. In the above examples the doubt, affecting the mind of a believer, arises from contradictory circumstances or conscientious scruples; unless this be the case in Mt 28^{17} (cf. Lk 24^{38}, noticed below), it has none of the quality of rationalistic doubt or scepticism. (*c*) Akin to the above is the expression of Lk 12^{29}, where 'of doubtful mind' (AV, RV) is the rendering of an obscure Gr. word that seems to mean *being lifted into the air*, and so *agitated, held in suspense* or *driven by gusts* (cf. Eph 4^{14}, Ja $1^{6\text{-}8}$). (*d*) Another group of expressions remains: Ro 14^{1} 'doubtful disputations' (AV), 'decisions of doubts' (RVm); 1 Ti 2^{8} 'disputing' (RV) or 'doubting' (AV) = 'reasoning' (Lk 24^{38} RV); 'disputings' (Ph 2^{14}). In these passages *arguing, questioning* is intended, and (in Ro.) *matter of argument, debatable questions*. This usage lies on the border between **1** and **2**; for the questions referred to, except in Lk 24^{38}, did not directly belong to faith, but their agitation disturbed and tended to weaken it.

G. G. Findlay.

DOVE.—The words translated 'dove' apply equally to doves and pigeons. In Palestine seven varieties of the *Columbæ* are found. The most noticeable are: the wood pigeons or ring-doves (*Columba palumbus*), which fly in great flocks all over the land; the turtle-dove (*Turtur communis*), a harbinger of spring, arriving in the land in April (Jer 8^{7}, Ca 2^{12}); and the palm turtle-dove (*Turtur senegalensis*), which is common in a semi-domesticated state in the streets and courts of Jerusalem. 'Dove' is a favourite name of affection (Ca 1^{15} 4^{1} $5^{2.\ 12}$ 6^{9}), and to-day it is one of the commonest names given to girls by Eastern Jewish parents. It is typical of harmlessness (Mt 10^{16}), helplessness (Ps 74^{19}), and innocence. The last quality doubtless makes it typical of the Holy Spirit (Mt 3^{16} etc.). Doves were used in sacrifice (Lv 5^{7} 12^{6} etc.), and have been kept as pets for long ages. E. W. G. Masterman.

DOVES' DUNG.—'A fourth part of a cab' of this material was sold at a high price in Samaria during the siege (2 K 6^{25}). The words *harī yōnīm*, as they stand, are plain, and no suggested alternative has cleared up the difficulty. It is an example of the actual extremity of the siege comparable with the threats of the approaching siege of 2 K 18^{27}. Whether, as Josephus suggests, the dung was a source of salt, or was used as medicine or as food, it is impossible to say.

E. W. G. Masterman.

DOWRY.—See Marriage.

DRACHM.—See Dram; Money, §§ **4, 7.**

DRAGON.—(1) *tannīm* (pl.), AV 'dragons,' but RV 'jackals,' Is 13^{22} 34^{13} 35^{7}, Job 30^{29}, Ps 44^{19}, Jer 10^{22} 49^{33}. (2) *tannōth*, AV 'dragons,' but RV 'jackals,' Mal 1^{3}. See Jackal. (3) *tannīm* (sing.), 'dragon,' Ezk 29^{3} 32^{2}, refers to Egypt, and probably means specially the crocodile (wh. see). (4) *tannīn* (pl. *tannīnim*), tr. in RV of Gn 1^{21} and Job 7^{12} '**sea monster(s)**' (AV 'whale(s)'); Aaron's rod became a *tannīn* (Ex $7^{9\text{-}12}$, EV **serpent** [wh. see, § **11**]). The same term, *tannīn*, is also applied metaphorically to Pharaoh (Ps 74^{13}, Is 51^{9}; and thus perhaps refers to the crocodile), and to Nebuchadnezzar (Jer 51^{34}). Doubtless many references here and elsewhere are tinged by current mythological tales of 'dragons,' such as that preserved in the Assyrian creation-epic of the contest between Marduk and Tiamat. The reference in Rev $12^{3ff.}$ is certainly of this nature. E. W. G. Masterman.

DRAM, from the Gr. *drachma*, is used in AV to render two words which RV, with questionable accuracy, has rendered 'darics' (see more fully under Money, § 4). The 'ten pieces of silver' of Lk $15^{8f.}$, however, were real drachmas, as marg. of AV and RV, for which see Money, § **7.**

DRAUGHT (Mt 15^{17}, Mk 7^{19}) and **DRAUGHT HOUSE** (Amer. RV 'draught-house,' 2 K 10^{27}) both signify a privy or closet, which in the Mishna is 'water-house.' Jehu, according to the last-cited passage, turned the temple of Baal in Samaria into public latrines.

DREAMS.—Sleep impressed primitive savages as a great mystery; and they consequently attributed a peculiar significance to the dreams of sleepers, as phenomena which they could not control by their will or explain by their reason. In the lowest stage of culture all dreams were regarded as objectively real experiences; the god or spirit actually visited the dreamer, the events dreamed actually occurred. Hence any one who was subject to frequent dreaming was looked on as a special medium of Divine energy, and many sought to produce the state by artificial means, *e.g.* fasting or the use of drugs. In process of time dreams came to be treated rather as Divine warnings than as actual occurrences. Such admonitions could be deliberately sought, *e.g.* by sleeping in a sacred spot, such as the temples of Asklepios or Serapis or the grotto of Trophonius; or they could come unsought, when the gods wished either to reveal or to deceive. (Plato, however, while allowing that the gods may send dreams, denies that they can wish to

deceive men). Thus, for instance, among the Babylonians, the Assyrians, the Arabs, the Egyptians, a profound importance was attached to dreams; there were professional interpreters of them (cf. Gn $40^{5.8}$ 41^{1}, Dn 2^{2}), and manuals were compiled to aid the work of elucidation (cf. the *Oneirocritica* of Artemidorus of Ephesus). Wiser theorists might discriminate between dreams, but popular superstition tended to regard them all as omens, to be explained, as far as possible, in accordance with definite rules.

1. *Among the Jews.*—In both Testaments we find significance attached to dreams (Gn $37^{6.9}$ 41^{25}, Jg 7^{13}, Dn 2^{28} $7^{1ff.}$, Mt 1^{20} $2^{13.20}$, Ac 23^{11} 27^{23}), and in OT times it seems that a great deal of vulgar superstition existed with regard to such phenomena; similarly necromancy and sorcery, though discouraged by the higher thought of the nation (cf. Dt $18^{10.11}$), were undoubtedly practised. We find hardly any traces, however, of dreams being regularly sought; 1 S 28^{15} may be one; and in Gn 28^{12-19} and 1 K 3^{5} it is possible to suppose a reference to the practice of sleeping in a sacred locality in order to receive a Divine communication. On the whole, the general trend of OT teaching is as follows:—Dreams may in some cases be genuine communications from God (Job 33^{15}, Jer 23^{28}), and as such are reverenced (Gn 20^{3} $31^{10ff.}$), though Nu 12^{6-8} treats them as an inferior medium; but there are false dreams and lying dreamers, against whom precautions are necessary; and the idea that habitual dreaming is a certain sign of Divine inspiration is stoutly combated (cf. Jer $23^{25.32}$ 27^{9} 29^{8}, Zec 10^{2}, Ec 5^{7}), and it is definitely recognized that the interpretation of dreams belongs to God, and is not a matter of human codification (cf. Gn 40^{8}).

2. *General.*—The consideration of dreams is partly a subject for the sciences which treat of the general relations between body and spirit, and partly a matter of common sense. It seems clear that dreams are connected with physical states, and that their psychological origin lies mainly in the region beneath the 'threshold of consciousness.' But all dreams and all waking states are states of consciousness, whether it be partial or complete, and as such are subject to law; if any are to be regarded as 'supernatural,' it must be owing not to their methods but to their messages. Some dreams convey no message, and can be explained as valuable only by a resort to superstition. Others may be real revelations, and as such Divine; in abnormal cases the power of spiritual perception may be intensified and heightened in the dream-state, and thus an insight into Divine truth may be obtained which had been denied to the waking consciousness. Similarly Condorcet is said to have solved in a dream a mathematical problem which had baffled his waking powers, and Coleridge to have dreamt the poem of *Kubla Khan*. But under any circumstances the interpretation of a dream 'belongs to God'; the question whether its message is a Divine communication or not must ultimately be answered by an appeal to the religious consciousness, or in other words to the higher reason. The awakened intelligence must be called in to criticise and appraise the deliverances received in dreams, and its verdict must decide what measure of attention is to be paid to them. Dreams, in short, may be the source of suggestions, but scarcely of authoritative directions.

A. W. F. Blunt.

DRESS.—The numerous synonyms for 'dress' to be found in our EV—'apparel,' 'attire,' 'clothes,' 'raiment,' 'garments,' etc.—fairly reflect a similar wealth of terminology in the original Hebrew and Greek, more especially the former. As regards the particular articles of dress, the identification of these is in many cases rendered almost impossible for the English reader by the curious lack of consistency in the renderings of the translators, illustrations of which will be met with again and again in this article. For this and other reasons it will be necessary to have recourse to transliteration as the only certain means of distinguishing the various garments to be discussed.

1. *Materials.*—Scripture and anthropology are in agreement as to the great antiquity of the **skins of animals**, wild and domesticated, as dress material (Gn 3^{21} 'coats of skin'; cf. for later times, He 11^{37}). The favourite materials in Palestine, however, were **wool** and **flax** (Pr 31^{13}). The finest quality of **linen** was probably an importation from Egypt (see Linen). **Goats' hair** and **camels' hair** supplied the materials for coarser fabrics. The first certain mention of **silk** is in Rev 18^{12}, for the meaning of the word so rendered in Ezk $16^{10.13}$ is doubtful, and the silk of Pr 31^{22} (AV) is really 'fine linen' as in RV.

2. *Under Garments.*—(*a*) The oldest and most widely distributed of all the articles of human apparel is the **loin-cloth** (Heb. *'ēzōr*), originally a strip of skin or cloth wrapped round the loins and fastened with a knot. Among the Hebrews in historical times it had been displaced in ordinary life by the shirt or tunic (see below). The loin-cloth or waist-cloth, however, is found in a number of interesting survivals in OT, where it is unfortunately hidden from the English reader by the translation '**girdle,**' a term which should be reserved for an entirely different article of dress (see § 3). The universal sign of mourning, for example, was the 'girding' of the waist with an *'ēzōr* of hair-cloth (EV 'sackcloth'). Certain of the prophets, again, as exponents of the simple life, wore the waist-cloth as their only under garment, such as Elijah, who 'was girt about with a loin-cloth (EV 'girdle') of leather' (2 K 1^{8}), and John the Baptist (Mt 3^{4}, Mk 1^{6}). Isaiah on one occasion wore an *'ēzōr* of hair-cloth (Is 20^{2}), and Jeremiah on another occasion one of linen (Jer $13^{1ff.}$).

The noun and the cognate verb are frequently used in figurative senses, the point of which is lost unless it is remembered that the waist-cloth was always worn next the skin, as *e.g.* Jer 13^{11}, Is 11^{5}, the figure in the latter case signifying that righteousness and faithfulness are essential and inseparable elements in the character of the Messianic 'Shoot.'

(*b*) The **aprons** of Ac 19^{12} were the Roman *semicinctium*, a short waist-cloth worn specially by slaves and workmen (see illust. in Rich, *Dict. of Rom. and Gr. Antiq., s.v.*).

(*c*) In early times the priests wore a waist-cloth of linen, which bore the special name of the **ephod** (1 S 2^{18}), and which the incident recorded in 2 S $6^{14ff.}$.—David, as priest, dancing before the ark—shows to have been of the nature of a short kilt. By the Priests' Code, however, the priests were required to wear the under garment described under Breeches. See, further, Hosen.

(*d*) In OT, as has been said, the everyday under garment of all classes—save for certain individuals or on special occasions—is the shirt or **tunic** (*kuttoneth*, a term which reappears in Greek as *chitōn*, and probably in Latin as *tunica*). The uniform rendering of EV is **coat**, only Jn 19^{23} RVm 'tunic.' A familiar Assyrian sculpture, representing the siege and capture of Lachish by Sennacherib, shows the Jewish captives, male and female alike, dressed in a moderately tight garment fitting close to the neck (cf. Job 30^{18}) and reaching almost to the ankles, which must represent the *kuttoneth* of the period as worn in towns. That of the peasantry and of most workmen was probably both looser and shorter, resembling in these respects its modern representative, the *kamees* (Lat. *camisia*, our 'chemise') of the Syrian fellahin.

As regards **sleeves**, which are not expressly mentioned in OT—but see RVm at Gn 37^{3} (Joseph) and 2 S 13^{18} (Tamar)—three modes are found. An early Egyptian representation of a group of Semitic traders (*c.* B.C. 2000) shows a coloured sleeveless tunic, which fastens on the left shoulder, leaving the right shoulder bare. The Lachish tunics, above mentioned, have short sleeves reaching half-way to the elbows. This probably repre-

sents the prevailing type of tunic among the Hebrews of the earlier period at least, since a third variety, fitted with long and wide sleeves and reaching to the ground, was evidently restricted to the upper and wealthier classes. This is the 'tunic of (*i.e.* reaching to) palms and soles' worn by Joseph and the royal princess Tamar (see above), more familiar as the **'coat of many** (or diverse) **colours,'** a rendering which represents a now generally abandoned tradition. In Josephus' day the long white linen tunic, which was the chief garment of the ordinary priesthood, had sleeves which for practical reasons were tied to the arms (Jos. *Ant.* III. vii. 2). By this time, also, it had become usual even among the lower ranks of the people to wear an under tunic or real shirt (*ib.* XVII. v. 7; Mishna, *passim*, where this garment is named *chālūk*). In this case the upper tunic, the *kuttoneth* proper, would be taken off at night (Ca 5^3).

The ordinary tunic was made in at least three ways. (1) It might consist of two similar pieces of woollen or linen cloth cut from a larger web, which were sewed together along the sides and top. (2) The material for a single tunic might be woven on the loom, and afterwards put together without cutting, in the manner of the Egyptian tunics described and figured in Smith's *Dict. of Gr. and Rom. Antiq.*[3] *s.v.* 'Tunica' (ii. 904). (3) As we know from the description of the *chitōn* worn by our Lord at the time of His Passion (Jn 19^{23}), and from other sources, a third variety was woven 'without seam' on a special loom (see SPINNING AND WEAVING) and required no further adjustment.

The garment intended by the 'coats' of Dn $3^{21.\ 27}$ (AV) is uncertain. Most recent authorities favour mantles (so AVm; RV has 'hosen,' wh. see). For the 'coat of mail' see ARMOUR, **2** (*c*).

3. *The Girdle.*—Almost as indispensable as the tunic was the **girdle,** which varied in material and workmanship from a simple rope (Is 3^{24} RV) to the rich and elaborate waist-belt of the priests, and the 'golden girdles' of Rev 1^{13} 15^6. Usually it consisted of a long strip of cloth, folded several times and wound round the waist above the tunic, with or without the ends hanging down in front. When work or a journey was in contemplation, the girdle was put on, and part of the tunic drawn up till it hung over in folds. Hence this operation of 'girding the loins' became a figure for energetic action. The girdle served also as a sword-belt (2 S 20^8); through it was stuck the writer's inkhorn (Ezk $9^{3.\ 11}$), while its folds served as a purse (Mt 10^9 RVm). The special priests' girdle, termed *'abnēt* (Ex 28^4 and oft.), was a richly embroidered sash wound several times round the waist, according to Josephus, and tied in front, the ends falling to the ankles.

4. *Upper Garments.*—While the *kuttoneth* or tunic was the garment in which the work of the day was done (see Mt 24^{18} RV, Mk 13^{16} RV), men and women alike possessed a second garment, which served as a protection against inclement weather by day and as a covering by night (Ex $22^{26f.}$). The two are sharply distinguished in the familiar saying of Jesus: 'If any man sue thee at the law and take away thy **coat** (*chitōn*), let him have thy **cloke** (*himation*) also' (Mt 5^{40}).

(*a*) The commonest name for this upper garment in OT is *simlah* or *salmah*. The *simlah* was almost certainly a large rectangular piece of cloth, in most cases of wool, in more special cases of linen. It was thus the exact counterpart of the *himation* of the Greeks, which we have seen to be its NT name, and the *pallium* of the Romans. Like them, it belonged not to the class of *endumata* or garments 'put on,' as the tunic, but to the *periblemata* or garments 'wrapped round' the body.

Since this view is at variance with that of acknowledged authorities on the subject (Nowack, Benzinger, Mackie in art. 'Dress' in Hastings' *DB* i. 625), who identify the *simlah* with the modern *'aba*, the coarse loose overcoat of the modern Syrian peasantry, the grounds on which it is based may be here briefly set forth. (1) If the parallel passages, Ex $22^{26f.}$ and Dt $24^{13.\ 17}$ on the one hand, and Nu 15^{38} and Dt 22^{12} on the other, are compared in the original, it will be found that three terms are used indiscriminately for the ordinary upper garment of the Hebrews, and, further, that this garment *had four corners*, to each of which a tassel had to be attached (see more fully FRINGES)—a detail which suggests a plain four-cornered plaid like the *himation*, not a made-up garment like the *chitōn* or the *'aba*. (2) The incident of the sick woman in Mt $9^{20ff.}$ and parallel passages, who reached forward in the crowd to touch the tassel of Jesus' *himation from behind*, shows that the Jewish upper garment was still worn by being wrapped round the body, over the back from left to right, with one corner and its tassel falling over the left shoulder. (3) The shape of the simple oblong *tallith* or prayer-shawl of the modern Jews, with its four tassels, which is the direct descendant of the *simlah* and the more recent *tallith* of the Mishna, is in favour of the former having the shape now advocated. (4) The clear distinction in NT already referred to, between the two principal garments of the Jews, confirms the conclusion that the typical Jewish upper garment closely resembled, if it was not identical with, the garment known as the *himation* throughout the Greek-speaking world.

In our EV the *simlah* is concealed from the English reader under a variety of renderings. Thus, to give but a few illustrations, it is the **'garment'** with which Noah's nakedness was covered in Gn 9^{23}, and the **'clothes'** in which the Hebrews bound up their kneading-troughs (Ex 12^{34}); it is the 'garment' of Gideon in Jg 8^{25}, and the **'raiment'** of Ruth (3^3); just as the *himation* of NT is not only the **'cloke'** of Mt 5^{40}, but the 'clothes' of Mt 24^{18} (but RV 'cloke'); the 'garment' of Mk 13^{16}, and so on.

(*b*) Another variety of upper garment, known as the *me'īl*, is mentioned only in connexion with men of high social position or of the priestly order. It is the **robe** of Saul—the **skirt** (lit. 'corner') of which was cut off by David (1 S $24^{4f.}$)—of Jonathan (18^4), and of Ezra (Ezr $9^{3.\ 5}$), the little 'coat' of the boy-priest Samuel (1 S 2^{19}), and his 'mantle' at a later stage (15^{27}). RV has 'robe' for *me'īl* throughout. Wherein did the *me'īl* differ from the *simlah*? From its constant association with men of rank, we should expect it to be of a more elaborate and ornate description. The violet 'robe of the ephod' prescribed for the high priest (Ex $28^{31ff.}$ $39^{22ff.}$) had 'a hole for the head in the midst thereof, as it were the hole of a coat of mail,' and was trimmed with an elaborate ball-and-bell fringe. Now on the black obelisk of Shalmaneser, the bearers of Jehu's tribute, nobles of Samaria doubtless, are represented wearing over their tunics a similar fringed and sleeveless garment, open at the sides, and resembling, if not identical with, the upper garment of Assyrian kings and dignitaries of state, which may with some confidence be identified with the *me'īl*. The latter, then, seems to have been a piece of cloth of superior material and workmanship, in the shape of a magnified chest-protector, worn over the tunic like a priest's chasuble, and reaching almost to the ankles. It probably came to the Hebrews from Babylonia through the medium of the Canaanites, and survives to-day in the 'little tallith' or *arba kanphoth* of the Jews (see FRINGES). By the time of Josephus, the high priest's *me'īl* had become a sleeveless and seamless upper tunic (Jos. *Ant.* III. vii. 4).

(*c*) A third variety of upper garment, the *'addereth*, appears to have been the distinctive garment of the prophets (see Zec 13^4 RV 'hairy mantle'). Elijah's **mantle,** in particular, is always so named. The latter, according to the Gr. version of Kings, was made of sheepskin, with the wool outside (cf. 2 K 1^8 RVm and Gn 25^{25} 'hairy garment'). It may, however, have been of goats' or camels' hair, as in the case of John the Baptist (Mt 3^4, Mk 1^6).

(*d*) Among the products of the domestic loom was a fourth garment, the *sādīn* (Pr 31^{24}). From the Mishna we learn that it was a plain **sheet** of fine linen with tassels, which could be used as a light upper garment,

as a curtain, and as a shroud. In this last respect it resembled the NT *sindōn*, the 'linen cloth' of Mt 27^{59}, Mk 15^{46} RV. It is probably as an upper garment of fine white linen for gala use (cf. Ec 9^{8}) that the *sādīn* is introduced in Jg $14^{12f.}$ (AV 'sheets,' RV 'linen garments') and Is 3^{23}.

(*e*) Mention must also be made of the 'scarlet robe' (*chlamys*) in which Jesus was arrayed by the Roman soldiers (Mt $27^{28.\ 31}$). It is the *paludamentum* or military cloak worn over their armour by the superior officers of the Roman army. The '**cloke**' finally, which St. Paul left at Troas (2 Ti 4^{13}) was the Roman *pænula*, a circular travelling cape. For the **brooch** or **buckle** by which an upper garment was sometimes fastened, see Ornaments, § 5.

5. *Headdress.*—(*a*) The Hebrews appear at first to have had no covering for the head, except on special occasions, such as war, when a leather **helmet** was worn (see Armour, **2** (*b*)). At most a rope or cord served as a fillet, as may be inferred from 1 K $20^{31f.}$, and as may be seen in the representations of Syrians on the monuments of Egypt. In cases of prolonged exposure to the sun, it is most probable that recourse would be had to a covering in the style of the modern *keffiyeh*, which protects not only the head but also the neck and shoulders. Jehu's tribute-carriers, above mentioned, are depicted in a headgear resembling the familiar Phrygian cap. The best attested covering, however—at least for the upper ranks of both sexes—is the *tsānīph* (from a root signifying to 'wind round') or **turban.** It is the royal '**diadem**' of Is 62^{3}, the ladies' '**hood**' of Is 3^{23} (RV 'turban'), and the '**mitre**' of Zec 3^{5} (RVm 'turban *or* diadem'). A kindred word is used for the high priest's turban, the 'mitre' of Ex 28^{4}, etc., for which see Mitre. A turban is also implied in Ezekiel's description of a lady's headdress: 'I have bound thee with a **tire** of fine linen' (Ezk 16^{10} RVm). The egg-shaped turban of the ordinary priests has been discussed under Bonnet (RV 'headtires'). The '**hats**' of Dn 3^{21} were probably a variety of the conical Babylonian headdress, although RV gives 'mantles.' Antiochus Epiphanes, it is recorded, compelled the young Jewish nobles to wear the *petasus*, the low, broad-brimmed hat associated with Hermes (2 Mac 4^{12}, RV 'the Greek **cap**').

In NT times, as may be learned from the Mishna, many forms of headdress were in use. One was named the *sūdār*, from the Lat. *sudarium* (a cloth for wiping off perspiration, *sudor*), which is the **napkin** of Jn 11^{44} 20^{7}, although there it appears as a kerchief or headcovering for the dead (cf. below, **8**).

(*b*) As regards the headdress of the female sex, we have seen that both sexes of the wealthier classes wore the *tsānīph* or turban. The female captives from Lachish wear over their tunics an upper garment, which covers the forehead and hair and falls down over the shoulders as far as the ankles. Whether this is the garment intended by any of the words rendered **vail** in AV, as that of Ruth, for example (3^{15}, RV 'mantle'), or by the '**kerchiefs** for the head' of Ezk 13^{18} RV, it is impossible to say. The veil, however, with which Rebekah and Tamar covered themselves (Gn 24^{65} 38^{14}), was more probably a large mantle in which the whole body could be wrapped, like the *sādīn* of **4** (*d*) above. Indeed, it is impossible to draw a clear distinction in OT between the mantle and the veil. The only express mention of a face-veil is in the case of Moses (Ex 34^{33}).

6. *Shoes and sandals.*—Within doors the Hebrews went barefoot. Out of doors it was customary to wear either sandals or shoes, mostly the former. The simplest form of **sandal** consisted of a plain sole of leather, bound to the feet by a leather thong, the '**shoelatchet**' of Gn 14^{23} and the '**latchet**' of Mk 1^{7} etc. The Assyrians preferred a sandal fitted with a heel-cap, by which they are distinguished from Jehu's attendants on the obelisk of Shalmaneser, who wear **shoes** completely covering the feet. In Ezekiel's day ladies wore shoes of 'sealskin' (Ezk 16^{10} RV; but see Badgers' Skins). The laced **boot** of the soldier may be referred to in Is 9^{5} (see RVm). The sandals were removed not only in cases of mourning (2 S 15^{30}) and of a visit to a friend, but also on entering a sacred precinct (Ex 3^{5}, Jos 5^{15}); the Jewish priests, accordingly, performed all their offices in the Temple barefoot.

7. It need hardly be said that the taste for 'purple and fine linen' was not peculiar to the days of Dives, as may be seen from the remarkable dress-list in Is $3^{18ff.}$. Richly embroidered garments are mentioned as early as the time of the Judges (Jg 5^{30} RV). King Josiah had an official who bore the title of 'the keeper of the wardrobe' (2 K 22^{14}). The '**change of raiment**,' however, several times mentioned in OT, were not so many complete outfits, but special gala robes, for which one's ordinary garments were 'changed.' In the East, such robes have continued a favourite form of gift and expression of esteem from sovereigns and other persons of high rank to the present day.

For what may be termed accessories of dress, see Ornaments, Seal, Staff.

8. A special interest must always attach to the question of the outward appearance of the Man of Nazareth, so far as it is associated with the dress He wore. This must have consisted of at least six separate articles, not five, as Edersheim states (*Life and Times of Jesus*, i. 625). By the 1st cent. it had become usual to wear a linen shirt (*chālūk*) beneath the tunic (see **2** (*d*) above). In our Lord's case this seems required by the mention of the upper garments (*himatia*, *i.e.* mantle and tunic) which He laid aside before washing the disciples' feet (Jn 13^{4}). The tunic proper, we know, was 'woven without seam' throughout, and therefore fitted closely at the neck, with the usual short sleeves as above described. White linen was the favourite material for both shirt and tunic. Above the tunic was the linen girdle wound several times round the waist. On His feet were leather sandals (Mt 3^{11}). His upper garment, as has been shown, was of the customary oblong shape—probably of white woollen cloth, as is suggested by the details of the Transfiguration narrative in Mk 9^{3}—with the four prescribed tassels at the corners (see above, **4** (*a*)). To the form of His headdress we have no clue, but it may be regarded as certain—the traditional artistic convention notwithstanding—that no Jewish teacher of that period would appear in public with head uncovered. Probably a white linen 'napkin' (*sudarium*) was tied round the head as a simple turban, the ends falling down over the neck.

A. R. S. Kennedy.

DRINK.—See Meals, § 6, Wine and Strong Drink.

DRINK-OFFERING.—See Sacrifice and Offering.

DROMEDARY.—See Camel.

DROPSY.—See Medicine.

DRUNKENNESS.—See Wine and Strong Drink.

DRUSILLA.—The third wife of the procurator Felix (Ac 24^{24}). She was the youngest daughter of Herod Agrippa I., and is said to have been persuaded by one Simon (? Simon Magus) to desert her first husband, Azizus king of Emesa, for Felix. She cannot have been more than 16 years of age when she listened to St. Paul reasoning on 'righteousness and temperance and the judgment to come' (Ac 24^{25}).

DUALISM.—The belief in, or doctrine of, two ultimate conflicting principles, powers, or tendencies in the universe. Haeckel describes as dualism the distinction between God and the world, and between matter and mind, and opposes to it his monism, which identifies both (*Riddle of the Universe*, ch. 1, p. 8). In this sense of the word the Bible teaches dualism. It does distinguish God as Creator from the world as created (Gn 1^{1}, Is 40^{26}, Jn 1^{3}), and describes God as Spirit in contrast with matter (Jn 4^{24}). In man it distinguishes the body taken from the dust, and the

spirit given by God (Gn 2^7, Ec 12^7). This conclusion need not be proved further, as this view is implied in all the teaching of the Bible about God, world, man. But, setting aside this new sense of the term, we must consider whether the Bible gives evidence of dualism in the older sense, as opposing to God any antagonist or hindrance in His creating, preserving, and ruling the world. It is held that dualism in three forms can be traced in the Bible—(1) the mythical, (2) the metaphysical, (3) the ethical. Each must be separately examined.

1. **Mythical dualism.**—In the Babylonian cosmology, *Marduk*, the champion of the upper deities, wages war against *Tiamat*, who leads the lower deities; at last he slays her, divides her body, and makes part a covering for the heavens to hold back the upper waters. There is little doubt that the account of the Creation in Gn 1 reproduces some of the features of this myth, but it is transformed by the monotheism of the author (see Bennett's *Genesis*, pp. 67–72). Tiamat appears under the name **Rahab** in several passages (Job 9^{13} [RV] $26^{12.\ 13}$ [see Davidson's *Job*, p. 54], Is 51^9, cf. 27^1 'leviathan the swift serpent,' 'leviathan the crooked serpent,' 'the dragon that is in the sea'). See Cheyne's notes on these passages in the *Prophecies of Isaiah*, i. 158, ii. 31. In illustration of Is 51^9 he quotes the address to *Ra* in the Egyptian Book of the Dead: 'Hail! thou who hast cut in pieces the Scorner and strangled the *Apophis*' [*i.e.* the evil serpent, Ps 89^{10}, cf. Ps $74^{13.\ 14}$ 'the dragons,' 'leviathan']. This name is used as a symbolic name of Egypt (Ps 87^4, Is 30^7), probably on account of its position on the Nile, and its hostility to the people of God. The **sea** is regarded as God's foe (Dn 7^3 'four great beasts came up from the sea'; Rev 13^1 'a beast coming up out of the sea,' 21^1 'the sea is no more,' that is, the power hostile to God has ceased), a conception in which the myth survives. The influence of the myth is seen only in the poetical language, but not in the religious beliefs of the Holy Scriptures.

2. **Metaphysical dualism.**—Greek thought was dualistic. Anaxagoras assumed *hylē*, 'matter,' as well as *nous*, 'mind,' as the ultimate principles. Plato does not harmonize the world of ideas and the world of sense. Aristotle begins with matter and form. Neo-Platonism seeks to fill up the gulf between God and the world by a series of emanations. In Gnosticism the *plērōma* and the *logos* mediate between the essential and the phenomenal existence. St. John ($1^{1.\ 14}$) meets this Greek thought of his environment by asserting that Christ is the Word who is with God and is God, and who has become flesh. Against Gnostic heretics St. Paul in *Colossians* (1^{19} 2^9) asserts that the *plērōma*, the fulness of the Godhead, dwells bodily in Christ; to this dualism is opposed the union of Creator and creation, reason and matter in Christ.

From this metaphysical there resulted a practical dualism in Greek thought, between sense and reason. While Aristotle thought that reason might use sense as an artist his material, Neo-Platonism taught that only by an ascetic discipline could reason be emancipated from the bondage of sense; and Stoicism treated sense as a usurper in man's nature, to be crushed and cast out by reason. Holsten has tried to show that this dualism is involved in St. Paul's doctrine of the **flesh**, and Pfleiderer also holds this position. It is held that St. Paul, starting from the common Hebraic notion of flesh (*sarx*), 'according to which it signifies material substance, which is void indeed of the spirit, but not contrary to it, which is certainly weak and perishable, and so far unclean, but not positively evil,' advances to the conception of the flesh as 'an agency opposed to the spirit,' having 'an active tendency towards death.' 'From the opposition of physically different substances results the dualism of antagonistic moral principles' (Pfleiderer's *Paulinism*, i. 52 ff.). This conclusion is, however, generally challenged with good reason, and cannot be regarded as proved. The question will be more fully discussed in art. Flesh.

3. **Ethical dualism.**—In Persian thought there are opposed to one another, as in conflict with one another, *Ormuzd* and *Ahriman*, the personal principles of good and evil. While the OT recognizes the power of sin in the world, yet God's ultimate causality and sole supremacy are affirmed. In post-exilic Judaism, however, there was a twofold tendency so to assert the transcendence of God that angels must be recognized as mediating between Him and the world, and to preserve His moral perfection by assigning the evil in the world to the agency of evil spirits under the leadership of *Satan*, the adversary. While these tendencies may be regarded as inherent in the development of Hebrew monotheism, both were doubtless stimulated by the influence of Persian thought with its elaborate angelology and demonology. In the Apocalyptic literature the present world is represented as under Satan's dominion, and as wrested from him only by a supernatural manifestation of God's power to establish His Kingdom. This dualism pervades the Apocalypse. In the NT generally the doctrine of the *devil* current in Judaism is taken over, but the Divine supremacy is never denied, and the Divine victory over all evil is always confidently anticipated. (See artt. Apocalyptic Literature, Devil, Eschatology.)

While in the Bible there are these traces of the threefold dualism, it is never developed; and monotheism is throughout maintained, God's sole eternity, ultimate causality, and final victory being asserted, while God is distinguished from the world, and in the world a distinction between matter and mind is recognized.

Alfred E. Garvie.

DUKE.—The title of 'duke' in the AV has a very general meaning. It is an inheritance from the Eng. of earlier versions, in which (after Vulg. *dux*) 'duke' meant any leader or chief. Latimer calls Gideon a duke, and Wyclif uses this title of Christ, as in his *Works* (iii. 137), 'Jesus Christ, duke of oure batel.' The title of 'duke' is confined in AV to the chiefs of Edom, with the exception of Jos 13^{21} 'dukes of Sihon,' and 1 Mac 10^{65} (applied to Jonathan Maccabæus).

DULCIMER.—This term, which denotes a *stringed* instrument (? the mediæval 'psaltery'; see Music, § 4 (1) (*b*)), is given incorrectly by EV in Dn $3^{5.\ 15}$ as tr. of *sumpōnya* (Gr. loan-word), which prob. = 'bagpipe'; see Music, § 4 (2) (*d*).

DUMAH.—**1.** Cited in Gn 25^{14} (1 Ch 1^{30}) as among the twelve tribes of Ishmael. The region thus indicated is supposed to be the oasis formerly called by the Arabs *Dūmat el-Jendel* and now known as *el-Jōf*, about three-fourths of the way from Damascus to Medina. The same place may be referred to in the obscure oracle Is 21^{11}, but the LXX has 'Idumæa,' and it is possible that Edom is meant. **2.** The name of a town in the highlands of Judah (Jos 15^{52}). The reading is not certain. The LXX and Vulg. indicate *Rumah*, and not all editions of the Hebrew agree. If the received text is correct, an identification may be plausibly made with *ed-Daumeh* 10 miles S.W. of Hebron. J. F. McCurdy.

DUMBNESS.—See Medicine.

DUNG.—**1.** Used in the East as manure (Lk 13^8) and for fuel; especially that of cattle, where wood and charcoal are scarce or unattainable. Directions for personal cleanliness are given in Dt 23^{10-14}; and in the case of sacrifices the dung of the animals was burnt outside the camp (Ex 29^{14}, Lv $4^{11.\ 12}$ 8^{17}, Nu 19^5). **2.** The word is used (*a*) to express contempt and abhorrence, as in the case of the carcase of Jezebel (2 K 9^{37}); and in that of the Jews (Jer 9^{22}, Zeph 1^{17}). (*b*) To spread dung upon the face was a sign of humiliation (Mal 2^3). (*c*) As representing worthlessness, Paul counted all things but dung that he might win Christ (Ph 3^8).

DURA, PLAIN OF.—The precise locality is uncertain, but it must have been in the vicinity of Babylon. Perhaps the name is derived from the Bab. *duru* = 'wall,' which is frequently used as a town name. Oppert (*Expéd. en Mésop.* I. 238) found a small river so named, falling into the Euphrates 6 or 7 miles S.E. of Babylon, the neighbouring mounds being also named *Tolul Dura*. A curious Talmudic legend makes this plain the scene of Ezekiel's vision (37[1-14]), which it regards as an actual event (*Sanh.* 92 *b*).

J. TAYLOR.

DWARF is the rendering in AV and RV of *daq*, a word (Lv 21[20]) denoting one of the physical disqualifications by which a priest was unfitted for service. The word means *thin, lean, small*. The conjecture that it here means a dwarf is plausible. But others regard it as meaning an unnaturally thin man—a consumptive, perhaps.

DYEING.—See ARTS AND CRAFTS, 6; COLOURS, 6.

DYSENTERY.—See MEDICINE.

E

EAGLE.—(1) *nesher*, Dt 32[11] etc., Lv 11[13] RVm 'great vulture.' (2) *rāchām*, Lv 11[18], AV '**gier eagle**,' RV '**vulture**.' (3) *aetos*, Mt 24[28]‖ Lk 17[37] (RVm 'vultures'), Rev 4[7] 12[14]. The Heb. *nesher* is the equivalent of the Arab. *nisr*, which includes eagles, vultures, and ospreys. It is clear from Mic 1[16] 'enlarge thy baldness as the eagle,' that the vulture is referred to. There are eight varieties of eagles and four of vultures known in Palestine. The references to *nesher* are specially appropriate as applied to the griffon vulture (*Gyps fulvus*), a magnificent bird, 'the most striking ornithological feature of Palestine' (Tristram), found especially around the precipitous gorges leading to various parts of the Jordan Valley. Job 39[27. 30] and Jer 49[16] well describe its habits; and its powerful and rapid flight is referred to in Is 40[31], Dt 28[49], Hab 1[8]. *Rāchām* corresponds to the Arab. *rakhām*, the Egyptian vulture, a ubiquitous scavenger which visits Palestine from the south every summer.

E. W. G. MASTERMAN.

EAR.—Both in OT and NT the spiritual disposition to attend, which issues in obedience, is thus designated (*e.g.* Is 6[10], Mt 11[15], Rev 2[7]). Hence 'to uncover the ear' (RVm, 1 S 9[15] etc.) = to reveal; the 'uncircumcised ear' (Jer 6[10]) = the ear which remains unpurified and clogged and therefore unable to perceive: hence 'mine ears hast thou opened' (Ps 40[6]) = Thou hast enabled me to understand. The perforated ear was a sign of slavery or dependence, indicating the obligation to attend (Ex 21[6], Dt 15[16f.]). The tip of the priest's right ear was touched with blood in token that the sense of hearing was consecrated to God's service (Ex 29[20], Lv 8[23]).

J. TAYLOR.

EARING.—Gn 45[6], 'There shall be neither earing nor harvest.' 'Earing' is the old expression for 'ploughing.' The verb 'to ear' (connected with Lat. *arare*) also occurs, as Dt 21[4] 'a rough valley, which is neither eared nor sown.'

EARNEST.—In 2 Co 1[22] 5[5], Eph 1[14] St. Paul describes the Holy Spirit as the believer's 'earnest.' The word means 'part-payment,' the deposit being the same in kind as what is to follow. Cf. Tindale's (1533) use of 'earnest-penny': 'that assured saving health and earnest-penny of everlasting life.' Rabbi Greenstone (*JE* v. 26) quotes *Kid.* 3*a* to the effect that the payment of a *perutah*, the smallest coin of Palestinian currency, on account of the purchase, was sufficient to bind the bargain. The Gr. word was probably introduced by the Phœnicians. Deissmann (*Bible Studies*, p. 108 f.) shows that in 2 Co 1[21] the verb 'stablisheth' connotes a legal idea and stands in 'an essential relation' to 'earnest' in v.[22]. St. Paul represents the relation of God to believers under the image of 'a legally guaranteed security.'

J. G. TASKER.

EAR-RING.—See AMULETS, 2; ORNAMENTS, 2.

EARTH in OT usually stands for one or other of the Heb. words *'eretz* and *'adāmāh*. In AV these are rendered indiscriminately 'earth' and '**ground**,' but RV distinguishes them by using, to some extent, 'earth' for the former, and 'ground' for the latter. Both words have a wide range of meanings, some of which they possess in common, while others are peculiar to each. Thus *'eretz* denotes: (*a*) earth as opposed to heaven (Gn 1[1]), and (*b*) dry land as opposed to sea (1[20]). *'adāmāh* is specially used: (*a*) for earth as a specific substance (Gn 2[7], 2 K 5[17]); and (*b*) for the surface of the ground, in such phrases as 'face of the earth.' Both words are employed to describe: (*a*) the soil from which plants grow, *'adāmāh* being the more common term in this sense; (*b*) the whole earth with its inhabitants, for which, however, *'adāmāh* is but rarely used; and (*c*) a land or country, this also being usually expressed by *'eretz*. In one or two cases it is doubtful in which of the two last senses *'eretz* is to be taken, *e.g.* Jer 22[29] (EV 'earth,' RVm 'land').

In NT the Gr. words for 'earth' are *gē* and *oikoumenē*, the former having practically all the variety of meanings mentioned above, while the latter denotes specially the whole inhabited earth, and is once used (Heb 2[5]) in a still wider sense for the universe of the future. See, further, art. WORLD.

JAMES PATRICK.

EARTHQUAKE.—The whole formation of the country running in a straight line from the Taurus range to the gulf of Akabah, which therefore includes Central Judæa, reveals a volcanic character of a striking kind. That this large tract was, in days gone by, the scene of frequent and terrible earthquakes, admits of no doubt. Apart from the actual occurrences of earthquakes recorded in the Bible and elsewhere (*e.g.* at the time of the battle of Actium, in the seventh year of the reign of Herod the Great, Jos. *Ant.* xv. v. 2), the often-used imagery of the earthquake bears eloquent testimony to a fearful experience.

It is necessary to distinguish between actual earthquakes and those which belong to the descriptive accounts of theophanies or Divine manifestations of wrath, etc. Of the former only one is mentioned in the OT, that which occurred in the reign of Uzziah (Am 1[1], Zec 14[5]); among the latter must be included such references as Ex 19[18], 1 K 19[11], Nu 16[31], Ps 18[7] 68[8] 77[18] 104[4], Is 29[6] etc. In the NT it is recorded that an earthquake occurred at the Crucifixion (Mt 27[51. 54]), at the Resurrection (Mt 28[2]), and on the night of St. Paul's imprisonment in Philippi (Ac 16[26]); further, it is foretold that there shall be earthquakes at Christ's second coming (Mt 24[7], Mk 13[8], Lk 21[11]); their mention in Rev. is characteristic of apocalyptic literature.

W. O. E. OESTERLEY.

EAST, CHILDREN OF THE.—A common designation of the inhabitants of the Syrian desert, who were partly Aramæan and partly Arabian (Jg 6[3] 8[10], Ezk 25[4. 10], Is 11[14], Jer 49[28], Job 1[3]). Certain of them had obtained great renown for wisdom (1 K 5[10]).

J. F. MCCURDY.

EAST SEA, EASTERN SEA.—See Dead Sea.

EASTER (AV of Ac 12[4]; RV 'the Passover').—The anachronism of AV was inherited from older VSS which avoided, as far as possible, expressions which could not be understood by the people.

EBAL.—**1.** Name of a son of Joktan (1 Ch 1[22], in Gn 10[28] **Obal**), probably representing a place or tribe in Arabia. **2.** A son of Shobal son of Seir (Gn 36[23], 1 Ch 1[40]).

EBAL.—Now *Jebel esh-Shemali*, a mountain north of *Nablus* (Shechem), 1207 ft. above the valley, 3077 ft. above the sea. Ruins of a fortress and of a building called a 'little church' exist on its summit, as well as a Mohammedan shrine said to contain the skull of John the Baptist. The mountain commands an extensive view over almost the whole of Galilee, which includes points from Hermon to Jerusalem and from the sea to the Hauran. On this mountain Joshua built an altar and erected a monument bearing the law of Moses (Jos 8[30]); and the curses for breaches of the moral law were here proclaimed to the assembled Israelites on their formally taking possession of the Promised Land (Dt 11[29] 27[4. 13], Jos 8[33]).

R. A. S. Macalister.

EBED.—**1.** The father of Gaal (Jg 9[26-35]). **2.** One of those who returned from Babylon with Ezra (Ezr 8[6]); called in 1 Es 8[32] **Obeth.**

EBED-MELECH.—An Ethiop. eunuch, by whom Jeremiah was released from the pit-prison (Jer 38[7ff. 15ff.]). It is possible that the name *Ebed-melech*, which means 'servant of [the] king,' may have been an official title.

EBEN-EZER ('the stone of help' [LXX 'of the helper']).—**1.** The scene of a disastrous battle in which the ark was lost (1 S 4[1] 5[1]). **2.** The name of the stone erected to commemorate an equally glorious victory (7[12]). The precise situation is uncertain, but if Shen (7[12]), *i.e. Yeshana* (according to LXX and Syriac), is the modern '*Ain Semîje* a little N. of Bethel, the locality is approximately defined. Samuel's explanatory words should be read thus: 'This is a witness that Jahweh hath helped us.'

J. Taylor.

EBER.—**1.** The eponymous ancestor of the Hebrews (the first letter in both words being the same in the Heb.), the great-grandson of Shem, and 'father' of Peleg and Joktan (Gn 10[21. 25] 11[14ff.]). The word '*ēber* signifies 'the other side,' 'across'; and '*ibrî*, '**Hebrew**,' which is in form a gentile name, denoting the inhabitant of a country or member of a tribe, is usually explained as denoting those who have come from '*ēber han-nāhār* (see Jos 24[2. 3]), or '*the other side* of the River' (the Euphrates), *i.e.* from Haran (Gn 11[31]), in Aram-naharaim, the home of Abraham and Nahor (Gn 24[4. 7. 10]). According to Sayce, however (*Exp. T.* xviii. [1907] p. 233), the word is of Bab. origin, and denoted originally the 'traders' who went to and fro across the Euphrates. In the genealogies in Gn 10. 11 the district from which the 'Hebrews' came is transformed into an imaginary eponymous ancestor. Why Eber is not the immediate, but the sixth ancestor of Abraham, and why many other tribes besides the Hebrews are reckoned as his descendants, is perhaps to be explained (König) by the fact that, though the Israelites were in a special sense 'Hebrews,' it was remembered that their ancestors had long made the region 'across' the Euphrates their resting-place, and many other tribes (Peleg, Joktan, etc.) had migrated from it. What Eber means in Nu 24[24] is uncertain: most probably perhaps, the country *across* the Euphrates (‖ with Asshur, *i.e.* Assyria).

2 A Gadite (1 Ch 5[12]). **3. 4.** Two Benjamites (1 Ch 8[12 22]) **5** Head of a priestly family (Neh 12[20]).

S. R. Driver.

EBEZ.—A city of Issachar (Jos 19[20]). Possibly the ruin *el-Beidhah*, east of Carmel.

EBIASAPH.—See Abiasaph.

EBONY (*hobnîm*, Ezk 27[15]) is the black heart-wood of the date-plum, *Diospyros ebenum*, imported from S. India and Ceylon. It was extensively imported by Phœnicians, Babylonians, and Egyptians for the manufacture of valuable vessels and of idols.

E. W. G. Masterman.

EBRON (Jos 19[28]).—A town in the territory of Asher, elsewhere called **Abdon** (wh. see, 5), which is probably the correct form. It was a Levitical city (Jos 21[30], 1 Ch 6[74]). The site has not been identified.

R. A. S. Macalister.

ECBATANA.—See Achmetha.

ECCLESIASTES.—**1. Title and Canonicity.**—The title has come to us through Jerome from the LXX, in which it was an attempt to express the Heb. *nom de plume* '**Kôheleth**,' *i.e.* 'one who speaks in an assembly' (*kāhāl*) —the assembly being all who give their hearts to the acquisition of wisdom. The book is one of the third group in the Heb. Bible—the *Kethūbhîm* or 'Writings'—which were the latest to receive recognition as canonical Scripture. It appears to have been accepted as Scripture by *c.* B.C 100. At the synod of Jamnia (*c* A.D. 100) the canonicity of Ec., the Song of Songs, and Esther was brought up for discussion, and was confirmed.

2. Author and Date.—The book contains the outpourings of the mind of a rich Jew, at the beginning of the 2nd cent. B.C. We may perhaps gather that he was in a high station of life, for otherwise his very unorthodox reflexions could hardly have escaped oblivion. He could provide himself with every luxury (2[4-10]). But he had private sorrows and disappointments; 7[26-28] seems to imply that his life had been saddened by a woman who was unworthy of him. He was apparently an old man, because his attempts to find the *summum bonum* of life in pleasure and in wisdom, which could hardly have been abandoned in a few years, were now bygone memories (1[12]–2[11]). And he lived in or near Jerusalem, for he was an eye-witness of events which occurred at the 'holy place' (8[10]). That is all that he reveals about himself. But he paints a lurid picture of the state of his country. The king was 'a child'—much too young for his responsible position; and his courtiers spent their days in drunken revelry (10[16]); he was capricious in his favouritism (vv.[5-7]), violent in temper (v.[4]), and despotic (8[2a. 4]). The result was that wickedness usurped the place of justice (3[16]), and the upper classes crushed the poor with an oppression from which there was no escape (4[1]); the country groaned under an irresponsible officialism, each official being unable to move a finger in the cause of justice, because he was under the thumb of a higher one, and the highest was a creature of the tyrannous king (5[7]): and in such a state of social rottenness espionage was rife (10[20]). The only passage which distinctly alludes to contemporary history is 4[13-16], but no period has been found which suits all the facts. In 8[10] an historical allusion is improbable, and 9[13-15] is too vague to afford any indication of date.

The book, or, more probably, 1–2[11] only, is written under the guise of Solomon. In 2[12] (according to the most probable interpretation of the verse) the writer appears to throw off the impersonation. But the language and grammatical peculiarities of the writing make it impossible to ascribe it to Solomon. The Heb. language, which had been pure enough for some time after the return from Babylon, began to decay from the time of Nehemiah. There are signs of the change in Ezr., Neh., and Mal., and it is still more evident in Chron., Est., and Eccl., the latter having the most striking *Mishnic* idioms. It must therefore be later (probably much later) than Esther (*c.* B.C. 300), but before ben-Sira, who alludes to several passages in it (*c.* B.C. 180). It may thus be dated *c.* B.C. 200.

3. Composition.—One of the most striking features

of the book is the frequency with which a despairing sadness alternates with a calm pious assurance. Many have seen in this the struggles of a religiously minded man halting between doubt and faith; *e.g.* Plumptre compares this mental conflict with Tennyson's 'Two Voices.' But the more the book is read, the more the reader feels that this is not so. The contrasts are so sudden; the scepticism is so despairing, and the piety so calm and assured, that they can be explained only on the assumption of interpolations by other hands. Moreover, in the midst of the despair and the faith there are scattered proverbs, somewhat frigid and didactic, often with no relevance to the context. The literary history of the writing appears to be as follows: (*a*) The gnomic character of some of Koheleth's remarks, and the ascription to Solomon, attracted one of the thinkers of the day whose minds were dominated by the idea of 'Wisdom'—such a writer as those whose observations are collected in the Book of Proverbs. He enriched the original writing with proverbs culled from various sources. (*b*) But that which attracts also repels. The impression which the book made upon the orthodox Jew may be seen in the Book of Wisdom, in which (2^{1-9}) the writer collects some of Koheleth's despairing reflexions; and, placing them in the mouth of the ungodly, raises his protest against them. There were living at the time not only gnomic moralizers, but also men of intense, if narrow, piety—men of the temper afterwards seen in the Maccabees. One of these interpolated observations on (i.) the fear of God, (ii.) the judgment of God. In every case except 5^{1-7} [Heb. 4^{17}–5^{6}] his remarks explicitly correct some complaint of Koheleth to which he objected. $12^{11.\ 12}$ is a postscript by the 'wise man,' and vv.$^{13.\ 14}$ by the pious man. The additions which appear to be due to the former are $4^{5.\ 9\text{-}12}$ $6^{7.\ 9}$ $7^{1a.\ 4\text{-}12.\ 19}$ 8^{1} $9^{17f.}$ $10^{1\text{-}3.\ 8\text{-}14a.\ 15.\ 18f.}$ $12^{11f.}$, and to the latter 2^{26} $3^{14b.\ 17}$ $5^{1\text{-}7}$ $7^{18b.\ 26b.\ 29}$ $8^{2b.\ 3a.\ 5.\ 6a.\ 11\text{-}13}$ $11^{9b.}$ $12^{1a.\ 13f.}$.

4. Koheleth's reflexions.—(*a*) *His view of life.*—After the exordium (1–2^{11}), in which, under the guise of Solomon, he explains that he made every possible attempt to discover the meaning and aim of life, the rest of his writing consists of a miscellaneous series of pictures, illustrating his recurrent thought that 'all is a vapour, and a striving after wind.' And the conclusion at which he arrives is that man can aim at nothing, guide himself by nothing. His only course is to fall back upon present enjoyment and industry. It is far from being a *summum bonum*; it is not an Epicurean theory of life; it is a mere *modus vivendi*, 'whereby he shall not take much account of the days of his life' (5^{19}). And to this conclusion he incessantly returns, whenever he finds life's mysteries insoluble: $2^{24f.}$ $3^{12f.\ 22}$ $5^{17\text{-}19}$ 8^{15} $9^{7\text{-}10}$ $11^{1\text{-}10}$ (exc. ^{9b}) $12^{1b\text{-}7}$.

(*b*) *His religious ideas.*—It is improbable that he came into immediate contact with any of the Greek schools of thought. It has often been maintained that he shows distinct signs of having been influenced by both Stoic and Epicurean philosophy. Of the latter it is difficult to discern the slightest trace; but for the former there is more to be said. But there is nothing at which a thinking Jew, of a philosophical temper of mind, could not have arrived independently. And it must not be forgotten that even Stoicism was not a purely Greek product; its founder Zeno was of Phœnician descent, and his followers came from Syria, Cilicia Carthage, and other Hellenistic (as distinct from Hellenic) quarters. Koheleth occupies (what may be called) debatable ground between Semitic and Greek thought. He has lost the vitality of belief in a personal God, which inspired the earlier prophets, and takes his stand upon a somewhat colourless monotheism. He never uses the personal name 'Jahweh,' but always the descriptive title 'Elohim' (4 times) or 'the Elohim' (16 times), 'the deity' who manifests Himself in the inscrutable and irresistible forces of Nature. At the same time he never commits himself to any definitely pantheistic statements. He has not quite lost his Semitic belief that God is more than Nature, for His action shows evidence of design ($3^{11.\ 18.\ 22}$ 6^{12b} 7^{14} 8^{17} 11^{5}). Moreover, God's work—the course of Nature—appears in the form of an endless cycle. Events and phenomena are brought upon the stage of life, and banished into the past, only to be recalled and banished again ($1^{4\text{-}11}$ 3^{15}). And this, for Koheleth, paralyzes all real effort; for no amount of labour can produce anything new or of real profit—no one can add to, or subtract from, the unswerving chain of facts (1^{15} $3^{1\text{-}9.\ 14a.}$ 7^{13}); no one can contend with Him that is mightier than he (6^{10}). And he gains no relief from the expectation of Messianic peace and perfection, which animated the orthodox Jew. There are left him only the shreds of the religious convictions of his fathers, with a species of 'natural religion' which has fatalism and altruism among i s ingredients

5. The value of the book for us lies largely in its very deficiencies. The untroubled orthodoxy of the pious man who corrected what he thought was wrong, the moral aphorisms of the 'wise man,' and the *Weltschmerz* of Koheleth with his longing for light, were each examples of the state of thought of the time. They corresponded to the three classes of men in 1 Co 1^{20}—the 'scribe' (who clung faithfully to his accepted traditions), the 'wise man,' and the 'searcher of this world.' Each possessed elements of lasting truth, but each needed to be answered and raised to a higher plane of thought, by the revelation of God in the Incarnation. A. H. M'Neile.

ECCLESIASTICUS —See Apocrypha, § 13.

ECLIPSE.—See Sun.

ED.—In the Hebrew (and also in the Greek) text of Jos 22^{34} the name given by the two and a half tribes to the altar erected by them on the east bank of the Jordan has dropped out. Our English translators have filled the gap by inserting *Ed* as the name of the altar in question. For this they have the authority of a few MSS.

The location of this altar on the *east* bank of the Jordan is required by the whole tenor of the narrative. The west bank is suggested by v.^{10} in its present form, and maintained also by RV in v.^{11}, by a translation of doubtful admissibility, 'in the forefront of the land of Canaan, *on the side that pertaineth to the children of Israel.*'

EDDINUS.—One of the 'holy singers' at Josiah's passover (1 Es 1^{15}). In the parallel passage 2 Ch 35^{15} the corresponding name is **Jeduthun**, which is read also, contrary to MS authority, by AV in 1 Esdras. The text of the latter is probably corrupt.

EDEN.—2 Ch 29^{12} 31^{15}, a Levite, or possibly two. It is not certain that *Eden* is the true form of the name: LXX has *Jodan* in the first, *Odom* in the second passage. When it transliterates Eden elsewhere it is usually in the form *Edem*. J. Taylor.

EDEN, CHILDREN OF.—The people occupying Bit-Adini (2 K 19^{12}. Is 37^{12}: for Ezk 27^{23} see Canneh). See Eden [House of]. **Telassar** (2 K 19^{12}) may perhaps be *Til Bashir* of the inscriptions. J. Taylor.

EDEN, GARDEN OF.—Gn 2 f. relates how God planted a garden in the East, in Eden. A river rose in that land, flowed through the garden, and then divided into four streams. Within the enclosure were many trees useful for food; also the tree of life, whose fruit conferred immortality, and the tree of knowledge, which gave power to discriminate between things profitable and things hurtful, or, between right and wrong. The animal denizens were innocuous to man and to each other. When the first man and woman yielded to the tempter and ate of the tree of knowledge, they were expelled, and precluded from re-entering the garden.

In this account Gn $2^{10\text{-}14}$ $3^{22.\ 24}$ seem to be interpolations. But the topographical data in $2^{10\text{-}14}$ are of especial importance, because they have supplied the

material for countless attempts to locate the garden. It has been almost universally agreed that one of the four rivers is the **Euphrates** and another the **Tigris**. Here the agreement ends, and no useful purpose would be served by an attempt to enumerate the conflicting theories. Three, which have found favour of late, may be briefly mentioned. One is that the **Gihon** is the Nile, and the **Pishon** the Persian and Arabian Gulfs, conceived of as a great river, with its source and that of the Nile not far from those of the Euphrates and the Tigris. Another regards Eden as an island not far from the head of the Persian Gulf, near the mouths of the Euphrates, the Tigris, the Kerkha, and the Karun. The third puts Eden near Eridu (once the seaport of Chaldæa on the Persian Gulf), and takes the Pishon to be the canal afterwards called Pallakottas, and the Gihon to be the Khoaspes (now Kerkha). In support of the last-named view a cuneiform tablet is quoted which speaks of a tree or shrub planted near Eridu by the gods. The sun-god and 'the peerless mother of Tammuz' dwell there: 'no man enters into the midst of it.' But the correspondences with the Biblical Eden are not sufficiently striking to compel conviction. At the same time it can hardly be doubted that the Biblical writer utilized traditional matter which came originally from Babylonia. The very name *Eden*, which to him meant 'delight,' is almost certainly the Bab. *ēdinnu* = 'plain.' The Bab. author would conceive of the garden as lying in a district near his own land, hard by the supposed common source of the great rivers. And this, to the Hebrews, is in the East.

Eden, or the garden of Eden, became the symbol of a very fertile land (Gn 13^{10}, Is 51^{3}, Ezk $31^{9.\ 16.\ 18}$, Jl 2^{3}). The dirge over the king of Tyre (Ezk $28^{13ff.}$) is founded on a Paradise legend which resembles that in Gn., but has a stronger mythological colouring: the 'garden of God' (v.^{13}) is apparently identified with the well-known mythical mountain of the gods (v.^{14}); the cherub and the king of Tyre are assimilated to each other; the stones of fire may be compared with the flame of a sword (Gn 3^{24}; see also Enoch 24^{16}). In later literature we find much expansion and embellishment of the theme: see Jubilees 3^{9} 4^{26}, Enoch $24^{f.}$ 32. 60. 61, 2 Es 8^{52}, Assump. Mos. ix ff., Ev. Nic. xix. etc. NT thought and imagery have been affected by the description of Eden given in Gn 2 f.: see Lk 23^{43}, 2 Co 12^{4}, Rev 2^{7}. The Koran has many references to the garden of Paradise Lost, and the gardens of the Paradise to come (ix. xiii. xlvii. lv. lxviii. etc.). J. TAYLOR.

EDEN, HOUSE OF.—A place or district connected politically with Damascus (Am 1^{5} RVm **Beth-eden**). Of the five suggestions for locality the likeliest is '*Eden* or *Ehden*, 20 miles N.W. of Baalbek, on the N.W. slope of Lebanon. Its most formidable competitor, *Bit-Adini*, a district on either bank of the Middle Euphrates, frequently mentioned in the cuneiform inscriptions, is too far—200 miles—from Damascus, and in the days of Amos had long been subject to Assyria. J. TAYLOR.

EDER.—**1.** Gn 35^{21} 'And Israel journeyed, and spread his tent beyond the tower of Eder.' '*Eder* means 'a flock'; and the phrase **Midgal-eder** ('flock-tower,' cf. Mic 4^{8}) would have been the appellation given to a tower occupied by shepherds for the protection of their flocks against robbers (cf. 2 K 18^{8}, 2 Ch 26^{10}). The tower here mentioned lay between Bethlehem and Hebron (cf. vv.$^{19.\ 21}$). Jerome mentions a Jewish tradition that this Eder was the site of the Temple, but himself prefers to think that it was the spot on which the shepherds received the angels' message. **2.** Jos 15^{21}. The name of one of the towns of Judah 'in the south,' close to the Edomite frontier; perhaps *Kh. el-'Adâr*, 5 miles S. of Gaza. **3.** 1 Ch 23^{23} 24^{30}. The name of a Merarite Levite in the days of David. **4.** A Benjamite (1 Ch. 8^{15}).

EDNA.—Wife of Raguel of Ecbatana, and mother of Sarah, who became wife of Tobias (To $7^{3ff.}$ 10^{12} 11^{1}). See APOCRYPHA, § 8.

EDOM, EDOMITES.—The Edomites were a tribe or group of tribes residing in early Biblical times in Mount Seir (Gn 32^{3}, Jg 5^{4}), but covering territory on both sides of it. At times their territory seems to have included the region to the Red Sea and Sinai (1 K 9^{26}, Jg 5^{4}). Edom or **Esau** was their reputed ancestor. The Israelites were conscious that the Edomites were their near kinsmen, hence the tradition that Esau and Jacob were twin brothers (Gn 25^{24}). That the Edomites were an older nation they showed by making Esau the first-born twin. The tradition that Jacob tricked Esau out of his birthright (Gn 27), and that enmity arose between the brothers, is an actual reflexion of the hostile relations of the Edomites and Israelites for which the Israelites were to a considerable degree responsible.

Before the conquest of Canaan, Edom is said to have refused to let Israel pass through his territory (Nu $20^{18.\ 21}$). Probably during the period of the Judges, Edomites invaded southern Judah (cf. Paton, *Syria and Palestine*, 161 ff.). Possibly Edomites settled here and were incorporated in Judah, for Kenaz is said in Gn 36^{11} to be a son of Esau, while in Jg 3^{9} he is counted a Judahite.

During the monarchy Saul is said to have fought the Edomites (1 S 14^{47}); David conquered Edom and put garrisons in the country (2 S $8^{13.\ 14}$); Edom regained its independence under Solomon (1 K 11^{14-22}); Jehoshaphat a century later reconquered Edom (cf. 1 K $22^{47.\ 48}$), and Edomites helped him in his war with Moab (2 K 3); in the reign of Joram, his successor, the Edomites regained their independence after a bloody revolution ($8^{20.\ 21}$); at the beginning of the next century Amaziah reconquered them for a short time, capturing Sela, and slaughtering a large number of them (2 K 14^{7}). A little later Amos (Am $1^{11ff.}$) accuses Edom of pursuing his brother with the sword. During the next century Edom was independent of Israel, but paid tribute to Tiglath-pileser III., Sennacherib, Esarhaddon, and Ashurbanipal, kings of Assyria (cf. *KIB* ii. 21, 91, 149, 239).

In connexion with the wars of Nebuchadnezzar, which resulted in the destruction of Jerusalem in 586, many Jews migrated to Edom; but the Edomites rejoiced in the overthrow of the Jews. This deepened the old-time enmity, and called forth bitter denunciations and predictions of vengeance from Israel's prophets (cf. Ezk 25^{12-14}, Ob $1^{ff.}$, Is 63^{1-7}). A little later great suffering was inflicted on the Edomites by the **Nabatæans**, who overran the country and crowded the Edomites up into southern Judah. This invasion of Nabatæans is probably referred to in Mal $1^{4ff.}$, for by 312 they were in this region, and Antigonus and Demetrius came in contact with them (cf. Diodorus Siculus, x. 95, 96, 100).

The Edomites, because of this, occupied the territory of Judah as far as the town of Beth-zur, to the north of Hebron, which became the **Idumæa** (wh. see) of the NT period. Here Judas Maccabæus fought with the Edomites (1 Mac $5^{3.\ 65}$), and John Hyrcanus shortly before the end of the 2nd cent. B.C. conquered them, and compelled them to be circumcised and to accept the Jewish religion (cf. Jos. *Ant.* XIII. ix. 1, XIV. i. 3, and XV. vii. 9). This was the end of the Edomites as a nation, but they obtained a kind of revenge on the Jews by furnishing the Herodian dynasty to them.

GEORGE A. BARTON.

EDOS, 1 Es 9^{35} = **Iddo**, Ezr 10^{43}.

EDREI.—**1.** A royal city of Og, king of Bashan (Dt 1^{4} 3^{10}, Jos 12^{4} 13^{12}), the scene of the battle at which Og was defeated (Nu 21^{33}, Dt 3^{1}); assigned to the eastern division of Manasseh (Jos 13^{31}). It seems to be the modern *ed-Der'a*, where are several important remains of antiquity, including a great subterranean catacomb. **2.** A town in Naphtali (Jos 19^{37}), not identified. R. A. S. MACALISTER.

EDUCATION.—In the importance which they attached to the education of the young, it may fairly be claimed that the Hebrews were *facile princeps* among the nations of antiquity. Indeed, if the ultimate aim of education be the formation of character, the Hebrew ideals and methods will bear comparison with the best even of modern times. In character Hebrew education was predominantly, one might almost say exclusively, religious and ethical. Its fundamental principle may be expressed in the familiar words: 'The fear of the Lord is the beginning of knowledge' (Pr 1^7). Yet it recognized that conduct was the true test of character; in the words of Simeon, the son of Gamaliel, that 'not learning but doing is the chief thing.'

As to the educational attainments of the Hebrews before the conquest of Canaan, it is useless to speculate. On their settlement in Canaan, however, they were brought into contact with a civilization which for two thousand years or more had been under the influence of Babylonia and in a less degree of Egypt. The language of Babylonia, with its complicated system of wedge-writing, had for long been the medium of communication not only between the rulers of the petty states of Canaan and the great powers outside its borders, but even, as we now know from Sellin's discoveries at Taanach, between these rulers themselves. This implies the existence of some provision for instruction in reading and writing the difficult Babylonian script. Although in this early period such accomplishments were probably confined to a limited number of high officials and professional scribes, the incident in Gideon's experience, Jg 8^{14} (where we must render with RVm 'wrote down'), warns us against unduly restricting the number of those able to read and write in the somewhat later period of the Judges. The more stable political conditions under the monarchy, and in particular the development of the administration and the growth of commerce under Solomon, must undoubtedly have furthered the spread of education among all classes.

Of **schools** and schoolmasters, however, there is no evidence till after the Exile, for the expression 'schools of the prophets' has no Scripture warrant. Only once, indeed, is the word 'school' to be found even in NT (Ac 19^9), and then only of the lecture-room of a Greek teacher in Ephesus. The explanation of this silence is found in the fact that the Hebrew child received his education in the home, with his parents as his only instructors. Although he grew up ignorant of much that 'every school-boy' knows to-day, he must not on that account be set down as uneducated. He had been instructed, first of all, in the truths of his ancestral religion (see Dt $6^{20\text{-}25}$ and elsewhere); and in the ritual of the recurring festivals there was provided for him object-lessons in history and religion (Ex $12^{26f.}$ $13^{8.\ 14}$). In the traditions of his family and race—some of which are still preserved in the older parts of OT—he had a unique storehouse of the highest ideals of faith and conduct, and these after all are the things that matter.

Descending the stream of history, we reach an epoch-making event in the history of education, not less than of religion, among the Jews, in the assembly convened by Ezra and Nehemiah (Neh $8^{1ff.}$), at which the people pledged themselves to accept 'the book of the law of Moses' as the norm of their life in all its relations. Henceforward the Jews were pre-eminently, in Mohammed's phrase, 'the people of the Book.' But if the Jewish community was henceforth to regulate its whole life, not according to the living word of priest and prophet, but according to the requirements of a written law, it was indispensable that provision should be made for the instruction of all classes in this law. To this practical necessity is due the origin of the **synagogue** (wh. see), which, from the Jewish point of view, was essentially a meeting-place for religious instruction, and, indeed, is expressly so named by Philo. In NT also the preacher or expounder in the synagogue is invariably said to 'teach' (Mt 4^{23}, Mk 1^{21}, and *passim*), and the education of youth continues to the last to be associated with the synagogue (see below). The situation created by this new zeal for the Law has been admirably described by Wellhausen: 'The Bible became the spelling-book, the community a school. . . . Piety and education were inseparable; whoever could not read was no true Jew. We may say that in this way were created the beginnings of popular education.'

This new educational movement was under the guidance of a body of students and teachers of the Law known as the *Sōpherim* (lit. 'book-men') or **scribes**, of whom Ezra is the typical example (Ezr 7^6). Alongside these, if not identical with them, as many hold, we find an influential class of religious and moral teachers, known as the Sages or the Wise, whose activity culminates in the century preceding the fall of the Persian empire (B.C. 430–330). The arguments for the identity in all important respects of the early scribes and the sages are given by the present writer in Hastings' *DB* i. 648; but even if the two classes were originally distinct, there can be no doubt that by the time of Jesus ben Sira, the author of Ecclesiasticus (*cir.* B.C. 180–170), himself a scribe and the last of the sages, they had become merged in one.

To appreciate the religious and ethical teaching of the sages, we have only to open the Book of Proverbs. Here life is pictured as a discipline, the Hebrew word for which is found thirty times in this book. 'The whole of life,' it has been said, 'is here considered from the view-point of a pædagogic institution. God educates men, and men educate each other' (O. Holtzmann).

With the coming of the Greeks a new educational force in the shape of **Hellenistic culture** entered Palestine—a force which made itself felt in many directions in the pre-Maccabean age. From a reference in Josephus (*Ant.* XII. iv. 6) it may be inferred that schools on the Greek model had been established in Jerusalem itself before B.C. 220. It was somewhere in this period, too, that the preacher could say: 'Of making many books there is no end; and much study is a weariness of the flesh' (Ec 12^{12})—reflexions which necessarily presuppose a wide-spread interest in intellectual pursuits. The edict of Antiochus Epiphanes at a later date (1 Mac 1^{57}) equally implies a considerable circulation of the Torah among the people, with the ability to profit by its study.

Passing now, as this brief sketch requires, to the period of Jewish history that lies between the triumph of the Maccabees and the end of the Jewish State in A.D. 70, we find a tradition—there is no valid reason for rejecting it as untrustworthy—which illustrates the extent to which elementary education, at least, was fostered under the later Maccabean princes. A famous scribe of the period (*cir.* B.C. 75), Simon ben-Shetach, brother of Queen Alexandra, is said to have got a law passed ordaining that 'the children shall attend the elementary school.' This we understand on various grounds to mean, not that these schools were first instituted, but that attendance at them was henceforth to be compulsory. The elementary school, termed 'the house of the Book' (*i.e.* Scripture), in opposition to 'the house of study' or college of the scribes (see below), was always closely associated with the synagogue. In the smaller places, indeed, the same building served for both.

The elementary **teachers**, as we may call them, formed the lowest rank in the powerful guild of the scribes. They are 'the doctors (lit. teachers) of the law,' who, in our Lord's day, were to be found in 'every village of Galilee and Judæa' (Lk 5^{17} RV), and who figure so frequently in the Gospels. Attendance at the elementary school began at the age of six. Already the boy had learned to repeat the *Shema* ('Hear, O Israel,' etc., Dt 6^4), selected proverbs and verses from the Psalms. He now began to learn to read. His only textbooks were the rolls of the sacred Scriptures, especially the

roll of the Law, the opening chapters of Leviticus being usually the first to be taken in hand. After the letters were mastered, the teacher copied a verse which the child had already learned by heart, and taught him to identify the individual words. The chief feature of the teaching was learning by rote, and that audibly, for the Jewish teachers were thorough believers in the Latin maxim, *repetitio mater studiorum*. The pupils sat on the floor at the teacher's feet, as did Saul at the feet of Gamaliel (Ac 22^3).

The subjects taught were 'the three R's'—reading, writing, and arithmetic, the last in a very elementary form. The child's first attempts at writing were probably done, as in the Greek schools of the period, on sherds of pottery; from these he would be promoted to a wax tablet (Lk 1^{63} RV), on which he wrote 'with a pointed style or metal instrument, very much as if one wrote on thickly buttered bread with a small stiletto.' Only after considerable progress had been made would he finally reach the dignity of papyrus.

For the mass of young Jews of the male sex, for whom alone public provision was made, the girls being still restricted to the tuition of the home, the teaching of the primary school sufficed. Those, however, who wished to be themselves teachers, or otherwise to devote themselves to the professional study of the Law, passed on to the higher schools or colleges above mentioned. At the beginning of our era the two most important of these colleges were taught by the famous 'doctors of the law,' Hillel and Shammai. It was a grandson of the former, Gamaliel I., who, thirty years later, numbered Saul of Tarsus among his students (Ac 22^3). In the *Beth hammidrash* (house of study) the exclusive subjects of study were the interpretation of the OT, and the art of applying the regulations of the Torah, by means of certain exegetical canons, to the minutest details of the life of the time. A. R. S. Kennedy.

EGG.—See Food, § 7.

EGLAH ('heifer').—One of the wives of David, and mother of Ithream (2 S 3^5, 1 Ch 3^3).

EGLAIM (Is 15^8).—A town of Moab. The name has not been recovered.

EGLATH-SHELISHIYAH occurs in an ancient oracle against Moab, which is quoted in Is 15^5 and Jer 48^{34}. In both these passages RV takes the word to be a proper name, giving in margin the alternative tr. '[as] an heifer of three years old,' which is AV in Jer 48^{34} and AVm in Is 15^5. In the latter passage, AV text omits '[as].' It is still somewhat uncertain whether the word is an appellative or a proper name, although the latter view has commended itself to the majority of modern scholars.

EGLON.—King of Moab, under whose leadership the Ammonites and Amalekites joined with the Moabites in fighting and defeating the Israelites. The latter 'served,' *i.e.* paid tribute to, Eglon for eighteen years. Towards the end of this period Ehud assassinated Eglon, and brought to an end the Moabite ascendency over Israel (Jg $3^{12ff.}$). W. O. E. Oesterley.

EGLON.—A town near Lachish, mentioned only in connexion with the campaign of Joshua. Its king, Debir, joined the coalition against the Gibeonites (Jos 10^3), and after the reduction of Lachish Joshua captured and destroyed it ($10^{34f.}$). The site is probably *Tell Nejûleh*, near Tell el-Hesy (Lachish); the neighbouring *Khurbeh 'Ajlan* better preserves the name, but the site is of no great antiquity.

R. A. S. Macalister.

EGYPT.—Habitable and cultivable Egypt consists practically of the broad fan-shaped Delta opening on to the Mediterranean, and the narrow valley of the Nile bordered by deserts as far as the First Cataract (beyond which is Nubia, *i.e.* Ethiopia), with a few oases westward of the valley. Amongst the latter may be counted the Fayyum, which, however, is separated from the river only by a narrow ridge, and is connected therewith by a canal or natural channel conveying the waters of the river to the oasis. The Greek name *Aigyptos* may perhaps be connected with *Hakeptah*, a name in vogue during the New Kingdom for Memphis, the northern capital. Egypt was divided anciently into Upper and Lower, the latter comprising the Delta and a portion of the valley reaching above Memphis, while Upper Egypt (the northern portion of which is often spoken of as Middle Egypt) terminated at the First Cataract (Aswan). Each of these main divisions was subdivided into nomes, or counties, varying to some extent at different times, 22 being a standard number for the Upper Country and 20 for the Lower. Each nome had its capital city—the god of which was important throughout the nome—and was generally governed by a nomarch. The alluvial land of Egypt is very fertile and easy to cultivate. Its fertility is independent of rainfall, that being quite insignificant except along the Mediterranean coast; it depends on the annual rise of the Nile, which commences in June and continues till October. If the rise is adequate, it secures the main crops throughout the country. In ancient times there may have been extensive groves of acacia trees on the borders of the alluvium kept moist by soakage from the Nile; but at most seasons of the year there was practically no natural pasture or other spontaneous growth except in marshy districts.

In this brief sketch it is impossible to bestow more than a glance upon the various aspects of Egyptian civilization. The ancient Egyptians were essentially not negroes, though some affirm that their skulls reveal a negro admixture. Their language shows a remote affinity with the Semitic group in structure, but very little in vocabulary; the writing for monumental and decorative purposes was in pictorial 'hieroglyphic' signs, modified for ordinary purposes into cursive 'hieratic' and in late times further to 'demotic': the last form preserves no traces of the pictorial origins recognizable by any one but a student. The Egyptian, like the old Hebrew writing, cannot record vowels, but only the consonantal skeletons of words.*

The Egyptian artist at his best could rise to great beauty and sublimity, but the bulk of his work is dead with conventionality, and he never attained to the idea of perspective in drawing. The Egyptian engineers could accurately place the largest monoliths, without, however, learning any such mechanical contrivances as the pulley or the screw. The 'wisdom of the Egyptians' was neither far advanced nor profound, though many ideas were familiar to them that had never entered the heads of the nomads and inferior races about them. Their mathematics and astronomy were of the simplest kind; yet the Egyptian calendar was infinitely superior to all its contemporaries, and is scarcely surpassed by our own. The special importance attached by the Egyptians to the disposal and furnishing of the body after death may have been inspired by the preservative climate. From an early time the elaboration of doctrines regarding the after-life went on, involving endless contradictions. We may well admire the early connexion of religion with morality, shown especially in the 'Negative Confession' and the judgment scene of the weighing of the soul before Osiris, dating not later than the 18th Dynasty; yet in practice the Egyptian religion, so far as we can judge, was mainly a compelling of the gods by magic formulæ. The priesthood was wealthy and powerful,

* Egyptian names in this and other articles by the same writer, if not in their Grecized or Hebraized forms, are given, where possible, as they appear to have been pronounced in the time of the Deltaic Dynasties and onwards, *i.e.* during the last 1000 years B.C. This appears preferable to a purely conventional form, as it represents approximately the pronunciation heard by the Hebrew writers. The vowels are to be pronounced as in Italian.

and the people devout. The worship of animals was probably restricted to a few sacred individuals in early Egypt, but a degree of sanctity was afterwards extended to the whole of a species, and to almost every species.

1. The History of Egypt was divided by Manetho (who wrote for Ptolemy I. or II.) into 31 dynasties from Menes to Alexander. The chronology is very uncertain for the early times: most authorities in Germany place the 1st Dyn. about B.C. 3300, and the 12th Dyn. at B.C. 2000–1800. These dates, which depend largely on the interpretation of records of astronomical phenomena, may perhaps be taken as the minimum. The allowance of time (200 years) for the dark period between the 12th and the 18th Dyns. seems insufficient: some would place the 12th Dyn. at B.C. 2500–2300, or even a whole 'Sothic' period of 1460 years earlier than the minimum; and the 1st Dynasty would then be pushed back at least in equal measure. From the 18th Dyn. onwards there is close agreement.

The historic period must have been preceded by a long pre-historic age, evidenced in Upper Egypt by extensive cemeteries of graves containing fine pottery, instruments in flint exquisitely worked, and in bone and copper, and shapely vessels in hard stone. Tradition points to separate kingdoms of Upper and Lower Egypt towards the close of this period. Menes, the founder of the 1st Dyn., united the two lands. He came probably from This, near Abydos, where royal tombs of the first three Dyns. have been found; but he built Memphis as his capital near the dividing line between the two halves of his kingdom. The earliest pyramid dates from the end of the 3rd dynasty. The stupendous Pyramids at Gizeh are of Cheops, Chephren, and Mycerinus of the 4th Dyn., from which time we have also very beautiful statues in wood, limestone, and diorite. In the 5th Dyn. the relief sculpture on tombs reached its highest excellence. The 6th Dyn. is notable for long inscriptions, both religious texts in the pyramids and biographical inscriptions in the lesser tombs. The first eight Dyns., of which the 7th and 8th are utterly obscure, constitute *the Old Kingdom*. After the first two Dyns., best represented at Abydos, its monuments are concentrated at Memphis, but important records of the 6th Dyn. are widely spread as far south as the First Cataract, parallel with the growing power and culture of the nomarchs. Expeditions were made even under the 1st Dyn. to the copper and turquoise mines in the peninsula of Sinai, and cedar wood was probably then already obtained from Lebanon by sea. Under the 6th Dyn. Nubia furnished troops to the Egyptian armies from the distant south as far perhaps as Khartum. But at the end of it there was a collapse, probably through insufficient control of the local princes of that time by the nomarch.

In the next period, *the Middle Kingdom* (Dyns. 9–17), we see the rise of Thebes; but the 9th and 10th Dyns. were from Heracleopolis, partly contemporary with the 11th Dyn., which eventually suppressed the rival house. The monuments of the 11th Dyn. are almost confined to the neighbourhood of Thebes. Under the Amenemhēs and Senwosris of the 12th Dyn., Egypt was as great as it was in the 4th Dyn., but its power was not concentrated as then. The break-up of the old Kingdom had given an opportunity to a number of powerful families to grow up and establish themselves in local princedoms: the family that triumphed over the rest by arms or diplomacy could control but could not ignore them, and feudalism was the result, each great prince having a court and an army resembling those of the king, but on a smaller scale. The most notable achievement of these Dyns. was the regulation of the lake of Mœris by Amenemhē III., with much other important work for irrigation and improvement of agriculture. Literature also flourished at this period. The traditional exploits of the world-conqueror Sesostris seem to have been developed in late times out of the petty expeditions of Senwosri III. into Nubia, Libya, and Palestine. The 13th and 14th Dyns. are represented by a crowd of 150 royal names: they are very obscure, and some scholars would make them contemporary with each other and with the following. The 15th and 16th Dyns. were of the little-known Hyksos or 'Shepherd kings,' apparently invaders from the East, who for a time ruled all Egypt (*c.* B.C. 1650). Excepting scarabs engraved with the names of the kings, monuments of the Hyksos are extremely rare. Their names betray a Semitic language: they were probably barbarian, but in the end took on the culture of Egypt, and it is a strange fact that inscribed relics of one of them, Khyan, have been found in places as far apart as at Cnossus in Crete and Baghdad; no other Egyptian king, not even Thetmosi III., has quite so wide a range as that mysterious Hyksos. The foreign rulers are said to have oppressed the natives and to have forbidden the worship of the Egyptian deities. The princes of Thebes, becoming more or less independent, formed the 17th Dyn., and succeeded in ousting the hated Hyksos, now probably diminished in numbers and weakened by luxury, from Upper Egypt. The first king of the 18th Dyn., Ahmosi, drove them across the N.E. frontier and pursued them into Palestine (*c.* B.C. 1580).

The 18th Dyn. ushers in the most glorious period in Egyptian history, *the New Kingdom*, or, as it has been called on account of its far-reaching sway, the Empire, lasting to the end of the 20th Dynasty. The prolonged effort to cast out the Hyksos had welded together a nation in arms under the leadership of the Theban kings, leaving no trace of the old feudalism; the hatred of the oppressor pursued the 'pest' far into Syria in successive campaigns, until Thetmosi I., the second successor of Ahmosi, reached the Euphrates. Thetmosi II. and a queen, Hatshepsut (*c.* 1500), ruled for a time with less vigorous hands, and the latter cultivated only the arts of peace. Meanwhile the princes of Syria strengthened themselves and united to offer a formidable opposition to Thetmosi III. when he endeavoured to recover the lost ground. This Pharaoh, however, was a great strategist, as well as a valiant soldier: as the result of many annual campaigns, he not only placed his tablet on the bank of the Euphrates, by the side of that of Thetmosi I., but also consolidated the rule of Egypt over the whole of Syria and Phœnicia. The wealth of the conquered countries poured into Egypt, and the temple of the Theban Ammon, the god under whose banner the armies of the Pharaohs of two dynasties had won their victories, was ever growing in wealth of slaves, lands, and spoil. Amenhotp III. enjoyed the fruits of his predecessors' conquests, and was a mighty builder. His are the colossi at Thebes named Memnon by the Greeks. The empire had then reached its zenith. Under Amenhotp IV. (*c.* 1370), in some ways the most striking figure in Egyptian history [the latest discoveries tend to show that the king was not more than 14 years old when the great innovation took place. He may thus have been rather a tool in the hands of a reformer], it rapidly declined: the Hittites were pressing into Syria from the north, and all the while the Pharaoh was a dreamer absorbed in establishing a monotheistic worship of Aton (the sun) against the polytheism of Egypt, and more especially against the Theban and national worship of Ammon. He changed his own name to Akhenaton, built a new capital, the 'Horizon of Aton,' in place of Thebes, and erased the name and figure of Ammon wherever they were seen. Art, too, found in him a lavish patron, and struck out new types, often bizarre rather than beautiful. But for the empire Pharaoh had no thought or leisure. The cuneiform letters found in the ruins of his new-fangled capital at el-Amarna show us his distracted agents and vassals in Syria appealing to him in vain

for support against the intrigues and onslaughts of rebels and invaders. His father Amenhotp III. had carried on an active correspondence with the distant kings of Babylonia, Assyria, and Mitanni in Mesopotamia; but after a few years Akhenaton must have lost all influence with them. Shortly after Akhenaton's death the new order of things, for which he had striven so long and sacrificed so much, was abolished, its triumph having lasted for but 10 or 15 years. Ammon worship was then restored, and retaliated on the name and figure of the heretic king and of his god.

Although the 18th Dyn. was so powerful and active, and had built temples in Nubia as well as in Syria, the Delta was neglected. Only on the road to Asia, at Heliopolis and Bubastis, have relics been found of these kings. Until Akhenaton's heresy, their religious zeal was devoted to honouring Ammon. The 19th Dyn., on the other hand, was as active in the Delta as in other parts of Egypt, and although Ammon remained the principal god of the State, Ptah of Memphis and Rē the sun-god of Heliopolis were given places of honour at his side. There is a famous series of reliefs at Karnak of the Syrian war of Seti I. (*c.* 1300); but his son Ramesses II. (*c.* 1290–1220) was the greatest figure in the Dynasty: he was not indeed able to drive back the Hittites, but he fought so valorously in Syria that they could make no advance southward. They were compelled to make a treaty with Pharaoh and leave him master of Syria as far as Kadesh on the Orontes. Ramesses II. was the greatest builder of all the Pharaohs, covering the land with temples and monuments of stone, the inscriptions and scenes upon them in many cases extolling his exploit against the Hittites at the battle of Kadesh, when his personal prowess saved the Egyptian camp and army from overwhelming disaster. Towards the end of his long reign of 67 years disorders multiplied, and his son and successor Mineptah had to face encroachments of the Libyans on his own soil and revolt in his frontier possessions in Palestine. Mineptah, too, was old, but by the fifth year of his reign he was able to boast of peace and security restored to his country. The 19th Dyn. ended, however, in utter confusion, a Syrian finally usurping the throne. In the 20th Dyn. the assaults on Egypt were renewed with greater violence than ever by Libyans from the west and by sea-rovers from the islands and coasts of the eastern Mediterranean. But Setnekht and his son and successor Ramesses III. (*c.* 1200–1165) were equal to the occasion. The latter was victorious everywhere, on sea and on land, and a great incursion from the north, after maiming the Hittite power, was hurled back by the Egyptian king, who then established his rule in Syria and Phœnicia over a wider area than his celebrated namesake had controlled. Ramesses III. was followed by sons and others of his own name down to Ramesses XII., but all within glorious reigns. Under them the empire flickered out, from sheer feebleness and internal decay.

Egypt now (*c.* 1100) enters upon a new period of history, that of *the Deltaic Dynasties*. Thebes was no longer the metropolis. The growth of commerce in the Levant transferred the centre of gravity northward. After the fall of the New Kingdom, all the native dynasties originated in various cities of Lower, with perhaps Middle, Egypt. The later Ramessides had depended for their fighting men on Libyan mercenaries, and the tendency of the Libyans to settle on the rich lands of Egypt was thus hastened and encouraged. The military chiefs established their families in the larger towns, and speedily became wealthy as well as powerful; it was from such families of Libyan origin that the later 'native' dynasties arose. Dyn. 21 was from Tanis (Zoan); parallel with and apparently subject to it was a dynasty of priest-kings at Thebes. The pitiful report of a certain Unamun, sent from Thebes to obtain wood from Lebanon, shows how completely Egypt's influence in Syria and the Levant had passed away at the beginning of this dynasty. The 22nd Dyn. (*c.* 950–750) arose in Bubastis, or perhaps at Heracleopolis in Middle Egypt. Its founder, Sheshonk I., the Biblical Shishak, was energetic and overran Palestine, but his successors quickly degenerated. The 23rd Dyn., said to be Tanite, was perhaps also Bubastite. There were now again all the elements of feudalism in the country except the central control, and Egypt thus lay an easy prey to a resolute invader. We find at the end of the 23rd Egyptian Dyn. Pankhi, king of Ethiopia, already in full possession of the Thebaid (*c.* 730). Tefnakht, prince of Sais, was then endeavouring to establish his sway over the other petty princes of the Delta and Middle Egypt. Pankhi accepted the implied challenge, overthrew Tefnakht, and compelled him to do homage. Tefnakht's son Bocchoris alone forms the 24th Dynasty. He was swept away by another invasion led by Shabako (*c.* 715), who heads *the Ethiopian or 25th Dynasty*. Shabako was followed by his son Shabitku and by Tahrak. The kings of this dynasty, uniting the forces of Egypt and Ethiopia, endeavoured to extend their influence over Syria in opposition to the Assyrians. Tahrak (Tirhakah) was particularly active in this endeavour, but as soon as Esarhaddon was free to invade Egypt the Assyrian king had no difficulty in taking Memphis, capturing most of the royal family, and driving Tahrak southward (*c.* 670). The native princes were no doubt hostile at heart to the Ethiopian domination: on his departure, Esarhaddon left these, to the number of 20, with Assyrian garrisons, in charge of different parts of the country; an Assyrian governor, however, was appointed to Pelusium, which was the key of Egypt. None the less the Ethiopian returned as soon as the Assyrian host had withdrawn, and annihilated the army of occupation. Esarhaddon thereupon prepared a second expedition, but died on the way. Ashurbanipal succeeding, reinstated the governors, and his army reached Thebes. On his withdrawal there was trouble again. The Assyrian governor of Pelusium was accused of treachery with Niku (Neko), prince of Sais and Memphis, and Pekrūr of Pisapt (Goshen), and their correspondence with Tahrak was intercepted. They were all brought in chains to Nineveh, but Niku was sent back to Egypt with honour, and his son was appointed governor of Athribis. Soon after this failure Tahrak died: his nephew Tandamane recovered Memphis, but was speedily expelled by Ashurbanipal, who advanced up the river to Thebes and plundered it.

Meanwhile the family of Neko at Sais was securing its position in the Delta, taking advantage of the protection afforded by the Assyrians and the weakening of the Ethiopian power. Neko himself was killed, perhaps by Tandamane, but his son Psammetichus took his place, founding *the 26th Dynasty*. Counting his reign from the death of Tahrak (*c.* 664), Psammetichus soon ruled both Upper and Lower Egypt, while in the absence of fresh expeditions all trace of the brief Assyrian domination disappeared. The 26th Dyn. marks a great revival; Egypt quickly regained its prosperity after the terrible ravages of civil wars and Ethiopian and Assyrian invasions. Psammetichus I., in his long reign of 54 years, re-organized the country, safeguarded it against attack from Ethiopia, and carried his arms into S.W. Palestine. His son Neko, profiting by the long weakness of Assyria, swept through Syria as far as Carchemish on the Euphrates, and put the land to tribute, until the Babylonian army commanded by Nebuchadrezzar hurled him back (B.C. 605). His successors, Psammetichus II. and Apries (Hophra), attempted to regain influence in Syria, but without success. Apries with his Greek mercenaries became unpopular with the native soldiery, and he was dethroned by Ahmasi (Amasis). This king, although he made alliances with Crœsus of Lydia, Polycrates of Samos, and Battus of Cyrene during a reign of 46 years, devoted himself to promoting the internal prosperity of Egypt. It was a golden age while it lasted, but it did not prevent the new Persian masters of the East

from preparing to add Egypt to their dominions. Cyrus lacked opportunity, but Cambyses easily accomplished the conquest of Egypt in B.C. 527, six months after the death of Amasis.

The Persian Dynasty is counted as the 27th. The memory of its founder was hateful to the Egyptians and the Greeks alike; probably the stories of his mad cruelty, though exaggerated, have a solid basis. Darius, on the other hand (521–486), was a good and considerate ruler, under whom Egypt prospered again; yet after the battle of Marathon it revolted. Xerxes, who quelled the revolt, and Artaxerxes were both detested. Inaros the Libyan headed another rebellion, which was backed by an Athenian army and fleet; but after some brilliant successes his attempt was crushed. It was not till about B.C. 405 that Egypt revolted successfully; thereafter, in spite of several attempts to bring it again under the Persian yoke, it continued independent for some 60 years, through Dyns. 28–30. At length, in 345, Ochus reconquered the province, and it remained subject to Persia until Alexander the Great entered it almost without bloodshed in 332 after the battle of Issus.

Throughout the *Hellenistic* (Ptolemaic and Roman) period the capital of Egypt was Alexandria, the intellectual head of the world. Under the Ptolemys, Egypt on the whole prospered for two centuries, though often torn by war and dissension. [In the reign of Philometor (*c.* B.C. 170) a temple was built by the high-priest Onias for the Jews in Egypt after the model of the Temple at Jerusalem (Josephus, *BJ* VII. x. 3). The ruins have been recognized by Flinders Petrie at Tell el-Yahudieh.] From B.C. 70 there is a conspicuous absence of native documents, until Augustus in B.C. 30 inaugurated the Roman rule. Egypt gradually recovered under its new masters, and in the second cent. of their rule was exceedingly prosperous as a rich and well-managed cornfield for the free supply of Rome.

2. Egypt in the Bible is Egypt under the Deltaic Dynasties, or, at earliest, of the New Kingdom. This applies not only to the professedly late references in 1 and 2 Kings, but also throughout. Abraham and Joseph may belong chronologically to the Middle Kingdom, but the Egyptian names in the story of Joseph are such as were prevalent only in the time of the Deltaic Dynasties. There were wide differences in manners and customs and in the condition of the country and people at different periods of the history of Egypt. In the Biblical accounts, unfortunately, there are not many criteria for a close fixing of the dates of composition. It may be remarked that there were settlements of Jews in Pathros (Upper Egypt) as early as the days of Jeremiah, and papyri indicate the existence of an important Jewish colony at Syene and Elephantine, on the S. border of Egypt, at an equally early date. The OT writers naturally show themselves much better acquainted with the eastern Delta, and especially the towns on the road to Memphis, than with any other part of Egypt. For instance, Sais, the royal city of the 26th Dyn. on the W. side of the Delta, is not once mentioned, and the situation of Thebes (No-Amon) is quite misunderstood by Nahum. Of localities in Upper Egypt only Syene and Thebes (No) are mentioned; in Middle Egypt, Hanes; while on the eastern border and the route to Memphis (Noph) are Shihor, Shur, Sin, Migdol, Tahpanhes, Pi-beseth, On; and by the southern route, Goshen, Pithom, Succoth, Rameses, besides lesser places in the Exodus. Zoan was not on the border routes, but was itself an important centre in the East of the Delta, as being a royal city. There are but few instances in which the borrowing of Egyptian customs or even words by the Hebrews can be traced; but the latter were none the less well acquainted with Egyptian ways. The Egyptian mourning of 70 days for Jacob is characteristic (Gn 50^{3}), so also may be the baker's habit of carrying on the head ($40^{16.\ 17}$). The assertion that to eat bread with the Hebrews was an abomination to the Egyptians (43^{32}) has not yet been satisfactorily explained. The Hebrews, no doubt, like the Greeks in Herodotus, slew and ate animals, *e.g.* the sheep and the cow, which Egyptians in the later days were forbidden to slay by their religious scruples. Circumcision was frequent in Egypt, but how far it was a general custom (cf. Jos 5^{5}) is not clear. Prophecies of a Messianic type were current in Egypt, and one can be traced back to about the time of the Hyksos domination. It has been suggested that in this and in the custom of circumcision are to be seen the most notable influences of Egypt on the people of Israel.

3. Religion.—The piety of the Egyptians was the characteristic that struck the Greeks most forcibly, and their stupendous monuments and the bulk of the literature that has come down to us are either religious or funerary. An historical examination of all the phenomena would show that piety was inherent in the nature of the people, and that their religious observances grew and multiplied with the ages, until the Moslem conquest. The attempt will now be made to sketch some outlines of the Egyptian religion and its practices, as they appear especially in the last millennium B.C. The piety of the Egyptians then manifested itself especially in the extraordinary care bestowed on the dead, and also in the number of objects, whether living or inanimate, that were looked upon as divine.

The *priests* (Egyp. 'the pure ones' or 'the divine fathers') were a special class with semi-hereditary privileges and duties. Many of them were pluralists. They received stipends in kind from the temples to which they were attached, and in each temple were divided into four *phylæ* or tribes, which served in succession for a lunar month at a time. The chief offices were filled by select priests entitled prophets by the Greeks (Egyp. 'servants of the god'; Potiphera (Gn 41^{45}) was prophet [of Rē] in On), of which there was theoretically one for each god in a temple. Below the priests in the temple were the *pastophori* (Egyp. 'openers,' *i.e.* of shrines), and of the same rank as these were the *choachytes* (Egyp. 'water-pourers') in the necropolis. These two ranks probably made offerings of incense and libations before the figure of the god or of the deceased. The priestly class were very attentive to cleanliness, wearing white linen raiment, shaving their heads, and washing frequently. They abstained especially from fish and beans, and were probably all circumcised. The revenues of the temples came from endowments of land, from offerings and from fees. The daily ritual of offering to the deity was strictly regulated, formulæ with magic power being addressed to the shrine, its door, its lock, etc., as it was being opened, as well as to the deity within; hymns were sung and sistrums rattled, animals slaughtered, and the altar piled with offerings. On festal occasions the god would be carried about in procession, sometimes to visit a neighbouring deity. *Burnt-offerings*, beyond the burning of incense, were unknown in early times, but probably became usual after the New Kingdom. Offerings of all kinds were the perquisite of the priests when the god (image or animal) had had his enjoyment of them. *Oracles* were given in the temples, not by an inspired priest, but by nods or other signs made by the god; sometimes, for instance, the decision of a god was sought in a legal matter by laying before him a papyrus in which the case was stated. In other cases the enquirer slept in the temple, and the revelation came in a dream. The oracles of the Theban Ammon and (later) of Buto were political forces: that of Ammon in the Oasis of Siwa played a part in Greek history. The most striking *hymns* date from the New Kingdom, and are addressed especially to the solar form of Ammon (or to the Aton during Akhenaton's heresy); the fervour of the worshipper renders them henotheistic, pantheistic, or even theistic in tone. *Prayers* also occur;

but the tendency was overwhelmingly greater to *magic*, compelling the action of the gods, or in other ways producing the desired effect. Preservative amulets, over which the formulæ had been spoken or on which such were engraved, abound on the mummies of the later dynasties, and no doubt were worn by living persons. The endless texts inscribed in the pyramids of the end of the Old Kingdom, on coffins of the Middle Kingdom, and in the Book of the Dead, are almost wholly magical formulæ for the preservation of the material mummy, for the divinization of the deceased, for taking him safely through the perils of the under world, and giving him all that he would wish to enjoy in the future life. A papyrus is known of spells for the use of a mother nursing her child; spells accompanied the employment of drugs in medicine; and to injure an enemy images were made in wax and transformed by spells into persecuting demons.

Egyptian theology was very complex and self-contradictory; so also were its views about the *life after death*. These were the result of the amalgamation of doctrines originally belonging to different localities; the priests and people were always willing to accept or absorb new ideas without displacing the old, and to develop the old ones by imagination in different directions. No one attempted to reach a uniform system, or, if any had done so, none would abide long by any system. Death evidently separated the elements of which the living man was composed; the corpse might be rejoined from time to time by the hawk-winged soul, while at other times the latter would be in the heavens associating with gods. To the *ka* (life or activity or genius) offerings were made at the tomb; we hear also of the 'shade' and 'power.' The dead man was judged before Osiris, the king of the dead, and if condemned, was devoured by a demon, but if justified, fields of more than earthly fruitfulness were awarded to him in the under world; or he was received into the bark of the sun to traverse the heavens gloriously; or, according to another view, he passed a gloomy and feeble existence in the shadows of the under world, cheered only for an hour as the sun travelled nightly between two of the hour-gates of the infernal regions. No hint of the Pythagorean doctrine of metempsychosis, attributed by Herodotus to the Egyptians, has yet been found in their writings; but spells were given to the dead man by which he could voluntarily assume the form of a lotus, of an ibis or a heron or a serpent, or of the god Ptah, or 'anything that he wished.' Supplies for the dead were deposited with him in the grave, or secured to him by magic formulæ; offerings might be brought by his family on appropriate occasions, or might be made more permanent by endowment; but such would not be kept up for many generations.

As to the *deities*, the king was entitled the 'good god,' was a mediator between god and man as the religious head of the State and chief of the priesthood, and his image might be treated as divine even during his lifetime. A dead man duly buried was divine and identified with Osiris, but in few cases did men preserving their personality become acknowledged gods; such was the case, however, conspicuously with two great scribes and learned men—Imhotep, architect of king Zoser of the 3rd dynasty, and Amenhotp, son of Hap, of the time of Amenhotp III. (18th dynasty), who eventually became divine patrons of science and writing: the former was considered to be a son of Ptah, the god of Memphis, and was the equivalent of Asklepios as god of healing. Persons drowned or devoured by crocodiles were accounted specially divine, and Osiris from certain incidents in his myth was sometimes named 'the Drowned.' The divinities proper were (1) gods of portions of the universe: the sun-god Rē was the most important of these; others were the earth-god Geb, the sky-god Shoou, and the goddess Nut, with stellar deities, etc. (2) Gods of particular qualities or functions: as Thoth the god of wisdom, Mei goddess of justice and truth, Mont the god of war, Ptah the artificer god. (3) Gods of particular localities: these included many of classes (1) and (2). Some of them had a wide vogue from political, mythological, or other reasons: thus, through the rise of Thebes, Ammon, its local god, became the King of the Gods, and the god of the whole State in the New Empire; and Osiris, god of Busiris in the Delta, became the universal King of the Dead, probably because his myth, shown in Passion Plays at festivals, made a strong appeal to humanity. Around the principal god of a temple were grouped a number of other deities, subordinate to him there and forming his court, although they might severally be his superiors in other localities; nine was the typical number in the divine court, and thus the co-templar deities were called the Ennead of the principal god, though the number varied considerably. Each principal god or goddess, too, had a consort and their child, forming a triad; these triads had been gradually developed by analogy from one group to another, as from that of Osiris, Isis, and Horus described below.

Some of the deities were of human form, as Ptah, Osiris, Etom, Muth, Neith, besides those which were of human origin. Bes, the god of joy and of children, was a grotesque dwarf dancer. Others were in the form of animals or animal-headed—canine, as Anubis and Ophois; feline, as Mihos (Miusis) and the goddesses Sakhmis and Bubastis. Thoth was ibis-headed; Horus, Rē, and Mont had the heads of falcons. Besides the sacred animal whose head is seen in the representations of the god, there were others which did not affect his normal form, although they were considered as incarnations of him. Thus the bull Apis was sacred to Ptah, Mnevis to Etom, Bacis to Mont; and in addition to the ibis, the ape was, in a more complete sense than these, an embodiment of Thoth. In the late ages most mammals, birds, reptiles, fishes, and several insects were looked upon as sacred,—some only in particular localities, others universally, such as the cow sacred to Hathor, Isis, etc., and the cat sacred to Bubastis; after death, the sacred animals were mummified, fully or in part, separately or in batches, according to their size and sanctity.

Rē, the sun-god, was the ruler of heaven and the archetype of the living king; other ruling gods, such as Ammon, Suchos the crocodile-god, Mont the war-god, were identified with Rē, whose name was then generally added to theirs. The popular Osiris legend was the supreme factor in the Egyptian religion, however, from the 26th Dynasty and onwards. Osiris was the beneficent king of Egypt, slain and cut in pieces by his wicked brother Seth, sought for by his sister-wife Isis, and restored by her magic to life; Isis bore him Horus, who avenged his father by overcoming Seth. The dead Osiris was an emblem of the dead king and of the sun in the night, Horus of the succeeding or reigning king and of the next day's sun; thus the tragedy and the triumph were ever renewed. Not only dead kings, but also all the blessed dead, were assimilated to Osiris, and triumphed through Horus and his helpers. With the Osiris legend are connected the best features in the Book of the Dead, the remarkable judgment scene, and the negative confession, implying that felicity after death depended on a meritorious life. Seth, once god of several localities and a type of power, as an element of the myth, was the type of darkness and wickedness; and in late times he, together with his animals the ass and the hippopotamus, and Suchos the crocodile-god, were execrated, and his worship hardly tolerated even in his own cities. Ptah the god of Memphis had an uninteresting personality; the inhabitants of that populous capital reserved their emotions for the occasions when Apis died and a new Apis was found, assimilating the former to Osiris and probably the latter to Horus. The dead Apis, which was buried with such pomp and expenditure, was

called the Osiris Apis—Osirapis or Serapis. With some modification, this Serapis, well known and popular amongst natives and foreign settlers alike, was chosen by Ptolemy Soter to be the presiding deity of his kingdom, for the Egyptians, and more especially for the Greeks at Alexandria. He was worshipped as a form of Osiris, an infernal Zeus, associated with Isis. His acceptance by the Greek world, and still more enthusiastically by the Romans and the western half of the Roman world, spread the Osiris Passion—otherwise the Isiac mysteries—far and wide. This Isiac worship possessed many features in common with Christianity: on the one hand, it prepared the world for the latter, and influenced its symbols; while, on the other, it proved perhaps the most powerful and stubborn adversary of the Christian dogma in its contest with paganism. F. Ll. Griffith.

EGYPT, RIVER (RV 'brook,' better 'wady') **OF.**—The S.W. boundary of Palestine (Nu 34^5, Is 27^{12} etc.; cf. 'river (*nahar*) of Egypt,' Gn 15^{18}, and simply 'the wady,' Ezk 47^{19} 48^{28}). It is the *Wady el-Arish*, still the boundary of Egypt, in the desert half-way between Pe usium and Gaza. Water is always to be found by digging in the bed of the wady, and after heavy rain the latter is filled with a rushing stream. El-Arish, where the wady reaches the Mediterranean, was an Egyptian frontier post to which malefactors were banished after having their noses cut off; hence its Greek name *Rhinocorura*. See also Shihor, Shur. F. Ll. Griffith.

EGYPTIAN, THE.—An unnamed leader of the 'Assassins' or 'Sicarii' for whom Claudius Lysias took St. Paul (Ac 21^{38}). This man is also mentioned by Josephus as a leader defeated by Felix, but not as connected with the 'Assassins' (*Ant.* xx. viii. 6). The Egyptian escaped, and Lysias thought that he had secured him in St. Paul's person. The discrepancies between Josephus and St. Luke here make mutual borrowing improbable. See Theudas. A. J. Maclean.

EGYPTIAN VERSIONS.—See Text of NT, §§ 27–29.

EHI.—See Ahiram.

EHUD.—1. The deliverer of Israel from Eglon, king of Moab (Jg 3^{12-30}). The story of how Ehud slew Eglon bears upon it the stamp of genuineness; according to it, Ehud was the bearer of a present from the children of Israel to their conqueror, the king of Moab. On being left alone with the king, Ehud plunges his sword into the body of Eglon, and makes good his escape into the hill-country of Ephraim. Israel is thus delivered from the Moabite supremacy. **2.** Son of Bilhan, a Benjamite (1 Ch 7^{10}, cf. 8^6). W. O. E. Oesterley.

EKER.—A Jerahmeelite (1 Ch 2^{27}).

EKREBEL (Jth 7^{18}).—Apparently the town of *'Akrabeh*, E. of Shechem, the capital of Akrabattine.

EKRON.—A city in the Philistine Pentapolis, not conquered by Joshua (Jos 13^3), but theoretically a border city of Judah (15^{11}) and Dan (19^{43}); said, in a passage which is probably an interpolation, to have been smitten by Judah (Jg 1^{18}). Hither the captured ark was brought from Ashdod (1 S 5^{10}), and on its restoration the Philistine lords who had followed it to Beth-shemesh returned to Ekron (1 S 6^{16}). Ekron was the border town of a territory that passed in the days of Samuel from the Philistines to Israel (1 S 7^{14}), and it was the limit of the pursuit of the Philistines after the slaying of Goliath by David (17^{52}). Its local *numen* was Baal-zebub, whose oracle Ahaziah consulted after his accident (2 K 1^2). Like the other Philistine cities, it is made the subject of denunciation by Jeremiah, Amos, Zephaniah, and the anonymous prophet whose writing occupies Zec 9–11. This city is commonly identified with *'Akir*, a village on the Philistine plain between Gezer and the sea, where there is now a Jewish colony. For the identification there is no basis, except the coincidence of name; there are no remains of antiquity whatever at *'Akir*. R. A. S. Macalister.

EL.—See God.

ELA.—1. 1 Es 9^{27} = **Elam,** Ezr 10^{26}. **2.** 1 K 4^{18}, father of Solomon's commissariat officer in Benjamin.

ELAH.—1. A 'duke' of Edom (Gn 36^{41}, 1 Ch 1^{52}). **2.** Son of Baasha, king of Israel. He had nominal possession of the throne two years or fractions of years (1 K 16^{8-14}). He gave himself to drunken dissipation, until Zimri, one of his generals, revolted and killed him. The usual extirpation of the defeated dynasty followed. **3.** Father of Hoshea (2 K 15^{30} 17^1 $18^{1.\ 9}$). **4.** Second son of Caleb (1 Ch 4^{15}). **5.** A Benjamite (1 Ch 9^8).
H. P. Smith.

ELAH ('terebinth').—A valley in the Shephēlah, the scene of the battle between David and Goliath (1 S 17. 21^9). It is most likely the modern *Wady es-Sunt*, which, rising in the mountains about Jeba, about 11 miles due S.W. of Jerusalem, runs westward, under various names, till it opens on the Maritime Plain at *Tell es-Safi*. In the middle of the valley is a watercourse which runs in winter only; the bottom is full of small stones such as David might have selected for his sling. R. A. S. Macalister.

ELAM.—1. A son of Shem (Gn 10^{22} = 1 Ch 1^{17}), the eponymous ancestor of the Elamites (see following article). **2.** A Korahite (1 Ch 26^3). **3.** A Benjamite (1 Ch 8^{24}). **4.** The eponym of a family of which 1254 returned with Zerub. (Ezr 2^7, Neh 7^{12}, 1 Es 5^{12}) and 71 with Ezra (Ezr 8^7, 1 Es 8^{33}). It was one of the Benê-Elam that urged Ezra to take action against mixed marriages (Ezr 10^2), and six of the same family are reported to have put away their foreign wives (Ezr 10^{26}). Elam acc. to Neh 10^{14} 'sealed the covenant.' **5.** In the parallel lists Ezr 2^{31}, Neh 7^{34} 'the other Elam' has also 1254 descendants who return with Zerubbabel. **6.** A priest who took part in the dedication of the walls (Neh 12^{42}).

ELAM.—An important country of Western Asia, called *Elamtu* by the Babylonians and *Elymais* by the Greeks (also *Susiana*, from **Shushan** or **Susa** the capital). It corresponds nearly to the modern *Chuzistan*, lying to the east of the lower *Tigris*, but including also the mountains that skirt the plain. The portion south of Susa was known as Anshan (Anzan). In Gn 10^{22} (1 Ch 1^{17}) Elam is called a son of Shem, from the mistaken idea that the people were of the Semitic race. They belonged to the great family of barbarous or semi-barbarous tribes which occupied the highlands to the east and north of the Semites before the influx of the Aryans.

Historically Elam's most important place in the Bible is found in Gn $14^{1ff.}$, where it is mentioned as the suzerain of Babylonia and therewith of the whole western country including Palestine. The period there alluded to was that of Elam's greatest power, a little later than B.C. 2300. For many centuries previous, Elam had upon the whole been subordinate to the ruling power of Babylonia, no matter which of the great cities west of the Tigris happened to be supreme. Not many years later, Hammurabi of Babylon (perhaps the Amraphel of Gn 14) threw off the yoke of Elam, which henceforth held an inferior place. Wars between the two countries were, however, very common, and Elam frequently had the advantage. The splendidly defensible position of the capital contributed greatly to its independence and recuperative power, and thus Susa became a repository of much valuable spoil secured from the Babylonian cities. This explains how it came about that the Code of Hammurabi, the most important single monument of Oriental antiquity, was found in the ruins of Susa. A change in relations gradually took place after Assyria began to control Babylonia and thus encroach upon Elam, which was thenceforth, as a rule, in league with the patriotic Babylonians, especially with the Chaldæans from the south-land. Interesting and tragic is the story of the combined efforts of the Chaldæans and Elamites to repel the invaders. The last scene of the drama was the capture

and sack of Susa (*c.* B.C. 645). The conqueror Ashurbanipal (Bibl. *Osnappar*) completed the subjugation of Elam by deporting many of its inhabitants, among the exiles being a detachment sent to the province of Samaria (Ezr 4[9]). Shortly thereafter, when Assyria itself declined and fell, Elam was occupied by the rising Aryan tribes, the Medes from the north and the Persians from the south. Cyrus the Persian (born about B.C. 590) was the fourth hereditary prince of Anshan.

Elam has a somewhat prominent place in the prophetic writings, in which Media + Elam = Persian empire. See esp. Is 21[2ff.], Jer 49[34ff.], and cf. Is 22[6], Jer 25[25], Ezk 32[24]. Particular interest attached to the part taken by the Elamites in the overthrow of Babylonia. An effect of this participation is curiously shown in the fact that after the Exile, Elam was a fairly common name among the Jews themselves (Ezr 2[7. 31], Neh 7[12], 1 Ch 8[24] *et al.*). J. F. McCURDY.

ELASA (1 Mac 9[5]).—The scene of the defeat and death of Judas Maccabæus. The site may be at the ruin *Il'asa*, near Beth-horon.

ELASAH ('God hath made').—**1.** One of those who had married a foreign wife (Ezr 10[22]). **2.** The son of Shaphan, who, along with Gemariah the son of Hilkiah, carried a message from king Zedekiah to Babylon (Jer 29[3]).

ELATH (called also **Eloth,** 'the great trees').—An important Edomite town on the N.E. arm of the Red Sea, near Ezion-geber. It is mentioned as one of the places passed by the Israelites during their wanderings (Dt 2[8]). Close to it king Solomon's navy was constructed (1 K 9[26]). Subsequently the town must have been destroyed, as we read in 2 K 14[22] of its being built by Azariah. Later on it was conquered by the Edomites (so RVm). W. O. E. OESTERLEY.

EL-BERITH.—See BAAL-BERITH.

EL-BETHEL.—The name which Jacob is said to have given to the scene of his vision on his way back from Paddan-aram, Gn 35[7] (P ?).

ELDAAH.—A son of Midian (Gn 25[4], 1 Ch 1[33]).

ELDAD.—One of the seventy elders appointed to assist Moses in the government of the people. On one occasion he and another named **Medad** were not present with Moses and the rest of the elders at the door of the Tabernacle to hear God's message and receive His spirit. But the spirit of the Lord came upon them where they were, and they prophesied in the camp. Joshua regarded this as an irregularity, but Moses declined to interfere (Nu 11[26-29]).

ELDER (in OT).—The rudimentary form of government which prevailed amongst the Hebrews in primitive times grew out of family life. As the father is head of the household, so the chiefs of the principal families ruled the clan and the tribe, their authority being ill-defined, and, like that of an Arab sheik, depending on the consent of the governed. In our earliest documents the 'elders of Israel' are the men of position and influence, who represent the community in both religious and civil affairs (Ex 3[16. 18] 12[21] 17[5f.] 18[12] 19[7], Nu 11[16], Dt 5[23] 27[1] 31[28]): the 'elders' of Ex 24[1] are the 'nobles' of v.[11]. Josephus sums up correctly when he makes Moses declare: 'Aristocracy . . . is the best constitution' (*Ant.* VI. viii. 17). The system existed in other Semitic races (Nu 22[4], Jos 9[11], Ezk 27[9], Ps 105[22]). After the settlement in Canaan the 'elders' still possessed much weight (1 S 4[3] 8[4] 15[30], 2 S 3[17] 5[3] 17[14f.], 1 K 8[1]). And now we find 'elders of the city' the governing body of the town (Ru 4[2. 9], 1 S 11[3], 1 K 21[8. 11], 2 K 10[1. 5]); the little town of Succoth boasted no fewer than seventy-seven (Jg 8[14]). Deuteronomy brings into prominence their judicial functions (Dt 16[18] 19[12] 21[2ff.] 22[15ff.] 25[7ff.]), which were doubtless infringed upon by the position of the king as supreme judge (1 S 8[20], 2 S 15[4], 1 K 3[9], 2 K 15[5], Is 11[5], Am 2[3]), but could not be abolished (1 K 20[7ff.], 2 K 10[1ff.] 23[1]). During the Exile the 'elders' are the centre of the people's life (Jer 29[1], Ezk 8[1] 14[1] 20[1], Ezr 5[9ff.] 6[7ff.]; cf. Sus[5]), and after the Return they continue active (Ezr 10[8. 14], Ps 107[32], Pr 31[23], Jl 1[14] 2[16]). It is not improbable that the later Sanhedrin is a development of this institution. J. TAYLOR.

ELDER (in NT).—See BISHOP; CHURCH GOVERNMENT, 6 (2).

ELEAD.—An Ephraimite (1 Ch 7[21]).

ELEADAH.—An Ephraimite (1 Ch 7[20]).

ELEALEH (Nu 32[3. 37], Is 15[4] 16[9], Jer 48[34]).—A town of the Moabite plateau, conquered by Gad and Reuben, and rebuilt by the latter tribe. It is now the ruined mound of *el-'Al*, about a mile N. of Heshbon.

ELEASAH.—**1.** A Judahite (1 Ch 2[39. 40]). **2.** A descendant of Saul (1 Ch 8[37] 9[43]).

ELEAZAR ('God hath helped').—**1.** A son of Aaron. It was natural that priestly traditions should have much to say about him. But in earlier writings his name appears only twice, both probably from E: Dt 10[6] (his succession to the priestly office at Aaron's death), Jos 24[33] (his death and burial). In P he is the third son of Aaron by Elisheba, his brothers being Nadab, Abihu, and Ithamar (Ex 6[23], Nu 3[2]). With them he was consecrated priest (Ex 28[1]), and was chief over the Levites (Nu 3[32]). Nadab and Abihu having died (Lv 10[1f.]), he succeeded Aaron as chief priest (Nu 20[25-28]). He took part in the census in Moab (Nu 26[1. 63]), and afterwards played a prominent part in the history of the settlement under Joshua (Jos 14[1] 17[4] 19[51] 21[1]). He married a daughter of Putiel, and she bore him Phinehas (Ex 6[25]). When the Zadokite priests returned from Babylon, they traced their descent to Aaron through Eleazar, ignoring the house of Eli (1 Ch 6[3-8]); in some cases, however, the claim was made through Ithamar (1 Ch 24[5f.]). **2.** Son of Abinadab (1 S 7[1]). **3.** One of David's three heroes (2 S 23[9], 1 Ch 11[12f.]). **4.** A Levite (1 Ch 23[21] 24[28]). **5.** 1 Es 8[43] = **Eliezer,** Ezr 10[18]. **6.** A priest (Ezr 8[33], Neh 12[42], 1 Es 8[63]). **7.** 1 Es 9[19] = **Eliezer,** Ezr 10[18]. **8.** One who took a non-Israelite wife (Ezr 10[25], 1 Es 9[26]). **9.** A brother of Judas Maccabæus (1 Mac 2[5] 6[43-46], 2 Mac 8[23]). **10.** A martyr under Antiochus Epiphanes (2 Mac 6[18-31]). **11.** Father of Jason (1 Mac 8[17]). **12.** Sirach Eleazar (Sir 50[27]). **13.** An ancestor of Jesus (Mt 1[15]). A. H. M'NEILE.

ELECTION.—The idea of election, as expressive of God's method of accomplishing His purpose for the world in both providence and grace, though (as befits the character of the Bible as peculiarly 'the history of redemption') especially in grace, goes to the heart of Scripture teaching. The word 'election' itself occurs but a few times (Ac 9[15] 'vessel of election,' Ro 9[11] 11[5. 7. 28], 1 Th 1[4], 2 P 1[10]); 'elect' in NT much oftener (see below); but equivalent words in OT and NT, as 'choose,' 'chosen,' 'foreknow' (in sense of 'fore-designate'), etc., considerably extend the range of usage. In the OT, as will be seen, the special object of the Divine election is Israel (*e.g.* Dt 4[37] 7[7] etc.); but within Israel are special elections, as of the tribe of Levi, the house of Aaron, Judah, David and his house, etc.; while, in a broader sense, the idea, if not the expression, is present wherever individuals are raised up, or separated, for special service (thus of Cyrus, Is 44[28] 45[1-6]). In the NT the term 'elect' is frequently used, both by Christ and by the Apostles, for those who are heirs of salvation (*e.g.* Mt 24[22. 24. 31]‖, Lk 18[7], Ro 8[33], Col 3[12], 2 Ti 2[10], Tit 1[1], 1 P 1[2]), and the Church, as the new Israel, is described as 'an elect race' (1 P 2[9]). Jesus Himself is called, with reference to Is 42[1], God's 'chosen' or 'elect' One (Mt 12[18], Lk 9[35] RV, 23[35]); and mention is once made of 'elect' angels (1 Ti 5[21]). In St. Paul's Epistles the idea has great prominence (Ro 9, Eph 1[4] etc.). It is now necessary to investigate the implications of this idea more carefully.

Election, etymologically, is *the choice of one, or of some, out of many*. In the usage we are investigating, election is always, and only, of God. It is the method by which, in the exercise of His holy freedom, He carries out His purpose ('the purpose of God according to election,' Ro 9^{11}). The '**call**' which brings the election to light, as in the call of Abraham, Israel, believers, is in time, but the call rests on God's prior, eternal determination (Ro $8^{28, 29}$). Israel was chosen of God's free love (Dt $7^{6ff.}$); believers are declared to be blessed in Christ, 'even as he chose' them 'in him'—the One in whom is the ground of all salvation—'before the foundation of the world' (Eph 1^{4}). It is strongly insisted on, therefore, that the reason of election is not anything in the object itself (Ro $9^{11, 16}$); the ground of the election of believers is not in their holiness or good works, or even in *fides prævisa*, but solely in God's free grace and mercy (Eph 1^{1-4}; holiness a result, not a cause). They are 'made a heritage, having been foreordained according to the purpose of him who worketh all things after the counsel of his will' (Eph 1^{11}); or, as in an earlier verse, 'according to the good pleasure of his will, to the praise of the glory of his grace' (v.^{6}). Yet, as it is axiomatic that there is no unrighteousness with God (Ro 9^{14}); that His loving will embraces the whole world (Jn 3^{16}, 1 Ti 2^{4}); that He can never, in even the slightest degree, act partially or capriciously (Ac 10^{34}, 2 Ti 2^{13}); and that, as salvation in the case of none is compulsory, but is always in accordance with the saved person's own free choice, so none perishes but by his own fault or unbelief—it is obvious that difficult problems arise on this subject which can be solved, so far as solution is possible, only by close attention to all Scripture indications.

1. In the OT.—Valuable help is afforded, first, by observing how this idea shapes itself, and is developed, in the OT. From the first, then, we see that God's purpose advances by a method of election, but observe also that, while sovereign and free, this election is never an end in itself, but is subordinated as a means to a wider end. It is obvious also that it was only by an election—that is, by beginning with some individual or people, at some time, in some place—that such ends as God had in view in His Kingdom could be realized. Abraham, accordingly, is chosen, and God calls him, and makes His covenant with him, and with his seed; not, however, as a private, personal transaction, but that in him and in his seed all families of the earth should be blessed (Gn $12^{2, 3}$ etc.). Further elections narrow down this line of promise—Isaac, not Ishmael; Jacob, not Esau (cf. Ro 9^{7-13})—till Israel is grown, and prepared for the national covenant at Sinai. Israel, again, is chosen from among the families of the earth (Ex 19^{3-6}, Dt 4^{34}, Am 3^{2}); not, however, for its own sake, but that it may be a means of blessing to the Gentiles. This is the ideal calling of Israel which peculiarly comes out in the prophecies of the Servant of Jehovah (Is 41–49)—a calling of which the nation as a whole so fatally fell short (Is $42^{19, 20}$). So far as these prophecies of the Servant point to Christ—the Elect One in the supreme sense, as both Augustine and Calvin emphasize—His mission also was one of salvation to the world.

Here, however, it will naturally be asked—Is there not, after all, a reason for these and similar elections in the greater congruity of the object with the purpose for which it was designed? If God chose Abraham, was it not because Abraham was the best fitted among existing men for such a vocation? Was Isaac not better fitted than Ishmael, and Jacob than Esau, to be the transmitters of the promise? This leads to a remark which carries us much deeper into the nature of election. We err grievously if we think of God's relation to the objects of His choice as that of a workman to a set of tools provided for him, from which he selects that most suited to his end. It is a shallow view of the Divine election which regards it as simply availing itself of happy varieties of character spontaneously presenting themselves in the course of natural development. Election goes deeper than grace—even into the sphere of nature. It presides, to use a happy phrase of Lange's, at the *making* of its object (Abraham, Moses, David, Paul, etc.), as well as uses it when made. The question is not simply how, a man of the gifts and qualifications of Abraham, or Moses, or Paul, being given, God should use him in the way He did, but rather how a man of this spiritual build, and these gifts and qualifications, came at that precise juncture to be there at all. The answer to that question can be found only in the Divine ordering; election working in the natural sphere prior to its being revealed in the spiritual, God does not simply find His instruments—He creates them: He has had them, in a true sense, in view, and has been preparing them from the foundation of things. Hence St. Paul's saying of himself that he was separated from his mother's womb (Gal 1^{15}; cf. of Jeremiah, Jer 1^{5}; of Cyrus, Is 45^{5} etc.).

Here comes in another consideration. Israel was the elect nation, but as a nation it miserably failed in its vocation (so sometimes with the outward Church). It would seem, then, as if, on the external side, election had failed of its result; but it did not do so really. This is the next step in the OT development—the realization of an election within the election, of a true and spiritual Israel within the natural, of individual election as distinct from national. This idea is seen shaping itself in the greater prophets in the doctrine of the 'remnant' (cf. Is 1^{9} 6^{13} 8^{16-18} etc.); in the idea of a godly kernel in Israel in distinction from the unbelieving mass (involved in prophecies of the Servant); and is laid hold of, and effectively used, by St. Paul in his rebutting of the supposition that the word of God had failed (Ro 9^{6} 'for they are not all Israel that are of Israel,' $11^{5, 7}$ etc.). This yields us the natural transition to the NT conception.

2. In the NT.—The difference in the NT standpoint in regard to election may perhaps now be thus defined. (1) Whereas the election in the OT is primarily national, and only gradually works round to the idea of an inner, spiritual election, the opposite is the case in the NT—election is there at first personal and individual, and the Church as an elect body is viewed as made up of these individual believers and all others professing faith in Christ (a distinction thus again arising between inward and outward). (2) Whereas the personal aspect of election in the OT is throughout subordinate to the idea of service, in the NT, on the other hand, stress is laid on the personal election to eternal salvation; and the aspect of election as a means to an end beyond itself falls into the background, without, however, being at all intended to be lost sight of. The believer, according to NT teaching, is called to nothing so much as to active service; he is to be a light of the world (Mt 5^{13-16}), a worker together with God (1 Co 3^{9}), a living epistle, known and read of all men (2 Co $3^{2, 3}$); the light has shined in his heart that he should give it forth to others (2 Co 4^{6}); he is elected to the end that he may show forth the excellencies of Him who called him (1 P 2^{9}), etc. St. Paul is a 'vessel of election' to the definite end that he should bear Christ's name to the Gentiles (Ac 9^{15}). Believers are a kind of 'first-fruits' unto God (Ro 16^{5}, 1 Co 16^{15}, Ja 1^{18}, Rev 14^{4}); there is a 'fulness' to be brought in (Ro 11^{25}).

As carrying us, perhaps, most deeply into the comprehension of the NT doctrine of election, it is lastly to be observed that, apart from the inheritance of ideas from the OT, there is an experiential basis for this doctrine, from which, in the living consciousness of faith, it can never be divorced. In general it is to be remembered how God's providence is everywhere in Scripture represented as extending over all persons and events—nothing escaping His notice, or

falling outside of His counsel (not even the great crime of the Crucifixion, Ac 4[28])—and how uniformly everything good and gracious is ascribed to His Spirit as its author (*e.g.* Ac 11[18], Eph 2[8], Ph 2[13], He 13[20. 21]). It cannot, therefore, be that in so great a matter as a soul's regeneration (see REGENERATION), and the translating of it out of the darkness of sin into the light and blessing of Christ's Kingdom (Ac 26[18], Col 1[12. 13], 1 P 2[9. 10]), the change should not be viewed as a supreme triumph of the grace of God in that soul, and should not be referred to an eternal act of God, choosing the individual, and in His love calling him in His own good time into this felicity. Thus also, in the experience of salvation, the soul, conscious of the part of God in bringing it to Himself, and hourly realizing its entire dependence on Him for everything good, will desire to regard it and will regard it; and will feel that in this thought of God's everlasting choice of it lies its true ground of security and comfort (Ro 8[28. 33. 38. 39]). It is not the soul that has chosen God, but God that has chosen it (cf. Jn 15[16]), and all the comforting and assuring promises which Christ gives to those whom He describes as 'given' Him by the Father (Jn 6[37. 39] etc.)—as His 'sheep' (Jn 10[3-5] etc.)—are humbly appropriated by it for its consolation and encouragement (cf. Jn 6[39] 10[27-29] etc.).

On this experiential basis Calvinist and Arminian may be trusted to agree, though it leaves the speculative question still unsolved of how precisely God's grace and human freedom work together in the production of this great change. That is a question which meets us wherever God's purpose and man's free will touch, and probably will be found to embrace unsolved element till the end. Start from the Divine side, and the work of salvation is all of grace; start from the human side, there is responsibility and choice. The elect, on any showing, must always be those in whom grace is regarded as effecting its result; the will, on the other hand, must be freely won; but this winning of the will may be viewed as itself the last triumph of grace—God working in us to will and to do of His good pleasure (Ph 2[13], He 13[20. 21]). From this highest point of view the antinomy disappears; the believer is ready to acknowledge that it is not anything in self, not his willing and running, that has brought him into the Kingdom (Ro 9[16]), but only God's eternal mercy. See, further, PREDESTINATION, REGENERATION, REPROBATE.

JAMES ORR.

ELECT LADY.—See JOHN [EPISTLES OF, II.].

EL-ELOHE-ISRAEL.—Upon the 'parcel of ground' which he had bought at Shechem, Jacob built an altar and called it *El-elohe-Israel*, 'El, the god of Israel,' Gn 33[20] (E). This appears a strange name for an *altar*, and it is just possible that we should emend the text, so as to read with the LXX, 'he called upon the God of Israel.'

EL ELYON.—See GOD, and MOST HIGH.

ELEMENT.—A component or constituent part of a complex body. The ancient philosophers inquired after the essential constituent elements, principles, or substances of the physical universe; and many supposed them to consist of earth, air, fire, and water. As used in the NT the word always appears in the plural.

1. In 2 P 3[10. 12] the physical elements of the heavens and the earth are referred to as destined to destruction at the sudden coming of the Day of the Lord, 'by reason of which the heavens being on fire shall be dissolved, and the elements shall melt with fervent heat.' In the same sense the apocryphal Book of Wisdom (7[17]) employs the word, and speaks of 'the constitution of the world and the operation of the elements.' It should be observed also that the later Jewish angelology conceived these different elements and all the heavenly bodies as animated by living spirits, so that there were angels of the waters, the winds, the clouds, the hail, the frost, and the various seasons of the year. Thus we read in the NT Apocalypse of the four angels of the four winds, the angel that has power over fire, the angel of the waters, and an angel standing in the sun. And so every element and every star had its controlling spirit or angel, and this concept of the animism of nature has been widespread among the nations (see ANGEL).

2. The exact meaning of the phrase 'elements of the world' in the four texts of Gal 4[3. 9] and Col 2[8. 20] has been found difficult to determine. (*a*) Not a few interpreters, both ancient and modern, understand the 'elements' mentioned in these passages to refer to the physical elements possessed and presided over by angels or demons. It is argued that the context in both these Epistles favours this opinion, and the express statement that the Galatians 'were in bondage to them that by nature are no gods,' and the admonition in Colossians against 'philosophy, vain deceit, and worshipping of the angels,' show that the Apostle had in mind a current superstitious belief in cosmic spiritual beings, and a worshipping of them as princes of the powers of the air and world-rulers of darkness. Such a low and superstitious bondage might well be pronounced both 'weak and beggarly.' (*b*) But probably the majority of interpreters understand by these 'elements of the world' the ordinances and customs of Jewish legalism, which tied the worshipper down to the ritualism of a 'worldly sanctuary' (cf. He 9[1]). Such a bondage to the letter had some adaptation to babes, who might need the discipline of signs and symbols while under the care of a tutor, but it was a weak and beggarly thing in comparison with conscious living fellowship with the Lord Christ. For the sons of God through faith in Jesus Christ are not to remain little children, or in a state of dependence nothing different from that of a bond-servant, but they receive the fulness of the Holy Spirit in their hearts, and cry 'Abba, Father.' Such are no longer 'held in bondage under the rudiments of the world,' for Christ sets them free from dependence upon rites, ordinances, vows, sacrifices, observance of times and seasons, which all belong to the elementary stages and phases of the lower religious cults of the world. It should be noticed that both these interpretations of the texts in Gal. and Col. claim support in the immediate context, and both will probably long continue to find favour among painstaking and critical expositors. But the last-mentioned interpretation seems to command widest acceptance, and to accord best with the gospel and teaching of St. Paul.

3. The word is found also with yet another meaning in He 5[12], where the persons addressed are said to need instruction in 'the rudiments of the first principles of the oracles of God.' Here the term 'rudiments,' or 'elements,' is obviously used in an ethical sense. By these 'elements of the beginning of the oracles of God' the writer means the primary and simplest truths of God's revelation of Himself in the prophets and in Christ. These are the A B C of the Christian religion.

M. S. TERRY.

ELEPH (Jos 18[28] only).—A town of Benjamin, probably the present village *Lifta*, W. of Jerusalem.

ELEPHANT.—Job 40[15] AVm, but RVm correctly 'hippopotamus' (see BEHEMOTH). The use of elephants in warfare is frequently noticed in the Books of Maccabees (*e.g.* 1 Mac 3[34] 6[30] 8[6] 11[56], 2 Mac 11[4] 13[15]). See also IVORY.

ELEUTHERUS (1 Mac 11[7] 12[30]).—A river which separated Syria and Phœnicia, and appears to be the mod. *Nahr el-Kebîr* or 'Great River,' which divides the Lebanon in two north of Tripoli.

ELHANAN ('God is gracious').—**1.** The son of **Jair** according to 1 Ch 20[5], of **Jaare-oregim** according to 2 S 21[19]; in the former text he is represented as slaying **Lahmi** the brother of Goliath, in the latter as slaying Goliath himself. A comparison of the Hebrew

of these two texts is instructive, because they offer one of the clearest and simplest examples of how easy it is for corruptions to creep into the OT text. It is difficult, without using Hebrew letters, to show how this is the case here; but the following points may be noticed. *Oregim* means 'weavers,' a word which occurs in the latter half of the verse in each case, and may easily have got displaced in the 2 Sam. passage; in both the texts the word which should be the equivalent of *Jair* is wrongly written; the words 'the Bethlehemite' (2 Sam.) and 'Lahmi the brother of' (1 Chr.) look almost identical when written in Hebrew. The original text, of which each of these two verses is a corruption, probably ran: 'And Elhanan the son of Jair, the Bethlehemite, slew Goliath the Gittite, the staff of whose spear was like a weaver's beam.' But if this is so, how are we to reconcile it with what we read of David's killing Goliath? Judging from what we know of the natural tendency there is to ascribe heroic deeds to great national warriors, realizing the very corrupt state of the Hebrew text of the Books of Samuel, and remembering the conflicting accounts given of David's first introduction to public life (see DAVID, § 1), the probability is that Elhanan slew Goliath, and that this heroic deed was in later times ascribed to David.

2. In 2 S 23^{24} and 1 Ch 11^{26} Elhanan the son of Dodo of Bethlehem is numbered among David's 'mighty men.' Remembering that the word *Jair* above is wrongly written in each case, and that it thus shows signs of corruption, it is quite possible that this Elhanan and the one just referred to are one and the same.

W. O. E. OESTERLEY.

ELI (possibly an abbreviated form of *Eliel*, 'God is high').—The predecessor of Samuel as 'judge,' and high priest in the sanctuary at Shiloh. Excepting in the final scene of his life, every time he comes before us it is in connexion with others who occupy the position of greater interest. Thus in his interviews with Hannah, in the first one it is she in whom the chief interest centres (1 S $1^{12ff.}$); in the second it is the child Samuel (v.$^{24ff.}$). The next time he is mentioned it is only as the father of Hophni and Phinehas, the whole passage being occupied with an account of their evil doings ($2^{12ff.}$). Again, in $2^{27ff.}$, Eli is mentioned only as the listener to 'a man of God' who utters his prophecy of evil. And lastly, in his dealings with the boy Samuel the whole account (ch. 3) is really concerned with Samuel, while Eli plays quite a subsidiary part. All this seems to illustrate the personality of Eli as that of a humble-minded, good man of weak character; his lack of influence over his sons only serves to emphasize this estimate. W. O. E. OESTERLEY.

ELI, ELI, LAMA SABACHTHANI.—See ELOI, ELOI, etc.

ELIAB ('God is father').—**1.** The representative, or 'prince,' of the tribe of Zebulun, who assisted Moses and Aaron in numbering the children of Israel in the wilderness of Sinai (Nu $1^{9ff.}$). **2.** The father of Dathan and Abiram (Nu 16^{1}). **3.** The eldest brother of David, and thought by Samuel to have been destined for kingship in Israel on account of his beauty and stature (1 S $16^{6.\ 7}$). He is mentioned as being a warrior in the Israelite camp on the occasion of Goliath's challenge to and defiance of the armies of Israel; he rebukes his younger brother David for his presumption in mixing himself up with the affairs of the army; his attitude towards David, after the victory of the latter over Goliath, is not mentioned. **4.** One of the musicians who were appointed by the Levites, at David's command, to accompany the procession which was formed on the occasion of bringing the ark from the house of Obed-edom up to Jerusalem (1 Ch 15^{18}). **5.** One of the Gadites who joined David, during his outlaw life, in the hold in the wilderness (1 Ch 12^{9}). **6.** An ancestor of Samuel (1 Ch 6^{27}; see ELIHU No. **1**). **7.** One of Judith's ancestors (Jth 8^{1}). W. O. E. OESTERLEY.

ELIADA.—**1.** A son of David (2 S 5^{16}); called **Beeliada** in 1 Ch 14^{7}. **2.** Father of Rezon, an 'adversary' of Solomon (1 K 11^{23}). **3.** A warrior of Benjamin (2 Ch 17^{17}).

ELIADAS (1 Es 9^{28}) = Ezr 10^{27} **Elioeani.**

ELIAHBA.—One of David's 'Thirty' (2 S 23^{32}, 1 Ch 11^{33}).

ELIAKIM ('God will establish').—**1.** The son of Hilkiah, he who was 'over the household' of king Hezekiah, and one of the three who represented the king during the interview with Sennacherib's emissaries (2 K 18^{18}, Is 36^{3}). In Is $22^{20\text{-}24}$ (v.^{25} seems to be out of place) he is contrasted favourably with his predecessor Shebnah (who is still in office), and the prophet prophesies that Eliakim shall be a 'father' in the land. **2.** The name of king Josiah's son, who reigned after him; Pharaoh-necho changed his name to **Jehoiakim** (2 K 23^{34}). **3.** In Neh 12^{41} a priest of this name is mentioned as one among those who assisted at the ceremony of the dedication of the wall. **4.** The son of Abiud (Mt 1^{13}). **5.** The son of Melea (Lk 3^{30}). The last two occur in the genealogies of our Lord.

W. O. E. OESTERLEY.

ELIALI (1 Es 9^{34}).—The name either corresponds to **Binnui** in Ezr 10^{38} or is unrepresented there.

ELIAM.—**1.** Father of Bathsheba, whose first husband was a Hittite, 1 S 11^{3} (= 1 Ch 3^{5}, where Eliam is called **Ammiel**). **2.** Son of Ahithophel the Gilonite, and one of David's heroes (2 S 23^{34}). It is not impossible that this Eliam is the same as the preceding.

ELIAONIAS (1 Es 8^{31}).—A descendant of Phaath-moab, who returned from Babylon with Esdras. In Ezr 8^{4} **Eliehoenai.**

ELIAS.—See ELIJAH.

ELIASAPH.—**1.** Son of Deuel, and prince of Gad at the first census (Nu 1^{14} 2^{14} $7^{42.\ 47}$ 10^{20} P). **2.** Son of Lael, and prince of the Gershonites (Nu 3^{24} P).

ELIASHIB.—**1.** The high priest who was contemporary with Nehemiah. He was son of Joiakim, grandson of Jeshua the son of Jozadak, the contemporary of Zerubbabel (Neh 12^{10}, Ezr 3^{1}), and father of Joiada (Neh 12^{10} 13^{28}). He assisted in the rebuilding of the walls of Jerus, during Nehemiah's governorship (Neh 3^{1}). He can have had no sympathy with the exclusive policy of Ezra and Nehemiah, for both he himself and members of his family allied themselves with the leading foreign opponents of Nehemiah. See JOIADA, No. **2**, TOBIAH, and SANBALLAT. **2.** A singer of the time of Ezra, who had married a foreign wife (Ezr 10^{24}); called in 1 Es 9^{24} **Eliasibus.** **3.** An Israelite of the family of Zattu (Ezr 10^{27}; in 1 Es 9^{28} **Eliasimus**); and **4.** another of the family of Bani (Ezr 10^{36}; called in 1 Es 9^{34} **Enasibus**), who had married foreign wives. **5.** A son of Elioenai (1 Ch 3^{24}). **6.** The name of a priestly house (1 Ch 24^{12}). **7.** Father of Jehohanan, to whose chamber in the Temple Ezra resorted (Ezr 10^{6}): possibly identical with No. 1.

ELIASIB (1 Es 9^{1}).—A high priest in the time of Neh.; in Ezr 10^{6} **Eliashib.**

ELIASIBUS (AV **Eleazurus**, 1 Es 9^{24}).—One of the 'holy singers,' who put away his strange wife. In Ezr 10^{24} **Elaishib.**

ELIASIMUS, 1 Es 9^{28} = Ezr 10^{27} **Eliashib.**

ELIASIS (1 Es 9^{34}).—This name and Enasibus may be duplicate forms answering to **Eliashib** in Ezr 10^{36}.

ELIATHAH.—A Hemanite, whose family formed the twentieth division of the Temple service (1 Ch $25^{4.\ 27}$).

ELIDAD.—Son of Chislon, and Benjamin's representative for dividing the land, Nu 34^{21} P (perh. = **Eldad**, one of the elders, Nu $11^{26f.}$ E).

ELIEHOENAI.—**1.** A Korahite (1 Ch 26^{3}). **2.** The

head of a family of exiles that returned (Ezr 8^4); called in 1 Es 8^{31} **Eliaonias**.

ELIEL.—**1.** A Korahite (1 Ch 6^{34}), prob. = **Eliab** of v.^{27} and **Elihu** of 1 S 1^1. **2. 3. 4.** Mighty men in the service of David (1 Ch $11^{46.\ 47}$ 12^{11}). **5.** A chief of eastern Manasseh (1 Ch 5^{24}). **6. 7.** Two Benjamite chiefs (1 Ch $8^{20.\ 22}$). **8.** A Levite mentioned in connexion with the removal of the ark from the house of Obed-edom (1 Ch $15^{9.\ 11}$). **9.** A Levite in time of Hezekiah (2 Ch 31^{13}).

ELIENAI.—A Benjamite (1 Ch 8^{20}).

ELIEZER (cf. Eleazar).—**1.** Abraham's chief servant, a Damascene (Gn 15^2 AV, RVm. The construction here is difficult, but the words can hardly be rendered as a double proper name as RV, 'Dammesek Eliezer.' Whatever the exact construction, the words, unless there is a corruption in the text, must be intended to suggest that Eliezer was in some way connected with Damascus). This same Eliezer is prob. the servant referred to in Gn. 24. **2.** A son of Moses by Zipporah; so named to commemorate the deliverance of Moses from Pharaoh (Ex 18^4, 1 Ch $23^{15.\ 17}$). **3.** The son of Becher, a Benjamite (1 Ch 7^8). **4.** The son of Zichri, captain of the tribe of Reuben in David's reign (1 Ch 27^{16}). **5.** The son of Dodavahu of Mareshah, who prophesied the destruction of the fleet of ships which Jehoshaphat built in co-operation with Ahaziah (2 Ch 20^{37}). **6.** One of the 'chief men' whom Ezra sent to Casiphia to find Levites and Nethinim to join the expedition to Jerusalem (Ezr $8^{16f.}$ [=1 Es 8^{43} **Eleazar**]). **7. 8. 9.** A priest, a Levite, and a son of Harim, who had married 'strange women' (Ezr $10^{18.}$ [=1 Es 9^{19} **Eleazar**] $^{23.\ 31}$ [=1 Es 9^{32} **Elionas**]). **10.** One of the priests appointed to blow with the trumpets before the ark of God when David brought it from the house of Obed-edom to Jerus. (1 Ch 15^{24}). **11.** A Levite (1 Ch 26^{25}). **12.** An ancestor of our Lord (Lk 3^{29}).

ELIHOREPH.—One of Solomon's scribes (1 K 4^3).

ELIHU.—**1.** An ancestor of Samuel (1 S 1^1); called in 1 Ch 6^{34} **Eliel**, and in 1 Ch 6^{27} **Eliab**. **2.** A variation in 1 Ch 27^{18} for **Eliab**, David's eldest son (1 S 16^6). **3.** A Manassite who joined David at Ziklag (1 Ch 12^{20}). **4.** A Korahite porter (1 Ch 26^7). **5.** See Job [Book of]. **6.** An ancestor of Judith (Jth 8^1).

ELIJAH.—**1.** Elijah, the weirdest figure among the prophets of Israel, steps across the threshold of history when Ahab is on the throne (*c.* B.C. 876–854), and is last seen in the reign of Ahaziah (854–853), although a posthumous activity is attributed to him in 2 Ch $21^{12ff.}$. A native of Thisbe in Gilead (1 K 17^1), he appears on the scene unheralded; not a single hint is given as to his birth and parentage. A rugged Bedouin in his hairy mantle (2 K 1^8), Elijah appears as a representative of the nomadic stage of Hebrew civilization. He is a veritable incarnation of the austere morals and the purer religion of an earlier period. His name ('Jah is God') may be regarded as the motto of his life, and expresses the aim of his mission as a prophet. Ahab had brought on a religious crisis in Israel by marrying Jezebel, a daughter of the Tyrian king Ethbaal, who, prior to his assuming royal purple, had been a priest of Melkart, the Tyrian Baal, and in order to ascend the throne had stained his hand with his master's blood. True to her early training and environment, Jezebel not only persuaded her husband to build a temple to Baal in Samaria (1 K 16^{32}), but became a zealous propagandist, and developed into a cruel persecutor of the prophets and followers of Jehovah. The foreign deity, thus supported by the throne, threatened to crush all allegiance to Israel's national God in the hearts of the people.

Such was the situation, when Elijah suddenly appears before Ahab as the champion of Jehovah. The hearts of the apostate king and people are to be chastened by a drought (17^3). It lasts three years; according to a statement of Menander quoted by Josephus (*Ant.* VIII. xiii. 2), in the reign of Ithobal, the Biblical Ethbaal, Phœnicia suffered from a terrible drought, which lasted one year. Providence first guides the stern prophet to the brook Cherith (*Wady Kelt* in the vicinity of Jericho), where the ravens supply him with food. Soon the stream becomes a bed of stones, and Elijah flees to Zarephath in the territory of Zidon. As the guest of a poor widow, he brings blessings to the household (cf. Lk 4^{25}, Ja 5^{17}). The barrel of meal did not waste, and the cruse of oil did not fail. Like the Great Prophet of the NT, he brings gladness to the heart of a bereaved mother by restoring her son to life (1 K $17^{8ff.}$, cf. Lk $7^{11ff.}$).

The heavens have been like brass for months upon months, and vegetation has disappeared. The hearts of Ahab's subjects have been mellowed, and many are ready to return to their old allegiance. The time is ripe for action, and Elijah throws down the gauntlet to Baal and his followers. Ahab and his chief steward, Obadiah, a devoted follower of the true God, are traversing the land in different directions in search of grass for the royal stables, when the latter encounters the strange figure of Jehovah's relentless champion. Obadiah, after considerable hesitation and reluctance, is persuaded by the prophet to announce him to the king (1 K 18^{7-15}). As the two meet, we have the first skirmish of the battle. 'Art thou he that troubleth Israel?' is the monarch's greeting; but the prophet's reply puts the matter in a true light: 'I have not troubled Israel, but thou and thy father's house.' At Elijah's suggestion the prophets of Baal are summoned to Carmel to a trial by fire. The priests of the Tyrian deity, termed 'prophets' because they practised the mantic art, select a bullock and lay it upon an altar without kindling the wood. From morn till noon, and from noon till dewy eve, they cry to Baal for fire, but all in vain. Elijah cuts them to the quick with his biting sarcasm: 'Cry aloud; for he is a god: either he is musing, or he is gone aside, or he is on a journey, or peradventure he sleepeth and must be awaked.' Towards evening a dismantled altar of Jehovah is repaired, and a trench is dug round it. After the sacrificial animal has been prepared, and laid upon the wood, water is poured over it, until everything about the altar is thoroughly soaked and the trench is full. At the prayer of Elijah, fire falls from heaven, devouring the wood, stone, and water as well as the victim. The people are convinced, and shout, 'Jehovah, he is God; Jehovah, he is God.' That evening, Kishon's flood, as of old (Jg 5^{21}), is red with the blood of Jehovah's enemies. The guilt of the land has been atoned for, and the long hoped for rain arrives. Elijah, in spite of his dignified position, runs before the chariot of Ahab, indicating that he is willing to serve the king as well as lead Jehovah's people (1 K 18^{41-46}). The fanatical and implacable Jezebel now threatens the life of the prophet who has dared to put her minions to death. Jehovah's successful champion loses heart, and flees to Beer-sheba on the extreme south of Judah. Leaving his servant, he plunges alone into the desert a day's journey. Now comes the reaction, so natural after an achievement like that on Carmel, and Elijah prays that he may be permitted to die. Instead of granting his request, God sends an angel who ministers to the prophet's physical needs. On the strength of that food he journeys forty days until he reaches Horeb, where he receives a new revelation of Jehovah (1 K 19^{1-8}). Elijah takes refuge in a cave, perhaps the same in which Moses hid (Ex 33^{22}), and hears the voice of Jehovah, 'What doest thou here, Elijah?' The prophet replies, 'I have been very jealous for Jehovah, God of Hosts; for the children of Israel have forsaken thy covenant thrown down thine altars, and slain thy prophets with the sword; and I, even I only, am left; and they seek my life, to take it away.' Then Jehovah reveals His omnipotence in a great wind, earthquake, and fire; but we read that Jehovah was not in these. Then followed a still small voice (Heb. lit. 'a sound of gentle stillness'), in which God made known His true nature and His real purpose (1 K 19^{9-14}). After hearing his complaint, Jehovah gives His faithful servant a threefold commission: Hazael is to be anointed king of Syria, Jehu of Israel; and Elisha is to be his successor in the prophetic order. Elijah is further encouraged with information that there are still 7000 in Israel who have not bowed the knee to Baal (1 K $19^{15.\ 18}$). As far as we know, only the last of these three commissions was executed by the prophet himself, who, after this sublime incident, made his headquarters in the wilderness of Damascus (v.^{15}); the other two were carried out either by Elisha or by members of the prophetic guilds (2 K $8^{7ff.}$ 9^2).

Elijah is also the champion of that civic righteousness which Jehovah loved and enjoined on His people. Naboth owns a vineyard in the vicinity of Jezreel. In the spirit of

the Israelitish law (Lv 25^{23}, Nu 36^{8}) he refuses to sell his property to the king. But Jezebel is equal to the occasion; at her suggestion false witnesses are bribed to swear that Naboth has cursed God and the king. The citizens, thus deceived, stone their fellow-townsman to death. Ahab, on his way to take possession of his ill-gotten estate, meets his old antagonist, who pronounces the judgment of God upon him: 'In the place where dogs licked the blood of Naboth shall dogs lick thy blood, even thine,' is the prophet's greeting. For Ahab's sins, every male child of his house will be swept off by an awful fate (1 K $21^{19.\ 21.\ 24}$). By the ramparts of Jezreel itself, the dogs will devour the body of Jezebel (v.^{23}). These predictions, although delayed for a time on account of the repentance of Ahab, were all fulfilled (1 K 22^{38}, 2 K $9^{25f.\ 30f.}$ $10^{7ff.}$).

Ahaziah is a true son of Ahab and Jezebel. Meeting with a serious accident, after his fall he sends a messenger to Ekron to inquire of Baal-zebub, the fly-god, concerning his recovery. Elijah intercepts the emissaries of the king, bidding them return to their master with this word from Jehovah: 'Is it because there is no God in Israel, that ye go to inquire of Baal-zebub the god of Ekron? Thou shalt not come down from the bed whither thou art gone up, but shalt surely die.' Ahaziah recognizes the author of this message, and sends three captains of fifties to capture the prophet, who calls down fire from heaven on the first two. The third approaches him in a humble spirit, and at God's bidding Elijah accompanies the soldier to the palace and reiterates the message of doom (2 K 1).

Like all the great events of his life, the death of this great man of God was dramatic. Accompanied by his faithful follower Elisha, he passes from Bethel to Jericho, and from thence they cross the Jordan, after Elijah has parted the waters by striking them with his mantle. As they go on their way, buried in conversation, there suddenly appears a chariot of fire with horses of fire, which parts them asunder; and Elijah goes up by a whirlwind to heaven (cf. Elisha).

In the history of prophecy Elijah holds a prominent position. Prophetism had two important duties to perform: (1) to extirpate the worship of heathen deities in Israel, (2) to raise the religion of Jehovah to ethical purity. To the former of these two tasks Elijah addressed himself with zeal; the latter was left to his successors in the eighth century. In his battle against Baal, he struggled for the moral rights and freedom of man, and introduced 'the categorical imperative into prophecy.' He started a movement which finally drove the Phœnician Baal from Israel's confines.

Elijah figures largely in later Scriptures; he is the harbinger of the Day of the Lord (Mal 4^{5}); in the NT he is looked upon as a type of the herald of God, and the prediction of his coming in the Messianic Age is fulfilled in the advent of John the Baptist (Mt $11^{10ff.}$). On the Mount of Transfiguration he appears as the representative of OT prophecy (Mt 17^{3}, Mk 9^{4}, Lk 9^{30}). The prophet whose 'word burned like a torch' (Sir 48^{1}) was a favourite with the later Jews; a host of Rabbinical legends grew up around his name. According to the Rabbis, Elijah was to precede the Messiah, to restore families to purity, to settle controversies and legal disputes, and perform seven miracles (cf. *JE*, *s.v.*; Lightfoot, *Hor. Heb.* on Mt 17^{10}; Schoettgen, *Hor. Heb.* ii. 533 ff.). Origen mentions an apocryphal work, *The Apocalypse of Elijah*, and maintains that 1 Co 2^{9} is a quotation from it. Elijah is found also in the Koran (vi. 85, xxxvii. 123–130), and many legends concerning him are current in Arabic literature.

2. A Benjamite chief (1 Ch 8^{27}). **3. 4.** A priest and a layman who had married foreign wives (Ezr $10^{21.\ 26}$).

James A. Kelso.

ELIKA.—One of David's 'Thirty' (2 S 23^{25}).

ELIM.—One of the stations in the wanderings of the children of Israel (Ex 15^{27}, Nu 33^{9}); apparently the fourth station after the passage of the Red Sea, and the first place where the Israelites met with fresh water. It was also marked by an abundant growth of palm trees (cf. Ex 15^{27}, twelve wells and seventy palms). If the traditional site of Mt. Sinai be correct, the likeliest place for Elim is the *Wady Gharandel*, where there is a good deal of vegetation, especially stunted palms, and a number of water-holes in the sand; but some travellers have pushed the site of Elim farther on, and placed it almost a day's journey nearer to Sinai, in the *Wady Tayibeh*, where there are again palm trees and a scanty supply of brackish water.

ELIMELECH.—The husband of Naomi and father of Mahlon and Chilion, Ephrathites of Bethlehem-Judah (cf. 1 S 17^{12}). He is spoken of as if he were the head of a clan in the tribe of Judah (cf. Ru $2^{1.\ 3}$). This would be the Hezronites (1 Ch 2^{9}, cf. Gn 46^{12}).

ELIOENAI.—**1.** A Simeonite chief (1 Ch 4^{36}). **2.** A Benjamite (1 Ch 7^{8}). **3.** A descendant of David who lived after the Exile (1 Ch $3^{23.\ 24}$). **4.** A son of Pashhur who had married a foreign wife (Ezr 10^{22}); called in 1 Es 9^{22} **Elionas.** **5.** A son of Zattu who had committed the same offence (Ezr 10^{27}); called in 1 Es 9^{28} **Eliadas.** **6.** A priest (Neh 12^{41}).

ELIONAS.—**1.** Es 9^{22} = Ezr 10^{22} **Elioenai.** **2.** 1 Es 9^{32} = Ezr 10^{31} **Eliezer.**

ELIPHAL.—One of David's mighty men (1 Ch 11^{35}), called in 2 S 23^{34} **Eliphelet.**

ELIPHALAT.—**1.** 1 Es 8^{39} = Ezr 8^{13} **Eliphelet.** **2.** 1 Es 9^{33} = Ezr 10^{33} **Eliphelet.**

ELIPHAZ.—**1.** Eliphaz appears in the Edomite genealogy of Gn 36 (and hence 1 Ch $1^{35f.}$) as son of Esau by Adah (vv. $^{4.\ 10}$), and father of Amalek by his Horite concubine Timnah (vv. $^{12.\ 22}$). **2.** See Job [Book of].

ELIPHELEHU.—A doorkeeper (1 Ch $15^{18.\ 21}$).

ELIPHELET.—**1.** One of David's sons (2 S 5^{16}, 1 Ch 14^{7} (AV **Eliphalet**), 1 Ch $3^{6.\ 8}$ = **Elpelet** of 1 Ch 14^{5}). The double occurrence of the name in Chronicles, as if David had had two sons named Eliphelet, is probably due to a scribal error. **2.** One of David's mighty men (2 S 23^{34} = **Eliphal** of 1 Ch 11^{35}). **3.** A descendant of Jonathan (1 Ch 8^{39}). **4.** One of the sons of Adonikam who returned from exile (Ezr 8^{13} = **Eliphalat** of 1 Es 8^{39}). **5.** A son of Hashum who had married a foreign wife (Ezr 10^{33} = **Eliphalat** of 1 Es 9^{33}).

ELISABETH.—The wife of Zacharias and mother of John the Baptist (Lk $1^{5ff.}$). The Hebrew form of the name is *Elisheba* (Ex 6^{23}). Elisabeth was of a priestly family, 'the kinswoman' of Mary (Lk 1^{36}), whom she greeted as the mother of the Messiah (v.^{43}).

J. G. Tasker.

ELISEUS.—The AV form of **Elisha** (wh. see) in NT.

ELISHA.—Elisha was a native of Abel-meholah, which was situated in the Jordan valley 10 Roman miles from Scythopolis, probably on the site of the modern '*Ain Helweh*. His father was a well-to-do farmer, and so Elisha is a representative of the newer form of Hebrew society. On his return from Horeb, Elijah cast his mantle upon the youth, as he was directing his father's servants at their ploughing. The young man at once recognized the call from God, and, after a hastily-devised farewell feast, he left the parental abode (1 K $19^{16.\ 19}$), and ever after he was known as the man 'who poured water on the hands of Elijah' (2 K 3^{11}). His devotion to, and his admiration for, his great master are apparent in the closing scenes of the latter's life. A double portion of Elijah's spirit (cf. the right of the firstborn to a double portion of the patrimony) is the *summum bonum* which he craved. In order to receive this boon he must be a witness of the translation of the mighty hero of Jehovah; and as Elijah is whirled away in the chariot of fire, his mantle falls upon his disciple, who immediately makes use of it in parting the waters of the Jordan. After Elisha has recrossed the river, he is greeted by the sons of the prophets as their leader (2 K 2^{15}).

After this event it is impossible to reduce the incidents

of Elisha's life to any chronological sequence. His ministry covered half a century (B.C. 855–798), and during this period four monarchs, Jehoram, Jehu, Jehoahaz, and Joash, sat on the throne of Israel (2 K 3$^{1ff.}$, cf. 13$^{14ff.}$). The story of Elisha was borrowed by the author of the Book of Kings from some prophetic work of the Northern Kingdom; and, without any regard for sequence in time, he has arranged his material according to subject-matter. In our canonical Book of Kings, the larger part of Elisha's activities is placed within the reign of Jehoram (2 K 3$^{1ff.}$, cf. 9$^{1ff.}$). He may have reached the zenith of his career in these twelve years, but all the recorded events of his life cannot be crowded into this short period.

His name, *Elisha* (='God is salvation'), like that of his master, tersely describes his character and expresses his mission. Elijah's was a flint-like nature, which crushed its opponents and won its victories by hard blows. Elisha is a gentler and more gracious man, and gains his ends by diplomacy. He loves the haunts of men, and resides in cities like Dothan and Samaria. His miracles are deeds of mercy, and, like that of the Prophet of Nazareth, his ministry breathes a spirit 'of gracious, soothing, holy beneficence.' We find him at the headquarters of the sons of the prophets, making his benign presence felt. He sweetens a spring of brackish water at Jericho (2 K 2$^{19ff.}$) at a time of drought; he renders a poisonous mess of pottage harmless for the members of the prophetic guild (4^{38ff}); he multiplies the oil for the prophet's widow, who finds herself in dire extremity (4^{1ff}). At the prophet's command, as at the bidding of a greater than Elisha, the loaves are multiplied (4^{42}). His sympathy goes out in a practical way for the man who has lost his axe (6$^{1ff.}$). One of the most beautiful stories in the whole range of Scripture is that of the entertainment of Elisha in the home of the Shunammite. Her hospitality and the practical manifestation of gratitude on the part of the prophet form a charming picture. In the restoration of her son to life, Elisha performs one of his greatest miracles (4$^{8ff.}$ 8$^{1ff.}$). In his treatment of the Syrian troops which had been despatched to capture him, he anticipated the spirit of the Saviour (2 K 6$^{14ff.}$). The familiar incident of the healing of the leprosy of Naaman not only gives an idea of the influence and power of the man of God, but the story is suggestive of the profoundest spiritual truths (2 K 5$^{6-17}$).

The contrast between the spirit of master and disciple may be over-emphasized. Elisha could be as stern as Elijah: at Bethel he treats the mocking youth in the spirit of Sinai (2^{23}), and no touch of pity can be detected in the sentence that falls on Gehazi (5^{27}). The estimate of Sirach (48^{12}) is according to all the facts of the OT narrative:

> 'Elijah it was who was wrapped in a tempest:
> And Elisha was filled with his spirit:
> And in all his days he was not moved by the fear of any ruler,
> And no one brought him into subjection.'

This severer side of the prophet's character appears in his public rather than in his private life. In the Moabitish campaign, the allied kings seek his counsel. His address to Jehoram of Israel, 'What have I to do with thee? Get thee to the prophets of thy father and the prophets of thy mother,' indicates that Elisha had not forgotten the past and the conflicts of his master (3$^{13ff.}$). Later, the relations between the reigning monarch and the prophet seem more cordial, for the man of God reveals the plans of the Syrians to Israel's king (6$^{8ff.}$). This change of attitude on the part of the prophet may be due to the fact that Jehoram attempted to do away with Baal worship (3^{2}); but Elisha has not forgotten the doom pronounced upon the house of Ahab by Elijah. While Jehu is commanding the forces besieging Ramoth-gilead, Elisha sends one of the sons of the prophets to anoint the general as king, and thus he executes the commission which Elijah received from Jehovah at Horeb (1 K 19^{16}).

Elisha's relations with the Syrians are exceedingly interesting. On one occasion he appears to be as much at home in Damascus as in Samaria. Ben-hadad, suffering from a severe ailment, hears of his presence in his capital, and sends Hazael to the man of God to inquire concerning the issue. The prophet reads the heart of the messenger, and predicts both the king's recovery and his assassination by Hazael (2 K 8$^{7ff.}$). Nothing is said of a formal anointing, but in this connexion Elisha seems to have carried out the commission of Elijah (1 K 19^{17}). The blockade of Samaria (2 K 6^{24}–7^{20}) probably falls in the reign of Jehoahaz. That the prophet is held by king and statesmen responsible for the straits to which the city has been reduced, is an eloquent tribute to his political influence. In this connexion Elisha's prediction of deliverance is speedily fulfilled. Under Joash, Israel was hard pressed, and her might had dwindled to insignificance (13^{7}), but Elisha was still the saviour of his country. Joash weeps over him as he lies on his deathbed: 'My father, my father, the chariots of Israel and the horsemen thereof.' Directing the monarch to perform a symbolical act, the prophet gives him assurance of victory (13$^{15ff.}$). Even after his burial his bones had the power to perform a beneficent miracle (13$^{20.\ 21}$).

An incident in the life of Elisha throws light on the prophetic state. Before declaring the final result of the campaign to the three kings, he asks for a minstrel. The music induces the ecstatic state, and then he prophesies (3^{15}). The supernatural abounds in his life; in many instances he manifests the power of prediction (4^{16} 5^{26} 6$^{8ff.}$ 7$^{1ff.}$ 8$^{10.\ 12ff.}$ 9$^{6f.}$ 13$^{15ff.}$). But some of his deeds are not miracles in the modern sense (2$^{19ff.}$ 4$^{38ff.}$ 6$^{6ff.}$).

JAMES A. KELSO.

ELISHAH.—The eldest 'son' of Javan (Gn 10^{4}), whence the Tyrians obtained the purple dye (Ezk 27^{7}). The latter favours identification with S. Italy and Sicily, or Carthage and N. African coast, both districts famous for the purple dye. Elissa, or Dido, the traditional foundress of Carthage, may indicate Elissa as an early name of Carthage, and Syncellus gives the gloss 'Elissa, whence the Sikeloi.' The Targum on Ezk. gives 'the province of Italy.' The Tell el-Amarna tablets include letters to the king of Egypt from the king of *Alashia*, Egyptian *Alsa*, which has been identified with Cyprus; known to Sargon, king of Assyria, as the land of the Ionians, Javan. There are difficulties in all these identifications, possibly because the name itself denoted different districts at different epochs, and no certainty can yet be attained.

C. H. W. JOHNS.

ELISHAMA.—**1.** A prince of the tribe of Ephraim at the census in the wilderness, son of Ammihud and grandfather of Joshua (Nu 1^{10} 2^{18}, 1 Ch 7^{26}). **2.** One of David's sons, born in Jerusalem (2 S 5^{16}, 1 Ch 3^{8} 14^{7}). **3.** In 1 Ch 3^{6} by mistake for **Elishua** of 2 S 5^{15}, 1 Ch 14^{5}. **4.** A descendant of Judah, son of Jekamiah (1 Ch 2^{41}). **5.** The father of Nethaniah, and grandfather of Ishmael, 'of the seed royal,' who killed Gedaliah at the time of the Exile (2 K 25^{25}, Jer 41^{1}). Jerome, following Jewish tradition, identifies him with No. 4. **6.** A scribe or secretary to Jehoiakim (Jer 36$^{12.\ 20.\ 21}$). **7.** A priest sent by Jehoshaphat to teach the Law in the cities of Judah (2 Ch 17^{8}).

ELISHAPHAT.—One of the captains who helped Jehoiada to install king Joash (2 Ch 23^{1}).

ELISHEBA.—Daughter of Amminadab and wife of Aaron (Ex 6^{23}).

ELISHUA.—A son of David (2 S 5^{15}, 1 Ch 14^{5}; also 1 Ch 3^{6} [corrected text; see ELISHAMA, 3]).

ELIUD.—An ancestor of Jesus (Mt 1^{15}).

ELIZAPHAN.—**1.** Prince of the Kohathites (Nu 3^{30}, 1 Ch 15^{8}, 2 Ch 29^{13})=**Elzaphan** (Ex 6^{22}, Lv 10^{4} P). **2.**

Zebulun's representative for dividing the land (Nu 34^{25} P).

ELIZUR ('God is a rock,' cf. *Zuriel*).—Prince of Reuben at the first census (Nu 1^5 2^{10} $7^{30.\ 35}$ 10^{18} P).

ELKANAH ('God hath acquired').—**1.** A son of Korah (Ex 6^{24}). **2.** An Ephraimite, husband of Peninnah and Hannah; by the former he had several children, but Hannah was for many years childless. Her rival mocked her for this as they went up year by year with Elkanah to sacrifice in Shiloh. Elkanah loved Hannah more than Peninnah, and sought, in vain, to comfort her in her distress. At length Hannah conceived, and bore a son, Samuel. Afterwards three sons and two daughters were born to them (see HANNAH, and SAMUEL). **3.** The son of Assir (1 Ch 6^{23}). **4.** The father of Zophai (Zuph), a descendant of **3** (1 Ch $6^{26.\ 35}$). **5.** A Levite who dwelt in a village of the Netophathites (1 Ch 9^{16}). **6.** One of the mighty men who came to David to Ziklag (1 Ch 12^6). **7.** A door-keeper for the ark (1 Ch 15^{23}). **8.** A high official, 'next to the king,' at the court of Ahaz (2 Ch $28^{6.\ 7}$).

W. O. E. OESTERLEY.

ELKIAH.—An ancestor of Judith (Jth 8^1).

ELKOSHITE.—See NAHUM.

ELLASAR.—Arioch king of Ellasar was allied with Chedorlaomer in the campaign against the kings of the plain (Gn 14^1). He has been identified with Rim-sin, king of Larsa, and consequently 'Ellasar' is thought to be for *al-Larsa*, 'the city of Larsa.' Larsa, modern *Senkereh* in Lower Babylonia on the east bank of the Euphrates, was celebrated for its temple and worship of the sun-god Shamash. C. H. W. JOHNS.

ELM.—Hos 4^{13} AV, but RV 'terebinth.' See also PINE.

ELMADAM.—An ancestor of Jesus (Lk 3^{28}).

ELNAAM.—The father of two of David's mighty men (1 Ch 11^{46}).

ELNATHAN.—**1.** The father of Nehushta, the mother of Jehoiachin (2 K 24^8). **2.** The son of Achbor, the chief of those sent to Egypt to fetch Uriah, who had offended Jehoiakim by his prophecy (Jer $26^{22ff.}$); and one of those who had entreated the king not to burn the roll (36^{25}). It is possible that he is identical with No. 1. **3.** The name occurs no fewer than three times in the list of those sent for by Ezra when he encamped near Ahava (Ezr 8^{16}). In 1 Es 8^{44} there are only two corresponding names, the second of which is **Ennatan.**

ELOHIM.—See GOD.

ELOHIST.—See HEXATEUCH.

ELOI, ELOI, LAMA SABACHTHANI.—These Aram. words occur in Mk. 15^{34}, being an Eng. transliteration from the Greek. The underlying Aram. would be *Elahi, Elahi, l^{e}ma shabaqtani*. The *ō* in Eloi is probably a local pronunciation of *ā* as *aw* or *ō*, as in some Syriac dialects. Dalman, however, maintains that our Lord spoke the first two words in Hebrew and the other two in Aramaic. In this case *Eloi* represents the Heb. *Elohai* = 'my God.' For *sabachthani* the Codex Sinaiticus reads *sabaktani*, which may be the original reading. It is more correct; but on that very account it may be a gloss. *Lama* for Aram. *l^{e}ma* = 'for what?' 'why?' has many variants in Gr. MSS, as *lema, lamma, lima*.

In the parallel passage in Mt 27^{46} we find *Eli, Eli* (though Cod. Sin. reads *Eloi* and B *Eloei*). *Eli* is a Heb. word, here, as elsewhere, borrowed in Aramaic. The Aram. word for 'forsake' is *sh^{e}baq* for which the Heb. equivalent is '*azabh*. In Heb. 'hast thou forsaken me?' would be '*azabhtani*. This explains the reading of Codex D, *zaphthanei*, which some officious literary scribe substituted for *sabachthani*, both in Mt. and Mk.

J. T. MARSHALL.

ELON.—('terebinth'.)—**1.** Of the tribe of Zebulun, one of the minor judges (Jg $12^{11.\ 12}$). All that is told of him is simply that he judged Israel for ten years, that he died, and was buried in Elon in Zebulun. **2.** A son of Zebulun (Gn 46^{14}, Nu 26^{26}, where the gentilic name **Elonites** occurs). **3.** A Hittite, the father-in-law of Esau (Gn 26^{34} 36^2).

ELON.—**1.** A town in the territory of Dan, now unknown (Jos 19^{43}). It is perhaps the same as **Elon-beth-hanan** (1 K 4^9). **2.** An unknown locality in Zebulun (Jg 12^{12}). R. A. S. MACALISTER.

ELON-BETH-HANAN.—See preceding article.

ELOTH.—See ELATH.

ELPAAL.—A Benjamite family (1 Ch $8^{11.\ 12.\ 18}$).

EL-PARAN (Gn 14^6).—See PARAN.

ELPELET (1 Ch 14^5, AV **Elpalet**).—One of David's sons = **Eliphelet** No. **1.**

EL-SHADDAI.—See GOD.

ELTEKE(H).—A town in Dan associated with Ekron and Gibbethon (Jos 19^{44} 21^{23}), probably the *Altaqū* mentioned by Sennacherib as the locality of his defeat of the Philistines and Egyptians in the time of Hezekiah just before his capture of Ekron. It was a Levitical city. Its modern site is uncertain.

C. H. W. JOHNS.

ELTEKON (Jos 15^{59}).—A town of Judah, noticed with Maarath and Beth-anoth. Site unknown.

ELTOLAD (Jos 15^{30}).—A town in the extreme S. of Judah, given to Simeon (19^4); probably = **Tolad** (1 Ch 4^{29}). The site is unknown.

ELUL (Neh 6^{15}, 1 Mac 14^{27}).—See TIME.

ELUZAI.—One of the mighty men who joined David at Ziklag (1 Ch 12^5).

ELYMAIS.—This name, which represents the OT **Elam**, was given to a district of Persia, lying along the southern spurs of Mt. Zagros, S. of Media and N. of Susiana. In 1 Mac 6^1, according to the common reading, which is adopted by the AV, Elymais is named as a rich city in Persia. No such city, however, is mentioned elsewhere, except by Josephus, who is simply following 1 Mac. There can be no doubt, therefore, that we should correct the text and read with RV, 'in Elymais in Persia there was a city.'

ELYMAS.—See BAR-JESUS.

ELZABAD.—**1.** A Gadite chief who joined David (1 Ch 12^{12}). **2.** A Korahite doorkeeper (1 Ch 26^7).

ELZAPHAN.—See ELIZAPHAN.

EMADABUN (1 Es 5^{58}).—One of the Levites who superintended the restoration of the Temple. The name does not occur in the parallel Ezr 3^9; it is probably due to a repetition of the name which follows, *Iliadun*.

EMATHEIS (1 Es 9^{29}) = **Athlai**, Ezr 10^{28}.

EMBALMING.—This specifically Egyptian (non-Israelitish) method of treating dead bodies is mentioned in Scripture only in the cases of Jacob and Joseph (Gn $50^{2f.\ 26}$).

EMBROIDERY AND NEEDLEWORK.—Embroidery is the art of working patterns or figures on textile fabrics with woollen, linen, silk, or gold thread by means of a needle. The process was exactly described by the Romans as painting with a needle (*acu pingere*).

The Hebrew word for embroidery (*riqmah*) is rendered by AV in Jg 5^{30} and Ps 45^{14} by '**needlework**,' for which RV substitutes 'embroidery,'—in the former passage, however, render 'a piece of embroidery or two' for 'embroidery on both sides,'—and in Ezk $16^{10.\ 13.\ 18}$ $27^{7.\ 16.\ 24}$ by '**broidered** work' or 'broidered garments,' which RV retains. Similarly in connexion with certain fabrics of the Tabernacle and the high priest's girdle, for 'wrought with needlework' RV has the more literal rendering 'the work of the **embroiderer**' (Ex 26^{36} 27^{16} 28^{39} etc.), whom AV also introduces in 35^{35} 38^{23}.

An entirely different word, the real significance of which is uncertain, is also rendered in AV by 'em-

broider.' 'thou shalt embroider the coat of fine linen' (Ex 28^{39}), for which RV has: 'thou shalt weave the coat in **chequer work**' (for which see SPINNING AND WEAVING). So for a 'broidered coat' (Ex 28^{4}) RV has 'a coat of chequer work.'

The art of embroidery was an invention of the Babylonians, from whom it passed, through the medium of the Phrygians, to the Greeks and the other nations of the West. Mummy cloths are still preserved showing that the art was also practised in Egypt. No actual specimens of Babylonian embroidery have survived, but the sculptures of Assyrian palaces, notably a sculptured figure of Ashurnazirpal, show the royal robes ornamented with borders of the most elaborate embroidery. The various designs are discussed, with illustrations, by Perrot and Chipiez, *Hist. of Art in Chaldæa and Assyria*, ii. 363 ff.

If, as is generally believed, the Priests' Code was compiled in Babylonia, we may trace the influence of the latter in the embroideries introduced into the Tabernacle screens and elsewhere (reff. above). In the passages in question the work of 'the embroiderer' (*rōqēm*) is distinguished from, and mentioned after, the work of 'the cunning workman' (*chōshēb*, lit. 'designer,' in Phœnician 'weaver'), who appears to have woven his designs *into* the fabric after the manner of tapestry (see SPINNING AND WEAVING). The materials used by both artists were the same, linen thread dyed 'blue, purple, and scarlet,' and fine gold thread, the preparation of which is minutely described, Ex 39^{3}.

An illustration in colours of the sails which Tyre imported from Egypt, 'of fine linen with broidered work' (Ezk 27^{7}), may be seen in the frontispiece to Wilkinson's *Ancient Egyptians*, vol. ii.

A. R. S. KENNEDY.

EMEK-KEZIZ (Jos 18^{21}, AV 'Valley of Keziz,' mentioned among the towns of Benjamin).—A place apparently in the Jordan Valley near Jericho. The site is unknown.

EMERALD.—See JEWELS AND PRECIOUS STONES.

EMERODS.—See MEDICINE.

EMIM.—Primitive inhabitants of Moab, a gigantic people of Hebrew tradition (*Rephaim*, Dt $2^{10ff.}$, cf. Gn 14^{5}). J. F. McCURDY.

EMMANUEL.—See IMMANUEL.

EMMAUS.—**1.** A village sixty furlongs from Jerusalem, where the risen Christ made Himself known to two disciples (Lk 24^{13}). There is no clue to the position of this place, and it has been sought in *Kubeibeh*, N.W. of the city; in *Kuloniyeh*, W. of it; in *Khamasah* to the S.W.; and in '*Urtas* to the S. The traditional site is Emmaus Nicopolis ('*Amwas*), W. of Jerusalem, which, however, is much too far—20 miles—from the city.

2. Emmaus Nicopolis, now '*Amwas*, on the main Jerusalem-Jaffa road, the scene of the defeat of Gorgias by Judas (1 Mac $3^{40.\ 57}$ 4^{3-27}), held and fortified by Bacchides (1 Mac 9^{50}). R. A. S. MACALISTER.

EMMER (1 Es 9^{21}) = Ezr 10^{20} **Immer.**

EMMERUTH (1 Es 5^{24}).—A corruption of **Immer** in Ezr 2^{37}.

ENAIM.—A Judæan town in the Shephēlah (Jos 15^{34} '**Enam**'; Gn 38^{14}, AV 'in an open place,' RV 'in the gate of Enaim'; v.^{21}, AV 'openly,' RV 'at Enaim'). From the narrative in Gn 38 we gather that it lay between Adullam and Timnah. The site is not identified. Conder suggests *Khirbet Wādy Alîn*, near Beth-shemesh and En-gannim. W. EWING.

ENAN.—Prince of Naphtali at the first census (Nu 1^{15} 2^{29} $7^{78.\ 83}$ 10^{27} P).

ENASIBUS (1 Es 9^{34}) = Ezr 10^{35} **Eliashib.** The form is probably due to reading AI as N.

ENCAMPMENT BY THE SEA.—One of the stations in the itinerary of the children of Israel, where they encamped after leaving Elim, Nu 33^{10}. If the position of Elim be in the *Wady Gharandel*, then the camp by the sea is on the shore of the Gulf of Suez, somewhere south of the point where the *Wady Tayibeh* opens to the coast. The curious return of the line of march to the seashore is a phenomenon that has always arrested the attention of travellers to Mt. Sinai: and if Mt. Sinai be really in the so-called Sinaitic peninsula, the camp can be located within a half-mile.

ENCHANTMENT.—See MAGIC DIVINATION AND SORCERY.

EN-DOR.—A town of Manasseh in the territory of Issachar (Jos 17^{11}); the home of a woman with a familiar spirit consulted by Saul on the eve of the battle of Gilboa (1 S 28); and, according to a psalmist (83^{10}), the scene of the rout of Jabin and Sisera. It is identified with *Endūr*, south of Tabor, where are several ancient caves. R. A. S. MACALISTER.

EN-EGLAIM.—A locality on the Dead Sea, mentioned along with En-gedi (Ezk 47^{10}). It has not been identified, but is not improbably '*Ain Feshkah* (Robinson, *BRP* ii. 489). Tristram (*Bible Places*, 93) would make it '*Ain Hajlah* (Beth-hoglah). In any case, it probably lay to the N. towards the mouth of the Jordan.

ENEMESSAR.—Name of a king of Assyria in Gr. MSS of To 1^{2}, where the Syriac and Lat. give *Shalmaneser*, who is probably meant. The corruption is best accounted for by the loss of *Sh* and *l* and the transposition of *m* and *n*; but naturally many explanations may be offered without conviction. C. H. W. JOHNS.

ENENEUS (1 Es 5^{8}).—One of the twelve leaders of the return from Babylon under Zerubbabel. The name is omitted in the parallel list in Ezr 2, which gives only eleven leaders; but answers to **Nahamani**, Neh 7^{7}.

EN-GANNIM.—**1.** Jos 15^{34}. A town of Judah noticed with Zanoah and Eshtaol; perhaps the ruin *Umm Jina* in the valley near Zanoah. **2.** Jos 19^{21} 21^{29} (in 1 Ch 6^{58} **Anem**). A town of Issachar given to the Levites; now *Jenîn*, a town on the S. border of Esdraelon, with a fine spring, gardens, and palms. It marked the S. limit of Galilee, and appears to have been always a flourishing town.

EN-GEDI ('spring of the kid').—A place 'in the wilderness' in the tribe of Judah (Jos 15^{62}), where David for a time was in hiding (1 S 23^{29} 24^{1}). Here the Moabites and Ammonites came against Jehoshaphat (2 Ch 20^{2}). The Shulammite compares her beloved to henna flowers in En-gedi (Ca 1^{14}); and in Ezekiel's idealistic vision of the healing of the Dead Sea waters, a picture is drawn of fishers here spreading their nets (Ezk 47^{10}). An alternative name is **Hazazon-tamar**, found in Gn 14^{7} and 2 Ch 20^{2}. There is no doubt of the identification of En-gedi with '*Ain Jidy*, a spring of warm water that breaks out 330 ft. above the level of the Dead Sea, about the middle of its W. side. It once was cultivated, but is now given over to a wild semi-tropical vegetation. R. A. S. MACALISTER.

ENGINE.—See FORTIFICATION, etc., § 6.

ENGLISH VERSIONS.—**1.** The history of the English Bible begins early in the history of the English people, though not quite at the beginning of it, and only slowly attains to any magnitude. The Bible which was brought into the country by the first missionaries, by Aidan in the north and Augustine in the south, was the Latin Bible; and for some considerable time after the first preaching of Christianity to the English no vernacular version would be required. Nor is there any trace of a vernacular Bible in the Celtic Church, which still existed in Wales and Ireland. The literary language of the educated minority was Latin; and the instruction of the newly converted English tribes was carried on by

oral teaching and preaching. As time went on, however, and monasteries were founded, many of whose inmates were imperfectly acquainted either with English or with Latin, a demand arose for English translations of the Scriptures. This took two forms. On the one hand, there was a call for word-for-word translations of the Latin, which might assist readers to a comprehension of the Latin Bible; and, on the other, for continuous versions or paraphrases, which might be read to, or by, those whose skill in reading Latin was small.

2. The earliest form, so far as is known, in which this demand was met was the poem of **Caedmon**, the work of a monk of Whitby in the third quarter of the 7th cent., which gives a metrical paraphrase of parts of both Testaments. The only extant MS of the poem (in the Bodleian) belongs to the end of the 10th cent., and it is doubtful how much of it really goes back to the time of Caedmon. In any case, the poem as it appears here does not appear to be later than the 8th century. A tradition, originating with Balé, attributed an English version of the Psalms to Aldhelm, bishop of Sherborne (*d.* 707), but it appears to be quite baseless (see A. S. Cook, *Bibl. Quot. in Old Eng. Prose Writers*, 1878, pp. xiv–xviii). An Anglo-Saxon Psalter in an 11th cent. MS at Paris (partly in prose and partly in verse) has been identified, without any evidence, with this imaginary work. The well-known story of the death of **Bede** (in 735) shows him engaged on an English translation of St. John's Gospel [one early MS (at St. Gall) represents this as extending only to Jn 6^{9}; but so abrupt a conclusion seems inconsistent with the course of the narrative]; but of this all traces have disappeared. The scholarship of the monasteries of Wearmouth and Jarrow, which had an important influence on the textual history of the Latin Vulgate, did not concern itself with vernacular translations; and no further trace of an English Bible appears until the 9th century. To that period is assigned a word-for-word translation of the Psalter, written between the lines of a Latin MS (Cotton MS Vespasian A.I., in the British Museum), which was the progenitor of several similar glosses between that date and the 12th cent.; and to it certainly belongs the attempt of **Alfred** to educate his people by English translations of the works which he thought most needful to them. He is said to have undertaken a version of the Psalms, of which no portion survives, unless the prose portion (Ps 1–50) of the above-mentioned Paris MS is a relic of it; but we still have the translation of the Decalogue, the summary of the Mosaic law, and the letter of the Council of Jerusalem (Ac $15^{23\text{-}29}$), which he prefixed to his code of laws. To the 10th cent. belongs probably the verse portion of the Paris MS, and the interlinear translation of the Gospels in Northumbrian dialect inserted by the priest Aldred in the **Lindisfarne Gospels** (British Museum), which is repeated in the Rushworth Gospels (Bodleian) of the same century, with the difference that the version of Mt. is there in the Mercian dialect. This is the earliest extant translation of the Gospels into English.

3. The earliest independent version of any of the books of the Bible has likewise generally been assigned to the 10th cent., but if this claim can be made good at all, it can apply only to the last years of that century. The version in question is a translation of the Gospels in the dialect of Wessex, of which six MSS (with a fragment of a seventh) are now extant. It was edited by W. Skeat, *The Holy Gospels in Anglo-Saxon* (1871–1877); two MSS are in the British Museum, two at Cambridge, and two (with a fragment of another) at Oxford. From the number of copies which still survive, it must be presumed to have had a certain circulation, at any rate in Wessex, and it continued to be copied for at least a century. The earliest MSS are assigned to the beginning of the 11th cent.; but it is observable that Ælfric the Grammarian, abbot of Eynsham, writing about 990, says that the English at that time 'had not the evangelical doctrines among their writings, . . . those books excepted which King Alfred wisely turned from Latin into English' [preface to Ælfric's *Homilies*, edited by B. Thorpe, London, 1843–46]. In a subsequent treatise (*Treatise concerning the Old and New Testament*, ed. W. Lisle, London, 1623) also (the date of which is said to be about 1010, see Dietrich, *Zeitsch. f. hist. Theol.* 1856, quoted by Cook, *op. cit.*, p. lxiv.) he speaks as if no English version of the Gospels were in existence, and refers his readers to his own homilies on the Gospels. Since Ælfric had been a monk at Winchester and abbot of Cerne, in Dorset, it is difficult to understand how he could have failed to know of the Wessex version of the Gospels, if it had been produced and circulated much before 1000; and it seems probable that it only came into existence early in the 11th century. In this case it was contemporaneous with another work of translation, due to **Ælfric** himself. Ælfric, at the request of Æthelweard, son of his patron Æthelmær, ealdorman of Devonshire and founder of Eynsham Abbey, produced a paraphrase of the Heptateuch, homilies containing epitomes of the Books of Kings and Job, and brief versions of Esther, Judith, and Maccabees. These have the interest of being the earliest extant English version of the narrative books of the OT. [The Heptateuch and Job were printed by E. Thwaites (Oxford, 1698). For the rest, see Cook, *op. cit.*]

4. The Norman Conquest checked for a time all the vernacular literature of England, including the translations of the Bible. One of the first signs of its revival was the production of the *Ormulum*, a poem which embodies metrical versions of the Gospels and Acts, written about the end of the 12th century. The main Biblical literature of this period, however, was French. For the benefit of the Norman settlers in England, translations of the greater part of both OT and NT were produced during the 12th and 13th centuries. Especially notable among these was the version of the Apocalypse, because it was frequently accompanied by a series of illustrations, the best examples of which are the finest (and also the most quaint) artistic productions of the period in the sphere of book-illustration. Nearly 90 MSS of this version are known, ranging from the first half of the 12th cent. to the first half of the 15th [see P. Berger, *La Bible Française au moyen âge*, p. 78 ff.; L. Delisle and P. Meyer, *L'Apocalypse en Français* (Paris, 1901); and *New Palæographical Society*, part 2, plates 38, 39], some having been produced in England, and others in France; and in the 14th cent. it reappears in an English dress, having been translated apparently about that time. This English version (which at one time was attributed to Wyclif) is known in no less than 16 MSS, which fall into at least two classes [see Miss A. C. Paues, *A Fourteenth Century English Biblical Version* (Cambridge, 1902), pp. 24–30]; and it is noteworthy that from the second of these was derived the version which appears in the revised Wyclifite Bible, to be mentioned presently.

5. The 14th cent., which saw the practical extinction of the general use of the French language in England, and the rise of a real native literature, saw also a great revival of vernacular Biblical literature, beginning apparently with the Book of Psalms. Two English versions of the Psalter were produced at this period, one of which enjoyed great popularity. This was the work of **Richard Rolle**, hermit of Hampole, in Yorkshire (*d.* 1349). It contains the Latin text of the Psalter, followed verse by verse by an English translation and commentary. Originally written in the northern dialect, it soon spread over all England, and many MSS of it still exist in which the dialect has been altered to suit southern tastes. Towards the end of the century Rolle's work suffered further change, the commentary being re-written from a strongly Lollard point of view, and in this shape it continued

to circulate far into the 16th century. Another version of the Psalter was produced contemporaneously with Rolle's, somewhere in the West Midlands. The authorship of it was formerly attributed to William of Shoreham, vicar of Chart Sutton, in Kent, but for no other reason than that in one of the two MSS in which it is preserved (Brit. Mus. Add. MS 17376, the other being at Trinity College, Dublin) it is now bound up with his religious poems. The dialect, however, proves that this authorship is impossible, and the version must be put down as anonymous. As in the case of Rolle's translation, the Latin and English texts are intermixed, verse by verse; but there is no commentary. [See K. S. Bülbring, *The Earliest Complete English Prose Psalter* (Early English Text Society), 1891.]

6. The Psalter was not the only part of the Bible of which versions came into existence in the course of the 14th century. At Magdalene College, Cambridge (Pepys MS 2498), is an English narrative of the Life of Christ, compiled out of a re-arrangement of the Gospels for Sundays and holy days throughout the year. Quite recently, too, a group of MSS, which (so far as they were known at all) had been regarded as belonging to the Wyclifite Bible, has been shown by Miss Anna C. Paues [*A Fourteenth Century English Biblical Version* (Cambridge, 1902)] to contain an independent translation of the NT. It is not complete, the Gospels being represented only by Mt 1^{1}–6^{8}, and the Apocalypse being altogether omitted. The original nucleus seems, indeed, to have consisted of the four larger Catholic Epistles and the Epistles of St. Paul, to which were subsequently added 2 and 3 John, Jude, Acts, and Mt 1^{1}–6^{8}. Four MSS of this version are at present known, the oldest being one at Selwyn College, Cambridge, which was written about 1400. The prologue narrates that the translation was made at the request of a monk and a nun by their superior, who defers to their earnest desire, although, as he says, it is at the risk of his life. This phrase seems to show that the work was produced after the rise of the great party controversy which is associated with the name of Wyclif.

7. With **Wyclif** (1320–1384) we reach a landmark in the history of the English Bible, in the production of the first complete version of both OT and NT. It belongs to the last period of Wyclif's life, that in which he was engaged in open war with the Papacy and with most of the official chiefs of the English Church. It was connected with his institution of 'poor priests,' or mission preachers, and formed part of his scheme of appealing to the populace in general against the doctrines and supremacy of Rome. The NT seems to have been completed about 1380, the OT between 1382 and 1384. Exactly how much of it was done by Wyclif's own hand is uncertain. The greater part of the OT (as far as Baruch 3^{20}) is assigned in an Oxford MS to Nicholas Hereford, one of Wyclif's principal supporters at that university; and it is certain that this part of the translation is in a different style (more stiff and pedantic) from the rest. The NT is generally attributed to Wyclif himself, and he may also have completed the OT, which Hereford apparently had to abandon abruptly, perhaps when he was summoned to London and excommunicated in 1382. This part of the work is free and vigorous in style, though its interpretation of the original is often strange, and many sentences in it can have conveyed very little idea of their meaning to its readers. Such as it was, however, it was a complete English Bible, addressed to the whole English people, high and low, rich and poor. That this is the case is proved by the character of the copies which have survived (about 30 in number). Some are large folio volumes, handsomely written and illuminated in the best, or nearly the best, style of the period; such is the fine copy, in two volumes (now Brit. Mus. Egerton MSS 617, 618), which once belonged to Thomas, Duke of Gloucester, uncle of Richard II. Others are plain copies of ordinary size, intended for private persons or monastic libraries; for it is clear that, in spite of official disfavour and eventual prohibition, there were many places in England where Wyclif and his Bible were welcomed. Wyclif, indeed, enjoyed advantages from personal repute and influential support such as had been enjoyed by no English translator since Alfred. An Oxford scholar, at one time Master of Balliol, holder of livings successively from his college and the Crown, employed officially on behalf of his country in controversy with the Pope, the friend and protégé of John of Gaunt and other prominent nobles, and enjoying as a rule the strenuous support of the University of Oxford, Wyclif was in all respects a person of weight and influence in the realm, who could not be silenced or isolated by the opposition of bishops such as Arundel. The work that he had done had struck its roots too deep to be destroyed, and though it was identified with Lollardism by its adversaries, its range was much wider than that of any one sect or party.

8. Wyclif's translation, however, though too strong to be overthrown by its opponents, was capable of improvement by its friends. The difference of style between Hereford and his continuator or continuators, the stiff and unpopular character of the work of the former, and the imperfections inevitable in a first attempt on so large a scale, called aloud for revision; and a second Wyclifite Bible, the result of a very complete revision of its predecessor, saw the light not many years after the Reformer's death. The authorship of the second version is doubtful. It was assigned by Forshall and Madden, the editors of the Wyclifite Bible, to **John Purvey**, one of Wyclif's most intimate followers; but the evidence is purely circumstantial, and rests mainly on verbal resemblances between the translator's preface and known works of Purvey, together with the fact that a copy of this preface is found attached to a copy of the earlier version which was once Purvey's property. What is certain is that the second version is based upon the first, and that the translator's preface is permeated with Wyclifite opinions. This version speedily superseded the other, and in spite of a decree passed, at Arundel's instigation, by the Council of Blackfriars in 1408, it must have circulated in large numbers. Over 140 copies are still in existence, many of them small pocket volumes such as must have been the personal property of private individuals for their own study. Others belonged to the greatest personages in the land, and copies are still in existence which formerly had for owners Henry VI., Henry VII., Edward VI., and Elizabeth.

9. At this point it seems necessary to say something of the theory which has been propounded by the well-known Roman Catholic historian, Abbot Gasquet, to the effect that the versions which pass under the name of 'Wyclifite' were not produced by Wyclif or his followers at all, but were translations authorized and circulated by the heads of the Church of England, Wyclif's particular enemies. [*The Old English Bible*, 1897, pp. 102–178.] The strongest argument adduced in support of this view is the possession of copies of the versions in question both by kings and princes of England, and by religious houses and persons of unquestioned orthodoxy. This does, indeed, prove that the persecution of the English Bible and its possessors by the authorities of the Catholic Church was not so universal or continuous as it is sometimes represented to have been, but it does not go far towards disproving the Wyclifite authorship of versions which can be demonstratively connected, as these are, with the names of leading supporters of Wyclif, such as Hereford and Purvey; the more so since the evidence of orthodox ownership of many of the copies in question dates from times long after the cessation of the Lollard persecution. Dr. Gasquet also denies that there is any real evidence connecting Wyclif with the production of an English Bible at all; but in order to make good this assertion he has to ignore several passages in Wyclif's own writings in which he refers to the importance of a vernacular version (to the existence of his own version he could not refer, since that was produced only at the end of his life), and to do violence alike to the proper translation and to the natural interpretation of passages written by

Wyclif's opponents (Arundel, Knyghton, and the Council of Oxford in 1408) in which Wyclif's work is mentioned and condemned. Further, Dr. Gasquet denies that the Lollards made a special point of the circulation of the Scriptures in the vernacular, or were charged with so doing by the ecclesiastical authorities who prosecuted them; and in particular he draws a distinction between the versions now extant and the Bible on account of the heretical nature of which (among other charges) one Richard Hun was condemned by the Bishop of London in 1514. It has, however, been shown conclusively that the depositions of the witnesses against the Lollards (which cannot be regarded as wholly irrelevant to the charges brought against them) constantly make mention of the possession of vernacular Bibles; and that the charges against Richard Hun, based upon the prologue to the Bible in his possession, are taken verbatim from the prologue to the version which we now know as Purvey's. It is true that Dr. Gasquet makes the explicit statement that 'we shall look in vain in the edition of Wyclifite Scriptures published by Forshall and Madden for any trace of these errors' (*i.e.* the errors found by Hun's prosecutors in the prologue to his Bible); but a writer in the *Church Quarterly Review* (Jan. 1901, p. 292 ff.) has printed in parallel columns the charges against Hun and the corresponding passages in Purvey's prologue, which leave no possibility of doubt that Hun was condemned for possessing a copy of the version which is commonly known as Purvey's, or as the later Wyclifite version. The article in the *Church Quarterly Review* must be read by everyone who wishes to investigate Dr. Gasquet's theory fully; the evidence there adduced is decisive as to the unsoundness of Dr. Gasquet's historical position. It is impossible to attribute to the official heads of the English Church a translation the prologue to which (to quote but two phrases) speaks of 'the pardouns of the bisschopis of Rome, that ben opin leesingis,' and declares that 'to eschewe pride and speke onour of God and of his lawe, and repreue synne bi weie of charite, is matir and cause now whi prelatis and summe lordis sclaundren men, and clepen hem lollardis, eretikis, and riseris of debate and of treson agens the king.' In the face of this evidence it will be impossible in future to deny that the Wyclifite Bible is identical with that which we now possess, and that it was at times the cause of the persecution of its owners by the authorities of the Church. That this persecution was partial and temporary is likely enough. Much of it was due to the activity of individual bishops, such as Arundel; but not all the bishops shared Arundel's views. Wyclif had powerful supporters, notably John of Gaunt and the University of Oxford, and under their protection copies of the vernacular Bible could be produced and circulated. It is, moreover, likely, not to say certain, that as time went on the Wyclifite origin of the version would often be forgotten. Apart from the preface to Purvey's edition, which appears only rarely in the extant MSS, there is nothing in the translation itself which would betray its Lollard origin; and it is quite probable that many persons in the 15th and early 16th cent. used it without any suspicion of its connexion with Wyclif. Sir Thomas More, whose good faith there is no reason to question, appears to have done so; otherwise it can only be supposed that the orthodox English Bibles of which he speaks, and which he expressly distinguishes from the Bible which caused the condemnation of Richard Hun, have wholly disappeared, which is hardly likely. If this be admitted, the rest of More's evidence falls to the ground. The history of the Wyclifite Bible, and of its reception in England, would in some points bear restatement; but the ingenious, and at first sight plausible, theory of Abbot Gasquet has failed to stand examination, and it is to be hoped that it may be allowed to lapse.

10. With the production of the second Wyclifite version the history of the manuscript English Bible comes to an end. Purvey's work was on the level of the best scholarship and textual knowledge of the age, and it satisfied the requirements of those who needed a vernacular Bible. That it did not reach modern standards in these respects goes without saying. In the first place, it was translated from the Latin Vulgate, not from the original Hebrew and Greek, with which there is no reason to suppose that Wyclif or his assistants were familiar. Secondly, its exegesis is often deficient, and some passages in it must have been wholly unintelligible to its readers. This, however, may be said even of some parts of the AV, so that it is small reproach to Wyclif and Purvey; and on the whole it is a straightforward and intelligible version of the Scriptures. A few examples of this, the first complete English Bible, and the first version in which the English approaches sufficiently near to its modern form to be generally intelligible, may be given here.

Jn 14^{1-7}. Be not youre herte affraied, ne drede it. Ye bileuen in god, and bileue ye in me. In the hous of my fadir ben many dwellyngis: if ony thing lasse I hadde seid to you, for I go to make redi to you a place. And if I go and make redi to you a place, eftsone I come and I schal take you to my silf, that where I am, ye be. And whidir I go ye witen: and ye witen the wey. Thomas seith to him, Lord, we witen not whidir thou goist, and hou moun we wite the weie. Ihesus seith to him, I am weye truthe and liif: no man cometh to the fadir, but bi me. If ye hadden knowe me, sothli ye hadden knowe also my fadir: and aftirwarde ye schuln knowe him, and ye han seen hym.

2 Co 1^{17-20}. But whanne I wolde this thing, whether I uside unstidfastnesse? ether tho thingis that I thenke, I thenke aftir the fleische, that at me be it is and it is not. But god is trewe, for oure word that was at you, is and is not, is not thereinne, but is in it. Forwhi ihesus crist the sone of god, which is prechid among you bi us, bi me and siluan and tymothe, ther was not in hym is and is not, but is was in hym. Forwhi hou many euer ben biheestis of god, in thilke is ben fulfillid. And therfor and bi him we seien Amen to god, to oure glorie.

Eph 3^{14-21}. For grace of this thing I bowe my knees to the fadir of oure lord ihesus crist, of whom eche fadirheed in heuenes and in erthe is named, that he geue to you aftir the richessis of his glorie, vertu to be strengthid bi his spirit in the ynner man; that criste dwelle bi feith in youre hertis; that ye rootid and groundid in charite, moun comprehende with alle seyntis whiche is the breede and the lengthe and the highist and the depnesse; also to wite the charite of crist more excellent thanne science, that ye be fillid in all the plente of god. And to hym that is myghti to do alle thingis more plenteuousli thanne we axen, or undirstande bi the vertu that worchith in us, to hym be glorie in the chirche and in crist ihesus in to alle the generaciouns of the worldis. Amen.

11. The English manuscript Bible was now complete, and no further translation was issued in this form. The Lollard controversy died down amid the strain of the French wars and the passions of the wars of the Roses; and when, in the 16th century, religious questions once more came to the front, the situation had been fundamentally changed through the invention of printing. The first book that issued from the press was the Latin Bible (popularly known as the Mazarin Bible), published by Fust and Gutenberg in 1456. For the Latin Bible (the form in which the Scriptures had hitherto been mainly known in Western Europe) there was indeed so great a demand, that no less than 124 editions of it are said to have been issued before the end of the 15th century; but it was only slowly that scholars realized the importance of utilizing the printing press for the circulation of the Scriptures, either in their original tongues, or in the vernaculars of Europe. The Hebrew Psalter was printed in 1477, the complete OT in 1488. The Greek Bible, both OT and NT, was included in the great Complutensian Polyglot of Cardinal Ximenes, printed in 1514–17, but not published till 1522. The Greek NT (edited by Erasmus) was first published by Froben in 1516, the OT by the Aldine press in 1518. In the way of vernacular versions, a French Bible was printed at Lyons about 1478, and another about 1487; a Spanish Pentateuch was printed (by Jews) in 1497; a German Bible was printed at Strassburg by Mentelin in 1466, and was followed by eighteen others (besides many Psalters and other separate books) between that date and 1522, when the first portion of Luther's translation appeared. In England, Caxton inserted the main part of the OT narrative in his translation of the *Golden Legend* (which in its original form already contained the Gospel story), published in 1483; but no regular English version of the Bible was printed until 1525, with which date a new chapter in the history of the English Bible begins.

12. It was not the fault of the translator that it did not appear at least as early as Luther's. **William Tindale** (*c.* 1490–1536) devoted himself early to Scripture studies, and by the time he had reached the age of

about 30 he had taken for the work of his life the translation of the Bible into English. He was born in Gloucestershire, where his family seems to have used the name of Hutchins or Hychins, as well as that of Tindale, so that he is himself sometimes described by both names); and he became a member of Magdalen Hall (a dependency of Magdalen College) at Oxford, where he definitely associated himself with the Protestant party and became known as one of their leaders. He took his degree as B.A. in 1512, as M.A. in 1515, and at some uncertain date he is said (by Foxe) to have gone to Cambridge. If this was between 1511 and 1515, he would have found Erasmus there; but in that case it could have been only an interlude in the middle of his Oxford course, and perhaps it is more probable that his visit belongs to some part of the years 1515 to 1520, as to which there is no definite information. About 1520 he became resident tutor in the house of Sir John Walsh, at Little Sodbury in Gloucestershire, to which period belongs his famous saying, in controversy with an opponent: 'If God spare my life, ere many years I will cause a boy that driveth the plough shall know more of the Scripture than thou doest.' With this object he came up to London in 1523, and sought a place in the service of Tunstall, bishop of London, a scholar and patron of scholars, of whom Erasmus had spoken favourably; but here he received no encouragement. He was, however, taken in by Alderman Humphrey Monmouth, in whose house he lived as chaplain and studied for six months; at the end of which time he was forced to the conclusion 'not only that there was no room in my lord of London's palace to translate the New Testament, but also that there was no place to do it in all England.'

13. About May 1524, therefore, Tindale left England and settled in the free city of Hamburg, and in the course of the next 12 months the first stage of his great work was completed. Whether during this time he visited Luther at Wittenberg is quite uncertain; what is certain, and more important, is that he was acquainted with Luther's writings. In 1525, the translation of the NT being finished, he went to Cologne to have it printed at the press of Peter Quentel. Three thousand copies of the first ten sheets of it, in quarto, had been printed off when rumours of the work came to the ears of John Cochlæus, a bitter enemy of the Reformation. To obtain information he approached the printers (who were also engaged upon work for him), and having loosened their tongues with wine he learnt the full details of Tindale's enterprise, and sent warning forthwith to England. Meanwhile Tindale escaped with the printed sheets to Worms, in the Lutheran disposition of which place he was secure from interference, and proceeded with his work at the press of Peter Schoeffer. Since, however, a description of the Cologne edition had been sent to England, a change was made in the *format*. The text was set up again in octavo, and without the marginal notes of the quarto edition; and in this form the first printed English NT was given to the world early in 1526. About the same time an edition in small quarto, with marginal notes, was also issued, and it is probable (though full proof is wanting) that this was the completion of the interrupted Cologne edition. Three thousand copies of each edition were struck off; but so active were the enemies of the Reformation in their destruction, that they have nearly disappeared off the face of the earth. One copy of the octavo edition, complete but for the loss of its title-page, is at the Baptist College at Bristol, whither it found its way from the Harley Library, to which it once belonged; and an imperfect copy is in the library of St. Paul's Cathedral. Of the quarto, all that survives is a fragment consisting of eight sheets (Mt 1^{1}–22^{12}) in the Grenville Library in the British Museum.

14. The hostility of the authorities in Church and State in England was indeed undisguised. Sir T. More attacked the translation as false and heretical, and as disregarding ecclesiastical terminology. Wolsey and the bishops, with Henry's assent, decreed that it should be burnt; and burnt it was at Paul's Cross, after a sermon from Bishop Tunstall. Nevertheless fresh supplies continued to pour into England, the money expended in buying up copies for destruction serving to pay for the production of fresh editions. Six editions are said to have been issued between 1526 and 1530; and the zeal of the authorities for its destruction was fairly matched by the zeal of the reforming party for its circulation. It was, in fact, evident that the appetite for an English Bible, once fairly excited, could not be wholly balked. In 1530 an assembly convoked by Archbishop Warham, while maintaining the previous condemnation of Tindale, and asserting that it was not expedient at that time to divulge the Scripture in the English tongue, announced that the king would have the NT faithfully translated by learned men, and published 'as soon as he might see their manners and behaviour meet, apt, and convenient to receive the same.'

15. Tindale's first NT was epoch-making in many ways. It was the first English printed NT; it laid the foundations, and much more than the foundations, of the AV of 1611; it set on foot the movement which went forward without a break until it culminated in the production of that AV; and it was the first English Bible that was translated directly from the original language. All the English manuscript Bibles were translations from the Vulgate; but Tindale's NT was taken from the Greek, which he knew from the editions by Erasmus, published in 1516, 1519, and 1522. As subsidiary aids he employed the Latin version attached by Erasmus to his Greek text, Luther's German translation of 1522, and the Vulgate; but it has been made abundantly clear that he exercised independent judgment in his use of these materials, and was by no means a slavish copier of Luther. In the marginal notes attached to the quarto edition his debt to Luther was greater; for (so far as can be gathered from the extant fragment) more than half the notes were taken direct from the German Bible, the rest being independent. It is in this connexion with Luther, rather than in anything to be found in the work itself, that the secret of the official hostility to Tindale's version is to be found. That the translation itself was not seriously to blame is shown by the extent to which it was incorporated in the AV, though no doubt to persons who knew the Scriptures only in the Latin Vulgate its divergence from accuracy may have appeared greater than was in fact the case. The octavo edition had no extraneous matter except a short preface, and therefore could not be obnoxious on controversial grounds; and the comments in the quarto edition are generally exegetical, and not polemical. Still, there could be no doubt that they were the work of an adherent of the Reformation, and as such the whole translation fell under the ban of the opponents of the Reformation.

16. Tindale's work did not cease with the production of his NT. Early in 1530 a translation of the Pentateuch was printed for him by Hans Luft, at Marburg in Hesse. The colophon to Genesis is dated Jan. 17, 1530. In England, where the year began on March 25, this would have meant 1531 according to our modern reckoning; but in Germany the year generally began on Jan. 1, or at Christmas. The only perfect copy of this edition is in the British Museum. The different books must have been set up separately, since Gn. and Nu. are printed in black letter, Ex., Lev., and Dt. in Roman; but there is no evidence that they were issued separately. The translation was made (for the first time) from the Hebrew, with which language there is express evidence that Tindale was acquainted. The book was provided with a prologue and with marginal notes, the latter being often controversial. In 1531 he published a translation

of the Book of Jonah, of which a single copy (now in the British Museum) came to light in 1861. After this he seems to have reverted to the NT, of which he issued a revised edition in 1534. The immediate occasion of this was the appearance of an unauthorized revision of the translation of 1525, by one George Joye, in which many alterations were made of which Tindale disapproved. Tindale's new edition was printed by Martin Empereur of Antwerp, and published in Nov. 1534. One copy of it was printed on vellum, illuminated, and presented to Anne Boleyn, who had shown favour to one of the agents employed in distributing Tindale's earlier work. It bears her name on the fore-edge, and is now in the British Museum. The volume is a small octavo, and embodies a careful revision of his previous work. Since it was intended for liturgical use, the church lections were marked in it, and in an appendix were added, 'The Epistles taken out of the Old Testament, which are read in the church after the use of Salisbury upon certain days of the year.' These consist of 42 short passages from the OT (8 being taken from the Apocrypha), and constitute an addition to Tindale's work as a translator of the OT. The text of the NT is accompanied throughout by marginal notes, differing (so far as we are in a position to compare them) from those in the quarto of 1525, and very rarely polemical. Nearly all the books are preceded by prologues, which are for the most part derived from Luther (except that to Heb., in which Tindale expressly combats Luther's rejection of its Apostolic authority).

17. The edition of 1534 did not finally satisfy Tindale, and in the following year he put forth another edition 'yet once again corrected.' [The volume bears two dates, 1535 and 1534, but the former, which stands on the first title-page, must be taken to be that of the completion of the work.] It bears the monogram of the publisher, Godfried van der Haghen, and is sometimes known as the GH edition. It has no marginal notes. Another edition, which is stated on its title-page to have been finished in 1535, contains practically the same text, but is notable for its spelling, which appears to be due to a Flemish compositor, working by ear and not by sight. These editions of 1535, which embody several small changes from the text of 1534, represent Tindale's work in its final form. Several editions were issued in 1536, but Tindale was not then in a position to supervise them. In May 1535, through the treachery of one Phillips, he was seized by some officers of the emperor, and carried off from Antwerp (where he had lived for a year past) to the castle of Vilvorde. After some months' imprisonment he was brought to trial, condemned, and finally strangled and burnt at the stake on Oct. 6, 1536, crying 'with a fervent, great, and a loud voice, "Lord, open the King of England's eyes."'.

The chief authority for the life of Tindale is the biography by the Rev. R. Demaus (2nd ed., revised by R. Lovett, 1886). The fragmentary quarto of 1525 is published in photographic facsimile by E. Arber (*The First Printed English NT*, 1871), with an important introduction. The octavo of 1525 is reproduced in facsimile by F. Fry (1862), as also is the Jonah of 1531 (1863). The Pentateuch is reprinted by Mombert (Bagster, 1884), and the NT of 1534 in Bagster's *English Hexapla*. See also the general bibliography at the end of this article.

18. Coverdale's Bible (1535). Tindale never had the satisfaction of completing his gift of an English Bible to his country; but during his imprisonment he may have learnt that a complete translation, based largely upon his own, had actually been produced. The credit for this achievement, the first complete printed English Bible, is due to Miles Coverdale (1488–1569), afterwards bishop of Exeter (1551–1553). The details of its production are obscure. Coverdale met Tindale abroad in 1529, and is said to have assisted him in the translation of the Pentateuch. His own work was done under the patronage of Cromwell, who was anxious for the publication of an English Bible; and it was no doubt forwarded by the action of Convocation, which, under Cranmer's leading, had petitioned in 1534 for the undertaking of such a work. It was probably printed by Froschover at Zurich; but this has never been absolutely demonstrated. It was published at the end of 1535, with a dedication to Henry VIII. By this time the conditions were more favourable to a Protestant Bible than they had been in 1525. Henry had finally broken with the Pope, and had committed himself to the principle of an English Bible. Coverdale's work was accordingly tolerated by authority, and when the second edition of it appeared in 1537 (printed by an English printer, Nycolson of Southwark), it bore on its title-page the words, 'Set forth with the Kinges moost gracious licence.' In thus licensing Coverdale's translation, Henry probably did not know how far he was sanctioning the work of Tindale, which he had previously condemned. In the NT, in particular, Tindale's version is the basis of Coverdale's, and to a somewhat less extent this is also the case in the Pentateuch and Jonah; but Coverdale revised the work of his predecessor with the help of the Zurich German Bible of Zwingli and others (1524–1529), a Latin version by Pagninus, the Vulgate, and Luther. In his preface he explicitly disclaims originality as a translator, and there is no sign that he made any noticeable use of the Greek and Hebrew; but he used the available Latin, German, and English versions with judgment. In the parts of the OT which Tindale had not published he appears to have translated mainly from the Zurich Bible. [Coverdale's Bible of 1535 was reprinted by Bagster (1838).]

19. In one respect Coverdale's Bible was epoch-making, namely, in the arrangement of the Books of the OT. In the Vulgate, as is well known, the books which are now classed as Apocrypha are intermingled with the other books of the OT. This was also the case with the LXX, and in general it may be said that the Christian Church had adopted this view of the Canon. It is true that many of the greatest Christian Fathers had protested against it, and had preferred the Hebrew Canon, which rejects these books. The Canon of Athanasius places the Apocrypha in a class apart; the Syrian Bible omitted them; Eusebius and Gregory Nazianzen appear to have held similar views; and Jerome refused to translate them for his Latin Bible. Nevertheless the Church at large, both East and West, retained them in their Bibles, and the provincial Council of Carthage (A.D. 397), under the influence of Augustine, expressly included them in the Canon. In spite of Jerome, the Vulgate, as it circulated in Western Europe, regularly included the disputed books; and Wyclif's Bible, being a translation from the Vulgate, naturally has them too. On the other hand, Luther, though recognizing these books as profitable and good for reading, placed them in a class apart, as 'Apocrypha,' and in the same way he segregated Heb., Ja., Jude, and Apoc. at the end of the NT, as of less value and authority than the rest. This arrangement appears in the table of contents of Tindale's NT in 1525, and was adopted by Coverdale, Matthew, and Taverner. It is to Tindale's example, no doubt, that the action of Coverdale is due. His Bible is divided into six parts—(1) Pentateuch; (2) Jos.–Est.; (3) Job–'Solomon's Balettes' (*i.e.* Cant.); (4) Prophets; (5) 'Apocripha, the bokes and treatises which amonge the fathers of olde are not rekened to be of like authorite with the other bokes of the byble, nether are they founde in the Canon of the Hebrue'; (6) NT. This represents the view generally taken by the Reformers, both in Germany and in England, and so far as concerns the English Bible, Coverdale's example was decisive. On the other hand, the Roman Church, at the Council of Trent (1546), adopted by a majority the opinion that all the books of the larger Canon should be received as of equal authority, and for the first time made this a dogma of the Church, enforced by an anathema. In 1538, Coverdale published a NT with Latin (Vulgate)

and English in parallel columns, revising his English to bring it into conformity with the Latin; but this (which went through three editions with various changes) may be passed over, as it had no influence on the general history of the English Bible.

20. Matthew's Bible (1537). In the same year as the second edition of Coverdale's Bible another English Bible appeared, which likewise bore upon its title-page the statement that it was 'set forth with the Kinges most gracyous lycence.' It was completed not later than Aug. 4, 1537, on which day Cranmer sent a copy of it to Cromwell, commending the translation, and begging Cromwell to obtain for it the king's licence; in which, as the title-page prominently shows, he was successful. The origin of this version is slightly obscure, and certainly was not realized by Henry when he sanctioned it. The Pentateuch and NT are taken direct from Tindale with little variation (the latter from the final 'GH' revision of 1535). The books of the OT from Ezra to Mal. (including Jonah) are taken from Coverdale, as also is the Apocrypha. But the historical books of the OT (Jos.–2 Chron.) are a new translation, as to the origin of which no statement is made. It is, however, fairly certain, from a combination of evidence, that it was Tindale's (see Westcott[3], pp. 169–179). The style agrees with that of Tindale's other work; the passages which Tindale published as 'Epistles' from the OT in his NT of 1534 agree in the main with the present version in these books, but not in those taken from Coverdale; and it is expressly stated in Hall's *Chronicle* (completed and published by Grafton, one of the publishers of Matthew's Bible) that Tindale, in addition to the NT, translated also 'the v bookes of Moses, Josua, Judicum, Ruth, the bookes of the Kynges and the bookes of Paralipomenon, Nehemias or the fyrst of Esdras, the prophet Jonas, and no more of ye holy scripture.' If we suppose the version of Ezra-Nehemiah to have been incomplete, or for some reason unavailable, this statement harmonizes perfectly with the data of the problem. Tindale may have executed the translation during his imprisonment, at which time we know that he applied for the use of his Hebrew books. The book was printed abroad, at the expense of R. Grafton and E. Whitchurch, two citizens of London, who issued it in London. On the title-page is the statement that the translator was Thomas Matthew, and the same name stands at the foot of the dedication to Henry VIII. Nothing is known of any such person, but tradition identifies him with **John Rogers** (who in the register of his arrest in 1555 is described as 'John Rogers *alias* Matthew'), a friend and companion of Tindale. It is therefore generally believed that this Bible is due to the editorial work of John Rogers, who had come into possession of Tindale's unpublished translation of the historical books of the OT, and published them with the rest of his friend's work, completing the Bible with the help of Coverdale. It may be added that the initials I. R. (Rogers), W. T. (Tindale), R. G. and E. W. (Grafton and Whitchurch), and H. R. (unidentified, ? Henricus Rex) are printed in large letters on various blank spaces throughout the OT. The arrangement of the book is in four sections: (1) Gen.–Cant., (2) Prophets, (3) Apocrypha (including for the first time the Prayer of Manasses, translated from the French of Olivetan), (4) NT. There are copious annotations, of a decidedly Protestant tendency, and Tindale's outspoken Prologue to the Romans is included in it. The whole work, therefore, was eminently calculated to extend the impulse given by Tindale, and to perpetuate his work.

21. Taverner's Bible (1539). Matthew's Bible formed the basis for yet another version, which deserves brief mention, though it had no influence on the general development of the English Bible. Richard Taverner, formerly a student of Cardinal College [Christ Church], Oxford, was invited by some London printers ('John Byddell for Thomas Barthlet') to prepare at short notice a revision of the existing Bible. In the OT his alterations are verbal, and aim at the improvement of the style of the translation; in the NT, being a good Greek scholar, he was able to revise it with reference to the original Greek. The NT was issued separately in two editions, in the same year (1539) as the complete Bible; but the success of the official version next to be mentioned speedily extinguished such a personal venture as this. Taverner's Bible is sometimes said to have been the first English Bible completely printed in England; but this honour appears to belong rather to Coverdale's second edition.

22. The Great Bible (1539–1541). The fact that Taverner was invited to revise Matthew's Bible almost immediately after its publication shows that it was not universally regarded as successful; but there were in addition other reasons why those who had promoted the circulation and authorization of Matthew's Bible should be anxious to see it superseded. As stated above, it was highly controversial in character, and bore plentiful evidence of its origin from Tindale. Cromwell and Cranmer had, no doubt, been careful not to call Henry's attention to these circumstances; but they might at any time be brought to his notice, when their own position would become highly precarious. It is, indeed, strange that they ever embarked on so risky an enterprise. However that may be, they lost little time in inviting Coverdale to undertake a complete revision of the whole, which was ready for the press early in 1538. The printing was begun by Regnault of Paris, where more sumptuous typography was possible than in England. In spite, however, of the assent of the French king having been obtained, the Inquisition intervened, stopped the printing, and seized the sheets. Some of the sheets, however, had previously been got away to England; others were re-purchased from a tradesman to whom they had been sold; and ultimately, under Cromwell's direction, printers and presses were transported from Paris to London, and the work completed there by Grafton and Whitchurch, whose imprint stands on the magnificent title-page (traditionally ascribed to Holbein) depicting the dissemination of the Scriptures from the hands of Henry, through the instrumentality of Cromwell and Cranmer, to the general mass of the loyal and rejoicing populace. [A special copy on vellum, with illuminations, was prepared for Cromwell himself, and is now in the library of St. John's College, Cambridge.]

23. The first edition of the Great Bible appeared in April 1539, and an injunction was issued by Cromwell that a copy of it should be set up in every parish church. It was consequently the first (and only) English Bible formally authorized for public use; and contemporary evidence proves that it was welcomed and read with avidity. No doubt, as at an earlier day (Ph 2^{15}), some read the gospel 'of envy and strife, and some also of good will'; but in one way or another, for edification or for controversy, the reading of the Bible took a firm hold on the people of England, a hold which has never since been relaxed, and which had much to do with the stable foundation of the Protestant Church in this country. Nor was the translation, though still falling short of the perfection reached three-quarters of a century later, unworthy of its position. It had many positive merits, and marked a distinct advance upon all its predecessors. Coverdale, though without the force and originality, or even the scholarship, of Tindale, had some of the more valuable gifts of a translator, and was well qualified to make the best use of the labours of his predecessors. He had scholarship enough to choose and follow the best authorities, he had a happy gift of smooth and effective phraseology, and his whole heart was in his work. As the basis of his revision he had Tindale's work and his own previous version; and these he revised with reference to the Hebrew, Greek, and Latin, with special

assistance in the OT from the Latin translation by Sebastian Münster published in 1534–35 (a work decidedly superior to the Zurich Bible, which had been his principal guide in 1534), while in the NT he made considerable use of Erasmus. With regard to the use of ecclesiastical terms, he followed his own previous example, against Tindale, in retaining the familiar Latin phrases; and he introduced a considerable number of words and sentences from the Vulgate, which do not appear in the Hebrew or Greek. The text is divided into five sections—(1) Pent., (2) Jos.–Job, (3) Psalms–Mal., (4) Apocrypha, here entitled 'Hagiographa,' though quite different from the books to which that term is applied in the Hebrew Bible, (5) NT, in which the traditional order of the books is restored in place of Luther's. Coverdale intended to add a commentary at the end, and with this view inserted various marks in the margins, the purpose of which he explains in the Prologue; but he was unable to obtain the sanction of the Privy Council for these, and after standing in the margin for three editions the sign-post marks were withdrawn.

24. The first edition was exhausted within twelve months, and in April 1540 a second edition appeared, this time with a prologue by Cranmer (from which fact the Great Bible is sometimes known as **Cranmer's Bible**, though he had no part in the translation). Two more editions followed in July and November, the latter (Cromwell having now been overthrown and executed) appearing under the nominal patronage of Bishops Tunstall and Heath. In 1541 three editions were issued. None of these editions was a simple reprint. The Prophets, in particular, were carefully revised with the help of Münster for the second edition. The fourth edition (Nov. 1540) and its successors revert in part to the first. These seven editions spread the knowledge of the Bible in a sound, though not perfect, version broadcast through the land; and one portion of it has never lost its place in our liturgy. In the first Prayer Book of Edward VI. the Psalter (like the other Scripture passages) was taken from the Great Bible. In 1662, when the other passages were taken from the version of 1611, a special exception was made of the Psalter, on account of the familiarity which it had achieved, and consequently Coverdale's version has held its place in the Book of Common Prayer to this day, and it is in his words that the Psalms have become the familiar household treasures of the English people.

25. With the appearance of the Great Bible comes the first pause in the rapid sequence of vernacular versions set on foot by Tindale. The English Bible was now fully authorized, and accessible to every Englishman in his parish church; and the translation, both in style and in scholarship, was fairly abreast of the attainments and requirements of the age. We hear no more, therefore, at present of further revisions of it. Another circumstance which may have contributed to the same result was the reaction of Henry in his latter years against Protestantism. There was talk in Convocation about a translation to be made by the bishops, which anticipated the plan of the Bible of 1568; and Cranmer prompted Henry to transfer the work to the universities, which anticipated a vital part of the plan of the Bible of 1611; but nothing came of either project. The only practical steps taken were in the direction of the destruction of the earlier versions. In 1543 a proclamation was issued against Tindale's versions, and requiring the obliteration of all notes; in 1546 Coverdale's NT was likewise prohibited. The anti-Protestant reaction, however, was soon terminated by Henry's death (Jan. 1547); and during the reign of Edward VI., though no new translation (except a small part of the Gospels by Sir J. Cheke) was attempted, many new editions of Tindale, Coverdale, Matthew, and the Great Bible issued from the press. The accession of Mary naturally put a stop to the printing and circulation of vernacular Bibles in England; and, during the attempt to put the clock back by force, Rogers and Cranmer followed Tindale to the stake, while Coverdale was imprisoned, but was released, and took refuge at Geneva.

26. The Geneva Bible (1557–1560). Geneva was the place at which the next link in the chain was to be forged. Already famous, through the work of Beza, as a centre of Biblical scholarship, it became the rallying place of the more advanced members of the Protestant party in exile, and under the strong rule of Calvin it was identified with Puritanism in its most rigid form. Puritanism, in fact, was here consolidated into a living and active principle, and demonstrated its strength as a motive power in the religious and social life of Europe. It was by a relative of Calvin, and under his own patronage, that the work of improving the English translation of the Bible was once more taken in hand. This was W. Whittingham, a Fellow of All Souls' College, Oxford, and subsequently dean of Durham, who in 1557 published the NT at Geneva in a small octavo volume, the handiest form in which the English Scriptures had yet been given to the world. In two other respects also this marked an epoch in the history of the English Bible. It was the first version to be printed in Roman type, and the first in which the division of the text into numbered verses (originally made by R. Stephanus for his Græco-Latin Bible of 1551) was introduced. A preface was contributed by Calvin himself. The translator claims to have made constant use of the original Greek and of translations in other tongues, and he added a full marginal commentary. If the matter had ended there, as the work of a single scholar on one part of the Bible, it would probably have left little mark; but it was at once made the basis of a revised version of both Testaments by a group of Puritan scholars. The details of the work are not recorded, but the principal workers, apart from Whittingham himself, appear to have been Thomas Sampson, formerly dean of Chichester, and afterwards dean of Christ Church, and A. Gilby, of Christ's College, Cambridge. A version of the Psalter was issued in 1559 [the only two extant copies of it belong to the Earl of Ellesmere and Mr. Aldis Wright], and in 1560 the complete Bible was given to the world, with the imprint of Rowland Hall, at Geneva. The Psalter in this was the same as that of 1559; but the NT had been largely revised since 1557. The book was a moderate-sized quarto, and contained a dedication to Elizabeth, an address to the brethren at home, the books of the OT (including Apocrypha) and NT in the same order as in the Great Bible and our modern Bibles, copious marginal notes (those to the NT taken from Whittingham with some additions), and an apparatus of maps and woodcuts. In type and verse-division it followed the example of Whittingham's NT.

27. The Genevan revisers took the Great Bible as their basis in the OT, and Matthew's Bible (*i.e.* Tindale) in the NT. For the former they had the assistance of the Latin Bible of Leo Juda (1544), in addition to Pagninus (1527), and they were in consultation with the scholars (including Calvin and Beza) who were then engaged at Geneva in a similar work of revision of the French Bible. In the NT their principal guide was Beza, whose reputation stood highest among all the Biblical scholars of the age. The result was a version which completely distanced its predecessors in scholarship, while in style and vocabulary it worthily carried on the great tradition established by Tindale. Its success was as decisive as it was well deserved; and in one respect it met a want which none of its predecessors (except perhaps Tindale's) had attempted to meet. Coverdale's, Matthew's, and the Great Bible were all large folios, suitable for use in church, but unsuited both in size and in price for private possession and domestic study. The Geneva Bible, on the contrary, was moderate in both respects, and achieved instant and long-enduring popularity as the Bible for personal use. For a full century it continued to be the Bible of the people, and it was upon

this version, and not upon that of King James, that the Bible knowledge of the Puritans of the Civil War was built up. Its notes furnished them with a full commentary on the sacred text, predominantly hortatory or monitory in character, but Calvinistic in general tone, and occasionally definitely polemical. Over 160 editions of it are said to have been issued, but the only one which requires separate notice is a revision of the NT by Laurence Tomson in 1576, which carried still further the principle of deference to Beza; this revised NT was successful, and was frequently bound up with the Genevan OT in place of the edition of 1560. [The Geneva Bible is frequently called (in booksellers' catalogues and elsewhere) the 'Breeches' Bible, on account of this word being used in the translation of Gn 3^{7}.]

28. The Bishops' Bible (1568). Meanwhile there was one quarter in which the Geneva Bible could hardly be expected to find favour, namely, among the leaders of the Church in England. Elizabeth herself was not too well disposed towards the Puritans, and the bishops in general belonged to the less extreme party in the Church. On the other hand, the superiority of the Genevan to the Great Bible could not be contested. Under these circumstances the old project of a translation to be produced by the bishops was revived. The archbishop of Canterbury, Matthew Parker, was himself a scholar, and took up the task with interest. The basis of the new version was to be the authorized Great Bible. Portions of the text were assigned to various revisers, the majority of whom were bishops. The archbishop exercised a general supervision over the work, but there does not appear to have been any organized system of collaboration or revision, and the results were naturally unequal. In the OT the alterations are mainly verbal, and do not show much originality or genius. In the NT the scholarship shown is on a much higher level, and there is much more independence in style and judgment. In both, use is made of the Geneva Bible, as well as of other versions. The volume was equipped with notes, shorter than those of the Geneva Bible, and generally exegetical. It appeared in 1568, from the press of R. Jugge, in a large folio volume, slightly exceeding even the dimensions of the Great Bible. Parker applied through Cecil for the royal sanction, but it does not appear that he ever obtained it; but Convocation in 1571 required a copy to be kept in every archbishop's and bishop's house and in every cathedral, and, as far as could conveniently be done, in all churches. The Bishops' Bible, in fact, superseded the Great Bible as the official version, and its predecessor ceased henceforth to be reprinted; but it never attained the popularity and influence of the Geneva Bible. A second edition was issued in 1569, in which a considerable number of alterations were made, partly, it appears, as the result of the criticisms of Giles Laurence, professor of Greek at Oxford. In 1572 a third edition appeared, of importance chiefly in the NT, and in some cases reverting to the first edition of 1568. In this form the Bishops' Bible continued in official use until its supersession by the version of 1611, of which it formed the immediate basis.

29. The Rheims and Douai Bible (1582–1609). The English exiles for religious causes were not all of one kind or of one faith. There were Roman Catholic refugees on the Continent as well as Puritan, and from the one, as from the other, there proceeded an English version of the Bible. The centre of the English Roman Catholics was the English College at Douai, the foundation (in 1568) of William Allen, formerly of Queen's College, Oxford, and subsequently cardinal; and it was from this college that a new version of the Bible emanated which was intended to serve as a counterblast to the Protestant versions, with which England was now flooded. The first instalment of it appeared in 1582, during a temporary migration of the college to Rheims. This was the NT, the work mainly of Gregory Martin, formerly Fellow of St. John's College, Oxford, with the assistance of a small band of scholars from the same university. The OT is stated to have been ready at the same time, but for want of funds it could not be printed until 1609, after the college had returned to Douai, when it appeared just in time to be of some use to the preparers of King James' version. As was natural, the Roman scholars did not concern themselves with the Hebrew and Greek originals, which they definitely rejected as inferior, but translated from the Latin Vulgate, following it with a close fidelity which is not infrequently fatal, not merely to the style, but even to the sense in English. The following short passage (Eph 3$^{8-12}$), taken almost at random, is a fair example of the Latinization of their style.

'The Gentils to be coheires and concorporat and comparticipant of his promis in Christ Jesus by the Gospel: whereof I am made a minister according to the gift of the grace of God, which is given me according to the operation of his power. To me the least of al the sainctes is given this grace, among the Gentils to evangelize the unsearchable riches of Christ, and to illuminate al men what is the dispensation of the sacrament hidden from worldes in God, who created al things; that the manifold wisedom of God may be notified to the Princes and Potestats in the celestials by the Church, according to the prefinition of worldes, which he made in Christ Jesus our Lord. In whom we have affiance and accesse in confidence, by the faith of him.'

The translation, being prepared with a definite polemical purpose, was naturally equipped with notes of a controversial character, and with a preface in which the object and method of the work were explained. It had, however, as a whole, little success. The OT was reprinted only once in the course of a century, and the NT not much oftener. In England the greater part of its circulation was due to the action of a vehement adversary, W. Fulke, who, in order to expose its errors, printed the Rheims NT in parallel columns with the Bishops' version of 1572, and the Rheims annotations with his own refutations of them; and this work had a considerable vogue. Regarded from the point of view of scholarship, the Rheims and Douai Bible is of no importance, marking retrogression rather than advance; but it needs mention in a history of the English Bible, because it is one of the versions of which King James' translators made use. The AV is indeed distinguished by the strongly *English* (as distinct from Latin) character of its vocabulary; but of the Latin words used (and used effectively), many were derived from the Bible of Rheims and Douai.

30. The Authorized Version (1611). The version which was destined to put the crown on nearly a century of labour, and, after extinguishing by its excellence all rivals, to print an indelible mark on English religion and English literature, came into being almost by accident. It arose out of the Hampton Court Conference, held by James I. in 1604, with the object of arriving at a settlement between the Puritan and Anglican elements in the Church; but it was not one of the prime or original subjects of the conference. In the course of discussion, Dr. Reynolds, president of Corpus Christi College, Oxford, the leader of the moderate Puritan party, referred to the imperfections and disagreements of the existing translations; and the suggestion of a new version, to be prepared by the best scholars in the country, was warmly taken up by the king. The conference, as a whole, was a failure; but James did not allow the idea of the revision to drop. He took an active part in the preparation of instructions for the work, and to him appears to be due the credit of two features which went far to secure its success. He suggested that the translation should be committed in the first instance to the universities (subject to subsequent review by the bishops and the Privy Council, which practically came to nothing), and thereby secured the services of the best scholars in the country, working

in co-operation; and (on the suggestion of the bishop of London) he laid down that no marginal notes should be added, which preserved the new version from being the organ of any one party in the Church.

31. Ultimately it was arranged that six companies of translators should be formed, two at Westminster, two at Oxford, and two at Cambridge. The companies varied in strength from 7 to 10 members, the total (though there is some little doubt with regard to a few names) being 47. The Westminster companies undertook Gn.–2 Kings and the Epistles, the Oxford companies the Prophets and the Gospels, Ac., and Apoc., and the Cambridge companies 1 Chron.–Eccles. and the Apocrypha. A series of rules was drawn up for their guidance. The Bishops' Bible was to be taken as the basis. The old ecclesiastical terms were to be kept. No marginal notes were to be affixed, except for the explanation of Hebrew or Greek words. Marginal references, on the contrary, were to be supplied. As each company finished a book, it was to send it to the other companies for their consideration. Suggestions were to be invited from the clergy generally, and opinions requested on passages of special difficulty from any learned man in the land. 'These translations to be used when they agree better with the text than the Bishops' Bible, namely, Tindale's, Matthew's, Coverdale's, Whitchurch's [*i.e.* the Great Bible], Geneva.' The translators claim further to have consulted all the available versions and commentaries in other languages, and to have repeatedly revised their own work, without grudging the time which it required. The time occupied by the whole work is stated by themselves as two years and three-quarters. The several companies appear to have begun their labours about the end of 1607, and to have taken two years in completing their several shares. A final revision, occupying nine months, was then made by a smaller body, consisting of two representatives from each company, after which it was seen through the press by Dr. Miles Smith and Bishop Bilson; and in 1611 the new version, printed by R. Barker, the king's printer, was given to the world in a large folio volume (the largest of all the series of English Bibles) of black letter type. The details of its issue are obscure. There were at least two issues in 1611, set up independently, known respectively as the 'He' and 'She' Bibles, from their divergence in the translation of the last words of Ruth 3^{15}; and bibliographers have differed as to their priority, though the general opinion is in favour of the former. Some copies have a wood-block, others an engraved title-page, with different designs. The title-page was followed by the dedication to King James, which still stands in our ordinary copies of the AV, and this by the translators' preface (believed to have been written by Dr. Miles Smith), which is habitually omitted. [It is printed in the present King's Printers' Variorum Bible, and is interesting and valuable both as an example of the learning of the age and for its description of the translators' labours.] For the rest, the contents and arrangement of the AV are too well known to every reader to need description.

32. Nor is it necessary to dwell at length on the characteristics of the translation. Not only was it superior to all its predecessors, but its excellence was so marked that no further revision was attempted for over 250 years. Its success must be attributed to the fact which differentiated it from its predecessors, namely, that it was not the work of a single scholar (like Tindale's, Coverdale's, and Matthew's Bibles), or of a small group (like the Geneva and Douai Bibles), or of a larger number of men working independently with little supervision (like the Bishops' Bible), but was produced by the collaboration of a carefully selected band of scholars, working with ample time and with full and repeated revision. Nevertheless, it was not a new translation. It owed much to its predecessors. The translators themselves say, in their preface: 'We never thought from the beginning that we should need to make a new translation, nor yet to make of a bad one a good one, . . . but to make a good one better, or out of many good ones one principal good one, not justly to be excepted against; that hath been our endeavour, that our mark.' The description is very just. The foundations of the AV were laid by Tindale, and a great part of his work continued through every revision. Each succeeding version added something to the original stock, Coverdale (in his own and the Great Bible) and the Genevan scholars contributing the largest share; and the crown was set upon the whole by the skilled labour of the Jacobean divines, making free use of the materials accumulated by others, and happily inspired by the gift of style which was the noblest literary achievement of the age in which they lived. A sense of the solemnity of their subject saved them from the extravagances and conceits which sometimes mar that style; and, as a result, they produced a work which, from the merely literary point of view, is the finest example of Jacobean prose, and has influenced incalculably the whole subsequent course of English literature. On the character and spiritual history of the nation it has left an even deeper mark, to which many writers have borne eleoquent testimony; and if England has been, and is, a Bible-reading and Bible-loving country, it is in no small measure due to her possession of a version so nobly executed as the AV.

33. The history of the AV after 1611 can be briefly sketched. In spite of the name by which it is commonly known, and in spite of the statement on both title-pages of 1611 that it was 'appointed to be read in churches,' there is no evidence that it was ever officially authorized either by the Crown or by Convocation. Its authorization seems to have been tacit and gradual. The Bishops' Bible, hitherto the official version, ceased to be reprinted, and the AV no doubt gradually replaced it in churches as occasion arose. In domestic use its fortunes were for a time more doubtful, and for two generations it existed concurrently with the Geneva Bible; but before the century was out its predominance was assured. The first 4to and 8vo editions were issued in 1612; and thenceforward editions were so numerous that it is useless to refer to any except a few of them. The early editions were not very correctly printed. In 1638 an attempt to secure a correct text was made by a small group of Cambridge scholars. In 1633 the first edition printed in Scotland was published. In 1701 Bishop Lloyd superintended the printing of an edition at Oxford, in which Archbishop Ussher's dates for Scripture chronology were printed in the margin, where they thenceforth remained. In 1717 a fine edition, printed by Baskett at Oxford, earned bibliographical notoriety as 'The Vinegar Bible' from a misprint in the headline over Lk 20. In 1762 a carefully revised edition was published at Cambridge under the editorship of Dr. T. Paris, and a similar edition, superintended by Dr. B. Blayney, appeared at Oxford in 1769. These two editions, in which the text was carefully revised, the spelling modernized, the punctuation corrected, and considerable alteration made in the marginal notes, formed the standard for subsequent reprints of the AV, which differ in a number of details, small in importance but fairly numerous in the aggregate, from the original text of 1611. One other detail remains to be mentioned. In 1666 appeared the first edition of the AV from which the Apocrypha was omitted. It had previously been omitted from some editions of the Geneva Bible, from 1599 onwards. The Nonconformists took much objection to it, and in 1664 the Long Parliament forbade the reading of lessons from it in public; but the lectionary of the English Church always included lessons from it. The example of omission was followed in many editions subsequently. The first edition printed in America (apart from a surreptitious edition of 1752), in 1782, is without it. In 1826 the

British and Foreign Bible Society, which has been one of the principal agents in the circulation of the Scriptures throughout the world, decided never in future to print or circulate copies containing the Apocrypha; and this decision has been carried into effect ever since.

34. So far as concerned the translation of the Hebrew and Greek texts which lay before them, the work of the authors of the AV, as has been shown above, was done not merely well but excellently. There were, no doubt, occasional errors of interpretation; and in regard to the OT in particular the Hebrew scholarship of the age was not always equal to the demands made upon it. But such errors as were made were not of such magnitude or quantity as to have made any extensive revision necessary or desirable even now, after a lapse of nearly three hundred years. There was, however, another defect, less important (and indeed necessarily invisible at the time), which the lapse of years ultimately forced into prominence, namely, in the text (and especially the Greek text) which they translated. As has been shown elsewhere (TEXT OF THE NT), criticism of the Greek text of the NT had not yet begun. Scholars were content to take the text as it first came to hand, from the late MSS which were most readily accessible to them. The NT of Erasmus, which first made the Greek text generally available in Western Europe, was based upon a small group of relatively late MSS, which happened to be within his reach at Basle. The edition of Stephanus in 1550, which practically established the 'Received Text' which has held the field till our own day, rested upon a somewhat superficial examination of 15 MSS, mostly at Paris, of which only two were uncials, and these were but slightly used. None of the great MSS which now stand at the head of our list of authorities was known to the scholars of 1611. None of the ancient versions had been critically edited; and so far as King James' translators made use of them (as we know they did), it was as aids to interpretation, and not as evidence for the text, that they employed them. In saying this there is no imputation of blame. The materials for a critical study and restoration of the text were not then extant; and men were concerned only to translate the text which lay before them in the current Hebrew, Greek, and Latin Bibles. Nevertheless it was in this inevitable defectiveness of text that the weakness lay which ultimately undermined the authority of the AV.

35. The Revised Version (1881–1895). The textual article above referred to describes the process of accumulation of materials which began with the coming of the Codex Alexandrinus to London in 1625, and continues to the present day, and the critical use made of these materials in the 19th century; and the story need not be repeated here. It was not until the progress of criticism had revealed the defective state of the received Greek text of the NT that any movement arose for the revision of the AV. About the year 1855 the question began to be mooted in magazine articles and motions in Convocation, and by way of bringing it to a head a small group of scholars [Dr. Ellicott, afterwards bishop of Gloucester, Dr. Moberly, head master of Winchester and afterwards bishop of Salisbury, Dr. Barron, principal of St. Edmund's Hall, Oxford, the Rev. H. Alford, afterwards dean of Canterbury, and the Rev. W. G. Humphrey; with the Rev. E. Hawkins, secretary of the S.P.G., and afterwards canon of Westminster, as their secretary] undertook a revision of the AV of Jn., which was published in 1857. Six of the Epistles followed in 1861 and 1863, by which time the object of the work, in calling attention to the need and the possibility of a revision, had been accomplished. Meanwhile a great stimulus to the interest in textual criticism had been given by the discovery of the Codex Sinaiticus, and by the work of Tischendorf and Tregelles. In Feb. 1870 a motion for a committee to consider the desirableness of a revision was adopted by both Houses of the Convocation of Canterbury; and definite motions in favour of such a revision were passed in the following May. The Convocation of York did not concur, and thenceforward the Southern Houses proceeded alone. A committee of both Houses drew up the lists of revisers, and framed the rules for their guidance. The OT company consisted of 25 (afterwards 27) members, the NT of 26. The rules prescribed the introduction of as few alterations in the AV as possible consistently with faithfulness; the text to be adopted for which the evidence is decidedly preponderating, and when it differs from that from which the AV was made, the alteration to be indicated in the margin (this rule was found impracticable); alterations to be made on the first revision by simple majorities, but to be retained only if passed by a two-thirds majority on the second revision. Both companies commenced work at Westminster on June 22, 1870. The NT company met on 407 days in the course of eleven years, the OT company on 792 days in fifteen years. Early in the work the co-operation of American scholars was invited, and in consequence two companies of 15 and 16 members respectively were formed, which began work in 1872, considering the results of the English revision as each section of it was forwarded to them. The collaboration of the English and American companies was perfectly harmonious; and by agreement those recommendations of the American Revisers which were not adopted by the English companies, but to which the proposers nevertheless wished to adhere, were printed in an appendix to the published Bible. Publication took place, in the case of the NT, on May 17, 1881, and in the case of the canonical books of the OT almost exactly four years later. The revision of the Apocrypha was divided between the two English companies, and was taken up by each company on the completion of its main work. The NT company distributed Sirach, Tob., Jud., Wisd., 1 and 2 Mac. among three groups of its members, and the OT company appointed a small committee to deal with the remaining books. The work dragged on over many years, involving some inequalities in revision, and ultimately the Apocrypha was published in 1895.

36. In dealing with the OT the Revisers were not greatly concerned with questions of text. The Massoretic Hebrew text available in 1870 was substantially the same as that which King James' translators had before them; and the criticism of the LXX version was not sufficiently advanced to enable them safely to make much use of it except in marginal notes. Their work consisted mainly in the correction of mistranslations which imperfect Hebrew scholarship had left in the AV. Their changes as a rule are slight, but tend very markedly to remove obscurities and to improve the intelligibility of the translation. The gain is greatest in the poetical and prophetical books (poetical passages are throughout printed as such, which in itself is a great improvement), and there cannot be much doubt that if the revision of the OT had stood by itself it would have been generally accepted without much opposition. With the new version of the NT the case was different. The changes were necessarily more numerous than in the OT, and the greater familiarity with the NT possessed by readers in general made the alterations more conspicuous. The NT Revisers had, in effect, to form a new Greek text before they could proceed to translate it. In this part of their work they were largely influenced by the presence of Drs. Westcott and Hort, who, as will be shown elsewhere (TEXT OF THE NT), were keen and convinced champions of the class of text of which the best representative is the Codex Vaticanus. At the same time Dr. Scrivener, who took a less advanced view of the necessity of changes in the Received Text, was also a prominent member of the company, and it is probably true that not many new readings were adopted which had not the support of Tischendorf and Tregelles, and which would not be regarded by nearly all scholars acquainted with textual criticism as preferable to

those of the AV. To Westcott and Hort may be assigned a large part of the credit for leading the Revisers definitely along the path of critical science; but the Revisers did not follow their leaders the whole way, and their text (edited by Archdeacon Palmer for the Oxford Press in 1881) represents a more conservative attitude than that of the two great Cambridge scholars. Nevertheless the amount of textual change was considerable, and to this was added a very large amount of verbal change, sometimes (especially in the Epistles) to secure greater intelligibility, but oftener (and this is more noticeable in the Gospels) to secure uniformity in the translation of Greek words which the AV deliberately rendered differently in different places (even in parallel narratives of the same event), and precision in the representation of moods and tenses. It was to the great number of changes of this kind, which by themselves appeared needless and pedantic, that most of the criticism bestowed upon the RV was due; but it must be remembered that where the words and phrases of a book are often strained to the uttermost in popular application, it is of great importance that those words and phrases should be as accurately rendered as possible. On the whole, it is certain that the RV marks a great advance on the AV in respect of accuracy, and the main criticisms to which it is justly open are that the principles of classical Greek were applied too rigidly to Greek which is not classical, and that the Revisers, in their careful attention to the Greek, were less happily inspired than their predecessors with the genius of the English language. These defects have no doubt militated against the general acceptance of the RV; but whether they continue to do so or not (and it is to be remembered that we have not yet passed through nearly so long a period as that during which the AV competed with the Geneva Bible or Jerome's Vulgate with the Old Latin), it is certain that no student of the Bible can afford to neglect the assistance given by the RV towards the true understanding of the Scriptures. In so using it, it should be remembered that renderings which appear in the margin not infrequently represent the views of more than half the Revisers, though they failed to obtain the necessary two-thirds majority. This is perhaps especially the case in the OT, where the RV shows a greater adherence to the AV than in the NT.

37. It only remains to add that, after the lapse of the 14 years during which it was agreed that no separate American edition should be brought out, while the American appendix continued to appear in the English RV, the American revisers issued a fresh recension (NT in 1900, OT in 1901, without the Apocrypha), embodying not only the readings which appeared in their appendix to the English RV, but also others on which they had since agreed. It is unfortunate that the action originally taken by the English revisers with a view to securing that the two English-speaking nations should continue to have a common Bible should have brought about the opposite result; and though the alterations introduced by the American revisers eminently deserve consideration on their merits, it may be doubted whether the net result is important enough to justify the existence of a separate version. What influence it may have upon the history of the English Bible in the future it is for the future to decide.

Literature.—No detailed history of the manuscript English versions is in existence. A good summary of the pre-Wyclifite versions is given in the introduction to A. S. Cook's *Biblical Quotations in Old English Prose Writers*, part 1 (1898); and the principal separate publications have been mentioned above. For the Wyclifite versions the main authority is the complete edition by J. Forshall and F. Madden (4 vols., 1850); the NT in the later version was separately printed by Skeat (1879). A good short conspectus of the subject is given in the introduction to the official Guide to the Wycliffe Exhibition in the British Museum (1884). The printed Bible has been much more fully investigated. The best single authority is Bishop Westcott's *History of the English Bible* (3rd ed., revised by W. Aldis Wright, 1905); see also the art. by J. H. Lupton in Hastings' *DB* (Extra Vol., 1904); W. F. Moulton, *History of the English Bible* (2nd ed., 1884); and H. W. Hoare, *The Evolution of the English Bible* (2nd ed., 1902). *The Printed English Bible*, by R. Lovett (R.T.S. 'Present Day Primers,' 1894) is a good short history, and the same may be said of G. Milligan's *The English Bible* (Church of Scotland Guild Text Books, new ed., 1907). For a bibliography of printed Bibles, see the section 'Bible' in the British Museum Catalogue (published separately), and the *Historical Catalogue of the Printed Editions of Holy Scripture in the Library of the British and Foreign Bible Society*, vol. i., by T. H. Darlow and H. F. Moule (1903). For special and minute studies of certain parts of the subject, the works of F. Fry (*The Bible by Coverdale*, 1867, *Description of the Great Bible*, 1865, *Bibliographical Description of the Editions of the NT, Tyndale's Version*, 1878) and E. Arber (*The First Printed English NT*, 1871) are invaluable. Bagster's *English Hexapla* (which can often be obtained second-hand) gives in parallel columns, beneath the Greek text as printed by Scholz, the NT according to (1) the second Wyclifite version; (2) Tindale, from the edition of 1534; (3) the Great Bible of 1539; (4) the Geneva NT of 1557; (5) the Rheims NT of 1582; and (6) the AV of 1611. This gives the student a better idea of the evolution of the English Bible than any description. F. H. A. Scrivener's *Authorised Edition of the English Bible* (1884) gives a careful and authoritative account of the various editions of the AV. For the history of the RV, see the Revisers' prefaces and Bishop Ellicott's *Revised Version of Holy Scripture* (S.P.C.K. 1901). A more extensive bibliography is given in Dr. Lupton's article in Hastings' *DB*.

F. C. Kenyon.

EN-HADDAH (Jos 19^{21}).—A city of Issachar noticed with En-gannim and Remeth; perhaps the present village *Kefr Adhān* on the edge of the Dothan plain, W. of En-gannim.

EN-HAKKORE ('spring of the partridge'; cf. 1 S 26^{20}, Jer 17^{11}).—The name of a fountain at Lehi (Jg 15^{19}). The narrator (J (?)) of the story characteristically connects *hakkōrē* with the word *yikrā* ('he called') of v.[18], and evidently interprets '*En-hakkōrē* as 'the spring of him that called.' The whole narrative is rather obscure, and the tr. in some instances doubtful. The situation of En-hakkōrē is also quite uncertain.

EN-HAZOR ('spring of Hazor,' Jos 19^{37}).—A town of Naphtali, perhaps the mod. *Hazīreh*, on the W. slopes of the mountains of Upper Galilee, W. of Kedesh.

EN-MISHPAT ('spring of judgment,' or 'decision' (by oracle), Gn 14^{7}).—A name for Kadesh—probably Kadesh-barnea. See Kadesh.

ENNATAN (AV **Eunatan**), 1 Es 8^{44}.—See Elnathan.

ENOCH (Heb. *Chănōk*) is the 'seventh from Adam' (Jude[14]) in the Sethite genealogy of Gn 5 (see vv.[18-24]). In the Cainite genealogy of $4^{17ff.}$ he is the son of Cain, and therefore the third from Adam. The resemblances between the two lists seem to show that they rest on a common tradition, preserved in different forms by J (ch. 4) and P (ch. 5)., though it is not possible to say which version is the more original.—The notice which invests the figure of Enoch with its peculiar significance is found in 5^{24} 'Enoch walked with God; and he was not, for God took him.' The idea here suggested—that because of his perfect fellowship with God this patriarch was 'translated' to heaven without tasting death (cf. Sir 44^{16} 49^{14}, He 11^{5})—appears to have exerted a certain influence on the OT doctrine of immortality (see Ps 49^{15} 73^{24}).—A much fuller tradition is presupposed by the remarkable development of the Enoch legend in the Apocalyptic literature, where Enoch appears as a preacher of repentance, a prophet of future events, and the recipient of supernatural knowledge of the secrets of heaven and earth, etc. The origin of this tradition has probably been discovered in a striking Babylonian parallel. The seventh name in the list of ten antediluvian kings given by Berosus is Evedoranchus, which (it seems certain) is a corruption of Enmeduranki, a king of Sippar who was received into the fellowship of Shamash (the sun-god) and Ramman, was initiated into the mysteries of heaven and earth,

and became the founder of a guild of priestly diviners. When or how this myth became known to the Jews we cannot tell. A trace of an original connexion with the sun-god has been suspected in the 365 years of Enoch's life (the number of days in the solar year). At all events it is highly probable that the Babylonian legend contains the germ of the later conception of Enoch as embodied in the apocalyptic Book of Enoch (*c.* B.C. 105–64), and the later Book of the Secrets of Enoch, on which see Hastings' *DB* i. 705ff.—A citation from the Book of Enoch occurs in Jude $^{14f.}$ (=En 1^{9} 5^{4}, 27^{2}).

J. Skinner.

ENOSH (Gn 4^{26} J, 5^{6-11} P), **ENOS** (Lk 3^{38}).—The name is poetical, denoting 'man'; the son of Seth, and grandson of Adam. As the time of Cain was marked by sin and violence, so that of Seth was marked by piety. In the days of Enosh men began to 'call with the name of J",' *i.e.* to use His name in invocations. The name J" having been known practically from the beginning of human life, the writer (J) always employs it in preference to the title 'Elohim.' In E (Ex 3^{14}) and P ($6^{2f.}$) it was not revealed till long afterwards.

A. H. M'Neile.

EN-RIMMON ('spring of [the] pomegranate').—One of the settlements of the Judahites after the return from the Exile (Neh 11^{29}). In Jos 15^{32} amongst the towns assigned to Judah we find 'Ain and Rimmon,' and in 19^{7} (cf. 1 Ch 4^{32}) amongst those assigned to Simeon are 'Ain, Rimmon.' In all these instances there can be little doubt that we ought to read *En-rimmon*. En-rimmon is probably to be identified with the modern *Umm er-Rumāmîn*, about 9 miles N. of Beersheba.

EN-ROGEL ('spring of the fuller').—In the border of the territory of Judah (Jos 15^{7}) and Benjamin (18^{16}). It was outside Jerusalem; and David's spies, Jonathan and Ahimaaz, were here stationed in quest of news of the revolt of Absalom (2 S 17^{17}). Here Adonijah made a feast 'by the stone of **Zoheleth,**' when he endeavoured to seize the kingdom (1 K 1^{9}). The identification of this spring lies between two places, the *Virgin's Fountain* and *Job's Well*, both in the Kidron Valley. The strongest argument for the former site is its proximity to a cliff face called *Zahweîleh*, in which an attempt has been made to recognize Zoheleth. This, however, is uncertain, as *Zahweîleh* is a cliff, not an isolated stone.

R. A. S. Macalister.

ENSAMPLE.—'Ensample' and 'example' (both from Lat. *exemplum*) are both used in AV. Tindale has 'ensample' only, and so all the Eng. versions until the Rhemish appeared. That version used 'example' probably as being nearer the Vulg. word *exemplum*. The AV frequently reveals the influence of the Rhemish version.

EN-SHEMESH ('sun-spring,' Jos 15^{7} 18^{17}).—A spring E. of En-rogel, on the way to Jericho. It is believed to be the spring on the Jericho road E. of Olivet, generally known as the 'Apostles' fountain' (*'Ain Hōd*).

ENSIGN.—See Banner.

ENSUE.—The verb 'ensue' is used intransitively, meaning to *follow*, in Jth 9^{4}; and transitively, with the full force of *pursue*, in 1 P 3^{11}.

EN-TAPPUAH.—A place on the boundary of Manasseh (Jos 17^{7}). Generally identified with a spring near *Yāsūf*, in a valley to the S. of Mukhna, which drains into Wady Kanah. The place is probably the **Tappuah** (wh. see) of Jos 16^{8} 17^{8}.

ENVY.—Envy leads to strife, and division, and railing, and hatred, and sometimes to murder. The Bible classes it with these things (Ro 1^{29} 13^{13}, 1 Co 3^{3}, 2 Co 12^{20}, Gal 5^{21}, 1 Ti 6^{4}, Tit 3^{3}, Ja $3^{14.\ 16}$). It is the antipode of Christian love. Envy loveth not, and love envieth not (1 Co 13^{4}). Bacon closes his essay on 'Envy' with this sentence: 'Envy is the vilest affection and the most depraved; for which cause it is the proper attribute of the Devil, who is called, The envious man, that soweth tares amongst the wheat by night; as it always cometh to pass, that Envy worketh subtilly and in the dark, and to the prejudice of good things, such as is the wheat.' Chrysostom said: 'As a moth gnaws a garment, so doth envy consume a man, to be a living anatomy, a skeleton, to be a lean and pale carcass, quickened with a fiend.' These are Scriptural estimates. Envy is devilish, and absolutely inconsistent with the highest life. Examples abound in the Bible, such as are suggested by the relations between Cain and Abel, Jacob and Esau, Rachel and Leah, Joseph and his brothers, Saul and David, Haman and Mordecai, the elder brother and the prodigal son, the Roman evangelists of Ph 1^{15} and the Apostle Paul, and many others.

D. A. Hayes.

EPÆNETUS.—A beloved friend of St. Paul at Rome, greeted in Ro 16^{5}; he was the 'firstfruits of Asia (RV) unto Christ,' *i.e.* one of the first converts of that province. He was probably a native of Ephesus.

A, J. Maclean.

EPAPHRAS.—Mentioned by St. Paul in Col 1^{7} 4^{12}, Philem ^{23}; and described by him as his 'fellow-servant,' and also as a 'servant' and 'faithful minister' of Christ. He was a native or inhabitant of Colossæ (Col 4^{12}), and as St. Paul's representative (1^{7}) founded the Church there (1^{7}). The fact of his prayerful zeal for Laodicea and Hierapolis suggests his having brought the faith to these cities also (4^{13}). He brought news of the Colossian Church to the Apostle during his first Roman imprisonment, perhaps undertaking the journey to obtain St. Paul's advice as to the heresies that were there prevalent. He is spoken of as St. Paul's 'fellow-prisoner' (Philem ^{23}), a title probably meaning that his care of the Apostle entailed the *practical* sharing of his captivity. The Epistle to the Colossians was a result of this visit, and Epaphras brought it back with him to his flock. *Epaphras* is a shortened form of *Epaphroditus* (Ph 2^{25}), but, as the name was in common use, it is not probable that the two are to be identified.

Charles T. P. Grierson.

EPAPHRODITUS.—Mentioned by St. Paul in Ph 2^{25-30} 4^{18}, and described by him as his 'brother, fellow-worker, and fellow-soldier' (2^{25}). He was the messenger by whom the Philippians sent the offerings which fully supplied the necessities of St. Paul during his first Roman imprisonment (2^{25} 4^{18}). In Rome he laboured so zealously for the Church and for the Apostle as to 'hazard' his life (2^{30}); indeed, he came 'nigh unto death,' but God had mercy on him, and the Apostle was spared this 'sorrow upon sorrow'(v.^{27}). News of his illness reached Philippi, and the distress thus caused his friends made him long to return (v.^{26}). St. Paul therefore sent him 'the more diligently,' thus relieving their minds, and at the same time lessening his own sorrows by his knowledge of their joy at receiving him back in health. Apparently the Epistle to the Philippians was sent by him.

Charles T. P. Grierson.

EPHAH.—**1.** A son of Midian, descended from Abraham and Keturah (Gn 25^{4}=1 Ch 1^{33}), the eponymous ancestor of an Arabian tribe whose identity is uncertain. This tribe appears in Is 60^{6} as engaged in the transport of gold and frankincense from Sheba. **2.** A concubine of Caleb (1 Ch 2^{46}). **3.** A Judahite (1 Ch 2^{47}).

EPHAH.—See Weights and Measures.

EPHAI.—Described in Jer 40 (Gr 47)^{8} as 'the Netophathite,' whose sons were amongst the 'captains of the forces' who joined Gedaliah at Mizpah, and were murdered along with him by Ishmael (Jer 41^{3}).

EPHER.—**1.** The name of the second of the sons of Midian mentioned in Gn 25^{4}, 1 Ch 1^{33}, and recorded as one of the descendants of Abraham by his wife Keturah (Gn 25^{1}). **2.** The name of one of the sons of Ezrah

(1 Ch 4[17]). **3.** The first of a group of five heads of fathers' houses belonging to the half tribe of Manasseh (1 Ch 5[24]).

EPHES-DAMMIM.—The place in Judah where the Philistines were encamped at the time when David slew Goliath (1 S 17[1]). The same name appears in 1 Ch 11[13] as **Pas-Dammim.**

EPHESIANS, EPISTLE TO.—This Epistle belongs to the group of Epistles of the Captivity, and was almost certainly, if genuine, written from Rome, and sent by Tychicus at the same time as the Epistles to the Colossians and to Philemon (see COLOSSIANS).

1. Destination.—To whom was it addressed? That it was specifically written to the Ephesian Church is improbable, for two reasons—(1) The words 'at Ephesus' in 1[1] are absent from two of the earliest MSS, and apparently from the Epistle as known to Marcion (A.D. 140), who refers to it as addressed to the Laodiceans. Origen also had access to a copy of the Epistle from which they were absent. (2) The Epistle is almost entirely devoid of the personal touches—references to St. Paul's long stay at Ephesus, greetings to friends, etc.—that we should expect to find in an Epistle to a Church with which the Apostle's relations had been as close as they had been with the Ephesian Church. On the other hand, early tradition, as shown in the title, associated the Epistle with Ephesus, and, except Marcion, no early writer associated it with any other Church. Moreover, personal touches are not wholly absent. St. Paul has heard of the faith and love of those to whom he writes (1[15]); they had been saddened by news of his imprisonment (3[13]); they apparently know Tychicus (6[21. 22]). Perhaps the best explanation of all the facts is to be found in the suggestion made by Ussher, and adopted by Lightfoot (*Biblical Essays*), that the Epistle is really a circular letter to the Churches of Asia (cf. the First Epistle of St. Peter). Possibly the space where 'at Ephesus' now appears was left blank for Tychicus to fill in as he left copies of the letter at the various churches on his line of route. If this solution is the true one, this Epistle is most probably the letter referred to in Col 4[16].

2. Purpose.—This Epistle, unlike most of St. Paul's, does not appear to have been written with a view to any particular controversy or problem of Church life. Of all the Pauline Epistles it has most of the character of a treatise or homily. Its keynote is the union of the Christian body, Jewish and Gentile, in Christ, in whom all things are being fulfilled. It may be regarded as carrying on the doctrinal teaching of the Epistle to the Romans from the point reached in that Epistle; and, indeed, may not improbably have been so intended by St. Paul.

3. Authenticity.—The authenticity of the Epistle is well attested by external testimony, but has been disputed during the last century on internal grounds. The chief of these are—(1) *Difference of style from the earlier Epistles.* This is very marked, but (*a*) the style is like that of the Epistle to the Colossians, and resembles also the Epistle to the Philippians; (*b*) there are many definitely Pauline phrases and turns of expression; (*c*) arguments from style are always unreliable (see COLOSSIANS). (2) *Doctrinal differences.* The chief of these are: (*a*) the prominence given to the 'Catholic' idea of the Church; (*b*) the doctrine of the pre-existent Christ as the agent of creation; (*c*) the substitution of the idea of the gradual fulfilment of the Divine purpose for the earlier idea of an imminent return (*Parousia*) of Christ. In these and other directions there is certainly a development, but is it not such a development as might easily take place in the mind of St. Paul, especially when three years of imprisonment had given him opportunities for quiet thought, and had brought him into contact with Roman imperialism at its centre? (3) *The references to 'apostles and prophets'* in 3[5] 4[11], which seem to suggest that the writer is looking back on the Apostolic age from the standpoint of the next generation. But in 1 Co 12[28] 'apostles' and 'prophets' stand first in the order of spiritual gifts, and both there and here the word 'apostle' ought probably to be taken in a wider sense than as including only the Twelve and St. Paul. Apostles and prophets were the two kinds of teachers exercising general, as distinguished from localized, authority in the early Church.

Those who deny the genuineness of the Epistle have generally regarded it as the work of a disciple of St. Paul early in the 2nd century. Some critics admit the genuineness of Colossians, and regard this Epistle as a revised version drawn up at a later date. But the absence of any reference to the special theological controversies of the 2nd century, and of any obvious motive for the composition of the Epistle at a later time, make this theory difficult to accept. Nor is it easy to see how an Epistle purporting to be by St. Paul, that had not been in circulation during his lifetime, could have secured a place in the collection of his Epistles that began to be made very soon after his death (2 P 3[16]). There does not, then, seem to be any adequate ground for denying the Pauline authorship of this Epistle.

4. Characteristics.—The following are among the distinctive lines of thought of the Epistle. (1) The stress laid on the idea of *the Church as the fulfilment of the eternal purpose of God*—the body of which Christ is the head (1[23] 2[16] 3[6] 4[12. 16]), the building of which Christ is the corner-stone (2[20-22]), the bride (5[23-27]). (2) *The cosmic significance of the Atonement* (1[10. 14] 2[7] 3[10]). (3) The prominence given to *the work of the Holy Spirit* (1[13. 17] 2[18] 3[16] 4[3. 30] 5[9]). In this the Epistle differs from Colossians, and resembles 1 Corinthians. (4) Repeated exhortations to *unity*, and the graces that make for unity (4[1-7. 13. 25-32] 5[2] etc.). (5) The conception of the Christian *household* (5[22]–6[9]) and of the Christian *warrior* (6[10-18]).

5. Relation to other books.—The Epistle has lines of thought recalling 1 Cor. See, *e.g.*, in 1 Cor. the idea of the riches (1[5]) and the mystery (2[7-10]) of the gospel, the work of the Spirit (2[10. 11] 12[4ff.]), the building (3[9-11. 16]), the one body (10[17] 12[4-6. 12-16]), all things subdued unto Christ (15[24-28]). The relation to Colossians is very close. 'The one is the general and systematic exposition of the same truths which appear in a special bearing in the other' (Lightfoot). Cf. the relation of Galatians and Romans. Ephesians and Philippians have many thoughts in common. See, *e.g.*, the Christian citizenship (Eph 2[12. 19], Ph 1[27] 3[20]), the exaltation of Christ (Eph 1[20], Ph 2[9]), the true circumcision (Eph 2[11], Ph 3[3]), unity and stability (Eph 2[18ff.] 4[3] 6[13], Ph 1[27]). Cf. also Eph 6[18] with Ph 4[6], and Eph 5[2] with Ph 4[18]. In regard to Romans and Ephesians, 'the unity at which the former Epistle seems to arrive by slow and painful steps is assumed in the latter as a starting-point, with a vista of wondrous possibilities beyond' (Hort).

There is a close connexion between this Epistle and 1 Peter, not so much in details as in 'identities of thought and similarity in the structure of the two Epistles as wholes' (Hort). If there is any direct relation, it is probable that the author of 1 Peter used this Epistle, as he certainly used Romans. In some respects this Epistle shows an approximation of Pauline thought to the teaching of the Fourth Gospel. See, *e.g.*, the teaching of both on grace, on the contrast of light and darkness, on the work of the pre-incarnate Logos; and compare Jn 17 with the whole Epistle. Cf. also Rev 21[10. 14] with Eph 2[20. 21], Rev 19[7] with Eph 5[25-27], and Rev 13[8] with Eph 3[11].

J. H. B. MASTERMAN.

EPHESUS.—The capital of the Roman province Asia; a large and ancient city at the mouth of the river Cayster, and about 3 miles from the open sea. The origin of the name, which is native and not Greek, is unknown. It stood at the entrance to one of the

four clefts in the surrounding hills. It is along these valleys that the roads through the central plateau of Asia Minor pass. The chief of these was the route up the Mæander as far as the Lycus, its tributary, then along the Lycus towards Apamea. It was the most important avenue of civilization in Asia Minor under the Roman Empire. **Miletus** had been in earlier times a more important harbour than Ephesus, but the track across from this main road to Ephesus was much shorter than the road to Miletus, and was over a pass only 600 ft. high. Consequently Ephesus replaced Miletus before and during the Roman Empire, especially as the Mæander had silted up so much as to spoil the harbour at the latter place. It became the great emporium for all the trade N. of Mt. Taurus.

Ephesus was on the main route from Rome to the East, and many side roads and sea-routes converged at it (Ac 19[21] 20[1. 17], 1 Ti 1[3], 2 Ti 4[12]). The governors of the provinces in Asia Minor had always to land at Ephesus. It was an obvious centre for the work of St. Paul, as influences from there spread over the whole province (Ac 19[10]). Corinth was the next great station on the way to Rome, and communication between the two places was constant. The ship in Ac 18[19], bound from Corinth for the Syrian coast, touched first at Ephesus.

Besides Paul, Tychicus (Eph 6[21f.]) and Timothy (according to 1 Ti 1[3], 2 Ti 4[9]), John Mark (Col 4[10], 1 P 5[13]), and the writer of the Apocalypse (1[11] 2[1]) were acquainted with Asia or Ephesus.

The harbour of Ephesus was kept large enough and deep enough only by constant attention. The alluvial deposits were (and are) so great that, when once the Roman Empire had ceased to hold sway, the harbour became gradually smaller and smaller, so that now Ephesus is far away from the sea. Even in St. Paul's time there appear to have been difficulties about navigating the channel, and ships avoided Ephesus except when loading or unloading was necessary (cf. Ac 20[16]). The route by the high lands, from Ephesus to the East, was suitable for foot passengers and light traffic, and was used by St. Paul (Ac 19[1]; probably also 16[6]). The alternative was the main road through Colossæ and Laodicea, neither of which St. Paul ever visited (Col 2[1]).

In the open plain, about 5 miles from the sea, S. of the river, stands a little hill which has always been a religious centre. Below its S.W. slope was the temple sacred to Artemis (see DIANA OF THE EPHESIANS). The Greek city Ephesus was built at a distance of 1–2 miles S.W. of this hill. The history of the town turns very much on the opposition between the free Greek spirit of progress and the slavish submission of the Oriental population to the goddess. Crœsus the Lydian represented the predominance of the latter over the former, but Lysimachus (B.C. 295) revived the Greek influence. Ephesus, however, was always proud of the position of 'Warden of the Temple of Artemis' (Ac 19[35]). The festivals were thronged by crowds from the whole of the province of Asia. St. Paul, whose residence in Ephesus lasted 2 years and 3 months (Ac 19[8. 10]), or, roughly expressed, 3 years (Ac 20[31]), at first incurred no opposition from the devotees of the goddess, because new foreign religions did not lessen the influence of the native goddess; but when his teaching proved prejudicial to the money interests of the people who made a living out of the worship, he was at once bitterly attacked. Prior to this occurrence, his influence had caused many of the famous magicians of the place to burn their books (Ac 19[13-19]). The riot of 19[32] was no mere passing fury of a section of the populace. The references to Ephesus in the Epistles show that the opposition to Christianity there was as long-continued as it was virulent (1 Co 15[32] 16[9], 2 Co 1[8 10]).

The scene in Ac 19[23ff.] derives some illustration from an account of the topography and the government of the city. The ruins of the theatre are large, and it has been calculated that it could hold 24,000 people. It was on the western slope of Mt. Pion, and overlooked the harbour. The Asiarchs (see ASIARCH), who were friendly to St. Paul, may have been present in Ephesus at that time on account of a meeting of their body (Ac 19[31]). The town-clerk or secretary of the city appears as a person of importance, and this is exactly in accordance with what is known of municipal affairs in such cities. The Empire brought decay of the influence of popular assemblies, which tended more and more to come into the hands of the officials, though the assembly at Ephesus was really the highest municipal authority (Ac 19[39]), and the Roman courts and the proconsuls (Ac 19[38]) were the final judicial authority in processes against individuals. The meeting of the assembly described in Acts was not a legal meeting. Legal meetings could be summoned only by the *Roman* officials, who had the power to call together the people when they pleased. The secretary tried to act as intermediary between the people and these officials, and save the people from trouble at their hands. The temple of Artemis which existed in St. Paul's day was of enormous size. Apart from religious purposes, it was used as a treasure-house: as to the precise arrangements for the charge of this treasure we are in ignorance.

There is evidence outside the NT also for the presence of Jews in Ephesus. The twelve who had been baptized with the baptism of John (Ac 19[3]) may have been persons who had emigrated to Ephesus before the mission of Jesus began. When St. Paul turned from the Jews to the population in general, he appeared, as earlier in Athens, as a lecturer in philosophy, and occupied the school of Tyrannus out of school hours. The earlier part of the day, beginning before dawn, he spent in manual labour. The actual foundation of Christianity in Ephesus may have been due to Priscilla and Aquila (Ac 18[19]).

'Ephesian' occurs as a variant reading in the 'Western' text of Ac 20[4] for the words 'of Asia,' as applied to Tychicus and Trophimus. Trophimus was an inhabitant of Ephesus (Ac 21[29]), capital of Asia; but Tychicus was probably merely an inhabitant of the province Asia; hence they are coupled under the only adjective applicable to both. It is hardly safe to infer from the fact that Tychicus bore the letter to the Colossians that he belonged to Colossæ (province Asia); but it is possible that he did. A. SOUTER.

EPHLAL.—A descendant of Judah (1 Ch 2[37]).

EPHOD.—**1.** Father of Hanniel (Nu 34[23] P). **2.** See DRESS, § 2 (*c*), and PRIESTS AND LEVITES. **3.** The 'ephod' of Jg 8[27] 17[5] 18[14. 17. 18. 20] is probably an image.

EPHPHATHA.—Mk 7[34], where Jesus says to a man who was deaf and had an impediment in his speech, 'Ephphatha,' that is, 'Be opened.' The word is really Aramaic, and if we transliterate it as it stands we obtain *eppattach* or *eppᵉthach*. Both these forms are contracted: the former for *ithpattach*, the latter for *ithpᵉthach*, which are respectively second sing. imperative Ithpaal and Ithpeal of the verb *pᵉthach*, 'to open.' Some Gr. MSS present *ephphetha*, which is certainly Ithpeal, whereas *ephphatha* may be Ithpaal. Jerome also reads *ephphetha*.

It is not certain whom or what Jesus addressed when He said 'Be opened.' It may be the mouth of the man as in Lk 1[64] (so Weiss, Morison, etc.); or the *ear*, as in Targ. of Is 50[5] (so Bruce, Swete, etc.); or it may be the *deaf man himself*. One gate of knowledge being closed, the man is conceived of as a bolted room, and 'Jesus said to *him*, Be thou opened.' J. T. MARSHALL.

EPHRAIM.—A grandson of Jacob, and the brother of Manasseh, the first-born of Joseph by Asenath, the daughter of Potiphera, priest of On (Gn 41[50f.] [E], cf. v.[45] [J]). The 'popular etymology' of E connects the name with the verb *pārāh*, 'to be fruitful,' and makes it refer to Joseph's sons. In the Blessing of

Jacob (Gn 49[22]) there may be a play upon the name when Joseph, who there represents both Ephraim and Manasseh, is called 'a fruitful bough.' The word is probably descriptive, meaning 'fertile region' whether its root be *pārāh*, or *'ēpher*, 'earth'(?).

Gn 48[14ff.] (J) tells an interesting story of how Jacob adopted his Egyptian grandsons, Ephraim and Manasseh, into his own family, and at the same time, against the remonstrances of Joseph, conferred the blessing of the firstborn upon Ephraim—hence Ephraim's predestined superiority in later history.

P's Sinai census gives 40,500 men of war (Nu 1[33]), but this is reduced at the Plains of Moab to 32,500 (26[37]), which is less than any of the tribes except Simeon, which 'hardly existed except in name' (Sayce, *Hist. of Heb.* p. 77). Contrary to what we should have expected from the Blessing of Jacob, Ephraim, according to P, lost in the meantime 20 per cent. while Manasseh gained 40 per cent.

The appearance of Joseph in the Blessing of Jacob, with no mention of his sons, who according to J had been adopted as Jacob's own, and were therefore entitled on this important occasion to like consideration with the others, points to a traditional echo of the early days in the land when Ephraim and Manasseh were still united. In the Song of Deborah (Jg 5) it is the 'family' Machir, the firstborn (Jos 17[1]), the only (Gn 50[23]) son of Manasseh, that is mentioned, not a Manasseh tribe. From 2 S 19[20] (cf. art. BENJAMIN) it is plain that Shimei still regarded himself as of the house of Joseph; and, despite the traditional indications of a late formation of Benjamin (wh. see), the complete political separation of Manasseh from Ephraim appears to have been still later. At all events, Jeroboam the Ephraimite, who afterwards became the first king of Israel (*c.* B.C. 930), was appointed by Solomon superintendent of the forced labour of the 'house of Joseph,' not of Ephraim alone. Ephraim, Machir, and Benjamin were apparently closely related, and in early times formed a group of clans known as 'Joseph.' There are no decisive details determining the time when they became definitely separated. Nor are there any reliable memories of the way in which Ephraim came into possession of the best and central portion of the land.

The traditions in the Book of Joshua are notably uninforming. Canaanites remained in the territory until a late date, as is seen from Jg 1[29] and the history of Shechem (ch. 8 f.). Ephraim was the strongest of the tribes and foremost in leadership, but was compelled to yield the hegemony to David. From that time onwards the history is no longer tribal but national history. Eli, priest of Shiloh and judge of Israel, Samuel, and Jeroboam I. were among its great men. Shechem, Tirzah, and Samaria, the capitals of the North, were within its boundaries; and it was at Shiloh that Joshua is said to have divided the land by lot. See also TRIBES OF ISRAEL. JAMES A. CRAIG.

EPHRAIM.—**1.** A place near Baal-hazor (2 S 13[23]) It may be identical with the Ephraim which the *Onomasticon* places 20 Roman miles N. of Jerusalem, somewhere in the neighbourhood of *Sinjil* and *el-Lubbān*. If Baal-hazor be represented, as seems probable, by *Tell 'Asūr*, the city by relation to which such a prominent feature of the landscape was indicated must have been of some importance. It probably gave its name in later times to the district of Samaria called **Aphærema** (1 Mac 11[34], Jos. *Ant.* XIII. iv. 9). The site is at present unknown. **2.** A city 'near the wilderness,' to which Jesus retired after the raising of Lazarus (Jn 11[54]). 'The wilderness' is in Arab. *el-barrīyeh*, *i.e.*, the uncultivated land, much of it affording excellent pasture, on the uplands to the N.W. of Jerusalem. The *Onomasticon* mentions an 'Efraim' 5 Roman miles E. of Bethel. This may be the modern *et-Taiyibeh*, about 4 miles N.E. of *Beitīn*, with ancient cisterns and rock-hewn tombs which betoken a place of importance in old times. See also EPHRON, 4.

The Forest of Ephraim (Heb. *ya'ar Ephraīm*) was probably not a forest in our sense of the term, but a stretch of rough country such as the Arabs still call *wa'r*, abounding in rocks and thickets of brushwood. The district is not identified, but it must have been E. of the Jordan, in the neighbourhood of Mahanaim. It was the scene of Absalom's defeat and death (2 S 18[6ff.]). The origin of the name cannot now be discovered. **Mount Ephraim**, Heb. *har Ephraīm*, is the name given to that part of the central range of Western Palestine occupied by Ephraim, corresponding in part to the modern *Jebel Nāblus*—the district under the governor of *Nāblus*. Having regard to Oriental usage, it seems a mistake to tr. with RV 'the hill country of Ephraim.' *Jebel el-Quds* does not mean 'the hill country of Jerusalem,' but that part of 'the mountain' which is subject to the city. We prefer to retain, with AV, 'Mount Ephraim.' W. EWING.

EPHRATH, EPHRATHAH.—See BETHLEHEM, and CALEB-EPHRATHAH.

EPHRATHITE.—**1.** A native of Bethlehem (Ru 1[2]). **2.** An Ephraimite (Jg 12[4], 1 S 1[1], 1 K 11[26]).

EPHRON.—**1.** The Hittite from whom Abraham purchased the field or plot of ground in which was the cave of Machpelah (Gn 23). The purchase is described with great particularity; and the transactions between Ephron and Abraham are conducted with an elaborate courtesy characteristic of Oriental proceedings. Ephron received 400 shekels' weight of silver (23[15]): coined money apparently did not exist at that time. If we compare the sale of the site with other instances (Gn 33[19], 1 K 16[24]), Ephron seems to have made a good bargain. **2.** A mountain district, containing cities, on the border of Judah, between Nephtoah and Kiriath-jearim (Jos 15[9]). The ridge W. of Bethlehem seems intended. **3.** A strong fortress in the W. part of Bashan between Ashteroth-karnaim and Bethshean (1 Mac 5[46ff.], 2 Mac 12[27]). The site is unknown. **4.** In 2 Ch 13[19] RV reads *Ephron* for AV *Ephrain*. The place referred to is probably the **Ephraim** of Jn 11[54]. See EPHRAIM (city), No. **2.**

EPICUREANS.—St. Paul's visit to Athens (Ac 17[15-34]) led to an encounter with 'certain of the Epicurean and Stoic philosophers,' representatives of the two leading schools of philosophy of that time.

Epicureanism took its name from its founder Epicurus, who was born in the island of Samos in the year B.C. 341. In B.C. 307 he settled in Athens, where he died in B.C. 270. A man of blameless life and of a most amiable character, Epicurus gathered around him, in the garden which he had purchased at Athens, a brotherhood of attached followers, who came to be known as Epicureans, or 'the philosophers of the Garden.' His aim was a practical one. He regarded pleasure as the absolute good. Epicurus, however, did not restrict pleasure, as the earlier Cyrenaic school had done, to immediate bodily pleasures. Whatever may have been the practical outcome of the system, Epicurus and his more worthy followers must be acquitted of the charge of sensuality. What Epicurus advocated and aimed at was the happiness of a tranquil life as free from pain as possible, undisturbed by social conventions or political excitement or superstitious fears.

To deliver men from 'the fear of the gods' was the chief endeavour and, according to his famous follower the Roman poet Lucretius, the crowning service of Epicurus. Thus it may be said that, at one point at least, the paths of the Christian Apostle and the Epicurean philosopher touched each other. Epicurus sought to achieve his end by showing that in the physical organization of the world there is no room for the interference of such beings as the gods of the popular theology. There is nothing

which is not material, and the primal condition of matter is that of atoms which, falling in empty space with an inherent tendency to swerve slightly from the perpendicular, come into contact with each other, and form the world as it appears to the senses. All is material and mechanical. The gods—and Epicurus does not deny the existence of gods—have no part or lot in the affairs of men. They are relegated to a realm of their own in the spaces between the worlds. Further, since the test of life is feeling, death, in which there is no feeling, cannot mean anything at all, and is not a thing to be feared either in prospect or in fact.

The total effect of Epicureanism is negative. Its wide-spread and powerful influence must be accounted for by the personal charm of its founder, and by the conditions of the age in which it appeared and flourished. It takes its place as one of the negative but widening influences, leading up to 'the fulness of time' which saw the birth of Christianity. W. M. Macdonald.

EPILEPSY.—See Medicine.

EPIPHI (2 Mac 6^{38}).—See Time.

ER.—**1.** The eldest son of Judah by his Canaanitish wife, the daughter of Shua. For wickedness, the nature of which is not described, 'J" slew him' (Gn 38^{3-7}, Nu 26^{19}). **2.** A son of Shelah the son of Judah (1 Ch 4^{21}). **3.** An ancestor of Jesus (Lk 3^{28}).

ERAN.—Grandson of Ephraim (Nu 26^{36} P). Patronymic, **Eranites**, *ib.*

ERASTUS.—The name occurs thrice in NT among the Pauline company. An Erastus sends greetings in Ro 16^{23}, and is called 'the treasurer (AV 'chamberlain') of the city' (Corinth). The Erastus who was sent by St. Paul from Ephesus to Macedonia (Ac 19^{22}), and who later remained in Corinth (2 Ti 4^{20}), is perhaps the same. A. J. Maclean.

ERECH.—Named second in the list of Nimrod's cities (Gn 10^{10}). the very ancient Babylonian city of Arku, or Uruk, regarded as exceptionally sacred and beautiful. Its ruins at Warka lie half-way between Hillah and Korna, on the left bank of the Euphrates, and W. of the Nile Canal. The people of Erech are called **Archevites** in Ezr 4^{9}. C. H. W. Johns.

ERI.—Son of Gad, Gn 46^{16} (Nu 26^{16}, P). Patronymic **Erites**, *ib.*

ESAIAS.—The familiar AV spelling of **Isaiah** in Apocr. and NT; it is retained by RV only in 2 Es 2^{18}.

ESARHADDON, son and successor of Sennacherib (2 K 19^{37}, Is 37^{38}), reigned over Assyria B.C. 682–669. He practically re-founded Babylon, which Sennacherib had destroyed, and was a great restorer of temples. He was also a great conqueror, making three expeditions to Egypt, and finally conquered the whole North, garrisoning the chief cities and appointing vassal kings. He subdued all Syria, and received tribute from Manasseh, and Ezr 4^{2} mentions his colonization of Samaria. He ruled over Babylonia as well as Assyria, which explains the statement of 2 Ch 33^{11} that Manasseh was carried captive there. C. H. W. Johns.

ESAU.—**1.** The name is best explained as meaning 'tawny' or 'shaggy' (Gn 25^{25}); **Edom** or 'ruddy' was sometimes substituted for it (v.^{30}), and Esau is represented as the progenitor of the Edomites ($36^{9.\ 43}$, Jer $49^{8ff.}$, Ob^{8}). He displaced the Horites from the hilly land of Seir, and settled there with his followers (Gn 32^{3} 36^{8}, Dt 2^{12}). His career is sketched briefly but finely by weaving incidents collected from two sources (J and E; in the early part, chiefly the former), whilst the Priestly writer is supposed to have contributed a few particulars (Gn $26^{34f.}$ 28^{9} 36). The standing feature of Esau's history is rivalry with Jacob, which is represented as even preceding the birth of the twins (Gn 25^{22}, Hos 12^{3}). The facts may be collected into four groups. The sale of the birthright (Gn $25^{29ff.}$) carried with it the loss of precedence after the father's death (27^{29}), and probably loss of the domestic priesthood (Nu $3^{12.\ 13}$), and of the double portion of the patrimony (Dt 21^{17}). For this act the NT calls Esau 'profane' (He 12^{16}), thus revealing the secret of his character; the word (Gr. *bebēlos*) suggests the quality of a man to whom nothing is sacred, whose heart and thought range over only what is material and sensibly present. To propitiate his parents, Esau sought a wife of his own kin (Gn $28^{8.\ 9}$), though already married to two Hittite women ($26^{34.\ 35}$). His father's proposed blessing was diverted by Jacob's artifice; and, doomed to live by war and the chase (27^{40}), Esau resolved to recover his lost honours by killing his brother. Twenty years later the brothers were reconciled (33^{4}); after which Esau made Seir his principal abode, and on the death of Isaac settled there permanently (35^{29} 36^{6}, Dt $2^{4.\ 5}$, Jos 24^{4}).

By a few writers Esau has been regarded as a mythical personage, the personification of the roughness of Idumæa. It is at least as likely that a man of Esau's character and habits would himself choose to live in a country of such a kind (Mal 1^{3}); and mere legends about the brothers, as the early Targums are a witness, would not have made Esau the more attractive man, and the venerated Jacob, in comparison, timid, tricky, and full of deceits. Against the historicity of the record there is really no substantial evidence.

2. The head of one of the families of Nethinim, or Temple servants, who accompanied Nehemiah to Jerusalem (1 Es 5^{29}); see Ziha. R. W. Moss.

ESCHATOLOGY is that department of theology which is concerned with the 'last things,' that is, with the state of individuals after death, and with the course of human history when the present order of things has been brought to a close. It includes such matters as the consummation of the age, the day of judgment, the second coming of Christ, the resurrection, the millennium, and the fixing of the conditions of eternity.

1. Eschatology of the OT.—In the OT the future life is not greatly emphasized. In fact, so silent is the Hebrew literature on the subject, that some have held that *personal immortality* was not included among the beliefs of the Hebrews. Such an opinion, however, is hardly based on all the facts at our disposal. It is true that future rewards and punishments after death do not play any particular rôle in either the codes or the prophetic thought. Punishment was generally considered as being meted out in the present age in the shape of loss or misfortune or sickness, while righteousness was expected to bring the corresponding temporal blessings. At the same time, however, it is to be borne in mind that the Hebrews, together with other Semitic people, had a belief in the existence of souls after death. Such beliefs were unquestionably the survivals of that primitive Animism which was the first representative of both psychology and a developed belief in personal immortality. Man was to the Hebrew a dichotomy composed of body and soul, or a trichotomy of body, soul, and spirit. In either case the body perished at death, and the other element, whether soul or spirit, went to the abode of disembodied personalities. The precise relation of the 'soul' to the 'spirit' was not set forth by the Hebrew writers, but it is likely that, as their empirical psychology developed, the spirit rather than the soul was regarded as surviving death. In any case, the disembodied dead were not believed to be immaterial, but of the nature of ghosts or shades (*rephaim*).

The universe was so constructed that the earth lay between heaven above, where Jehovah was, and the great pit or cavern beneath, **Sheol**, to which the shades of the dead departed. The Hebrew Scriptures do not give us any considerable material for elaborating a theory as to life in Sheol, but from the warnings against necromancers, as well as from the story of Saul and the witch of Endor (1 S 28^{3-18}), it is clear that, alongside of the Jehovistic religion as found in the literature of the Hebrews, there was a popular belief in continued exis-

tence and conscious life of the spirits of men after death, as well as in the possibility of recalling such spirits from Sheol by some form of incantation. The legislation against necromancy is a further testimony to the same fact (Dt 18^{11}). Early Hebrew thought also dealt but indistinctly with the occupations and conditions of the dead in Sheol. Apparently they were regarded as in a state resembling sleep.

There is no thought of *resurrection of the body* in the OT, the clause in Job 19^{26} generally used to prove such a point being more properly translated 'apart from my flesh.' The resurrection expected was not individual, but national. The nation, or at least its pious remnant, was to be restored. This was the great evangel of the prophets. In the midst of this prophetic thought there was occasionally a reference to individual immortality, but such a belief was not utilized for the purpose of inculcating right conduct. Yet the new and higher conception of the worth of the individual and his relation with Jehovah paved the way to a clearer estimate of his immortality.

The later books of the Canon (Pss 49. $73^{18\text{-}25}$) refer more frequently to immortality, both of good and of evil men, but continue to deny activity to the dead in Sheol (Job 14^{21} 26^{6}, Ps 88^{12} 94^{17} 115^{17}, Ec 9^{10}), and less distinctly (Is 26^{19}) refer to a resurrection, although with just what content it is not possible to state. It can hardly have been much more than the emergence of shades from Sheol into the light and life of the upper heavens. It would be unwarranted to say that this new life included anything like the reconstruction of the body, which was conceived of as having returned to dust. In these passages there are possibly references to *post-mortem* retribution and rewards, but if so they are exceptional. OT ethics was not concerned with immortality.

In the Hebrew periôd, however, there were elements which were subsequently to be utilized in the development of the eschatology of the Pharisees and of Christianity. Chief among these was the *Day of Jehovah*. At the first this was conceived of as the day in which Jehovah should punish the enemies of His nation Israel. In the course of time, however, and with the enlarged moral horizon of prophecy, the import of this day with its punishments was extended to the Hebrews as well. At its coming the Hebrew nation was to be given all sorts of political and social blessings by Jehovah, but certain of its members were to share in the punishment reserved for the enemies of Jehovah. Such an expectation as this was the natural outcome of the monarchical concept of religion. Jehovah as a great king had given His laws to His chosen people, and would establish a great assize at which all men, including the Hebrews, would be judged. Except in the Hagiographa, however, the punishments and rewards of this great judgment are not elaborated, and even in Daniel the treatment is but rudimentary.

A second element of importance was the belief in the rehabilitation of the Hebrew nation, *i.e.* in *a national resurrection*. This carried within it the germs of many of the eschatological expectations of later days. In fact, without the prophetic insistence upon the distinction between the period of national suffering and that of national glory, it is hard to see how the later doctrine of the 'two ages,' mentioned below, could have gained its importance.

2. Eschatology of Judaism.—A new period is to be seen in the OT Apocrypha and the pseudepigraphic apocalypses of Judaism. Doubtless much of this new phase in the development of the thought was due to the influence of the Captivity. The Jews came under the influence of the great Babylonian myth-cycles, in which the struggle between right and wrong was expressed as one between God and various supernatural enemies such as dragons and giants. To this period must be attributed also the development of the idea of Sheol, until it included places for the punishment of evil spirits and evil men.

This development was accelerated by the rise of the new type of literature, the *apocalypse*, the beginnings of which are already to be seen in Isaiah and Zechariah. The various influences which helped to develop this type of literature, with its emphasis upon eschatology, are hard to locate. The influence of the Babylonian myth-cycles was great, but there is also to be seen the influence of the Greek impulse to pictorial expression. No nation ever came into close contact with Greek thought and life without sharing in their incentive to æsthetic expression. In the case of the Hebrews this was limited by religion. The Hebrew could not make graven images, but he could utilize art in literary pictures. The method particularly suited the presentation of the Day of Jehovah, with its punishment of Israel's enemies. As a result we have the very extensive apocalyptic literature which, beginning with the Book of Daniel, was the prevailing mode of expression of a sort of bastard prophecy during the two centuries preceding and the century following Christ. Here, however, the central *motîf* of the Day of Jehovah is greatly expanded. Rewards and punishments become largely transcendental, or show a tendency towards transcendental representation. In this representation we see the Day of Judgment, the Jewish equivalent of the Day of Jehovah, closing one era and opening another. The first was the present age, which is full of wickedness and under the control of Satan, and the second is the coming age, when God's Kingdom is to be supreme and all enemies of the Law are to be punished. It was these elements that were embodied in the Messianic programme of Judaism, and passed over into Christianity (see MESSIAH).

The idea of *individual immortality* is also highly developed in the apocalypses. The condition of men after death is made a motive for right conduct in the present age, though this ethical use of the doctrine is less prominent than the unsystematized portrayal of the various states of good and evil men. The Pharisees believed in immortality and the entrance of the souls of the righteous into 'new bodies' (Jos. *Ant.* XVIII. i. 3), a view that appears in the later apocalypses as well (Eth. Enoch 37–60, cf. 2 Mac 7^{11} 14^{46}). This body was not necessarily to be physical, but like the angels (Apoc. of Baruch and 2 Esdras, though these writings undoubtedly show the influence of Christian thought). There is also a tendency to regard the resurrection as wholly of the spirit (Eth. Enoch 91^{18} 92^{3} $103^{3f.}$). Sheol is sometimes treated as an intermediate abode from which the righteous go to heaven. There is no clear expectation of either the resurrection or the annihilation of the wicked. Resurrection was limited to the righteous, or sometimes to Israel. At the same time there is a strongly marked tendency to regard the expected Messianic kingdom which begins with the Day of Judgment as super-mundane and temporary, and personal immortality in heaven becomes the highest good. It should be remembered, however, that each writer has his own peculiar beliefs, and that there was no authoritative eschatological dogma among the Jews. The Sadducees disbelieved in any immortality whatsoever.

3. Eschatology of the NT.—This is the development of the eschatology of Judaism, modified by the fact of Jesus' resurrection.

(*a*) In the teaching of Jesus we find eschatology prominently represented. The *Kingdom of God*, as He conceived of it, is formally eschatological. Its members were being gathered by Jesus, but it was to come suddenly with the return of the Christ, and would be ushered in by a general judgment. Jesus, however, does not elaborate the idea of the Kingdom in itself, but rather makes it a point of contact with the Jews for His exposition of eternal life,—that is to say, the life that characterizes the coming age and may be begun in the present evil age. The supreme good in Jesus' teaching is this

eternal life which characterizes membership in the Kingdom. Nothing but a highly subjective criticism can eliminate from His teaching this eschatological element, which appears as strongly in the Fourth Gospel as in the Synoptic writings, and furnishes material for the appeal of His Apostles. It should be added, however, that the eschatology of Jesus, once it is viewed from His own point of view, carries with it no crude theory of rewards and punishments, but rather serves as a vehicle for expressing His fundamental moral and religious concepts. To all intents and purposes it is in form and vocabulary like that of current Judaism. It includes the two ages, the non-physical resurrection of the dead, the Judgment with its sentences, and the establishment of eternal states.

(*b*) In the teaching of primitive Christians eschatology is a ruling concept, and is thoroughly embedded in the Messianic evangel. Our lack of literary sources, however, forbids any detailed presentation of the content of their expectation beyond a reference to the central position given to the coming day of the Christ's Judgment.

(*c*) Eschatology was also a controlling element in the teaching of St. Paul. Under its influence the Apostle held himself aloof from social reform and revolution. In his opinion Christians were living in the 'last days' of the present evil age. The Christ was soon to appear to establish His Judgment, and to usher in the new period when the wicked were to suffer and the righteous were to share in the joys of the resurrection and the Messianic Kingdom. Eschatology alone forms the proper point of approach to the Pauline doctrines of justification and salvation, as well as his teachings as to the resurrection. But here again eschatology, though a controlling factor in the Apostle's thought, was, as in the case of Jesus, a medium for the exposition of a genuine spiritual life, which did not rise and fall with any particular forecast as to the future. The elements of the Pauline eschatology are those of Judaism, but corrected and to a considerable extent given distinctiveness by his knowledge of the resurrection of Jesus. He gives no apocalyptic description of the coming age beyond his teaching as to the body of the resurrection, which is doubtless based upon his belief as to that of the risen Jesus. His description of the Judgment is couched in the conventional language of Pharisaic eschatology; but, basing his teaching upon 'the word of the Lord' (1 Th 4^{15}), he develops the doctrine that the Judgment extends both over the living, who are to be caught up into the air, and also over the dead. His teaching is lacking in the specific elements of the apocalypses, and there is no reference to the establishment of a millennium. Opinions differ as to whether St. Paul held that the believer received the resurrection body at death or at the Parousia of Christ. On the whole the former view seems possibly more in accord with his general position as to the work of the Spirit in the believer. The appearance (*Parousia*) of the Christ to inaugurate the new era St. Paul believed to be close at hand (1 Th $4^{15.\ 17}$), but that it would be preceded by the appearance of an Antichrist (2 Th $2^{1ff.}$). The doctrine of the Antichrist, however, does not play any large rôle in Paulinism. While St. Paul's point of view is eschatological, his fundamental thought is really the new life of the believer, through the Spirit, which is made possible by the aceeptance of Jesus as the Christ. With St. Paul, as with Jesus, this new life with its God-like love and its certainty of still larger self-realization through the resurrection is the supreme good.

(*d*) The tendencies of later canonical thought are obviously eschatological. The Johannine Apocalypse discloses a complete eschatological programme. In the latter work we see all the elements of Jewish apocalyptic eschatology utilized in the interest of Christian faith. The two ages, the Judgment and the Resurrection, and the final conquest of God are distinctively described, and the programme of the future is elaborated by the addition of the promise of a first resurrection of the saints; by a millennium (probably derived from Judaism; cf. Slav. Enoch 32. 33) in which Satan is bound; by a great period of conflict in which Satan and his hosts are finally defeated and cast into the lake of fire; and by a general resurrection including the wicked for the purpose of judgment. It is not clear that in this general resurrection there is intended anything more than the summoning of souls from Sheol, for a distinction should probably be made between the resurrection and the giving of the body of the resurrection. This resurrection of the wicked seems inconsistent with the general doctrine of the Pauline literature (cf. 1 Co 15), but appears in St. Paul's address before Felix (Ac 24^{15}), and in a single Johannine formula (Jn 5^{29}). The doctrine of the 'sleep of the dead' finds no justification in the Apocalypse or the NT as a whole.

4. **Eschatology and Modern Theology.**—The history of Christian theology until within the last few years has been dominated by eschatological concepts, and, though not in the sense alleged by its detractors, has been otherworldly. The rewards and punishments of immortality have been utilized as motives for morality. This tendency has always met with severe criticism at the hands of philosophy, and of late years has to a considerable extent been minimized or neglected by theologians. The doctrine of the eternity of punishment has been denied in the interest of so-called second or continued probation, restorationism, and conditional immortality. The tendency, however, has resulted in a disposition to reduce Christian theology to general morality based upon religion, and has been to a large extent buttressed by that scepticism or agnosticism regarding individual immortality which marks modern thought. Such a situation has proved injurious to the spread of Christianity as more than a general ethical or religious system, and it is to be hoped that the new interest which is now felt in the historical study of the NT will reinstate eschatology in its true place.

Such a reinstatement will include two fundamental doctrines: (1) that of *individual immortality* as a new phase in the great process of development of the individual which is to be observed in life and guaranteed by the resurrection of Jesus. Distinctions can easily be drawn between the figurative media of NT thought and the great reality of eternal life taught and exemplified by Jesus. (2) The doctrine of a 'Kingdom of God.' This expectation, since it involves the elements of a loving personality like that of a God of love, involves a belief in a new humanity that will live a genuinely social life on the earth, although the conditions of such a life must be left undefined. In a word, therefore, the modern equivalent of Jewish eschatology for practical purposes is that of personal (though truly social) immortality and a completion of the development of society. Utterly to ignore the essential elements of NT eschatology is in so far to re-establish the non-Christian concept of material goods as a supreme motive, and to destroy all confidence in the ultimate triumph of social righteousness. SHAILER MATHEWS.

ESCHEW.—In the older Eng. versions of the Bible 'eschew' is common. In AV it occurs only in Job $1^{1.\ 8}$ 2^3 of Job himself, as 1^1 'one that feared God, and eschewed evil,' and in 1 P 3^{11} 'Let him eschew evil, and do good.' The meaning is 'turn away from' (as RV at 1 P 3^{11} and Amer. RV everywhere).

ESDRAELON.—The Greek name for *Merj Ibn 'Amr*, the great plain north of the range of Carmel. It is triangular in shape, the angles being defined by *Tell el-Kassis* in the N.W., *Jenin* in the S.E., and *Tabor* in the N.E. The dimensions of the area are about 20 miles N.W. to S.E., 14 miles N.E. to S.W. It affords a passage into the mountainous interior of Palestine, from the sea-coast at the harbours of the Bay of 'Acca,

It is drained by the Kishon, and is, over nearly all its area, remarkably fertile. It was allotted to the tribe of Issachar.

Esdraelon has been the great battlefield of Palestine. Here Deborah and Barak routed the hosts of Jabin and Sisera (Jg 4), and here Gideon defeated the Midianites (7). Saul here fought his last battle with the Philistines (1 S 28–31). Josiah here attacked Pharaoh-necho on his way to Mesopotamia and was slain (2 K 23^{30}). It is the scene of the encampment of Holofernes (Jth 7^{3}), in connexion with which appears the name by which the valley is generally known: it is a Greek corruption of **Jezreel**. Here Saladin encamped in 1186; and, finally, here Napoleon encountered and defeated an army of Arabs in 1799. It is chosen by the Apocalyptic writer (Rev 16^{14-16}) as the fitting scene for the final battle between the good and evil forces of the world. R. A. S. Macalister.

ESDRAS.—See Apocrypha, and Apoc. Literature.

ESDRIS.—Mentioned only 2 Mac 12^{36}. The text is probably corrupt. AV has *Gorgias*, and this is likely enough to be correct.

ESEK ('contention,' Gn 26^{20}).—A well dug by Isaac in the region near Rehoboth and Gerar. The site is unknown.

ESERERIAS (AV **Esebrias**), 1 Es 8^{54}. See Sherebiah.

ESHAN (Jos 15^{52}).—A town of Judah in the Hebron mountains, noticed with Arab and Dumah. The site is doubtful.

ESHBAAL.—See Ishbosheth.

ESHBAN.—An Edomite chief (Gn 36^{26}, 1 Ch 1^{41}).

ESHCOL.—**1.** The brother of Mamre and Aner, the Amorite confederates of Abraham, who assisted the patriarch in his pursuit and defeat of Chedorlaomer's forces (Gn $14^{13.\ 24}$). He lived in the neighbourhood of Hebron (Gn 13^{18}); and possibly gave his name to the valley of Eshcol, which lay a little to the N. of Hebron (Nu 13^{23}). **2.** A wady, with vineyards and pomegranates, apparently near Hebron (Nu $13^{23.\ 24}$ 32^{9}, Dt 1^{24}). *Eshcol* is usually rendered 'bunch of grapes.' The name has not been recovered.

ESHEK.—A descendant of Saul (1 Ch 8^{39}).

ESHTAOL.—A lowland city of Judah (Jos 15^{33}) on the borders of Dan (19^{41}), near which Samson began to feel 'the spirit of the Lord' (Jg 13^{25}), and was buried (16^{31}); the home of some of the Danites who attacked Laish ($18^{2.\ 11}$). It is supposed to be the same as *Eshu'a*, near *'Ain esh-Shems* (Beth-shemesh). The **Eshtaolites** are enumerated among the Calebites (1 Ch 2^{53}).
R. A. S. Macalister.

ESHTEMOA.—In the tribe of Judah (Jos 15^{50}—here called **Eshtemoh**), a Levitical city in the district of Hebron (21^{14}), to which David sent a share of the spoil of the Philistines (1 S 30^{28}). The name as *es-Semu'a* survives about 8 miles S. of Hebron; extensive remains of antiquity are here to be seen.
R. A. S. Macalister.

ESHTON.—An Judahite (1 Ch $4^{11.\ 12}$).

ESLI.—An ancestor of Jesus (Lk 3^{25}).

ESSENES.—To the student of NT times the Essenes present a problem of extreme difficulty. The very existence of a monastic order within the pale of Judaism is an extraordinary phenomenon. In India such things would have been a matter of course. But the deep racial consciousness and the tenacious national will of the Jews make it hard to account for. When, approaching the subject in this mood, the student straightway finds as features of the order the habit of worshipping towards the sun and the refusal to share in the public services of the Temple, he is tempted to explain Essenism by foreign influences. Yet the Essenes were Jews in good standing. They were inside, not outside, the pale of strictest Judaism. Hence they give the student a problem as interesting as it is difficult.

No small part of the difficulty is due to the character of our witnesses. Essenism was the first form of organized monasticism in the Mediterranean world. The Greeks who followed Alexander to India marvelled at the Ascetics or Gymnosophists. But not until Essenism took shape did the men of the Mediterranean world see monasticism at close quarters. Wonderment and the children of wonderment—fancy and legend—soon set to work on the facts, colouring and distorting them. One of our sources, Pliny (*Nat. Hist.* v. 17), is in part the product of the imagination. Another, Philo (*Quod omnis probus liber*, 12f., and in Euseb. *Præp. Ev.* viii. ii. 1), writes in the mood of the preacher to whom facts have no value except as texts for sermons. And even Josephus (*Ant.* xiii. v. 9, xv. x. 4, 5, xviii. i. 2, 5; *Vita*, c. 2; *BJ* ii. viii. 2–13), our best source, is at times under suspicion. But a rough outline of the main facts is discernible.

The foundations of Essenism were laid in the half-century preceding the Maccabæan War. The high priesthood was disintegrating. In part this was due to the fact that the loose-jointed Persian Empire had been succeeded by the more coherent kingdom of the Seleucidæ. With this closer political order, which made Jewish autonomy more difficult of attainment, went the appealing and compelling forces of Hellenism, both as a mode of life and as a reasoned view of the world. The combined pressure of the political, the social, and the intellectual elements of the Greek over-lordship went far towards disorganizing and demoralizing the ruling class in Jerusalem.

But a deeper cause was at work, the genius of Judaism itself (see Pharisees). When the Hebrew monarchy fell, the political principle lost control. To popularize monotheism, to build up the OT Canon, organize and hold together the widely separated parts of the Jewish race—this work called for a new form of social order which mixed the ecclesiastical with the political. The man whom the times required in order to carry this work through was not the priest, but the Bible scholar. And he was necessarily an intense separatist. Taking Ezra's words, 'Separate yourselves from the people of the land' (Ezr 10^{11}) as the keynote of life, his aim was to free God's people from all taint of heathenism. In the critical period of fifty years preceding the War this class of men was coming more and more into prominence. They stood on the Torah as their platform; the Law of Moses was both their patrimony and their obligation. In them the genius of Judaism was beginning to sound the rally against both the good and the evil of Hellenism, against its illumining culture as well as against the corroding Græco-Syrian morality. The priestly aristocracy of Palestine being in close touch with Hellenism, it naturally resulted that the high priesthood, and the Temple which was inseparable from the high priesthood, suffered a fall in sacramental value.

Into this situation came the life-and-death struggle against the attempt of Antiochus to Hellenize Judaism. In the life of a modern nation a great war has large results. Far greater were the effects of the Maccabæan War upon a small nation. It was a supreme point of precipitation wherein the genius of Judaism reached clear self-knowledge and definition. The Essenes appear as a party shortly after the war. It is not necessary to suppose that at the outset they were a monastic order. It is more likely that they at first took form as small groups or brotherhoods of men intent on holiness, according to the Jewish model. This meant a kind of holiness that put an immense emphasis on Levitical precision. To keep the Torah in its smallest details was part and parcel of the very essence of morality. The groups of men who devoted themselves to the realization of that ideal started with a bias against

the Temple as a place made unclean by the heathenism of the priests. This bias was strengthened through the assumption of the high priesthood by the Hasmonæan house, an event which still further discounted the sacramental value of the Temple services. So these men, knit into closely coherent groups, mainly in Judæa, found the satisfactions of life in deepening fellowship, and an ever more intense devotion to the ideal of Levitical perfection. In course of time, as the logic of life carried them forward into positions of which they had not at first dreamed, the groups became more and more closely knit, and at the same time more fundamentally separatistic regarding the common life of the Jews. So we find, possibly late in the 1st cent. B.C., the main group of Essenes colonizing near the Dead Sea, and constituting a true monastic order.

The stricter Essenes abjured private property and marriage in order to secure entire attention to the Torah. The Levitical laws of holiness were observed with great zeal. An Essene of the higher class became unclean if a fellow-Essene of lower degree so much as touched his garment. They held the name of Moses next in honour to the name of God. And their Sabbatarianism went to such lengths that the bowels must not perform their wonted functions on the Seventh Day.

At the same time, there are reasons for thinking that foreign influences had a hand in their constitution. They worshipped towards the sun, not towards the Temple. This may have been due to the influence of Parsism. Their doctrine of immortality was Hellenic, not Pharisaic. Foreign influences in this period are quite possible, for it was not until the wars with Rome imposed on Judaism a hard-and-fast form that the doors were locked and bolted. Yet, when all is said, the foreign influence gave nothing more than small change to Essenism. Its innermost nature and its deepest motive were thoroughly Jewish.

It is probable that John the Baptist was affected by Essenism. It is possible that our Lord and the Apostolic Church may have been influenced to a certain extent. But influence of a primary sort is out of the question. The impassioned yet sane moral enthusiasm of early Christianity was too strong in its own kind to be deeply touched by a spirit so unlike its own.

HENRY S. NASH.

ESTATE.—'State' and 'estate' occur in AV almost an equal number of times, and with the same meaning. Cf. Col 4^{7} 'All my state shall Tychicus declare unto you,' with the next verse, 'that he might know your estate.' In Ac 22^{5} 'all the estate of the elders' (Gr. 'all the presbytery') means all the members of the Sanhedrin. The pl. occurs in the Pref. to AV, and in Ezk 36^{11} 'I will settle you after your old estates,' *i.e.* according to your former position in life. The heading of Ps 37 is 'David persuadeth to patience and confidence in God, by the different estate of the godly and the wicked.'

ESTHER ('star').—The Jewish name, of which this is the Persian (or Babylonian) form, is **Hadassah** (cf. Est 2^{7}), which means 'myrtle.' She was the daughter of Abihail, of the tribe of Benjamin, and was brought up, an orphan, in the house of her cousin **Mordecai,** in Shushan. Owing to her beauty she became an inmate of the king's palace, and on **Vashti** the queen being disgraced, Esther was chosen by Xerxes, the Persian king, to succeed her. The combined wisdom of Mordecai and courage of Esther became the means of doing a great service to the very large number of Jews living under Persian rule; for, owing to the craft and hatred of **Haman,** the chief court favourite, the Jews were in danger of being massacred *en bloc*; but Esther, instigated by Mordecai, revealed her Jewish nationality to the king, who realized thereby that she was in danger of losing her life, owing to the royal decree, obtained by Haman, to the effect that all those of Jewish nationality in the king's dominions were to be put to death. Esther's action brought about an entire reversal of the decree. Haman was put to death, and Mordecai was honoured by the king, while Esther's position was still further strengthened; the Jews were permitted to take revenge on those who had sought their destruction. Mordecai and Esther put forth two decrees: first, that the 14th and 15th days of the month Adar were to be kept annually as 'days of feasting and gladness, and of sending portions one to another, and gifts to the poor' (Est 9^{22}); and, second, that a day of mourning and fasting should be observed in memory of the sorrow which the king's first decree had occasioned to the Jewish people ($9^{29\text{-}32}$, cf. $4^{1\text{-}3}$).

The attempt to identify Esther with Amestris, who, according to Herodotus, was one of the wives of Xerxes, has been made more than once in the past; but it is now universally recognized that this identification will not bear examination. All that is known of Amestris—her heathen practices, and the fact that her father, a Persian general named Otanes, is specifically mentioned by Herodotus—proves that she cannot possibly have been a Jewess; besides which, the two names are fundamentally distinct. As to whether Esther was really a historical personage, see the next article.

W. O. E. OESTERLEY.

ESTHER, BOOK OF.—**1. Place in the Canon.**—The Book of Esther belongs to the second group of the third division of the Hebrew Canon—the *Kethubîm*, or 'Writings'—a group which comprises the *Megilloth*, or 'Rolls,' of which there are five,—Song of Songs, Ruth, Lam., Eccles., Esther. It was not without much discussion that Esther was admitted into the Canon, for its right to be there was disputed both by the Jewish authorities and by the early Christian Church. As late as the 2nd cent. A.D. the greatest Jewish teacher of his day, Rabbi Jehudah, said, 'The Book of Esther defileth not the hands' [the expression 'to defile the hands' is the technical Jewish way of saying that a book is canonical; it means that the holiness of the sacred object referred to produces by contact with it a state of Levitical impurity]. In some of the earlier lists of the Biblical books in the Christian Church that of Esther is omitted; Athanasius (d. 373) regarded it as uncanonical, so too Gregory Nazianzen (d. 391); Jacob of Edessa (*c.*700) reckons it among the apocryphal books. It is clear that Esther was not universally accepted as a book of the Bible until a late date.

2. Date and authorship.—The language of Esther points unmistakably to a late date; it shows signs, among other things, of an attempt to assimilate itself to classical Hebrew; the artificiality herein betrayed stamps the writer as one who was more familiar with Aramaic than with Hebrew. Further, the Persian empire is spoken of as belonging to a period of history long since past (cf. 'in those days,' 1^{2}); the words, 'There is a certain people scattered abroad and dispersed among the peoples in all the provinces of thy kingdom' (3^{8}), show that the 'Dispersion' had already for long been an accomplished fact. Moreover, the spirit of the book points to the time when great bitterness and hatred had been engendered between Jew and Gentile. The probability, therefore, is that Esther belongs to the earlier half of the 2nd cent. B.C. Of its authorship we know nothing further than that the writer was a Jew who must have been in some way connected with Persia; the book shows him to have been one whose racial prejudice was much stronger than his religious fervour; it is extraordinary that a book of the Bible should never once mention the sacred name of God; the secular spirit which is so characteristic of the book must have been the main reason of the disinclination to incorporate it into the Scriptures, which has been already referred to.

3. Contents.—The book purports to give the history

of how the Jewish feast of *Purim* ('Lots') first originated. Xerxes, king of the Medes and Persians, gives a great feast to the nobles and princes of the 127 provinces over which he rules; the description of the decorations in the palace garden on this occasion recalls the language of the *Arabian Nights*. **Vashti,** the queen, also gives a feast to her women. On the seventh day of the feast the king commands Vashti to appear before the princes in order that they may see her beauty. Upon her refusing to obey, the king is advised to divorce her. In her place, Esther, one of Vashti's maidens, becomes queen. Esther is the adopted daughter of a Jew named **Mordecai,** who had been the means of saving the king from the hands of assassins. But Mordecai falls out with the court favourite, **Haman,** on account of his refusing to bow down and do reverence to the latter. Haman resolves to avenge himself for this insult; he has lots cast in order to find out which is the most suitable day for presenting a petition to the king; the day being appointed, the petition is presented and granted, the promised payment of ten thousand talents of silver into the royal treasury (Est 3^9) no doubt contributing towards this. The petition was that a royal decree should be put forth to the effect that all Jews were to be killed, and their belongings treated as spoil. On this becoming known, there is great grief among the Jews. Esther, instructed by Mordecai, undertakes to interpose for her people before the king. She invites both the king and Haman to a banquet, and repeats the invitation for the next day. Haman, believing himself to be in favour with the royal couple, determines to gratify his hatred for Mordecai in a special way, and prepares a gallows on which to hang him (5^{14}). In the night after the first banquet, Ahasuerus, being unable to sleep, commands that the book of records of the chronicles be brought; in these he finds the account of Mordecai's former service, which has never been rewarded. Haman is sent for, and the king asks him what should be done to the man whom the king delights to honour; Haman thinking that it is he himself who is uppermost in the king's mind, describes how such a man should be honoured. The king thereupon directs that all that Haman has said is to be done to Mordecai. Haman returns in grief to his house. While taking counsel there with his friends, the king's chamberlains come to escort him to the queen's second banquet (6^{14}). During this Esther makes her petition to the king on behalf of her people, as well as for her own life, which is threatened, for the royal decree is directed against all Jews and Jewesses within his domains; she also discloses Haman's plot against Mordecai. The king, as the result of this, orders Haman to be hanged on the gallows which he had prepared for Mordecai, the latter receiving the honours which had before belonged to Haman (ch. 7). Esther then has letters sent in all directions in order to avert the threatened destruction of her people; but the attempt is yet made by the enemies of the Jews to carry out Haman's intentions. The Jews defend themselves with success, and a great feast is held on the 14th of Adar, on which the Jews 'rested, and made it a day of feasting and gladness.' Moreover, two days of feasting are appointed to be observed for all time; they are called *Purim*, because of the lot (*pūr*) which Haman cast for the destruction of the Jews (chs. 8, 9). The book concludes with a further reference to the power of Ahasuerus and the greatness of his favourite, Mordecai (ch. 10).

4. Historicity of the book.—There are very few modern scholars who are able to regard this book as containing history; at the most it may be said that it is a historical romance, *i.e.* that a few historical data have been utilized for constructing the tale. The main reasons for this conclusion are, that the book is full of improbabilities; that it is so transparently written for specific purposes, namely, the glorification of the Jewish nation, and as a means of expressing Jewish hatred of and contempt for Gentiles (see also § 5); that a 'strictly historical interpretation of the narrative is beset with difficulties'; that the facts it purports to record receive no substantiation from such books as Chron., Ezr., Neh., Dan., Sirach, or Philo (cf. Hastings' *DB s.v.*). Besides this, there is the artificial way in which the book is put together: the method of presenting the various scenes in the drama is in the style of the writer of fiction, not in that of the historian.

5. Purim.—The main purpose for which the book was written was ostensibly to explain the origin of, as well as to give the authority for, the continued observance of the Feast of Purim; though it must be confessed that the book does not really throw any light on the origin of this feast. Some scholars are in favour of a Persian origin, others, with perhaps greater justification, a Babylonian. The names of the chief characters in the book seem certainly to be corrupted forms of Babylonian and Elamite deities, namely, Haman = Hamman, Mordecai = Marduk, Esther = Ishtar; while Vashti is the name of an Elamite god or goddess (so Jensen). Thus we should have the Babylonian Marduk and Ishtar on the one hand, the Elamite Haman and Vashti, on the other. Purim may, in this case, have been, as Jensen suggests, a feast commemorating the victory of Babylonian over Elamite gods which was taken over and adapted by the Jews. In this case the origin of the name *Purim* would be sought in the Babylonian word *puru*, which means a 'small round stone,' *i.e.* a lot. But the connexion between the feast and its name is not clear; indeed, it must be confessed that the mystery attaching to the name *Purim* has not yet been unravelled.

W. O. E. Oesterley.

ESYELUS.—1 Es 1^8 = **Jehiel** (2 Ch 35^8).

ETAM.—An altogether obscure place name, applied to a rock in a cleft of which Samson took refuge (Jg 15^8), whence he was dislodged by the Judahites (v.[11]), and therefore presumably in Judahite territory (cf. 1 Ch 4^3). Also applied to a village in the tribe of Simeon (1 Ch 4^{32}), and a town fortified by Rehoboam (2 Ch 11^6). Whether there are here one or two or three places, and where it or they were, are unanswered questions.

R. A. S. Macalister.

ETHAM.—Ex 13^{20}, Nu 33^6; the next station to Succoth in the Exodus. The name is not known in Egyptian. It lay 'in the edge of the wilderness,' evidently at the E. end of the *Wady Tumilat*, and probably northward of the 'Red Sea,' whether that means the Bitter Lakes or the Gulf of Suez. F. Ll. Griffith.

ETHAN.—**1.** 'The Ezrahite' of 1 K 4^{31} and Ps 89 (title). In the first of these passages he is mentioned along with other contemporaries (?) of Solomon, who were all surpassed in wisdom by the Jewish monarch. In 1 Ch 2^6 he is said to have been a Judæan of the family of **Zerah,** which is prob. another form of *Ezrah* (hence the patronymic *Ezrahite*). Instead of 'the Ezrahite' it has been proposed to render '*ezrāhī* of 1 K 4^{31} 'the native,' *i.e.* the *Israelite*, in opposition to some of the other wise men named, who were *foreigners*. **2.** An ancestor of Asaph (1 Ch 6^{42}). In v.[21] he is called **Joah.** **3.** The eponymous ancestor of a guild of Temple-singers (1 Ch 6^{44} $15^{17.\ 19}$ etc.).

ETHANIM (1 K 8^2).—See Time.

ETHANUS.—One of the 'swift scribes' who wrote to the dictation of Ezra (2 Es 14^{24}).

ETHBAAL ('with Baal,' *i.e.* enjoying his favour and protection).—King of the Sidonians, and father of Jezebel, wife of Ahab king of Israel (1 K 16^{31}).

ETHER (Jos 15^{42} 19^7).—A town of Judah noticed with Libnah, apparently near the plain of Philistia, given to Simeon, and near Rimmon. The site is unknown.

ETHICS.—The present article will be confined to Biblical Ethics. As there is no systematic presentation

of the subject, all that can be done is to gather from the Jewish and Christian writings the moral conceptions that were formed by historians, prophets, poets, apostles. The old history culminates in the story of the perfect One, the Lord Jesus Christ, from whom there issued a life of higher order and ampler range.

I. OT Ethics.—As the dates of many of the books are uncertain, special difficulty attends any endeavour to trace with precision the stages of moral development amongst the Hebrews. The existence of a moral order of the world is assumed; human beings are credited with the freedom, the intelligence, etc., which make morality possible. The term 'conscience' does not appear till NT times, and perhaps it was then borrowed from the Stoics; but the thing itself is conspicuous enough in the records of God's ancient people. In Gn 3[5] we have the two categories 'good' and 'evil'; the former seems to signify in 1[31] 'answering to design' and in 2[18] 'conducive to well-being.' These terms—applied sometimes to ends, sometimes to means—probably denote ultimates of consciousness, and so, like pain and pleasure, are not to be defined. Moral phenomena present themselves, of course, in the story of the patriarchs; men are described as mean or chivalrous, truthful or false, meritorious or blameworthy, long before legislation—Mosaic or other—takes shape.

1. In Hebrew literature the *religious aspects of life* are of vital moment, and therefore morals and worship are inextricably entangled. God is seen: there is desire to please Him; there is a shrinking from aught that would arouse His anger (Gn 20[6] 39[9]). Hence the immoral is sinful. Allegiance is due—not to an impersonal law, but to a Holy Person, and duty to man is duty also to God. Morality is under Divine protection: are not the tables of the Law in the Ark that occupies the most sacred place in Jehovah's shrine (Ex 40[20], Dt 10[5], 1 K 8[9], He 9[4])? The commandments, instead of being arbitrary, are the outflowings of the character of God. He who enjoins righteousness and mercy calls men to possess attributes which He Himself prizes as His own peculiar glory (Ex 33[18. 19] 34[6. 7]). Hosea represents the Divine love as longing for the response of human love, and Amos demands righteousness in the name of the Righteous One. Man's goodness is the same in kind as the goodness of God, so that both may be characterized by the same terms; as appears from a comparison of Pss 111 and 112.

2. The OT outlook is *national* rather than individual. The elements of the community count for little, unless they contribute to the common good. A man is only a fractional part of an organism, and he may be slain with the group to which he belongs, if grievous sin can be brought home to any part of that group (Jos 7[19-26]). It is Israel—the people as a whole—that is called God's son. Prayers, sacrifices, festivals, fasts, are national affairs. The highest form of excellence is willingness to perish if only Israel may be saved (Ex 32[31. 32], Jg 5[15-18]). Frequently the laws are such as only a judge may administer: thus the claim of 'an eye for an eye, and a tooth for a tooth' (Dt 19[21]), being a maxim of fairness to be observed by a magistrate who has to decide between contending parties, is too harsh for guidance outside a court of law (Mt 5[38. 39]). When Israel sinned, it was punished; when it obeyed God, it prospered. It was not till Hebrew national life was destroyed that individual experiences excited questions as to the equity of Providence (Job, Pss 37. 73) and in regard to personal immortality. In the later prophets, even when the soul of each man is deemed to be of immense interest (Ezk 18), national ideals have the ascendency in thought. It is the nation that is to have a resurrection (Is 25[8], Ezk 37[1-14], Hos 13[14], Zec 8[1-8]). This ardent devotion to corporate well-being—a noble protest against absorption in individual interests—is the golden thread on which the finest pearls of Hebrew history are strung.

3. The *Covenant* is always regarded as the *standard* by which conduct is to be judged. Deference to the Covenant is deference to God (Hos 6[7] 8[1], Am 3[1-3]). As God is always faithful, His people prosper so long as they observe the conditions to which their fathers gave solemn assent (Ex 24[3. 7]). The Decalogue, which is an outline of the demands made by the Covenant on Israel, requires in its early clauses faith, reverence, and service; then (Ex 20, Commandments 5 to 9) the duty of man to man is set forth as part of man's duty to Jehovah, for Moses and all the prophets declare that God is pleased or displeased by our behaviour to one another. The Tenth Commandment, penetrating as it does to the inward life, should be taken as a reminder that all commandments are to be read in the spirit and not in the letter alone (Lv 19[17. 18], Dt 6[5. 6], Ps 139, Ro 7[14]). Human obligations—details of which are sometimes massed together as in Ex 20–23, Pss 15 and 24—include both moral and ceremonial requirements. Nothing is more common in the prophets than complaints of a disposition to neglect the former (Is 1[11f.], Jer 6[20] 7[21f.], Hos 6[6], Am 5[21f.]). The requirements embrace a great number of particulars, and every department of experience is recognized. Stress is laid upon kindness to the *physically defective* (Lv 19[14]), and to the *poor* and to *strangers* (Dt 10[18. 19] 15[7-11] 24[17ff.], Job 31[16ff. 32], Ps 41[1], Is 58[6ff.], Jer 7[6ff.] 22[3], Zec 7[9f.]). *Parents* and *aged* persons are to be reverenced (Ex 20[12], Dt 5[16], Lv 19[32]). The education of *children* is enjoined (Ex 12[26f.] 13[8. 14], Dt 4[9] 6[7. 20-25] 11[19] 31[12. 13] 32[46], Ps 78[5. 6]). In Proverbs emphasis is laid upon *industry* (6[6-11]), *purity* (7[6] etc.), *kindness* to the needy (14[21]), *truthfulness* (17[7] etc.), *forethought* (24[27]). The claims of *animals* are not omitted (Ex 23[11], Lv 25[7], Dt 22[4. 6] 25[4], Ps 104[11. 12] 148[10], Pr 12[10], Jon 4[11]). Occasionally there are charming pictures of special characters (the housewife, Pr 31; the king, 2 S 23[3-4]; the priest, Mal 2[5. 6. 7]). God's rule over man is parallel with His rule over the universe, and men should feel that God embraces all interests in His thought, for He is so great that He can attend equally to the stars and to human sorrows (Ps 19. 33. 147[3-6]).

4. The *sanctions* of conduct are chiefly temporal (harvests, droughts, victories over enemies, etc.), yet, as they are national, self-regard is not obtrusive. Moreover, it would be a mistake to suppose that no Hebrew minds felt the intrinsic value of morality. The legal spirit was not universal. The prophets were glad to think that God was not limiting Himself to the letter of the Covenant, the very existence of which implied that Jehovah, in the greatness of His love, had chosen Israel to be His peculiar treasure. By grace and not by bare justice Divine action was guided. God was the compassionate Redeemer (Dt 7[8], Hos 11[1] 14[4]). Even the people's disregard of the Law did not extinguish His forgiving love (Ps 25[6ff.] 103[8ff.], Is 63[9], Jer 3[12] 31[3] 33[7f.], Mic 7[18f.]). In response to this manifested generosity, an unmercenary spirit was begotten in Israel, so that God was loved for His own sake, and His smile was regarded as wealth and light when poverty and darkness had to be endured. 'Whom have I in heaven but thee?' 'Oh, how I love thy law!' are expressions the like of which abound in the devotional literature of Israel, and they evince a disinterested devotion to God Himself and a genuine delight in duty. To the same purport is the remarkable appreciation of the beauty and splendour of wisdom recorded in Pr 8.

II. NT Ethics.—While admitting many novel elements (Mt 11[11] 13[17. 35. 52], Mk 2[21. 22], Jn 13[34], Eph 2[15], He 10[20], Rev 2[17] 3[12] 5[9]), Christianity reaffirmed the best portions of OT teaching (Mt 5[17], Ro 3[31]). Whatsoever things were valuable, Christ conserved, unified, and developed. The old doctrine acquired wings, and sang a nobler, sweeter song (Jn 1[17]). But the glad and noble life which Jesus came to produce could come only from close attention to man's actual condition.

1. Accordingly, Christian Ethics takes full account of

sin. The guilty state of human nature, together with the presence of temptations from within, without, and beneath, presents a problem far different from any that can be seen when it is assumed that men are good or only unmoral. Is our need met by lessons in the art of advancing from good to better? Is not the human will defective and rebellious? The moral ravages in the individual and in society call for Divine redemptive activities and for human penitence and faith. Though the sense of sin has been most conspicuous since Christ dwelt among men, the Hebrew consciousness had its moral anguish. The vocabulary of the ancient revelation calls attention to many of the aspects of moral disorder. Sin is a ravenous beast, crouching ready to spring (Gn 4^{7}); a cause of wide-spreading misery (Gn $3^{15\text{-}19}$ 9^{25} 20^{9}, Ex 20^{5}); is universal (Gn 6^{5} 8^{21}, 1 K 8^{46}, Ps 130^{3} 143^{2}); is folly (Prov. *passim*); a missing of the mark, violence, transgression, rebellion, pollution (Ps 51). This grave view is shared by the NT. The Lord and His Apostles labour to produce contrition. It is one of the functions of the Holy Spirit to convict the world of sin (Jn 16^{8}). It is not supposed that a good life can be lived unless moral evil is renounced by a penitent heart. The fountains of conduct are considered to have need of cleansing. It is always assumed that great difficulties beset the soul in its upward movements, because of its past corrupt state and its exposure to fierce and subtle temptations.

2. In harmony with the doctrine of depravity is the distinctness with which *individuality* is recognized. Sin is possible only to a person. Ability to sin is a mark of that high rank in nature denoted by 'personality.' Christianity has respect to a man's separateness. It sees a nature ringed round with barriers that other beings cannot pass, capacities for great and varied wickednesses and excellences, a world among other worlds, and not a mere wave upon the sea. A human being is in himself an end, and God loves us one by one. Jesus asserted the immense value of the individual. The Shepherd cares for the one lost sheep (Lk $15^{4\text{-}7}$), and has names for all the members of the flock (Jn 10^{14}). The Physician, who (it is conceivable) could have healed crowds by some general word, lays His beneficent hands upon each sufferer (Lk 4^{40}). Remove from the Gospels and the Acts the stories of private ministrations, and what gaps are made (Jn $1^{35\text{ff.}}$ 3. 4, Ac $8^{26\text{-}39}$ 16, etc.). Taking the individual as the unit, and working from him as a centre, the NT Ethic declines to consider his deeds alone (Mt 6, Ro $2^{28.\ 29}$). Actions are looked at on their inner side (Mt $5^{21.\ 22.\ 27.\ 28}$ $6^{1.\ 4.\ 6.\ 18}$ $12^{34.\ 35}$ $23^{5.\ 27}$, Mk $7^{2\text{-}8.\ 18\text{-}23}$, Lk 16^{15} $18^{10\text{-}14}$, Jn $4^{23\text{f.}}$). This is a prolongation of ideas present to the best minds prior to the Advent (1 S 16^{7}, Ps 7^{9} $24^{3.\ 4}$ 51^{17} $139^{2.\ 3.\ 23}$, Jer 17^{10} 31^{33}).

3. The *social* aspects of experience are not overlooked. Everyone is to bear his own burden (Ro 14^{4}, Gal 6^{5}), and must answer for himself to the Judge of all men (2 Co 5^{10}); but he is not isolated. Regard for others is imperative; for an unforgiving temper cannot find forgiveness (Mt $6^{14.\ 15}$ $18^{23\text{-}35}$), worship without brotherliness is rejected (Mt $5^{23.\ 24}$), and Christian love is a sign of regeneration (1 Jn 5^{1}). The mere absence of malevolent deeds cannot shield one from condemnation; positive helpfulness is required (Mt $25^{41\text{-}45}$, Lk $10^{25\text{-}37}$ $16^{19\text{-}31}$, Eph $4^{28.\ 29}$). This helpfulness is the new ritualism (He 13^{16}, Ja 1^{27}). The family with its parents, children, and servants (Eph 5^{22}–6^{9}, Col 3^{18}–4^{1}); the Church with its various orders of character and gifts (Ro 14. 15, Gal $6^{1.\ 2}$, 1 Co 13. 14. 15); the State with its monarch and magistrates (Mk $12^{14\text{-}17}$, Ro $13^{1\text{-}7}$, 1 Ti $2^{1.\ 2}$), provide the spheres wherein the servant of Christ is to manifest his devotion to the Most High. 'Obedience, patience, benevolence, purity, humility, alienation from the world and the "flesh," are the chief novel or striking features which the Christian ideal of practice suggests' (Sidgwick), and they involve the conception that Christian Ethics is based on the recognition of sin, of individuality, of social demands, and of the need of heavenly assistance.

4. The Christian *standard* is *the character of the Lord Jesus Christ*, who lived perfectly for God and man. He overcame evil (Mt $4^{1\text{-}11}$, Jn 16^{33}), completed His life's task (Jn 17^{4}), and sinned not (Jn 8^{46}, 2 Co 5^{21}, He 4^{15}, 1 P 2^{22}, 1 Jn 3^{5}). His is the pattern life, inasmuch as it is completely (1) filial, and (2) fraternal. As to (1), we mark the upward look, His readiness to let the heat of His love burst into the flame of praise and prayer, His dutifulness and submissiveness: He lived 'in the bosom of the Father,' and wished to do only that which God desired. As to (2), His pity for men was unbounded, His sacrifice for human good knew no limits. 'Thou shalt love God'; 'thou shalt love man.' Between these two poles the perfect life revolved. He and His teachings are one. It is because the moral law is alive in Him that He must needs claim lordship over man's thoughts, feelings, actions. He is preached 'as Lord' (2 Co 4^{5}), and the homage which neither man (Ac $10^{25.\ 26}$) nor angel (Rev $22^{8.\ 9}$) can receive He deems it proper to accept (Jn 13^{13}). Could it be otherwise? The moral law must be supreme, and He is it. Hence alienation from Him has the fatal place which idolatry had under the Old Covenant, and for a similar reason, seeing that idolatry was a renunciation of Him who is the righteous and gracious One. Since Jesus by virtue of His filial and fraternal perfectness is Lord, to stand apart from Him is ruinous (Lk $10^{13\text{-}16}$, Jn 3^{18} 8^{24} $15^{22\text{-}24}$ $16^{8.\ 9}$, He 2^{3} $6^{4\text{-}8}$ 10^{26}). Wife or child or life itself must not be preferred to the claims of truth and righteousness, and therefore must not be preferred to Christ, who is truth and righteousness in personal form (Mt $10^{37\text{-}39}$, Lk $9^{59.\ 60}$ $14^{26.\ 27}$). To call oneself the bond-servant of Jesus Christ (Ro 1^{1}, Ja 1^{1}, 2 P 1^{1}) was to assert at once the strongest affection for the wise and gracious One, and the utmost loyalty to God's holy will as embodied in His Son. The will of God becomes one's own by affectionate deference to Jesus Christ, to suffer for whom may become a veritable bliss (Mt $5^{10\text{-}12}$, Ac 5^{41}, 2 Co 4^{11}, Ph 1^{29}, 1 Th 2^{14}, He $10^{32\text{-}34}$).

5. Christian Ethics is marked quite as much by *promises of assistance* as by loftiness of standard. The kindliness of God, fully illustrated in the gift and sacrifice of His Son, is a great incentive to holiness. Men come into the sunshine of Divine favour. Heavenly sympathy is with them in their struggles. The virtues to be acquired (Mt $5^{1\text{-}16}$, Gal $5^{22.\ 23}$, Col $3^{12\text{-}17}$, 2 P $1^{5.\ 6.\ 7}$, Tit 2^{12}) and the vices to be shunned (Mk $7^{21.\ 22}$, Gal $5^{19.\ 20.\ 21}$, Col $3^{5\text{-}9}$) are viewed in connexion with the assurance of efficient aid. There is a wonderful love upon which the aspirant may depend (Jn 3^{16}, Ro $5^{7.\ 8}$, 2 Co $5^{19\text{f.}}$). The hearty acceptance of that love is faith, ranked as a virtue and as the parent of virtues (2 P 1^{5}, Ro $5^{1.\ 2}$, 1 Co 13, He 11). Faith, hope, love, transfigure and supplement the ancient virtues,—temperance, courage, wisdom, justice,—while around them grow many gentle excellences not recognized before Christ gave them their true rank; and yet it is not by its wealth of moral teaching so much as by its assurance of ability to resist temptation and to attain spiritual manhood that Christianity has gained pre-eminence. Christ's miracles are illustrations of His gospel of pardon, regeneration, and added faculties (Mt $9^{5.\ 6}$). The life set before man was lived by Jesus, who regenerates men by His Spirit, and takes them into union with Himself (Jn $3^{3.\ 6.}$ 8^{36} $15^{1\text{-}10}$, Ro $8^{2.\ 9.\ 29}$, 1 Co 1^{30}, 2 Co 5^{17}, Gal $5^{22.\ 23}$, Ph $2^{5.\ 12.\ 13}$, Col $3^{1\text{-}4}$, Ja 1^{18}, 1 P 2^{21}, 1 Jn 2^{6}). The connexion between the Lord and the disciple is permanent (Mt 28^{20}, Jn $14^{3.\ 19}$ 17^{24}, He $2^{11\text{-}18}$, 1 Jn $3^{1\text{-}3}$), and hence the aspiration to become sober, righteous, godly (relation to *self*, *man*, and *God*, Tit $2^{12\text{-}14}$) receives ample support. Sanctity is not only within the reach of persons at one time despised as moral incapables (Mk $2^{16.\ 17}$, Lk 7^{47} 15. $19^{8.\ 9}$ $23^{42.\ 43}$,

1 Co 6^{11}, Eph 2^{1-7}), but every Christian is supposed to be capable, sooner or later, of the most precious forms of goodness (Mt 5^{1-10}), for there is no caste (Col 1^{28}). Immortality is promised to the soul, and with it perpetual communion with the Saviour, whose image is to be repeated in every man He saves (Ro $8^{37.\ 38.\ 39}$, 1 Co 15^{49-58}, 2 Co 5^8, Ph 3^{8-14}, 1 Th 4^{17}, 1 Jn $3^{2.\ 3}$, Rev 22^4).

The objections which have been made to Biblical Ethics cannot be ignored, though the subject can be merely touched in this article. Some passages in the OT have been stigmatized as immoral; some in the NT are said to contain impracticable precepts, and certain important spheres of duty are declared to receive very inadequate treatment.

(i.) As to the OT, it is to be observed that we need not feel guilty of disrespect to inspiration when our moral sense is offended; for the Lord Jesus authorizes the belief that the Mosaic legislation was imperfect (Mt $5^{21ff.}$, Mk 10^{2-9}), and both Jeremiah and Ezekiel comment adversely on doctrines which had been accepted on what seemed to be Divine authority (cf. Ex 20^5 with Jer $31^{29.\ 30}$ and Ezk $18^{2.\ 3.\ 19.\ 20}$). It is reasonable to admit that if men were to be improved at all there must have been some accommodation to circumstances and states of mind very unlike our own; yet some of the laws are shocking. While such institutions as polygamy and slavery, which could not be at once abolished, were restricted in their range and stripped of some of their worst evils (Ex $21^{2ff.}$, Lv 25^{42-49}, 1 Ch 2^{35}, Pr 17^2), there remain many enactments and transactions which must have been always abhorrent to God though His sanction is claimed for them (Ex 22^{18-20} $31^{14.\ 15}$ $35^{2.\ 3}$, Lv 20^{27}, Nu 15^{32-36} 31, Dt $13^{5.16}$ 17^{1-5} 18^{20} 21^{10-14}, 2 S 21^{1-9}). Had men always remembered these illustrations of the fact that passions and opinions utterly immoral may seem to be in harmony with God's will, the cruelties inflicted on heretics in the name of God would not have disgraced the Church's history; and, indeed, these frightful mistakes of OT days may have been recorded to teach us to be cautious, lest while doing wrong we imagine that God is served (Jn 16^2). The limited area of the unworthy teaching would be noticed if care were taken to observe that (1) some of the wicked incidents are barely recorded, (2) some are reprobated in the context, (3) some are evidently left without comment because the historian assumes that they will be immediately condemned by the reader. In regard to the rest, it is certain that the Divine seal has been used contrary to the Divine will. It must be added that the very disapproval of the enormities has been made possible by the book which contains the objectionable passages, and that it is grossly unfair to overlook the high tone manifested generally throughout a great and noble literature, and the justice, mercy, and truth commended by Israel's poets, historians, and prophets, generation after generation.

(ii.) As to the NT, it is alleged that, even if the Sermon on the Mount could be obeyed, obedience would be ruinous. This, however, is directly in the teeth of Christ's own comment (Mt 7^{24-27}), and is due in part to a supposition that every law is for every man. The disciples, having a special task, might be under special orders, just as the Lord Himself gave up all His wealth (2 Co 8^9) and carried out literally most of the precepts included in His discourse. The paradoxical forms employed should be a sufficient guard against a bald construction of many of the sayings, and should compel us to meditate upon principles that ought to guide all lives. It is the voice of love that we hear, not the voice of legality. The Christian Ethic is supposed to be careless of social institutions, and Christianity is blamed for not preaching at once against slavery, etc. Probably more harm than good would have resulted from political and economic discourses delivered by men who were ostracized. But it is improbable that the Christian mind was sufficiently instructed to advance any new doctrine for the State. Moreover, the supposition that the world was near its close must have diverted attention from social schemes. The alienation from the world was an alienation from wickedness, not indifference to human pain and sorrow. The poverty of believers, the scorn felt for them by the great, the impossibility of attending public functions without countenancing idolatry, the lack of toleration by the State, all tended to keep the Christian distinct from his fellows. Mob and State and cultured class, by their hatred or contempt, compelled Christianity to move on its own lines. At first it was saved from contamination by various kinds of persecution, and the isolation has proved to be a blessing to mankind; for the new life was able to gather its forces and to acquire knowledge of its own powers and mission. The new ideal was protected by its very unpopularity. Meanwhile there was the attempt to live a life of love to God and man, and to treasure Gospels and Epistles that kept securely for a more promising season many sacred seeds destined to grow into trees bearing many kinds of fruit. The doctrine of the Divine Fatherhood implicitly condemns every social and political wrong, while it begets endeavours directed to the promotion of peace among nations, and to the uplifting of the poor and ignorant and depraved of every land into realms of material, intellectual, and moral blessing. There is no kind of good which is absent from the prayers: 'Thy kingdom come'; 'Thy will be done on earth as it is in heaven.'

W. J. Henderson.

ETHIOPIA is tr. of the Heb. **Cush**, which is derived from *Kosh*, the Egyp. name of Nubia (beginning at the First Cataract). The cultivable land in this region is very meagre. The scanty and barbarous population of the valley and the deserts on either side was divided in early times among different tribes, which were completely at the mercy of the Egyptians. Individually, however, the Sudanese were sturdy warriors, and were constantly employed by the Pharaohs as mercenary soldiers and police. In the time of the New Kingdom, Cush southward to Napata was a province of Egypt, dotted with Egyptian temples and governed by a viceroy. With the weakening of the Egyptian power Cush grew into a separate kingdom, with Napata as its capital. Its rulers were probably of Egyptian descent; they are represented as being entirely subservient to Ammon, *i.e.* to his priests, elected by him, acting only upon his oracles, and ready to abdicate or even to commit suicide at his command. We first hear of a king of Ethiopia about B.C. 730, when a certain Pankhi, reigning at Napata and already in possession of the Egyptian Thebaid, added most of Middle Egypt to his dominions and exacted homage from the princes of the Delta. A little later an Ethiopian dynasty (the XXVth) sat on the throne of the Pharaohs for nearly fifty years (B.C. 715–664). The last of these, Tahraku (Tirhakah [wh. see]), intrigued with the kinglets of Syria and Phœnicia against the Assyrians, but only to the ruin of himself and his dynasty. Tahraku and his successor Tandamane were driven into Ethiopia by the Assyrian invasions, and Egypt became independent under the powerful XXVIth Dynasty. For the Persian period it is known that Ethiopia, or part of it, was included in one satrapy with Egypt under Darius. In the 3rd cent. B.C. king Ergamenes freed himself from the power of the priests of Ammon by a great slaughter of them. From about this time forward Meroë, the southern residence, was the capital of Ethiopia. The worship of Ammon, however, as the national god of 'Negroland,' as Ethiopia was then called, still continued. In B.C. 24 the Romans invaded Ethiopia in answer to an attack on Egypt by queen Candace, and destroyed Napata, but the kingdom continued to be independent. The Egyptian culture of Ethiopia had by that time fallen into a very barbarous state. Inscriptions exist written in a peculiar character and in the native language, as yet undeciphered; others are in a debased form of Egyptian hieroglyphic.

The name of Cush was familiar to the Hebrews through the part that its kings played in Egypt and Syria from B.C. 730–664, and recently discovered papyri prove that Jews were settled on the Ethiopian border at Syene in the 6th cent. B.C. See also Cush.

F. Ll. Griffith.

ETHIOPIAN EUNUCH.—According to Ac 8^{27}, an Ethiopian eunuch, minister of **Candace**, queen of the Ethiopians, who was over all her treasure, was met shortly after the martyrdom of Stephen by the deacon Philip when returning from a religious journey to Jerusalem, and converted to Christianity. The confession of faith put into his mouth in v.^{37} (AV) is now universally admitted to be an early interpolation. Assuming the Lukan authorship of the Acts, the source of the above narrative may have been personal information received from Philip (cf. Ac 21^8). Like the baptism

of Cornelius by St. Peter, the case of the Ethiopian eunuch marked an important stage in the question of the admission of the Gentiles to the Christian Church.

ETHIOPIAN WOMAN.—According to Nu 12[1] (JE), when the children of Israel were at Hazeroth, Miriam and Aaron 'spake against' Moses on account of his marriage with an Ethiopian (RV 'Cushite') woman. As the 'Ethiopian woman' is mentioned nowhere else, and the death of Moses' wife Zipporah is not recorded, some of the early interpreters thought the two must be identical; and this view is favoured by the Jewish expositors. But it is more likely that a black slave-girl is meant, and that the fault found by Miriam and Aaron was with the indignity of such a union. It may perhaps be inferred from the context that the marriage was of recent occurrence.

ETH-KAZIN.—A town on the E. frontier of Zebulun, whose site has not been identified (Jos 19[13]).

ETHNAN.—A Judahite (1 Ch 4[7]).

ETHNARCH is a Greek word translated by 'governor' in 2 Co 11[32]. It is used also of Simon the high priest (1 Mac 14[47] 15[1. 2]). Its exact meaning is uncertain, but it appears to indicate the ruler of a nation or tribe which is itself living with separate laws, etc., amidst an alien race. A. SOUTER.

ETHNI.—An ancestor of Asaph (1 Ch 6[41], called in v.[21] **Jeatherai**).

EUBULUS.—A leading member of the Christian community at Rome, who sends greeting to Timothy through St. Paul at the time of the second imprisonment (2 Ti 4[21]). His name is Greek, but nothing further is known of him.

EUCHARIST.—This is the earliest title for the sacrament of the body and blood of Christ. It is found in Ignatius and the *Didache*, and is based upon the *eucharistia* or giving of thanks with which our Lord set apart the bread and wine at the Last Supper as memorials of Himself (Mt 26[27], Lk 22[17. 19], 1 Co 11[24]). The name **Lord's Supper**, though legitimately derived from 1 Co 11[20], is not there applied to the sacrament itself, but to the Love-feast or *Agape*, a meal commemorating the Last Supper, and not yet separated from the Eucharist when St. Paul wrote. The irregularities rebuked by the Apostle (11[21. 29]) are such as could only have accompanied the wider celebration, and doubtless contributed to the speedy separation of the essential rite from the unnecessary accessories. The title **Communion** comes from 1 Co 10[16], where, however, the word is a predicate not used technically. The breaking of (the) bread (Ac 2[42. 46]) probably refers to the Eucharist (cf. 20[7], Lk 24[35]?), but until modern times does not seem to have been adopted as a title.

1. The institution is recorded by each of the Synoptic Gospels, but not by St. John. A fourth account appears in 1 Corinthians.

Mk 14[22-25].

[22] As they were eating, he took bread, and when he had blessed, he brake it, and gave to them, and said, Take ye: this is my body. [23] And he took a cup, and when he had given thanks, he gave to them: and they all drank of it. [24] And he said unto them, This is my blood of the covenant, which is shed for many. [25] Verily I say unto you, I will no more drink of the fruit of the vine, until that day when I drink it new in the kingdom of God.

Lk 22[14-20].

[14] When the hour was come, he sat down, and the apostles with him. [15] And he said unto them, With desire I have desired to eat this passover with you before I suffer: [16] for I say unto you, I will not eat it, until it be fulfilled in the kingdom of God. [17] And he received a cup, and when he had given thanks, he said, Take this, and divide it among yourselves: [18] for I say unto you, I will not drink from henceforth of the fruit of the vine, until the kingdom of God shall come. [19] And he took bread, and when he had given thanks, he brake it, and gave to them, saying, This is my body [*which is given for you: this do in remembrance of me.* [20] *And the cup in like manner after supper, saying, This cup is the new covenant in my blood, even that which is poured out for you*].

Mt 26[26-29].

[26] As they were eating, Jesus took bread, and blessed, and brake it; and he gave to the disciples, and said, Take, eat: this is my body. [27] And he took a cup, and gave thanks, and gave to them, saying, Drink ye all of it; [28] for this is my blood of the covenant, which is shed for many unto remission of sins. [29] But I say unto you, I will not drink henceforth of this fruit of the vine, until that day when I drink it new with you in my Father's kingdom.

1 Co 11[23-25].

[23] I received of the Lord that which also I delivered unto you, how that the Lord Jesus in the night in which he was betrayed took bread; [24] and when he had given thanks, he brake it, and said, This is my body, which is for you: this do in remembrance of me. [25] In like manner also the cup, after supper, saying, This cup is the new covenant in my blood: this do, as oft as ye drink *it*, in remembrance of me.

A comparison shows variations of minor importance between Mark and Matthew. But the most remarkable differences are those of Luke, which mentions what is apparently a second cup. It seems scarcely credible that at a supreme moment, like that in which a sacred rite was being established, our Lord should have created the possibility of confusion by solemnly delivering two of the Paschal cups, dividing between them the words which, according to the other Synoptics, belong, as it would seem appropriately, to one. Nor, if He were about to hallow a succeeding cup as Eucharistic, is it likely that He would have spoken of the fulfilment of the Paschal wine in relation to another (v.[17]). In spite, therefore, of the fact that the majority of MSS and Versions favour its inclusion, Westcott and Hort are probably right in regarding the passage inclosed in brackets above as an interpolation. With this omitted, the narrative is assimilated to the other Synoptics. The inversion of bread and cup, which now becomes apparent and which probably belongs not to Luke but to his source, is perhaps due to the fact that the writer, dwelling on the Lord's intention that the Passover should be fulfilled in a Messianic rite, records at the opening of his narrative a declaration similar to that which Matthew and Mark assign to a later stage, the delivery of the cup (Mt 26[29], Mk 14[25]). These words, though referring more particularly to the Eucharistic bread, yet, as extending to the whole meal ('this passover'), require no mention of the action that would accompany them; whereas the companion statement concerning the fruit of the vine (Lk 22[18]) necessitates the mention of the cup (v.[17]). The first half of v.[19] (the consecration of the bread), which, if the account were symmetrical, would appear (as arranged in Rushbrooke's *Synopticon*) before v.[15], is then added to complete the institution. A copyist, assuming a part of the narrative to be wanting, would then introduce, probably from a contemporary liturgical formula, the second half of v.[19] and v.[20], which bear a striking resemblance to the Pauline account, of which Luke is otherwise independent. A similar inversion is found in the sub-Apostolic *Teaching of the Apostles*.

2. From the Synoptic record the following inferences may be drawn: (1) *The words of institution cannot themselves determine the meaning of the rite.* Luke (unless v.[20] be genuine) omits 'This is my blood of the covenant.' [Notice also that the other traditional form varies the phrase—'the new covenant in my blood' (1 Co 11[25]).] This may be due to the fact that Luke introduces the cup primarily in relation to our Lord's utterance concerning the fruit of the vine. But the sentence may be an interpretation of Christ's action, based on its correspondence with the hallowing of the bread. Matthew futher amplifies by adding the words, 'unto remission of sins' (Mt 26[28]). It is clear that,

although formulas were probably already in use, the language was not yet stereotyped. We cannot, therefore, be certain of the precise form of words that our Lord adopted.

(2) *The rite, like the gospel of which it is an ordinance, is Apostolic.* The whole Twelve, but none other, are present with Jesus (Mk 14^{17}‖). Judas had not yet gone out (Lk 22^{21}). The significant relation of the Apostles to the congregation of the spiritual Israel, prominent in Mark from the first (3^{14}), is not only emphasized by their seclusion with Jesus in this supreme hour, but explicitly stated by Luke (22^{24-34}). Though, therefore, there is nothing beyond the form of the record itself to indicate the permanent and monumental character of the institution, yet the place which from the first the rite assumed as the bond of Christian fellowship, and for which Christians like Ignatius in the sub-Apostolic age claimed the authority of the Apostles, accords with and interprets the Synoptic narrative. To go behind the Apostolic Eucharist is no more possible for historic Christianity than to separate the actual Christ from the Apostolic witness.

(3) *The Eucharist is Paschal in origin and idea.*—It is unnecessary to determine whether the Last Supper was in fact the Passover, according to the impression of the Synoptists, or, as St. John seems to imply, anticipated by twelve hours the Jewish Feast. (See Sanday, in Hastings' *DB*, art. 'Jesus Christ,' II. E. ii.) No mention is made of the lamb, and the significant identification of the elements accessory to the feast, whether typically or effectually, with the sacrifice of Christ, suggests that its chief feature was absent. And this would seem to bind the rite thus instituted more closely than ever to that suffering before which He earnestly desired to celebrate it (Lk 22^{15}), and wherein St. John contemplated the fulfilment of the Paschal type (Jn 19^{36}; cf. Ex 12^{46}). The bread and wine, as eaten in fellowship by Christ and His disciples on the night of the betrayal, and distributed, as often as the rite is renewed, to those who believe on Jesus through the Apostolic word, is the Christian Passover celebrated beneath the Cross, where the very Paschal Lamb is offered for the life of the world. Its interpretation must, therefore, begin from the great Hebrew festival, in which it finds its origin, and which was regarded as a corporate communion of the Covenant People beneath the shelter of the sprinkled blood, an extension of that first sacred meal eaten when the destroying angel was passing over and working redemption for Israel (see Schultz, *OT Theol.*, Eng. tr. vol. i. pp. 196, 197, 363–366).

3. *St. Paul's account of the institution* (see above) was written not later than A.D. 58, and is therefore older than the Synoptics. He claims to have received it as part of the inviolable deposit of the gospel (1 Co 11^{23}), which he must hand on unimpaired to those to whom he ministers the word. The phrase 'from the Lord' can hardly imply, as some have maintained, that a direct revelation was given to himself, extending to the form of words; but only that the record is part of that original message of which the Apostles were the guardians rather than the interpreters (1 Co 15^{3}, Gal 1^{6-9}). The form of tradition here reproduced brings out explicitly the fact that the Eucharist was regarded in the Apostolic Church as an ordinance to be observed in Christian congregations till the Lord's Coming ('as oft as ye drink,' with comment v.^{26}). It is St. Paul only that introduces the command, 'This do in remembrance of me' (v.^{24}), an expression fruitful in controversy. It has been urged that the word rendered 'do' means 'offer,' and that the Eucharist is, therefore, by its terms sacrificial. Not only is this an uncommon use of the Greek, unsuspected by the Greek commentators themselves, but the word 'this' (Gr. neuter) which follows can only be 'this action,' not 'this bread,' which would require the masculine form of the Gr. pronoun. Clearly, however, the phrase refers to the whole Eucharistic action, not to the particular acts of eating and drinking, the latter of which is differentiated from it in v.^{26}. It is further argued that the word used for 'remembrance' (*anamnēsis*, vv.$^{24.\ 25}$) implies a ritual memorial before God. The word, however, almost invariably used in the LXX with this signification is different (*mnēmosynon*, Lv $2^{2.\ 9.\ 16}$ 5^{12}, Nu 5^{26}; *anam.* is found in Lv 24^{7} and Nu 10^{10}). And, though the form of words in which, according to the traditional ritual, the house-father recalled the redemption from Egypt is probably present to the Apostle's mind, it is uncertain whether this recital of Divine deliverance was directed towards God. As now used it would seem to be intended to carry out the injunction of the Law given in Ex $12^{25.\ 27}$ (see *Haggadah for Passover*). The same uncertainty attaches to St. Paul's explanatory statement—'ye proclaim the Lord's death'—though the natural interpretation of the Greek is in favour of the idea suggested by the RV, viz. announcement to men rather than commemoration before God (cf. 1 Co 9^{14}). The evidential value, not the mystical significance, of the rite is here asserted.

4. The *sacrificial character* of the Eucharist is involved in the declaration that the bread broken is a communion of the body, the cup of blessing a communion of the blood, of Christ (1 Co 10^{16}). The table of the Lord is contrasted with the table of demons (v.^{21}) through the medium of the sacrificial system of the OT, of which it is a fundamental principle that to eat of the offerings is to have communion with the altar (v.^{18}). The words 'Lord's table' and 'altar' are found as synonyms in Malachi ($1^{7.\ 12}$). The Levitical code includes many forms of oblation in which feeding on the sacrifice, if it ever existed, has disappeared; but provision is made for it in the case of the peace-offerings (Lv 7^{15-21}). A closer study of the OT brings into greater prominence the connexion between sacrifice and feasting (Ex $32^{6ff.}$, Dt $12^{5.\ 12}$ $26^{10.\ 11}$, 1 S $1^{3ff.}$ $16^{2.\ 11}$; see Schultz, *OT Theol.*, Eng. tr. i. c. xii.). The end of sacrifice in Israel, as among other nations, is the union of the worshipper with the object of worship, through the covering which the priest supplies (W. R. Smith, *RS*^{2} Lect. xi.). This is especially evident in the Passover, which is a sacrifice (Ex 12^{27} 34^{25}, Nu $9^{7.\ 13}$), and, as including a repast, should rank among the peace-offerings. The Eucharist, therefore, is a sacrifice, not as the commemoration of the death of Christ, but as the means of participation in the Paschal Lamb slain for us (1 Co 5^{7}), in the offering of the body of Christ once made on the Cross (He 10^{10}; cf. Jn 19^{36}, 1 Co 10^{17}). The crucifixion of Christ's natural body results in the institution of that instrument of union, the sacramental body, in respect of which the unworthy partaker is guilty (1 Co 11^{27}, but see below), and through which the faithful have fellowship with Christ in His mystical body ($10^{16.\ 17}$). The transition from one application of the word 'body' to the others—'one bread, one body'—is very subtle, and they are no doubt so vitally connected in the mind of St. Paul as hardly to be capable of exact distinction. But it is unlikely that in a passage where the argument would have been satisfied by the use of one word—'body'—on the analogy of the common pagan identification of the god with the sacrifice, he should have used the longer phrase—'communion of the body'—if he had not felt that the single word would have failed to give the exact meaning. The sense of the whole passage depends upon the reality of the gift conveyed through the feast in which it is symbolically presented. St. Paul holds that there is a real communion in the sacrificial feasts of the heathen, though in this case with demons (v.^{20}), whose presence is incompatible with that of Christ (v.^{21}).

5. The crucial words of the second passage (11^{17-34}) are 'if he discern not the body.' 'Lord's' is an interpolation of the TR, which the RV properly rejects (v.^{29}). The RV also brings out the fact that the verb tr. 'discern' (v.^{29}) is again used in v.^{31}—'if we discerned

ourselves'—thus showing that the word does not mean 'perceive' but 'discriminate.' 'Body' is left undefined, including, as it apparently does, the mystical body which the unworthy despise in the Church of God, the sacramental elements which they dishonour by profane use, and the sacrifice of Christ with which they reject communion, thereby becoming guilty in respect of each (vv.[21. 22. 26. 27]).

6. Both passages express what is implicit in the division of the sacrament into two kinds. It is the body and blood as separated in death through which communion is attained. In 1 Co 10[16], by placing the cup first, as in St. Luke's account of the institution, St. Paul emphasizes the sacrificial death of Christ as a necessary element in the Eucharistic feast. The Epistle to the Hebrews shows that access to the Holy Place is gained through the offered body and sprinkled blood (He 10[19-22]); St. John, that union with Christ is found in that Living Bread which implies death because it is flesh and blood (Jn 6[52-58]). Commenting on the unique phrase 'drink his blood,' Westcott says that to Jewish ears the idea conveyed is the appropriation of 'life sacrificed' (see note on 6[53] in *Gospel acc. to St. John*). There is nothing to warrant the mediæval inference that the phrase 'flesh and blood' is equivalent to 'personality,' and that therefore 'the whole Christ' is *sacramentally* present in the Eucharistic elements. But it does imply vital union with Him who became dead and is alive for evermore (Rev 1[18]), a Lamb 'as though it had been slain' (5[6]), a Priest upon His throne (Zec 6[13]; cf. He 8[1]), who through the one offering of Himself has perfected for ever (10[14]) those that come to God through Him.

7. In conclusion, however, it must be frankly admitted that, while one view of the sacrament may seem on the whole to express more fully than others the general tenor of NT teaching on the subject, none of the explanations which have divided Christendom since the 16th cent., not even the theory of transubstantiation when precisely defined, can be regarded as wholly inconsistent with the language of Scripture.

J. G. Simpson.

EUERGETES (Prol. to Sirach).—See Benefactor.

EUMENES II.—The king of Pergamus, to whom Rome gave a large slice of the territory of Antiochus III., king of Syria (B.C. 190), including, not 'India' (1 Mac 8[6-8]), but the greater part of Asia north of the Taurus (Liv. xxxvii. 44). J. Taylor.

EUNICE.—The Jewish mother of Timothy (2 Ti 1[5], Ac 16[1]), married to a Gentile husband, and dwelling at Lystra. She had given her son a careful religious training, but had not circumcised him.

A. J. Maclean.

EUNUCH.—In the proper sense of the word a eunuch is an emasculated human being (Dt 23[1]), but it is not absolutely certain that the Heb. *sārîs* always has this signification, and the uncertainty is reflected in our Eng. tr., where **'officer'** and **'chamberlain'** are frequently found. It is interesting to note that the group of scholars who rendered Jeremiah for the AV adhered to 'eunuch' throughout: unhappily the Revisers have spoiled the symmetry by conforming Jer 52[25] to 2 K 25[19]. The following reasons, none of which is decisive, have been advanced in favour of some such rendering of *sārîs* as 'officer' or 'chamberlain.' **1.** That Potiphar (Gn 37[36]) was married. But actual eunuchs were not precluded from this (see Ter. *Eun.* 4, 3, 24; Juv. vi. 366; Sir 20[4] 30[20] etc.). And the words in Gn 39[1] which identify Joseph's first master with the husband of his temptress are an interpolation. **2.** That in 2 K 25[19] etc. 'eunuchs' hold military commands, whereas they are generally unwarlike (*imbelles*, Juv. *l.c.*). But there have been competent commanders amongst them. **3.** That the strict meaning cannot be insisted on at Gn 40[2. 7]. Yet even here it is admissible.

The kings of Israel and Judah imitated their powerful neighbours in employing eunuchs (1) as guardians of the harem (2 K 9[32], Jer 41[16]); Est 1[12] 4[4] are instances of Persian usage; (2) in military and other important posts (1 S 8[15], 1 K 22[9], 2 K 8[6] 23[11] 24[12. 15] 25[19], 1 Ch 28[1], 2 Ch 18[8], Jer 29[2] 34[19] 38[7]; cf. Gn 37[36] 40[2. 7], Ac 8[27]. Dn 1[3] does not of necessity imply that the captives were made eunuchs). For the services rendered at court by persons of this class and the power which they often acquired, see Jos. *Ant.* xvi. viii. 1. But their acquisitions could not remove the sense of degradation and loss (2 K 20[18], Is 39[7]). Dt 23[1] excluded them from public worship, partly because self-mutilation was often performed in honour of a heathen deity, and partly because a maimed creature was judged unfit for the service of Jahweh (Lv 21[20] 22[24]). That ban is, however, removed by Is 56[4. 5]. Euseb. (*HE* vi. 8) relates how Origen misunderstood the figurative language of Mt 19[12]; Origen's own comment on the passage shows that he afterwards regretted having taken it literally and acted on it. See also Ethiopian Eunuch.

J. Taylor.

EUODIA.—This is clearly the correct form of the name, not *Euodias* as AV (Ph 4[2f.]), for a woman is intended. St. Paul beseeches her and **Syntyche** to be reconciled; perhaps they were deaconesses at Philippi.

A. J. Maclean.

EUPATOR.—See Antiochus v.

EUPHRATES, one of the rivers of Eden (Gn 2[14]), derives its name from the Assyr. *Purat*, which is itself taken from the Sumerian *Pura*, 'water,' or *Pura-nun*, 'the great water.' *Purat* became *Ufrâtu* in Persian, where the prosthetic vowel was supposed by the Greeks to be the word *u*, 'good.' In the OT the Euphrates is generally known as **'the river.'** It rises in the Armenian mountains from two sources, the northern branch being called the Frat or Kara-su, and the southern and larger branch the Murad-su (the *Arsanias* of ancient geography). The present length of the river is 1780 miles, but in ancient times it fell into the sea many miles to the north of its existing outlet, and through a separate mouth from that of the Tigris. The salt marshes through which it passed before entering the sea were called *Marratu* (**Merathaim** in Jer 50[21]), where the Aramæan Kalda or Chaldæans lived. The alluvial plain between the Euphrates and the Tigris constituted Babylonia, the water of the annual inundation (which took place in May, and was caused by the melting of the snows in Armenia) being regulated by means of canals and barrages. The Hittite city of Carchemish stood at the point where the Euphrates touched Northern Syria, and commanded one of the chief fords over the river; south of it came the Belikh and Khabur, the last affluents of the Euphrates. The promise made to the Israelites that their territory should extend to 'the great river' (Gn 15[18] etc.) was fulfilled through the conquests of David (2 S 8[3] 10[16-19], 1 K 4[24]).

A. H. Sayce.

EURAQUILO (Ac 27[14] RV).—There is some doubt as to the reading. The Greek MSS which are esteemed to be the best read *Euraklyon*; so do the Bohairic Version, which was made in Egypt in the 6th or 7th cent. from a MS very like these, and the Sahidic Version made in the 3rd cent.; the Vulgate Latin revision, made towards the close of the 4th cent., reads *Euroaquilo*, which points to a Greek original reading *Euroakylon*. Our later authorities, along with the Pesh. and Hark. Syriac, read *Euroclydon* (so AV). No doubt *Eur(o)akylon* is the correct name, and the other is an attempt to get a form capable of derivation. The word is, then, a sailor's word, and expresses an E.N.E. wind, by compounding two words, a Greek word (*euros*) meaning E. wind, and a Latin word (*aquilo*) meaning N.E. wind. This is exactly the kind of wind which frequently arises in Cretan waters at the present day, swooping down from the mountains in strong gusts and squalls. The

euraquilo which drove St. Paul's ship before it was the cause of the shipwreck. A. Souter.

EUTYCHUS.—A young man who fell down from a third storey while sleeping during St. Paul's sermon at Troas, and was 'taken up dead' (Ac 20[9]). St. Paul fell on him and, embracing him, declared life to be in him. It is not actually said that Eutychus was dead, but that seems at least to have been the general belief. The incident is described in parallel terms with the raising of Dorcas and of Jairus' daughter. A. J. Maclean.

EVANGELIST ('one who proclaims good tidings' ['evangel,' 'gospel']).—The word occurs 3 times in NT (Ac 21[8], Eph 4[11], 2 Ti 4[5]), and in each case with reference to the proclamation of the *Christian* gospel.

Ac 21[8] gives what appears to be the primary Christian use of the word. Philip, one of the Seven (cf. Ac 6[1-6]), is there called 'the evangelist.' And how he obtained this title is suggested when we find that immediately after Stephen's martyrdom he went forth from Jerusalem and 'preached the gospel' (literally *evangelized*) in Samaria, in the desert, and in all the cities of the coast-land between Azotus and Cæsarea (Ac 8[4-5. 12. 25. 35. 40]). In the first place, then, the evangelist was a travelling Christian missionary, one who preached the good news of Christ to those who had never heard it before.

In Eph 4[11] Apostles, prophets, evangelists, pastors, and teachers are all named as gifts bestowed on the Church by the ascended Christ. It is impossible to distinguish these 5 terms as referring to so many fixed ecclesiastical offices. There is no ground, *e.g.*, for thinking that there was an order of pastors and another of teachers in the early Church. St. Paul, again, while discharging the exceptional functions of the Apostolate, was himself the prince of evangelists and the greatest of Christian teachers. We conclude, therefore, that the evangelist as such was not an official, but one who, without having the higher powers of Apostleship or prophecy, or any special talent for teaching or pastoral work, had a gift for proclaiming the gospel as a message of saving love—a gift which was chiefly exercised, no doubt, by moving as Philip had done from place to place.

That 'evangelist' denotes *function* and not special office is confirmed by 2 Ti 4[5]. Timothy is exhorted to 'do the work of an evangelist,' but also to engage in tasks of moral supervision and patient doctrinal instruction (vv.[2. 3]) which suggest the settled pastor and stated teacher rather than the travelling missionary. In his earlier life, Timothy, as St Paul's travel-companion (Ac 16[ff.] 19[22] 20[4], Ro 16[21] etc.), had been an evangelist of the journeying type. But this passage seems to show that there is room for the evangelist at home as well as abroad, and that the faithful minister of Christ, in order to 'make full proof of his ministry,' will not only watch over the morals of his flock and attend to their up-building in sound doctrine, but seek to win outsiders to Christ by proclaiming the gospel of His grace.

The special use of 'evangelist' in the sense of an author of a *written* 'Gospel' or narrative of Christ's life, and specifically the author of one of the four canonical Gospels, is much later than the NT, no instance being found till the 3rd century. J. C. Lambert.

EVE (Heb. *Chawwāh*; the name probably denotes 'life': other proposed explanations are 'life-giving,' 'living,' 'kinship,' and some would connect it with an Arab. word for 'serpent').—**1.** Eve is little more, in Genesis, than a personification of human life which is perpetuated by woman. See Adam. **2.** In the NT Eve is mentioned in 2 Co 11[3], 1 Ti 2[13-15]. The former is a reference to her deception by the serpent. The latter teaches that since 'Adam was first formed, then Eve,' women must live in quiet subordination to their husbands. And a second reason seems to be added, *i.e.* that Adam was 'not deceived,' in the fundamental manner that Eve was, for 'the woman being completely deceived has come into [a state of] transgression.' Here St. Paul distinctly takes Eve to be a personification of all women. The personification continues in v.[15], which is obscure, and must be studied in the commentaries.

A. H. M'Neile.

EVENING.—See Time.

EVI.—One of the five kings of Midian slain (Nu 31[8], Jos 13[21]).

EVIDENTLY.—Ac 10[3] 'He saw in a vision evidently about the ninth hour of the day'; Gal 3[1] 'before whose eyes Jesus Christ hath been evidently set forth.' The meaning is *clearly*, or *openly* as in RV. Cf. *Rob. Crusoe* (Gold. Treas. ed. p. 250), 'He saw evidently what Stock of Corn and Rice I had laid up.'

EVIL is an older form of the word 'ill'; used, both as substantive and adjective, to tr. various synonyms and ranging in meaning from physical unfitness to moral wickedness. The former is archaic, but occurs in Gn 28[8] (AVm), Ex 21[8] (AVm), Jer 24[3] (AV), and Mt 7[18], though the two last passages are not without an ethical tinge. But the word almost invariably connotes what is either morally corrupt (see Sin) or injurious to life and happiness.

1. In the OT the two meanings are at first scarcely differentiated. Whatever comes to man from without is, to begin with, attributed simply to God (Am 3[6], La 3[38], Ezk 14[9], Is 45[7]). Destruction is wrought by His angels (Ex 12[23], 2 S 24[16], Ps 78[49]). Moral temptations come from Him (2 S 24[1], 1 K 22[23]), though there is a tendency to embody them in beings which, though belonging to the host of heaven, are spoken of as evil or lying spirits (1 S 16[14], Jg 9[23], 1 K 22[22]). The serpent of the Fall narrative cannot be pressed to mean more than a symbol of temptation, though the form which the temptation takes suggests hostility to the will of God external to the spirit of the woman (2 Co 11[3], cf. Gn 3[1-3]). Then later we have the figure of the Adversary or Satan, who, though still dependent on the will of God, is nevertheless so identified with evil that he is represented as taking the initiative in seduction (Zec 3[1], 1 Ch 21[1], but cf. 2 S 24[1]). This marks the growth of the sense of God's holiness (Dt 32[4] etc.), the purity which cannot behold evil (Hab 1[13]); and correspondingly sharpens the problem. Heathen gods are now identified with demons opposed to the God of Israel (Dt 32[17], Ps 106[37]; cf. 1 Co 10[20]). This tendency, increased perhaps by Persian influence, becomes dominant in apocryphal literature (2 P 2[4] and Jude [6] are based on the Book of Enoch), where the fallen angels are a kingdom at war with the Kingdom of God.

2. In the NT moral evil is never ascribed to God (Ja 1[13]), being essentially hostile to His mind and will (Ro 1[18-21] 5[10], 1 Jn 1[5-7] 2[16. 29] 3[4. 9]); but to the Evil One (Mt 6[13] 13[19], 1 Jn 5[19]), an active and personal being identical with the Devil (Mt 13[39], Jn 8[44]) or Satan (Mt 4[10], Mk 4[15], Lk 22[31], Jn 13[27]), who with his angels (Mt 25[41]) is cast down from heaven (Rev 12[9], cf. Lk 10[18]), goes to and fro in the earth as the universal adversary (1 P 5[8], Eph 4[27] 6[11], Ja 4[7]), and will be finally imprisoned with his ministering spirits (Rev 20[2. 10], cf. Mt 25[41]). Pain and suffering are ascribed sometimes to God (Rev 3[19], 1 Th 3[3], He 12[5-11]), inasmuch as all things work together for good to those that love Him (Ro 8[28]); sometimes to Satan (Lk 13[16], 2 Co 12[7]) and the demons (Mt 8[28] etc.), who are suffered to hurt the earth for a season (Rev 9[1-11] 12[12]).

The speculative question of the origin of evil is not resolved in Holy Scripture, being one of those things of which we are not competent judges (see Butler's *Analogy*, i. 7, cf. 1 Co 13[12]). Pain is justified by the redemption of the body (Ro 8[18-25], 1 P 4[13]), punishment by the peaceable fruits of righteousness (He 12[7-11]), and the permission of moral evil by the victory of the Cross (Jn 12[31], Ro 8[37-39], Col 2[15], 1 Co 15[24-28]). Accept the facts and look to the end is the teaching of the Bible as a guide to practical religion (Ja 5[11]). Beyond this we enter the region of that high theology which comprehensive thinkers like Aquinas or Calvin have not shrunk

from formulating, but which, so far as it is dealt with in the NT, appears rather as a by-product of evangelical thought, than as the direct purpose of revelation (as, *e.g.*, in Ro 9, where God's elective choice is stated only as the logical presupposition of grace). St. Paul is content to throw the responsibility for the moral facts of the universe upon God (Ro 9^{19-24}; cf. Job 33^{12}, Ec 5^2, Is 29^{16}), who, however, is not defined as capricious and arbitrary power, but revealed as the Father, who loves the creatures of His hand, and has foreordained all things to a perfect consummation in Christ the Beloved (Eph 1^{3-14} etc.). J. G. Simpson.

EVIL-MERODACH, the *Amel-Marduk* of the Babylonians, son and successor of Nebuchadrezzar on the throne of Babylon (2 K 25^{27-30}), promoted Jehoiachin in the 37th year of his captivity. He reigned B.C. 562–560. Berosus describes him as reigning lawlessly and without restraint, and he was put to death by his brother-in-law Neriglissar, who succeeded him. C. H. W. Johns.

EVIL SPEAKING in the Bible covers sins of untruthfulness as well as of malice. It includes abuse, thoughtless talebearing, imputing of bad motives, slander, and deliberate false witness. Warnings against it are frequent; it is forbidden in the legislation of the OT (Ninth Commandment; Dt 19^{16-19}) and of the NT (Mt 5^{22} 12^{32} 15^{19}). Christians must expect this form of persecution (Mt 5^{11}), but must be careful to give no handle to it (Ro 14^{16}, Tit 2^8, 1 P 2^{12} 3^{16}).

C. W. Emmet.

EVIL SPIRITS.—As a natural synonym for **demons** or devils, this phrase is used in the NT only by St. Luke (7^{21} 8^2, Ac $19^{12.\ 13.\ 15.\ 16}$), and presents no difficulty. But in the OT, especially the historical books, reference is made to an evil spirit as coming from or sent by God; and the context invests this spirit with personality. The treachery of the men of Shechem is so explained (Jg 9^{23}), though in this case the spirit may not be personal but merely a temper or purpose of ill-will. Elsewhere there is not the same ground for doubt: 'an evil spirit from the Lord' is the alleged cause of Saul's moodiness (1 S 16^{14}, where notice the antithetical 'the spirit of the Lord'), and of his raving against David (1 S 18^{10} 19^9). Similarly Micaiah speaks of 'a lying spirit' from God (1 K 22^{21-23}, 2 Ch 18^{20-23}). It has been suggested that in all these cases the reference is to God Himself as exerting power, and effecting good or evil in men according to the character of each. The nearest approach to this is perhaps in Ex $12^{13.\ 23}$, where Jehovah and the destroyer are apparently identified, though the language admits equally of the view that the destroyer is the agent of Jehovah's will (cf. 2 S 24^{16}). But the theory is inconsistent with what is known to have been the current demonology of the day (see Devil), as well as with the natural suggestion of the phrases. These spirits are not represented as constituting the personal energy of God, but as under His control, which was direct and active according to some of the writers, but only permissive according to others. The fact of God's control is acknowledged by all, and is even a postulate of Scripture; and in using or permitting the activity of these spirits God is assumed or asserted to be punishing people for their sins. In this sense He has 'a band of angels of evil' (Ps 78^{49}), who may yet be called 'angels of the Lord' (2 K 19^{35}, Is 37^{36}), as carrying out His purposes. Micaiah evidently considered Zedekiah as used by God in order to entice Ahab to his merited doom. Ezekiel propounds a similar view (14^9), that a prophet may be deceived by God, and so made the means of his own destruction and of that of his dupes, much as David was moved to number Israel through the anger of the Lord against the people (2 S 24^1). As the conception of God developed and was purified, the permitted action of some evil spirit is substituted for the Divine activity, whether direct or through the agency of messengers, considered as themselves ethically good but capable of employment on any kind of service. Accordingly the Chronicler represents Satan as the instigator of David (1 Ch 21^1). Jeremiah denies the inspiration of lying prophets, and makes them entirely responsible for their own words and influence ($23^{16.\ 21.\ 25f.}$); they are not used by God, and will be called to account. They speak out of their own heart, and are so far from executing God's justice or anger upon the wicked that He interposes to check them, and to protect men from being misled.

An evil spirit, therefore, wherever the phrase occurs in a personal sense in the earlier historical books of the OT, must be thought of simply as an angel or messenger of God, sent for the punishment of evil (cf. 1 S 19^9 RVm). His coming to a man was a sign that God's patience with him was approaching exhaustion, and a prelude of doom. Gradually the phrase was diverted from this use to denote a personal spirit, the 'demon' of the NT margin, essentially evil and working against God, though powerless to withdraw entirely from His rule. R. W. Moss.

EXCELLENCY, EXCELLENT.—These English words are used for a great variety of Heb. and Gr. expressions, a complete list of which will be found in Driver's *Daniel* (Camb. Bible). The words (from Lat. *excello*, 'to rise up out of,' 'surpass') formerly had the meaning of *pre-eminence* and *pre-eminent*, and were thus good equivalents for the Heb. and Gr. expressions. But since 1611 they have become greatly weakened; and, as Driver says, 'it is to be regretted that they have been retained in RV in passages in which the real meaning is something so very different.' The force of 'excellency' may be clearly seen in the margin of AV at Gn 4^7, where 'have the excellency' is suggested for 'be accepted' in the text; or the marg. at Ec. 2^{13}, where instead of 'wisdom excelleth folly' is suggested 'there is an excellency in wisdom more than in folly.' In Dn 1^{20} it is said that 'in all matters of wisdom and understanding, that the king inquired of them, he found them ten times better than all the magicians and astrologers that were in all his realm'; and this is summed up in the heading of the chapter in the words, 'their excellency in wisdom.' The force of 'excellent,' again, may be seen from the table in Hamilton's *Catechism*, 'Of the pre-eminent and excellent dignitie of the Paternoster'; or from Sir John Mandeville, *Travels*, p. 1, 'the Holy Land, . . . passing all other lands, is the most worthy land, most excellent, and lady and sovereign of all other lands.'

EXCHANGER.—See Money-Changer.

EXCOMMUNICATION.—In the OT the sentence against those who refused to part with their 'strange' wives (Ezr 10^8)—'his substance shall be confiscated and he himself separated'—is the earliest instance of ecclesiastical excommunication. This was a milder form of the ancient Heb. *chērem*, **curse** or **ban**, which in the case of man involved death (Lv 27^{29}), and devotion or destruction in the case of property. The horror of this curse or *chērem* hangs over the OT (Mal 4^6, Zec 14^{11}). *Anathema*, the LXX equivalent of *chērem* (*e.g.* in Dt 7^{26}, Jos 6^{17}, Nu 21^3), appears in 1 Co 16^{22} 'If any love not the Lord, let him be *anathema*' (which refers, as does also Gal 1^8, to a permanent exclusion from the Church and doubtless from heaven), and in 1 Co 12^3 'No one speaking in the Spirit of God says, Jesus is *anathema*,' *i.e.* a *chērem* or cursed thing under the ban of God. Here there may be a reference to a Jewish *brocard* which afterwards gave rise to the Jewish tradition that Jesus was excommunicated by the Jews. The forms said to be in vogue in His day were: (1) *niddūi*, a short sentence of thirty days; (2) *chērem*, which involved loss of all religious privileges for a considerable time; (3) *shammattā*, complete expulsion or *aquae et ignis interdictio*. This last form, however, lacks attestation.

References in the NT to some form of Jewish procedure are: Jn 9^{22} 12^{42} 16^2, Lk 6^{22}. Mt 18^{15-17} may be a reference to some Jewish procedure that was taken over by the Church. It mentions admonition: (1) in

private, (2) in the presence of two or three witnesses, (3) in the presence of the Church. The sentence 'let him be to thee as the heathen and the publican' involved loss of social and spiritual privileges (cf. Tit 3^{10}). 1 Co 5^4 shows a formal assembly met 'in the name of our Lord Jesus Christ' to deliver one guilty of incest unto Satan, for the destruction of the flesh. The purpose of the punishment, 'that the spirit may be saved in the day of the Lord' (v.^{5})—is remedial, and shows that the sentence is not a life one, as *anathema* seems to be (cf. 1 Ti 1^{20}, where Hymenæus and Alexander are *delivered* to *Satan*, that they may be taught not to blaspheme). The Gr. word *exarate*, 'remove,' used in 1 Co 5^{13}, suggests *ara*, which means both '**curse**' and 'prayer.' In this case, at all events, the curse was intended to lead to penitence and prayer. 2 Co 2^{6-11} seems to refer to a different case. Here the censure or punishment was given by 'the majority' without Paul's intervention, as in 1 Co 5^4; the purpose of his writing here is 'that your (*v.l.* 'our') care for us (*v.l.* 'you') might be made manifest in the sight of God'; but there he writes for the man's sake; here the sinner is discussed with leniency, there the case is stated with due severity. If the case be a new one, it shows a growing independence of the Christian communities, and also that the Corinthians had received a salutary lesson. The phrase 'lest an advantage should be gained over us by Satan' (2 Co 2^{11}) refers to the term of excommunication which St. Paul wished to end, lest the punishment should defeat its end and lead to ruin instead of recovery, and so Satan should hold what was only, metaphorically speaking, lent to him to hurt. In 2 Th $3^{14.\ 15}$ the Apostle orders an informal and less severe excommunication of those who obey not his word. Its purpose, too, is remedial: 'that he may be ashamed.' St. John (2 Jn ^{10}) orders a similar form, and 3 Jn $^{9.\ 10}$ describes the manner in which Diotrephes receives neither him nor the brethren, does not permit others to receive them, and casts them out of the Church—the first instance of one party in the Christian Church excommunicating another for difference of doctrine. The loss of social and spiritual intercourse was intended to lead, in such cases, to recantation of opinions, as in others to repentance for sin.

F. R. Montgomery Hitchcock.

EXILE.—See Israel, I. 23.

EXODUS.—The book relates the history of Israel from the death of Joseph to the erection of the Tabernacle in the second year of the Exodus. In its present form, however, it is a harmony of three separate accounts.

1. The narrative of P. which can be most surely distinguished, is given first.

Beginning with a list of the sons of Israel (1^{1-5}), it briefly relates the oppression ($1^{7.\ 13f.}$ 2^{23b-25}), and describes the call of Moses, which takes place in Egypt, the revelation of the name *Jahweh*, and the appointment of Aaron (6^{1}–7^{13}). The plagues ($7^{19.\ 20a.\ 21b.\ 22}$ $8^{5-7.\ 15b-19}$ 9^{8-12} $11^{9f.}$), which are wrought by Aaron, form a trial of strength with Pharaoh's magicians. The last plague introduces directions for the Passover, the feast of unleavened bread, the sanctification of the firstborn, and the annual Passover ($12^{1-20.\ 28.\ 40-51}$ $13^{1f.}$). Hence emphasis is laid, not on the blood-sprinkling, but on the eating, which was the perpetual feature.

The route to the Red Sea (which gives occasion to a statement about the length of the sojourn. $12^{40f.}$) is represented as deliberately chosen in order that Israel and Egypt may witness Jahweh's power over Pharaoh (12^{37} 13^{20} 14^{1-4}). When Moses stretches out his hand, the waters are miraculously divided and restored ($14^{8f.\ 15a.\ 16b-18.\ 21ac.\ 22f.\ 26.\ 27a.\ 28a.}$ 15^{19}).

Between the Red Sea and Sinai the names of some halting places are given (16^{1-3} 17^{1a} 19^{2a}). Ch. 16 is also largely (vv.$^{6-13a.\ 16-24.\ 31-36}$) from P. But the mention of the Tabernacle in v.^{34} proves the story to belong to a later date than the stay at Sinai, since the Tabernacle was not in existence before Sinai. Probably the narrative has been brought into its present position by the editor.

On the arrival at Sinai, Jahweh's glory appears in a fiery cloud on the mountain. As no priests have been consecrated, and the people must not draw near, Moses ascends alone to receive the tables of the testimony ($24^{15b-18a}$) written by Jahweh on both sides. He remains (probably for 40 days) to receive plans for a sanctuary, with Jahweh's promise to meet with Israel (in the Tent of Meeting) and to dwell with Israel (in the Tabernacle) (25^{1}–31^{18a} 32^{15}). He returns (34^{29-35}), deposits the testimony in an ark he has caused to be prepared, and constructs the Tabernacle (35–40). The differing order in the plans as ordered and as executed, and the condition of the text in the LXX, prove that these sections underwent alterations before reaching their present form.

This account was evidently written for men who were otherwise acquainted with the leading facts of the history. It is dominated by two leading interests: (1) to insist in its own way that everything which makes Israel a nation is due to Jahweh, so that the religion and the history are interwoven; (2) to give a history of the origins, especially of the ecclesiastical institutions, of Israel.

2. The narrative of JE.—The rest of the book is substantially from JE, but it is extremely difficult to distinguish J from E. For (1) with the revelation of the name of Jahweh, one of our criteria, the avoidance of this name by E disappears; (2) special care has been taken to weld the accounts of the law-giving together, and it is often difficult to decide how much is the work of the editor. We give the broad lines of the separation, but remark that in certain passages this must remain tentative.

A. *Israel in Egypt.*

According to J, the people are cattle-owners, living apart in Goshen, where they increase so rapidly as to alarm Pharaoh ($1^{6.\ 8-12}$). Moses, after receiving his revelation and commission in Midian (2^{11-22} $3^{2-4a.\ 5.\ 7f.\ 16-20}$ $4^{1-16.\ 19.\ 20a.\ 24-26a.\ 29-31}$), demands from Pharaoh liberty to depart three days' journey to sacrifice ($5^{3.\ 5-23}$). On Pharaoh's refusal, the plagues, which are natural calamities brought by Jahweh, and which are limited to Egypt, follow Moses' repeated announcement ($7^{14.\ 16.\ 17a.\ 18.\ 21a.\ 24f.}$ $8^{1-4\ 8-15a\ 20-}$ $9^{7.\ 13-35}$ $10^{1-11.\ 13b.\ 14b.\ 15a.\ 15c-19.\ 24-26.\ 28f.}$ 11^{4-8}). In connexion with the Passover (12^{21-27}), blood-sprinkling, not eating, is insisted on. The escape is hurried ($^{29-34.\ 37-39}$), and so a historical meaning is attached to the use of unleavened bread (13^{3-16} [based on J]).

According to E, the people live among the Egyptians as royal pensioners and without cattle. Their numbers are so small that two midwives suffice for them ($1^{15-20a.\ 21f.}$). Moses (2^{1-10}), whose father-in-law is Jethro (3^{1}), receives his revelation ($3^{6.\ 9b-15.\ 21f.}$) and commission ($4^{17f.\ 20-23.\ 27f.}$). Obeying, he demands that Israel be freed ($5^{1f.\ 4}$) in order to worship their God on this mountain—a greater distance than three days' journey. E's account of the plagues has survived merely in fragments, but from these it would appear that Moses speaks only once to Pharaoh, and that the plagues follow his mere gesture while the miraculous element is heightened ($7^{15.\ 17b.\ 20b.\ 23}$ 9^{22-26} $10^{12.\ 13a.\ 14a.\ 15b.\ 20-23.\ 27}$). The Israelites, however, have no immunity except from the darkness. The Exodus is deliberate, since the people have time to borrow from their neighbours (11^{1-3} $12^{35f.}$).

B. *The Exodus.*

According to J, an unarmed host is guided by the pillar of fire and cloud ($13^{21f.}$). Pharaoh pursues to recover his slaves ($14^{5f.}$), and when the people are dismayed, Moses encourages them ($14^{10-14.\ 19b.\ 20b.}$). An east wind drives back the water, so that the Israelites are able to cross during the night ($14^{21b.\ 24.\ 25b.\ 27b.\ 28f.\ 30f.}$), but the water returns to overwhelm the Egyptians. Israel offers thanks in a hymn of praise (15^{1}); but soon in the wilderness tempts Jahweh by murmuring for water (vv.$^{22-25a.\ 27}$ $17^{3.\ 2b.\ 7}$).

According to E, an armed body march out in so leisurely a fashion that they are able to bring Joseph's bones. For fear of the Philistines they avoid the route of the isthmus (13^{17-19}). Pharaoh pursues ($14^{9a.\ 10b.}$), but the people, protected by an angel, cross when Moses lifts his rod (vv.$^{15b.\ 16a.\ 19a.\ 20a.\ 25a.\ 29}$). The women celebrate the escape ($15^{2.\ 18.\ 20f.}$); and in the wilderness Jahweh tests Israel, whether they can live on a daily provision from Him ($16^{4.\ 15a.\ 19a.\ 16a.\ 19b-21.\ 35a}$). Water, for which they murmur, is brought by Moses striking the rock with his rod ($17^{1b.\ 2a.\ 4-6.\ 7b}$). Jethro visits and advises Moses (ch. 18 [in the main from E]). The condition of the account of the journey between the Red Sea and Sinai, and the fact that events of a later date have certainly come into P's

account, make it likely that JE had very little on this stage, the account of which was amplified with material from the wilderness journey after Sinai.

C. *At Sinai* [here the accounts are exceptionally difficult to disentangle, and the results correspondingly tentative].

According to J, Jahweh descends on Sinai in fire (19$^{2b. 18}$), and commands the people to remain afar off, while the consecrated priests approach (vv.$^{11b. 12. 20-22. 24f.}$). Aaron, Nadab, Abihu, and 70 elders ascend (24$^{1f.}$) and celebrate a covenant feast (vv.$^{9-11}$). Moses then goes up alone to receive the Ten Words on tables which he himself has hewn, and remaining 40 days and 40 nights receives also the Book of the Covenant (ch. 34) [J's statement as to the 40 days has been omitted in favour of E's, but its presence in his account can be inferred from references in 34$^{1. 4}$]. Ch. 34 is also inserted at this point, because its present position is eminently unsuitable after the peremptory command in J and E to leave Sinai (32^{34} 33$^{1-3}$). Hearing from Jahweh of the rebellion (32$^{7-12. 14}$), Moses intercedes for forgiveness, and descends to quell the revolt with help from the Levites (vv.$^{25-29}$). He further intercedes that Jahweh should still lead His people, and obtains a promise of the Divine presence (33$^{1. 3. 12-23}$). This was probably followed by Nu 10$^{29ff.}$. The Law he deposits in an ark which must already have been prepared.

J's law (ch. 34) is the outcome of the earliest effort to embody the essential observances of the Jahweh religion. The feasts are agricultural festivals without the historical significance given them in Deuteronomy, and the observances are of a ceremonial character, for, according to J, it is the priests who are summoned to Sinai. Efforts have been frequently made (since Goethe suggested it) to prove that this is J's decalogue—a ceremonial decalogue. Any division into 10 laws, however, has always an artificial character.

According to E, Jahweh descends in a cloud before the whole people (19^{3-11a}), whom Moses therefore sanctifies (vv.$^{14-17}$). They hear Jahweh utter the Decalogue (v.^{19} 20$^{1-17}$), but, as they are afraid (20$^{18-21}$), the further revelation with its covenant is delivered to Moses alone (20^{22}–23^{33} in part). The people, however, assent to its terms (24$^{3-8}$). Moses ascends the Mount with Joshua to receive the stone tables, on which Jahweh has inscribed the Decalogue (24^{12-15a}), and remains 40 days (v.^{18b}) to receive further commands. He returns with the tables (31^{18b}), to discover and deal with the outbreak of idolatry (32$^{1-6. 16-24}$). On his intercession he receives a promise of angelic guidance (vv.$^{30-35}$). From verses in ch. 33 (vv.$^{4. 5-11}$) which belong to E and from Dt 10$^{3. 5}$ (based on E), this account related the making of an ark and Tent of Meeting, the latter adorned with the people's discarded ornaments. When JE was combined with P, this narrative, being superfluous alongside 25 ff., was omitted.

E's account thus contains three of the four collections of laws found in Exodus, for 21–23 consists of two codes, a civil (21–22^{16}) and a ceremonial (22^{17}–23^{33} [roughly]). Probably the ceremonial section was originally E's counterpart to ch. 34 in J, while the civil section may have stood in connexion with ch. 18. As it now stands, E is the prophetic version of the law-giving. The basis of the Jahweh religion is the Decalogue with its clearly marked moral and spiritual character. (Cf. art. Deuteronomy.) This is delivered not to the priests (like ch. 34 in J), but to the whole people. When, however, the people shrink back, Moses, the prophetic intermediary, receives the further law from Jahweh. Yet the ceremonial and civil codes have a secondary place, and are parallel. The Decalogue, a common possession of the whole nation, with its appeal to the people's moral and religious sense, is fundamental. On it all the national institutions, whether civil or ceremonial, are based. Civil and ceremonial law have equal authority and equal value. As yet, however, the principles which inform the Decalogue are not brought into conscious connexion with the codes which control and guide the national life. The Book of Deuteronomy proves how at a later date the effort was made to penetrate the entire legislation with the spirit of the Decalogue, and to make this a means by which the national life was guided by the national faith.

The following view of the history of the codes is deserving of notice. E before its union with J contained three of these codes: the Decalogue as the basis of the Covenant; the Book of the Covenant, leading up to the renewal of the Covenant; and the Book of Judgments, which formed part of Moses' parting address on the plains of Moab. The editor who combined J and E, wishing to retain J's version of the Covenant, used it for the account of the renewal of the Covenant, and united E's Book of the Covenant, thus displaced, with the Decalogue as the basis of the first Covenant. The editor who combined JE with D, displaced E's Book of Judgments in favour of Deuteronomy, which he made Moses' parting address; and combined the displaced Book of Judgments with the Book of the Covenant.

The view represented in the article, however, explains the phenomena adequately, is much simpler, and requires fewer hypotheses.

A. C. Welch.

EXORCISM.—The word may be defined as denoting the action of expelling an evil spirit by the performance of certain rites, including almost always the invocation of a reputedly holy name. An anticipation of the later methods occurs in David's attempt to expel Saul's melancholia by means of music (1 S 16$^{16. 23}$); and in the perception of the benefit of music may possibly be found the origin of the incantations that became a marked feature of the process. A more complicated method is prescribed by the angel Raphael (To 6$^{16f.}$ 8^{2}). In NT times the art had developed; professional exorcists had become numerous (Ac 19$^{13. 19}$), whilst other persons were adepts, and practised as occasion needed (Mt 12^{27}. Lk 11^{19}). An old division of the Babylonian religious literature (cf. *Cuneif. Texts from Tablets in Brit. Mus.*, pts. xvi., xvii.) contains many specimens of incantations; and the connexion of the Jews with that country, especially during the Exile, is an obvious explanation of the great extension both of the conception of the influence of demons and of the means adopted for their treatment. Exorcism was a recognized occupation and need in the Jewish life of the first century, as it became afterwards in certain sections of the Christian Church.

In the procedure and formulæ of exorcism, differences are traceable in the practice of the Jews, of Christ, and of His disciples. An illustration of the Jewish method may be found in Josephus (*Ant.* viii. ii. 5), who claims Solomon for its author, and describes a case that he had himself witnessed. Other instances occur in the papyri (*e.g.* Dieterich, *Abraxas*, 138ff.), and in the Talmud (*e.g. Berakhoth*, 51*a*; *Pesachim*, 112*b*). The vital part of the procedure was the invocation of a name (or a series of names, of a deity or an angel, at the mention of which the evil spirit was supposed to recognize the presence of a superior power and to decline a combat, as though a spell had been put upon him. Christ, on the other hand, uses no spell, but in virtue of His own authority bids the evil spirits retire, and they render His slightest word unquestioning obedience. Sometimes He describes Himself as acting 'by the finger of God' (Lk 11^{20}) or 'by the Spirit of God' (Mt 12^{28}), and sometimes His will is indicated even without speech (Lk 13$^{13. 16}$); but the general method is a stern or peremptory command (Mt 8^{16}, Mk 1^{25} 9^{25}, Lk 8^{29}). He does not require any previous preparation on the part of the sufferer, though occasionally (Mk 9$^{23f.}$) He uses the incident to excite faith on the part of the relatives. His own personality, His mere presence on the scene, are enough to alarm the evil spirits and to put an end to their mischief. In the case of His disciples, the power to exorcise was given both before and after the resurrection (Mt 10$^{1. 8}$, Mk 3^{15} 16^{17}, Lk 9^{1}), and was successfully exercised by them (Mk 6^{13}, Lk 10^{17}, Ac 5^{16} 8^{7} 19^{12}); but the authority was derived, and on that ground, if not by explicit command (cf. 'in my name,' Mk 16^{17}), the invocation of the name of Jesus was probably substituted for His direct command. That was clearly the course adopted by St. Paul (Ac 16^{18} 19$^{13-16}$), as by St. Peter and the Apostles generally in other miracles (Ac 3^{6} 4^{10}, Ja 5^{14}). The name of Jesus was not recited as a spell, but appealed to as the source of all spiritual

power, as not only the badge of discipleship but the name of the ever-present Lord of spirits and Saviour of men (Mt 28[19f.], Jn 14[13]). R. W. Moss.

EXPECT.—'From henceforth expecting till his enemies be made his footstool' (He 10[13]), that is, waiting. In the Douai Bible the comment on Sir 11[8] is: 'Expect the end of another man's speech before you begin to answer. Expect also if anie that is elder, or better able, wil answer first.'

EXPERIENCE.—This word, which plays so large a part in modern philosophy and religion, occurs 4 times (including 'experiment') in EV. Of these instances only one survives in RV, viz., Ec 1[16], where 'hath had great experience of' = 'hath seen much of (wisdom),' etc. In Gn 30[27] 'I have learnt by experience' (= 'experiment') becomes 'I have divined,' the Heb. vb. being the same as in Gn 44[5. 15], Dt 18[10]. In Ro 5[4] (RV 'probation') 'experience,' and in 2 Co 9[13] (RV 'proving') 'experiment,' was the rendering of a Gr. word borrowed from the assaying of metal, which signified the *testing*, or *test*, of personal worth; the same noun appears in AV as 'trial' (RV 'proof') in 2 Co 2[9] 8[2], and 'proof' in 2 Co 13[3] and Ph 2[22]. 'Christian experience,' in modern phraseology, covers what is spoken of in Scripture as the knowledge of God, of Christ, etc., and as 'the seal' or 'witness (testimony) of the Holy Spirit,' 'of our conscience,' etc., or as peace, assurance, salvation, and the like. Cf. next article. G. G. Findlay.

EXPERIMENT.—In 2 Co 9[13] 'experiment' means *proof:* 'by the experiment of this ministration they glorify God.' It is proof arising out of experience, as in Hall, *Works*, iii. 467: 'We have known, indeed, some holy souls, which out of the generall precepts of piety, and their own happy experiments of God's mercy, have, through the grace of God, grown to a great measure of perfection this way; which yet might have been much expedited and compleated, by those helps which the greater illumination and experience of others might have afforded them.' Cf. preced. article.

EYE.—The eye was supposed to be the organ or window by which light had access to the whole body (Mt 6[22]). For beauty of eyes cf. 1 S 16[12] [RVm], Ca 1[15] 5[12], and the name *Dorcas* in Ac 9[36]; in Gn 29[17] the reference seems to be to Leah's *weak* eyes (so Driver, *ad loc.*). The wanton or alluring eyes of women are referred to in Pr 6[25], Is 3[16]. Their beauty was intensified by painting, **antimony** being used for darkening the eyelashes (2 K 9[30], Jer 4[30], Ezk 23[40] [all RV]). *Keren-happuch* (Job 42[14]) means 'horn of eyepaint.' Pr 23[29] speaks of the drunkard's redness of eye. In Dt 6[8] 14[1] 'between the eyes' means 'on the forehead.' Shaving the eyebrows was part of the purification of the leper (Lv 14[9]).

'Eye' is used in many *figurative phrases:* as the avenue of temptation (Gn 3[6], Job 31[1]); of spiritual knowledge and blindness, as indicating feelings—pride (2 K 19[22]), favour [especially God's providence (Ps 33[18])], hostility (Ps 10[8]). An *evil eye* implies envy (Mk 7[22]; cf. 1 S 18[9], the only use of the verb in this sense in English) or niggardliness (Dt 15[9], Pr 28[22], and probably Mt 6[22], where the 'single eye' may mean 'liberality'; cf. Pr 22[9]). In Gn 20[16] 'covering of the eyes' means 'forgetfulness of what has happened.' In Rev 3[18] **eye-salve** or collyrium is a Phrygian powder mentioned by Galen, for which the medical school at Laodicea seems to have been famous. (See Ramsay, *Seven Churches.*) The reference is to the restoring of spiritual vision. C. W. Emmet.

EZBAI.—The father of Naarai, one of David's mighty men (1 Ch 11[37]).

EZBON.—**1.** Eponym of a Gadite family (Gn 46[16]), called in Nu 26[16] **Ozni**. **2.** A grandson of Benjamin (1 Ch 7[7]).

EZEKIAS.—**1.** (AV **Ezechias**) 1 Es 9[14] = **Jahzeiah**. Ezr 10[15]. **2.** (AV **Ezecias** 1 Es 9[43], called **Hilkiah** in Neh 8[4].

EZEKIEL (='Jahweh strengthens'). I. The Man. —Ezekiel was the son of Buzi, a priest of the family of Zadok, and was carried into exile with Jehoiachin, B.C. 597 (2 K 24[8ff.]). Josephus (*Ant.* x. vi. 3) states that he was a boy at the time; but this is doubtful, for in the fifth year from then he was old enough to be called to the prophetic office (1[2]), and could speak of his youth as long past (4[14]); in the ninth year his wife dies (24[16]); his acquaintance with the Temple is best explained by supposing that he had officiated there, and the predictions in ch. 38f. read as though he remembered the inroad of B.C. 626. He and his fellow-exiles formed an organized community, presided over by elders, at Tel-Abib, on the banks of the canal Chebar (3[15]). Ezekiel lived in a house of his own (3[24]), and, for at least 22 years (1[2] 29[17]), endeavoured to serve his people. His call was prefaced by an impressive vision of the Divine glory, and the expression, 'the hand of J" was upon me' (1[3] 8[1] 37[1] 40[1]), indicates that the revelations which he received came to him in a state of trance or ecstasy; cf. also 3[15. 25] with 24[27]. His message met at first with contemptuous rejection (3[7]), and the standing title, 'a rebellious house,' shows that he never achieved the result which he desired. Yet there was something in his speech which pleased the ears of the captives, and brought them to his house for counsel (8[1] 14[1] 20[1] 33[30-33]). No doubt his character also commanded attention. His moral courage was impressive (3[8]); he ever acted as 'a man under authority,' accepting an unpleasant commission and adhering to it in spite of speedy (3[14]) and constant suffering (3[18ff.] 33[7]); even when he sighs it is at God's bidding (21[6. 7]), and when his beloved wife dies he restrains his tears and resumes his teaching (24[15-18]). Part of his message was given in writing, but the spoken word is in evidence too (3[10] 11[25] 20[3] 24[18] 33[30-33]). It has been said that he was 'pastor rather than prophet,' and this would not be far from the truth if it ran, 'pastor as well as prophet,' for he both watched over individual souls and claimed the ear of the people. Again, he has been called 'a priest in prophet's garb,' for the thoughts and principles of the priesthood controlled his conduct (4[14]), come out amidst the vigorous ethical teaching of chapter 33, and give its distinctive colouring to the programme unfolded at the close of the book. We know nothing of his later life. Clem. Alex. refers to the legend that he met Pythagoras and gave him instruction. Pseudo-Epiphanius and others assert that he was martyred by a Hebrew whom he had rebuked for idolatry. His reputed grave, a few days' journey from Baghdad, was a pilgrimage resort of the mediæval Jews.

II. The Book. **1. Division and Contents.**—Two halves are sharply differentiated from each other in matter and tone. The change synchronized with the beginning of the siege of Jerusalem (24[1. 2]). Chs. 1–24 contain denunciations of sin and predictions of judgment; 25–48 are occupied with the hopes of the future. In the first division we distinguish: 1. The Introduction (1–3[21]). 2. The first series of prophecies in act and word (3[22]–7). 3. The abominations practised in Jerusalem (8–11). 4. Sins, reasonings, stern threats (12–19). 5. The same subject, and the beginning of the end (20–24). In the second division: 1. The removal of hostile neighbours (25–32). 2. The moral requirements now to be met; the destruction of the last enemy (33–39). 3. A sketch of the community of the future (40–48). In both parts there is a scrupulous exactness of dating, unexampled in any earlier prophet (1[1. 2] 8[1] 20[1] 24[1] 26[1] 29[1. 17] 30[20] 31[1] 32[1. 17] 33[21] 40[1]).

Ezekiel's verdict on the national history is of unmixed severity. From their starting-point in Egypt the people

had behaved ill (cf. 20^{5-13} with Jer 2^{2}). Jerusalem—to him almost synonymous with the nation—was pagan in origin and character (16). The root of their wickedness was an inveterate love of idolatry (*passim*). Even Ezekiel's own contemporaries longed to be heathens: their God could hold them back only by extreme violence (20^{32-38}). The exiles were somewhat less guilty than their brethren in Jerusalem ($14^{22f.}$). But, on the whole, princes, priests, and people were an abandoned race. They loved the worship of the high places, which, according to Ezekiel, had always been idolatrous and illegitimate. They ate flesh with the blood in it, disregarded the Sabbath, polluted the Temple with ceremonial and moral defilements, committed adultery and other sexual abominations, were guilty of murder, oppression, the exaction of usury, harshness to debtors. The list can be paralleled from other Prophetic writings, but the stress is here laid on offences against God. And this is in accordance with the strong light in which Ezekiel always sees the Divine claims. The vision with which the whole opens points to His transcendent majesty. The title, 'son of man,' by which the prophet is addressed 116 times, marks the gulf between the creature and his Maker. The most regrettable result of Israel's calamities is that they seem to suggest impotence on Jahweh's part to protect His own. The motive which has induced Him to spare them hitherto, and will, hereafter, ensure their restoration, is the desire to vindicate His own glory. In the ideal future the prince's palace shall be built at a proper distance from Jahweh's, and not even the prince shall ever pass through the gate which has been hallowed by the returning glory of the Lord. Hence it is natural that the reformation and restoration of Israel are God's work. He will sprinkle clean water on them, give them a new heart, produce in them humility and self-loathing. He will destroy their foes and bless their land with supernatural fertility. It was He who had sought amongst them in vain for one who might be their Saviour. It was He who in His wrath had caused them to immolate their children in sacrifice. God is all in all. Yet the people have their part to play. Ezekiel protests against the traditional notion that the present generation were suffering for their ancestors' faults: to acquiesce in that is to deaden the sense of responsibility and destroy the springs of action. Here he joins hands with Jer. (Jer $31^{29f.}$), both alike coming to close quarters with the individual conscience. He pushes almost too far the truth that a change of conduct brings a change of fortune (33^{14-16}). But there is immense practical value in his insistence on appropriate action, his appeal to the individual, and the tenderness of the appeal ($18^{23.\ 31}$ 33^{11}). Nowhere is Jahweh's longing for the deliverance of His people more pathetically expressed. And, notwithstanding their continual wrongdoing, the bond of union is so close that He resents as a personal wrong the spitefulness of their neighbours (25–32. 35). The heathen, as such, have no future, although individual heathen settlers will share the common privileges ($47^{22f.}$).

The concluding chapters, 40–48, 'the weightiest in the book,' are a carefully elaborated sketch of the polity of repatriated Israel—Israel, *i.e*, not as a nation, but as an ecclesiastical organization. In the foreground is the Temple and its services. Its position, surroundings, size, arrangements, are minutely detailed; even the place and number of the tables on which the victims must be slain are settled. The ordinances respecting the priesthood are precise; none but the Zadokites may officiate; priests who had ministered outside Jerusalem are reduced to the menial duties of the sanctuary (cf. Dt 18^{8}). Adequate provision is made for the maintenance of the legitimate priests. Rules are laid down to ensure their ceremonial purity. The office of high priest is not recognized. And there is no real king. In ch. 37 the ruler, of David's line, seems to count for something; not so here. True, he is warned against oppressing his subjects (45^{9} 46^{16-18}), but he has no political rôle. A domain is set apart to provide him a revenue, and his chief function is to supply the sacrifices for the festivals. The country is divided into equal portions, one for each tribe, all of whom are brought back to the Holy Land. No land is to be permanently alienated from the family to which it was assigned. God's glory returns to the remodelled and rebuilt sanctuary, and Ezekiel's prophecy reaches its climax in the concluding words, 'The name of the city from that day shall be, Jahweh is there.' It would be difficult to exaggerate the effect which this Utopia has produced. Some details, such as the equal division of the land, the arrangements respecting the position and revenue of the prince, the relation of the tribes to the city, were impracticable. But the limitation of the priesthood to a particular class, the introduction of a much more scrupulous avoidance of ceremonial defilement, the eradication of pagan elements of worship, the exclusion of all rival objects of worship, went a long way towards creating Judaism. And whilst this has been the practical result, the chapters in question, together with Ezekiel's visions of the chariot and cherubim, have had no little influence in the symbolism and imaginative presentment of Jewish apocalyptic literature and Christian views of the unseen world.

2. Style.—Notwithstanding the favourable opinion of Schiller, who wished to learn Heb. in order to read Ezekiel, it is impossible to regard this prophet as one of the greatest masters of style. His prolixity has been adduced as a proof of advanced age. Repetitions abound. Certain words and formulas recur with wearisome frequency: 'I, Jahweh, have spoken,' 'They shall know that I am Jahweh' (56 times), 'Time of the iniquity of the end,' 'A desolation and an astonishment'; Ezekiel's favourite word for 'idols' is used no fewer than 38 times. The book abounds in imagery, but this suffers from the juxtaposition of incongruous elements (17^{3-6} 32^{2}), a mixture of the figurative and the literal ($31^{17f.}$), inaptness (11^{3} 15^{1-5}): that in chs. 16 and 23 is offensive to Western but probably not to Eastern taste; that of the Introductory Vision was partly suggested by the composite forms seen in the temples and palaces of Babylonia, and is difficult to conceive of as a harmonious whole. But as a rule Ezekiel sees very distinctly the things he is dealing with, and therefore describes them clearly. Nothing could be more forcible than his language concerning the sins that prevailed. The figures of $29^{3f.}$ 34^{1-19} 37^{1-14} are very telling. There is genuine lyric force in 27^{26-32} 32^{17-32}, and other dirges; there is a charming idyllic picture in 34^{25-31}. The abundant use of symbolic actions claims notice. Ezekiel's ministry opens with a rough drawing on a tile, and no other prophet resorted so often to like methods of instruction.

3. Text, integrity, and canonicity.—Ezekiel shares with Samuel the unenviable distinction of having the most corrupt text in the OT. Happily the LXX, and in a minor degree the Targum and the Pesh., enable us to make many indisputable corrections. Parallel texts, internal probability, and conjecture have also contributed to the necessary reconstruction, but there remain no small number of passages where it is impossible to be certain. The integrity of the book admits of no serious question. Here and there an interpolation may be recognized, as at $24^{22f.}$ 27^{9b-25a}. One brief section was inserted by the prophet out of its chronological order (29^{17-20}). But the work as a whole is Ezekiel's own arrangement of the memoranda which had accumulated year after year. Although the Rabbis never doubted this, Ezekiel narrowly escaped exclusion from the Canon. *Chag.*, 13*a*, informs us that but for a certain Hananiah it 'would have been withdrawn from public use, because the prophet's words contradict those of the Law.' Mistrust was also aroused by the

opening which the Vision of the Chariot afforded for theosophical speculation; no one might discuss it aloud in the presence of a single hearer (*Chag.*, 11 *b*).

J. Taylor.

EZEL.—The spot where Jonathan arranged to meet David before the latter's final departure from the court of Saul (1 S 20[19]). The place is not mentioned elsewhere, and it is now generally admitted that the Heb. text of this passage is corrupt. The true reading seems to have been preserved by the LXX, according to which we should read in v.[19] 'yonder cairn,' and in v.[41] 'from beside the cairn.'

EZEM (1 Ch 4[29]).—See Azmon.

EZER.—**1.** A Horite 'duke' (Gn 36[21], 1 Ch 1[38]). **2.** A son of Ephraim who, according to 1 Ch 7[21], was slain by the men of Gath. **3.** A Judahite (1 Ch 4[4]). **4.** A Gadite chief who joined David (1 Ch 12[9]). **5.** A son of Jeshua who helped to repair the wall (Neh 3[19]). **6.** A priest who officiated at the dedication of the walls (Neh 12[42]).

EZION-GEBER, later called Berenice (Jos. *Ant.* viii. vi. 4).—A port on the Red Sea (on the Gulf of Akabah) used by Solomon for his commerce (1 K 9[26]). Here also the Israelites encamped (Nu 33[35], Dt 2[8]).

A. J. Maclean.

EZNITE.—See Adino.

EZORA.—The sons of Ezora, in 1 Es 9[34], take the place of the strange name **Machnadebai** (or Mabnadebai, AVm) in Ezr 10[40], where there is no indication of a fresh family.

EZRA (perhaps an abbreviation of *Azariah* = 'Jahweh helps'), **1.**—A Jewish exile in Babylon in the reign of Artaxerxes I. Longimanus (B.C. 464–424), who played, as is well known, a prominent part in Jerusalem during the critical period of reform associated with the governorship of Nehemiah. Our sources of information regarding him are (1) the autobiographical narratives embodied in Ezr 7–10, and Neh 8–10; and (2) later tradition as embodied in the narrative of the compiler of Ezr.-Neh., and the accounts in the apocryphal books.

According to Ezr 7[1-5], Ezra was of priestly descent, and in fact a member of the high-priestly family (a 'Zadokite'). But the Seraiah there mentioned cannot be his father, as this Seraiah had been executed by Nebuchadnezzar in B.C. 586 (133 years before Ezra's appearance). The genealogy may only intend to assert that Ezra belonged to the high-priestly family (cf. also 1 Es 4[40. 49]). But his priestly descent has been called in question. His work and achievements rather suggest the character of the 'scribe' (*sōphēr*) *par excellence.** In the apocalyptic work known as 2 (4) Esdras he is represented as a 'prophet' (2 Es 1[1]).

In order to form a just estimate of Ezra's work and aims, we must picture him as a diligent student of the Law. He doubtless stood at the head—or, at any rate, was a leading figure—of a new order which had grown up in the Exile among the Jews of the 'Golah' or captivity in Babylonia. Among these exiles great literary activity apparently prevailed during the later years of the Exile and onwards. The so-called 'Priestly Code'—which must be regarded as the work of a whole school of writers—was formed, or at least the principal part of it, probably between the closing years of the Exile and the arrival of Ezra in Jerusalem (B.C. 536–458), and was doubtless the 'law of God' which Ezra brought with him to Jerusalem. The centre of Jewish culture, wealth, and leisure was at this time—and for some time continued to be—Babylonia, where external circumstances had become (since the Persian supremacy) comparatively favourable for the Jews. In this respect the position of the Jerusalem community, during these years, afforded a painful contrast. The tiny community in Judæa had to wage as a whole a long and sordid struggle against poverty and adverse surroundings. Its religious condition was much inferior to that of the 'Golah.' Moved by religious zeal, and also, it would seem, with the statesman-like view of making Jerusalem once more the real spiritual metropolis of Judaism, Ezra conceived the idea of infusing new life and new ideals into the Judæan community, by leading a fresh band of zealously religious exiles from Babylonia back to Judæa on a mission of reform. With the aid, possibly, of Jews at court, he enlisted the goodwill of Artaxerxes, and secured an Imperial firman investing him with all the authority necessary for his purpose. This edict has been preserved in an essentially trustworthy form in Ezr. 7[12-26]. All Jews who so wished could depart from Babylon; offerings were to be carried to the Temple in Jerusalem, and the Law of God was to be enforced. In the 7th year of Artaxerxes (B.C. 458) Ezra collected a band of 1496 men (Ezr 8[1-14]; in 1 Es 8[28-41] the number is given as 1690), besides women and children, and started on his journey across the desert. In four months they reached their destination.

Here, after the sacred gifts had been offered in the Temple, Ezra soon learned of the lax state of affairs that prevailed in the holy city, and among the Judæan villages. The 'holy seed' (including even priests and Levites) had 'mingled themselves with the peoples of the lands,' and 'the hand of the princes and deputies' had 'been first in this trespass' (Ezr 9[2]). Ezra's consequent prayer and confession, in the presence of a large assemblage of the people, lead to drastic measures of reform. A general congregation of the community authorizes the establishment of a divorce court, presided over by Ezra, which finishes its labours after three months' work: 'and they made an end with the whole business' (10[17] [corrected text]), many innocent women and children being made to suffer in the process.

In the present form of the narrative Ezra does not emerge again till after an interval of 13 years, after Nehemiah had arrived in Jerusalem and re-erected and dedicated the city walls. Shortly after these events (according to the usual chronology, in B.C. 444) the Book of the Law was read by Ezra before the people in solemn assembly, who pledged themselves to obey it. Within the same month (*i.e.* Tishri, the seventh month) the first of its injunctions to be carried out was the due celebration of the Feast of Booths (Neh 8[13-18]).

The sequence of events as described above is not without difficulties. How is the long interval between Ezra's arrival in Jerusalem (B.C. 458) and the promulgation of the Law (B.C. 444) to be explained? It may be, as Stade has suggested, that the compulsory divorce proceedings alienated a considerable body of the people, and that the opportune moment for introducing the code was in consequence postponed. Or—and there is some probability in this view—the chronology may have become dislocated in the present composite narrative, and Ezra may really have accomplished the bulk of his work before Nehemiah's arrival. Perhaps with even greater plausibility a case may be made out for placing Ezra's work subsequent to Nehemiah's governorship. Cheyne (*JRL* p. 54 f.) places it between the two visits (445 and 432). See, further, Nehemiah [Book of], § **3.** It is certainly remarkable that in their respective memoirs Ezra and Nehemiah mention each other but once.

Ezra's is an austere and commanding figure, which has left a lasting impress upon the religious life of the Jewish people. Ezra is the true founder of Judaism. By investing the Law with a sanctity and influence that it had never before possessed, and making it the possession of the entire community, he endowed the Jewish people with a cohesive power which was proof against all attacks from without.

G. H. Box.

2. Eponym of a family which returned with Zerub. (Neh 12[1. 13. 33]).

EZRA, BOOK OF.—Our present Book of Ezra, which consists of 10 chapters, is really part of a composite work, Ezra-Nehemiah, which, again, is the continuation

* He is described as 'Ezra the priest, the scribe of the law of the God of heaven,' in Ezr 7[11-21]; as 'Ezra the priest, the scribe,' in Neh 8[9] 12[26]; and as 'the priest' alone in Ezr 10[10. 16], Neh 8[2]. In all these places 'the priest' may easily be due to a redactor's hand.

of Chronicles. The entire work—Chronicles-Ezra-Nehemiah—is a compilation made by the Chronicler. See, further, NEHEMIAH [BOOK OF], § 1.

1. Analysis of the book.—The Book of Ezra falls into two main divisions: (*a*) chs. 1–6; (*b*) chs. 7–10.

(*a*) Chs. 1–6 give an account of the Return and the re-building of the Temple. Ch. 1 tells how Cyrus, after the capture of Babylon in B.C. 538, issued an edict permitting the exiles to return; of the latter about 40,000 availed themselves of the opportunity and returned to Judæa under Joshua the high priest and Zerubbabel, a member of the royal Davidic family, who was appointed governor (*pechah*) by Cyrus (B.C. 538–537). Ch. 2 contains a list of those who returned and their offerings for the building of the Temple. Ch. 3 describes how in October 537 the altar of burnt-offering was re-erected on its ancient site, the foundation-stone of the Temple laid (May 536), and the work of re-building begun. Ch. 4 tells that, owing to the unfriendly action of neighbouring populations, the building of the Temple was suspended during the rest of the reigns of Cyrus and Cambyses. It contains the correspondence between Rehum, Shimshai, and their companions, and king Artaxerxes. In 5^{6-12} we are informed that, as a consequence of the earnest exhortations of the prophets Haggai and Zechariah, the building of the Temple was energetically resumed in the second year of Darius I. (B.C. 520). In 5^{6}–6^{12} we have the correspondence between the satrap Tattenai and Darius. We read in 6^{13-22} of how the Temple was successfully completed on the 3rd March 515 B.C. [An interval of silence, lasting nearly sixty years, ensues, of which there seems to be little or no record elsewhere.]

(*b*) Chs. 7–10 deal with Ezra's personal work. In ch. 7 the silence of nearly sixty years is broken in the year B.C. 458, when Ezra, the *teacher of the Law*, at the head of a fresh band of exiles, leaves Babylonia bearing a commission from Artaxerxes I. to bring about a settlement in the religious condition of the Judæan community. Ch. 8 gives a list of the heads of families who journeyed with him, and tells of their arrival in Jerusalem. Ch. 9 describes the proceedings against the foreign wives, and contains Ezra's penitential prayer. In ch. 10 we read that an assembly of the whole people, in December 458, appointed a commission to deal with the mixed marriages. The narrative abruptly breaks off with an enumeration of *the men who had married strange women*.

2. Sources of the book.—In its present form the Book of Ezra-Nehemiah is, as has been pointed out, the work of the Chronicler. The compilation, however, embraces older material. The most important parts of this latter are undoubtedly the autobiographical sections, which have been taken partly from Ezra's, partly from Nehemiah's, personal memoirs.

(*a*) *Extracts from Ezra's memoirs embodied in the Book of Ezra.*—The long passage Ezr 7^{27}-9^{15} (except $8^{35.\ 36}$) is generally admitted to be an authentic extract from Ezra's memoirs. The abrupt break which takes place at 9^{15} must be due to a compiler. 'The events of the next thirteen years were clearly of too dismal a character to make it desirable to perpetuate the memory of them' (Cornill). [It is probable that an even larger excerpt from these memoirs is to be seen in Neh 9^{6}–10^{40}.]

It seems probable that these memoirs were not used by the Chronicler in their original form, but in a form adapted and arranged by a later hand, to which Ezr 10 is due. This latter narrative is of first-rate importance and rests upon extremely good information. It was probably written by the same hand that composed the main part of Neh 8–10 (see NEHEMIAH [BOOK OF], § 2).

The Imperial firman—an Aramaic document (7^{12-26})—the essential authenticity of which has now been made certain—is an extract from the memoirs preserved in the same compiler's work, from which Ezr 2 (= Neh 7^{6-73}) was also derived. The introductory verses (7^{1-11}) are apparently the work of the Chronicler.

(*b*) *Other sources of the book.*—The other most important source used by the Chronicler was an *Aramaic* one, written, perhaps, about B.C. 450, which contained a history of the building of the Temple, the city walls, etc., and cited original documents. From this authority come Ezr 4^{8-22} 5^{1}–6^{18} (cited verbally).

The Chronicler, however, partly misunderstood his Aramaic source. He has misconceived 4^{6}, and assigned a false position to the document embodied in 4^{7-23}.

(*c*) *Passages written by the Chronicler.*—The following passages bear clear marks of being the actual composition of the Chronicler: Ezr 1. 3^{2}–4^{7} 4^{24} 6^{16}–7^{11} $8^{35.\ 36}$.

3. Separation of Ezra from Chronicles.—It would appear that after the great work of the Chronicler had been completed (1 and 2 Chronicles, Ezra-Nehemiah), the part which contained narratives of otherwise unrecorded events was first received into the Canon. Hence, in the Jewish Canon, Ezra-Nehemiah precedes the Books of Chronicles. In the process of separation certain verses are repeated (Ezr 1^{1-3a} = 2 Ch $36^{22.\ 23}$); v.^{23} seems to have been added in 2 Ch 36 to avoid a dismal ending (v.^{21}).

For the historical value of the book cf. what is said under NEHEMIAH [BOOK OF], § 3. G. H. BOX.

EZRAH.—A Judahite (1 Ch 4^{17}).

EZRAHITE.—A name given to Heman in the title of Ps 88, and to Ethan (wh. see) in Ps 89. It is used of Ethan also in 1 K 4^{31}.

EZRI.—David's superintendent of agriculture (1 Ch 27^{26}).

EZRIL.—1 Es 9^{34} = **Azarel, 4** (Ezr 10^{41}).

F

FABLE.—For the definition of a fable, as distinct from parable, allegory, etc., see Trench, *Parables*, p. 2 ff. Its main feature is the introduction of beasts or plants as speaking and reasoning, and its object is moral instruction. As it moves on ground common to man and lower creatures, its teaching can never rise to a high spiritual level. Worldly prudence in some form is its usual note, or it attacks human folly and frailty, sometimes in a spirit of bitter cynicism. Hence it has only a small place in the Bible. See PARABLE.

1. In OT.—There are two fables in the OT, though the word is not used; it is perhaps significant that neither is in any sense a message from God. (1) Jotham's fable of the trees choosing their king illustrates the folly of the men of Shechem (Jg 9^{8}). (2) Jehoash's fable of the thistle and the cedar (2 K 14^{9}) is his rebuke of Amaziah's presumption—a rebuke in itself full of haughty contempt, however well grounded. Ezk 17^{3-10} is not a fable, but an allegory. In Bar 3^{23} 'authors of fables' occurs in the list of wise men of the earth who have not yet found Wisdom. Sir 13^{17} would seem to be a reference to Æsop's fables; so Mt 7^{15}. This type of literature was freely used by later Jewish teachers, and Æsop's and other fables are frequently found in the Talmud.

2. In NT.—'Fable' occurs in a different sense. It is used to translate the Gr. 'myth,' which has lost its better sense as an allegorical vehicle for truth, whether

growing naturally or deliberately invented, as in Plato's *Republic*, and has come to mean a deluding fiction of a more or less extravagant character. The 'cunningly devised fables' of 2 P 1[16] are apparently attempts to allegorize the Gospel history, and the belief in the Second Advent. The word occurs four times in the Pastoral Epp., with a more definite reference to a type of false teaching actually in vogue at Ephesus and in Crete. These fables are connected with 'endless genealogies which minister questionings' (1 Ti 1[4]); they are described as 'profane and old wives' fables' (4[7]), and contrasted with 'sound doctrine' (2 Ti 4[4]). They are 'Jewish,' 'the commandments of men' (Tit 1[14]), and the 'genealogies' are connected with 'fightings about law' (3[9]). The exact nature of the teaching referred to is disputed, but the following points are fairly established. (*a*) The references do not point to 2nd century Gnosticism, which was strongly anti-Jewish, but to an earlier and less developed form, such as is necessarily implied in the more elaborate systems. The heresies combated are no indication of the late date of these Epistles. (*b*) The heresy may be called Gnostic by anticipation, and apparently arose from a mixture of Oriental and Jewish elements (perhaps Essene). Its views on the sinfulness of matter led on the one hand to an extreme asceticism (1 Ti 4[3]), on the other to unbridled licence (Tit 1[15. 16]). (*c*) There is much evidence connecting this type of teaching with Asia Minor—Col., Tit., Rev., Ignatian Letters, and the career of Cerinthus. Ramsay points out that Phrygia was a favourable soil, the Jews there being particularly lax. (*d*) The fables may be specially the speculations about æons and emanations, orders of angels, and intermediary beings, which are characteristic of all forms of Gnosticism; the passages are so applied by 2nd cent. Fathers. But we are also reminded of the legendary and allegorical embellishments of the narratives of the OT, which were so popular with the Jewish Rabbis. Semi-Christian teachers may have borrowed their methods, and the word 'myth' would be specially applicable to the product.

C. W. Emmet.

FACE is used freely of animals, as well as of men; also of the surface of the wilderness (Ex 16[4]), of the earth, of the waters or deep, of the sky. It is used of the front of a house (Ezk 41[14]), of a porch (40[15] 41[25]), of a throne (Job 26[9]). *Covering the face* in 2 S 19[4] is a sign of mourning (cf. covering the head); it is also a mark of reverence (Ex 3[6], 1 K 19[13], Is 6[2]). In Gn 24[65] it indicates modesty. Otherwise it is used simply of blindfolding, literal (Mk 14[65]), or metaphorical (Job 9[24]). *To fall on the face* is the customary Eastern obeisance, whether to man or to God. *Spitting in the face* is the climax of contempt (Nu 12[14], Dt 25[9], Mt 26[67]). The Oriental will say, 'I spit in your face,' while he actually spits on the ground. The face naturally expresses various emotions,—fear, sorrow, shame, or joy. The 'fallen face' (Gn 4[5]) is used of displeasure; 'hardening the face' of obstinate sin (Pr 21[29], Jer 5[3]). The face was 'disfigured' in fasting (Mt 6[16]). It may be the expression of favour, particularly of God to man (Nu 6[25], Ps 31[16]), or conversely of man turning his face to God (Jer 2[27] 32[33]); or of disfavour, as in the phrase 'to set the face against' (Ps 34[16], Jer 21[10], and often in Ezk.), or 'to hide the face.' [*N.B.* In Ps 51[9] the phrase is used differently, meaning to forget or ignore, cf. Ps 90[8]. Closely related are the usages connected with 'beholding the face.' This meant to be admitted to the presence of a potentate, king, or god (Gn 33[10] 43[3. 5], 2 K 25[19], Est 1[14] 4[11. 16]; cf. 'angel(s) of the face or presence,' Is 63[9], To 12[15], Rev 8[2], and often in apocalyptic literature). So 'to look upon the face' is to accept (Ps 84[9]), 'to turn away the face' is to reject (Ps 132[10], 1 K 2[16] RVm). To 'behold the face' of God may be used either literally of appearing before His presence in the sanctuary or elsewhere (Gn 32[30] [*Peniel* is 'the face of God'], Ex 33[11], Ps 42[2]; the 'shewbread' is 'the bread of the face or presence'), or with a more spiritual reference to the inward reality of communion which lies behind (Ps 17[15]); so 'seeking the face' of God (Ps 24[6] 27[8]). On the other hand, in 2 K 14[8] 'see face to face' is used in a sinister sense of meeting in battle.

The Heb. word for 'face' is used very freely, both alone and in many prepositional phrases, as an idiomatic periphrasis, *e.g.* 'honour the face of the old man' (Lv 19[32]), 'grind the face of the poor' (Is 3[15]), or the common phrase 'before my face' (Dt 8[20], Mk 1[2]), or 'before the face of Israel' (Ex 14[25]). Many of these usages are disguised in our versions, not being in accordance with English idioms; the pronoun is substituted, or 'presence,' 'countenance' are used, 'face' being often indicated in AVm or RVm (Gn 1[20], 1 K 2[16]); so in the phrase 'respect persons' (Dt 1[17]). On the other hand, 'face' is wrongly given for 'eye' in AV of 1 K 20[38. 41], where 'ashes on face' should be 'headband over eye'; in 2 K 9[30], Jer 4[30], the reference is to painting the eye; in Gn 24[47] RV substitutes 'nose,' in Ezk 38[18] 'nostrils.'

C. W. Emmet.

FAIR HAVENS.—A harbour on the south coast of Crete, near Lasea, where St. Paul's ship took shelter on the voyage to Rome (Ac 27[8]). It still retains its name.

A. J. Maclean.

FAITH.—Noun for *believe*, having in early Eng. ousted '**belief**' (wh. see) from its ethical uses. By this severance of noun and vb. (so in Lat. *fides—credere*, French *foi—croire*) Eng. suffers in comparison with German (*Glaube—glauben*) and Greek (*pistis—pisteuō*). But 'faith' has a noble pedigree; coming from the Latin *fides*, through Norman-French, it connotes the sense of personal honour and of the mutual loyalty attaching to the pledged word.

1. In OT.—This word, the normal NT expression for the religious bond, is found but twice in the OT (EV)—in Dt 32[20], signifying *steadfastness*, *fidelity*; and in Hab 2[4], where a slightly different noun from the same Heb. stem (contained in *amen* and denoting what is *firm*, *reliable*), may carry a meaning identical with the above—'the just shall live by his *faithfulness*' (RVm). The original term has no other sense than 'faithfulness' or 'truth' elsewhere—so in Ps 37[3] (RV) 96[13], Dt 32[4] (RV), Is 11[5] etc.; the context in Hab., however, lends to it a pregnant emphasis, suggesting, besides the temper of *steadfastness*, its manifestation in *steadfast adherence* to Jehovah's word; under the circumstances, passive *fidelity* becomes active *faith*—'the righteous' Israel 'shall live' not by way of reward for his loyalty, but by virtue of holding fast to Jehovah's living word (cf. 1[12]). If so, St. Paul has done no violence to the text in Ro 1[17], Gal 3[11]. The corresponding vb. (from the root *amen*: in active and passive, *to rely on*, and *to have reliance* or *be reliable*) occurs above 20 times with God, His character, word, or messengers, for object. More than half these examples (in Ex., Dt., Ps.) refer to faith or unbelief in the mission of Moses and Jehovah's redemptive acts at the foundation of the national Covenant. The same vb. supplies two of Isaiah's watchwords, in 7[9] and 28[16]. The former sentence is an untranslatable epigram—'If you will not hold fast, you shall have no holdfast!', 'No fealty, no safety!'; the latter leads us into the heart of OT faith, the collective trust of Israel in Jehovah as her Rock of foundation and salvation, which, as Isaiah declared (in 8[12-15]), must serve also for 'a stone of stumbling and rock of offence' to the unfaithful. This combination of passages is twice made in the NT (Ro 9[33] and 1 P 2[6-8]), since the new house of God built of Christian believers rests on the foundation laid in Zion, viz. the character and promise of the Immutable, to whom now as then faith securely binds His people. In Hab 1[5] (cited Ac 13[41]) Israel's unbelief in threatened judgment, in Is 53[1] (Jn 12[38], Ro 10[16]) her

unbelief in the promised salvation, coming through Jehovah's humiliated Servant, are charged upon her as a fatal blindness. Thus the cardinal import of faith is marked at salient points of Israelite history, which NT interpreters seized with a sure instinct. At the head of the OT sayings on this subject stands Gn 15^6, the text on which St. Paul founded his doctrine of justification by faith (see Ro $4^{9.\ 22}$, Gal 3^6; also Ja 2^{23}); 'and Abraham believed Jehovah, and he counted it to him for righteousness' (JE)—a crucial passage in Jewish controversy. St. Paul recognized in Abraham the exemplar of personal religion, antedating the legal system—*the faith of the man* who stands in direct heart-relationship to God. Gn 15^6 supplies the key to his character and historical position: his heart's trustful response to Jehovah's promise made Abraham all that he has become to Israel and humanity; and 'the men of faith' are his children (Gal 3^{6-8}). Only here, however, and in Hab 2^4, along with two or three passages in the Psalms (27^{13} 116^{10}—quoted 2 Co 4^{13}, and possibly 119^{66}), does faith *ipso nomine* (or 'believe') assume the personal value which is of its essence in the NT. The difference in expression between the OT and NT in this respect discloses a deep-lying difference of religious experience. The national redemption of Israel (from Egypt) lay entirely on the plane of history, and was therefore to be 'remembered'; whereas the death and rising of our Lord, while equally historical, belong to the spiritual and eternal, and are to be 'believed.' Under the Old Covenant *the people* formed the religious unit; the relations of the individual Israelite to Jehovah were mediated through the sacred institutions, and the Law demanded outward *obedience* rather than inner faith—hearing the voice of Jehovah, 'keeping his statutes,' 'walking in his way'; so (in the language of Gal 3^{23}) the age of faith was not yet. Besides this, the Israelite revelation was consciously defective and preparatory, 'the law made nothing perfect'; when St. Paul would express to his fellow-countrymen in a word what was most precious to himself and them, he speaks not of 'the faith' but 'the hope of Israel' (Ac 28^{20} etc.), and the writer of He 11 defines the faith of his OT heroes as 'the assurance of things *hoped for*'; accordingly, Hebrew terms giving to faith the aspect of expectation—trusting, waiting, looking for Jehovah—are much commoner than those containing the word 'believe.' Again, the fact that oppression and suffering entered so largely into the life of OT believers has coloured their confessions in psalm and prophecy; instead of *believing* in Jehovah, they speak of *cleaving to* Him, *taking refuge* under His wings, making Him *a shield, a tower*, etc. In all this the liveliness of Eastern sentiment and imagination comes into play; and while faith seldom figures under the bare abstract term, it is to be recognized in manifold concrete action and in dress of varied hue. Under the Old Covenant, as under the New, faith 'wrought by love' (Dt 6^5, Ps 116^1 etc., Lv 19^{18} etc.), while it inspired hope.

2. In NT.—The NT use of *pistis, pisteuō*, is based on that of common Greek, where *persuasion* is the radical idea of the word. From this sprang two principal notions, meeting in the NT conception: (*a*) the ethical notion of *confidence, trust* in a person, his word, promise, etc., and then *mutual trust*, or the expression thereof in *troth* or *pledge*—a usage with only a casual religious application in non-Biblical Greek; and (*b*) the intellectual notion of *conviction, belief* (in distinction from knowledge), covering all the shades of meaning from practical assurance down to conjecture, but always connoting sincerity, a belief held in good faith. The use of 'faith' in Mt 23^{23} belongs to OT phraseology (see Dt 32^{20}, quoted above); also in Ro 3^3, Gal 5^{22}, *pistis* is understood to mean *good faith, fidelity* (RV 'faithfulness'), as often in classical Greek. In sense (*b*) *pistis* came into the language of theology, the gods being referred (*e.g.* by Plutarch as a religious philosopher) to the province of faith, since they are beyond the reach of sense-perception and logical demonstration.

(1) In this way faith came to signify *the religious faculty* in the broadest sense,—a generalization foreign to the OT. Philo Judæus, the philosopher of Judaism, thus employs the term; quoting Gn 15^6, he takes Abraham for the embodiment of faith so understood, viewing it as the crown of human character, 'the queen of the virtues'; for faith is, with Philo, a steady intuition of Divine things, transcending sense and logic; it is, in fact, the highest knowledge, the consummation of reason. This large Hellenistic meaning is conspicuous in He $11^{1b.\ 6.\ 27}$ etc., and appears in St. Paul (2 Co 4^{18} 5^7 'by faith not by appearance'). There is nothing distinctively Christian about faith understood in the bare significance of 'seeing the invisible'—'the demons *believe*, and shudder'; the belief that contains no more is the 'dead faith,' which condemns instead of justifying (Ja 2^{14-26}). As St. James and St. Paul both saw from different standpoints, Abraham, beyond the 'belief that God is,' recognized *what* God is and yielded Him a loyal trust, which carried the whole man with it and determined character and action; his faith included sense (*a*) of *pisteuō* (which lies in the Heb. vb. 'believe') along with (*b*). In this combination lies the rich and powerful import of NT 'believing': it is a spiritual apprehension joined with personal affiance; the recognition of truth in, and the plighting of troth with, the Unseen; in this twofold sense, 'with the heart (the entire inner self) man believeth unto righteousness' (Ro 10^{10}). Those penetrated by the spirit of the OT could not use the word *pistis* in relation to God without attaching to it, besides the rational idea of *supersensible apprehension*, the warmer consciousness of *moral trust and fealty* native to it already in human relationships.

(2) Contact with Jesus Christ gave to the word a greatly increased use and heightened potence. 'Believing' meant to Christ's disciples more than hitherto, since they had Him to believe in; and 'believers,' 'they that had believed,' became a standing name for the followers of Christ (Ac 2^{44}, Ro 10^4, 1 Co 14^{22}, Mk 16^{17}). A special endowment of this power given to some in the Church seems to be intended by the 'faith' of 1 Co 12^9 (cf. Mt $17^{19f.}$, Lk $17^{5f.}$). Faith was our Lord's chief and incessant demand from men; He preaches, He works 'powers,' to elicit and direct it—the 'miracle-faith' attracted by 'signs and wonders' being a stepping-stone to faith in the Person and doctrine of God's Messenger. The bodily cures and spiritual blessings Jesus distributes are conditioned upon this one thing—'Only believe!' 'All things are possible to him that believeth.' There was a faith in Jesus, real so far as it went but not sufficient for true discipleship, since it attached itself to His *power* and failed to recognize His character and spiritual aims (see Jn $2^{23ff.}$ 4^{48} $6^{14ff.}$ 7^{31} $8^{30ff.}$ 11^{45} $12^{11ff.}$ 14^{11}), which Jesus rejected and affronted; akin to this, in a more active sense, is the faith that 'calls' Him 'Lord' and 'removes mountains' in His name, but does not in love do the Father's will, which He must disown (Mt $7^{21ff.}$, 1 Co 13^2). Following the Baptist, Jesus sets out with the summons, 'Repent, and believe the good news' that 'the kingdom of God is at hand' (Mk 1^{15}); like Moses, He expects Israel to recognize His mission as from God, showing 'signs' to prove this (see Jn $2^{11.\ 23}$ 3^2 etc.; cf. Ac 2^{22}, He 4^2). As His teaching advanced, it appeared that He required an unparalleled faith in *Himself* along with His message, that the Kingdom of God He speaks of centres in His Person, that in fact *He is* 'the word' of God He brings, *He is* the light and life whose coming He announces, 'the bread from heaven' that He has to give to a famished world (Jn $6^{33ff.}$ 8^{12} 11^{25} 14^6 etc.). For those 'who received him,' who 'believed on his name' in this complete sense, faith acquired a scope undreamed of before; it signified the unique attachment which gathered round the Person

of Jesus—a human trust, in its purity and intensity such as no other man had ever elicited, which grew up into and identified itself with its possessor's belief in God, transforming the latter in doing so, and which drew the whole being of the believer into the will and life of his Master. When Thomas hails Jesus as 'My Lord and my God!' he '*has believed*'; this process is complete in the mind of the slowest disciple; the two faiths are now welded inseparably; the Son is known through the Father, and the Father through the Son, and Thomas gives full affiance to both in one. As Jesus was exalted, God in the same degree became nearer to these men, and their faith in God became richer in contents and firmer in grasp. So sure and direct was the communion with the Father opened by Jesus to His brethren, that the word 'faith,' as commonly used, failed to express it: 'Henceforth ye *know* (the Father), and have seen him,' said Jesus (Jn 14^{7}); and St. John, using the vb. 'believe' more than any one, employs the noun 'faith' but once in Gospel and Epp. (1 Jn 5^{4})—'*knowing* God, the Father,' etc., is, for him, the Christian distinction. Their Lord's departure, and the shock and trial of His death, were needful to perfect His disciples' faith (Jn 16^{7}), removing its earthly supports and breaking its links with all materialistic Messianism. As Jesus 'goes to the Father,' they realize that He and the Father 'are one'; their faith rests no longer, in any degree, on 'a Christ after the flesh'; they are ready to receive, and to work in, the power of the Spirit whom He sends to them 'from the Father.' Jesus is henceforth identified with the spiritual and eternal order; to the faith which thus acknowledges Him He gives the benediction, 'Blessed are they that have not seen, and yet have believed' (Jn 20^{29}; cf. 1 P 1^{8}). To define this specific faith a new grammatical construction appears in NT Greek: one does not simply *believe* Jesus, or *believe on* Him, one *believes into* or *unto* Him, or His name (which contains the import of His person and offices)—so in Mt 18^{6}, and continually in Jn. ($2^{11.\ 23}$ $3^{18.\ 36}$ 4^{39} $6^{29.\ 35}$ $7^{38f.}$ 9^{35} $11^{25f.}$ $12^{36f.}$ $14^{1.\ 12}$ 17^{20} etc.; also in Paul)—which signifies so believing in Him as to 'come to Him' realizing what He is. By a variety of prepositional constructions, the Greek tongue, imperfectly followed in such refinements by our own, strives to represent the variety of attitude and bearing in which faith stands towards its Object. That the mission of Jesus Christ was an appeal for faith, with His own Person as its chief ground and matter, is strikingly stated in Jn 20^{31}: 'These things are written that ye might believe that Jesus is the Christ, the Son of God; and that believing ye might have life in his name.' Christian faith is the decisive action of the whole inner man—understanding, feeling, will; it is the trustful and self-surrendering acknowledgment of God in Christ.

(3) Further, Jesus called on the world to 'believe the good news' of His coming for redemption. This task, marked out by OT prophecy, and laid on Him at His birth (Lk 1^{68-79} 2^{38}) and baptism (Jn 1^{29}), from an early period of His ministry Jesus connected with His *death* (see Jn 2^{19-22} $3^{14f.}$; and later, Mt 16^{16-28} 20^{28}, Lk 9^{31} 12^{50}, Jn 12^{23-25}). The words of Mt 26^{28}, which must be vindicated as original, make it clear that Jesus regarded His death as the culmination of His mission; at the Last Supper He is ready to offer His 'blood' to seal 'the new covenant' under which 'forgiveness of sins' will be universally guaranteed (cf. Jer $31^{33f.}$). Having concentrated on *Himself* the faith of men, giving to faith thereby a new heart and energy, He finally fastens that faith upon His *death*; He marks this event for the future as the object of the specifically *saving* faith. By this path, the risen Lord explained, He had 'entered into his glory' and 'received from the Father the promise of the Spirit,' in the strength of which His servants are commissioned to 'preach to all the nations repentance and remission of sins' (Lk 24^{46-48}; cf. Ac 2^{22-38}). Taught by Him, the Apostles understood and proclaimed their Master's death as the hinge of the relations between God and man that centre in Christ; believing in Him meant, above all, believing in *that*, and finding in the cross the means of deliverance from sin and the revelation of God's saving purpose toward the race (Ac $3^{18f.}$ 20^{28}, 1 Co 1^{18-25}, 2 Co 5^{14-21}, 1 P 3^{18}, Rev 1^{4-6}, etc.). Faith in the resurrection of Jesus was logically antecedent to faith in His sacrificial death; for His rising from the dead set His dying in its true light (Ac 4^{10-12}), revealing the shameful crucifixion of Israel's Messiah as a glorious expiation for the guilt of mankind (He 2^{9}, Ro 4^{25}, 1 P 1^{21}). To 'confess with one's mouth Jesus as Lord, and believe in one's heart that God raised him from the dead,' was therefore to fulfil the essential conditions of the Christian salvation (Ro 10^{9}), since the Lord's resurrection, including His ascension which completes it, gives assurance of the peace with God won by His accepted sacrifice (He 7^{25} 9^{11-14} $10^{19.\ 22}$); it vindicates His Divine Sonship and verifies His claims on human homage (Ro 1^{4}, Ac 2^{36}, 1 P 1^{21}); it guarantees 'the redemption of the body,' and the attainment, both for the individual and for the Church, of the glory of the Messianic Kingdom, the consummated salvation that is in Christ Jesus (1 Co 15^{12-28}, Ro 8^{17-23}, Eph 1^{17-23}, Ac 17^{31}, Rev $1^{5.\ 17f.}$, etc.). In two words, the Christian faith is to 'believe that Jesus died and rose again' (1 Th 4^{14})—that in dying He atoned for human sin, and in rising He abolished death. St. Paul was the chief exponent and defender of this 'word of the cross,' which is at the same time 'the word of faith' (Ro 10^{8}); its various aspects and issues appear under the terms JUSTIFICATION, ATONEMENT, PROPITIATION, GRACE, LAW (in NT), etc. But St. Peter in his 1st Ep., St. John in his 1st Ep. and Rev., and the writer of Hebrews, each in his own fashion, combine with St. Paul to focus the redeeming work of Jesus in the cross. According to the whole tenor of the NT, the forgiving grace of God there meets mankind in its sin; and faith is the hand reached out to accept God's gifts of mercy proffered from the cross of Christ. The faculty of faith, which we understood in its fundamental meaning as the spiritual sense, the consciousness of God, is in no wise narrowed or diverted when it fixes itself on 'Jesus Christ, and him crucified'; for, as St. Paul insists, 'God commendeth *his own* love to us in that Christ died for us,' '*God* was in Christ, reconciling the world unto himself.' 'The glory of God' shines into men's hearts, His true character becomes for the first time apparent, and calls forth a full and satisfied faith, when beheld 'in the face of Christ' (Ro 5^{8}, 2 Co 4^{6} 5^{18-21}).

G. G. FINDLAY.

FAITHLESS.—Wherever this word occurs in AV, it means, not untrustworthy, but unbelieving, just as in the *Merchant of Venice* Shylock is called 'a faithless Jew,' simply because he was an unbeliever in Christ.

FALCON.—RV tr. of '*ayyāh*, Lv 11^{14}, Dt 14^{13} (AV 'kite'), Job 28^{7} (AV 'vulture'). See KITE, VULTURE.

FALL.—The story of the Fall in Gn 3 is the immediate sequel to the account of man's creation with which the Jahwistic document opens (see CREATION). It tells how the first man and woman, living in childlike innocence and happiness in the Garden of Eden, were tempted by the subtle serpent to doubt the goodness of their Creator, and aim at the possession of forbidden knowledge by tasting the fruit of the one tree of which they had been expressly charged not to eat. Their transgression was speedily followed by detection and punishment; on the serpent was laid the curse of perpetual enmity between it and mankind; the woman was doomed to the pains of child-bearing; and the man to unremitting toil in the cultivation of the ground, which was cursed on account of his sin. Finally, lest the man should use his newly-acquired insight to secure the boon of immortality by partaking of the tree of life, he was expelled

from the garden, which appears to be conceived as still existing, though barred to human approach by the cherubim and the flaming sword.

It is right to point out that certain incongruities of representation suggest that two slightly varying narratives have been combined in the source from which the passage is taken (J). The chief difficulty arises in connexion with the two trees on which the destiny of mankind is made to turn. In 2^9 the tree of life and the tree of the knowledge of good and evil grow together in the midst of the garden; in 2^{17} the second alone is made the test of man's obedience. But ch.3 (down to v.[22]) knows of only one central tree, and that obviously (though it is never so named) the tree of knowledge. The tree of life plays no real part in the story except in $3^{22.\ 24}$; and its introduction there creates embarrassment; for if this tree also was forbidden, the writer's silence regarding the prohibition is inexplicable, and if it was not forbidden, can we suppose that the Divine prerogative of immortality was placed within man's reach during the period of his probation? The hypothesis of a twofold recension of the Paradise story, while relieving this difficulty, would be of interest as showing that the narrative had undergone a development in Hebrew literature; but it does not materially aid the exegesis of the passage. The main narrative, which is complete, is that which speaks of the tree of knowledge; the other, if it be present at all, is too fragmentary to throw light on the fundamental ideas embodied in the story.

That this profoundly suggestive narrative is a literal record of a historic occurrence is an opinion now generally abandoned even by conservative theologians; and the view which tends to prevail amongst modern expositors is that the imagery is derived from the store of mythological traditions common to the Semitic peoples. It is true that no complete Babylonian parallel has yet been discovered; the utmost that can be claimed is that particular elements or motives of the Biblical story seem to be reflected in some of the Babylonian legends, and still more in the religious symbolism displayed on the monuments (tree of life, serpent, cherubim, etc.). These coincidences are sufficiently striking to suggest the inference that a mythical account of man's original condition and his fall existed in Babylonia, and had obtained wide currency in the East. It is a reasonable conjecture that such a legend, 'stripped of its primitive polytheism, and retaining only faint traces of what was probably its original mythological character, formed the material setting which was adapted by the [Biblical] narrator for the purpose of exhibiting, under a striking and vivid imaginative form, the deep spiritual truths which he was inspired to discern' (Driver). These spiritual truths, in which the real significance of the narrative lies, we must endeavour very briefly to indicate.

(1) The story offers, on the face of it, an explanation of the outstanding ills that flesh is heir to: the hard, toilsome lot of the husbandman, the travail of the woman and her subjection to man, the universal fate of death. These evils, it is taught, are inconsistent with the ideal of human life, and contrary to the intention of a good God. Man, as originally created, was exempt from them; and to the question, Whence came they? the answer is that they are the effect of a Divine curse to which the race is subject; though it is to be noted that no curse is pronounced on the first pair, but only on the *serpent* as the organ of temptation, and the *ground* which is cursed *for man's sake*.

(2) The consequences of the curse are the penalty of a single sin, by which man incurred the just anger of God. The author's conception of sin may be considered from two points of view. Formally, it is the transgression of a Divine commandment, involving distrust of the wisdom and goodness of the Almighty, and breaking the harmony which had subsisted between man and his Maker. The process by which these evil thoughts are insinuated into the mind of the woman is described with a masterly insight into the psychology of temptation which is unsurpassed in literature. But it is a mistake to suppose that the essence of the sin consists in the merely formal disobedience to a command arbitrarily imposed as a test of fidelity. There was a reason for the Divine injunction, and a reason for man's transgression of it; and the reasons are unambiguously indicated. To eat of the tree would make man like God, knowing good and evil; and God does not wish man to be like Himself. The essence of the sin is therefore presumption,—an overstepping of the limits of creaturehood, and an encroachment on the prerogatives of Deity.

(3) What, then, is meant by the 'knowledge of good and evil,' which was acquired by eating of the tree? Does it mean simply an enlargement of experience such as the transition from childhood to maturity naturally brings with it, and of which the feeling of shame (3^7) is the significant index? Or is it, as has generally been held, the experimental knowledge of moral distinctions, the awaking of the conscience, the faculty of discerning between right and wrong? It is very difficult to say which of these interpretations expresses the thought in the mind of the writer. It is in accordance with Hebrew idiom to hold that knowledge of good and evil is equivalent to knowledge in general; though it is of course not certain that that is the sense in which the phrase is here used. On the other hand, there is nothing to show that it refers to the moral sense; and the fact that neither of the ways in which the newly acquired faculty manifests itself (the perception of sex, and insight into the mystic virtue of the tree of life, v.[22]) is a distinctively ethical cognition, rather favours the opinion that the knowledge referred to is the power to discern the secret meanings of things and utilize them for human ends, regardless of the will and purpose of God—the knowledge, in short, which is the principle of a godless civilization. The idea may be that succinctly expressed by the writer of Ecclesiastes: 'God made man upright; but they have sought out many inventions' (Ec 7^{29}).

(4) One specific feature of the story remains to be considered, namely, the *rôle* assigned to the serpent, and his character. The identification of the serpent with the devil appears first in the Apocryphal literature (Wis 2^{24}); in the narrative itself he is simply the most subtle of the creatures that God has made (3^1), and there is not the slightest reason to suppose that he is there regarded as the mouthpiece of the evil spirit. At the same time it is impossible to escape the impression that the serpent is conceived as a malevolent being, designedly insinuating suspicion of God into the minds of our first parents, and inciting them to an act which will frustrate the Divine purpose regarding mankind. There is thus a certain ambiguity in the representation of the serpent, which may have its source in some more primitive phase of the legend; but which also points the way, under the influence of a deeper apprehension of the nature of moral evil than had been attained in the time of the writer, to that identification of the serpent with the Evil One which we find in the NT (Ro 16^{20}, Rev 12^9 20^2). In the same way, and with the same justification, the reflexion of later ages read into the curse on the serpent (v.[15]) the promise of ultimate redemption from the power of evil through the coming of Christ. Strictly interpreted, the words imply nothing more than a perpetual antagonism between the human race and the repulsive reptiles which excite its instinctive antipathy. It is only the general scope of the passage that can be thought to warrant the inference that the victory is to be on the side of humanity; and it is a still higher flight of religious inspiration to conceive of that victory as culminating in the triumph of Him whose mission it was to destroy the works of the devil. J. Skinner.

FALLOW-DEER.—This word occurs in the AV among the clean animals (Dt 14^5), and in the list of game furnished for Solomon's daily table (1 K 4^{23}). In each list *'ayyāl*, *zĕbī*, and *yachmūr* occur in the same order. The first is correctly translated, in both AV and

RV, 'hart' (see HART). The second is incorrectly tr. in AV 'roebuck,' and correctly in RV 'gazelle' (see GAZELLE). The third is incorrectly tr. in AV 'fallow-deer,' and correctly in RV 'roebuck' (see ROE, ROEBUCK).

FAMILIAR.—The expression 'familiar spirit' was taken into the AV from the Geneva Version, as the trans. of Heb. *'obh*. See MAGIC, etc. The word is also used as a subst. in Jer 20[10] 'All my familiars watched for my halting' (RV 'familiar friends,' Heb. 'men of my place').

FAMILY.—1. Character of the family in OT.—'Family' in the OT has a wider significance than that which we usually associate with the term. The word tr. 'house' (Gn 7[1]) approaches most nearly to our word 'family': but a man's 'house' might consist of his mother; his wives and the wives' children; his concubines and their children; sons-in-law and daughters-in-law, with their offspring; illegitimate sons (Jg 11[1]); dependents and aliens; and slaves of both sexes. Polygamy was in part the cause of the large size of the Hebrew household; in part the cause of it may be found in the insecurity of early times, when safety lay in numbers, and consequently not only the married sons and daughters dwelt, for the sake of protection, with their father, but remote relatives and even foreigners ('the stranger within thy gates') would attach themselves, with a similar object, to a great household. The idea of the family sometimes had an even wider significance, extending to and including the nation, or even the whole race of mankind. Of this a familiar illustration is the figure of Abraham, who was regarded as being in a very real sense the father of the nation. So also the same feeling for the idea of the family is to be found in the careful assigning of a **'father'** to every known nation and tribe (Gn 10). From this it is easily perceived that the family played an important part in Hebrew thought and affairs. It formed the base upon which the social structure was built up; its indistinguishable merging into the wider sense of clan or tribe indicates how it affected the political life of the whole nation.

Polygyny and bigamy were recognized features of the family life. From the Oriental point of view there was nothing immoral in the practice of polygamy. The female slaves were in every respect the property of their master, and became his **concubines**; except in certain cases, when they seem to have belonged exclusively to their mistress, and could not be appropriated by the man except by her suggestion or consent (Gn 16[2-3]). The slave-concubines were obtained as booty in time of war (Jg 5[30]), or bought from poverty-stricken parents (Ex 21[7]); or, possibly, in the ordinary slave traffic with foreign nations. In addition to his concubines a man might take several wives, and from familiar examples in the OT it seems that it was usual for wealthy and important personages to do so; Abraham, Jacob, David, Solomon, occur as instances. Elkanah, the husband of Hannah and Peninnah, is an interesting example of a man of no particular position who nevertheless had more than one wife; this may be an indication that bigamy, at least, if not polygamy, was not confined to the very wealthy and exalted. At all events, polygyny was an established and recognized institution from the earliest times. The gradual evolution in the OT of monogamy as the ideal is therefore of the highest interest. The earliest codes attempt in various ways to regulate the custom of polygyny. The Deut. code in particular actually forbids kings to multiply wives (Dt 17[17]); this is the fruit, apparently, of the experience of Solomon's reign. In the prophetic writings the note of protest is more clearly sounded. Not only Adam but also Noah, the second founder of the human race, represents monogamy, and on that account recommends it as God's ordinance. It is in the line of Cain that bigamy is first represented, as though to emphasize the consequences of the Fall. Reasons are given in explanation of the bigamy of Abraham (Gn 16) and of Jacob (29[23]). Hosea and other prophets constantly dwell upon the thought of a monogamous marriage as being a symbol of the union between God and His people; and denounce idolatry as unfaithfulness to this spiritual marriage-tie.

2. Position of the wife.—Side by side with the growth of the recognition of monogamy as the ideal form of marriage, polygamy was practised even as late as NT times. The natural accompaniment of such a practice was the insignificance of the wife's position: she was ordinarily regarded as a piece of property, as the wording of the Tenth Commandment testifies. Also her rights and privileges were necessarily shared by others. The relative positions of wives and **concubines** were determined mainly by the husband's favour. The children of the wife claimed the greater part, or the whole, of the inheritance; otherwise there does not seem to have been any inferiority in the position of the concubine as compared with that of the wife, nor was any idea of illegitimacy, in our sense of the word, connected with her children.

The **husband** had supreme authority over the wife. He was permitted by the Deut. code to divorce her with apparently little reason. The various passages (Dt 22[13. 19. 28. 29], Is 50[1], Jer 3[8], Mal 2[16]) referring to and regulating divorce, indicate that it was of frequent occurrence. Yet wives, and even concubines who had been bought in the first place as slaves, might not be sold (Ex 21[7-11], Dt 21[14]). Indeed, the Law throughout proves itself sympathetic towards the position of the wife and desirous of improving her condition (Ex 21[2. 12], Dt 21[10-17]). This very attitude of the Law, however, indicates that there was need of improvement. The wife seems to have had no redress if wronged by the husband; she could not divorce him; and absolute faithfulness, though required of the wife, was not expected of the husband, so long as he did not injure the rights of any other man.

The wife, then, was in theory the mere chattel of her husband. A woman of character, however, could improve her situation and attain to a considerable degree of importance and influence as well as of personal freedom. Thus we read not only of Hagars, who were dealt hardly with and were obliged to submit themselves under the hands of their masters and rivals, but also of Sarahs and Rebekahs and Abigails, who could act independently and even against the wishes of their husbands in order to gain their own ends. And the Book of Proverbs testifies to the advantage accruing to a man in the possession of a good wife (19[14] 31[10ff.]), and to the misery which it is in the power of a selfish woman to inflict (19[13] etc.).

3. Children.—In a household consisting of several families, the **mother** of each set of children would naturally have more to do with them than the **father**, and the maternal relationship would usually be more close and affectionate than the bond between the father and his children. Although it was recognized to be disastrous for a household to be divided against itself, yet friction between the various families could hardly have been avoided. 'One whom his mother comforteth' (Is 66[13]) must have been a sight common enough—a mother consoling her injured son for the taunts and blows of her rivals' children. Thus the mother would have the early care and education of her children under her own control. The father, on the other hand, had complete power over the lives and fortunes of his children, and would represent to them the idea of authority rather than of tenderness. He it was who arranged the marriage of his sons (Gn 24[4] 28[2], Jg 14[2]), and had the right to sell his daughters (Ex 21[7]). The father seems even to have had powers of life and death over his children (Jg 11[39]): and the Law provided that an unworthy son might be stoned to

death upon the accusation of his parents (Dt 21^{18-21}). See also art. CHILD.

4. Family duties.—The claims of the family upon the various members of it were strongly felt. Many laws provide for the vengeance and protection of the injured and defenceless by their next-of-kin. **Brothers** were the guardians of their sisters (Gn 34). A childless widow could demand, though not enforce, re-marriage with her brother-in-law (Dt 25^{5-10}). Boaz, as the nearest relation, performed this duty towards Ruth. In spite of the prohibition of the later code (Lv 20^{21}), levirate marriage seems to have been practised at the time of Christ (Mt $22^{25ff.}$). Its purpose was perhaps rather for the preservation of the particular branch of the family than for the advantage of the widow herself: in any case it illustrates the strong sense of duty towards the family as a whole.

Children owed obedience and respect to their parents. Even a married man would consider himself still under the authority of his father, whether living with him or not; and his wife would be subject to her father-in-law even after her husband's death.

To an Israelite, 'family' conveyed the notions of unity, security, order, and discipline. These conceptions were nourished by the religious customs and observances in the home, the most conspicuous instance of which was the keeping of the Passover. Such observances no doubt helped to bind the members of the family in close religious and spiritual sympathies. The common longing to love and to serve God was the base of the family affection and unity—from patriarchal times when the head of each family would offer sacrifice upon his own altar, until the hour in which Mary's Son asked in tender surprise of her and Joseph: 'Wist ye not that I must be in my Father's house?' (Lk 2^{49}).

E. G. ROMANES.

FAMINE.—In Palestine, famine is usually due to failure of the rainfall (Lv 26^{19}, Am 4^{6-7}). Both crops and pasturage depend on the proper amount falling at the right time, the 'early rain' in Oct.–Nov., the 'latter' in March–April. Its importance and uncertainty caused it to be regarded as the special gift of God (Dt 11^{11-14}). Accordingly famine is almost always a direct judgment from Him (1 K 17^{1}, Ezk 5, and continually in the Prophets; Ja 5^{17}). Hence we find it amongst the terrors of the eschatological passages of NT (Mk 13^{8}, Rev 18^{8}). The idea is spiritualized in Am 8^{11} 'a famine of hearing the words of the Lord.' In Egypt, famine is due to the failure of the annual inundation of the Nile, which is ultimately traceable to lack of rain in the Abyssinian highlands of the interior.

Crops may be destroyed by other causes—hail and thunder-storms (Ex 9^{31}, 1 S 12^{17}); locusts and similar pests (Ex 10^{15}, Jl 1^{4}, Am 4^{9}). Further, famine is the usual accompaniment of war, the most horrible accounts of famines being connected with sieges (2 K 6^{25} 25^{3}, Jer 21^{9}, La 4^{10}).

These passages should be compared with the terrible description of Dt 28^{49-57}, and with Josephus' account of the last siege of Jerusalem (*BJ* v. x. 3). So in Rev 6^{5} scarcity, connected with the black horse, follows on bloodshed and conquest; but a maximum price is fixed for wheat and barley, and oil and wine are untouched, so that the full horrors of famine are delayed. A natural result of famine is pestilence, due to improper and insufficient food, lack of water, and insanitary conditions. The two are frequently connected, especially in Ezk. and Jer. (1 K 8^{37}, Jer 21^{9}, Lk 21^{11} [not Mt 24^{7}]).

Famines are recorded in connexion with Abraham (Gn 12^{10}) and Isaac (26^{1}). There is the famous seven years' famine of Gn 41 ff., which included Syria as well as Egypt. It apparently affected cereals rather than pasturage, beasts of transport being unharmed (cf. *per contra* 1 K 18^{5}). The device by which Joseph warded off its worst effects is illustrated by Egyptian inscriptions. In one, Baba, who lived *about* the time of Joseph, says: 'I collected corn, as a friend of the harvest-god, and was watchful at the time of sowing. And when a famine arose, lasting many years, I distributed corn to the city each year of famine' (see Driver, *Genesis*, p. 346). Other famines, besides those already referred to, are mentioned in Ru 1^{1}, 2 S 21^{1}. The famine of Ac 11^{28} is usually identified with one mentioned by Josephus (*Ant.* XX. ii. 5, v. 2), which is dated A.D. 45. But famines were characteristic of the reign of Claudius (Suetonius mentions 'assiduae sterilitates'), so that the exact reference remains uncertain.

C. W. EMMET.

FAN.—The fan of Scripture (Is 30^{24}, Mt 3^{12}, Lk 3^{17}) is the five- or six-pronged wooden **winnowing-fork**, for which see AGRICULTURE, § 3. The corresponding verb is rendered '**winnow**,' Is 30^{24}, Ru 3^{2}, but 'fan' elsewhere (Amer. RV has 'winnow' throughout); the **fanners** of Jer 51^{2} (AV, RVm and Versions) are the 'winnowers,' as Amer. RVm. Fanning or winnowing is a frequent figure for the Divine sifting and chastisement, Jer 4^{11} 15^{7} etc.

A. R. S. KENNEDY.

FARTHING.—See MONEY, § 7.

FASTING.—I. In the OT.—'To afflict the soul' is the term by which fasting is usually mentioned (cf. Lv 16^{29-31} $23^{27.\ 32}$, Nu 29^{7} 30^{13}; the two terms are combined in Ps 35^{13}, Is $58^{3.\ 5}$). *In the period preceding the Captivity* we find no universal fast prescribed. The institution of the Day of Atonement—the only fast ordained in the Law—was traditionally ascribed to this period; but there is no certain reference to it before Sir $50^{5ff.}$. Zechariah does not allude to it, and Ezk 40–48 prescribes a more simple ceremonial for such an occasion, whence it may be inferred that the elaborate ritual of Lv 16 was not yet customary. Neh 7^{73}–9^{38} records a general fast on the 24th day of the 7th month, and therefore the 10th day of that month—the proper date for the Day of Atonement—was probably not yet set apart for this purpose. Moreover, the characteristic ideas of the fast—its public confession, its emphasis on sin and atonement—are late, and can be compared with post-exilic analogies (Ezr 9, Neh 1^{4-11} 9^{3}). See ATONEMENT [DAY OF]. Previously to the Captivity fasting was observed by individuals or the whole people on special occasions (cf. 2 S 12^{16}, 1 K 21^{27}, Jg 20^{26}, 1 S 7^{6}, 2 Ch 20^{3}).

After the Captivity this type of fasts of course continued (cf. Ezr 8^{21-23}, Neh 1^{4} 9^{1}). But in Zec 7^{3-5} 8^{19} we hear of four general fasts which were observed with comparative regularity. On 17th Tammuz (July) a fast was ordained to commemorate the capture of Jerusalem by Nebuchadnezzar (Jer 39^{2} 52^{6}). This was celebrated on the 17th day of the 4th month, and not on the 9th, because, according to the Talmudic tradition, the 17th was the day on which Moses broke the tables of the Law, on which the daily offering ceased owing to the famine caused by the Chaldæan siege, and on which Antiochus Epiphanes burnt the Law and introduced, an idol into the Holy Place. On the 9th day of the 5th month (Ab) was celebrated a fast in memory of the burning of the Temple and city (2 K 25^{8}, Jer 52^{12}). The 9th, and not the 7th or 10th, was the prescribed day, because tradition placed on the 9th the announcement that the Israelites were not to enter Canaan, and the destruction of the Second Temple. On the 3rd of Tishri (October) the murder of Gedaliah was commemorated by a fast (Jer 41^{1}), and on the 10th of Tebeth (January) another fast recalled the siege of Jerusalem by the Chaldæans (2 K 25^{1}, Jer 52^{4}). Besides these, we hear of a Fast of Esther being observed; on this see PURIM.

Fasting probably meant complete abstinence, though the Talmud allowed lentils to be eaten during the period of mourning. No work was done during a fast (Lv $16^{29.\ 31}$ 23^{32}, Nu 29^{7}), and sackcloth and ashes were sometimes used (Dn 9^{3}, Jon $3^{6.\ 7}$). The usual reasons for a fast were either mourning (1 S 31^{13}) or a wish to deprecate the Divine wrath (2 S $12^{16.\ 17}$).

2. In the NT.—We hear that frequent additional fasts were imposed by tradition, and that strict observers kept two weekly fasts (Lk 18[12])—on Thursday and Monday—commemorating, as it seems, the days on which Moses ascended and came down from the Mount. After the destruction of Jerusalem by Titus, a huge system of fasts was instituted, and the present Jewish calendar prescribes 22, besides the Day of Atonement, the Fast of Esther, and the four fasts of Zec 8[19].

3. Christianity and fasting.—Jesus refused to lay down any specific injunctions to fast. To prescribe forms was not His purpose: all outward observance was to be dictated by an inward principle. He Himself probably kept the usual fasts, and individual ones, as during the Temptation. But He laid emphasis in His teaching on the inutility of fasting except as a part of personal godliness, and gave plain warnings of its possible abuse by hypocrisy (Mt 6[16-18] 9[14-17], Mk 2[18-22], Lk 5[33-39]). The early Church used to fast before solemn appointments (Ac 13[2] 14[23]); and St. Paul alludes to his fastings, whether voluntary or compulsory, in 2 Co 6[5] 11[27]. In time a greater stress was put on the value of fasting, as is shown by the probable insertion of an allusion to it in Mt 17[21], Mk 9[29], Ac 10[30], 1 Co 7[5].

A. W. F. Blunt.

FAT.—See Food, § 10, Sacrifice and Offering.

FAT.—The same word as **vat**, a large vessel for holding liquids, but in OT and NT only in connexion with the making of wine. See Wine and Strong Drink, § 2.

FATHER.—See Family, Genealogy, 1.

FATHERHOOD OF GOD.—See God, § 7.

FATHOM.—See Weights and Measures.

FAUCHION (Jth 13[6] AV; RV '**scimitar**').—The Eng. word denoted originally 'a broad sword more or less curved on the convex side'; but in later use and in poetry it signified a sword of any kind.

FAVOUR.—The Eng. word 'favour' is used in AV in the mod. sense of 'goodwill'; but in 'well-favoured' and 'ill-favoured' we see the older meaning of personal appearance. In Jos 11[20] the word seems to be used in the old sense of 'mercy'—'that he might destroy them, and they might have no favour'—as in Elyot, *The Governour*, ii. 298: 'And they, which by that lawe were condemned, were put to dethe without any fauour.' For the theology of the word see Grace.

FAWN.—See Roe, § 3.

FEAR.—In the OT 'the fear of the Lord' is frequently a definition of piety. The purpose of the giving of the Law is the implanting of this fear in the hearts of men (Dt 4[10]); it is the sum of religious duty (6[13]) and prompts to obedient and loving service (10[12]). 'Fear cannot be appraised without reference to the worth of the objects feared' (Martineau, *Types of Ethical Theory*, ii. 184); hence it is on the revelation of the Divine nature as 'holy and to be feared' (Ps 111[9]) that this fundamental principle of religion rests: those who know His name have learnt that to fear Him is true wisdom (v.[10]) and true blessedness (Ps 112[1]). In the NT mention is made of a fear which has high moral quality and religious value. 'The fear of the Lord' was the rule by which the early Christians walked (Ac 9[31]), and when an uncircumcised foreigner became a devout worshipper of the God of Israel he was known as 'one that feareth God' (10[2]; cf. 2 Co 7[1], Ph 2[12], 1 P 1[17] 2[17], Rev 14[7] 15[4] 19[5]). Although the usual Gr. word for 'fear' is not used in He 5[7], the reference to the 'godly fear' of the perfect Son emphasizes the contrast between reverent awe and slavish terror.

The fear which 'hath punishment' (1 Jn 4[18]) is the result of sin (Gn 3[10]). The sinner, under condemnation of the Law, is in 'bondage unto fear' (Ro 8[15]), and, inasmuch as 'the sting of death is sin' (1 Co 15[56]), he is also 'through fear of death . . . subject to bondage' (He 2[15]). Transgression may so completely deceive him that he has 'no terror of God' (Ps 36[1]); the climax of human wickedness is the loss of any dread of God's judgments, though the Gr. and Eng. translations of the Heb. word for 'terror' (*pachadh*, cf. Is 2[10. 19. 21]RV) fail to bring out this thought in St. Paul's quotation of this verse (Ro 3[18]). To rouse men from this callous indifference to God's threatenings is the purpose of the appeal to fear, which is a primary and self-regarding emotion and a powerful spring of human action. This appeal is warranted by our Lord's words (Mt 10[28]) as well as by Apostolic example (He 4[1] 10[31], 1 Ti 5[20], Jude [23]). The spirit in which this appeal should be made is that which inspired St. Paul, when he declares that, 'knowing the fear of the Lord,' before whose judgment-seat all must be made manifest, he is constrained by the love of Christ to persuade men to be 'reconciled to God' (2 Co 5[11ff.]). J. G. Tasker.

FEARFULNESS.—The adj. 'fearful' is often used in AV in the sense, not of causing fear, but of feeling it: and 'fearfulness' always denotes the emotion of fear. Thus Mt 8[26] 'Why are ye fearful, O ye of little faith?'; Ps 55[5] 'Fearfulness and trembling are come upon me.' In the RV of the NT the only meaning of 'fearful' is full of fear, the Revisers, Westcott tells us, having purposely retained this use in order that 'fear,' 'fearful,' and 'fearfulness' might all agree in meaning. They have accordingly changed 'fearful sights' in Lk 21[11] into 'terrors.' The Revisers of the OT, however, had no such thought, and they have left the word unchanged.

FEASTS.—*Introductory.*—The sacred festivals of the Jews were primarily occasions of rejoicing, treated as a part of religion. To 'rejoice before God' was synonymous with 'to celebrate a festival.' In process of time this characteristic was modified, and a probably late institution, like the Day of Atonement, could be regarded as a feast, though its prevalent note was not one of joy. But the most primitive feasts were marked by religious merriment; they were accompanied with dances (Jg 21[21]), and, as it seems, led to serious excesses in many cases (1 S 1[13], Am 2[7], 2 K 23[7], Dt 23[18]). Most of the feasts were only local assemblies for acts and purposes of sacred worship; but the three great national festivals were the occasions for general assemblies of the people, at which all males were supposed to appear (Ex 23[14. 17] 34[23], Dt 16[16]).

I. Feasts connected with the Sabbath.—These were calculated on the basis of the sacred number 7, which regulated all the great dates of the Jewish sacred year. Thus the 7th was the sacred month, the feasts of Unleavened Bread and Tabernacles each lasted for 7 days, Pentecost was 49 days after the Feast of Unleavened Bread, Passover and Tabernacles each began on the 14th day of their respective months, and there were 7 days of holy convocation in the year.

1. The Sabbath and the observances akin to it were lunar in character (cf. Am 8[5], Hos 2[11], Is 1[13], 2 K 4[23]). The Sabbath ordinances are treated in Ex 20[11] 31[17] as designed to commemorate the completion of creation, but Dt 5[14. 15] connects them with the redemption from Egypt, and Ex 23[12] ascribes them to humanitarian motives. On this day work of all sorts was forbidden, and the daily morning and evening sacrifices were doubled. Sabbath-breaking was punishable with death (Nu 15[32-36], Ex 31[14. 15]). No evidence of Sabbath observance is traced in the accounts of the patriarchal age, and very little in pre-exilic records (Is 56[2. 6] 58[13], Jer 17[20-24], Ezk 20[12. 13. 16. 20]). But after the Captivity the rules were more strictly enforced (Neh 13[15. 22]), and in later times the Rabbinical prohibitions multiplied to an inordinate extent. See art. Sabbath.

2. At the **New Moon** special sacrifices were offered (Nu 28[11-15]), and the silver trumpets were blown over them (Nu 10[10]). All trade and business were discon-

tinued, as well as work in the fields (Am 8^5). It appears also that this was the occasion of a common sacred meal and family sacrifices (cf. 1 S $20^{5.\ 6.\ 18.\ 24}$), and it seems to have been a regular day on which to consult prophets (2 K 4^{23}).

3. The Feast of Trumpets took place at the New Moon of the 7th month, Tishri (October). See TRUMPETS.

4. The Sabbatical year.—An extension of the Sabbath principle led to the rule that in every 7th year the land was to be allowed to lie fallow, and fields were to be neither tilled nor reaped. See SABBATICAL YEAR.

5. By a further extension, every 50th year was to be treated as a **year of Jubilee,** when Hebrew slaves were emancipated and mortgaged property reverted to its owners. See SABBATICAL YEAR.

II. GREAT NATIONAL FESTIVALS.—These were solar festivals, and mostly connected with different stages of the harvest; the Jews also ascribed to them a commemorative significance, and traditionally referred their inauguration to various events of their past history. They were:—

1. The Passover, followed immediately by the **Feast of Unleavened Bread.** These two feasts were probably distinct in origin (Lv $23^{5.\ 6}$, Nu $28^{16.\ 17}$), and Josephus distinguishes between them; but in later times they were popularly regarded as one (Mk 14^{12}, Lk 22^{1}). The Passover festival is probably of great antiquity, but the Feast of Unleavened Bread, being agricultural in character, can scarcely have existed before the Israelites entered Canaan. For the characteristic features of the two festivals, see PASSOVER.

2. Pentecost, on the 50th day after 16th Nisan (April), celebrated the completion of the corn harvest. See PENTECOST.

3. The Feast of Tabernacles, the Jewish harvest-home, took place at the period when the harvests of fruit, oil, and wine had been gathered in. See TABERNACLES.

III. MINOR HISTORICAL FESTIVALS.—**1. The Feast of Purim,** dating from the Persian period of Jewish history, commemorated the nation's deliverance from the intrigues of Haman. See PURIM.

2. The Feast of the Dedication recalled the purification of the Temple after its desecration by Antiochus Epiphanes. See DEDICATION.

3. The Feast of the Wood-offering or of the Wood-carriers, on the 15th day of Abib (April), marked the last of the nine occasions on which offerings of wood were brought for the use of the Temple (Neh 10^{34} 13^{31}).

Besides these there were certain petty feasts, alluded to in Josephus and the Apocrypha, but they seem never to have been generally observed or to have attained any religious importance. Such are: *the Feast of the Reading of the Law* (1 Es 9^{50}, cf. Neh 8^{9}); *the Feast of Nicanor* on the 13th day of Adar (March) (1 Mac 7^{49}; see PURIM); *the Feast of the Captured Fortress* (1 Mac $13^{50\text{-}52}$); *the Feast of Baskets.* A. W. F. BLUNT.

FELIX, ANTONIUS.—Procurator of Judæa (Ac $23^{24ff.}$); according to Josephus, he had been sent to succeed Cumanus in A.D. 52; but this contradicts Tacitus, who makes Cumanus governor of Galilee and Felix of Samaria simultaneously; and this suits Ac 24^{10} ('many years'). Both historians give 52 as the year of Cumanus' disgrace, so that we may probably take that as the date of Felix' accession to office in Judæa. Felix was brother of Pallas, Claudius' powerful freedman, whose influence continued him in office under Nero, and on his disgrace (due to a riot at Cæsarea) procured him his life. He is described by Tacitus as a very bad and cruel governor. He was somewhat touched by St. Paul's preaching ($24^{25f.}$), but kept him in prison, first in hope of a bribe,—one of many details showing that St. Paul was a prisoner of social importance,—and, finally, to please the Jews. He is called 'most excellent' (23^{26} 24^{3}; cf. 26^{25}, Lk 1^{3}), a title given him as governor, but more properly confined to those of equestrian rank. He married thrice, each time to a person of royal birth; see DRUSILLA. A. I. MACLEAN.

FELLOW.—This Eng. word is used in AV with the meaning either of (1) companion, or (2) of person. Thus (1) Ps 45^{7} 'God, thy God, hath anointed thee with the oil of gladness above thy fellows'; (2) Mt 26^{71} 'This *fellow* was also with Jesus of Nazareth' (RV 'man'; there is no word in the Gr.). Cf. Tindale's trans. of Gn 39^{2} 'And the LORDE was with Joseph, and he was a luckie fellowe.' Although the word when used in AV for *person* may have a touch of disparagement, nowhere is it used to express strong contempt as now.

FELLOWSHIP.—See COMMUNION.

FENCE.—Ps 62^{3} is the only occurrence of the subst., and probably the word there has its modern meaning (Coverdale 'hedge'). But the participle '**fenced**' (used of a city) always means 'fortified' (which Amer. RV always substitutes). See FORTIFICATION.

FERRET (*anāqah*).—An unclean animal, Lv 11^{30}, RV '**gecko.**' Rabbinical writers suggest the hedgehog, but this is unlikely. For gecko see LIZARD.

E. W. G. MASTERMAN.

FESTUS, PORCIUS.—Procurator of Judæa after Felix. His short term of office was marked by a much better administration than that of Felix or of Albinus his successor (Jos. *Ant.* XX. viii. f.). He is addressed with respect by St. Paul (Ac $26^{24ff.}$), whom he would not give up to the Jews untried; it was, however, from fear of being eventually given up that St. Paul made his appeal to Cæsar, in consequence of which he was sent to Rome. Festus was a friend of king Agrippa II., whose visit to him is described in Ac $25^{13ff.}$, and took his side in a dispute with the Jewish priests. His accession to office is one of the puzzles of NT chronology; Eusebius gives A.D. 56, but this is probably some three years too early. A. J. MACLEAN.

FETTER.—See CHAIN.

FEVER.—See MEDICINE.

FIERY SERPENT.—See SERPENT, SERAPHIM.

FIG.—(*te'ēnāh*).—The common fig, fruit of the *Ficus carica,* is cultivated from one end of Palestine to the other, especially in the mountainous regions, occupying to-day a place as important as it did in Bible times. The failure of the fig and grape harvest would even now bring untold distress (Jer 5^{17}, Hab 3^{17} etc.). Although the figs are all of one genus, the *fellahīn* distinguish many varieties according to the quality and colour of the fruit.

The summer foliage of the fig is thick, and excels other trees for its cool and grateful shade. In the summer the owners of gardens everywhere may be seen sitting in the shadow of their fig trees. It is possible the references in Mic 4^{4}, Zec 3^{10} may be to this, or to the not uncommon custom of having fig trees overhanging rural dwellings. Although fig trees are of medium height, some individual trees (*e.g.* near *Jenin* reach to over 25 feet high. Self-sown fig trees are usually barren, and are known to the natives as wild or 'male' fig trees. The fruiting of the fig is very interesting and peculiar. Though earlier in the plains, the annual occurrence in the mountain regions, *e.g.* round Jerusalem, is as follows: The trees, which during the winter months have lost all their leaves, about the end of March begin putting forth their tender leaf buds (Mt 24^{32}, Mk $13^{28\text{-}32}$, Lk $21^{29\text{-}33}$), and at the junction of the old wood with these leaves appear at the same time the tiny figs. These little figs develop along with the leaves up to a certain point, to about the size of a small cherry, and then the great majority of them fall to the ground, carried down with every gust of wind. These immature figs are known as the *taksh,* and are eaten by the *fellahīn* as they fall; they may indeed sometimes be seen exposed for sale in the market in Jerusalem. They are the *paggim* ('green figs') of

Ca 2^{13}, and the *olynthoi* ('untimely figs') of Rev 6^{13}. In the case of some trees, especially the best varieties, a certain proportion of these little green figs continue to develop, and reach ripeness in June. These are then known as the *dafūr* or early figs, mentioned in Is 28^4, Jer 24^2, Hos 9^{10}, Mic 7^1, as *bikkūrāh*, 'the figs first ripe.' They are to-day, as of old, specially esteemed for their delicate flavour. As the *dafūr* are ripening, the little buds of the next crop begin to appear higher up the branches. These steadily develop and form the second and great crop of figs, which comes about August.

In the much-discussed miracle of our Lord (Mt 21^{18-20}, Mk $11^{12.\ 13.\ 20-21}$) we may dismiss at once the theory that He came looking for figs from the previous season, as He would certainly not have found any such survivors, and such fruit would not have been eatable. On the other hand, at the Passover season, about April, when the young leaves are on the fig trees, every tree which is going to bear fruit at all will have some *taksh* on it, and so, though it is a true statement that 'the time of figs,' *i.e.* of ordinary edible figs, 'was not yet' (Mk 11^{13}), yet there would be fruit which could be, and is to-day, eaten, and fruit, too, which would be a guarantee of a harvest to come later on. It was the want of promise of future fruitfulness in the Jewish nation for which they were condemned in the acted parable of the barren fig tree. It may be noted, however, that in May many fig trees may be found round Jerusalem which have dropped all their 'green figs' (none ripening to *dafūr*) and have not yet put forth the buds of the late summer crop.

Figs are eaten in Palestine not only fresh but dried, the fruit being often threaded on to long strings for convenience of carriage. They are also pressed into a solid cake which can be cut in slices with a knife. These are the fig-cakes of 1 S 25^{18} 30^{12}, 1 Ch 12^{40}. A lump of such was used as a poultice for Hezekiah's boil, 2 K 20^7, Is 28^{21}. E. W. G. Masterman.

FILE.—Only 1 S 13^{21}, but the passage is very corrupt; see the larger commentaries.

FINE.—The verb 'to fine' (mod. 'refine') is used in Job 28^1 'Surely there is a vein for silver, and a place for gold where they fine it' (RV 'which they refine'). 'Fining' occurs in Pr 17^3 27^{21}; and 'finer' in Pr 25^4 'a vessel for the finer' (Amer. RV 'refiner'). See Refiner.

FINES.—See Crimes and Punishments, § 8.

FIR (*berōsh*, RVm *cypress* [wh. see], 2 S 6^5, 1 K $5^{8.\ 10}$ $6^{15.\ 34}$ etc.).—It was a tree of large growth (2 K 19^{23}, Ezk 31^8); evergreen (Hos 14^8); a chief element in the glory of Lebanon (Is 60^{13}); associated with cedars (Ps $104^{16.\ 17}$, Is 14^8, Zec 11^2). The timber of the *berōsh* ranked with the cedar for house- and ship-building (1 K $5^{8.\ 10}$ etc.). Cypress is accepted by most modern authorities, but *berōsh* may have also included several varieties of pine. 'Fir' is also RV tr. of *ōren* in Is 44^{14} (AV and RVm wrongly 'ash'). E. W. G. Masterman.

FIRE.—See House, § 7, and next article.

FIREPAN.—**1.** A pan of bronze (Ex 27^3 etc.), silver (Mishna, *Yōma*, iv. 4), or gold (1 K 7^{50} etc.), for removing charcoal, and probably ashes also, from the altar of burnt-offering. According to the Mishna (*loc. cit.*), the firepans or coal-pans were of various sizes, there given, and were each furnished with a long or a short handle. They seem, therefore, to have resembled ladles, or the now obsolete bed-warmers.

When used to hold live charcoal for the burning of incense the coal-pan becomes a **censer** (Lv 10^1 16^{12} etc.). Hence in Nu 4^{14}, 1 K 7^{50}, 2 Ch 4^{22}, RV has 'firepans' for AV 'censers,' there being no reference in these passages to incense. The same utensil was used for removing the burnt portions of the lamp-wicks of the golden 'candlestick' or lamp-stand, although rendered **snuff dishes** (which see—Tindale has rightly 'firepans').

2. In Zec 12^6 RV there is mention of 'a pan (AV hearth) of fire'; in other words, a **brasier.** See Coal; House, § 7. A. R. S. Kennedy.

FIRKIN.—See Weights and Measures.

FIRMAMENT.—See Creation.

FIRSTBORN.—**1.** The **dedication of the firstborn** of men and beasts was probably a primitive nomadic custom, and therefore earlier than the offering of first-fruits, which could not arise until the Israelites had settled into agricultural life in Canaan. The origin of the belief that a peculiar value attached to the firstborn cannot be definitely traced; but it would be a natural inference that what was valuable to the parent would be valuable to his God. And thus the word 'firstborn' could be used figuratively of Israel as the firstborn of J″ among the nations (Ex 4^{22}, cf. Jer 31^9), and the seed of David among dynasties (Ps 89^{28}). The law of the dedication of the firstborn is found in JE (Ex 13^{11-16} $22^{29b.\ 30}$ $34^{19f.}$), D (Dt 15^{19-23}), P (Ex $13^{1f.}$, Nu $3^{11-13.\ 40-51}$ 18^{15-18}). It is not impossible that in very primitive times firstborn sons were sometimes actually sacrificed (cf. 2 K 3^{27}, Mic 6^7), but the practice would soon grow up of 'redeeming' them by money or payments in kind.

2. The firstborn (*bekhōr*) enjoyed the **birthright** (*bekhōrāh*). He succeeded his father as head of the family, and took the largest share of the property; this was fixed in Dt 21^{17} as a 'double portion.' [In 2 Ch 21^3 the principle of the birthright is extended to the succession to the throne. But this is a late passage, and it is not certain that the firstborn was necessarily the heir apparent]. If a man died without children, the heir was the firstborn of his widow by his brother or next-of-kin (Dt 25^{5-10}). The right of the firstborn, however, was often disturbed, owing to the jealousies and quarrels arising from the polygamy practised in Israel. The law in Dt 21^{15-17} is directed against the abuse. Reuben, although the son of Leah, the less favoured of Jacob's two wives, was considered the firstborn, and lost the right only because of his sin (Gn $49^{3f.}$, 1 Ch 5^1). But Ishmael was allowed no share at all in the father's property (Gn 21^{10}); and the superiority of Jacob over Esau (symbolizing the superiority of Israel over Edom) is described as having been foretold before their birth (25^{23}), and as brought about by Esau's voluntary surrender of the birthright (vv.$^{29-34}$). And other instances occur of the younger being preferred to the elder, *e.g.* Ephraim (48^{13-20}), Solomon (1 K 1), Shimri (1 Ch 26^{10}).

3. The **death of the firstborn** was the last of the punishments sent upon Egypt for Pharaoh's refusal to let the Israelites go. Moses gave him due warning (Ex 11^{4-8}), and on his continued refusal the stroke fell ($12^{29f.}$). The event is referred to in Ps 78^{51} 105^{36} 135^8 136^{10}, He 11^{28}. It is probable (see Plagues of Egypt) that the stories of all the other plagues have been founded on historical occurrences, and that the Egyptians suffered from a series of 'natural' catastrophes. If this is true of the first nine, it is reasonable to assume it for the last, and we may suppose that a pestilence raged which created great havoc, but did not spread to the Israelite quarter. The growth of the tradition into its present form must be explained by the 'ætiological' interest of the Hebrew writer—the tendency to create idealized situations in a remote past for the purpose of explaining facts or institutions whose origin was forgotten. Thus the Feast of Booths was accounted for at a late date by the dwelling of the Israelites in booths after the Exodus (Lv 23^{43}), the Feast of Unleavened Cakes by the haste with which they departed from Egypt (Ex 12^{34} $13^{7f.}$), the Feast of the Passover by the passing over of the houses marked with blood at the destruction of the firstborn ($12^{12f.\ 23.\ 27}$). And similarly the singling out of the firstborn for destruction was itself connected with

the ancient practice of offering to God annually in spring the firstlings of beasts. Moses demanded release in order to offer the sacrifice (10$^{25f.}$), and because Pharaoh refused to allow them to offer their firstlings, J^{m} took from the Egyptians their firstborn. This explanation, though not explicitly given, is implied in the close connexion of the dedication of the firstborn with the Passover (13$^{11-13}$, Dt 15^{19} 16$^{1-8}$). In a redactional passage (Ex 4$^{22f.}$) a different explanation is offered. The death of the firstborn would be a punishment for refusal to release Israel, who was J^{m}'s firstborn.

4. In the NT the term 'firstborn' (*prōtotokos*) is used of Christ (Ro 8^{29}, Col 1$^{15.\ 18}$, He 1^{6}, Rev 1^{5}), and of Christians who have died (He 12^{23}); see the commentaries. A. H. M'Neile.

FIRST-FRUITS.—See Sacrifice and Offering.

FISH would appear to have always been a favourite article of diet among the Hebrews (Nu 11^{5} and references in the Gospels), as it is to-day. Fish are found in enormous numbers in all the inland waters of Palestine, and especially in the Lake of Galilee, Lake Huleh, and the 'meadow lakes' of Damascus. The extraordinary feature of these fish is the number of species peculiar to the Jordan valley. Out of a total of 43 species found in the region, no fewer than 14 are peculiar to this district. Many of these are quite small. The chief edible fish are members of the *Chromides* and of the *Cyprinidæ* (carps). The cat-fish, *Clarias macracanthus*, not being a scaly fish, cannot be eaten by the Jews (Dt 14^{9}), though considered a delicacy by the Christians of Damascus. It is thought by some to be the 'bad fish' of Mt 13$^{47.\ 48}$. In NT times fish-curing was extensively carried on at Tarichеæ on the Lake of Tiberias. Some of the native fish is still salted to-day. The '*fish*-pools' of Ca 7^{4} and the 'ponds for *fish*' in Is 19^{10} are both mistranslations. See also Food, § 6.

E. W. G. Masterman.

FITCHES.—1. *qetsach* (Is 28$^{25.\ 27}$), RVm 'black cummin,' the seeds of the aromatic herb *Nigella sativa*, commonly used to-day in Palestine as a condiment, especially on the top of loaves of bread. The contrast between the staff for the 'fitches' and the rod for the cummin is the more instructive when the great similarity of the two seeds is noticed. 2. *kussemeth*, Ezk 4^{9}, in AVm and RV 'spelt,' and in Ex 9^{32}, Is 28^{25} AV 'rie' and RV 'spelt.' **Spelt** (*Triticum spelta*) is an inferior kind of wheat, the grains of which are peculiarly adherent to the sheath. E. W. G. Masterman.

FLAG.—1. *ăchū* (Job 8^{11}), prop. 'reed-grass' (cf. Gn 41$^{2.\ 18}$). 2. *sūph* (Ex 2$^{3.\ 5}$, Is 19^{6}), sedgy plants by the Nile and its canals.

FLAGON occurs five times in AV, but in only one of these instances is the tr. retained by RV, namely, Is 22^{24}, 'vessels of flagons.' Here it is perhaps an earthenware bottle. On the other hand, RV introduces 'flagons' in two instances where it is not found in AV, namely, Ex 25^{39} 37^{16}. This tr. is probably correct, although RV gives '**cups**' for the same Heb. word in Nu 4^{7}. In all these three passages AV has 'covers.' In the remaining four instances where AV gives 'flagons' (2 S 6^{19}, 1 Ch 16^{3}, Hos 3^{1}, Ca 2^{5}), the meaning of the Heb. word is a 'pressed cake . . . composed of meal, oil, and *dibs*' (W. R. Smith, *OTJC*^{1} 434, n. 7). Hence in 2 S 6^{19}, 1 Ch 16^{3}, RV gives 'cake of raisins' for AV 'flagon [of wine],' in Hos 3^{1} 'cakes of raisins' for 'flagons of wine,' and in Ca 2^{5} 'raisins' (RVm 'cakes of raisins') for 'flagons.'

FLAX (*pishtah*).—The plant *Linum usitatissimum*, and the prepared fibres used for making linen. It was early cultivated in Palestine (Jos 2^{6}); the failure of the flax was one of God's judgments (Hos 2^{9}). The plant is about two to three feet high, with pretty blue flowers; the flax is said to be 'bolled' (Ex 9^{31}) when the seed vessels reach maturity and the plant is ready for gathering. The stalks were dried on the housetops (Jos 2^{6}), and then soaked in water and the fibre combed out (Is 19^{9} RV). The 'tow' of Is 43^{17} is teased-out flax. The oil of the seeds is the well-known linseed oil.

E. W. G. Masterman.

FLEA (*par'ōsh*, 1 S 24^{14} 26^{20}).—The common flea, *Pulex irritans*, is a universal pest in Palestine. Fleas are present in incredible numbers in the dust of caves to which goats resort. RVm has 'fleas' for 'lice' in Ex 8^{16}.

E. W. G. Masterman.

FLESH.—This word is used in Scripture to express: (1) *the substance of the animal body*, whether of man or of beast (Gn 41^{2}). (2) *The whole human body* (Ex 4^{7}). (3) *Relationship by birth or marriage* (Gn 2^{24} 37^{27}, Neh 5^{5}), for which also the further phrase 'flesh and bones' is found (Gn 2^{23}, 2 S 19^{12})—a phrase which is also used to describe the reality of the humanity of Jesus after His resurrection (Lk 24^{39}). (4) *The finite earthly creature*, in contrast with God and His Spirit (Is 31^{3}, Gn 7^{21})—a use of the term to emphasize man's frailty and dependence on God (Job 34^{15}, Is 40$^{6-8}$), but without any moral disparagement, as it is applied to the whole human race without reference to its sin (Jl 2^{28}), and to the human nature of Christ (Jn 1^{14}, Ro 1^{3}). We have the equivalent phrase 'flesh and blood' in the NT (1 Co 15^{50} ‖ 'corruption,' He 2^{14} = human nature [cf. Jn 1^{13}]). (5) *One element of the nature of man* in combination or contrast with the others, such as 'soul' (Ps 63^{1}), 'heart' (73^{26}), 'soul' and 'heart' (84^{2}); while it is the lower element, it is recognized even in man's relation to God (Job 19^{26}). In the NT 'flesh' is, without suggestion or moral defect, either combined or contrasted with 'spirit' (Mt 26^{41}, 1 Co 5^{5}). As a necessary element in human nature under present conditions, it is in no way condemned (Gal 2^{20}); the duality is ascribed to Christ Himself (Ro 1$^{3.\ 4}$); and sin is represented as infecting the other elements in man as well as the body (2 Co 7^{1}, Eph 2^{3}). (6) *The seat and vehicle of sin*, as contrasted with the 'mind' which approves and serves the law of God (Ro 7^{25}), and the 'spirit' which is the gift of God (Ro 8$^{4ff.}$, Gal 5^{16}). A similar use is made of the adjective 'fleshly' or 'carnal,' in contrast with 'spiritual' (Ro 7^{14}, 1 Co 3^{1}, Col 2^{18}). It is to be noted, however, that in this use the 'flesh' is not conceived as exclusively material substance, for among the works of the flesh are included *idolatry, sorcery, enmities, strifes, jealousies*, etc. (Gal 5^{20}). The explanation usually given of this use of the term 'flesh' is that, man having fallen, sin comes by natural inheritance (flesh), whereas goodness is given by supernatural grace (spirit). Whatever be the explanation of the Pauline use, that the term gets a distinctly ethical content, and is used with reference to sin as dwelling in human nature, cannot be denied.

Pfleiderer endeavours to show how from the Hebraic use of the term for *creaturely weakness*, St. Paul passed to the Hellenic use for *moral defect*. His conclusion is that 'from the opposition of physically different substances results the dualism of antagonistic moral principles' (*Paulinism*, i. p. 54). The usual explanation of the depravity of human nature is rejected—'there seems to be no allusion,' says Usteri, quoted by Pfleiderer (p. 61), 'in the writings of Paul to a change in the moral nature of man, or of his bodily constitution in consequence of the fall, *i.e.* of the first actual sin of Adam.' St. Paul is supposed to leave us with two explanations of the origin of sin. Against the assumption of this dualism Bruce offers the following arguments: (1) It is un-Hebrew, and St. Paul's culture is Rabbinic rather than Hellenistic; (2) the body is capable of sanctification as well as the spirit (1 Th 5^{23}, 1 Co 6$^{19.\ 20}$, 2 Co 7^{1}); (3) the body as well as the soul will be raised from the dead, although it will be changed (1 Co 15$^{44-50}$); (4) the Christian salvation is in the present life, and not only after the death of the body (*St. Paul's Conception of Christianity*, 269 ff.). It may be added that flesh is ascribed to Christ, and St. Paul's phrase 'the likeness of sinful

flesh' (Ro 8^3) is intended to deny sinfulness, not a similar body in Christ (see Comm. *in loc.*).

ALFRED E. GARVIE.

FLESH-HOOK.—The flesh-hook used by the priest's servant at Shiloh was a three-pronged fork (1 S 2^{13}), as were probably those of bronze and gold mentioned in connexion with the Tabernacle (Ex 27^3 38^3) and Temple (1 Ch 28^{17}, 2 Ch 4^{16}) respectively.

A. R. S. KENNEDY.

FLESHLY, FLESHY.—There is a distinction preserved in the AV between these words. 'Fleshly' is that which belongs to the flesh, *carnal*, as Col 2^{18} 'fleshly mind,' as opposed to 'spiritually minded' (cf. Ro 8^6). 'Fleshy' is that which is made of flesh, *tender*, as 2 Co 3^3 'written . . . not in tables of stone, but in fleshy tables of the heart.'

FLESH POTS (Ex 16^3).—See HOUSE, § 9.

FLINT.—See MINING AND METALS.

FLOCK.—See SHEEP.

FLOOD.—See DELUGE. And notice that the word is used generally for a stream or river, as Is 44^3 'I will pour water upon him that is thirsty, and floods upon the dry ground' (RV 'streams'). Sometimes a particular river is meant, the Euphrates, the Nile, or the Jordan. (1) The Euphrates is referred to in Jos 24^2 ('your fathers dwelt on the other side of the flood,' RV 'beyond the River') $24^{14.\ 15}$, 2 Es 13^{44}, 1 Mac 7^8. (2) The Nile in Ps 78^{44}, Am 8^8 9^5, Jer $46^{7.\ 8}$. (3) The Jordan in Ps 66^6 ('they went through the flood on foot'). The word is also frequently used in AV as now, of a torrent, as Ps 69^2 'I am come into deep waters, where the floods overflow me' (Heb. *shibboleth*, the word which the Ephraimites pronounced *sibboleth*).

FLOOR.—Used in AV (*a*) in the primary sense of a house-floor, and (*b*) in the secondary sense of a threshing-floor, the Heb. words for which are quite distinct. Under (*a*) we have the earthen floor of the Tabernacle, Nu 5^{17}, and the wooden floor of the Temple, 1 K 6^{15} (see HOUSE, § 4.) By 'from floor to floor,' 7^7 RV, is meant 'from floor to ceiling,' a sense implied in the better reading 'from the floor to the rafters'; cf. 6^{15}, wherefor 'walls' read 'rafters' of the ceiling. In Am 9^3 our EV has obscured the figure 'the floor of the sea.'

(*b*) Where 'floor' occurs in the sense of 'threshing-floor' (see AGRICULTURE, § 3), the latter has been substituted by RV except in three passages (Gn 50^{11}, Is 21^{10}, Jl 2^{24}). The same word (*goren*) appears as **barnfloor** (2 K 6^{27}, RV 'threshing-floor') and **cornfloor** (Hos 9^1 AV and RV).

A. R. S. KENNEDY.

FLOUR.—See BREAD, FOOD, § 2, MILL.

FLOWERS.—**1.** *nizzān*, only Ca 2^{12}. **2,** *ziz*, Is $28^{1.\ 4}$ 40^6, Job 14^2, 'blossoms' Nu 17^8. **3.** *nizzah*—used of the inconspicuous flowers of vine and olive, Is 18^5, Job 15^{33}. **4.** *perach*, Ex 25^{33}, Is 18^5, AV 'bud,' RV 'blossom,' Nah 1^4. Flowers are one of the attractive features of Palestine; they come in the early spring (Ca 2^{12}), but fade all too soon, the brilliant display being a matter of but a few short weeks. Hence they are an appropriate symbol of the evanescence of human life (Job 14^2, Ps 103^{15} etc.). The 'lilies of the field' of Mt 6^{28} may have been a comprehensive term for the brilliant and many-coloured anemones, the irises, the gladioli, etc., which lend such enchantment to the hillsides in March and April. E. W. G. MASTERMAN.

FLUTE.—See MUSIC AND MUSICAL INSTRUMENTS.

FLUX.—The expression 'a bloody flux' (1611 'bloody-flixe') is used in AV for Gr. *dysenterion* (RV 'dysentery'). This trans. is first found in Wyclif, who offers the alternative 'dissenterie, or flix.' See MEDICINE.

FLY.—**1.** *zebūb*, Ec 10^1, Is 7^{18}; also Baal-zebub [wh. see]. **2.** *'arōb*, Ex 8^{21} etc., the insects of one of the plagues of Egypt, thought by some to have been cockroaches. Flies of many kinds, mosquitoes, 'sand-flies,' etc., swarm in Palestine and Egypt. In summer any sweet preparation left uncovered is at once defiled by flies falling into it (Ec 10^1). Flies carry ophthalmia and infect food with the micro-organisms of other diseases, *e.g.* cholera, enteric fever, etc. They frequently deposit their eggs in uncleanly wounds and discharging ears, and these eggs develop into maggots. Special flies, in Africa at any rate, carry the *trypanosoma*, which produce fatal disease in cattle and 'sleeping sickness' in man. Mosquitoes, which may have been included in the '*arōb* (the 'swarms of flies') in Egypt, are now known to be the carriers of the poison of malaria, the greatest scourge of parts of Palestine.

E. W. G. MASTERMAN.

FODDER (*belūl*, Job 6^5 and Jg 19^{21} RV). See PROVENDER.

FOLK.—This Eng. word is used in the NT indefinitely for 'persons,' there being no word in the Gr. (Mk 6^5, Jn 5^3, Ac 5^{16}). But in the OT the word has the definite meaning of *nation* or *people*, even Pr 30^{26} 'The conies are but a feeble folk,' having this meaning. In the metrical version of Ps 100^3, 'flock' should be 'folk,' corresponding to 'people' in the prose version. So the author wrote—

'The Lord ye know is God in dede
With out our aide, he did us make:
We are his folck, he doth us fede,
And for his shepe, he doth us take.'

FOLLOW.—This Eng. verb means now no more than to come after, but in older Eng. it was often equivalent to pursue. Now it states no more than the relative place of two persons, formerly it expressed purpose or determination. Tindale translates Lv 26^{17} 'ye shal flee when no man foloweth you,' and Dt 28^{22} 'they [the diseases named] shall folowe the, intyll thou perishe.' In AV to follow is sometimes to imitate, as 2 Th 3^7 'For yourselves know how ye ought to follow us.'

FOOD.—This article will deal only with food-stuffs, in other words, with the principal articles of food among the Hebrews in Bible times, the preparation and serving of these being reserved for the complementary article MEALS.

1. The food of a typical Hebrew household in historical times was almost exclusively vegetarian. For all but the very rich the use of meat was confined to some special occasion,—a family festival, the visit of an honoured guest, a sacrificial meal at the local sanctuary, and the like. According to the author of the Priests' Code, indeed, the food of men and beasts alike was exclusively herbaceous in the period before the Deluge (Gn $1^{29f.}$), permission to eat the flesh of animals, under stipulation as to drawing off the blood, having been first accorded to Noah ($9^{3ff.}$). In Isaiah's vision of the future, when 'the lion shall eat straw like the ox' (11^7), a return is contemplated to the idyllic conditions of the first age of all.

The growth of luxury under the monarchy (cf. Am $6^{4f.}$ and similar passages) is well illustrated by a comparison of 2 S $17^{28f.}$ with 1 K $4^{22f.}$. In the former there is brought for the entertainment of David and his followers 'wheat and barley and meal and parched corn and beans and lentils and parched *pulse* [? see p. 266, § 3] and honey and butter and sheep and cheese of kine'; while, according to the latter passage, Solomon's daily provision was 'thirty measures of fine flour and three-score measures of meal; ten fat oxen and twenty oxen out of the pastures, and an hundred sheep, besides harts and gazelles and roebucks and fatted fowl.'

2. The first place in the list of Hebrew food-stuffs must be given to the various cereals included under the general name of 'corn'—in Amer. RV always 'grain'—the two most important of which were **wheat** and **barley. Millet** (Ezk 4^9) and spelt (see FITCHES, RIE) are only casually mentioned. The most primitive

method of using corn was to pluck the 'fresh ears' (Lv 23^{14} RV, 2 K 4^{42}) and remove the husk by rubbing in the hands (Dt 23^{25}, Mt 12^{1} etc.). When bruised in a mortar these ears yielded the 'bruised corn of the fresh ear' of Lv $2^{14.\ 16}$ RV. A favourite practice in all periods down to the present day has been to roast the ears on an iron plate or otherwise. The result is the **parched corn** so frequently mentioned in OT. Parched corn and bread with a light sour wine furnished the midday meal of Boaz's reapers (Ru 2^{14}). The chief use, however, to which wheat and barley were put was to supply the household with **bread** (wh. see). Wheaten and barley **'meal'** (RV) were prepared in early times by means of the primitive rubbing-stones, which the excavations show to have long survived the introduction of the quern or hand-mill (for references to illustrations of both, see MILL). The **'fine flour'** of our EV was obtained from the coarser variety by bolting the latter with a fine sieve. **Barley bread** (Jg 7^{13}, Jn $6^{9.\ 13}$) was the usual bread, indeed the principal food, of the poorer classes. (For details of bread-making, see BREAD.) The obscure word rendered 'dough' in Nu 15^{20}, Neh 10^{37}, Ezk 44^{30} denoted either **coarse meal** (so RVm) or a sort of **porridge** made from wheat and barley meal, like the *polenta* of the Romans.

3. Next in importance to wheat and barley as food-stuffs may be ranked the seeds of various members of the pulse family (*Leguminosæ*), although only two leguminous plants (**lentils** and **beans**) are mentioned by name in OT. The **pulse** of Dn $1^{12.\ 16}$ denotes edible herbs generally (so RVm); the 'parched (pulse)' of 2 S 17^{28}, on the other hand, is due to a mistaken rendering of the word for 'parched corn,' here repeated by a copyist's slip. Of red lentils Jacob made his fateful **pottage** (Gn $25^{29ff.}$), probably a stew in which the lentils were flavoured with onions and other ingredients, as is done at the present day in Syria. Lentils and beans were occasionally ground to make bread (Ezk 4^{9}).

Next to its fish, the Hebrews in the wilderness looked back wistfully on the 'cucumbers, melons, leeks, onions, and garlick' of Egypt (Nu 11^{5}), all of them subsequently cultivated by them in Palestine. It is to the agricultural treatises of the Mishna, however, that the student must turn for fuller information regarding the rich supplies available either for a 'dinner of herbs' (Pr 15^{17}) alone, or for supplementing a meat diet. At least four varieties of bean, for example, are named, also the chickpea (which the Vulgate substitutes for the 'parched pulse' above referred to), various species of chicory and endive—the **bitter herbs** of the Passover ritual (Ex 12^{8})—mustard (Mt 13^{31}), radish, and many others.

4. Passing now to the 'food-trees' (Lv 19^{23}), we may follow the example of Jotham in his parable (Jg $9^{8ff.}$), and begin with the **olive,** although, as it happens, the 'olive berry' (Ja 3^{12} AV) is never expressly mentioned in Scripture as an article of diet. Apart, however, from their extensive use in furnishing **oil** (wh. see), itself an invaluable aid in the preparation of food, olives were not only eaten in the fresh state, but were at all times preserved for later use by being soaked in brine. Such pickled olives were, and still are, used as a relish with bread by rich and poor alike.

Next to the olive in rank, Jotham's parable places the fig-tree, whose 'sweetness' and 'good fruit' it extols (Jg 9^{11}). The great economic importance of the **fig** need not be emphasized. From Is 28^{4}, Jer 24^{2} it appears that the 'first ripe fig,' *i.e.* the early fig which appears on last year's wood, was regarded as a special delicacy. The bulk of the year's fruit was dried for use out of the season, as was the case also among the Greeks and Romans, by whom dried figs were the most extensively used of all fruits. When pressed in a mould they formed **'cakes of figs'** (1 S 25^{18}, 1 Ch 12^{40}). A fig-cake, it will be remembered, was prescribed by Isaiah as a poultice (EV 'plaister') for Hezekiah's boil (Is 38^{21} =2 K 20^{7} RV).

With the fig Hebrew writers constantly associate the **grape,** the 'fruit of the vine' (Mt 26^{29} and parallels). Like the former, grapes were not only enjoyed in their natural state, but were also, by exposure to the sun after being gathered, dried into **raisins,** the 'dried grapes' of Nu 6^{3}. In this form they were better suited for the use of travellers and soldiers (1 S 25^{18}, 1 Ch 12^{40}). What precisely is meant by the word rendered **'raisin-cake,'** 'cake of raisins,' by RV (2 S 6^{19}, Is 16^{7}, Hos 3^{1}; AV wrongly 'flagon of wine') is still uncertain. By far the greater part of the produce of the vineyards was used for the manufacture of **wine** (wh. see). For another economic product of the grape, see HONEY.

Dates are only once mentioned in AV, and that without any justification, as the marginal alternative of 'honey,' 2 Ch 31^{5}; yet Joel includes 'the palm tree' in his list of fruit-trees (1^{12}), and from the Mishna we learn that dates, like the fruits already discussed, were not only eaten as they came from the palm, but were dried in clusters and also pressed into cakes for convenience of transport.

For other less important fruits, such as the pomegranate, the much discussed *tappūach*—the 'apple' of AV, according to others the *quince* (see APPLE),—the fruit of the sycomore or fig-mulberry, associated with Amos the prophet, and the **husks** (Lk 15^{16}), or rather pods of the carob tree, reference must be made to the separate articles. To these there fall to be added here **almonds** and **nuts** of more than one variety.

5. As compared with the wide range of foods supplied by the cereals, vegetables, and fruits above mentioned, the supply of flesh-food was confined to such animals and birds as were technically described as 'clean.' For this important term, and the principles underlying the distinction between clean and unclean, see CLEAN AND UNCLEAN. The clean animals admitted to the table according to the 'official' lists in Lv 11^{23} Dt 14^{4-20} (conveniently arranged in parallel columns for purposes of comparison in Driver's *Deut. ad loc.*), may be ranged under the two categories, **domestic animals,** which alone were admitted as sacrifice to the 'table of J"' (Mal $1^{7.\ 12}$), and **game.** The former comprised the two classes of 'the flock,' *i.e.* sheep and goats, and 'the herd.'

The flesh of the **goat,** and especially of the 'kid of the goats,' was more relished by the Hebrews than by the present inhabitants of Palestine, by whom the goat is reared chiefly for its milk. A kid, as less valuable than a well-fleeced lamb, was the most frequent and readiest victim, especially among the poor, a fact which gives point to the complaint of the Elder Son in the parable (Lk 15^{29}). The original significance of the thrice-repeated injunction against seething a kid in its mother's milk (Ex 23^{19} and parallels) is still uncertain.

Regarding the **sheep** as food, it may be noted that in the case of the fat-tailed breed the tail was forbidden as ordinary food by the Priests' Code at least, and had to be offered with certain other portions of the fat (see § **10** p. 267) upon the altar (Ex 29^{22}, Lv 3^{9}, both RV). Of the neat **cattle,** the flesh of females as well as of males was eaten, the Hebrews not having that repugnance to cow's flesh which distinguished the Egyptians of antiquity, as it does the Hindus of to-day. Calves, of course, supplied the daintiest food, and might be taken directly from the herd, as was done by Abraham (Gn 18^{7}, cf. 1 K 4^{23}), or specially fattened for the table. The 'fatted calf' of Lk 15^{23} will be at once recalled, also the **'fatlings,'** and the 'stalled,' *i.e.* stall-fed, ox (Pr 15^{17}) of OT. 'One ox and six choice sheep' were Nehemiah's daily portion (Neh 5^{18}); Solomon's has been already given (§ **1**). From the females of the herd and of the flock (Dt 32^{14}), especially from the she-goat (Pr 27^{27}), probably also from the milch-camel (Gn 32^{15}), came the supply of **milk** and its preparations, **butter** and **cheese,** for which see MILK.

Of the seven species of game mentioned in Dt 14^{5},

it is evident from 12[15] that the **gazelle** and the **hart** were the typical animals of the chase hunted for the sake of their flesh. They are also named along with the **roebuck** in Solomon's list, 1 K 4[23]. One or more of these, doubtless supplied the **venison** from which Esau was wont to make the 'savoury meat' which his father loved (Gn 25[28] 27[5f.]). Among the unclean animals which were taboo to the Hebrews the most interesting are the swine (Lv 11[7], Dt 14[8]; cf. Mt 8[30ff.] and parallels), the camel, the hare, and the ass (but see 2 K 6[25]).

6. In the Deuteronomic list above cited, the permitted and forbidden quadrupeds are followed by this provision regarding **fish**: 'These ye shall eat of all that are in the waters, whatsoever hath fins and scales shall ye eat: and whatsoever hath not fins and scales ye shall not eat, it is unclean unto you' (Dt 14[9f.] RV; cf. Lv 11[9-12]). No particular species of fish is named in OT, either as food or otherwise, although no fewer than thirty-six species are said to be found in the Jordan system alone. Yet we may be sure that the fish which the Hebrews enjoyed in Eygpt 'for nought' (Nu 11[5] RV) had their successors in Canaan. Indeed, it is usual to find in the words of Dt 33[19], 'they shall suck the abundance of the seas,' a contemporary reference to the fisheries possessed by the tribes of Zebulun and Issachar. In the days of Nehemiah a considerable trade in cured fish was carried on by Tyrian, *i.e.* Phœnician, merchants with Jerusalem (Neh 13[16]), where a market must have been held at or near the Fish-gate (3[3] etc.). In still later times, as is so abundantly testified by the Gospels and Josephus, the Sea of Galilee was the centre of a great fishing industry. In addition to the demand for fresh fish, a thriving trade was done in the salting and curing of fish for sale throughout the country. The **fishes** of our Lord's two miracles of feeding were almost certainly of this kind, fish cleaned, split open, salted, and finally dried in the sun, having been at all times a favourite form of provision for a journey.

7. Regarding the 'clean' **birds**, all of which were allowed as food (Dt 14[11]), no definite criterion is prescribed, but a list of prohibited species is given (Lv 11[13-19], Dt 14[11-18]), mostly birds of prey, including the bat. In the ritual of various sacrifices, however, **pigeons** and **turtle doves**, and these only, find a place, and are therefore to be reckoned as 'clean' for ordinary purposes as well. The early domestication of these birds is shown by the reference to the 'windows' of the dovecots in Is 60[8], while the Mishna has much to say regarding various breeds of domestic pigeons, their 'towers,' feeding, etc. The ordinary **domestic fowl** of the present day seems to have been first introduced into Palestine from the East in the Persian period (2 Es 1[30], Mt 23[37] 26[34] and parallels). The **fatted fowl** for Solomon's table (1 K 4[23]) are generally supposed to be **geese**, which with poultry and house-pigeons are frequently named in the Mishna. Roast goose was a favourite food of the Egyptians, and has, indeed, been called their national dish.

Among the edible game birds mention is made of the **partridge** and the **quail** (see these articles). Most or all of these were probably included in the 'fowls' (lit. birds) which appeared on Nehemiah's table (5[18]). The humble **sparrow** (Mt 10[29], Lk 12[6]) would have been beneath the dignity of a Persian governor. The **eggs** of all the clean birds were also important articles of food (Dt 22[6], Is 10[14], Lk 11[12]; Job 6[6] is doubtful, see RVm). Ostrich eggs have recently been found in an early grave at Gezer (*PEFSt* 1907, 191).

8. Under the head of animal food must also be reckoned the various edible insects enumerated, Lv 11[22f.], apparently four species of the **locust** family (see Locust). Locusts were regarded as delicacies by the Assyrians, formed part of the food of John the Baptist (Mt 3[4], Mk 1[6]), and are still eaten by the Arabs. By the latter they are prepared in various ways, one of the commonest being to remove the head, legs, and wings, and to fry the body in *samn* or clarified butter. Locusts may also be preserved by salting. This is the place, further, to refer to the article Honey for information regarding that important article of diet.

9. Nothing has as yet been said on the subject of **condiments**. **Salt**, the chief of condiments, will be treated separately (see Salt). Of the others it has been said that, 'before pepper was discovered or came into general use, seeds like cummin, the coriander, etc., naturally played a more important rôle.' Of these the greyish-white seeds of the **coriander** are named in Ex 16[31], Nu 11[7]; these are still used in the East as a spice in bread-making and to flavour sweetmeats. Similarly the seeds of the **black cummin** (Is 28[25] RVm) are sprinkled on bread like caraway seeds among ourselves. For the other condiments, **mint, anise, cummin,** and **rue**, see the separate articles. To these may be added **mustard**, of which the leaves, not the seed, (Mt 13[31]), were cut up and used as flavouring. **Pepper** is first mentioned in the Mishna. The **caper-berry** (Ec 12[5] RV) was eaten before meals as an appetizer, rather than used as a condiment.

10. Reference has already been made to the restrictions laid upon the Hebrews in the matter of animal food by the all-important distinction between 'clean' and 'unclean,' as applied not only to quadrupeds, but to fish, birds, and winged creatures generally. All creatures technically 'unclean' were taboo, to use the modern term (see Abomination, Clean and Unclean). There were other food taboos, however, which require a brief mention here. The chief of these was the absolute prohibition of the **blood** even of 'clean' beasts and birds, which occupies a prominent place in all the stages of the Hebrew dietary legislation (Dt 12[16. 23. 25] 15[23]; Lv 17[10ff.] [H], 3[17] 7[26f.] [P], etc.). Its antiquity is attested by the incident recorded 1 S 14[32ff.]. According to P, indeed, it is coeval with the Divine permission to eat animal food (Gn 9[4]). All sacrificial animals had therefore to be drained of their blood before any part could be offered to God or man, and so with all animals slaughtered for domestic use only (Dt 12[15f.]), and with all game of beast and bird taken in the chase (Lv 17[13]).

Closely associated with the above (cf. Lv 3[17]) is the taboo imposed upon certain specified portions of the intestinal **fat** of the three sacrificial species, the ox, the sheep, and the goat (Lv 3[3ff.] 7[22ff.] etc.), to which, as we have seen, the fat tail of the sheep was added. There was forbidden, further, the flesh of every animal that had died a natural death (Dt 14[21], Lv 17[15]), or had been done to death by a beast of prey (Ex 22[31], Lv 17[15]); in short, all flesh was rigidly taboo except that of an animal which had been ritually slaughtered as above prescribed. For another curious taboo, see Gn 32[32]. The Jews of the present day eat only such meat as has been certified by their own authorities as *kosher*, *i.e.* as having been killed in the manner prescribed by Rabbinic law.

The intimate association in early times between flesh-food and sacrifice explains the abhorrence of the Hebrew for all food prepared by the heathen, as illustrated by Daniel (Dn 1[8]), Judas Maccabæus (2 Mac 5[27]), Josephus (*Vita* 3), and their associates (cf. also Ac 15[20. 29], 1 Co 8[1-10] 10[19. 28]).

11. A word finally as to the sources of the Hebrew food-supply. Under the simpler conditions of early times the exclusive source of supply was the householder's own herd (Gn 18[7]) or flock (27[9]), his vineyard and oliveyard or his 'garden of herbs' (1 K 21[2]). As the Hebrews became dwellers in cities their food-stuffs naturally became more and more articles of commerce. The bakers, for example, who gave their name to a street in Jerusalem (Jer 37[21]), not only fired the dough prepared in private houses, as at the present day, but, doubtless, baked and sold bread to the public, as did their successors in the first and second centuries (see

Mishna, *passim*). An active trade in **'victuals'** is attested for Nehemiah's day (13$^{15f.}$), when we hear of the 'fish-gate' (3^{3}) and the 'sheep gate' (3^{1}), so named, doubtless, from their respective markets. The disciples were accustomed to buy provisions as they journeyed through the land (Jn 4^{8}; cf. 13^{29}); and Corinth, we may be sure, was not the only city of the time that had a provision-market (1 Co 10^{25}, EV **shambles**). In Jerusalem, again, cheese was to be bought in the Cheesemakers' Valley (Tyropœon), and oil at the oil-merchants (Mt 25^{9}), and so on. In the early morning especially, the streets near the city gates on the north and west, which led to the country, were doubtless then, as now, transformed into market-places, lined with men and women offering for sale the produce of their farms and gardens. Even the outer court of the Temple itself had in our Lord's day become a 'house of merchandise' (Jn 2^{16}).

A. R. S. Kennedy.

FOOL.—The Heb. language is rich in words which express various kinds of folly. **1.** The *kesūl* is glib of tongue, 'his mouth is his destruction' (Pr 18^{7}; cf. 9^{13} 14^{33}); in Ec 5$^{1f.}$ 'the sacrifice of fools' is offered by him who is rash with his mouth. But such an one is 'light-hearted, thoughtless and noisy rather than vicious.' **2.** The *sākhāl* manifests his folly not in speech, but in action; it was after David had numbered the people that he reproached himself for acting 'very foolishly' (2 S 24^{10}). Consequences prove that fools of this class have blundered in their calculations (Gn 31^{28}, 1 S 13^{13}, Is 44^{25}). **3.** The *'evīl* is stupid, impatient of reproof, often sullen and quarrelsome. He despises wisdom and instruction (Pr 1^{7}, cf. 15^{5}), is soon angry (Pr 12^{16} 27^{3}), and may sometimes be described as sinful (Pr 5$^{22f.}$ 24^{9}). **4.** The folly of the *nābhāl* is never mere intellectual deficiency or stupidity; it is a moral fault, sometimes a crime, always a sin. 'To commit folly' is a euphemism for gross unchastity (Dt 22^{21}, Jer 29^{23}); the word is used also of sacrilege (Jos 7^{15}), of blasphemy (Ps 74^{18}), as well as of impiety in general (Dt 32^{6}, Ps 14^{1}). These words are sometimes employed in a more general sense; to determine the shade of meaning applicable in any passage, a study of the context is essential. For further details see Kennedy, *Hebrew Synonyms*, p. 29 ff.

In the NT the Gr. words for 'fool' describe him as 'deficient in understanding' (Lk 24^{25}), 'unwise' (Eph 5^{15}), 'senseless' (Lk 12^{20}), 'unintelligent' (Ro 1^{21}). The Gr. word which corresponds to the 'impious fool' of the OT is found in Mt 5^{22}: *Raca* expresses 'contempt for a man's head=you stupid!' But 'fool' (*mōre*) expresses 'contempt for his heart and character=you scoundrel!' (Bruce, *EGT, in loc.*). If *mōre* were 'a Hebrew expression of condemnation' (RVm), it would 'enjoy the distinction of being the *only* pure Hebrew word in the Greek Testament' (Field, *Notes on the Translation of NT*, p. 3). A '*pure* Hebrew word' means a word not taken from the LXX and not Aramaic.

J. G. Tasker.

FOOT.—Is 3$^{16.\ 18}$ refers to the ornaments of women's feet. Most of the metaphorical or figurative usages are connected with the idea of the feet as the lowest part of the body, opposed to the head; hence falling at a man's feet, as the extreme of reverence or humility, kissing the feet (Lk 7^{38}), sitting at the feet, as the attitude of the pupil (Lk 10^{39}, Ac 22^{3}). The foot was literally placed on the neck of conquered foes (Jos 10^{24}), as may be seen in Egyptian monuments. Hence 'under foot' is used of subjection (Ps 8^{6}, 1 Co 15^{27}). In Dt 11^{10} the reference is to some system of irrigation in vogue in Egypt, either to the turning of a water-wheel by the foot, or to a method of distributing water from a canal 'by making or breaking down with the foot the small ridges which regulate its flow' (Driver, *ad loc.*). Other usages arise from the feet as stained or defiled in walking. The shaking of dust from the feet (Mt 10^{14}, Ac 13^{51}) was the sign of complete rejection; the land was as a heathen land, and its dust unclean. So the sandals were removed as a sign of reverence (Ex 3^{5}, Jos 5^{15}; cf. covering the feet, Is 6^{2}). To remove the sandal was also the sign of the renunciation of a right (Dt 25^{9}, Ru 4^{8}). To *walk* barefoot was the symbol of mourning (2 S 15^{30}) or slavery (Is 20^{2}). Jer 2^{25} 'Withhold thy foot from being unshod,' *i.e.* do not wear the shoes off your feet in running after strange gods.

Washing the feet stained with the dust of the road was part of the regular duty of hospitality (Gn 18^{4}, Ex 30^{19}, 2 S 11^{8}, Ca 5^{3}, Lk 7^{44}). The use of ointment for this purpose was the sign of the penitent's lavish love (Lk 7^{38}, Jn 12^{3}). **The washing of the feet at the Last Supper** is primarily connected with this custom (Jn 13). Christ 'the Lord and Master' assumes the garb and does the work of a slave (13^{4}). The lesson is not merely one of humility (cf. the dispute in Lk 22^{24}), but of ready and self-sacrificing service. An interesting Rabbinic parallel is quoted on Ezk 16^{9}: 'Among men the slave washes his master; but with God it is not so.' Edersheim further sees in the act a substitute for the washing of hands which was part of the Paschal ceremonial; and there may be a reference to the proverb, connected with the Greek mysteries, that a great undertaking must not be entered upon 'with unwashed feet.' The service of the Kingdom of heaven (or in particular the crisis of that night) is not to be approached in the spirit of unthinking pride shown in the dispute about precedence (see D. Smith, *The Days of His Flesh*, p. 440). Besides the lesson of humility, there is also the symbolism of purification. St. Peter, at first protesting, afterwards characteristically accepts this as literal. Christ's reply takes up the figure of one who has walked from the bath to his host's house, and needs only to have the dust of his journey removed. Broadly, they are clean by their consecration to Him, but they need continual cleansing from the defilements of daily life. 'It seems impossible not to see in the word "bathed" a foreshadowing of the idea of Christian baptism' (Westcott, *ad loc.*). The same or other commentaries should be consulted for later imitations of the ceremony (cf. 1 Ti 5^{10}).

C. W. Emmet.

FOOTMAN.—This word is used in two different senses: **1.** *A foot-soldier*, always in plur. 'footmen,' foot-soldiers, infantry. Footmen probably composed the whole of the Isr. forces (1 S 4^{10} 15^{4}) before the time of David. **2.** *A runner on foot*: 1 S 22^{17} (AVm 'or *guard*, Heb. *runners*'; RV 'guard,' RVm 'Heb. *runners*'). **'Runners'** would be the literal, and at the same time the most appropriate, rendering. The king had a body of runners about him, not so much to guard his person as to run his errands and do his bidding. They formed a recognized part of the royal state (1 S 8^{11}, 2 S 15^{1}); they served as executioners (1 S 22^{17}, 2 K 10^{25}); and, accompanying the king or his general into battle, they brought back official tidings of its progress or event (2 S 18^{19}). In Jer 12^{5} both the Heb. and the Eng. (footmen) seem to be used in the more general sense of racers *on foot*.

FOOTSTOOL.—See House, § 8.

FORBEARANCE.—See Longsuffering.

FORD.—Of the numerous 'fords' or passages of the Jordan, two in ancient times were of chief importance: that opposite Jericho near Gilgal (Jos 2^{7}, Jg 3^{28}), and that at Bethabara (mod. '*Abarah*), at the junction of the Jalud (which drains the Jezreel valley) and the Jordan. Bridges are now used in crossing the Jordan. In 2 S 15^{28} 17^{16} the AV has 'plain' for 'fords,' and in Jg 12$^{5.\ 6}$ 'passages.' Other fords were those of the Jabbok (Gn 32^{22}) and the Arnon (Is 16^{2}).

G. L. Robinson.

FOREHEAD.—In Jer 3^{3} a whore's forehead is a type of shamelessness; in Ezk 3$^{8.\ 9}$ the forehead stands for obstinacy. In 9^{4} the righteous receive a mark, probably the letter *Taw*, on their forehead. Hence the

symbolism in Rev 7[3], etc., where the mark is the Divine signet. It is doubtful what is the mark of the beast (Rev 13[16]); see Swete, *ad loc.* 17[5] is a probable allusion to a custom of Roman harlots. Shaving the forehead in sign of mourning is forbidden (Dt 14[1]). For Ezk 16[12], see RV. See also MARKS. C. W. EMMET.

FOREIGNER.—See NATIONS, STRANGER.

FOREKNOWLEDGE.—See PREDESTINATION.

FORERUNNER.—The English word gives the exact sense of the Greek *prodromos*, which, in its classical usage, signifies 'one who goes before'; it may be as a scout to reconnoitre, or as a herald to announce the coming of the king and to make ready the way for the royal journey.

1. John the Baptist was our Lord's 'forerunner.' The word is never applied to him in the NT, but he was the 'messenger' sent 'before the face' of the Lord 'to prepare his way' (Mt 11[10], Mk 1[2], Lk 7[27]; cf. Mal 3[1]), and to exhort others to 'make his paths straight' (Mk 1[2]; cf. Is 40[3ff.]).

2. Only in He 6[20] is the word 'forerunner' found in the EV (Wyclif 'the bifor goer,' Rheims 'the precursor'). Instead of the AV 'whither the forerunner has for us entered, even Jesus,' the RV rightly renders: 'whither as a forerunner Jesus entered for us.' The change is important. To the readers of this Epistle it would be a startling announcement that Jesus had entered the Holy of Holies *as a forerunner*. Thither the Jewish high priest, one day in the year, went alone (He 9[7]). He was the people's representative, but he was not their forerunner, for none might dare to follow him. The key-note of the Epistle is that all believers have access with boldness to the presence of the Most Holy God 'in the blood of Jesus'; they have this boldness because their High Priest has inaugurated for them a fresh and living way (10[19ff.]). Already within the veil hope enters with assurance, for Jesus has 'gone that we may follow too.' As the Forerunner of His redeemed He has inaugurated their entrance, He makes intercession for them, and He is preparing for them a place (Jn 14[2]). Commenting on the significance of this 'one word,' Dr. A. B. Bruce says that it 'expresses the whole essential difference between the Christian and the Levitical religion—between the religion that brings men nigh to God, and the religion that kept or left men standing afar off' (*Expositor*, III. vii. [1888], p. 167 f.).

J. G. TASKER.

FOREST.—1. *ya'ar* (root meaning a 'rugged' place), Dt 19[5], 2 K 2[24], Jer 46[23], Mic 3[12] etc. **2.** *horesh*, 2 Ch 27[4] etc.; tr. 'wood,' 1 S 23[15] (perhaps a proper name). **3.** *pardēs*, Neh 2[8] AV 'king's forest,' RVm 'park'; also tr. 'orchards,' Ca 4[13], Ec 2[5], RV 'parks.' From the many references it is clear that Palestine had more extensive forests in ancient times than to-day,—indeed, within living memory there has been a vast destruction of trees for fuel. Considerable patches of woodland still exist, *e.g.* on Tabor and Carmel, in parts of N. Galilee, around Banias, and specially in Gilead between *es-Salt* and the Jabbok. E. W. G. MASTERMAN.

FORGETFULNESS.—Ps 88[12] 'Shall thy wonders be known in the dark? and thy righteousness in the land of forgetfulness?' The meaning is general, as Coverdale 'the londe where all thinges are forgotten,' but probably more passive than active, that the person is forgotten rather than that he forgets. So Wis 17[3]; but in Wis 14[26] 16[11], Sir 11[25] the word expresses the tendency to forget.

FORGIVENESS.—Like many other words employed to convey ideas connected with the relations of God and man, this covers a variety of thoughts. In both OT and NT we have evidences of a more elastic vocabulary than the EV would lead us to suppose. **1.** The OT has at least three different words all tr. 'forgiveness' or '**pardon**,' referring either to God's actions with regard to men (cf. Ex 34[7], Ps 86[5], Neh 9[17]) or to forgiveness extended to men by each other (cf. Gn 50[17], 1 S 25[28]). At a very early period of human, or at least of Jewish, history, some sense of the need of forgiveness by God seems to have been felt. This will be especially evident if the words of despairing complaint put into the mouth of Cain be tr. literally (see Driver, *The Book of Genesis*, on 4[13], cf. RVm). The power to forgive came to be looked on as inherent in God, who not only possessed the authority, but loved thus to exhibit His mercy (Dn 9[9], Neh 9[17], Jer 36[3]). In order, however, to obtain this gift, a corresponding condition of humiliation and repentance on man's part had to be fulfilled (2 Ch 7[14], Ps 86[5]), and without a conscious determination of the transgressor to amend and turn towards his God, no hope of pardon was held out (Jos 24[19], 2 K 24[4], Jer 5[1. 7]). On the other hand, as soon as men acknowledged their errors, and asked God to forgive, no limit was set to His love in this respect (1 K 8[36. 50], Ps 103[3]; cf. Dt 30[1-10]). Nor could this condition be regarded as unreasonable, for holiness, the essential characteristic of the Divine nature, demanded an answering correspondence on the part of man made in God's image. Without this correspondence forgiveness was rendered impossible, and that, so to speak, automatically (cf. Lv 19[2], Jos 24[19]; see Nu 14[18], Job 10[14], Nah 1[3]).

According to the Levitical code, when wrong was done between man and man, the first requisite in order to Divine pardon was restitution, which had to be followed up by a service of atonement (Lv 6[2-7]). Even in the case of sins of ignorance, repentance and its outward expression in sacrifice had to precede forgiveness (Lv 4[13ff.], Nu 15[23ff.] etc.). Here the educative influence of the Law must have been powerful, inculcating as it did at once the transcendent holiness of God and the need of a similar holiness on the part of His people (Lv 11[44]). Thus the Pauline saying, 'The law hath been our tutor to bring us to Christ' (Gal 3[24]), is profoundly true, and the great priestly services of the Temple, with the solemn and ornate ritual, must have given glimpses of the approach by which men could feel their way and obtain the help indispensable for the needs adumbrated by the demands of the Mosaic institutions. The burden of the prophetic exhortations, 'Turn ye, turn ye, why will ye die?' (Ezk 33[11]; cf. Is 44[22], Jer 35[15] 18[11], Hos 14[1], Jl 2[13] etc.), would be meaningless if the power to obey were withheld, or the way kept hidden. Indeed, these preachers of moral righteousness did not hesitate to emphasize the converse side of this truth in dwelling on the 'repentance' of God and His returning to His afflicted but repentant people (Jon 3[9], Mal 3[7] etc.). The resultant effect of this mutual approach was the restoration to Divine favour, of those who had been alienated, by the free act of forgiveness on the part of God (Ps 85[4], Is 55[7] 59[20], Jer 13[17. 24] etc.).

2. We are thus not surprised to learn that belief in the forgiveness of sins was a cardinal article of the Jewish faith in the time of Jesus (Mk 2[7] = Lk 5[21], cf. Is 43[25]). Nor was the teaching of Jesus in any instance out of line with the national belief, for, according to His words, the source of all pardon was His Father (Mk 11[25f.], Mt 6[14f.]; cf. His appeal on the cross, 'Father, forgive them,' Lk 23[34]). It is true that 'the Son of Man hath power on earth to forgive sins' (Mk 2[10] = Mt 9[6] = Lk 5[24]), but the form of the expression shows that Jesus was laying claim to a delegated authority (cf. Lk 7[48], where, as in the case of the palsied man, the words are declaratory rather than absolute; see Plummer, *ICC*, *in loc.*). This is more clearly seen by a reference to NT epistolary literature, where again and again forgiveness and restoration are spoken of as mediated 'in' or 'through' Christ (Eph 4[32], Col 2[12ff.], 1 P 5[10]; cf. Eph 1[7], Rev 1[5], 1 Jn 2[12] etc.). Here, as in OT, only more insistently dwelt on, the consciousness of guilt and of the need of personal holiness is the first step on the road to God's forgiveness (1 Jn 1[9], cf. Ps 32[5] 51[3] etc.); and the open

acknowledgment of these feelings is looked on as the natural outcome of their existence (Ac 19^{18}; cf. Ro 10^{10}, 1 Jn 1^{9}). The hopelessness which at times seemed to have settled down on Jesus, when confronted by Pharisaic opposition, was the result of the moral and spiritual blindness of the religious teachers to their real position (Jn $9^{40f.}$).

3. Again, following along the line we have traced in the OT, only more definitely and specifically emphasized, the NT writers affirm the necessity for a moral likeness between God and man (cf. Mt 5^{48}). It is in this region, perhaps, that the most striking development is to be seen. Without exhibiting, in their relations to each other, the Divine spirit of forgiveness, men need never hope to experience God's pardon for themselves. This, we are inclined to think, is the most striking feature in the ethical creations of Jesus' teaching. By almost every method of instruction, from incidental postulate (Mt 6^{12}=Lk 11^{4}, Mk 11^{25}) to deliberate statement (Mt $18^{21ff.}$ 6^{15}, Mk 11^{26}, Lk 17^{4}) and elaborate parable (Mt 18^{23-35}), He sought to attune the minds of His hearers to this high and difficult note of the Christian spirit (cf. Col 3^{13}, 1 Jn 4^{11}). Once more, Jesus definitely asserts the limitation to which the pardon and mercy even of God are subjected. Whatever may be the precise meaning attaching to the words 'an eternal sin' (Mk 3^{29}), it is plain that some definite border-line is referred to as the line of demarcation between those who may hope for this evidence of God's love and those who are outside its scope (Mt 12^{32}). See art. Sin, III. 1.

4. We have lastly to consider the words, recorded only by St. John, of the risen Jesus to His assembled disciples (Jn 20^{23}). It is remarkable that this is the only place in the Fourth Gospel where the word tr. 'forgive' (RV) occurs, and we must not forget that the incident of conferring the power of absolution on the body of believers, as they were gathered together, is peculiar to this writer. At the same time, it is instructive to remember that nowhere is St. John much concerned with a simple narrative of events as such; he seems to be engaged rather in choosing those facts which he can subordinate to his teaching purposes. The choice, then, of this circumstance must have been intentional, as having a particular significance, and when the immediately preceding context is read, it is seen that the peculiar power transmitted is consequent upon the gift of the Holy Spirit. On two other occasions somewhat similar powers were promised, once personally to St. Peter as the great representative of that complete faith in the Incarnation of which the Church is the guardian in the world (Mt 16^{19}), and once to the Church in its corporate capacity as the final judge of the terms of fellowship for each of its members (Mt 18^{18}). In both these instances the words used by Jesus with regard to this spiritual power differ from those found in the narrative of the Fourth Gospel, and the latter is seen to be more definite, profound, and far-reaching in its scope than the former. The abiding presence of the living Spirit in the Church is the sure guarantee that her powers in judging spiritual things are inherent in her (cf. 1 Co 2^{12-15}) as the Body of Christ. Henceforth she carries in her bosom the authority so emphatically claimed by her Lord, to declare the wondrous fact of Divine forgiveness (Ac 13^{38}) and to set forth the conditions upon which it ultimately rests (see Westcott, *Gospel of St. John, in loc.*). Closely connected with the exercise of this Divinely given authority is the rite of Baptism, conditioned by repentance and issuing in 'the remission of sins' (Ac 2^{38}). It is the initial act in virtue of which the Church claims to rule, guide, and upbuild the life of her members. It is symbolic, as was John's baptism, of a 'death unto sin and a new birth unto righteousness' (Mk 1^{4}=Lk 3^{3}; cf. Ro 6^{4}, Col 2^{12}). It is more than symbolic, for by it, as by a visible channel, the living and active Spirit of God is conveyed to the soul, where the fruition of the promised forgiveness is seen in the fulness of the Christian life (Ac 2^{38}, cf. $10^{43.\ 47}$ $19^{5f.}$).

5. On more than one occasion St. Paul speaks of the forgiveness of sins as constituting the redemption of the human race effected by the death of Christ ('through his blood' Eph 1^{7}, cf. Col 1^{14}); and the author of the Epistle to the Hebrews emphasizes this aspect of the atoning work of Jesus by showing its harmony with all with which previous revelation had made us familiar, for 'apart from shedding of blood there is no remission' (9^{22}). The same writer, moreover, asserts that once this object has been accomplished, nothing further remains to be done, as 'there is no more offering for sin' (10^{18}) than that which the 'blood of Jesus' (10^{19}) has accomplished. The triumphant cry of the Crucified, 'It is finished' (Jn 19^{30}), is for this writer the guarantee not only that 'the Death of Christ is the objective ground on which the sins of men are remitted' (Dale, *The Atonement*, p. 430 f.); it is also the assurance that forgiveness of sin is the goal of the life and death of Him whose first words from the cross breathed a prayer for the forgiveness of His tormentors. J. R. Willis.

FORNICATION.—See Crimes and Punishments, §3.

FORTIFICATION AND SIEGECRAFT.—At the date of the Hebrew invasion of Canaan its inhabitants were found to be in possession of 'cities great and fenced up to heaven' (Dt 9^{1}; cf. Nu 13^{28}, Jos 14^{12}), most of them, as is now known, with a history of many centuries behind them. The inhabited places, then as always, were of two classes, walled and unwalled (Dt 3^{5}), the latter comprising the country villages, the former the very numerous 'cities,' which though small in area were **'fenced,'** *i.e.* fortified (the modern term everywhere adopted by Amer. RV), 'with high walls, gates, and bars.' In this article it is proposed to indicate the nature of the walls by which these cities were fenced in OT times, and of the **fortresses** or 'strong holds' so frequently mentioned in Hebrew history, and finally, to describe the methods of attack and defence adopted by the Hebrews and their contemporaries.

1. The earliest fortification yet discovered in Palestine is that erected, it may be, as far back as B.C. 4000 by the neolithic cave-dwellers of Gezer. This consisted of a simple bank of earth, between six and seven feet in height, the inside face of which is vertical, the outside sloping, and both cased with random stones (*PEFSt*, 1903, 113, with section plan 116; 1904, 200; for date see 1905, 29). A similar 'earth rampart' was found at Tell el-Hesy, the ancient Lachish.

The Semitic invaders, who appeared in Canaan about the middle of the third millennium, were able with their tools of bronze to carry the art of fortification far beyond this primitive stage. Their cities were planted for the most part on an outlying spur of a mountain range, or on a more or less isolated eminence or *tell*. In either case the steep rock-faces of nature's building may be said to have been the city's first line of defence. The **walls**, of crude brick or stone, with which art supplemented nature, followed the contours of the ridge, the rock itself being frequently cut away to form artificial scarps, on the top of which the city wall was built. Consequently the walls were not required to be of uniform height throughout the *enceinte*, being lowest where the rock scarp was steepest, and highest on that side of the city from which approach was easiest and attack most to be feared. In the latter case, as at Jerusalem, which was assailable only from the north, it was usual to strengthen the defences by a wide and deep trench. Where, on the other hand, the city was perched upon an elevated *tell*, as at Gezer, Lachish, and in the Shephēlah generally, a trench was not required.

The recent excavations in Palestine have shown that the fortifications of Canaanite and Hebrew cities were built, like their houses, of sun-dried bricks, or of stone, or of both combined. When brick was the chief material

it was usual to begin with one or more foundation courses of stone as a protection against damp. After the introduction of the battering-ram (§ 6) it was necessary to increase the resistance of brick walls by a revetment or facing of stone, or less frequently of kiln-burnt bricks, more especially in the lower part of the wall. At Tell el-Hesy or Lachish the lower face of the north wall 'had been preserved by a strengthening wall on the outside, consisting of large rough stones in a parallel line about three feet away, with the intervening space filled in with pebbles' (Bliss, *A Mound of Many Cities*, 29). At Tell es-Safi, again—perhaps the ancient Gath—the lower part of the city wall 'shows external and internal facings of rubble with a packing of earth and small field stones,' while the upper part had been built of large mud bricks (Bliss and Macalister, *Excavations in Palestine*, 30—to be cited in the sequel as BM. *Exc.* In this work will be found detailed descriptions, with plans and illustrations, of the walls of the various cities of Southern Palestine excavated by the Palestine Exploration Fund in 1898–1900).

The treatment of the stone used for fortifications and other masonry of importance varied considerably in the successive periods, gradually advancing from that of the imposing but primitive 'cyclopean' walls characteristic of the early architecture of the Levant, to the carefully dressed stones with drafted margins, laid in perfect courses, of the Herodian period. There was also a great variety in the size of the stones employed. Some of those still *in situ* in the wall of the Temple enclosure at Jerusalem are 'over 30 feet long, 8 feet wide, and 3½ feet high, weighing over 80 tons' (Warren), and even these are exceeded by the colossal stones, over 60 feet in length, still to be seen in the temple wall at Baalbek.

2. The **thickness** of the walls varied from city to city, and even in the same city, being to a certain extent dependent on the required height at any given point. The outer wall of Gezer, of date *cir.* B.C. 1500, was 14 feet in thickness. At one period the north wall of Lachish was 'at least 17 feet thick,' while a thickness of 28 ft. is reached by a wall which is regarded as the oldest fortification of Megiddo. The foot of this wall, according to a well-known practice, was protected by a glacis of beaten earth.

To increase the strength of a wall, the earliest builders were content to add to its thickness by means of **buttresses**, which, by increasing the projection, gradually pass into **towers**. The latter were indispensable at the corners of walls (cf. 2 Ch 26[15], Zeph 1[16], both RVm; see the plans of the walls and towers of Tell Zakariya etc. in BM. *Exc.*). Besides strengthening the wall, the projecting towers were of the first importance as enabling the defenders to command the portion of the walls, technically the 'curtain,' between them.

Col. Billerbeck, a recognized authority on ancient fortifications, has shown that the length of the curtain between the towers was determined by the effective range of the bows and slings of the period, which he estimates at 30 metres, say, 100 feet (*Der Festungsbau im Alten Orient*, 4f.). This estimate receives a striking confirmation from the earlier of the two walls of Gezer, of date *cir.* B.C. 2900. This wall is provided with 'long narrow towers, of small projection, at intervals of 90 feet,' which is precisely the distance between the towers of Sargon's city at Khorsabad. The most famous towers in later Hebrew history are the three 'royal towers' of Herod's Jerusalem—Hippicus, Phasaelus, and Mariamne.

3. The **height** of the fortifications, as we have seen, varied with the nature of the site. The minimum height, according to Billerbeck (*op. cit.* 6), was about 30 feet, this being the maximum length of the ancient scaling-ladders. No Canaanite city wall, however, has yet been found intact, and we can only calculate roughly from the breadth what the height may have been in any particular case. The former, according to the authority just quoted, had for reasons of stability to be from one-third to two-thirds of the height. From the numerous representations of city walls on the Assyrian sculptures, and from other sources, we know that the walls were furnished with a breastwork or **battlements**, generally crenellated—probably the **pinnacles** of Is 54[12] RV. The towers in particular were provided with projecting battlements supported on corbels springing from the wall.

When the site was strongly protected by nature, a single wall sufficed; otherwise it was necessary to have an outer wall, which was of less height than the main wall. This is the *chēl* frequently mentioned in OT, generally rendered **rampart** (1 K 21[23]) or **bulwark**) Is 26[1]). At Tell Sandahannah—probably the ancient Mareshah—were found two walls of the same period, the outer being in some places 15 feet in advance of the inner (BM. *Exc.* 54). It was on a similar outer wall (*chēl*) that the 'wise woman of Abel of Beth-maacah' held parley with Joab (2 S 20[15]; for the reading see *Cent. Bible, in loc.*). Jerusalem, as is well known, was latterly 'fenced' on the N. and N.W. by three independent walls (see JERUSALEM).

4. In addition to its walls, every ancient city of importance possessed a strongly fortified place, corresponding to the acropolis of Greek cities, which served as a refuge from, and a last defence against, the enemy when the city itself had been stormed (cf. Jg 9[51]). Such was the 'strong tower' of Thebez (Jg. *loc. cit.*), the **castle** in Tirzah (1 K 16[18] RV), and the **tower** of Jezreel (2 K 9[17]). The most frequent designation in EV, however, is **hold** or **strong hold**, as the 'strong hold' of Zion (2 S 5[7]), the acropolis of the Jebusite city, which AV in v.[9] terms 'the **fort**,' and in 1 Ch 11[5] 'the **castle** of Zion.' In the later struggles with the Syrians and Romans, respectively, two Jerusalem forts played an important part: the **citadel** (RV) of 1 Mac 1[33] 3[45] etc. (in the original the **Acra**, built by Antiochus IV.); and the castle of **Antonia**, on the site of the earlier 'castle' of Nehemiah's day (Neh 2[8] 7[2] RV), and itself the 'castle' of Ac 21[34] 22[24] etc.

Apart from these citadels there is frequent mention in OT of fortresses in the modern sense of the word,—that is, strong places specially designed to protect the frontier, and to command the roads and passes by which the country might be invaded. Such were most of the places built, *i.e.* fortified, by Solomon (1 K 9[15. 17f.]), the 'strong holds' fortified and provisioned by Rehoboam (2 Ch 11[11]), the 'castles and towers' built by Jotham (27[4]), and many more. A smaller isolated fort was named 'the tower of the watchmen' (2 K 17[9] 18[8]). Among the more famous fortresses of later times may be named as types: the Idumæan fortress of Bethsura, conspicuous in the Maccabæan struggle; Jotapata, the fortress in Galilee associated with the name of the historian Josephus; Machærus, said by Pliny to have been the strongest place in Palestine, next to Jerusalem; and Masada, the scene of the Jews' last stand against the Romans.

While there is Egyptian evidence for the existence of fortresses in Southern Palestine or the neighbourhood as early as B.C. 3600, and while a statue of Gudea (*cir.* B.C. 3000), with the tracing of an elaborate fortress, shows that the early Babylonians were expert fortress builders, the oldest actual remains of a Canaanite fortress are those discovered by Schumacher on the site of Megiddo in 1904, and dated by him between B.C. 2500 and 2000. Its most interesting feature is a fosse 8 ft. wide and from 6 to 10 ft. deep, with a counterscarp lined with stone. At the neighbouring Taanach Dr. Sellin laid bare several forts, among them the now famous 'castle of Ishtar-Washshur,' in which was found 'the first Palestinian library yet discovered,' in the shape of a series of cuneiform tablets containing this prince's correspondence with neighbouring chiefs.

It is impossible within the limits of this article to give details of those interesting buildings. The student is referred to Sellin's *Tell Ta'anek* in vol. 50 (1904), and his *Nachlese* in vol. 52(1905), of the *Denkschriften* of the Vienna Academy.

An excellent résumé, with plans and photographs, both of the Taanach and the Megiddo fortresses, is given by Father Vincent in his *Canaan d'après l'exploration récente*, pp. 47–65. More easily accessible to the ordinary student is the detailed account, with measurements and plans, of the citadel of Tell Zakariya—perhaps the ancient Azekah fortified by Rehoboam (2 Ch 11[9], cf. Jer 34[7])—given by Bliss and Macalister in their *Excavations*, etc., pp. 14–23, and plates 2–5.

5. No mention has as yet been made of an important element in the line of a city's defences, namely, the **gates**. These were as few as possible, as being the weakest part of the defence, and for the same reason the strongest towers are found on either side of the gates (cf. 2 Ch 26[9]). The most effective arrangement was to make the gateway a passage through a single gate-tower, which projected beyond both the outer and inner faces of the wall. In such cases two gates were provided, an outer and an inner, at either end of the passage, as was the case at Mahanaim, where David is found sitting 'between the two gates' (2 S 18[24]). Here we further learn that it was usual to have a stair leading up to an upper storey in the gate-tower (v.[33]), the roof of which was apparently on a level with the top of the city wall (v.[24]). In place of a straight passage-way through the tower, a passage bent at a right angle like the letter L increased the possibilities of defence. In most cases the base of the L would be on the inside, towards the city, but in one of the Taanach forts above referred to the outer gate is in the side of an outer tower, and it is the inner gate that is in line with the walls (see restored plan in Vincent, *op. cit.* 59). The average width of the numerous gateways laid bare by recent excavation is about nine feet.

The gate itself, called the 'door of the gate' in Neh 6[1], consisted ordinarily of two parts or leaves (Is 45[1]) of wood. For greater security against fire these were often overlaid with bronze, the 'gates of brass' of Ps 107[16], Is 45[2]. The leaves were hung on pivots which turned in sockets in the sill and lintel, and were fastened by **bolts** let into the former. A strong **bar** or bars of wood, bronze (1 K 4[13]), or iron (Job 40[18]) secured the whole gate, passing transversely into sockets in the gate-posts, as we learn from Samson's exploit at Gaza (Jg 16[1-3]). 'To have the charge of the gate' (2 K 7[17]) was a military post of honour, as this passage shows. In war time, at least, a sentinel was posted on the roof of the gate-house or tower (2 S 18[24], cf. 2 K 9[17]).

6. It remains to deal briefly with the **siegecraft** of the Hebrews and their contemporaries. A 'fenced' or fortified place might be captured in three ways: (*a*) by assault or storm, (*b*) by a blockade, or (*c*) by a regular siege. (*a*) The first method was most likely to succeed in the case of places of moderate strength, or where treachery was at work (cf. Jg 1[23ff.]). The assault was directed against the weakest points of the *enceinte*, particularly the gates (cf. Is 28[6]). Before the Hebrews learned the use of the battering-ram, entrance to an enemy's city or fortress was obtained by setting fire to the gates (Jg 9[49. 52]), and by scaling the walls by means of scaling-ladders, under cover of a deadly shower of arrows and sling-stones. According to 1 Ch 11[6], Joab was the first to scale the walls of the Jebusite fortress of Zion, when David took it by assault. Although **scaling-ladders** are explicitly mentioned only in 1 Mac 5[30] —a prior reference may be found in Pr 21[22]—they are familiar objects in the Egyptian representations of sieges from an early date, as well as in the later Assyrian representations, and may be assumed to have been used by the Hebrews from the first. In early times, as is plain from the accounts of the capture of Ai (Jos 8[10ff.]) and Shechem (Jg 9[42ff.]), a favourite stratagem was to entice the defenders from the city by a pretended flight, and then a force placed in ambush would make a dash for the gate.

(*b*) The second method was to completely surround the city, and, by preventing ingress and egress, to starve it into surrender. This was evidently the method adopted by Joab at the **blockade** of Rabbath-ammon, which was forced to capitulate after the capture of the 'water fort' (for this rendering see *Cent. Bible* on 2 S 12[26f.]), by which the defenders' main water-supply was cut off.

(*c*) In conducting a regular **siege**, which of course included both blockade and assault, the first step was to 'cast up a **bank**' (AV 2 S 20[15], 2 K 19[32], Is 37[33]) or **mount** (AV Ezk 4[2] 17[17]—RV has 'mount,' Amer. RV 'mound' throughout). This was a mound of earth which was gradually advanced till it reached the walls, and was almost equal to them in height, and from which the besiegers could meet the besieged on more equal terms. The 'mount' is first met with in the account of Joab's siege of Abel of Beth-maacah (2 S 20[15ff.]). In EV Joab is represented as, at the same time, 'battering' or, in RVm, 'undermining' the wall, but the text is here in some disorder. **Battering-rams** are first mentioned in Ezekiel, and are scarcely to be expected so early as the time of David. The Egyptians used a long pole, with a metal point shaped like a spear-head, which was not swung but worked by hand, and could only be effective, therefore, against walls of crude brick (see illustr. in Wilkinson, *Anc. Egypt*, i. 242).

The **battering-engines** (Ezk 26[9] RV; AV 'engines of war') of the Assyrians were called 'rams' by the Hebrews (Ezk 4[2] 21[22]), from their butting action, although they were without the familiar ram's head of the Roman *aries*. The Assyrian battering-ram ended either in a large spear-head, as with the Egyptians, or in a flat head shod with metal, and was worked under the shelter of large wooden towers mounted on four or six wheels, of which there are many representations in the Assyrian wall sculptures (see illustr. in Toy's 'Ezekiel,' *SBOT*, 102). These towers were sometimes of several storeys, in which archers were stationed, and were moved forward against the walls on the mounds above described.

When Nebuchadnezzar laid siege to Jerusalem, his troops are said to have 'built **forts** against it round about' (2 K 25[1], cf. Ezk 4[2]), but the original term is obscure, and is rather, probably, to be understood in the sense of a siege-wall or *circumvallatio*—the 'bank' of Lk 19[43] RV—for the purpose of making the blockade effective. On the other hand, the **bulwarks** of Dt 20[20], also Ec 9[13], which had to be made of wood other than 'trees for meat,' properly denote wooden forts or other **siege works** (Is 29[3] RV) built for the protection of the besiegers in their efforts to storm or undermine the walls.

7. The Assyrian sculptures give life-like pictures of the various operations of ancient siegecraft. Here we see the massive battering-rams detaching the stones or bricks from an angle of the wall, while the defenders, by means of a grappling-chain, are attempting to drag the ram from its covering tower. There the archers are pouring a heavy fire on the men upon the wall, from behind large rectangular shields or **screens** of wood or wickerwork, standing on the ground, with a small projecting cover. These are intended by the 'shield' of 2 K 19[32], the 'buckler' of Ezk 26[8], and the '**mantelet**' of Nah 2[5], all named in connexion with siege works. In another place the **miners** are busy undermining the wall with picks, protected by a curved screen of wicker-work supported by a pole (illustr. of both screens in Toy, *op. cit.* 149; cf. Wilkinson, *op. cit.* i. 243).

The monuments also show that the Assyrians had machines for casting large stones long before the *tormenta*, or siege-artillery, are said to have been invented in Sicily in B.C. 399. By the 'artillery' of 1 S 20[40] AV is, of course, meant the ordinary bow and arrows; but Uzziah is credited by the Chronicler with having 'made **engines** invented by cunning men to be on the towers and upon the battlements to shoot arrows and great stones withal' (2 Ch 26[15]). The Books of the Maccabees show that by the second century, at least, the Jews were not behind their neighbours in the use of the **artillery** (1 Mac 6[51f.] AV) of the period, 'engines of war and

instruments for casting fire and stones, and pieces to cast darts and slings.' (A detailed description, with illustrations, of these *catapultæ* and *ballistæ*, as the Romans termed them, will be found in the art. 'Tormentum' in Smith's *Dict. of Gr. and Rom. Antiq.*) At the siege of Gezer (such is the best reading, 1 Mac 13^{43}) Simon is even said to have used effectively a piece of the most formidable siege-artillery then known, the *helepolis* (lit. 'city-taker,' RV 'engine of siege'), which Titus also employed in the siege of Jerusalem (for description see 'Helepolis' in Smith, *op. cit.*). In this siege the Jews had 300 pieces for discharging arrows or rather bolts (*catapultæ*), and 40 pieces for casting stones (*ballistæ*), according to Josephus, who gives a graphic account of the working of these formidable 'engines of war' in his story of the siege of Jotapata (*BJ* III. vii. 23.)

8. The aim of the besieged was by every artifice in their power to counteract the efforts of the besiegers to scale or to make a breach in the walls (Am 4^{3}), and in particular to destroy their siege works and artillery. The battering-rams were rendered ineffective by letting down bags of chaff and other fenders from the battlements, or were thrown out of action by grappling-chains, or by having the head broken off by huge stones hurled from above. The mounds supporting the besiegers' towers were undermined, and the towers themselves and the other engines set on fire (1 Mac 6^{13}; cf. the 'fiery darts' or arrows of Eph 6^{16}).

In addition to the efforts of the bowmen, slingers, and javelin-throwers, who manned the walls, boiling oil was poured on those attempting to place the scaling-ladders, or to pass the boarding-bridges from the towers to the battlements. Of all these and many other expedients the *Jewish War* of Josephus is a familiar répertoire. There, too, will be found the fullest account of the dire distress to which a city might be reduced by a prolonged siege (cf. 2 K $6^{25ff.}$). A. R. S. Kennedy.

FORTUNATUS.—The name of an apparently young member of the household of Stephanas, and a Corinthian. With Stephanas and Achaicus he visited St. Paul at Ephesus (1 Co 16^{17}); he had probably been baptized by the Apostle himself (1^{16}). Lightfoot (*Clement.* i. 29, ii. 187) thinks that he may well have been alive forty years later, and that he may be the Fortunatus mentioned in Clement of Rome's Epistle to the Corinthians (§ 65). The manner in which the name is there introduced suggests that it belongs to a Corinthian. A. J. Maclean.

FORTUNE.—See Gad (tribe and god).

FOUNDATION.—Great importance was attached to the laying of the foundation. It was accompanied by human sacrifice, as may be seen in the Babylonian records; a possible trace occurs in the story of Hiel (1 K 16^{34}). Hence the stress on the size and splendour of the foundation, as in Solomon's Temple (7^{9}). It is a natural metaphor for the ultimate basis on which a thing rests (Job 4^{19}, Ezk 13^{14}, Lk 6^{48}). Righteousness and judgment are the foundation of God's throne (Ps 89^{14} 97^{2} RV). 'The city that hath the foundations' is the type of the real and eternal (He 11^{10}). The Apostles themselves are the foundation of the New Jerusalem, formed of all manner of precious stones (Rev $21^{14.\ 19}$). 'The Apostolic Church is conditioned through the ages by the preaching and work of the Apostolate' (Swete, *ad loc.*; cf. Is 28^{16}, Mt 16^{18}, Eph 2^{20}). In 1 Co 3^{10} the metaphor is slightly different, the preaching of Jesus Christ being the one foundation (cf. Is 19^{10} RVm, where the word is used of the chief men of the State). In the frequent phrase 'from the foundation of the world,' the word is active, meaning 'founding.' 'Foundations' occurs similarly in a passive sense, the earth being more or less literally conceived of as a huge building resting on pillars, etc. (Ps $18^{7.\ 15}$ 24^{2}, Is 24^{18}). In Ps 11^{3} 75^{3} 82^{5}, Ezk 30^{4}, the idea is applied metaphorically to the 'fundamental' principles of law and justice on which the moral order rests. In 2 Ch 3^{3}, Is 6^{4} 16^{7}, Jer 50^{15}, RV should be followed. In 2 Ch 23^{5} the 'gate of the foundation' is obscure; possibly we should read 'the horse-gate.' See also House, § 3. C. W. Emmet.

FOUNTAIN.—A word applied to living springs of water as contrasted with cisterns (Lv 11^{36}); specifically of Beer-lahai-roi (Gn 16^{7}), Elim (Nu 33^{9}, RV here 'springs'), Nephtoah (Jos 15^{9}), and Jezreel (1 S 29^{1}). The porous chalky limestone of Palestine abounds in good springs of water, which, owing to their importance in a country rainless half the year, were eagerly coveted (Jg 1^{15}). In many springs the flow of water has been directed and increased by enlarging to tunnels the fissures through which the water trickled; many of these tunnels are of considerable length. Specimens exist at 'Urtas, Bittir, and other places near Jerusalem. R. A. S. Macalister.

FOWL.—The word 'fowl' is used in AV for any kind of bird. The two words 'bird' and 'fowl' are employed simply for the sake of variety or perhaps to distinguish two different Heb. or Gr. words occurring near one another. Thus Gn 15^{10} 'the birds (Heb. *tsippōr*) divided he not,' 15^{11} 'when the fowls (Heb. *'ayit*) came down upon the carcases'; Jer 12^{9} 'the birds round about' (same Heb. as 'fowls' in Gn 15^{11}), Ps 8^{8} 'the fowl of the air' (same Heb. as 'birds' in Gn 15^{10}). See Bird.

FOWLER.—See Snares.

FOX.—(1) *shū'āl*, see Jackal. (2) *alōpēx* (Gr.), Mt 8^{20}, Lk 9^{58} 13^{32}. In the NT there is no doubt that the common fox and not the jackal is intended. It is noted in Rabbinical literature and in Palestinian folk-lore for its cunning and treachery. It burrows in the ground (Lk 9^{58}). The small Egyptian fox (*Vulpes nilotica*) is common in S. Palestine, while the Tawny fox (*V. flavescens*), a larger animal of lighter colour, occurs farther north. E. W. G. Masterman.

FRANKINCENSE (*lebōnāh*; Gr. *libanos* Mt 2^{11}, Rev 18^{13}).—Frankincense is in six passages (Is 43^{23} 60^{6} 66^{3}, Jer 6^{20} 17^{26} 41^{5}) mistranslated in AV **'incense,'** but correctly in RV. It is a sweet-smelling gum, obtained as a milky exudation from various species of *Boswellia*, the frankincense tree, an ally of the terebinth. The gum was imported from S. Arabia (Is 60^{6}, Jer 6^{20}); it was a constituent of incense (Ex 30^{34}); it is often associated with myrrh (Ca 3^{6} 4^{6}, Mt 2^{11}); it was offered with the shewbread (Lv 24^{7}). E. W. G. Masterman.

FRAY.—This obsolete Eng. verb is found in Zec 1^{21} and 1 Mac 14^{12} ('every man sat under his vine and his fig tree, and there was none to fray them'); and 'fray away' occurs in Dt 28^{26}, Jer 7^{33}, Sir 22^{20} ('whoso casteth a stone at the birds frayeth them away'). It is a shortened form of 'afray,' of which the ptcp. 'afraid' is still in use.

FREE.—In the use of this adj. in the Eng. Bible notice 1 P 2^{16} 'as free, and not using your liberty for a cloke of maliciousness, but as the servants of God, that is, free from the Law, yet servants (slaves) to the higher law of love to God. Ps 88^{5} 'free among the dead,' a difficult passage: the probable meaning of the Heb. is 'separated from companionship' or perhaps from Divine protection. Ac 22^{28} 'I was free born,' that is, as a Roman citizen. 2 Th 3^{1} 'Pray for us that the word of the Lord may have free course' (Gr. literally 'May run,' as AVm and RV): 'free' means 'unhindered' as in Shakespeare's *Love's Labour's Lost*, v. ii. 738, 'For mine own part, I breathe free breath.' Ps 51^{12} 'uphold me with thy free spirit' (RVm and Amer. RV 'willing'): the word means generous, noble, and the reference is to the man's own spirit (RV 'with a free spirit').

FREELY.—The use to observe is when 'freely' means 'gratuitously,' as Nu 11^{5} 'We remember the fish, which we did eat in Egypt freely' (Vulg. *gratis*); Mt 10^{8} 'freely ye received, freely give' (Gr. *dōrean*, Rhem. 'gratis').

FREEWILL.—See Predestination.

FRINGES.—In Nu $15^{37ff.}$ the Hebrews are com-

manded to 'make them fringes (Heb. *tsîtsîth*) in the borders [but RVm 'tassels in the corners'] of their garments throughout their generations.' The same ordinance, somewhat differently expressed, is found in the earlier legislation of Dt.: 'Thou shalt make thee fringes (lit., as RVm, 'twisted threads') upon the four quarters (RV **borders**) of thy vesture wherewith thou coverest thyself' (Dt 22^{12}). The 'vesture' here referred to is the plaid-like upper garment of the Hebrews, as is evident from Ex 22^{27}, where 'vesture' (RV 'covering') is defined as the *simlah*, the upper 'garment' (RV) in question, as described under Dress, § 4 (*a*).

The 'fringes' to be made for this garment, however, are not a continuous fringe round the four sides, like the fringes which are a characteristic feature of Assyrian dress, but, as RVm, tassels of twisted or plaited threads, and are to be fastened to the four corners of the *simlah*. It was further required 'that they put upon the fringe of each border a cord of blue' (Nu 15^{38} RV), the precise meaning of which is uncertain. It is usually taken to mean that each tassel was to be attached by means of this cord of blue, or rather of blue-purple, to a corner of the *simlah*.

That this ordinance was faithfully observed by the Jews of NT times is seen from the references to the *tsîtsîth* or tassel of our Lord's upper garment, disguised in EV under the '**hem**' (AV) of Mt 9^{20} 14^{36}, and '**border**' of Mk 6^{56}, Lk 8^{44}. RV has 'border' throughout. These tassels are still worn by the Jews, attached to the tallith or prayer-shawl, and to the smaller tallith, in the shape of a chest-protector, now worn as an undergarment, but without the addition of the blue thread. (For the somewhat complicated method by which the tassels are made, the mode of attachment, and the mystical significance assigned to the threads and knots, see Hastings' *DB* ii. 69[a]; for illustration see i. 627[a].) In the passage in Nu. it is expressly said that the object of this ordinance was to furnish the Hebrews with a visible reminder of the obligation resting upon them, as J"'s chosen people, to walk in His law and to keep all His commandments. It does not necessarily follow, however, that the practice of wearing such tassels was unknown before the date of the Deuteronomic legislation. On the contrary, the representations of Asiatics on the walls of tombs and other Egyptian monuments show that tasselled garments are of early date in Western Asia (see plate ii *b* of Wilkinson's *Anc. Egyp.* vol. i., where note that the tassels are of blue threads). Hence it is altogether probable that the object of the Hebrew legislation is 'to make a deeply rooted custom serve a fitting religious purpose' (G. B. Gray, 'Numbers' [*ICC*], 183 f.).

A. R. S. Kennedy.

FROCK.—In the Greek text of Sir 40^{4} the poor man's dress is said to be of unbleached linen, paraphrased in AV as 'a linen' and in RV as 'a hempen frock.' The Hebrew original has, 'he that wraps himself in a mantle of hair' (Smend), for which see Dress, § 4 (*c*).

A. R. S. Kennedy.

FROG.—**1.** *tsephardēa'*, Ex 8^{2-14}, Ps 78^{45} 105^{30}—one of the plagues of Egypt. **2.** *batrachos* (Gr.), Rev $16^{13.\ 14}$, a type of uncleanness. The edible frog and the little green tree-frog are both common all over the Holy Land.

E. W. G. Masterman.

FRONTLETS.—See Ornaments, 2; Phylacteries.

FROWARD.—'Froward' is a dialectic form of 'fromward'; it is the opposite of 'toward,' as we say 'to and fro' for 'to and from.' Thus its meaning is *perverse*. The word is used chiefly in Proverbs. In NT it occurs only once, 1 P 2^{18}, where the Gr. means literally tortuous like the course of a river, and then is applied to conduct that is not straightforward. **Frowardly** is found in Is 57^{17} 'and he went on frowardly in the way of his heart.' The Heb. is lit. 'he walked turning away,' as AVm. **Frowardness** occurs only in Pr. (2^{14} 6^{14} 10^{32}). Barlowe says 'Moyses the most faythfull seruaunte of God was partely by their frowardnes debarred fro the plesaunte lande of behest.'

FRUIT.—See Food, § 4.

FRYING-PAN.—See House, § 9.

FUEL.—The principal 'fuel [lit. 'food'] of fire' (Is $9^{5.\ 19}$) in use among the Hebrews was undoubtedly wood, either in its natural state or, among the wealthier classes, as charcoal (see Coal). The trees which furnished the main supply (cf. Is $44^{14ff.}$) probably differed little from those so employed in Syria at the present day, for which see *PEFSt.*, 1891, 118 ff. Among other sources of supply were shrubs and undergrowth of all kinds, including the broom (Ps 120^{4} RVm) and the buck-thorn (58^{9}); also chaff and other refuse of the threshing-floor (Mt 3^{12}); and withered herbage, the 'grass' of Mt 6^{30}. The use of dried animal dung as fuel, which is universal in the modern East, was apparently not unknown to the Hebrews (cf. Ezk 4^{12-15}). See further, House, § 7.

FULLER, FULLER'S FIELD.—See Arts and Crafts, § 6, and Jerusalem, i. 4.

FULNESS.—See Pleroma.

FURLONG.—See Weights and Measures.

FURNACE.—EV tr. of *kibshān* (Gn 19^{28}, Ex 9^{8} etc.), *'ălūl* (Ps 12^{6}), *kūr* (Dt 4^{20}, 1 K 8^{51} etc.), *'attūn* (Dn $3^{6.\ 11}$ etc.), which stand for either a brick-kiln or a smelting furnace; and of *tannūr*, which is better rendered 'oven' (see Bread).

FURNITURE.—In the AV 'furniture' is used in the general sense of furnishings, just as Bunyan speaks of 'soldiers and their furniture' (*Holy War*, p. 112). **1.** For the details of house furniture, see House, § 8. In this sense we read also of 'the furniture of the tabernacle' (Ex 31^{7}, Nu 3^{8} RV, for AV 'instruments,' and elsewhere). For the less appropriate 'furniture' of the table of shewbread and of 'the candlestick' (Ex 31^{8}), RV has 'vessels.'

2. The 'camel's furniture' of Gn 31^{34} was a 'camel-palankeen' (*Oxf. Heb. Lex.* p. 1124), 'a crated frame, with cushions and carpets inside, and protected by an awning above, fastened to the camel's saddle' (Driver, *Genesis, in loc.*), still used by women travellers in the East.

A. R. S. Kennedy.

G

GAAL, son of Ebed (Jg $9^{26ff.}$), organized the rising against Abimelech by the discontented in Shechem. Zebul, Abimelech's officer there, warned his master, who came with a strong force, and defeated the rebels under Gaal outside the city. Gaal and his brethren were driven out of Shechem, and terrible vengeance was taken upon the disaffected city. See Abimelech, 2.

W. Ewing.

GAASH.—A mountain in Ephraim (Jos 24^{30}, Jg 2^{9}). The torrent-valleys of Gaash are mentioned in 2 S 23^{30} = 1 Ch 11^{32}.

GABAEL.—**1.** A distant ancestor of Tobit (To 1[1]). **2.** A friend and kinsman of Tobit, residing at Rages in Media. To him Tobit, when purveyor to the king of Assyria, once entrusted, as a deposit, 10 talents of silver (To 1[14]). When blindness and poverty came on Tobit in Nineveh, he recollected, after prayer, the long-forgotten treasure (To 4[1]), and wished his son Tobias to fetch it (v.[21]). Tobias found a guide, Raphael in disguise, who said he had lodged with Gabael (To 5[6]). When Tobias married Sarah in Ecbatana, he sent Raphael for the deposit (9[2]).

GABATHA.—One of two eunuchs whose plot against Artaxerxes (the Ahasuerus, *i.e.* Xerxes, of canonical Est.) was discovered and frustrated by Mardocheus (Mordecai). Ad. Est 12[1]. In Est 2[21] he is called **Bigthan** and in 6[2] **Bigthana.**

GABBAI.—A Benjamite (Neh 11[8], but text doubtful).

GABBATHA (Jn 19[13]).—The meaning of this word is most uncertain; possibly 'height' or 'ridge.' It is used as the Heb. or Aramaic equivalent of the Gr. *lithostrōton* or '**pavement.**' There is no mention in any other place of either Gabbatha or 'the Pavement.' That it was, as has been suggested, a portable tessellated pavement such as Julius Cæsar is said to have carried about with him, seems highly improbable. Tradition has identified as Gabbatha an extensive sheet of Roman pavement recently excavated near the Ecce Homo Arch. It certainly covered a large area, and the blocks of stone composing it are massive, the average size being 4 ft. x 3 ft. 6 in. and nearly 2 ft. thick. The pavement is in parts roughened for the passage of animals and chariots, but over most of the area it is smooth. The paved area was on a lofty place, the ground rapidly falling to east and west, and was in close proximity to, if not actually included within, the Antonia.

E. W. G. Masterman.

GABBE (1 Es 5[20]).—In Ezr 2[26] **Geba.**

GABRIAS.—The *brother* of the Gabael to whom Tobit entrusted 10 talents of silver (To 1[14]; in 4[20] AV and RV wrongly tr. 'Gabael the *son* of Gabrias').

GABRIEL ('man of God').—In the first rank of the innumerable hosts of the heavenly hierarchy (Dn 7[10]) there are seven who occupy the first place—the seven archangels; of these Gabriel is one. In Dn 8[15ff.] Gabriel is sent to explain to Daniel the meaning of the vision of the ram and the he-goat; in 9[21ff.] he tells Daniel of the seventy weeks which are 'decreed' upon the people and the holy city. This is the only mention of Gabriel in the OT. In post-Biblical literature the name occurs more frequently. He appears twice in the NT as God's messenger. He is sent to announce to Zacharias that Elisabeth will bear a son; he also tells the name that the child is to bear (Lk 1[8-20]). In Lk 1[26-38] he appears to the Virgin Mary and announces the birth of a son to her; here again he says what the name of the child is to be: 'Thou shalt call his name Jesus.'

In the Babylonian and Persian angelologies there are analogies to the seven archangels of the Jews, and the possibility of Jewish belief having been influenced by these must not be lost sight of. W. O. E. Oesterley.

GAD ('fortunate').—Gn 30[9ff.] (J), 35[26] (P); the first son of Zilpah, Leah's handmaid, by Jacob, and full brother of Asher ('Happy'). This like other of the tribal names, e.g. *Dan*, *Asher*, is very probably, despite this popular etymology, the name of a deity (cf. Is 65[11], where AV renders 'troop' but RV '**Fortune**'). Another semi-etymology or, better, paronomasia (Gn 49[19]) connects the name of the tribe with its warlike experiences and characteristics, taking note only of this feature of the tribal life:

gādh gedhūdh yeghūdhennu
wehū' yāghūdh 'āqēbh:
'As for Gad, plunderers shall plunder him,
And he shall plunder in the rear' (*i.e.* effect reprisals and plunder in return).

In the Blessing of Moses (Dt 33[20]) Gad is compared to a lioness that teareth the arm and the crown of the head, and later (1 Ch 12[8. 14]) the Gadites who joined David are described as leonine in appearance and incomparable in combat: 'Their faces are as the faces of lions, the smallest is equal to a hundred and the greatest to a thousand.'

Upon the genetic relations of Gad and Asher the genealogy throws no light, for the fact that Gad and Asher, as it appears, were names of related divinities of Good Fortune would be sufficient ground for uniting them; but why they should have been brought together under the name of Zilpah is not to be conjectured with any certainty. Leah, unlike Rachel, who was barren until after her maid had brought forth to Jacob, had already borne four sons before Zilpah was called in to help her infirmity.

It appears that Gad, notwithstanding the genealogy, was a late tribe. In the Song of Deborah it is not even mentioned. Gilead there takes its place, but Mesha (9th cent.) knows the inhabitants of Gilead as the 'men of Gad.'

The families of Gad are given by P in Gn 46[16] and Nu 26[15ff.]. 1 Ch 5[11ff.] repeats them with variations. In the Sinai census P gives 46,650 men of war. By the time they had reached the Wilderness they had decreased to 40,500. Their position on the march through the desert is variously given in Numbers as 3rd, 6th, 11th.

Nu 32[34-36] (P) gives eight towns lying within the territory of Gad. The most southerly, Aroer, lay upon the Arnon; the most northerly, Jogbehah, not far from the Jabbok. Ataroth, another of these towns, is mentioned on the Moabite stone (l. 10), and the 'men of Gad' are there said to have dwelt within it 'from of old.' Within this region, and clustering about Heshbon, P gives six cities to the Reubenites, But in Jos 13[15ff.] Reuben has all to the south of Heshbon, and Gad all to the north of it. Owing to the divergent statements in the Hexateuch and the historical books, it is quite impossible to say what the northern boundary was. In any case it was not a stable one.

The reason assigned by the traditions for the settlement of Gad and Reuben in Gilead is that they were pastoral tribes, with large herds and flocks, and that they found the land pre-eminently adapted to their needs. They, therefore, obtained from Moses permission to settle on the east side of Jordan after they had first crossed the river and helped the other tribes in the work of conquest (see Nu 32 and Dt 3[18-20]).

After the conquest, in the time of the Judges, the people of Gilead were overrun by the Ammonites until Jephthah finally wrought their deliverance. In David's conflicts with Saul, the Gadites and other eastern tribes came to his assistance. As the Mesha stone shows, they had probably at that time absorbed the Reubenites, who had been more exposed previously to Moabite attacks, which at this time fell more directly upon Gad. When the northern tribes revolted, Jeroboam must have found the Gadites among his staunchest supporters, for it was to Penuel in Gadite territory that he moved the capital from Shechem in Ephraim (1 K 12[25]).

In 734 the Gadites with their kinsmen of the East Jordan, Galilee and Naphtali, were carried captive by Tiglath-pileser III. when Ahaz in his perplexity ventured upon the bold alternative of appealing to him for assistance against the powerful confederation of Syrians, Israelites, and Edomites who had leagued together to dethrone him (1 K 15[29], 2 Ch 28[16ff.]). It was clearly a case of Scylla and Charybdis for Ahaz. It was fatal for Gad. See also Tribes of Israel.

James A. Craig.

GAD.—A god whose name appears in Gn 30[11] ('by the help of Gad'; so in v.[13] 'by the help of Asherah'); in the place-names Baal-gad, and Migdal-gad (Jos 11[17] 12[7] 13[5] 15[37]); and in the personal name Azgad

(Ezr 2^{12}, Neh 7^{17} 10^{15}). In Is 65^{11} Gad (RV '**Fortune**') and Meni are named as two demons with whom the Israelites held communion (see MENI). Gad was probably an appellative before it became a personal name for a divinity, and is of Aramæan, Arabian, and Syrian provenance, but not Babylonian. He was the god who gave good fortune (Gr. *Tyche*), and presided over a person, house, or mountain. W. F. COBB.

GAD is entitled 'the seer' (1 Ch 29^{29}), 'David's' or 'the king's seer' (1 Ch 21^{9}, 2 Ch 29^{25}, 2 S 24^{11}), or 'the prophet' (1 S 22^{5}, 2 S 24^{11}). He is represented as having announced the Divine condemnation on the royal census, and as having advised the erection of an altar on Araunah's threshing-floor (2 S $24^{11ff.}$ = 1 Ch $21^{9ff.}$). The Chronicler again (1 Ch 29^{29}) names him as having written an account of some part of his master's reign. A late conception associated him with the prophet Nathan (2 Ch 29^{25}) in the task of planning some of the king's regulations with reference to the musical part of the service, while (1 S 22^{5}) he is also stated to have acted as David's counsellor in peril during the period when the two dwelt together in 'the hold.'

GAD (Valley of).—Mentioned only in 2 S 24^{5}, and there the text should read 'in the midst of the valley *towards* Gad,' the valley (*wady*) here being the Arnon (wh. see). E. W. G. MASTERMAN.

GADARA.—A town whose ruins (extensive, but in recent years much destroyed by the natives) bear the name of *Umm Keis*, about six miles S.E. of the Sea of Galilee. It was a town of the Decapolis, probably Greek in origin, and was the chief city of Peræa. The date of its foundation is unknown, its capture by Antiochus (B.C. 218) being the first event recorded of it. It was famous for its hot baths, the springs of which still exist. The narrative of the healing of the demoniac, according to Mt 8^{28}, is located in the 'country of the **Gadarenes,**' a reading repeated in some MSS of the corresponding passage of Lk. (8^{26}), where other MSS read **Gergesenes.** The probability is that neither of these is correct, and that we ought to adopt a third reading, **Gerasenes,** which is corroborated by Mk 5^{1}. This would refer the miracle not to Gadara, which, as noted above, was some distance from the Sea of Galilee, but to a more obscure place represented by the modern *Kersa*, on its Eastern shore.

R. A. S. MACALISTER.

GADARENES.—See GADARA.

GADDI.—The Manassite spy, Nu 13^{11} (P).

GADDIEL.—The Zebulunite spy, Nu 13^{10} (P).

GADDIS (1 Mac 2^{2}).—The surname of Johanan or John, the eldest brother of Judas Maccabæus. The name perhaps represents the Heb. *Gaddi* (Nu 13^{11}), meaning 'my fortune.'

GADI.—Father of Menahem king of Israel (2 K $15^{14.\ 17}$).

GADITES.—See GAD (tribe).

GAHAM.—A son of Nahor by his concubine Reumah (Gn 22^{24}).

GAHAR.—A family of Nethinim who returned with Zerub. (Ezr. 2^{47}, Neh 7^{49}), called in 1 Es 5^{30} **Geddur.**

GAI.—Given as a proper name in RV of 1 S 17^{52} 'until thou comest to Gai,' where AV has 'until thou comest to the valley.' The LXX, as is noted in RVm, has *Gath*, and this would suit the context.

GAIUS.—This name is mentioned in five places of NT. One Gaius was St. Paul's host at Corinth, converted and baptized by him (Ro 16^{23}, 1 Co 1^{14}). He was perhaps the same as 'Gaius of Derbe' who accompanied the Apostle from Greece to Asia (Ac 20^{4}); if so, he would be a native of Derbe, but a dweller at Corinth. The Gaius of Macedonia, St. Paul's 'companion in travel' who was seized in the riot at Ephesus (Ac 19^{29}), and the Gaius addressed by St. John (3 Jn[1]), were probably different men. A. J. MACLEAN.

GALAL.—The name of two Levites (1 Ch $9^{15.\ 16}$, Neh 11^{17}).

GALATIA is a Greek word, derived from *Galatæ*, the Gr. name for the **Gauls** who invaded Asia Minor in the year B.C. 278–7 (Lat. *Gallogræci* [='Greek Gauls'], to distinguish them from their kindred who lived in France and Northern Italy). These Gauls had been ravaging the south-eastern parts of Europe, Greece, Macedonia, and Thrace, and crossed into Asia Minor at the invitation of Nicomedes, king of Bithynia. Part of the same southward tendency appears in their movements in Italy and their conflicts with the Romans in the early centuries of the Republic. Those who entered Asia Minor came as a nation with wives and families, not as mercenary soldiers. After some fifty years' raiding and warring, they found a permanent settlement in north-eastern Phrygia, where the population was unwarlike. Their history down to the time of the Roman Empire is best studied in Ramsay's *Histor. Com. on Galatians*, p. 45 ff. They continued throughout these two centuries to be the ruling caste of the district, greatly outnumbered by the native Phrygian population, who, though in many respects an inferior race, had a powerful influence on the religion, customs, and habits of the Gauls, as subject races often have over their conquerors. The earlier sense of the term *Galatia* is, then, the country occupied by the Gaulish immigrants, the former north-eastern part of Phrygia, and the term *Galatæ* is used after the occupation to include the subject Phrygians as well as the *Galatæ* strictly so called (*e.g.* 1 Mac 8^{2}).

About B.C. 160 the Gauls acquired a portion of Lycaonia on their southern frontier, taking in Iconium and Lystra. About the same time also they had taken in Pessinus in the N.W. These and other expansions they ultimately owed to the support of Rome. From B.C. 64 Galatia was a client state of Rome. At the beginning of that period it was under three rulers; from B.C. 44 it was under one only. Deiotarus, the greatest of the Galatian chiefs, received Armenia Minor from Pompey in B.C. 64. Mark Antony conferred the eastern part of Paphlagonia on Castor as sole Galatian king in B.C. 40, and at the same time gave Amyntas a kingdom comprising Pisidic Phrygia and Pisidia generally. In B.C. 36, Castor's Galatian dominions and Pamphylia were added to Amyntas' kingdom. He was also given Iconium and the old Lycaonian tetrarchy, which Antony had formerly given to Polemon. After the battle of Actium in B.C. 31, Octavian conferred on Amyntas the additional country of Cilicia Tracheia. He had thus to keep order for Rome on the south side of the plateau and on the Taurus mountains. He governed by Roman methods, and, when he died in B.C. 25, he left his kingdom in such a state that Augustus resolved to take the greater part of it into the Empire in the stricter sense of that term, and made it into a province which he called *Galatia*. This is the second sense in which the term Galatia is used in ancient documents, namely, the sphere of duty which included the ethnic districts, Paphlagonia, Pontus Galaticus, Galatia (in the original narrower sense), Phrygia Galatica, and Lycaonia Galatica (with 'the Added Land,' part of the original Lycaonian tetrarchy). Galatia, as a province, means all these territories together, under one Roman governor, and the inhabitants of such a province, whatever their race, were, in conformity with invariable Roman custom, denominated by a name etymologically connected with the name of the province. Thus *Galatæ* ('Galatians') has a second sense, in conformity with the second sense of the term *Galatia*: it is used to include all the inhabitants of the province (see the first map in the above-mentioned work of Ramsay).

The word 'Galatia' occurs three times in the NT

(1 Co 16[1], Gal 1[2], and 1 P 1[1]). A possible fourth case (2 Ti 4[10]) must be left out of account, as the reading there is doubtful. There is an alternative 'Gallia,' which, even if it be not the original, suggests that the word 'Galatia' there should be taken in the sense of 'Gallia' (that is, France). It is beyond doubt that in the passage of 1 Peter the word must be taken in the sense of the province. The bearer of the letter evidently landed at some port on the Black Sea, perhaps Sinope, and visited the provinces in the order in which they appear in the address of the letter:—Pontus, Galatia, Cappadocia, Asia, and Bithynia, taking ship again at the Black Sea for Rome. The Taurus range of mountains was always conceived of as dividing the peninsula of Asia Minor into two parts, and St. Peter here appears as supervising or advising the whole body of Christians north of the Taurus range. (The effect of taking 'Galatia' in the other sense would be to leave out certain Pauline churches, Derbe, Lystra, Iconium, and Pisidian Antioch, and perhaps these alone, in all that vast region: which is absurd.) With regard to the two passages in St. Paul, the case is settled by his unvarying usage. It has been noted that he, as a Roman citizen and a statesman, invariably uses geographical terms in the *Roman* sense, and that he even does violence to the Greek language by forcing the Latin names for 'Philippians' (Ph 4[15]) and 'Illyricum' (Ro 15[19]) into Greek, and passes by the proper Greek term in each case. We are bound, therefore, to believe that he uses 'Galatia' in the Roman sense, namely in the meaning of the Roman province as above defined. (This province had, as we have seen, 'Galatia' in the narrower and earlier sense as one of its parts.) It follows, therefore, that he uses 'Galatians' (Gal 3[1]) also in the wider sense of all (Christian) inhabitants of the province, irrespective of their race, as far as they were known to him.

In order to discover what communities in this vast province are especially addressed by the Apostle in his Epistle, it is necessary to make a critical examination of the only two passages in Acts which afford us a clue (16[6] 18[23]). It is important to note that St. Luke never uses the term 'Galatia' or the term 'Galatians,' but only the adjective 'Galatic' (16[6] 18[23]). In 16[6] the rules of the Greek language require us to translate:—'the Phrygo-Galatic region' or 'the region which is both Phrygian and Galatian'; that is, 'the region which according to one nomenclature is Phrygian, and according to another is Galatian.' This can be none other than that section of the province Galatia which was known as Phrygia Galatica, and which contained Pisidian Antioch and Iconium, exactly the places we should expect St. Paul and his companions to go to after Derbe and Lystra. In 18[23] the Greek may be translated either 'the Galatico-Phrygian region' or 'the Galatian region and Phrygia,' preferably the latter, as it is difficult otherwise to account for the order in the Greek. 'The Galatian region,' then, will cover Derbe and Lystra; 'Phrygia' will include Iconium and Pisidian Antioch. We conclude then that, whether any other churches are comprised in the address of the Epistle to the Galatians or not,—and a negative answer is probably correct,—the churches of Derbe, Lystra, Iconium, and Pisidian Antioch are included. There is not a scrap of evidence that St. Paul had visited any other cities in that great province.

A. Souter.

GALATIANS, EPISTLE TO THE.—1. Occasion of the Epistle.—From internal evidence we gather that St. Paul had, when he wrote, paid two visits to the Galatians. On the first visit, which was due to an illness (4[13]), he was welcomed in the most friendly way; on the second he warned them against Judaizers (1[9] 5[3] 'again,' cf. 4[13] 'the former time,' though this *may* be translated 'formerly'). After the second visit Judaizers came among the Galatians, and, under the influence of a single individual (the 'who' of 3[1] 5[7] is singular, cf. 5[10]) persuaded them that they must be circumcised, that St. Paul had changed his mind and was inconsistent, that he had refrained from preaching circumcision to *them* only from a desire to be 'all things to all men,' but that he had preached it (at any rate as the better way) to others. It is doubtful if the Judaizers upheld circumcision as necessary to salvation, or only as necessary to a complete Christianity. It depends on whether we fix the date before or after the Council of Ac 15, which of these views we adopt (see § 4). Further, the Judaizers disparaged St. Paul's authority as compared with that of the Twelve. On hearing this the Apostle hastily wrote the Epistle to check the evil, and (probably) soon followed up the Epistle with a personal visit.

2. To whom written. The North Galatian and South Galatian theories.—It is disputed whether the inhabitants of N. Galatia are addressed (Lightfoot, Salmon, the older commentators, Schmiedel in *Encyc. Bibl.*), or the inhabitants of Pisidian Antioch, Iconium, Lystra, and Derbe, which lay in the S. part of the Roman province Galatia (Ramsay, Sanday, Zahn, Renan, Pfleiderer, etc.). Those who hold the N. Galatian theory take Ac 16[6] 18[23] as indicating that St. Paul visited Galatia proper, making a long detour. They press the argument that he would not have called men of the four cities by the name 'Galatians,' as these lay outside Galatia proper, and that 'Galatians' must mean men who are Gauls by blood and descent: also that 'by writers speaking familiarly of the scenes in which they had themselves taken part' popular usage rather than official is probable, and therefore to call the Christian communities in the four cities 'the churches of Galatia' would be as unnatural as to speak of Pesth or (before the Italo-Austrian war) Venice as 'the Austrian cities' (Lightfoot, *Gal.* p. 19). Pesth is not a case in point, for no educated person would call it 'Austrian'; but the Venice illustration is apt. These are the only weighty arguments. On the other hand, the N. Galatian theory creates Churches unheard of elsewhere in 1st cent. records; it is difficult on this hypothesis to understand the silence of Acts, which narrates all the critical points of St. Paul's work. But Acts does tell us very fully of the foundation of the Church in S. Galatia. Then, again, on the N. Galatian theory, St. Paul nowhere in his Epistles mentions the four cities where such eventful things happened, except once for blame in 2 Ti 3[11]—a silence made more remarkable by the fact that in the collection of the alms he *does* mention 'the churches of Galatia' (1 Co 16[1]). If the four cities are not here referred to, why were they omitted? The main argument of the N. Galatian theory, given above, is sufficiently answered by taking into account St. Paul's relation to the Roman Empire (see art. Acts of the Apostles, § 7.)

With regard to the nomenclature, we notice that St. Luke sometimes uses popular non-political names like 'Phrygia' or 'Mysia' (Ac 2[10] 16[8]); but St. Paul, as a Roman citizen, uses place-names in their Roman sense throughout, *e.g.* 'Achaia' (which in Greek popular usage had a much narrower meaning than the Roman province, and did not include Athens, while St. Paul contrasts it with Macedonia, the only other Roman province in Greece, and therefore clearly uses it in its Roman sense, Ro 15[26] 2 Co 9[2] 11[10], 1 Th 1[7f.]; cf. 1 Co 16[5]), 'Macedonia,' 'Illyricum' (Ro 15[19] only; the Greeks did not use this name popularly as a substantive, and none but a Roman could so denote the province; in 2 Ti 4[10] St. Paul himself calls it 'Dalmatia,' as the name-usage was changing from the one to the other), 'Syria and Cilicia' (one Roman province). and 'Asia' (the Roman province of that name, the W. part of Asia Minor, including Mysia). We may compare St. Peter's nomenclature in 1 P 1[1], where he is so much influenced by Pauline ideas as to designate all Asia Minor north of the Taurus by enumerating the Roman provinces. St. Paul, then, calls all citizens of the province of Galatia by the honourable name 'Galatians.' To call the inhabitants of the four cities 'Phrygians' or 'Lycaonians' would be as discourteous as to call them 'slaves' or 'barbarians.' The Roman colonies like Pisidian Antioch were most jealous of their Roman connexion.

The South Galatian theory reconciles the Epistle and Acts without the somewhat violent hypotheses of the rival

theory. The crucial passages are Ac 16^6 18^{23}, which are appealed to on both sides. In 16^6 St. Paul comes from Syro-Cilicia to Derbe and Lystra, no doubt by land, through the Cilician Gates [Derbe being mentioned first as being reached first, while in 14^6 Lystra was reached first and mentioned first], and then 'they went through (*v.l.* going through) the region of Phrygia and Galatia,' lit. 'the Phrygian and Galatic region' [so all the best MSS read these last words]. This 'region,' then (probably a technical term for the subdivision of a province), was a single district to which the epithets 'Phrygian' and 'Galatic' could both be applied; that is, it was that district which was part of the old country of Phrygia, and also part of the Roman province of Galatia. But no part of the old Galatia overlapped Phrygia, and the only district satisfying the requirements is the region around Pisidian Antioch and Iconium; therefore in 16^6 a detour to N. Galatia is excluded. Moreover, no route from N. Galatia to Bithynia could bring the travellers 'over against Mysia' (16^7). They would have had to return almost to the spot from which they started on their hypothetic journey to N. Galatia. Attempts to translate this passage, even as read by the best MSS, as if it were 'Phrygia and the Galatic region,' as the AV text (following inferior MSS) has it, have been made by a citation of Lk 3^1, but this appears to be a mistake; the word translated there 'Ituræa' is really an adjective 'Ituræan,' and the meaning probably is 'the Ituræan region which is also called Trachonitis.'.

In the other passage, Ac 18^{23}, the grammar and therefore the meaning are different. St. Paul comes, probably, by the same land route as before, and to the same district; yet now Derbe and Lystra are not mentioned by name. St. Paul went in succession through 'the Galatic region' and through 'Phrygia' (or '[the] Phrygian [region]'). The grammar requires two different districts here. The first is the 'Galatic region' [of Lycaonia]—that part of old Lycaonia which was in the province Galatia, *i.e.* the region round Derbe and Lystra. The second is the 'Phrygian region' [of Galatia], *i.e.* what was in 16^6 called the Phrygo-Galatic region, that around Antioch and Iconium. In using a different phrase St. Luke considers the travellers' point of view; for in the latter case they leave Syrian Antioch, and enter, by way of non-Roman Lycaonia, into Galatic Lycaonia ('the Galatic region'), while in the former case they start from Lystra and enter the Phrygo-Galatic region near Iconium.

All this is clear on the S. Galatian theory. But on the other theory it is very hard to reconcile the Epistle with Acts. The S. Galatian theory also fits in very well with incidental notices in the Epistle, such as the fact that the Galatians evidently knew Barnabas well, and were aware that he was the champion of the Gentiles (2^{13} '*even* Barnabas'); but Barnabas did not accompany Paul on the Second Missionary Journey, when, on the N. Galatian theory, the Galatians were first evangelized. Again, Gal 4^{13} fits in very well with Ac 13^{14} on the S. Galatian theory; for the very thing that one attacked with an illness in the low-lying lands of Pamphylia would do would be to go to the high uplands of Pisidian Antioch. This seems to have been an unexpected change of plan (one which perhaps caused Mark's defection). On the other hand, if a visit to Galatia proper were part of the plan in Ac 16 to visit Bithynia, Gal 4^{13} is unintelligible.

3. St. Paul's autobiography.—In chs. 1. 2 the Apostle vindicates his authority by saying that he received it direct from God, and not through the older Apostles, with whom the Judaizers compared him unfavourably. For this purpose he tells of his conversion, of his relations with the Twelve, and of his visits to Jerusalem; and shows that he did not receive his commission from men. Prof. Ramsay urges with much force that it was essential to Paul's argument that he should mention all visits paid by him to Jerusalem between his conversion and the time of his evangelizing the Galatians. In the Epistle we read of two visits (1^{18} 2^1), the former 3 years after his conversion (or after his return to Damascus), to visit Cephas, when of the Apostles he saw only James the Lord's brother besides, and the latter 14 years after his conversion (or after his first visit), when he went 'by revelation' with Barnabas and Titus and privately laid before the Twelve (this probably is the meaning of 'them' in 2^2: James, Cephas, and John are mentioned) the gospel which he preached among the Gentiles. We have, then, to ask, To which, if any, of the visits recorded in Acts do these correspond? Most scholars agree that Gal 1^{18} = Ac $9^{26ff.}$, and that the word 'Apostles' in the latter place means Peter and James only. But there is much diversity of opinion concerning Gal 2^1. Lightfoot and Sanday identify this visit with that of Ac 15^2 (the Jerusalem Council), saying that at the intermediate visit of Ac 11^{30} there were no Apostles in Jerusalem, the storm of persecution having broken over the Church (only the 'elders' are mentioned), and the Apostles having retired; as, therefore, St. Paul's object was to give his relation to the Twelve, he does not mention this visit, during which he did not see them. Ramsay identifies the visit with that of Ac 11^{30}, since otherwise St. Paul would be suppressing a point which would tell in favour of his opponents, it being essential to his argument to mention all his visits (see above); moreover, the hypothesis of the flight of the Apostles and of 'every Christian of rank' is scarcely creditable to them. They would hardly have left the Church to take care of itself, or have allowed the elders to bear the brunt of the storm; while the mention of elders only in 11^{30} would be due to the fact that they, not the Apostles, would administer the alms (cf. Ac 6^2).

Other arguments on either side may perhaps balance each other, and are not crucial. Thus Prof. Ramsay adduces the discrepancies between Gal 2^2 and Ac 15^2; in the former case the visit was 'by revelation,' in the latter by appointment of the brethren (these are not altogether incompatible facts); in the former case the discussion was private, in the latter public (this is accounted for by the supposition of a preliminary private conference, but that greatly damages St. Paul's argument). On the other hand, Dr. Sanday thinks that the stage of controversy in Gal 2 suits Ac 15 rather than Ac 11. This argument does not appear to the present writer to be of much value, for the question of the Gentiles and the Mosaic Law had really arisen with the case of Cornelius (Ac $11^{2ff.}$), and from the nature of things must have been present whenever a Gentile became a Christian. The Council in Ac 15 represents the climax when the matter came to public discussion and formal decision; we cannot suppose that the controversy sprang up suddenly with a mushroom growth. On the whole, in spite of the great weight of the names of Bp. Lightfoot and Dr. Sanday, the balance of the argument appears to lie on the side of Prof. Ramsay.

St. Peter at Antioch.—This incident in the autobiography ($2^{11ff.}$) is placed by Lightfoot immediately after Ac 15^{35}. Ramsay thinks that it was not *necessarily* later in time than that which precedes, though on his view of the second visit it is in its proper chronological order. He puts it about the time of Ac 15^1. The situation would then be as follows. At first many Jewish Christians began to associate with Gentile Christians. But when the logical position was put to them that God had opened another door to salvation outside the Law of Moses, and so had practically annulled the Law, they shrank from the consequences, Peter *began to draw back* (this is the force of the tenses in Gal 2^{12}), and even Barnabas was somewhat carried away. But Paul's arguments were convincing, and both Peter and Barnabas became champions of the Gentiles at the Council. It is difficult to understand Peter's action if it happened *after* the Council.

4. Date and place of writing.—Upholders of the N. Galatian theory, understanding Ac 16^6 18^{23} to represent the two visits to the Galatians implied in Gal 4^{13}, usually fix on Ephesus as the place of writing, and suppose that the Epistle dates from the long stay there recorded in Ac $19^{8ff.}$, probably early in the stay (cf. Gal 1^6 'ye are *so quickly* removing'); but Lightfoot postpones the date for some two years, and thinks that the Epistle was written from Macedonia (Ac 20^1), rather earlier than Romans and after 2 Corinthians. He gives a comparison of these Epistles, showing the very close connexion between Romans and Galatians: the same use of OT, the same ideas and same arguments, founded on the same texts; in the doctrinal part of Galatians we can find a parallel for almost every thought and argument in Romans. It is generally agreed that the latter, a systematic treatise, is later than the former, a personal and fragmentary Epistle. The likeness is much less marked between Galatians and 1 and 2 Corinthians; but in 2 Corinthians the Apostle vindicates his authority much as in Galatians. The opposition to him

evidently died away with the controversy about circumcision. Thus it is clear that these four Epistles hang together and are to be separated chronologically from the rest.

On the S. Galatian theory, the Epistle was written from Antioch. Ramsay puts it at the end of the Second Missionary Journey (Ac 18[22]). Timothy, he thinks, had been sent to his home at Lystra from Corinth, and rejoined Paul at Syrian Antioch, bringing news of the Galatian defection. Paul wrote off hastily, despatched Timothy back with the letter, and as soon as possible followed himself (Ac 18[23]). On this supposition the two visits to the Galatians implied by the Epistle would be those of Ac 13 f. and 16. The intended visit of Paul would be announced by Timothy, though it was not mentioned in the letter, which in any case was clearly written in great haste. It is certainly strange, on the Ephesus or Macedonia hypothesis, that Paul neither took any steps to visit the erring Galatians, nor, if he could not go to them, explained the reason of his inability. Ramsay's view, however, has the disadvantage that it separates Galatians and Romans by some years. Yet if St. Paul kept a copy of his letters, he might well have elaborated his hastily sketched argument in Galatians into the treatise in Romans, at some little interval of time. Ramsay gives A.D. 53 for Galatians, the other three Epistles following in 56 and 57.

Another view is that of Weber, who also holds that Syrian Antioch was the place of writing, but dates the Epistle *before* the Council (see Ac 14[28]). He agrees with Ramsay as to the two visits to Jerusalem; but he thinks that the manner of the Judaizers' attack points to a time before the Apostolic decreee. Gal 6[12] ('compel') suggests that they insisted on circumcision as necessary *for salvation* (§ 1). If so, their action could hardly have taken place after the Council. A strong argument on this side is that St. Paul makes no allusion to the decision of the Council. The chronological difficulty of the 14 years (2[1]) is met by placing the conversion of St. Paul in A.D. 32. Weber thinks that 5[2] could not have been written after the circumcision of Timothy; but this is doubtful. The two visits to the Galatians, on this view, would be those of Ac 13, on the outward and the homeward journey respectively. The strongest argument against Weber's date is that it necessitates such a long interval between Galatians and Romans.

5. Abstract of the Epistle.—Chs. 1. 2. Answer to the Judaizers' disparagement of Paul's office and message. Narrative of his life from his conversion onwards, showing that he did not receive his Apostleship and his gospel through the medium of other Apostles, but direct from God.

3[1]–5[12]. Doctrinal exposition of the freedom of the gospel, as against the legalism of the Judaizers. Abraham was justified by faith, not by the Law, and so are the children of Abraham. The Law was an inferior dispensation, though good for the time, and useful as educating the world for freedom; the Galatians were bent on returning to a state of tutelage, and their present attitude was retrogressive.

5[13]-6[10]. Hortatory. 'Hold fast by freedom, but do not mistake it for licence. Be forbearing and liberal.'

6[11-18]. Conclusion. Summing up of the whole in Paul's own hand, written in large characters (6[11] RV) to show the importance of the subject of the autograph.

6. Genuineness of the Epistle.—Until lately Galatians, Romans, 1 and 2 Corinthians were universally acknowledged to be by St. Paul, and the Tübingen school made their genuineness the basis of their attack on the other Epistles. Lately Prof. van Manen (*Encyc. Bibl. s.v.* 'Paul') and others have denied the genuineness of these four also, chiefly on the ground that they are said to quote late Jewish apocalypses, to assume the existence of written Gospels, and to quote Philo and Seneca, and because the external attestation is said to begin as late as A.D. 150. These arguments are very unconvincing, the facts being improbable. And why should there not have been written Gospels in St. Paul's time? (cf. Lk 1[1]). As for the testimony, Clement of Rome explicitly mentions and quotes 1 Corinthians, and his date cannot be brought down later than A.D. 100. Our Epistle is probably alluded to or cited by Barnabas, Hermas, and Ignatius (5 times); certainly by Polycarp (4 times), the *Epistle to Diognetus*, Justin Martyr, Melito, Athenagoras, and the *Acts of Paul and Thecla*. It is found in the Old Latin and Syrian versions and in the Muratorian Fragment (*c.* A.D. 180–200), used by 2nd cent. heretics, alluded to by adversaries like Celsus and the writer of the *Clementine Homilies*, and quoted by name and distinctly (as their fashion was) by Irenæus, Clement of Alexandria, and Tertullian, at the end of the 2nd century. But, apart from this external testimony, the spontaneous nature of the Epistle is decisive in favour of its genuineness. There is no possible motive for forgery. An anti-Jewish Gnostic would not have used expressions of deference to the Apostles of the Circumcision; an Ebionite would not have used the arguments of the Epistle against the Mosaic Law (thus the *Clementine Homilies*, an Ebionite work, clearly hits at the Epistle in several passages); an orthodox forger would avoid all appearance of conflict between Peter and Paul. After A.D. 70 there never was the least danger of the Gentile Christians being made to submit to the Law. There is therefore no reason for surprise that the recent attack on the authenticity of the Epistle has been decisively rejected in this country by all the best critics. A. J. MACLEAN.

GALBANUM.—One of the ingredients of the sacred incense (Ex 30[34]). It is a brownish-yellow, pleasant-smelling resin from various species of *Ferula*; it is imported from Persia. E. W. G. MASTERMAN.

GALEED ('cairn of witness').—The name which, according to Gn 31[47], was given by Jacob to the cairn erected on the occasion of the compact between him and Laban. There is evidently a characteristic attempt also to account in this way for the name *Gilead*. The respective proceedings of Jacob and of Laban are uncertain, for the narrative is not only of composite origin, but has suffered through the introduction of glosses into the text. It is pretty certain that we should read 'Laban' instead of 'Jacob' in v.[45]. The LXX seeks unsuccessfully to reduce the narrative to order by means of transpositions.

GALILEE.—1. Position.—Galilee was the province of Palestine north of Samaria. It was bounded southward by the Carmel range and the southern border of the plain of Esdraelon, whence it stretched eastward by Bethshean (Scythopolis, Beisan) to the Jordan. Eastward it was limited by the Jordan and the western bank of its expansions (the Sea of Galilee and Waters of Merom). Northward and to the north-west it was bounded by Syria and Phœnicia; it reached the sea only in the region round the bay of Acca, and immediately north of it. Its maximum extent therefore was somewhere about 60 miles north to south, and 30 east to west.

2. Name.—The name *Galilee* is of Hebrew origin, and signifies a 'ring' or 'circuit.' The name is a contraction of a fuller expression, preserved by Is 9[1], namely, 'Galilee of the [foreign] nations.' This was originally the name of the district at the northern boundary of Israel, which was a frontier surrounded by foreigners on three sides. Thence it spread southward, till already by Isaiah's time it included the region of the sea, *i.e.* the Sea of Galilee. Its further extension southward, to include the plain of Esdraelon, took place before the Maccabæan period. The attributive 'of the nations' was probably dropped about this time —partly for brevity, partly because it was brought into the Jewish State by its conquest by John Hyrcanus, about the end of the 2nd cent. B.C.

3. History.—In the tribal partition of the country

the territory of Galilee was divided among the septs of Asher, Naphtali, Zebulun, and part of Issachar. In the OT history the tribal designations are generally used when subdivisions of the country are denoted; this is no doubt the reason why the name 'Galilee,' which is not a tribal name, occurs so rarely in the Hebrew Scriptures—though the passage in Isaiah already quoted, as well as the references to Kedesh and other cities 'in Galilee' (Jos 20^{7} 21^{32}, 1 K 9^{11}, 2 K 15^{29}, 1 Ch 6^{76}), show that the name was familiar and employed upon occasion. But though some of the most important of the historical events of the early Hebrew history took place within the borders of Galilee, it cannot be said to have had a history of its own till later times.

After the return of the Jews from the Exile, the population was concentrated for the greater part in Judæa, and the northern parts of Palestine were left to the descendants of the settlers established by Assyria. It was not till its conquest, probably by John Hyrcanus, that it was once more included in Jewish territory and occupied by Jewish settlers. Under the pressure of Egyptian and Roman invaders the national patriotism developed rapidly, and it became as intensely a Jewish State as Jerusalem itself, notwithstanding the contempt with which the haughty inhabitants of Judæa regarded the northern provincials. Under the Roman domination Galilee was governed as a tetrarchate, held by members of the Herod family. Herod the Great was ruler of Galilee in B.C. 47, and was succeeded by his son Antipas, as tetrarch, in B.C. 4. After the fall of Jerusalem, Galilee became the centre of Rabbinic life. The only ancient remains of Jewish synagogues are to be seen among the ruins of Galilæan cities. Maimonides was buried at Tiberias. But it is as the principal theatre of Christ's life and work that Galilee commands its greatest interest. Almost the whole of His life, from His settlement as an infant in Nazareth, was spent within its borders. The great majority of the twelve Apostles were also natives of this province.

4. Physical Characteristics.—Owing to moisture derived from the Lebanon mountains, Galilee is the best-watered district of Palestine, and abounds in streams and springs, though the actual rainfall is little greater than that of Judæa. The result of this enhanced water supply is seen in the fertility of the soil, which is far greater than anywhere in Southern Palestine. It was famous for oil, wheat, barley, and fruit, as well as cattle. The Sea of Galilee fisheries were also important. The formation of the country is limestone, broken by frequent dykes and outflows of trap and other volcanic rocks. Hot springs at Tiberias and elsewhere, and not infrequent earthquakes, indicate a continuance of volcanic and analogous energies.

5. Population.—Galilee in the time of Christ was inhabited by a mixed population. There was the native Jewish element, grafted no doubt on a substratum of the Assyrian settlers and other immigrants, whose intrusion dated from the Israelite Exile—with probably yet a lower stratum, stretching back to the days of the Canaanites. Besides these there was the cultivated European class—the inhabitants of the Greek cities that surrounded the Sea of Tiberias, and the military representatives of the dominant power of Rome. We have seen that in Judæa the Galilæans were looked down upon. 'Can any good thing come out of Nazareth?' (Jn 1^{46}) was one proverb. 'Out of Galilee ariseth no prophet' (7^{52}) was another, in the face of the fact that Galilee was the home of Deborah, Barak, Ibzan, Tola, Elon, with the prophets Jonah, Elisha, and possibly Hosea. The Galilæans no doubt had provincialisms, such as the confusion of the gutturals in speech, which grated on the sensitive ears of the Judæans, and was one of the indications that betrayed Peter when he endeavoured to deny his discipleship (Mt 26^{73}).

R. A. S. Macalister.

GALILEE, MOUNTAIN IN.—After our Lord's resurrection, the eleven disciples went away from Jerusalem 'into Galilee, unto the mountain where Jesus had appointed them' (Mt 28^{16}). No record or hint indicates to us what mountain is meant. There is no foundation for the theory that it is the Mt. of Olives, whose north point is said to have borne the name 'Galilee.'

GALILEE, SEA OF.—**1. Situation,** etc.—The Sea of Galilee is an expansion of the Jordan, 13 miles long, about 8 miles in maximum breadth; its surface is 680 feet below that of the Mediterranean; its maximum depth is about 150 feet. In shape it is like a pear, the narrow end pointing southward. Like the Dead Sea, it is set deep among hills, which rise on the east side to a height of about 2000 feet. At the emergence of the Jordan, however, the Lake impinges on the plain of the Ghōr.

2. Names.—The original name of the Sea seems to have been **Chinnereth** or **Chinneroth,** which a hazardous etymology connects with the Heb. *kinnōr*, 'harp.' The name is supposed to be given to the Sea on account of its fancied resemblance to such an instrument. It more probably takes its name from an as yet unrecognized town or district in Naphtali (which bordered the Lake on the west side) referred to in Jos 11^{2} 19^{35}, 1 K 15^{20}. By this name it is referred to in assigning the border of the Promised Land (Nu 34^{11}), in stating the boundary of the trans-Jordanic tribes (Dt 3^{12}, Jos 13^{27}), and in enumerating the kings conquered by Joshua (Jos 12^{3}). The Lake is referred to also by the name *Gennesar* in Josephus (always), and in 1 Mac 11^{67} (AV). This name also is of uncertain origin; strong grounds exist for questioning its derivation as a corruption of the earlier appellation. In the Gospels it is referred to under a variety of names: besides such general terms as 'the lake' (Lk 8^{22} etc.), or 'the sea' (Jn 6^{16}), we find **Lake of Gennesaret** (only in Lk 5^{1}), **Sea of Tiberias** (Jn 21^{1}, and also as an explanatory or alternative name in Jn 6^{1}), but most frequently *Sea of Galilee*, which seems to have been the normal name. The modern name is *Bahr Tubarīya*, which is often rendered in English as 'Lake of Tiberias,' by which name the Sea is now frequently described (as in Baedeker's *Syria and Palestine*).

3. Importance in NT Times.—The Sea in the time of Christ was surrounded by a number of important cities, each of them the centre of a cultured population. Such were Tiberias, Bethsaida, Capernaum, Chorazin, Magdala, and others. The fishing industry was extensive, and where now but a few small boats are to be seen, there evidently were formerly large fleets of fishing vessels. The fishing trade of Galilee was of great importance, and was renowned throughout the world. Owing to the great height of the mountains surrounding the Lake, differences of temperature are produced which give rise to sudden and violent storms. Two such storms are mentioned in the Gospels—one in Mt 8^{23}, Mk 4^{36}, Lk 8^{22}, the other in Mt 14^{22}, Mk 6^{45}, Jn 6^{16}. The repetition of the event within the narrow historical limits of the Gospels indicates that such tempests, then as now, were matters of frequent occurrence.

R. A. S. Macalister.

GALL.—(1) *rōsh*, some very bitter plant, Dt 29^{18}, La 3^{19}; 'water of gall,' Jer 8^{14} 9^{15}; tr. 'hemlock,' Hos 10^{4}; 'poison,' Job 20^{16}. **Hemlock** (*Conium maculatum*), colocynth (*Citrullus colocynthis*), and the poppy (*Papaver somniferum*) have all been suggested. The last is perhaps most probable. (2) *merērah* (Job 16^{15}) and *merōrah* (20^{25}) refer to the bile. The poison of serpents was supposed to lie in their bile (20^{14}). The gall (Gr. *cholē*) of Mt 27^{34} evidently refers to the LXX version of Ps 69^{21}, where *cholē* is tr. of *rōsh*.

E. W. G. Masterman.

GALLERY.—**1.** AV in Ca 7^{5} reads 'The king is held in the galleries.' The Heb. is *bārechātīm*, which, there is no reasonable doubt, means 'in the tresses' (so RV). The king is captivated, that is to say, by

the tresses of this 'prince's daughter.' 2. AV and RV tr. of *attîq*, a word whose etymology and meaning are both obscure. It is found only in the description of Ezekiel's temple (Ezk 41[15.16] 42[3.5]).

GALLEY.—See Ships and Boats.

GALLIM ('heaps').—A place near Jerusalem (1 S 25[44]). It is personified, along with Anathoth and other towns, in Is 10[30]. It is generally placed to the N. of Jerusalem, but the exact site is unknown.

GALLIO.—The elder brother of Seneca. According to Acts (18[12-17]), he was proconsul of Achaia under the Emperor Claudius A.D. 53, when St. Paul was in Corinth. Seneca mentions that his brother contracted fever in Achaia, and thus corroborates Acts. The Jews of Corinth brought St. Paul before Gallio, charging him with persuading men 'to worship God contrary to the law' (v.[13]). When, however, Gallio found that there was no charge of 'villainy,' but only of questions which the Jews as a self-administering community were competent to decide for themselves, he drove them from the judgment-seat (v.[14f.]). Sosthenes, the ruler of the synagogue, was then dragged before him and beaten; but such 'Lynch law' had no effect upon the proconsul (v.[17]).

Pliny tells us that Gallio after his consulship travelled from Rome to Egypt in consequence of an attack of hæmorrhage from the lungs. Eusebius quotes Jerome as saying that he committed suicide A.D. 65; it is also said that he as well as Seneca was put to death by Nero; but these reports are unsubstantiated. Seneca speaks of him as a man of extreme amiability of character.

Charles T. P. Grierson.

GALLOWS.—This word occurs eight times in EV in the Book of Esther only (5[14] etc.) as the rendering of the ordinary Heb. word for 'tree' (see margins). It is very doubtful if death by strangulation is intended—'tree' in all probability having here its frequent sense of 'pole,' on which, as was customary in Persia, the criminal was impaled (see Crimes and Punishments, § 10).

A. R. S. Kennedy.

GAMAEL.—1 Es 8[29] = **Daniel**, No. 3 (Ezr 8[2]).

GAMALIEL.—**1.** The son of Pedahzur, and 'prince of the children of Manasseh' (Nu 1[10] 2[20], etc.). **2.** Gamaliel I., the grandson of Hillel, was a Pharisee, and regarded as one of the most distinguished doctors of the Law of his age. He was a member of the Sanhedrin during the years of our Lord's ministry. His views were tolerant and large-hearted; he emphasized the humaner side of the Law, relaxing somewhat the rigour of Sabbatical observance, regulating the customs of divorce so as the more to protect helpless woman, and inculcating kindness on the part of Jews towards surrounding heathen. The advice given by him to the chief priests (Ac 5[34-40]) in reference to their dealing with the Apostles shows similar tolerance and wisdom. At his feet St. Paul was brought up (Ac 22[3]).

The *Clementine Recognitions* absurdly state that by the advice of the Apostles he remained among the Jews as a secret believer in Christ. The Mishna deplores that 'with the death of Gamaliel I. the reverence for Divine Law ceased, and the observance of purity and piety became extinct.'

Charles T. P. Grierson.

GAMES.—**I.** Among the Israelites.—The Jews were essentially a serious people. What in other nations developed into play and games of various kinds, had with them a seriously practical and often a religious character. Their **dances** were a common form of religious exercise, which might indeed degenerate into disorderly or unseemly behaviour, but were only exceptionally a source of healthy social amusement (Ps 150[4], Ex 32[6. 19], 2 S 6[14ff.], Jer 31[4], Ec 3[4]). **Music**, again, was especially associated with sacred song. Its secular use was condemned by Isaiah as a sign of extravagant luxury (Is 5[12]). **Lots** and the like were used as a means of ascertaining the Divine will, not for amusement or profit. Even what with children might be called games of 'make believe' became with some of the prophets vehicles of religious instruction. The symbolic object-lessons of Ezekiel were like children's toys adapted to a religious purpose (see esp. ch. 4). Even this humour of the prophets, striking as it was, was intensely serious: witness the scathing ridicule of Phœnician idolatry by Elijah and Deutero-Isaiah (1 K 18[27], Is 44[12-20] 46[1. 2]).

It is a matter of some dispute whether manly sports had any place in the social life of the Israelites. There was undoubtedly some sort of training in the use of weapons, particularly the **sling** (among the Benjamites especially) and the **bow**, for the purposes of warfare and the chase. We have a definite reference to the custom of practising at a mark in 1 S 20[20. 35ff.], and there are several metaphorical allusions to the same practice (Job 16[12. 13], La 3[12]). Again, it has also been thought that we have in the burdensome stone of Zec 12[3] an allusion to a custom of **lifting a heavy stone** either as a test of strength or as a means of strengthening the muscles; but there is no actual proof that there was any sort of competitive contest in such exercises. It may be suggested, however, on the other hand, that the practice of determining combats by selected champions, one or more, from either side, which we read of in 1 S 17[10], 2 S 2[13-16], and the expression used in the latter case, 'let the young men . . . arise and play before us,' makes it likely that friendly **tournaments** were not unknown.

Riddle-guessing is the one form of competition of which we have any certain proof. In Jg 14[12-14] the propounding and guessing of riddles as a wager appears as part of the entertainment of a marriage feast. The questions put by the queen of Sheba to Solomon probably belong to the same category (1 K 10[1. 3]). Indeed, the propounding of 'dark sayings' was a common element in proverbial literature (Ps 78[2], Pr 1[6]).

Children's Games.—Games of play are so invariable an element of child life among all peoples, that it hardly needs proof that the Israelites were no exception to the rule. The playing of the boys and girls in the streets of the glorified Jerusalem (Zec 8[5]) might indeed mean nothing more than kitten play; but fortunately we have in Mt 11[16.] || Lk 7[31f.] a most interesting allusion to the games (mock-weddings and mock-funerals) played in the market-place in our Lord's time, as they are played in Palestine at the present day.

We read in 2 Mac 4[9-17] how Jason the high priest and the head of the Hellenizing party, having bribed Antiochus Epiphanes with 150 talents of silver, set up 'a place of exercise' (gymnasium) for the training up of youths 'in the practices of the heathen.' The only game specifically mentioned is the **discus**. There is also mentioned in v.[18] 'a game' that was held every fifth year at Tyre—evidently an imitation of the Olympic games. Later, Herod the Great appears from Josephus (*Ant.* xv. viii. 1) to have provoked a conspiracy of the Jews by building a **theatre** and an amphitheatre at Jerusalem for the spectacular combats of wild beasts, and to have initiated very splendid games every five years in honour of Cæsar. These included wrestling and chariot races, and competitors were attracted from all countries by the very costly prizes.

II. Games of Greece and Rome.—Athletic contests formed a very important feature in the social life of the Greeks. They originated in pre-historic times, and were closely associated with religious worship. Thus the Olympic games were held in honour of Olympian Zeus in connexion with the magnificent temple in Olympia in Elis; the Isthmian games on the Isthmus of Corinth in honour of Poseidon; the Pythian were associated with the worship of the Pythian Apollo at Delphi; the Nemean were celebrated at Nemea, a valley of Argolis, to commemorate the Nemean Zeus. These four games were great Pan-Hellenic festivals, to which crowds came from all parts, not only free-born Greeks, but also foreigners, although the latter, except the Romans in later times, were not allowed to compete. The most

important of these games were the Olympic. They were held every four years, and so great was the occasion that from the year B.C. 264 events as far back as 776 were computed by them. The period between one celebration and another was called an Olympiad, and an event was said to have occurred in the 1st, 2nd, 3rd, or 4th year of such an Olympiad. The Isthmian games, which took place biennially in the first and third year of each Olympiad, seem to have been modelled on very much the same lines as the Olympic. To the Biblical student they have a more direct interest, as it is highly probable that the frequent allusions to such contests by St. Paul (see esp. 1 Co 9^{24-27}) were due to his personal observation of these games, which must have taken place while he was at Corinth. As, however, our knowledge of the Olympic games, of which several ancient writers have left us particulars, is far more complete, it often happens that the language of St. Paul is more easily illustrated from them. It should be mentioned also in this connexion that besides these four great athletic contests, games of a local character, often in imitation of the Olympic, were held throughout Greece and her colonies in all towns of importance, which had both their stadium and their theatre. The most important of these, from the Biblical student's point of view, were the games of Ephesus. With these St. Paul was certainly familiar, and, as will be seen below, allusions to games are remarkably frequent in writings connected with Ephesus.

The contests at Olympia included running, boxing, wrestling, chariot races, and other competitions both for men and for youths. The judges, who seem also to have acted as a sort of managing committee, with many dependents, were chosen by lot, one for each division of Elis. They held at once a highly honoured and a very difficult post, and were required to spend ten months in learning the duties of their office. For the last 30 days of this period they were required personally to superintend the training of the athletes who were preparing to compete. In addition to this, the athletes were required to swear before competing that they had spent ten months previously in training. We thus realize the force of such allusions as that of 1 Ti $4^{7.\ 8}$, where St. Paul insists on the greater importance of the training unto godliness than that of the body. These facts also add point to the allusions in 2 Ti 2^{5}. An athlete is not crowned unless he contend 'according to regulation.' These regulations required the disqualification not only of the disfranchised and criminals, but of those who had not undergone the required training. It is the last to which the passage seems especially to point.

The **prize**, while it differed in different places, was always a crown of leaves. At Olympia it was made of wild olive; in the Isthmus, in St. Paul's time, of pine leaves; at Delphi, of 'laurel'; at Nemea, of parsley. In addition to this, at Olympia, Delphi, and probably elsewhere, the victor had handed to him a palm-branch as a token of victory. It is almost impossible to exaggerate the honour attached to winning the prize in these contests. The victor entered his native city in triumphal procession; he had conferred upon him many privileges and immunities, and his victory was frequently celebrated in verse. His statue might be, and often was, placed in the sacred grove of Elis, and he was looked upon as a public benefactor. St. Paul in 1 Co 9^{24-27} makes use of the spirit of these contests to illustrate to the Corinthians, to whom it must have specially appealed, the self-denial, the strenuousness, and the glorious issue of the Christian conflict, drawing his metaphorical allusions partly from the foot-race and partly from the boxing and wrestling matches. 'They do it to receive a corruptible crown; but we an incorruptible. I therefore so run, as not uncertainly; so fight I, as not beating the air; but I buffet my body, and bring it into bondage,' etc.

There is a very interesting allusion to the games of Ephesus in 2 Ti 4^{7} 'I have contended the good contest, I have completed the race . . . henceforth is laid up for me the crown of righteousness,' etc. This stands in striking contrast to Ph 3^{12-16} 'Not that I have already obtained, or am already made perfect: but I press on . . . forgetting the things which are behind, and stretching forward to the things which are before, I press on toward the goal unto the prize of the high calling of God in Christ Jesus.' Here again it is the intense eagerness of the athlete that is specially in St. Paul's mind. We have many other allusions by St. Paul to the **foot-race**, as in Ro 9^{16}, Gal 2^{2} 5^{7}, Ph 2^{16}, Ac 20^{24}. These generally refer to the 'course' of life and conduct. The last passage, it should be remembered, is addressed to the elders at Ephesus. The full significance of Ro 9^{16} is missed unless we realize the intensity of effort required by the racer. The supreme effort of the will is worthless without the grace of God.

We have allusions to the **wrestling match** certainly in Eph 6^{12}, where St. Paul speaks of wrestling against spiritual forces, and probably to boxing in 4^{27}, where 'giving place' means giving vantage-ground to the spiritual foe. In connexion with Ephesus we may notice also the allusion in Ac 19^{31} to the Asiarchs—the officers who superintended the games. The reference to fighting 'with wild beasts at Ephesus' in 1 Co 15^{32} is probably a metaphorical allusion to such contests as were common afterwards in the Colosseum at Rome, and were, according to Schmitz (see 'Isthmia' in Smith's *Dict. of Gr.-Rom. Ant.*), probably introduced into the Isthmian games about this time.

Outside St. Paul's writings there is an important reference to athletic contests in He 12^{1-2}. Here the two points emphasized are: (1) the 'cloud of witnesses' (Gr. *martyres*), whose past achievements are to encourage the Christian combatants for the faith; (2) the self-sacrifice and earnestness needed in running the Christian race. The Christian athlete must lay aside every 'weight'—every hindrance to his work, just as the runner divested himself of his garments, having previously by hard training got rid of all superfluous flesh,—and look only to Christ. Again, in Rev 7^{9} we have in the palms in the hands of the great company of martyrs a very probable reference to the palms given to the successful competitors in the games. Here, again, it should be borne in mind that it was to Ephesus and the surrounding towns, the district of the great Ephesian games, that St. John was writing.

F. H. Woods.

GAMMADIM.—A term of very doubtful meaning, occurring in Ezk 27^{11} 'The Gammadim (AV -ims) were in thy towers.' No place of the name of Gammad is known, but a proper name is what the context seems to demand. RVm 'valorous men' has not commended itself to the majority of scholars.

GAMUL ('weaned').—A chief of the Levites, and head of the 22nd course of priests (1 Ch 24^{17}).

GARDEN (Heb. *gan* [lit. 'enclosure'], *gannah*, which, like the Persian [mod. Armenian] *pardēs* [Neh 2^{8} etc.], and the Arab *jannah* and *bustān*, may mean a garden of herbs [Dt 11^{10}, 1 K 21^{2} etc.], a fruit orchard [Jer $29^{5.\ 28}$, Am 4^{9} etc.], or a park-like pleasure-ground [2 K 25^{4}, Est 1^{5} etc.]).—Flowers were cultivated (Ca 6^{2}), and doubtless, as in modern times, crops of grain or vegetables were grown in the spaces between the trees. In the long dry summer of Palestine the fruitfulness of the garden depends upon abundant water supply (Nu 24^{6}). Perennial fountains fleck the landscape with the luxuriant green and delicious shade of gardens, as *e.g.* at *Jenīn* (Ca 4^{15}). Great cisterns and reservoirs collect the water during the rains, and from these, by numerous conduits, it is led at evening to refresh all parts of the garden. Failure of water is soon evident in withered leaves and wilted plants (Is 58^{11}, cf. 1^{30}). The orange and lemon groves of Jaffa and Sidon are famous; and the orchards around Damascus form one of the main attractions of that 'earthly paradise.'

The cool shade of the trees, the music of the stream, and the delightful variety of fruits in their season, make the gardens a favourite place of resort (Est 7^{7}, Ca 4^{16} etc.), especially towards evening; and in the summer months many spend the night there. In the sweet air, under the sheltering boughs, in the gardens of Olivet, Jesus no doubt passed many of the dark hours (Mk 11^{19} RV, Lk 21^{37}). From His agony in a garden (Jn $18^{1\ 26}$) He went to His doom.

The gardens, with their luxuriant foliage and soft obscurities, were greatly resorted to for purposes of idolatry (Is 56^{3}, Bar 6^{70}). There the Moslem may be seen to-day, spreading his cloth or garment under orange, fig, or mulberry, and performing his devotions. The garden furnishes the charms of his heaven (*el-jannah*, or *Firdaus*); see artt. Paradise, Eden [Garden of].

Tombs were often cut in the rock between the trees (2 K 21^{18} etc.); in such a tomb the body of Jesus was laid (Jn 19^{41}). W. Ewing.

GARDEN HOUSE in 2 K 9^{27} should prob. be *Beth-haggan* (leaving Heb. untranslated), the name of an unknown place S. of Jezreel.

GAREB.—**1.** One of David's 'Thirty' (2 S 23^{38}, 1 Ch 11^{40}). **2.** A hill near Jerusalem (Jer 31^{39}). Its situation is uncertain, being located by some to the S.W., while others place it to the N., of the capital. At the present day there is a *Wady Gourab* to the W. of Jerusalem.

GARLAND.—The 'garlands' (Gr. *stemmata*) of Ac 14^{13} were probably intended to be put on the heads of the sacrificial victims. For the use of a garland (Gr. *stephanos*) as a prize to the victor in the games, see art. Crown, § 2, and cf. Games.

GARLIC (Nu 11^{5}).—The familiar *Allium sativum*, still a very great favourite in Palestine, especially with the Jews. Originally a product of Central Asia, and once a delicacy of kings, it is only in the East that it retains its place in the affections of all classes.
E. W. G. Masterman.

GARMENT.—See Dress.

GARMITE.—A gentilic name applied in a totally obscure sense to Keilah in 1 Ch 4^{19}.

GARNER.—'Garner,' which is now archaic if not obsolete, and 'granary,' the form now in use, both come from Lat. *granaria*, a storehouse for grain. RV retains the subst. in all its occurrences in AV, and introduces the verb in Is 62^{9} 'They that have garnered (AV 'gathered') it shall eat it.'

GAS (1 Es 5^{34}).—His sons were among the 'temple servants' (Ezr. and Neh. omit).

GASHMU (Neh 6^{6}).—A form of the name **Geshem** (wh. see), probably representing the pronunciation of N. Arabian dialect.

GATAM.—The son of Eliphaz (Gn 36^{11}=1 Ch 1^{36}), and 'duke' of an Edomite clan (Gn 36^{16}) which has not been identified.

GATE.—See City, Fortification and Siegecraft, § 5, Jerusalem, Temple.

GATH.—A city of the Philistine Pentapolis. It is mentioned in Jos 11^{22} as a place where the Anakim took refuge; but Joshua is significantly silent about the apportioning of the city to any of the tribes. The ark was brought here from Ashdod (1 S 5^{8}), and thence to Ekron (5^{10}). It was the home of Goliath (1 S 17^{4}, 2 S 21^{19}), and after the rout of the Philistines at Ephes-dammim it was the limit of their pursuit (1 S 17^{52} [LXX]). David during his outlawry took refuge with its king. Achish (1 S 21^{10}). A bodyguard of **Gittites** was attached to David's person under the leadership of a certain Ittai; these remained faithful to the king after the revolt of Absalom (2 S 15^{18}). Shimei's servants ran to Gath, and were pursued thither by him contrary to the *tabu* laid upon him (1 K 2^{40}). Gath was captured by Hazael of Syria (2 K 12^{17}). An unsuccessful Ephraimite cattle-lifting expedition against Gath is recorded (1 Ch 7^{21}). The city was captured by David, according to the Chronicler (18^{1}), and fortified by Rehoboam (2 Ch 11^{8}). It was again captured by Uzziah (26^{6}). Amos refers to it in terms which imply that some great calamity has befallen it (6^{2}); the later prophets, though they mention other cities of the Pentapolis, are silent respecting Gath, which seems therefore to have dropped out of existence. The exact circumstances of its final fate are unknown. The topographical indications, both of the Scripture references and of the *Onomasticon*, point to the great mound *Tell es-Safi* as the most probable site for the identification of Gath. It stands at the mouth of the Valley of Elah, and clearly represents a large and important town. It was partially excavated by the Palestine Exploration Fund in 1899, but, unfortunately, the whole mound being much cumbered with a modern village and its graveyards and sacred shrines, only a limited area was found available for excavation, and the results were not so definite as they might have been.
R. A. S. Macalister.

GATH-HEPHER (Jos 19^{13} [AV wrongly *Gittah-hepher*, which is simply the form of the name with *He locale*], 2 K 14^{25}, 'wine press of the pit or well').—The home of the prophet Jonah. It lay on the border of Zebulun, and is mentioned with Japhia and Rimmon—the modern *Yāfā* and *Rummāneh*. Jerome, in the preface to his Com. on Jonah, speaks of *Geth quae est in Opher* (cf. Vulg. 2 K 14^{25}), and places it 2 Roman miles from Sepphoris (*Seffūrieh*), on the road to Tiberias. This points to *el-Meshhed*, a village on a slight eminence N. of the Tiberias road, ½ mile W. of *Kefr Kenna*, where one of Jonah's many reputed tombs is still pointed out. W. Ewing.

GATH-RIMMON.—**1.** A city in Dan, near Jehud and Bene-berak (Jos 19^{45}), assigned to the Kohathites (21^{24}), and reckoned (1 Ch 6^{69}) to Ephraim. It is unidentified. **2.** A city of Manasseh, assigned to the Kohathites (Jos 21^{25}). LXX has *Iebatha* (B), or *Baithsa* (A), while 1 Ch 6^{70} has **Bileam**=Ibleam (wh. see). The position of the town is not indicated, so in this confusion no identification is possible.
W. Ewing.

GAULANITIS.—See Golan.

GAULS.—See Galatia.

GAZA.—A city of the Philistine Pentapolis. It is referred to in Genesis (10^{19}) as a border city of the Canaanites, and in Jos 10^{41} as a limit of the South country conquered by Joshua; a refuge of the Anakim (Jos 11^{22}), theoretically assigned to Judah (15^{47}). Samson was here shut in by the Philistines, and escaped by carrying away the gates (Jg 16^{1-3}); he was, however; brought back here in captivity after being betrayed by Delilah, and here he destroyed himself and the Philistines by pulling down the temple (16^{21-30}). Gaza was never for long in Israelite hands. It withstood Alexander for five months (B.C. 332). In B.C. 96 it was razed to the ground, and in B.C. 57 rebuilt on a new site, the previous site being distinguished as 'Old' or 'Desert' Gaza (cf. Ac 8^{26}). It was successively in Greek, Byzantine Christian (A.D. 402), Muslim (635), and Crusader hands; it was finally lost by the Franks in 1244. A Crusaders' church remains in the town, now a mosque. It is now a city of about 16,000 inhabitants, and bears the name *Ghuzzeh*. R. A. S. Macalister.

GAZARA.—An important stronghold often mentioned during the Maccabæan struggle (1 Mac 4^{15} 7^{45} 9^{52} 13^{53} $14^{7.\ 34}$ 15^{28} 16^{1}, 2 Mac 10^{32}. In *Ant.* xii. vii. 4, xiv. v. 4, *BJ*, i. viii. 5, it is called *Gadara*). There seems to be no doubt that it is the OT **Gezer** (wh. see).

GAZELLE (*zebī*, tr. 2 S 2^{18}, 1 Ch 12^{8} etc. in AV 'roe'; in Dt 14^{5} etc. 'roebuck,' but in RV 'gazelle').—The gazelle (Arab. *ghazal*, also *zabi*) is one of the commonest of the larger animals of Palestine; it is one of

the most beautiful and graceful of antelopes. It is fawn and white in colour; it is much hunted (Pr 6^5, Is 13^{14}); it is noted for its speed (2 S 2^{18}, 1 Ch 12^8); its flesh is considered, at least in towns, a delicacy.

Ghazaleh ('female gazelle') is a favourite name for a girl among the Yemin Jews, as *Dorcas* and *Tabitha*, with the same meaning, were in NT times (Ac $9^{36.\ 40}$).

E. W. G. Masterman.

GAZERA (1 Es 5^{31}).—His sons were among the 'Temple servants.' In Ezr 2^{48} **Gazzam**.

GAZEZ.—**1.** A son of Ephah, Caleb's concubine (1 Ch 2^{46}). **2.** In same verse a second Gazez is mentioned as a son of Haram, who was another of Ephah's sons.

GAZITES.—The inhabitants of Gaza (wh. see), Jos 13^3, Jg 16^2.

GAZZAM.—A family of Nethinim who returned with Zerub. (Ezr 2^{48}, Neh 7^{51}), called in 1 Es 5^{31} **Gazera**.

GEBA (Heb. *geba'*, 'a hill').—A city of Benjamin, on the N.E. frontier (Jos 18^{24}), assigned to the Levites (Jos 21^{17}, 1 Ch 6^{60}). It stands for the N. limit of the kingdom of Judah (2 K 23^8 'from Geba to Beersheba'). In 2 S 5^{25} we should probably read 'Gibeon' as in 1 Ch 14^{16}. The position of Geba is fixed in 1 S 14^5 S. of the great *Wâdy Suweinît*, over against Michmash, the modern *Mukhmâs*. This was the scene of Jonathan's famous exploit against the Philistines. Everything points to its identity with *Jeba'*, a village 6 miles N. of Jerusalem. It occupied an important position commanding the passage of the valley from the north. It was fortified by Asa (1 K 15^{22}). It appears in Isaiah's picture of the approach of the Assyrian upon Jerusalem ($10^{28ff.}$). It is mentioned also as occupied after the Exile (Neh 11^{31}, Ezr 2^{26} etc.). It seems to be confused with the neighbouring Gibeah in Jg $20^{10.\ 33}$, 1 S $13^{3.\ 16}$. In Jg 20^{31} 'Gibeah' should be 'Geba.' **2.** A stronghold in Samaria, between which and Scythopolis Holofernes pitched his camp (Jth 3^{10}). Perhaps *Jeba'a* is intended, about 2 miles S. of *Sanûr*, on the road to *Jenîn*.

W. Ewing.

GEBAL.—**1.** A place apparently S. of the Dead Sea, whose inhabitants made a league with Edomites, Moabites, and the Bedouin of the Arabah against Israel, on some unknown occasion (Ps 83^7), possibly the Gentile attack described in 1 Mac 5. It is the modern *Jebal*. **2.** A town in Phœnicia, now *Jebeil*. It was theoretically (never actually) within the borders of the Promised Land (Jos 13^5). It provided builders for Solomon (1 K 5^{18} RV **Gebalites**, AV 'stone-squarers') and ships' caulkers for Tyre (Ezk 27^9).

R. A. S. Macalister.

GEBER (1 K 4^{19}).—One of Solomon's twelve commissariat officers, whose district lay to the E. of Jordan. At the end of v.[19] comes a sentence referred by AV and RV to this Geber, and rendered 'and *he was* the only officer which was in the land.' But it is possible that the text should be emended so as to read 'and one officer was over all the officers who were in the land,' the reference being, not to Geber, but to Azariah, son of Nathan, mentioned in v.[5] as 'over the officers.'

GEBIM.—A place N. of Jerusalem (Is 10^{31} only). In Eusebius a Geba 5 Roman miles from Gophna, on the way to Neapolis (Shechem), is noticed. This is the modern *Jebîa*, which, being near the great northern road, is a possible site for Gebim.

GECKO.—See Ferret, Lizard.

GEDALIAH.—**1.** Son of Ahikam, who had protected Jeremiah from the anti-Chaldæan party (Jer 26^{24}), and probably grandson of Shaphan, the pious scribe (2 K 22). Gedaliah naturally shared the views of Jeremiah. This commended him to Nebuchadnezzar, who made him governor over 'the poor of the people that were left in the land.' His two months' rule and treacherous murder are detailed in Jer 40. 41 (2 K 25^{22-25}). The anniversary of Gedaliah's murder—the third day of the seventh month, Tishri (Zec 7^5 8^{19})—has ever since been observed as one of the four Jewish fasts. **2.** Eldest 'son' of Jeduthun (1 Ch $25^{3.\ 9}$). **3.** A priest 'of the sons of Jeshua,' who had married a 'strange' woman (Ezr 10^{18}); called in 1 Es 9^{19} **Joadanus**. **4.** Son of Pashhur, a prince in the reign of Zedekiah (Jer 38^1). **5.** Grandfather of the prophet Zephaniah (Zeph 1^1).

GEDDUR (1 Es 5^{30}).—In Ezr 2^{47} and Neh 7^{49} **Gahar**.

GEDER.—An unidentified Canaanitish town, whose king was amongst those conquered by Joshua (Jos 12^{13} only). It is very probably identical with **Beth-gader** of 1 Ch 2^{51}. In 1 Ch 27^{28} Baal-hanan, who had charge of David's olives and sycomores, is called the **Gederite**, which may be a gentilic name derived from Geder, although some prefer to derive it from Gederah (wh. see).

GEDERAH.—AV of 1 Ch 4^{23b} reads, 'Those that dwell among plants (RVm 'plantations') and hedges,' but RV gives 'the inhabitants of Netaim and Gederah,' and this is probably the correct rendering. In that case the Gederah referred to would probably be the city of that name located by Jos 15^{36} in the Shephêlah, the modern *Jedireh* and the *Gedour* of Eusebius. The gentilic name **Gederathite** occurs in 1 Ch 12^4.

GEDEROTH.—A town of Judah in the Shephêlah (Jos 15^{41}, 2 Ch 28^{18}). It appears to be the modern *Katrah* near Yebna. Possibly it is also the **Kidron** of 1 Mac $15^{39.\ 41}$ 16^9.

GEDEROTHAIM occurs in Jos 15^{36} as one of the fourteen cities of Judah that lay in the Shephêlah. There are, however, fourteen cities without it, and it is probable that the name has arisen by dittography from the preceding **Gederah**. The subterfuge of the AVm 'Gederah *or* Gederothaim' is not permissible.

GEDOR.—A town of Judah (Jos 15^{58}; cf. 1 Ch $4^{4.\ 18}$ 12^7). It is generally identified with the modern *Jedûr* north of Beit-sur. **2.** The district from which the Simeonites are said to have expelled the Hamite settlers (1 Ch $4^{39ff.}$). The LXX, however, reads *Gerar*, and this suits admirably as to direction. **3.** A Benjamite, an ancestor of king Saul (1 Ch 8^{31} 9^{37}). **4. 5.** The eponym of two Judahite families (1 Ch $4^{4.\ 18}$).

GE-HARASHIM ('valley of craftsmen,' 1 Ch 4^{14}, Neh 11^{35}).—In the latter passage it occurs with Lod and Ono. The location of this 'valley' is quite uncertain.

GEHAZI.—Of the antecedents of Gehazi, and of his call to be the attendant of Elisha, the sacred historian gives us no information. He appears to stand in the same intimate relation to his master that Elisha had done to Elijah, and was probably regarded as the successor of the former. Through lack of moral fibre he fell, and his heritage in the prophetic order passed into other hands. Gehazi is first introduced to us in connexion with the episode of the Shunammite woman. The prophet consults familiarly with him, in regard to some substantial way of showing their appreciation of the kindness of their hostess. Gehazi bears Elisha's message to her: 'Behold, thou hast been careful for us with all this care; what is to be done for thee? Wouldst thou be spoken for to the king, or to the captain of the host?' On her refusal to be a candidate for such honours, Gehazi reminds his master that the woman is childless. Taking up his attendant's suggestion, Elisha promises a son to their benefactress (2 K $4^{8ff.}$). According to prediction, the child is born; but after he has grown to be a lad, he suffers from sunstroke and death ensues. The mother immediately betakes herself to the prophet, who sends Gehazi with his own staff to work a miracle. To the servant's prayer there is neither voice nor hearing; but where he fails, the prophet succeeds (2 K 4^{17-37}). Gehazi, like his master, had access to the court, for we read of him narrating to the king the story of the prophet's dealings with the Shunammite (2 K $8^{4.\ 5}$). In contrast with the spirit of

the other characters, his covetousness and lying stand out in black hideousness in the story of Naaman (wh. see). The prophet's refusal to receive any payment from the Syrian general for the cure which had been effected, does not meet with the approval of Gehazi. He follows the cavalcade of Naaman, and, fabricating a message from his master, begs a talent of silver and two changes of raiment for two young men of the sons of the prophets, who are supposed to be on a visit to Elisha. Having received and hidden his ill-gotten possessions, he stands before his master to do his bidding as if nothing had occurred, quite unaware that Elisha with prophetic eye has watched him on his foul mission of deception. Dumbfounded he must have been to hear his punishment from the lips of the prophet: 'The leprosy, therefore, of Naaman shall cleave unto thee and unto thy seed for ever' (2 K $5^{20ff.}$). With this dread sentence, Gehazi is ushered off the stage of sacred history, never to reappear. James A. Kelso.

GEHENNA.—A word derived from *Ge-Hinnom*, the valley on the west of Jerusalem. In this valley it is possible that Molech and Tammuz were worshipped (2 K 23^{10}, 2 Ch 28^3 33^6, Jer 7^{31} 32^{35}). The recollection of this terrible worship gave to the valley a sinister character, and led to its being defiled by Josiah (2 K $23^{6.\ 10}$), for the purpose of preventing these rites. Thereafter it became the place for the burning of the refuse of the city, along with dead animals and the bodies of criminals. It was natural, therefore, that the name should become a synonym of **hell** (cf. Mt 5^{29} 10^{28}). In its eschatological force Gehenna was the place of punishment. It generally was conceived of as being under the earth, but it was very much vaster in extent than the earth. It was believed to be filled with fire intended for the punishment of sinners, who apparently went there immediately after death. Late Rabbinic thought would seem to imply that men who are neither great saints nor great sinners might be purified by the fire of Gehenna. Only those who had committed adultery or shamed or slandered their neighbours were believed to be hopelessly condemned to its fires, while the Jews were not to be permanently injured by them. According to the later belief, Gehenna was to be destroyed at the final consummation of the age. There is no clear evidence that Gehenna was regarded as a place for the annihilation of the wicked, although there are some passages which give a certain support to this opinion. No systematic eschatological statement has, however, been preserved for us from Jewish times, much less one which may be said to represent a general consensus of opinion. The NT writers employ the word in its general force as a synonym for the idea of endless punishment for sinners, as over against 'heaven'—the synonym of endless bliss for those who have enjoyed the resurrection. They attempt, however, no description of suffering within its limits further than that implied in the figures of fire and worms.
Shailer Mathews.

GELILOTH ('stone circles,' Jos 18^{17}).—Identical with the **Gilgal** of Jos 15^7, and possibly with the **Beth-gilgal** of Neh 12^{29}. It was a place on the border of Benjamin and Judah near the Ascent of Adummim. This last was probably in the neighbourhood of *Tal'at ed-dum*, a hill near the so-called 'Inn of the Good Samaritan' on the carriage road to Jericho. The word *gelilōth* occurs also in the Heb. in Jos 13^2 $22^{10.\ 11}$ and Jl 3^4, and is tr. in AV either 'borders' or 'coasts,' RV 'regions.'
E. W. G. Masterman.

GEM.—See Jewels and Precious Stones.

GEMALLI.—Father of the Danite spy, Nu 13^{12} (P).

GEMARA.—See Talmud.

GEMARIAH.—**1.** A son of Shaphan the scribe. He vainly sought to deter king Jehoiakim from burning the roll (Jer $36^{10.\ 11.\ 12.\ 25}$). **2.** A son of Hilkiah who carried a letter from Jeremiah to the captives at Babylon (Jer 29^3).

GENEALOGY.—The genealogies of the OT fall into two classes, national and individual, though the two are sometimes combined, the genealogy of the individual passing into that of the nation.

1. National genealogies.—These belong to a well-recognized type, by which the relationship of nations, tribes, and families is explained as due to descent from a common ancestor, who is often an 'eponymous hero,' invented to account for the name of the nation. The principle was prevalent in Greece (see Grote, *Hist.* vol. i. ch. iv. etc. and p. 416); *e.g.* Hellen is the **'father'** of Dorus, Æolus, and Xuthus, who is in turn the 'father' of Ion and Achæus, the existence of the various branches of the Greek races being thus explained. M'Lennan (*Studies in Ancient History*, 2nd series, ix.) gives further examples from Rome (genealogies traced to Numa), Scotland, India, Arabia, and Africa; the Berbers ('barbarians') of N. Africa invented an ancestor Berr, and connected him with Noah. The Arabs derived all their subdivisions from Nebaioth or Joktan. The genealogies of Genesis are of the same type. The groundwork of the Priestly narrative (P) is a series of inter-connected genealogies, each beginning with the formula, 'These are the generations (*toledōth*) of . . .' (2^4 5^1 6^9 etc.). The gap between Adam and Noah is filled by a genealogy of 10 generations (Gn 5), and in Gn 10 the nations of the world, as known to the writer, are traced in a genealogical tree to Noah's three sons. We find in the list plural or dual names (*e.g.* Mizraim, Ludim, Anamim), names of places (Tarshish, Zidon, Ophir) or of nations (the Jebusite, Amorite, etc.). An 'Eber' appears as the eponymous ancestor of the Hebrews. Sometimes the names might in form represent either individuals or nations (Asshur, Moab, Edom), but there can in most cases be little doubt that the ancestor has been invented to account for the nation. In later chapters the same method is followed with regard to tribes more or less closely related to Israel; the connexion is explained by deriving them from an ancestor related to Abraham. In Gn 22^{20} the twelve Aramæan tribes are derived from Nahor his brother; in 25^{12} twelve N. Arabian tribes, nearer akin, are traced to Ishmael and Hagar; six others, a step farther removed, to Keturah, his second wife, or concubine (25^1). The Edomites, as most nearly related, are derived from Esau (36). The frequent recurrence of the number 12 in these lists is a sign of artificiality. The same principle is applied to Israel itself. The existence of all the twelve sons of Jacob as individuals is on various grounds improbable; they represent tribes, and in many cases their 'descendants' are simply individual names coined to account for cities, clans, and subdivisions of the tribes (Gn 46^8, Nu 26). A good illustration is found in the case of Gilead. In Dt 3^{15} we are told that Moses gave Gilead to Machir, son of Manasseh. In Nu 26^{29} etc. Gilead has become the 'son' of Manasseh, and in Jg 11^1 'begets' Jephthah. So among the 'sons' of Caleb we find cities of Judah (Hebron, Tappuah, Ziph, Gibea, etc., 1 Ch $2^{42ff.}$), and Kiriath-jearim and Bethlehem are descendants of Hur (2^{51}). It is indeed obvious that, whether consciously or not, terms of relationship are used in an artificial sense. **'Father'** often means founder of a city; in Gn 4^{20} it stands for the originator of occupations and professions; members of a guild or clan are its 'sons.' The towns of a district are its 'daughters' (Jg 1^{27} RVm).

With regard to the *historical value* of these genealogies, two remarks may be made. (*a*) The records, though in most cases worthless if regarded as referring to individuals, are of the highest importance as evidence of the movements and history of peoples and clans, and of the beliefs entertained about them. Gn 10 gives geographical and ethnographical information of great value. A

good example is found in what we learn of Caleb and the Calebites. In the earliest tradition (Nu 32^{12}, Jos $14^{6.\ 14}$) he is descended from Kenaz, a tribe of Edom, and 'grandson' of Esau (Gn $36^{11.\ 42}$); in 1 S 25^{3} 30^{14} the Calebite territory is still distinct from Judah. But in 1 Ch $2^{42ff.}$ Caleb has become a descendant of Judah. We gather that the Calebites ('dog-tribe') were a related but alien clan, which entered into friendly relations with Judah at the time of the conquest of Canaan, and perhaps took the lead in the invasion. Ultimately they coalesced with Judah, and were regarded as pure Israelites. So generally, though no uniform interpretation of the genealogies is possible, a marriage will often point to the incorporation of new elements into the tribe, a birth to a fresh subdivision or migration, or an unfruitful marriage to the disappearance of a clan. Contradictory accounts of an individual in documents of different date may tell us of the history of a tribe at successive periods, as in the case of the Calebites.

(*b*) Though the genealogical names usually represent nations, there is, no doubt, in certain cases a personal element as well. The patriarchs and more prominent figures, such as Ishmael and Esau and Caleb, were no doubt individuals, and their history is not entirely figurative. On this point see Driver, *Genesis*, pp. liv. ff.; also artt. Abraham, and Tribes. We should note that the distinctive feature of the Greek genealogies, which traced national descent from the gods, is absent from the OT. A trace remains in Gn 6^{4} (cf. Lk 3^{38}).

2. Genealogies of individuals.—Whatever view be taken of the genealogies of our Lord (see next article), their incorporation in the Gospels proves the importance attached to descent in the NT period; they also show that at that time records were kept which made the construction of such tables a possibility. St. Paul was conscious of his pure pedigree (Ph 3^{5}), and in several cases in the NT the name of a person's tribe is preserved. The hope of being the ancestor of the Messiah, and the natural pride of royal descent, probably caused the records of the house of David to be preserved with great care. In the same way Josephus, in the opening chapter of his *Life*, sets out his genealogy as vouched for by the public records, though only as far back as his grandfather Simon. In *c. Apion.* i. 7, he speaks of the careful preservation of the Priestly genealogies; and the story of Africanus (*ap.* Eus. *HE* i. 7, 13), that Herod the Great destroyed the genealogical records of the Jews in order to conceal his own origin, is at least an indication of the existence of such records and of the value attached to them. The Talmud speaks of professional genealogists, and in the present day many Jews, especially among the priests, treasure long and detailed family trees, showing their pure descent (cf., for an earlier period, 1 Mac 2^{1}, Bar 1^{1}, To 1^{1}).

There can be no doubt that this careful recording of genealogies received its main impetus in the time of Ezra. It was then that the line between the Jews and other nations became sharply drawn, and stress was laid on purity of descent, whether real or fictitious. After the return from Babylon, it was more important to be able to trace descent from the exiles than to be a native of Judah (Ezr 9). Certain families were excluded from the priesthood for lack of the requisite genealogical records (2^{61}, Neh 7^{63}). And in fact practically all the detailed genealogies of individuals as preserved in P, Chronicles, and kindred writings, date from this or a later period. No doubt the injunctions of Dt 23^{3} and the arrangements for a census (2 S 24) imply that there was some sort of registration of families before this, and the stage of civilization reached under the monarchy makes it probable that records were kept of royal and important houses. But the genealogical notes which really date from the earlier period rarely go further back than two or three generations, and the later genealogies bear many traces of their artificiality. The names are in many cases late and post-exilic, and there is no evidence outside the genealogies that they were in use at an earlier period. Of the twenty-four courses of the sons of Aaron in 1 Ch $24^{1ff.}$, sixteen names are post-exilic. Names of places and clans appear as individuals (2^{18-24} 7^{30-40}). Gaps are filled up by the repetition of the same name in several generations (*e.g.* 6^{4-14}). At a later time it was usual for a child to be named after his father or kinsman (Lk $1^{59.\ 61}$), but there are probably no cases where this is recorded for the pre-exilic period, except in the Chronicler's lists (see Gray, *HPN*). There are numerous discrepancies in the various lists, and there is a strongly marked tendency to ascribe a Levitical descent to all engaged in the service of the sanctuary, *e.g.* the guilds of singers and porters. So Samuel is made a Levite by the Chronicler ($6^{22.\ 33}$), almost certainly wrongly, as his story shows. In the same way the position of clans, such as Caleb and Jerahmeel, which in the early history appear as alien, is legitimized by artificial genealogies (1 Ch 2). In 25^{4} the names of the sons of Heman seem to be simply fragments of a hymn or psalm. In 6^{4} there are, including Aaron, 23 priests from the Exodus to the Captivity—an evidently artificial reconstruction; forty years is a generation, and $40 \times 12 = 480$ years to the building of the Temple (1 K 6^{1}), the other 11 priests filling up the period till the Exile, which took place in the eleventh generation after Solomon. Such marks of artificiality, combined with lateness of date, forbid us to regard the lists as entirely historical. No doubt in certain cases the genealogist had family records to work upon, but the form in which our material has reached us makes it almost impossible to disentangle these with any degree of certainty. W. R. Smith (*Kinship and Marriage in Early Arabia*, p. 6) gives an interesting parallel to this development of genealogizing activity at a particular period. The Arabian genealogies all date from the reign of Caliph Omar, when circumstances made purity of descent of great importance.

C. W. Emmet.

GENEALOGY OF JESUS CHRIST.—1. The two genealogies.—Both the First and Third Evangelists (here for brevity referred to as Mt. and Lk.) give our Lord's ancestry, but they differ from one another very largely. Lk. traces back the genealogy to Adam, Mt. to Abraham only. Both lists agree from Abraham to David, except that Aram or Ram in Mt 1^{3} = Arni in Lk 3^{33} (best text); but between David and Joseph the lists have only Shealtiel and Zerubbabel, and possibly two other names (see below), in common.

(*a*) *The Matthæan list* from Perez to David is taken almost verbatim from Ru 4^{18b-22} LXX (inserting Rahab and Ruth, and calling David 'the king'), and agrees with 1 Ch 2^{1-15}; it then gives the names of the kings to Jechoniah, from 1 Ch 3^{10-15}, but inserts 'the [wife] of Uriah' and omits kings Ahaziah, Joash, and Amaziah between Joram and Uzziah (= Azariah), and also Jehoiakim son of Josiah and father of Jechoniah (Coniah, Jer 22^{24}) or Jehoiachin (2 Ch 36^{8}). This last omission may be merely a mistake, for the list is made up of three artificial divisions of fourteen generations each, and Jechoniah appears both at the end of the second and at the beginning of the third division, being counted twice. Perhaps, then, originally Jehoiakim ended the second division, and Jehoiachin began the third, and they became confused owing to the similarity of spelling and were written alike (as in 1 Ch 3^{15}, Jer 52^{31} LXX); then the synonym Jechoniah was substituted for both. In the third division the names Shealtiel, Zerubbabel (both in Lk. also) are from Ezr 3^{2}, 1 Ch $3^{17.\ 19}$, but we notice that in Mt. and Ezra Zerubbabel is called son of Shealtiel, whereas in 1 Ch (except in some MSS of the LXX) he is his nephew. Both in Mt. and 1 Ch. Shealtiel is called son of Jechoniah. Between Zerubbabel and Joseph the names are perhaps from some traditional list of the heirs of the kings, but

some names here also have been omitted, for in Mt. ten generations are spread over nearly 500 years, while Lk. gives nineteen generations for the same period. The Mt. genealogy ends with Matthan, Jacob, Joseph.

(*b*) *The Lukan list*, which inverts the order, beginning at Jesus and ending at Adam, takes the line from Adam to Abraham, from Gn 5. 10^{21-25} (to Peleg), 1 Ch 1^{1-27}, but inserts Cainan between Arphaxad and Shelah, as does the LXX in Gn. and 1 Ch.; it practically agrees with Mt. (see above) from Abraham to David, but then gives the line to Shealtiel through David's son Nathan, making Shealtiel the son of Neri, not of king Jechoniah (see **2** below). The names between Nathan and Shealtiel are not derived from the OT, and those between Zerubbabel and Joseph are otherwise unknown to us, unless, as Plummer supposes (*ICC*, 'St. Luke,' p. 104,) Joanan (Lk 3^{27} RV) = Hananiah son of Zerubbabel (1 Ch 3^{19})—the name Rhesa being really a title ('Zerubbabel Rhesa' = 'Z. the prince'), misunderstood by some copyist before Lk. — and Joda (Lk 3^{26} RV) = Abiud (Mt 1^{13}) = Hodaviah (1 Ch 3^{24} RV, a descendant of Zerubbabel, not son of Hananiah). Some think that Matthat (Lk 3^{24}) = Matthan (Mt 1^{15}).

2. Reason of the differences.—It is not enough merely to say that theories which endeavour to harmonize the four Gospels are failures, and that, as is shown in art. GOSPELS, **2** (*b*), Mt. and Lk. wrote each without knowing the work of the other. We have to consider why two independent writers, both professing to give our Lord's genealogy, produced such different lists. Jewish genealogies were frequently artificial; that of Mt. is obviously so; for example, its omissions were apparently made only so as to produce an equality between the three divisions. Burkitt (*Evangelion da-Mepharreshe*, ii. 260f.) and Allen (*ICC*, 'St. Matthew,' p. 2ff.) think that Mt. compiled his genealogy for the purpose of his Gospel. The details about Tamar, Rahab, Ruth, Bathsheba, not to be expected in a genealogy, but suitable for that purpose (see below), and the artificial divisions, seem to point to this view. The object of the Mt. genealogy would be to refute an early Jewish slander that Jesus was born out of wedlock —a slander certainly known to Celsus in the 2nd cent. (Origen, *c. Cels.* i. 28 etc.). In this connexion Burkitt (*l.c.*) shows that Mt. 1. 2 are by the same hand as the rest of the Gospel (see also Hawkins, *Horæ Synopticæ*, p. 4ff.). This view may, however, perhaps be modified a little by the hypothesis that the Mt. list is due to a Christian predecessor of the First Evangelist, perhaps to one of his sources; this modification would allow for the corruption of Jehoiakim and Jehoiachin (above, **1**).

In any case, in spite of the argument to the contrary by Bacon in Hastings' *DB* ii. 139, we must probably agree with Westcott (*NT in Greek*[2], ii. 141), Barnard (Hastings' *DCG* i. 638), Allen, and Burkitt, that the word 'begat' in this list expresses legal heirship and not physical descent. The same is true in some cases in 1 Chronicles. Mt. clearly believed in the Virgin Birth, and puts the genealogy immediately before the assertion of it; if physical descent is intended, the genealogy through Joseph is unmeaning. He wishes to prove that Jesus is legally descended from David, and therefore gives the 'throne succession,' the list of regal heirs. On the other hand, it may be supposed that Lk. states Jesus' heirship by giving Joseph's actual physical descent according to some genealogy preserved in the family. According to this view, Joseph was really the son of Heli (Lk 3^{23}) but the legal heir of Jacob (Mt 1^{16}). It is not difficult to understand why Shealtiel and Zerubbabel appear in both lists. Jechoniah was childless, or at least his heirs died out (Jer $22^{24.\ 30}$), and Shealtiel, though called his 'son' in 1 Ch 3^{17}, was probably only his legal heir, being son of Neri (Lk 3^{27}). This theory is elaborated by Lord A. Hervey, Bishop of Bath and Wells (*The Genealogies of our Lord*, 1853, and in Smith's *DB*[2]).

The reason of the insertion of the names of the four women in the Mt. list is not quite obvious. It has been suggested that the object was to show that God accepts penitents and strangers. Burkitt, with more probability, supposes that the mention of the heirs being born out of the direct line or irregularly is intended to prepare us for the still greater irregularity at the last stage, for the Virgin Birth of Jesus (*l.c.* p. 260). We note that in the OT Rahab is not said to have been the wife of Salmon as in Mt. 1^{5}.

3. Other solutions.—(*a*) Africanus, perhaps the earliest writer to discuss Biblical questions in a critical manner (*c.* A.D. 220), treats of these genealogies in his *Letter to Aristides* (Euseb. *HE* i. 7, vi. 31). He harmonizes them (expressly, however, not as a matter of tradition) on the theory of levirate marriages, supposing that two half-brothers, sons of different fathers, married the same woman, and that the issue of the second marriage was therefore legally accounted to the elder, but physically to the younger brother. It is a difficulty that two, or even three, such marriages must be supposed in the list; and this theory is almost universally rejected by moderns. Africanus had no doubt that both genealogies were Joseph's.

Africanus says that Herod the Great destroyed all the Jewish genealogies kept in the archives, so as to hide his own ignoble descent, but that not a few had private records of their own (Euseb. *HE* i. 7). Here clearly Africanus exaggerates. Josephus says that his own genealogy was given in the public records, and that the priests' pedigrees, even among Jews of the Dispersion, were carefully preserved (*Life*, 1, *c. Ap.* i. 7). There is no reason why Lk. should not have found a genealogy in Joseph's family. Africanus says that our Lord's relatives, called *desposyni*, prided themselves on preserving the memory of their noble descent.

(*b*) A more modern theory, expounded by Weiss, but first by Annius of Viterbo (*c.* A.D. 1490), is that Mt. gives Joseph's pedigree, Lk. Mary's. It is necessary on this theory to render Lk 3^{23} thus: 'being the son (as was supposed) of Joseph [but really the grandson] of Heli.' This translation is rightly pronounced by Plummer to be incredible (*l.c.* p. 103); and a birthright derived through the mother would be 'quite out of harmony with either Jewish ideas or Gentile ideas.' The important thing was to state Jesus' birthright, and the only possible way to do this would be through Joseph.

It must, however, be added that Joseph and Mary were probably near relations. We cannot, indeed, say with Eusebius (*HE* i. 7) that they must have been of the same tribe, because 'intermarriages between different tribes were not permitted.' He is evidently referring to Nu $36^{6f.}$, but this relates only to heiresses, who, if they married out of their tribe, would forfeit their inheritance. Mary and Elisabeth were kinswomen, though the latter was descended from Aaron (Lk 1^{5} 36). But it was undoubtedly the belief of the early Christians that Jesus was descended, according to the flesh, from David, and was of the tribe of Judah (Ac 2^{30} 13^{23}, Ro 1^{3}, 2 Ti 2^{8}, He 7^{14}, Rev 5^{5} 22^{16}; cf. Mk 10^{47} 11^{10}). At the same time it is noteworthy that our Lord did not base His claims on His Davidic descent. In the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs*, an apocryphal work written in its present form *c.* A.D. 120, we find (*Sym.* 7, *Gad*, 8) the idea that the Lord should 'raise (one) from Levi as priest and from Judah as king, God and man,'—an inference, as Sanday-Headlam remark (*ICC*, 'Romans,' p. 7), from Lk 1^{36}.

4. The Matthæan text.—In Mt 1^{16} the reading of almost all Greek MSS, attested by Tertullian, is that of EV, 'Jacob begat Joseph the husband of Mary, of whom was born Jesus,' etc. The lately discovered Sinaitic-Syriac palimpsest has 'Jacob begat Joseph; Joseph, to whom was betrothed Mary the Virgin, begat Jesus.' This reading is carefully discussed by Prof. Burkitt (*l.c.* p. 262 ff.), who thinks that it is not original, but derived from a variant of the ordinary text: 'Jacob begat Joseph, to whom being betrothed the Virgin Mary bare [*lit.* begat, as often] Jesus' [this is questioned by Allen, *l.c.* p. 8]. On the other hand, it has been suggested that the Sinaitic palimpsest has the original reading of a source of our Mt. which did not

believe in the Virgin Birth. If so, it is strange that the First Evangelist should place it in such close juxtaposition to his assertion of that belief. In view, however, of what has been said above, that the word 'begat' in Mt. implies only legal heirship, the question has no real doctrinal significance. On purely literary grounds, Prof. Burkitt seems to the present writer to have established his point. A. J. MACLEAN.

GENERAL.—This adj. means in AV 'universal,' as Latimer, *Sermons*, 182, 'The promises of God our Saviour are general; they pertain to all mankind.' So in He 12^{23}, 'the general assembly' means the gathering of all without exception. **Generally** in like manner means 'universally,' 2 S 17^{11} 'I counsel that all Israel be generally gathered unto thee.' The subst. 'general' is once (1 Ch 27^{34}) used for Heb. *sar*, of which the more usual rendering is 'captain' (wh. see; cf. ARMY, § 2).

GENERATION.—'Generation' is used in AV to tr. **1.** Heb. *dōr*, which is used (*a*) generally for a *period*, especially in the phrases *dōr wādhōr*, etc., of limitless duration; past, Is 51^{8}; future, Ps 10^{6}; past and future, Ps 102^{24}; (*b*) of all men living at any given time (Gn 6^{9}); (*c*) of a class of men with some special characteristic, Pr $30^{11\text{-}14}$ of four *generations* of bad men; (*d*) in Is 38^{12} and Ps 49^{19} *dōr* is sometimes taken as 'dwelling-place.' **2.** Heb. *tōlĕdhōth* (from *yāladh*, 'beget' or 'bear children'), which is used in the sense of (*a*) *genealogies* Gn 5^{1}, figuratively of the account of creation, Gn 2^{4}; also (*b*) *divisions of a tribe*, as based on genealogy; *tōlĕdhōth* occurs only in the Priestly Code, in Ru 4^{18}, and in 1 Ch. **3.** Gr. *genea* in same sense as **1** (*a*), Col 1^{26}; as **1** (*b*), Mt 24^{34}. **4.** *genesis*=**2** (*a*), Mt 1^{1}, an imitation of LXX use of *genesis* for *tōlĕdhōth*. **5.** *Gennēma*, 'offspring'=**1** (*c*): so Mt $37\|$ ('generation, *i.e.* offspring, of vipers'). **6.** *genos*, 'race'=**1** (*c*): so 1 P 2^{9} (AV 'chosen generation,' RV 'elect race').

GENESIS.—1. Name, Contents, and Plan.—The name 'Genesis,' as applied to the first book of the Bible, is derived from the LXX, in one or two MSS of which the book is entitled *Genesis kosmou* ('origin of the world'). A more appropriate designation, represented by the heading of one Greek MS, is 'The Book of Origins'; for Genesis is pre-eminently the Book of Hebrew Origins. It is a collection of the earliest traditions of the Israelites regarding the beginnings of things, and particularly of their national history; these traditions being woven into a continuous narrative, commencing with the creation of the world and ending with the death of Joseph. The story is continued in the book of Exodus, and indeed forms the introduction to a historical work which may be said to terminate either with the conquest of Palestine (Hexateuch) or with the Babylonian captivity (2 Kings). The narrative comprised in Genesis falls naturally into two main divisions—(i) *The history of primeval mankind* (chs. 1–11), including the creation of the world, the origin of evil, the beginnings of civilization, the Flood, and the dispersion of peoples. (ii.) *The history of the patriarchs* (ch. 12–50), which is again divided into three sections, corresponding to the lives of Abraham (12–25^{18}), Isaac (25^{19}–36), and Jacob (37–50); although in the last two periods the story is really occupied with the fortunes of Jacob and Joseph respectively. The transition from one period to another is marked by a series of genealogies, some of which (*e.g.* chs. 5. $11^{10\text{ff.}}$) serve a chronological purpose and bridge over intervals of time with regard to which tradition was silent, while others (chs. 10. 36, etc.) exhibit the nearer or remoter relation to Israel of the various races and peoples of mankind. These genealogies constitute a sort of framework for the history, and at the same time reveal the plan on which the book is constructed. As the different branches of the human family are successively enumerated and dismissed, and the history converges more and more on the chosen line, we are meant to trace the unfolding of the Divine purpose by which Israel was separated from all the nations of the earth to be the people of the true God.

2. Literary sources.—The unity of plan which characterizes the Book of Genesis does not necessarily exclude the supposition that it is composed of separate documents; and a careful study of the structure of the book proves beyond all doubt that this is actually the case. The clue to the analysis was obtained when (in 1753) attention was directed to the significant alternation of two names for God, *Jahweh* and *Elohim*. This at once suggested a compilation from *two* pre-existing sources; although it is obvious that a preference for one or other Divine name might be common to many independent writers, and does not by itself establish the unity of all the passages in which it appears. It was speedily discovered, however, that this characteristic does not occur alone, but is associated with a number of other features, linguistic, literary, and religious, which were found to correspond in general with the division based on the use of the Divine names. Hence the conviction gradually gained ground that in Genesis we have to do not with an indefinite number of disconnected fragments, but with a few homogeneous compositions, each with a literary character of its own. The attempts to determine the relation of the several components to one another proved more or less abortive, until it was finally established in 1853 that the use of *Elohim* is a peculiarity common to two quite dissimilar groups of passages; and that one of these has much closer affinities with the sections where *Jahweh* is used than with the other Elohistic sections. Since then, criticism has rapidly advanced to the positions now held by the great majority of OT scholars, which may be briefly summarized as follows:

(1) Practically the whole of Genesis is resolved into three originally separate documents, each containing a complete and consecutive narrative: (*a*) the *Jahwistic* (J), characterized by the use of 'Jahweh,' commencing with the Creation ($2^{4b\text{ff.}}$) and continued to the end of the book; (*b*) the *Elohistic* (E), using 'Elohim,' beginning at ch. 20; (*c*) the *Priestly Code* (P), also using 'Elohim,' which opens with the first account of the Creation ($1\text{–}2^{4a}$). (2) In the compilation from these sources of our present Book of Genesis, two main stages are recognized: first, the fusion of J and E into a single work (JE); and second, the amalgamation of the combined work JE with P (an intermediate stage; the combination of JE with the Book of Deuteronomy, is here passed over because it has no appreciable influence on the composition of Genesis). (3) The oldest documents are J and E, which represent slightly varying recensions of a common body of patriarchal tradition, to which J has prefixed traditions from the early history of mankind. Both belong to the best age of Hebrew writing, and must have been composed before the middle of the 8th cent. B.C. The composite work JE is the basis of the Genesis narrative; to it belong all the graphic, picturesque, and racy stories which give life and charm to the book. Differences of standpoint between the two components are clearly marked; but both bear the stamp of popular literature, full of local colour and human interest, yet deeply pervaded by the religious spirit. Their view of God and His converse with men is primitive and childlike; but the bold anthropomorphic representations which abound in J are strikingly absent from E, where the element of theological reflexion is somewhat more pronounced than in J. (4) The third source, P, reproduces the traditional scheme of history laid down in JE; but the writer's unequal treatment of the material at his disposal reveals a prevailing interest in the history of the sacred institutions which were to be the basis of the Sinaitic legislation. As a rule he enlarges only on those epochs of the history at which some new religious observance was introduced, viz., the Creation, when the Sabbath was instituted; the Flood, followed by the prohibition of eating the blood; and the Abrahamic Covenant, of which circumcision was the perpetual seal. For the rest, the narrative is mostly a meagre and colourless epitome, based on JE, and scarcely intelligible apart from it. While there is evidence that P used other sources than JE, it is significant that, with the exception of ch. 23, there is no single episode to which a parallel is not found in the older and fuller narrative. To P, however, we owe the chronological scheme, and the series of genealogies already referred to as constituting the framework of the book as a whole. The Code belongs

to a comparatively late period of Hebrew literature, and is generally assigned by critics to the early post-exilic age.

3. Nature of the material.—That the contents of Genesis are not *historical* in the technical sense, is implied in the fact that even the oldest of its written documents are far from being contemporary with the events related. They consist for the most part of traditions which for an indefinite period had circulated orally amongst the Israelites, and which (as divergences in the written records testify) had undergone modification in the course of transmission. No one denies that oral tradition may embody authentic recollection of actual occurrences; but the extent to which this is the case is uncertain, and will naturally vary in different parts of the narrative. Thus a broad distinction may be drawn between the primitive traditions of chs. 1–11 on the one hand, and those relating to the patriarchs on the other. The accounts of the Creation, the Fall, the Flood, and the Dispersion, all exhibit more or less clearly the influence of Babylonian mythology; and with regard to these the question is one not of trustworthy historical memory, but of the avenue through which certain mythical representations came to the knowledge of Israel. For the patriarchal period the conditions are different: here the tradition is ostensibly national; the presumed interval of oral transmission is perhaps not beyond the compass of the retentive Oriental memory; and it would be surprising if some real knowledge of its own antecedents had not persisted in the national recollection of Israel. These considerations may be held to justify the belief that a substratum of historic fact underlies the patriarchal narratives of Genesis; but it must be added that to distinguish that substratum from legendary accretions is hardly possible in the present state of our knowledge. The process by which the two elements came to be blended can, however, partly be explained. The patriarchs, for instance, are conceived as ancestors of tribes and nations; and it is certain that in some narratives the characteristics, the mutual relations, and even the history, of tribes are reflected in what is told as the personal biography of the ancestors. Again, the patriarchs are founders of sanctuaries; and it is natural to suppose that legends explanatory of customs observed at these sanctuaries are attached to the names of their reputed founders and go to enrich the traditional narrative. Once more, they are types of character; and in the inevitable simplification which accompanies popular narration the features of the type tended to be emphasized, and the figures of the patriarchs were gradually idealized as patterns of Hebrew piety and virtue. No greater mistake could be made than to think that these non-historical, legendary or imaginative, parts of the tradition are valueless for the ends of revelation. They are inseparably woven into that ideal background of history which bounded the horizon of ancient Israel, and was perhaps more influential in the moulding of national character than a knowledge of the naked reality would have been. The inspiration of the Biblical narrators is seen in the fashioning of the floating mass of legend and folklore and historical reminiscences into an expression of their Divinely given apprehension of religious truth, and so transforming what would otherwise have been a constant source of religious error and moral corruption as to make it a vehicle of instruction in the knowledge and fear of God. Once the principle is admitted that every genuine and worthy mode of literary expression is a suitable medium of God's word to men, it is impossible to suppose that the mythic faculty, which plays so important a part in the thinking of all early peoples, was alone ignored in the Divine education of Israel. J. SKINNER.

GENEVA BIBLE.—See ENGLISH VERSIONS, § 26.

GENNÆUS.—The father of Apollonius, a Syrian commander of a district in Palestine (2 Mac 12^{2}).

GENNESARET, LAKE OF.—See GALILEE [SEA OF].

GENNESARET, LAND OF.—Mentioned only in the parallel passages Mt 14^{34}, Mk 6^{53}, as the place whither the disciples sailed after the stilling of the second storm on the Lake. It was somewhere on the W. bank of the Lake of Galilee, as the feeding of the five thousand had taken place, just before the crossing, on the E. side; it was also near habitations, as sick people were brought for healing to Christ on His landing. It is usually, and with reason, identified with the low land at the N.W. corner of the Lake. R. A. S. MACALISTER.

GENTILES.—See NATIONS. For 'Court of the Gentiles,' see TEMPLE.

GENTLENESS.—The word 'gentle' occurs five times in NT (AV). In 1 Th 2^{7} and 2 Ti 2^{24} it corresponds to Gr. *ēpios*; it is the character proper to a nurse among trying children, or a teacher with refractory pupils. In Tit 3^{2}, Ja 3^{17}, 1 P 2^{18} 'gentle' is the AV tr. of *epieikēs*, which is uniformly so rendered in RV. The general idea of the Gr. word is that which is suggested by equity as opposed to strict legal justice; it expresses the quality of considerateness, of readiness to look humanely and reasonably at the facts of a case. There is a good discussion of it in Trench, *Syn.* § xliii.; he thinks there are no words in English which answer exactly to it, the ideas of equity and fairness, which are essential to its import, usually getting less than justice in the proposed equivalents.

In 2 S 22^{36} = Ps 18^{35} ('Thy gentleness hath made me great') RV keeps 'gentleness' in the text, but gives 'condescension' in the margin, which is much better. The key to the meaning is found in comparing such passages as Ps $113^{5f.}$, Is 57^{15}, Zec 9^{9}, Mt 11^{29}.

GENUBATH.—Son of Hadad, the fugitive Edomite prince, by the sister of queen Tahpenes (1 K $11^{19.\ 20}$).

GEOGRAPHY OF PALESTINE.—See PALESTINE.

GEOLOGY OF PALESTINE.—I. NATURAL DIVISIONS.—The land of Palestine (using the name in its widest sense to include the trans-Jordanic plateau and the Sinai Peninsula) is divided by its configuration and by natural boundary lines into five strongly contrasted divisions. These are (1) the Coast Plain, (2) the Western Table-land, (3) the Ghōr, (4) the Eastern Table-land, (5) the Sinai Peninsula.

1. The Coast Plain extends from the mouth of the Nile to Carmel (the political boundary line, the valley known as *Wady el-'Arīsh*, or the River of Egypt, is of no importance geologically). North of Carmel, Esdraelon and the narrow strip that extends as far as Beyrout is the continuation of the same division. It is characterized by sandhills along the coast, and by undulating ground inland. **2. The Western Table-land** extends from Lebanon to the northern border of Sinai: the headland of Carmel is an intrusion from this division on to the preceding. It consists of a ridge of limestone with deep valleys running into it on each side, and at Hebron it attains a height of 3040 feet above the sea-level; it broadens out into the desert of the Tih (or of the 'wanderings')—an almost barren expanse of an average level of 4000 feet. **3. The Ghōr** is the line of a fault wherein the strata on the Eastern side have been raised, or on the western side depressed. It runs from the base of Lebanon to the Dead Sea, where it is 1292 feet below the level of the Mediterranean; thence it rises to 640 feet above the same plane at *er-Rishi*, whence it descends by a gentle slope to the Gulf of 'Akabah. **4. The Eastern Table-land** runs along the W. side of the Arabian desert from Hermon to the Gulf of 'Akabah. It is chiefly volcanic in the character of its rocks. **5. The Sinai Peninsula** is composed of Archæan rocks, which form bare mountains of very striking outline.

Each of these divisions has special characters of its own. The *Coast Plain* is composed of sand, gravel, or calcareous sandstone, overlaid in many places with rich

fertile loam. The *Western Table-land* has streams rising in copious springs of water stored in the limestone strata; these streams on the Eastern side have a very rapid fall, owing to the great depth of the Ghōr. The hills are generally bare, but the valleys, where the soil has accumulated, are very fertile. The surface of the *Ghōr* is for its greater part alluvial. The *Eastern Table-land* is composed of granite and other igneous rocks, overlaid towards the North by sandstones which are themselves covered by calcareous strata. To the South, however, it is entirely covered with basaltic lava sheets, through which the cones of extinct volcanoes rise. The *Sinai Peninsula* is characterized by its barrenness, vegetation being found only in the valleys.

II. Geological formations.—The geological formations of which the above regions are composed are the following.—(1) *Archæan* (granitic gneiss, hornblende, diorite, etc.): the oldest rocks in this region, found only among the mountains of Sinai and Edom.—(2) *Volcanic* (lavas, ash-beds, etc.): found in the Wady Harūn and Jebal esh-Shomar, east of the Dead Sea.—(3) *Lower Carboniferous* (sandstone, blue limestone): found in Wady Nasb, and Lebruj, E. of the Dead Sea: sandstones below, and limestones containing shells and corals of carboniferous limestone species.—(4) *Cretaceous*: lower beds of Nubian sandstone, which is found all along the Tih escarpment and along the Western escarpment from 'Akabah to beyond the Dead Sea. It was probably a lake-deposit. It is overlaid by a great thickness of cretaceous limestone, amounting to nearly 1000 feet. This is the most important constituent of the rocks of Palestine. Good building stones are taken from it in the quarries of Jerusalem.—(5) *Lower Eocene*: nummulite limestone, found overlying the cretaceous beds in elevated situations, such as Carmel, Nāblus, and Jerusalem.—(6) *Upper Eocene*: a formation of calcareous sandstone on the surface between Beersheba and Jaffa. Its true position is uncertain. Prof. Hull assigns it to the Upper Eocene, but Dr. Blanckenhorn to a post-tertiary or diluvial origin.—(7) *Miocene Period.* No rocks are assignable to this period, but it is important as being that in which the country rose from the bed of the sea and assumed its present form. This was the time when the great fault in the Jordan valley took place.—(8) *Pliocene to Pluvial Period.* During this period a subsidence of about 220 feet took place round the Mediterranean and Red Sea basins, afterwards compensated by a re-elevation. The evidence for this remains in a number of raised beaches, especially in the valley of Sheriah, east of Gaza. A similar phenomenon has been found at Mokattam, above Cairo.—(9) *Pluvial to Recent Period.* In the glacial epoch there were extensive glaciers in Lebanon, which have left traces in a number of moraines. At that time the temperature was colder, and the rainfall higher; hence the valleys, now dry, were channels of running water. Alluvial terraces in the Jordan valley-lake prove that the Dead Sea was formerly hundreds of feet higher than its present level. With the passing of the Pleistocene period the lakes and streams were reduced to their present limits.

R. A. S. Macalister.

GEPHYRUN.—A city captured by Judas Maccabæus (2 Mac 12[13]; AV 'he went also about to make a bridge to a certain city,' RV 'he also fell upon a certain city Gephyrun'). It is possible that the Greek text is corrupt (see RVm).

GER.—See Stranger.

GERA.—One of Benjamin's sons (Gn 46[21], omitted in Nu 26[38-40]). Acc. to 1 Ch 8[3. 5. 7] he was a son of Bela and a grandson of Benjamin. Gera was evidently a well-known Benjamite clan, to which belonged Ehud (Jg 3[15]) and Shimei (2 S 16[5] 19[16. 18], 1 K 2[8]).

GERAH, the twentieth part of the shekel (Ex 30[13], Lv 27[25] etc.). See Money, 3; Weights and Measures, III.

GERAR.—A place mentioned in Gn 10[19] in the boundary of the Canaanite territory near Gaza, where Abraham sojourned and came in contact with a certain 'Abimelech king of Gerar' (20[1]). A similar experience is recorded of Isaac (26[1]), but the stories are evidently not independent. Gerar reappears only in 2 Ch 14[13. 14], in the description of the rout of the Ethiopians by Asa, in which Gerar was the limit of the pursuit. Eusebius makes Gerar 25 Roman miles S. of Eleutheropolis; hence it has been sought at *Umm el-Jerār*, 6 miles S. of Gaza. This, however, seems a comparatively modern site and name. Possibly there were two Gerars: the Abrahamic Gerar has also been identified with *Wady Jerār*, 13 miles W.S.W. from Kadesh. The problem, like that of the mention of Philistines in connexion with this place in the time of Abraham, has not yet been solved.

R. A. S. Macalister.

GERASA.—A city of the Decapolis of unknown origin, the first known event in its history being its capture by Alexander Jannæus, about B.C. 83. It was rebuilt by the Romans in A.D. 65, and destroyed in the Jewish revolt. Vespasian's general, Lucius Annius, again took and destroyed the city. In the 2nd cent. A.D. it was a flourishing city, adorned with monuments of art; it was at this time a centre of the worship of Artemis. It afterwards became the seat of a bishop, but seems to have been finally destroyed in the Byzantine age. An uncertain tradition of some Jewish scholars, favoured by some modern writers, identifies it with **Ramoth-gilead.** The ruins of the city still exist under the modern name *Jerāsh*; they lie among the mountains of Gilead, about 20 miles from the Jordan. These are very extensive, and testify to the importance and magnificence of the city, but they are unfortunately being rapidly destroyed by a colony of Circassians who have been established here. The chief remains are those of the town walls, the street of columns, several temples, a triumphal arch, a hippodrome, a theatre, etc.

Gerasa is not mentioned in the Bible, unless the identification with Ramoth-gilead hold. The **Gerasenes** referred to in Mk 5[1] (RV) cannot belong to this place, which is too far away from the Sea of Galilee to suit the story. This name probably refers to a place named Kersa, on the shore of the Lake, which fulfils the requirements. See Gadara.

R. A. S. Macalister.

GERASENES, GERGESENES.—See Gadara and Gerasa.

R. A. S. Macalister.

GERIZIM.—A mountain which with Ebal encloses the valley in which is built the town of Nāblus (Shechem). The Samaritan sect regard it as holy, it being to them what Jerusalem and Mount Zion are to the Jew. According to Samaritan tradition, the sacrifice of Isaac took place here. From Gerizim were pronounced the blessings attached to observance of the Law (Jos 8[33]), when the Israelites formally took possession of the country. It was probably chosen as the fortunate mountain (as contrasted with Ebal, the mount of cursings), because it would be on the right hand of a spectator facing east. Here Jotham spoke his parable to the elders of Shechem (Jg 9[7]).

The acoustic properties of the valley are said to be remarkable, and experiment has shown that from some parts of the mountain it is possible with very little effort to make the voice carry over a very considerable area. A ledge of rock half-way up the hill is still often called 'Jotham's pulpit.'

On this mountain was erected, about 432 B.C., a Samaritan temple, which was destroyed about 300 years afterwards by Hyrcanus. Its site is pointed out on a small level plateau, under the hill-top. The Passover is annually celebrated here. Other ruins of less interest are to be seen on the mountain-top, such as the remains of a castle and a Byzantine church. The summit of the mountain commands a view embracing nearly the

whole of Palestine. Contrary to the statement of Josephus, it is not the highest of the mountains of Samaria, Ebal and Tell 'Azur being rather higher.

R. A. S. Macalister.

GERON should possibly appear as a proper name in 2 Mac 6^{1} (AV and RV 'an old man of Athens'; RVm 'Geron an Athenian').

GERRENIANS (2 Mac 13^{24}).—The true reading and the people intended are both uncertain. The analogy of 1 Mac 11^{59} suggests some place near the border of Egypt; but *Gerrha*, between Pelusium and Rhinocolura, was in Egyptian territory. It has been suggested that the reference is to *Gerar*, an ancient Phil. city S.E. of Gaza. On the other hand, Syr. reads *Gazar*, *i.e.* Gezer or Gazara, not far from Lydda (cf. 1 Mac $15^{28.\ 35}$).

GERSHOM.—1. The elder of the two sons borne to Moses by Zipporah (Ex 2^{22} $18^{2\text{-}6}$; the explanation of the name given in these two passages is folk-etymology). According to Ex $14^{25.\ 26}$, the origin of circumcision among the Israelites was connected with that of Gershom; the rite was performed by his mother; this was contrary to later usage, according to which this was always done by a man. The son of Gershom, **Jonathan**, and his descendants were priests to the tribe of the Danites; but the fact that these latter set up for themselves a graven image, and that therefore the descendants of Gershom were connected with worship of this kind, was regarded as a grave evil by later generations, for which reason the word 'Moses' in Jg 18^{30} was read 'Manasseh' by the insertion of an *n* above the text; it was thought derogatory to the memory of Moses that descendants of his should have been guilty of the worship of graven images. In Jg 17^{7} there is a possible reference to Gershom, for the words 'and he sojourned there' can also be read 'and he (was) Gershom' (W. H. Bennett). In 1 Ch 23^{16} 26^{24} the sons of Gershom are mentioned, Shebuel or Shubael being their chief. **2.** A son of Levi (1 Ch 6^{16} [v.^{1} in Heb.]); see Gershon. **3.** A descendant of Phinehas, one of the 'heads of houses' who went up with Ezra from Babylon in the reign of Artaxerxes (Ezr 8^{2}).

W. O. E. Oesterley.

GERSHON, GERSHONITES.—The name Gershon is given to the eldest son of Levi, to whom a division of the Levites traced their descent (Gn 46^{11}, Ex 6^{16}, Nu 3^{17}, 1 Ch $6^{1.\ 16}$ [**Gershom**] 23^{6}). The title 'Gershonites' is found in Nu $3^{21.\ 23f.}$ $4^{24.\ 27f.}$ 26^{57}, Jos 21^{33}, 1 Ch 23^{7} 26^{21}, 2 Ch 29^{12}; and of an individual, 1 Ch 26^{21} 29^{8}; the 'sons of Gershon' (Ex 6^{17}, Nu $3^{18.\ 25}$ $4^{22.\ 38.\ 41}$ 7^{7} 10^{17}, Jos $21^{6.\ 27}$), or 'of Gershom' (1 Ch $6^{17.\ 62.\ 71}$ 15^{7}). They were subdivided into two groups, the **Libnites** and the **Shimeites** (Nu 3^{21} 26^{58}), each being traced to a 'son' of Gershon (Ex 6^{17}, Nu 3^{18}, 1 Ch $6^{17.\ 20}$ [^{42}, Shimei is omitted from the genealogy]). 'Ladan' stands for Libni in 1 Ch $23^{7ff.}$ 26^{21}. From these families fragments of genealogies remain (see 1 Ch $23^{8\text{-}11}$). Comparatively little is related of the Gershonites after the Exile. Certain of them are mentioned in 1 Ch 9^{15} and Neh $11^{17a.\ 22}$ as dwelling in Jerusalem immediately after the Return. Of the 'sons of Asaph' (Gershonites), 128 (Ezr 2^{41}) or 148 (Neh 7^{44}) returned with Ezra to the city in B.C. 454. Asaphites led the music at the foundation of the Temple (Ezr 3^{10}); and certain of them blew trumpets in the procession at the dedication of the city walls (Neh 12^{35}).

P and the Chronicler introduce the family into the earlier history. (1) During the desert wanderings the Gershonites were on the west side of the Tent (Nu 3^{23}); their duty was to carry all the hangings which composed the Tent proper, and the outer coverings and the hangings of the court, with their cords ($3^{25f.}$ $4^{24ff.}$ 10^{17}), for which they were given two wagons and four oxen (7^{7}); and they were superintended by Ithamar, the youngest son of Aaron (4^{33} 7^{8}). (2) After the settlement in Palestine, thirteen cities were assigned to them (Jos $21^{6.27\text{-}33}$ = 1 Ch $6^{62.\ 71\text{-}76}$). (3) In David's reign the Chronicler relates that the Temple music was managed partly by Asaph, a Gershonite, and his family (1 Ch $6^{39\text{-}43}$ $25^{1f.\ 6.\ 9a.\ 10.\ 12.\ 14}$; and see $15^{7.\ 17\text{-}19}$). David divided the Levites into courses 'according to the sons of Levi' (23^{6}; Gershonites, vv.$^{7\text{-}11}$); and particular offices of Gershonites are stated in $26^{21f.}$ (4) Jahaziel, an Asaphite, prophesied to Jehoshaphat before the battle of En-gedi (2 Ch $20^{14\text{-}17}$). (5) They took part in the cleansing of the Temple under Hezekiah ($29^{12f.}$). Cf. also Kohath.

A. H. M'Neile.

GERSON (1 Es 8^{29}) = Ezr 8^{2} **Gershom.**

GERUTH-CHIMHAM (Jer 41^{17}).—A *khan* (?) which possibly derived its name from Chimham, the son of Barzillai the Gileadite (2 S $19^{37f.}$). Instead of *gērūth* we should perhaps read *gidrōth* 'hurdles.'

GESHAN.—A descendant of Caleb, 1 Ch 2^{47}. Mod. editions of AV have **Gesham,** although the correct form of the name appears in ed. of 1611.

GESHEM (Neh 2^{19} $6^{1.\ 2}$; in 6^{6} the form **Gashmu** occurs).—An Arabian who is named, along with Sanballat the Horonite and Tobiah the Ammonite, as an opponent of Nehemiah during the rebuilding of the walls of Jerusalem (Neh 2^{19} $6^{1ff.}$). He may have belonged to an Arab community which, as we learn from the monuments, was settled by Sargon in Samaria *c.* B.C. 715—this would explain his close connexion with the Samaritans; or he may have been the chief of an Arab tribe dwelling in the S. of Judah, in which case his presence would point to a coalition of all the neighbouring peoples against Jerusalem.

GESHUR, GESHURITES.—A small Aramæan tribe, whose territory, together with that of Maacah (wh. see), formed the W. border of Bashan (Dt 3^{14}, Jos 12^{5} 13^{11}). The Geshurites were not expelled by the half-tribe of Manasseh, to whom their land had been allotted (Jos 13^{13}), and were still ruled by an independent king in the reign of David, who married the daughter of Talmai, king of Geshur (2 S 3^{3}). After the murder of his half-brother Amnon, Absalom took refuge with his maternal grandfather in 'Geshur of Aram' (2 S 13^{37} 15^{8}). Geshur [and Maacah were probably situated in the modern *Jaulān*, if they are not to be identified with it. In 1 Ch 2^{23} Geshur and Aram are said to have taken the 'tent-villages' of Jair from the Israelites. On the strength of Jos 13^{2} and 1 S 27^{8}, it has been maintained that there was another tribe of this name in the neighbourhood of the Philistines; but the evidence in support of this view is very precarious.

GESTURES.—The Oriental is a natural expert in appropriate and expressive gesture. To his impulsive and emotional temperament, attitude and action form a more apt vehicle for thought and feeling than even speech. Movement of feature, shrug of shoulder, turn of hand, express much, and suggest delicate shades of meaning which cannot be put in words. Conversation is accompanied by a sort of running commentary of gestures. Easterns conduct argument and altercation at the pitch of their voices; emphasis is supplied almost wholly by gestures. These are often so violent that an unskilled witness might naturally expect to see bloodshed follow.

The word does not occur in Scripture, but the thing, in various forms, is constantly appearing. *Bowing the head or body* marks reverence, homage, or worship (Gn 18^{2}, Ex 20^{5}, 1 Ch 21^{21}, Ps 95^{6}, Is 60^{14}). The same is true of *kneeling* (1 K 19^{18}, 2 K 1^{13}, Ps 95^{6}, Mk 1^{40}). This sign of homage the tempter sought from Jesus (Mt 4^{9}). Kneeling was a common attitude in prayer (1 K 8^{54}, Ezr 9^{5}, Dn 6^{10}, Lk 22^{41}, Eph 3^{14} etc.). The *glance of the eye* may mean appeal, as the upward look in prayer (Job 22^{26}, Mk 6^{41} etc.), anger (Mk 3^{5}), or reproach (Lk 22^{61}). A *shake of the head* may express scorn or derision (2 K 19^{21}, Ps 109^{25}, Mk 15^{29} etc.). A *grimace of the lip* is a sign of contempt (Ps 22^{7}). *Shaking the dust off the feet*, or *shaking*, however gently, *one's raiment*, indicates complete severance (Mt 10^{14} etc.),

denial of responsibility (Ac 18[16]), and often now, total ignorance of any matter referred to. *Rending the garments* betokens consternation, real (Gn 37[29], Jos 7[6], Ac 14[14] etc.) or assumed (2 Ch 23[13], Mt 26[65]), and grief (Jg 11[35], 2 S 1[11] etc.). Joy was expressed by *dancing* (Ex 15[20], 1 S 30[16], Jer 31[4] etc.) and *clapping the hands* (Ps 47[1], Is 55[12] etc.). *Spitting upon, or in the face*, indicated deep despite (Nu 12[14], Is 50[6], Mt 26[67], etc.). See HAND, MOURNING CUSTOMS, SALUTATION.

Some gestures in common use are probably ancient. One who narrowly escapes danger, describing his experience, will crack his thumb nail off the edge of his front teeth, suggesting Job's 'with the skin of my teeth' (19[20]). One charged with a fault will put his elbows to his sides, turn his palms outward, and shrug his shoulders, with a slight side inclination of the head, repudiating responsibility for an act which, in his judgment, was plainly inevitable. W. EWING.

GETHER.—Named in Gn 10[23], along with Uz, Hul, and Mash, as one of the 'sons of Aram' (in 1 Ch 1[17] simply 'sons of Shem'). The clan of which he is the eponymous founder has not been identified.

GETHSEMANE.—A place to which Christ retired with His disciples (Mt 26[36], Mk 14[32]), and where Judas betrayed Him. It was probably a favourite resort of our Lord, as Judas knew where He was likely to be found. There are two traditional sites, side by side, one under the Greeks, the other under the Latins. It may be admitted that they are somewhere near the proper site, on the W. slope of the Mount of Olives above the Kidron; but there is no justification for the exact localization of the site. R. A. S. MACALISTER.

GEUEL.—The Gadite spy, Nu 13[15] (P).

GEZER.—A very ancient city of the Shephēlah, on the borders of the Philistine Plain; inhabited *c.* B.C. 3000 by a race probably kin to the Horites, who were succeeded by the Semitic Canaanites about B.C. 2500. These were not driven out by the invading Israelites (Jg 1[29]). In David's time the city was in Philistine hands (1 Ch 20[4]). The king of Egypt captured it, and gave it as a dowry to his daughter, Solomon's wife (1 K 9[16]). Simon Maccabæus besieged and captured it, and built for himself a dwelling-place (1 Mac 13[43-53] **Gazara** RV). The city has been partly excavated by the Palestine Exploration Fund, and Simon's dwelling-place discovered, as well as a great Canaanite high place, and innumerable other remains of early Palestinian civilization. R. A. S. MACALISTER.

GHOST.—A ghost = Germ. *Geist* (the *h* has crept into the word through what Earle calls an Italian affectation of spelling) is a spirit. The word is also used in Old English of the breath, the soul or spirit of a living person, and even a dead body. In AV it occurs only in the phrase 'give up *or* yield up the ghost' and in the name 'the Holy Ghost.' Wherever in AV *hagion* 'holy' occurs with *pneuma* 'spirit,' the tr. is 'Holy Ghost'; but when *pneuma* occurs alone, it is always rendered 'Spirit' or 'spirit,' according as it is supposed to refer to God or to man. See HOLY SPIRIT and SPIRIT.

GIAH.—Named in the account of Joab's pursuit of Abner (2 S 2[24]). Its situation is quite unknown; it is even doubtful whether the mention of Giah is not due to textual corruption.

GIANT.—I. IN THE O.T.—**1.** As tr. of Heb. *nephīlīm*. In Gn 6[4] the **Nephilim** appear as a race of demi-gods, distinguished by their power and renown, but without any mention of gigantic stature. The context itself suggests that they were the antediluvians, or among the antediluvians, destroyed by the Flood. The story of their origin is, however, common in more or less degree to many ancient races; and it is thought by some to have no original connexion with the Flood story. At any rate the name appears again in Nu 13[33], where they appear to be identified with the Anakim. It seems probable, therefore, that the story in Gen. is an ancient myth which arose to account for the origin of this race, and perhaps of other ancient races of a similar type.

2. As tr. of Heb. *rephā'īm*. This word, frequently left untranslated, esp. in RV, is used of several probably different aboriginal peoples of Palestine, and probably meant 'giants.' The **Rephaim** included the Anakim, the aborigines of Philistia and the southern districts of Judah (Dt 2[11]); the **Emim,** the aborigines of the Moabite country (Dt 2[10]); the **Zamzummim,** the aborigines of the Ammonite country (Dt 2[20]), who are perhaps to be identified with the **Zuzim** of Gn 14[5]; and the old inhabitants of Bashan (Dt 3[11]). The statement that **Og,** whose gigantic bedstead (or perhaps sarcophagus; see Driver, *in loco*) was still to be seen at Rabbah, was one of the Rephaim (though the last surviving member of the race in that district) is confirmed by Gn 14[5], where the Rephaim are the first of the peoples smitten by the four kings on their journey south. These were followed by the Zuzim and Emim. We thus have evidence of a widely-spread people or peoples called Rephaim from ancient times. In addition to the Rephaim of Bashan, the Zuzim or Zamzummim, and the Emim, on the east of Jordan, the **Anakim** in the south-west and south—for Arba, the traditional founder of Hebron, is described as the progenitor of the Anakim (Jos 15[13])—we find traces of Rephaim in the well-known valley of that name near Jerusalem (Jos 15[8. 9]), and apparently also in the territory of Ephraim (Jos 17[15]). Taken together, this evidence seems to suggest that the name *Rephaim* was applied to the pre-Canaanite races of Palestine.

There is a well-known tendency among ancient peoples to regard their aborigines either as giants or as dwarfs, according as they were a taller or a shorter race than themselves. Thus the Anakim were so tall that the Israelitish spies were in comparison as grasshoppers (Nu 13[33]). The 'bedstead' of Og cannot possibly have been less than 11 ft. in length [the more probable estimate of the cubit would give 13 ft. 6 in.]; but this is not very surprising if a sarcophagus is really meant, as it was a compliment to a dead hero to give him a large tomb (Dt 3[11]). The Zamzummim are described as a people 'great and tall like the Anakim' (Dt 2[21]). Again, Goliath was a man of fabulous height.

The Rephaim were, no doubt, very largely annihilated by their conquerors, but partly also absorbed. We naturally find the most evident traces of them in those districts of Palestine and its borders more recently occupied by past invaders, as in the East of Jordan and Philistia. In the latter country especially, that most recently occupied before the Israelitish settlement, we seem to find traces of them in the encounter with Goliath and his kind. Whereas Og was the last of the Rephaim of Bashan at the time of the Conquest, these seem to have continued to the time of David.

3. As tr. of the sing. word *rāphāh* or *rāphā'*. This is evidently akin to the plur. *rephā'īm*. In 2 S 21[15-22], part of which recurs in 1 Ch 20[4-8], four mighty Philistines—Ishbi-benob, Saph (Chron. 'Sippai'), Goliath the Gittite (Chron. 'Lahmi, the brother of Goliath,' etc.), and a monster with 6 fingers on each hand and 6 toes on each foot—are called 'sons of the giant.' As, however, the four are said in v.[22] to have fallen by the hand of David and his servants, and not one of them is described as slain by David, the passage is evidently incomplete, and the original probably contained the story of some encounter by David, with which the story of Goliath came to be confused. This, which ascribes his death to Elhanan, is probably the earliest form of that story, and it is probable that the reading of Chronicles is a gloss intended to reconcile this passage with 1 S 17. 'The giant' is probably used generically, meaning that they were all 'giants.' The passage is probably an extract from an old account of David and his faithful companions while he was an outlaw, from which also we get the greater part of 2 S 23. Though **Goliath** in the well-known story is not called a giant, he was certainly the typical giant of the OT. His height, 6 cubits and a

span (1 S 17[4]), not necessarily more than 7 ft. 4 in., but more probably 9 ft. 10 in., may well be regarded, with the enormous size and weight of his armour, as the natural exaggeration to be expected in a popular story. Even if the story is not historical in its present form, it arose out of the conflicts which David and his men were frequently having with those Philistine giants. There is no mention of the Rephaim or of a single giant after David's time.

4. As tr. of Heb. *gibbōr*='a mighty man,' as in Job 16[14]; cf. Ps 19[5] (Pr.-Bk. version). This is hardly a correct tr. of the word.

II. In the Apocrypha.—We find here some interesting allusions: (1) to the supposed destruction of the *Nephūlīm* by the Flood (Wis 14[6], Sir 16[7], Bar 3[26-28]); (2) to the slaughter of the 'giant' by David (Sir 47[4]).

F. H. Woods.

GIBBAR.—A family which returned with Zerub. (Ezr 2[20]). The name is probably an error for **Gibeon** of Neh 7[25].

GIBBETHON ('mound,' 'height').—A town belonging to the tribe of Dan, and a Levitical city (Jos 19[44] 21[23]). Nadab, king of Israel, was besieging it when he was slain by Baasha; and Omri was similarly engaged when he was made king by the army (1 K 15[27] 16[15-17]). It is possibly the modern *Kibbiah*, to the N.E. of Lydda.

GIBEA.—A grandson of Caleb (1 Ch 2[49]). The list of the descendants of Judah through Caleb given in 1 Ch 2[42ff.] is geographical rather than genealogical, and comprises all the towns lying in the *Negeb* of Judah to the S. of Hebron. *Gibea* is probably only a variation in spelling of the more common *Gibeah*. See Gibeah, **1.**

GIBEAH (Heb. *gib'āh*, 'a hill').—The name, similar in form and meaning to *Geba*, attached to a place not far from that city. The two have sometimes been confused. It is necessary to note carefully where the word means 'hill' and where it is the name of a city. At least two places were so called. **1.** A city in the mountains of Judah (Jos 15[57], perhaps also 2 Ch 13[2]), near Carmel and Ziph, to the S.E. of Hebron, and therefore not to be identified with the modern *Jeba'*, 9 miles W. of Bethlehem (*Onomast.*); site unknown. **2.** Gibeah of Benjamin (Jg 19[12] etc.), the scene of the awful outrage upon the Levite's concubine, and of the conflict in which the assembled tribes executed such terrible vengeance upon Benjamin. It was the home of Israel's first king (1 S 10[26]), and was known as 'Gibeah of Saul' (1 S 11[4], Is 10[29]); probably identical with 'Gibeah of God' (1 S 10[5] RVm). From the narrative regarding the Levite we learn that Gibeah lay near the N. road from Bethlehem, between Jerusalem and Ramah. It was near the point where the road from Geba joined the highway towards Bethel (Jg 20[31]). Jg 20[33] affords no guidance: **Maareh-geba** (RV) is only a transliteration of the words as they stand in MT. A slight emendation of the text makes it read 'from the west of Gibeah,' which is probably correct (Moore, *Judges*, *in loc.*). Josephus, who calls it 'Gabaothsaul' (*BJ* v. ii. 1), places it 30 stadia N. of Jerusalem. The site most closely agreeing with these conditions is *Tuleil el-Fūl*, an artificial mound, E. of the road to the N., about 4 miles from Jerusalem. The road to *Jeba'* leads off the main road immediately to the north of the site. Certain remains of ancient buildings there are, but nothing of importance has yet been discovered. As a place of strategic importance, Gibeah formed the base of Saul's operations against the Philistines (1 S 13. 14). There was enacted the tragedy in which seven of Saul's sons perished, giving occasion for the pathetic vigil of Rizpah. It appears in the description of Sennacherib's advance from the north (Is 10[28-32]).

W. Ewing.

GIBEATH (Heb. *gib'ath*, st. constr. of *gib'āh*), 'hill of,' enters into the composition of place names, and is occasionally retained untranslated by RVm. Such instances are: (*a*) *Gibeath hā-'arālōth*, 'hill of the foreskins,' where the Israelites were circumcised (Jos 5[3]). (*b*) *Gibeath-Phinehas*, in Mount Ephraim, where Eleazar was buried (Jos 24[33]); site unknown. (*c*) *Gibeath ham-mōreh* (Jg 7[1] etc.; see Moreh, **2**). (*d*) *Gibeath hā-Elohīm* (1 S 10[5]=Gibeah, **2.** (*e*) *Gibeath hā-Hachūlah* (1 S 23[19] etc.). See Hachilah. (*f*) *Gibeath Ammah* (2 S 2[24]). See Ammah. (*g*) *Gibeath Gareb* (Jer 31[39]). See Gareb, **2.**

W. Ewing.

GIBEON.—A town in Palestine north of Jerusalem. Its inhabitants seem to have been Hivites (Jos 9[7]), though spoken of in 2 S 21[2] by the more general term 'Amorites.' It was a city of considerable size. Its inhabitants, by means of a trick, succeeded in making a truce with Joshua, but were reduced to servitude (Jos 9); a coalition of other Canaanite kings against it was destroyed by him (ch. 10). It became a Levitical city (21[17]) in the tribe of Benjamin (18[25]). The circumstances of the destruction of part of the Gibeonites by Saul (2 S 21[1]) are unknown. Here the champions of David fought those of the rival king Ish-bosheth (2 S 2[12-32]), and defeated them; and here Joab murdered Amasa (20[9]). The 'great stone' in Gibeon was probably some part of the important high place which we know from 1 K 3[4] was situated here. The statement of the parallel passage, 2 Ch 1[3], that the ark was placed here at the time, is probably due merely to the desire of the Chronicler to explain Solomon's sacrificing there in the light of the Deuteronomic legislation. Here Solomon was vouchsafed a theophany at the beginning of his reign. In Jer 41[12] we again hear of Gibeon, in connexion with Johanan's expedition against Ishmael to avenge the murder of Gedaliah.

The city has constantly been identified with *el-Jib*, and there can be little or no doubt that the identification is correct. This is a small village standing on an isolated hill about 5 miles from Jerusalem. The hill is rocky and regularly terraced. It is remarkable chiefly for its copious springs—a reputation it evidently had in antiquity (2 S 2[13], Jer 41[12]). Ninety-five Gibeonites returned from Babylon under Zerubbabel (Neh 7[25]), and Gibeonites were employed in repairing part of the wall of Jerusalem (3[7]). At Gibeon, Cestius Gallus encamped in his march from Antipatris to Jerusalem.

R. A. S. Macalister.

GIDDALTI ('I magnify [God]').—A son of Heman (1 Ch 25[4. 29]).

GIDDEL ('very great').—**1.** The eponym of a family of Nethinim (Ezr 2[47]=Neh 7[49]); called in 1 Es 5[30] **Cathua.** **2.** The eponym of a family of 'Solomon's servants' (Ezr 2[56]=Neh 7[58]); called in 1 Es 5[33] **Isdael.**

GIDEON.—The son of Joash, a Manassite; he dwelt in Ophrah, a place hitherto unidentified, which belonged to the clan of the Abiezrites. Gideon has also the names of *Jerubbaal* (Jg 6[32]) and *Jerubbesheth* (2 S 11[21]). After the victory of the Israelites, under the guidance of Deborah, over the Canaanites, the land had rest for forty years (an indefinite period). Apostasy from Jahweh again resulted in their being oppressed, this time by the neighbouring Bedouin tribes, the Midianites and Amalekites. The underlying idea is that, since the Israelites did not exclusively worship their national God, He withdrew His protection, with the result that another nation, aided by its national god, was enabled to overcome the unprotected Israelites. A return to obedience, and recognition of Jahweh the national God, ensures His renewed protection; relief from the oppressor is brought about by some chosen instrument, of whom it is always said that Jahweh is 'with him'; this is also the case with Gideon (Jg 6[12]).

The sources of the story of Gideon, preserved in Jg 6[1]–8[35], offer some difficult problems, upon which scholars differ considerably; all that can be said with certainty is that the narrative is composite, that the hand of the redactor is visible in certain verses (*e.g.*

6^{20} 7^{6} $8^{22.\ 23}$), and that the sources have not always been skilfully combined; this comes out most clearly in 7^{24}–8^{3}, which breaks the continuity of the narrative. Disregarding details, the general outline of the history of Gideon is as follows:

Introduction, $6^{1\text{-}10}$: For seven years the Israelites suffered under the Midianite oppression; but on their 'crying unto the Lord' a prophet is sent, who declares unto them the reason of their present state, viz. that it was the result of their having forsaken Jahweh and served the gods of the Amorites. *

The call of Gideon, $6^{11\text{-}32}$: The 'Angel of the Lord' appears to Gideon and tells him that the Lord is with him, and that he is to free Israel from the Midianite invasion. Gideon requires a sign: he brings an offering of a kid and unleavened cakes, the Angel touches these with his staff, whereupon fire issues from the rock on which the offering lies and consumes it. Gideon is now convinced that it was the 'Angel of the Lord' who had been speaking to him, and at Jahweh's † command he destroys the altar of Baal in Ophrah and builds one to Jahweh, to whom he also offers sacrifice. This act embitters Gideon's fellow-townsmen against him; they are, however, quieted down by the boldness and shrewdness of Gideon's father.

Gideon's victory, 6^{33}–7^{23} $8^{4\text{-}21}$: Allegiance to Jahweh being thus publicly acknowledged, the Israelites are once more in a position to assert their political independence; so that when the Midianites again invade their land, Gideon raises an army against them, being moreover assured by the miracle of the dew on the fleece that he will be victorious. At the command of Jahweh his army is twice reduced, first to ten thousand men, and then to three hundred. At the command of Jahweh again, he goes with his servant, Purah, down to the camp of the Midianites, where he is encouraged by overhearing a Midianite recounting a dream, which is interpreted by another Midianite as foreshadowing the victory of Gideon. On his return to his own camp Gideon divides his men into three companies; each man receives a torch, an earthen jar, and a horn; at a given sign, the horns are blown, the jars broken, and the burning torches exposed to view, with the result that the Midianites flee in terror. Gideon pursues them across the Jordan; he halts during the pursuit, both at Succoth and at Penuel, in order to refresh his three hundred followers; in each case food is refused him by the inhabitants; after threatening them with vengeance on his return, he presses on, overtakes the Midianite host, and is again victorious; he then first punishes the inhabitants of Succoth and Penuel, and next turns his attention to the Midianite chiefs, Zebah and Zalmunna. From this part of the narrative it would seem that Gideon's attack upon the Midianites was, in part, undertaken owing to a blood-feud; for, on his finding out that the murderers of his brethren at Tabor were these two Midianite chiefs, he slays them in order to avenge his brethren.

The offer of the kingship, $8^{22\text{-}28}$: On the Israelites offering to Gideon and his descendants the kingship, Gideon declines it on theocratic grounds, but asks instead for part of the gold from the spoil taken from the Midianites; of this he makes an image (*ephod*), which he sets up at Ophrah, and which becomes the cause of apostasy from Jahweh. The narrative of Gideon's leadership is brought to a close by a reference to his offspring, and special mention of his son Abimelech; after his death, we are told, the Israelites 'went a whoring after the Baalim.'

In the section $8^{22\text{-}35}$ there is clearly a mixing-up of the sources; on the one hand Israel's apostasy is traced to the action of Gideon, on the other this does not take place until after his death. Again, the refusal of the kingship on theocratic grounds is an idea which belongs to a much later time; moreover, Gideon's son, Abimelech, became king after slaying his father's legitimate sons; it is taken for granted (9^{2}) that there is to be a ruler after Gideon's death. This, together with other indications, leads to the belief that in its original form the earliest source gave an account of Gideon as *king*.

The section 7^{24}–8^{3} is undoubtedly ancient; it tells of how the Ephraimites, at Gideon's command, cut off part of the fugitive Midianite host under two of their chiefs, Oreb and Zeeb, whom the Ephraimites slew. When the victorious band with Gideon joins hands with the Ephraimites, the latter complain to Gideon because he did not call them to attack the main body of the enemy; Gideon quiets them by means of shrewd flattery. This section is evidently a fragment of the original source, which presumably went on to detail what further action the Ephraimites took during the Midianite campaign; for that the Midianite oppression was brought to an end by this one battle it is impossible to believe. *

W. O. E. Oesterley.

* 'Amorites' is a general name for the Canaanite nations, see Am $2^{9.\ 10}$.

† On this apparent identity between Jahweh and His 'Angel,' see the art. Angel of the Lord.

GIDEONI.—Father of Abidan, prince of Benjamin (Nu 1^{11} 2^{22} $7^{60.\ 65}$ 10^{24} (P)).

GIDOM.—The limit of the pursuit of Benjamin by the other tribes (Jg 40^{45}). Possibly the word is not a proper name, but may be read as an infinitive, 'till they cut them off.' No place of the name of Gidom is mentioned elsewhere.

GIER EAGLE ('gier' is the same as the German *Geier*, 'vulture,' 'hawk,') is tr. in AV of *rāchām* in Lv 11^{18} and Dt 14^{17}, in both of which passages RV has '**vulture.**' RV gives 'gier eagle' also as tr. of *peres* in Dt 14^{12}, where AV has '**ossifrage**' (lit. 'bone-breaker'). The *peres* is the bearded vulture or *Lämmergeier*, 'the largest and most magnificent of the vulture tribe.' The adult *rāchām* has the front of the head and the upper part of the throat and cere naked, and of a bright lemon-yellow. The plumage is of a dirty white, except the quill feathers, which are of a greyish black. Its appearance when soaring is very striking and beautiful. It is the universal scavenger of Egyptian cities. It is found in great abundance also in Palestine and Syria.

GIFT, GIVING.—I. In the OT.—1. In the East what is described as a 'gift' is often hardly worthy of the name. 'Gift' may be a courtesy title for much that is of the nature of barter or exchange, tribute or compulsory homage, or even of bribery. It is well understood that a gift accepted lays the recipient under the obligation of returning a *quid pro quo* in some form or other. The queen of Sheba's gifts to Solomon were a sort of royal commerce. The charming picture of Ephron's generosity to Abraham with regard to the cave of Machpelah (Gn 23) must be interpreted in the light of Oriental custom; it is a mere piece of politeness, not intended to be accepted. An Arab will give anything to an intending buyer, and appeal to witnesses that he does so, but it is understood to be only a form, to help him to raise the price (see Driver, *Genesis*, *ad. loc.*). Cf. the transaction between David and Araunah (2 S 24^{22}). In other cases the return is of a less material character, consisting of the granting of a request or the restoring of favour. Hence Jacob's anxiety as to Esau's acceptance of his gifts (Gn 32^{20} 33^{10}); cf. the present to Joseph (43^{11}) and 1 S 25^{27} 30^{26}. The principle is stated in Pr 18^{16} 'A man's gift maketh room for him, and bringeth him before great men' (cf. 19^{6}). It is obvious that a gift in this sense easily becomes a bribe; hence the frequent commands to receive no gift, 'for a gift blindeth the eyes of the wise' (Ex 23^{8}, Dt 16^{19} 27^{25}, Pr $17^{8.\ 23}$, Ps 15^{5}, Is 1^{23} 5^{23} etc.). It should be noticed that in this connexion a special Heb. word (*shōchad*) is used, meaning a 'bribe'; AV and RV often tr. 'gift' or 'reward.' In 1 K 15^{19}, 2 K 16^{8} it is used of a bribe

* Cf. the Philistine campaign under Saul.

from king to king. Even the Roman Felix expects a gift (Ac 24[26]).

2. In a more legitimate sense we find gifts offered to kings, etc., by way of homage (1 S 10[27], Ps 45[12]), or tribute (Jg 3[15], 2 S 8[2. 6], 1 K 4[21], Ps 72[10]); the presents to Assyria, etc., are clearly not spontaneous, and the receiving of such homage from subject kings is a favourite subject of sculptures and paintings. 1 S 25 illustrates the ground on which such a gift was sometimes claimed; it was a payment for protection. Gifts were expected in consulting a prophet or oracle (Nu 22, 1 S 9[7], 2 K 5[5], 2 K 8[9], Dn 5[17]). Whether regulated or unregulated, they formed the chief support of priests and Levites, and were the necessary accompaniment of worship. 'None shall appear before me empty' (Ex 23[15] 34[20]). One side of sacrifice is giving to God. The spiritual religion realized that Jehovah's favour did not depend on these things (Is 1, Ps 50), still more that He was not to be bribed. In Dt 10[17] it is said that He is One 'who taketh not reward' [the word for 'bribe'; see above]. But there can be no doubt that in the popular view a gift to God was supposed to operate in precisely the same manner as a gift to a judge or earthly monarch (Mal 1[8]). Its acceptance was the sign of favour and of the granting of the request (Jg 13[23], 2 Ch 7[1]); its rejection, of disfavour (Gn 4[4], Mal 1[10]). 1 S 26[19] shows that a gift was regarded as propitiatory, and the machinery of the vow takes the same point of view. It should be noted that the word *minchah*, which is continually used of gifts and homage to men, is also specially used of offerings to God, and in P technically of the 'meal-offering.' For the meaning of 'gift' or Corban in Mk 7[11] etc., see art. Sacrifice and Offering. Almsgiving became one of the three things by which merit was earned before God, the other two being prayer and fasting; and magnificent gifts to the Temple were a means of personal display (Lk 21[5], Jos. *Ant.* xv. xi. 3).

3. Passing from cases where the gift is neither spontaneous nor disinterested, but is only a polite Oriental periphrasis for other things, we turn to instances where the word is used in a truer sense. If the king looked for 'gifts' from his subjects, he was also expected to return them in the shape of largess, especially on festive occasions (Est 2[18]). This often took the form of an allowance from the royal table (Gn 43[34], 2 S 11[8], Jer 40[5]). We read more generally of gifts to the needy in Neh 8[10], Est 9[22], Ec 11[2], Ps 112[9] (see Almsgiving). The gift of a robe, or other article from the person, was of special significance (1 S 18[4]). Interchanges of gifts between equals are mentioned in Est 9[19], Rev 11[10]. On the occasion of a wedding, presents are sent by friends to the bridegroom's house. Gifts, as distinct from the 'dowry,' were sometimes given by the bridegroom to the bride (Gn 24[53] 34[12]); sometimes by the bride's father (Jg 1[14], 1 K 9[16]).

II. In the NT.—It is characteristic of the NT that many of its usages of the word 'gift' are connected with God's gifts to men—His Son, life, the Holy Spirit, etc. 'Grace' is the free gift of God. 'Gifts' is specially used of the manifestations of the Spirit (see Spiritual Gifts). Eph 4[8] illustrates well the change of attitude. St. Paul quotes from Ps 68[19], where the point is the homage which Jehovah receives from vanquished foes, and applies the words to the gifts which the victorious Christ has won for His Church. It is more Divine, more characteristic of God, to give than to receive. This is, in fact, the teaching of the NT on the subject. As the Father and His Son freely give all things, so must the Christian. Almsgiving is restored to its proper place; the true gift is not given to win merit from God, or to gain the praise of men, but proceeds from love, hoping for nothing again (Mt 6[1], Lk 6[32]; see Almsgiving). Our Lord Himself accepted gifts, and taught that it is our highest privilege to give to Him and His 'little ones' (Lk 5[29] 7[37] 8[2], Jn 12[2]). And giving remains an integral part of Christian worship, as a willing homage to God, the wrong ideas of compulsion or persuasion being cast aside (1 Ch 29[14], Mt 2[11] 5[23], 2 Co 9[7ff.], Rev 21[24]). The gifts to St. Paul from his converts (Ph 4[16]), and from the Gentile Churches to Jerusalem (Ac 11[29], Ro 15[26], 1 Co 16[1], 2 Co 8. 9), play a very important part in the history of the early Church.

C. W. Emmet.

GIHON (from root 'to burst forth,' 1 K 1[33. 38. 45], 2 Ch 32[30] 33[14]).—**1.** A spring near Jerusalem, evidently sacred and therefore selected as the scene of Solomon's coronation (1 K 1[33]). Hezekiah made an aqueduct from it (2 Ch 32[30]). Undoubtedly the modern *'Ain umm ed-deraj* or 'Virgin's Fount.' See Siloam. **2.** One of the four rivers of Paradise. See Eden [Garden of].

E. W. G. Masterman.

GILALAI.—A Levitical musician (Neh 12[36]).

GILBOA (1 S 28[4] 31[1. 8], 2 S 1[6. 21] 21[12], 1 Ch 10[1. 8]).—A range of hills, now called *Jebel Fakū'a*, on the E. boundary of the Plain of Esdraelon. They run from *Zer'in* (Jezreel) due S.E., and from the eastern extremity a prolongation runs S. towards the hills of Samaria. They are most imposing from the Vale of Jezreel and Jordan Valley, but nowhere reach a height of more than 1700 feet above sea level. The little village of *Jelbun* on the slopes of *Jebel Fakū'a* is thought to retain an echo of the name Gilboa. The slopes of these hills are steep, rugged, and bare. At the N. foot lies *'Ain Jalud*, almost certainly the spring of Harod (wh. see).

E. W. G. Masterman.

GILEAD.—**1.** A person (or personified sept), son of the Manassite Machir (Nu 26[29], 1 Ch 2[21]), and grandfather of Zelophehad (Nu 27[1]). See No. **4** below. **2.** A Gadite, son of Michael (1 Ch 5[14]). **3.** A mountain mentioned in Jg 7[3] in an order of Gideon's to his followers, 'Whosoever is fearful . . . let him return and depart from [mg. 'go round about'] Mount Gilead.' The passage is very difficult, and probably corrupt. The trans-Jordanic Gilead will not suit the context, and no other is known. Various attempts have been made at emendation, none of which has commanded acceptance.

4. The name of the territory bounded on the north by Bashan, on the west by the Jordan between the Sea of Galilee and the Dead Sea, on the east by the desert, and on the south by the territory of Moab. It is a lofty fertile plateau, about 2000 feet above the sea-level; its western edge is the precipitous eastern wall of the Jordan Valley. It is an upland country, wooded in places, with productive fields intersected by valleys and streams. It is mentioned first in connexion with Jacob's flight from Laban; it was the goal at which he aimed, the place where the pursuer overtook him, and where the 'heap of witness' was raised (Gn 31). Even in the patriarchal period it was famous for its spices, myrrh, and medicinal 'balm,' whatever that may have been (cf. Jer 8[22] 46[11]). The Ishmaelite trading caravan which bought Joseph was carrying these substances from Gilead to Egypt (Gn 37[25]). The Amorites were in possession of Gilead under their king Sihon when the Israelites were led to the Land of Promise. When that king was defeated, his territory aroused the desires of the pastoral tribes of Reuben and Gad. Its fitness for pasture is celebrated in the Song of Songs: the Shulammite's hair is twice compared to 'goats that lie along the side of Mount Gilead' (Ca 4[3] 6[5]). On the partition of the land, Gilead was divided into two, the southern half being given to Reuben and Gad, the northern half to the trans-Jordanic half of Manasseh. The Manassite part is distinguished by the name Havvoth-jair, apparently meaning the 'Settlements of Jair.' Jair was a son of Manasseh, according to Nu 32[41], but he seems in Jg 10[3] to be confused with one of the minor Judges of the same name. Another Judge, Jephthah (Jg 11), was a Gileadite, whose prowess delivered Israel from Ammon. His

subsequent sacrifice of his daughter is indicated as the origin of a festival of Israelite women (Jg 11^{40}). In a previous stress of the Israelites, Gilead did not bear its part, and is upbraided for its remissness by Deborah (Jg 5^{17}). In Jg 20^{1} Gilead is used as a general term for trans-Jordanic Israel. Here some of the Hebrews took refuge from the Philistines (1 S 13^{7}); and over Gilead and other parts of the country Ish-bosheth was made king (2 S 2^{9}). Hither David fled from before Absalom, and was succoured, among others, by Barzillai (2 S 17^{27} 19^{31}, 1 K 2^{7}), whose descendants are referred to in post-exilic records (Ezr 2^{61}, Neh 7^{63}). To Gilead David's census agents came (2 S 24^{6}). It was administered by Ben-geber for Solomon (1 K 4^{13}). It was the land of Elijah's origin (1 K 17^{1}). For cruelties to Gileadites, Damascus and Ammon are denounced by Amos ($1^{3.\ 13}$), while on the other hand Hosea (6^{8} 12^{11}) speaks bitterly of the sins of Gilead. Pekah had a following of fifty Gileadites when he slew Pekahiah (2 K 15^{25}). The country was smitten by Hazael (10^{33}), and its inhabitants carried away captive by Tiglath-pileser (15^{29}).

R. A. S. Macalister.

GILGAL.—A name meaning 'stone circle' applied to several places mentioned in the OT. **1.** A place on the east border of Jericho (Jos 4^{19}), where the Israelites first encamped after crossing Jordan, and which remained the headquarters of the congregation till after the rout of the northern kings at Merom (14^{6}). The stone circle from which it certainly took its name (in spite of the impossible etymology given in Jos 5^{9}), was no doubt that to which the tradition embodied in Jos 4^{20} refers, and the same as the 'images' by Gilgal in the story of Ehud (Jg 3^{19} RVm). The name is still preserved in the modern *Jiljūlieh*. This is probably the same Gilgal as that included in the annual circuit of Samuel (1 S 7^{16}). This shrine is mentioned by Hosea (4^{15} 9^{15} 12^{11}) and by Amos (4^{4} 5^{5}). **2.** A place of the same name near Dor mentioned in a list of conquered kings (Jos 12^{23}). It may be *Jiljūlieh*, about 4 miles N. of Antipatris (*Ras el-'Ain*). **3.** A place in the Samaritan mountains (2 K 4^{38}), somewhere near Bethel (2^{1}). It may possibly be *Jiljūlia*, 8 miles N.W. of Bethel. **4.** The Gilgal of Dt 11^{30} is unknown. It may be identical with No. **1**; but it seems closely connected with Ebal and Gerizim. There is a *Juleijūl* 2½ miles S.E. of Nāblus that *may* represent this place. **5.** A place of uncertain locality, also possibly the same as No. **1**, in the border of the tribe of Judah (Jos 15^{7}).

At none of these places have any remains of early antiquity been as yet observed. There was in A.D. 700 a large church that covered what were said to be the twelve commemoration stones of Joshua: this is reported by Arculf. The church and stones have both disappeared. The only relic of antiquity now to be seen is a large pool, probably of mediæval workmanship, 100 ft. by 84 ft. A tradition evidently suggested by the Biblical story of the fall of Jericho is recorded by Conder as having been related to him here.

R. A. S. Macalister.

GILOH.—A city in the southern hills of Judah (Jos 15^{51}), the birthplace of Ahithophel the **Gilonite**, the famous counsellor of David (2 S 15^{12} 23^{34}). Its site is uncertain.

GIMEL.—The third letter of the Heb. alphabet, and as such used in the 119th Psalm to designate the 3rd part, each verse of which begins with this letter.

GIMZO.—A town on the border of Philistia (2 Ch 28^{18}). It is the modern *Jimzū* near Aijalon.

GIN.—See Snares.

GINATH.—Father of Tibni, who unsuccessfully laid claim against Omri to the throne of Israel (1 K $16^{21.\ 22}$).

GINNETHOI.—A priest among the returned exiles (Neh 12^{4}); called in Neh 12^{16} 10^{6} **Ginnethon.**

GIRDING THE LOINS, GIRDLE.—See Dress, §§ 2. 3.

GIRGASHITES (in Heb. always sing. 'the Girgashite,' and rightly so rendered in RV).—Very little is known of this people, whose name, though occurring several times in OT in the list of Can. tribes (Gn 10^{16} 15^{21}, Dt 7^{1} [and 20^{17} in Sam. and LXX], Jos 3^{10} 24^{11}, 1 Ch 1^{14}, Neh 9^{8}), affords no indication of their position, or to what branch of the Canaanites they belonged, except in two instances, namely, Gn 10^{16}, where the 'Girgashite' is given as the name of the fifth son of Canaan; and Jos 24^{11}, where the Girgashites would seem to have inhabited the tract on the west of Jordan, the Israelites having been obliged to cross over that river in order to fight the men of Jericho, among whom were the Girgashites.

GIRZITES.—Acc. to 1 S 27^{8}, David and his men, while living at the court of Achish king of Gath, 'made a raid upon the Geshurites and the Girzites (RVm **Gizrites**) and the Amalekites: for those nations were the inhabitants of the land, which were of old, as thou goest to Shur, even unto the land of Egypt.' The LXX (B) is probably correct in reading only one name 'Gizrites' for 'Geshurites and Girzites,' viz. the Canaanite inhabitants of Gezer (wh. see), a town on the S.W. border of Ephraim (Jos 10^{33} $16^{3.\ 10}$, Jg 1^{29}).

GISHPA.—An overseer of the Nethinim (Neh 11^{21}), but text is probably corrupt.

GITTAIM.—A town of Benjamin (?), 2 S 4^{3}, noticed with Hazor and Ramah (Neh 11^{33}). The site is unknown.

GITTITES.—See Gath.

GITTITH.—See Psalms (titles).

GIZONITE.—A gentilic name which occurs in 1 Ch 11^{34} in the colloc. 'Hashem the Gizonite.' In all probability this should be corrected to 'Jashen (cf. the parallel passage 2 S 23^{32}) the Gunite.' See Jashen.

GIZRITES.—See Girzites.

GLASS, LOOKING-GLASS, MIRROR.—This indispensable article of a lady's toilet is first met with in Ex 38^{8}, where the 'laver of brass' and its base are said to have been made of the 'mirrors (AV 'looking-glasses') of the serving women which served at the door of the tent of meeting' (RV). This passage shows that the mirrors of the Hebrews, like those of the other peoples of antiquity, were made of polished bronze, as is implied in the comparison, Job 37^{18}, of the sky to a 'molten mirror' (RV and AV 'looking-glass'). A different Hebrew word is rendered 'hand mirror' by RV in the list of toilet articles, Is 3^{23}. The fact that this word denotes a writing 'tablet' in 8^{1} (RV) perhaps indicates that in the former passage we have an oblong mirror in a wooden frame. The usual shape, however, of the Egyptian (see Wilkinson, *Anc. Egyp.* ii. 350 f. with illust.), as of the Greek, hand-mirrors was round or slightly oval. As a rule they were furnished with a tang, which fitted into a handle of wood or metal, often delicately carved. Two specimens of circular mirrors of bronze, one 5 inches, the other 4½, in diameter, have recently been discovered in Philistine (?) graves at Gezer (*PEFSt*, 1905, 321; 1907, 199 with illusts.).

In the Apocrypha there is a reference, Sir 12^{11}, to the rust that gathered on these metal mirrors, and in Wis 7^{26} the Divine wisdom is described as 'the unspotted mirror of the power of God,' the only occurrence in AV of 'mirror,' which RV substitutes for 'glass' throughout. The NT references, finally, are those by Paul (1 Co 13^{12}, 2 Co 3^{18}) and by James (1^{23}). For the 'sea of glass' (RV 'glassy sea') of Rev 4^{6} 15^{2} see art. Sea of Glass.

A. R. S. Kennedy.

GLEANING.—For the humanitarian provisions of the Pentateuchal codes, by which the gleanings of the cornfield, vineyard, and oliveyard were the perquisites of the poor, the fatherless, the widow, and the *gēr* or outlander,

see Lv 19[9f.] 23[22] (both H), Dt 24[19-21]; cf. AGRICULTURE, § 3; POVERTY. A. R. S. KENNEDY.

GLEDE.—See KITE.

GLORY (in OT).—The first use of this word is to express the exalted honour or praise paid either to things, or to man, or to God. From that it passes to denote the dignity or wealth, whether material or spiritual, that calls forth such honour. Thence it has come to mean, in the OT especially, the majesty and splendour that attend the revelation of the power or character of God. The principal Heb. word (*kābōd*) for 'glory' is derived from a root denoting *heaviness*. The root may be seen in Is 1[4], 'a people *heavy with the burden of* iniquity.' For its derived use, cf. 'loaded with honours,' 'weight of glory.' A few illustrations of each of these uses may be given.

1. It is only necessary to mention the constantly recurring phrase '*glory* to God' (Jos 7[19], Ps 29[1] etc.). As applying to man may be quoted, 'the wise shall inherit *glory*' (Pr 3[35]).

2. Phrases such as 'the *glory* of Lebanon' (Is 35[2]), *i.e.* the cedars; 'of his house' (Ps 49[16]), *i.e.* his material possessions; 'the *glory* and honour of the nations' (Rev 21[26]), parallel with 'the wealth of the nations' in Is 60[11], may be quoted here. 'My *glory*' (Gn 49[6], Ps 16[9] 30[12] 57[8] etc.) is used as synonymous with 'soul,' and denotes the noblest part of man; cf. also Ps 8[5]. Jehovah is called 'the glory' of Israel as the proudest possession of His people (Jer 2[11]; cf. 1 S 4[21. 22], Lk 2[32]). With reference to God may be named Ps 19[1], His wisdom and strength; and Ps 63[2], the worthiness of His moral government.

3. Two uses of the expression 'the glory of Jehovah' are to be noted. (*a*) *The manifestation of His glory in the self-revelation of His character and being, e.g.* Is 6[3]. Here 'glory' is the showing forth of God's holiness. For God's glory manifested in history and in the control of the nations, see Nu 14[22], Ezk 39[21]; in nature, Ps 29[3. 9] 104[31]. (*b*) *A physical manifestation of the Divine Presence.* This is especially notable in Ezekiel, *e.g.* 1[28], where the glory is bright like the rainbow. In the P sections of the Pentateuch such representations are frequent (see Ex 24[16-18], Lv 9[6] etc.). A passage combining these two conceptions is the story of the theophany to Moses (Ex 33[17-23] 34[6. 7]). Here the visible glory, the brightness of Jehovah's face, may not be seen. The spiritual glory is revealed in the proclamation of the name of Jehovah, full of compassion and gracious.

WILFRID J. MOULTON.

GLORY (in Apocr. and NT).—Except in 1 P 2[20] (where it means renown), 'glory,' as a noun, is always the translation of Gr. *doxa*. This word, coming from a root meaning 'to seem,' might signify outward appearance only, or, in a secondary sense, opinion. This use is not found in the Biblical writings, but the derived classical use—favourable opinion or reputation, and hence exalted honour—or, as applied to things, splendour, is very common (Wis 8[10], Ro 2[7-10], Bar 2[17], Jn 9[24], Sir 43[1] 50[7]). The special LXX use of 'glory' for the physical or ethical manifestation of the greatness of God is also frequent. In AV of NT *doxa* is occasionally translated 'honour' (*e.g.* Jn 5[41], 2 Co 6[8] etc.); in Apocrypha sometimes 'honour' 1 Es 8[4] etc.), and a few times 'pomp' (1 Mac 10[86] 11[6] etc.), or 'majesty' (Ad. Est 15[7]); otherwise it is uniformly rendered 'glory.' As a verb, 'glory' in the sense of boast (Gr. *kauchaomai*) is frequently found (Sir 11[4], 1 Co 1[29]).

A few examples of the use of 'glory' to denote the brightness of goodness may be given. In Bar 5[4] is the striking phrase 'the glory of godliness,' whilst wisdom is called 'a clear effluence of the glory of the Almighty' (Wis 7[25]). In Jn 1[14] the 'glory' of the Only-begotten consists in grace and truth (cf. Jn 2[11] 17[5. 22]). In Ro 3[23] the 'glory' of God, of which men have fallen short, is His manifested excellence, revealed at first in man made in God's image (cf. 1 Co 11[7a]), lost through sin, but meant to be recovered as he is transfigured 'from glory to glory' (2 Co 3[18]). For 'glory' as used to express the visible brightness, cf. To 12[15], where Raphael goes in before the glory of the Holy One (cf. 2 Mac 3[26], of angels). In NT, cf. Lk 2[9] 'The glory of the Lord shone round about them.' In 2 Co 3[7-11] the double use of 'glory' is clearly seen; the fading brightness on the face of Moses is contrasted with the abiding spiritual glory of the new covenant. Passages which combine both the ethical and the physical meanings are those which speak of the glory of the Son of Man (Mt 16[27] etc.), and the glory, both of brightness and of purity, which gives light to the heavenly city (Rev 21[23]). 'Glory,' as applied to the saints, culminates in a state where both body and spirit are fully changed into the likeness of the glorified Lord (Ph 3[21], Col 3[4]).

In Wis 18[24] a special use appears, where 'the glories of the fathers' is a phrase for the names of the twelve tribes, written on the precious stones of the high-priestly breastplate. Doubtless this is suggested by the flashing gems. An interesting parallel is given in Murray, *Eng. Dict. s.v.*: 'They presented to his Electoral Highness . . . the Two Stars or Glories, and Two Pieces of Ribbon of the Order [of the Garter]'; cf. Kalisch on Ex 28 'The jewels are the emblems of the stars, which they rival in splendour.' WILFRID J. MOULTON.

GNAT (Mt 23[24]).—Various members of the *Culicidæ*, mosquitoes and true gnats, are found in Palestine; of the former, four species are known which are fever-bearing. These and such small insects are very apt to fall into food or liquid, and require to be 'strained *out*' (RV), especially in connexion with Lv 11[23. 24]. An Arab proverb well illustrates the ideas of Mt 23[24]: 'He eats an elephant and is suffocated by a gnat.' In the RVm of Is 51[6] 'like gnats' is suggested for 'in like manner.' E. W. G. MASTERMAN.

GNOSTICISM.—1. Gnosticism proper.—The term, which comes from the Gr. *gnōsis*, 'knowledge,' is now technically used to describe an eclectic philosophy of the 2nd cent. A.D. which was represented by a number of sects or divisions of people. The philosophy was constructed out of Jewish, Pagan, and Christian elements, and was due mainly to the inevitable contact and conflict between these various modes of thought. It was an attempt to incorporate Christian with Jewish and Pagan ideas in solving the problems of life. The more important of these problems were—(1) How to reconcile the creation of the world by a perfectly good God with the presence of evil; (2) how the human spirit came to be imprisoned in matter, and how it was to be emancipated. The first problem was solved by predicating a series of emanations starting from a perfectly good and supreme God, and coming down step by step to an imperfect being who created the world with its evils. Thus there was an essential dualism of good and evil. The second problem was solved by advocating either an ascetic life, wherein everything material was as far as possible avoided, or else a licentious life, in which everything that was material was used without discrimination. Associated with these speculations was a view of Christ which resolved Him into a phantom, denied the reality of His earthly manifestation, and made Him only a temporary non-material emanation of Deity. Gnosticism culminated, as the name suggests, in the glorification of knowledge and in a tendency to set knowledge against faith, regarding the former as superior and as the special possession of a select spiritual few, and associating the latter with the great mass of average people who could not rise to the higher level. Salvation was therefore by knowledge, not by faith. The will was subordinated to the intellect, and everything was made to consist of an esoteric knowledge which was the privilege of an intellectual aristocracy.

2. Gnosticism in relation to the NT.—It is obvious

that it is only in the slightest and most partial way that we can associate Gnosticism of a fully developed kind with the NT.

There is a constant danger, which has not always been avoided, of reading back into isolated NT expressions the Gnostic ideas of the 2nd century. While we may see in the NT certain germs which afterwards came to maturity in Gnosticism, we must be on our guard lest we read too much into NT phraseology, and thereby draw wrong conclusions. One example of this danger may be given. Simon Magus occupies a prominent place in the thoughts of many 2nd and 3rd cent. writers, and by some he is regarded as one of the founders of Gnosticism. This may or may not have been true, but at any rate there is absolutely nothing in Ac 8 to suggest even the germ of the idea.

It is necessary to consider carefully the main idea of *gnosis*, 'knowledge,' in the NT. (*a*) It is an essential element of true Christianity, and is associated with the knowledge of God in Christ(2 Co 2^{14} 4^{6}),with the knowledge of Christ Himself (Ph 3^{8}, 2 P 3^{18}), and with the personal experience of what is involved in the Christian life (Ro 2^{20} 15^{14}, 1 Co 1^{5} 3^{19}, Col 2^{3}). In the term *epignosis* we have the further idea of 'full knowledge' which marks the ripe, mature Christian. This word is particularly characteristic of the *Pauline Epistles of the First Captivity* (Phil., Col., Eph.), and indicates the Apostle's view of the spiritually-advanced believer. But *gnosis* and *epignosis* always imply something more and deeper than intellectual understanding. They refer to a personal experience at once intellectual and spiritual, and include intellectual apprehension and moral perception. As distinct from wisdom, knowledge is spiritual experience considered in itself, while wisdom is knowledge in its practical application and use. In *Colossians* it is generally thought that the errors combated were associated with certain forms of Gnosticism. Lightfoot, on the one hand, sees in the references in ch. 2 Jewish elements of scrupulousness in the observance of days, and of asceticism in the distinction of meats, together with Greek or other purely Gnostic elements in theosophic speculation, shadowy mysticism, and the interposition of angels between God and man. He thinks the references are to one heresy in which these two separate elements are used, and that St. Paul deals with both aspects at once in 2^{8-23}. With Gnostic intellectual exclusiveness he deals in 1^{18} and 2^{11}, with speculative tendencies in 1^{15-20} 2^{9-15}, with practical tendencies to asceticism or licence in 2^{16-23}. Hort (*Judaistic Christianity*), on the other hand, sees nothing but Judaistic elements in the Epistle, and will not allow that there are two independent sets of ideas blended. He considers that, apart from the phrase 'philosophy and vain deceit' (2^{8}), there is nothing of speculative doctrine in the Epistle. He says that angel-worship was already prevalent quite apart from philosophy, and that there is no need to look beyond Judaism for what is found here. This difference between these two great scholars shows the extreme difficulty of attempting to find anything technically called Gnosticism in Colossians. (*b*) The *Pastoral Epistles* are usually next put under review. In 1 Ti 1^{4} 4^{3}, we are bidden by Lightfoot to see further developments of what had been rife in Colossæ. Hort again differs from this view, and concludes that there is no clear evidence of speculative or Gnosticizing tendencies, but only of a dangerous fondness for Jewish trifling, both of the legendary and casuistical kind. (*c*) In the *First Epistle of John* (4^{1-3}) we are reminded of later Gnostic tendencies as represented by Cerinthus and others, who regarded our Lord as not really man, but only a phantom and a temporary emanation from the Godhead. The prominence given to 'knowledge' as an essential element of true Christian life is very striking in this Epistle, part of whose purpose is that those who possess eternal life in Christ may 'know' it (5^{13}). The verb 'to know' occurs in the Epistle no less than thirty-five times. (*d*) In *Revelation* ($2^{6.\ 15.\ 20.\ 24}$ and $3^{14.\ 21}$) it is thought that further tendencies of a Gnostic kind are observable, and Lightfoot sees in the latter passage proof that the heresy of Colossæ was continuing in that district of Asia Minor. The precariousness of this position is, however, evident, when it is realized that the errors referred to are clearly antinomian, and may well have arisen apart from any Gnostic speculations.

From the above review, together with the differences between great scholars, it is evident that the attempt to connect the NT with the later Gnosticism of the 2nd cent. must remain at best but partially successful. All that we can properly say is that in the NT there are signs of certain tendencies which were afterwards seen in the 2nd cent. Gnosticism, but whether there was any real connexion between the 1st cent. germs and the 2nd cent. developments is another question. In the clash of Judaistic, Hellenic, and Christian thought, it would not be surprising if already there were attempts at eclecticism, but the precise links of connexion between the germs of the NT and the developments of the 2nd cent. are yet to seek.

One thing we must keep clearly before us: *gnosis* in the NT is a truly honourable and important term, and stands for an essential part of the Christian life. Of course there is always the liability to the danger of mere speculation, and the consequent need of emphasizing love as contrasted with mere knowledge (1 Co 8^{1} 13^{2}), but when *gnosis* is regarded as both intellectual and moral, we see at once how necessary it is to a true, growing Christian life. The stress laid upon *epignosis* in later books of the NT, Pauline and Petrine, and the marked prominence given to the cognate terms in 1 John, clearly indicate the importance placed on the idea by Apostolic writers as a safeguard of the Christian life. While it is the essential feature of the young Christian to *have* (forgiveness); and of the growing Christian to *be* (strong); it is that of the ripe Christian to *know* (1 Jn 2^{12-14}). Knowledge and faith are never contrasted in the NT. It is a false and impossible antithesis. 'Through faith we understand' (He 11^{3}). Faith and sight, not faith and reason, are antithetical. We know in order to believe, credence leading to confidence; and then we believe in order to know more. Knowledge and trust act and react on each other. Truth and trust are correlatives, not contradictories. It is only mere speculative knowledge that is 'falsely so called' (1 Ti 6^{20}), because it does not take its rise and find its life and sustenance in God's revelation in Christ; but Christian *gnosis* received into the heart, mind, conscience and will, is that by which we are enabled to see the true as opposed to the false 'to distinguish things that differ' (Ph 1^{10}), and to adhere closely to the way of truth and life. The Apostle describes the natural earth-bound man as lacking this spiritual discernment; he has no such faculty (1 Co $2^{14.\ 15}$). The spiritual man (2^{15} 3^{1}), or the perfect or ripe man (2^{6}), is the man who *knows*; and this knowledge which is at once intellectual, moral and spiritual, is one of the greatest safeguards against every form of error, and one of the choicest secrets of the enjoyment of the revelation of God in Christ.

W. H. Griffith Thomas.

GOAD.—See Agriculture, § 1.

GOAH.—An unknown locality near Jerusalem (Jer 31^{39}).

GOAT.—(1) *ʿēz*, used generically, both sexes, Gn 30^{35}, Ex 12^{5}, Ezr 6^{17} etc. (2) *tsāphīr* (root 'to leap'), 'he-goat,' 2 Ch 29^{21}, Ezr 8^{35}, Dn $8^{5.\ 8}$. (3) *sāʿīr* (root 'hairy'), usually a he-goat, *e.g.* Dn 8^{21} 'rough goat'; *seʿīrah*, Lv 5^{6} 'she-goat'; *seʿīrīm*, tr. 'devils' 2 Ch 11^{15}, 'satyrs' Is 13^{21} 34^{14}. See Satyr. (4) *ʿattūd*, only in pl. *ʿattūdīm*, 'he-goats' Gn $31^{10.\ 12}$, AVm and RV 'chief ones' Is 14^{9}, but RVm 'he-goats.' (5) *tayīsh*, 'he-goat,' Pr 30^{31} etc. In NT *eriphos*, *eriphion*, Mt $25^{32.\ 33}$; *tragos*, He $9^{12.\ 13.\ 19}$ 10^{4}. Goats are among the most valued possessions of the people of Palestine. Nabal had a thousand goats (1 S 25^{2}; see also Gn $30^{33.\ 35}$ 32^{14} etc.). They are led to pasture with the sheep, but are from time to time separated from them for milking, herding, and even feeding (Mt 25^{32}). Goats thrive on extraordinarily bare pasturage, but they do immeasurable destruction to young trees and shrubs, and are responsible for much of the barrenness of the hills. Goats supply most of the milk used in Palestine (Pr 27^{27}); they are also killed for food, especially the young kids (Gn 27^{9}, Jg 6^{19} 13^{15} etc.). The Syrian goat (*Capra mambrica*) is black or grey, exceptionally white, and has shaggy hair and remarkably long ears.

Goat's hair is extensively woven into cloaks and material for tents (Ex 26[7] 36[14]), and their skins are tanned entire to make water-bottles. See BOTTLE.

Wild goat.—(1) *yā'ēl* (cf. proper name *Jael*), used in pl. *ye'ēlīm*, 1 S 24[2], Ps 104[18], and Job 39[1]. (2) *'akkō*, Dt 14[5]. Probably both these terms refer to the wild goat or ibex, *Capra beden*, the *beden* or 'goats of Moses' of the Arabs. It is common on the inaccessible cliffs round the Dead Sea, some of which are known as *jebel el-beden*, the 'mountains of the wild goats' (cf. 1 S 24[2]). The ibex is very shy, and difficult to shoot. Though about the size of an ordinary goat, its great curved horns, often 3 feet long, give it a much more imposing appearance. E. W. G. MASTERMAN.

GOB.—A place mentioned only in 2 S 21[18] as the scene of an exploit of one of David's warriors. In the parallel passage 1 Ch 20[4] Gob appears as *Gezer*; many texts read it as *Nob*. The Gr. and Syr. versions have *Gath*. Nothing is known of Gob as a separate place. The word means 'cistern.' W. F. COBB.

GOD.—The object of this article is to give a brief sketch of the history of belief in God as gathered from the Bible. The existence of God is everywhere assumed in the sacred volume; it will not therefore be necessary here to consider the arguments adduced to show that the belief in God's existence is reasonable. It is true that in Ps 14[1] 53[1] the 'fool' (*i.e.* the ungodly man) says that there is no God; but the meaning doubtless is, not that the existence of God is denied, but that the 'fool' alleges that God does not concern Himself with man (see Ps 10[4]).

1. Divine revelation gradual.—God 'spake,' *i.e.* revealed Himself, 'by divers portions and in divers manners' (He 1[1]). The world only gradually acquired the knowledge of God which we now possess; and it is therefore a gross mistake to look for our ideas and standards of responsibility in the early ages of mankind. The world was educated 'precept upon precept, line upon line' (Is 28[10]); and it is noteworthy that even when the gospel age arrived, our Lord did not in a moment reveal all truth, but accommodated His teaching to the capacity of the people (Mk 4[33]); the chosen disciples themselves did not grasp the fulness of that teaching until Pentecost (Jn 16[12f.]). The fact of the very slow growth of conceptions of God is made much clearer by our increased knowledge with respect to the composition of the OT; now that we have learnt, for example, that the Mosaic code is to be dated, as a whole, centuries later than Moses, and that the patriarchal narratives were written down, as we have them, in the time of the Kings, and are coloured by the ideas of that time, we see that the idea that Israel had much the same conception of God in the age of the Patriarchs as in that of the Prophets is quite untenable, and that the fuller conception was a matter of slow growth. The fact of the composite character of the Pentateuch, however, makes it very difficult for us to find out exactly what were the conceptions about God in patriarchal and in Mosaic times; and it is impossible to be dogmatic in speaking of them. We can deal only with probabilities gathered from various indications in the literature, especially from the survival of old customs.

2. Names of God in OT.—It will be convenient to gather together the principal OT names of God before considering the conceptions of successive ages. The names will to some extent be a guide to us.

(*a*) **Elohim,** the ordinary Hebrew name for God, a plural word of doubtful origin and meaning. It is used, as an ordinary plural, of heathen gods, or of supernatural beings (1 S 28[13]), or even of earthly judges (Ps 82[1. 6], cf. Jn 10[34]); but when used of the One God, it takes a singular verb. As so used, it has been thought to be a relic of pre-historic polytheism, but more probably it is a 'plural of majesty,' such as is common in Hebrew, or else it denotes the *fulness* of God. The singular **Eloah** is rare except in Job; it is found in poetry and in late prose.

(*b*) **El,** common to Semitic tribes, a name of doubtful meaning, but usually interpreted as 'the Strong One' or as 'the Ruler.' It is probably not connected philologically with *Elohim* (Driver, *Genesis*, p. 404). It is used often in poetry and in proper names; in prose rarely, except as part of a compound title like *El Shaddai*, or with an epithet or descriptive word attached; as 'God of Bethel,' *El-Bethel* (Gn 31[13]); 'a jealous God,' *El qannā'* (Ex 20[5]).

(*c*) **El Shaddai.**—The meaning of *Shaddai* is uncertain; the name has been derived from a root meaning 'to overthrow,' and would then mean 'the Destroyer'; or from a root meaning 'to pour,' and would then mean 'the Rain-giver'; or it has been interpreted as 'my Mountain' or 'my Lord.' Traditionally it is rendered 'God Almighty,' and there is perhaps a reference to this sense of the name in the words 'He that is mighty' of Lk 1[49]. According to the Priestly writer (P), the name was characteristic of the patriarchal age (Ex 6[3], cf. Gn 17[1] 28[3]). 'Shaddai' alone is used often in OT as a poetical name of God (Nu 24[4] etc.), and is rendered 'the Almighty.'

(*d*) **El Elyon,** 'God Most High,' found in Gn 14[18ff.] (a passage derived from a 'special source' of the Pentateuch, *i.e.* not from J, E, or P), and thought by Driver (*Genesis*, p. 165) perhaps to have been originally the name of a Canaanite deity, but applied to the true God. 'Elyon' is also found alone, as in Ps 82[6] (so tr. into Greek, Lk 1[32. 35. 76] 6[35]), and with 'Elohim' in Ps 57[2], in close connexion with 'El' and with 'Shaddai' in Nu 24[16], and with 'Jahweh' in Ps 7[17] 18[13] etc. That 'El Elyon' was a commonly used name is made probable by the fact that it is found in an Aramaic translation in Dn 3[26] 4[2] 5[18-21] and in a Greek translation in 1 Es 6[31] etc., Mk 5[7], Ac 16[17], and so in He 7[1], where it is taken direct from Gn 14[18] LXX.

(*e*) **Adonai** (='Lord'), a title, common in the prophets, expressing dependence, as of a servant on his master, or of a wife on her husband (Ottley, *BL*[2] p. 192 f.).

(*f*) **Jehovah,** properly **Yahweh** (usually written **Jahweh**), perhaps a pre-historic name. Prof. H. Guthe (*EBi* ii. art. 'Israel,' § 4) thinks that it is of primitive antiquity and cannot be explained; that it tells us nothing about the nature of the Godhead. This is probably true of the name in pre-Mosaic times; that it was then in existence was certainly the opinion of the Jahwist writer (Gn 4[26], J), and is proved by its occurrence in proper names, *e.g.* in 'Jochebed,' the name of Moses' mother (Ex 6[20], P). What it originally signified is uncertain; the root from which it is derived might mean 'to blow' or 'to breathe,' or 'to fall,' or 'to be.' Further, the name might have been derived from the causative 'to make to be,' and in that case might signify 'Creator.' But, as Driver remarks (*Genesis*, p. 409), the important thing for us to know is not what the name meant originally, but what it came actually to denote to the Israelites. And there can be no doubt that from Moses' time onwards it was derived from the 'imperfect' tense of the verb 'to be,' and was understood to mean 'He who is wont to be,' or else 'He who will be.' This is the explanation given in Ex 3[10ff.]; when God Himself speaks, He uses the first person, and the name becomes 'I am' or 'I will be.' It denotes, then, Existence; yet it is understood as expressing active and self-manifesting Existence (Driver, p. 408). It is almost equivalent to 'He who has life in Himself' (cf. Jn 5[26]). It became the common name of God in post-Mosaic times, and was the specially *personal* designation.

We have to consider whether the name was used by the patriarchs. The Jahwist writer (J) uses it constantly in his narrative of the early ages; and Gn 4[26] (see above) clearly exhibits more than a mere anachronistic use of a name common in the writer's age. On the other hand, the Priestly writer (P) was of opinion that the patriarchs had

not used the name, but had known God as 'El Shaddai' (Ex $6^{2f.}$); for it is putting force upon language to suppose that P meant only that the patriarchs did not understand the full meaning of the name 'Jahweh,' although they used it. P is consistent in not using the name 'Jahweh' until the Exodus. So the author of Job, who lays his scene in the patriarchal age, makes the characters of the dialogue use 'Shaddai,' etc., and only once (12^{9}) 'Jahweh' (Driver, p. 185). We have thus contradictory authorities. Driver (p. xix.) suggests that though the name was not absolutely new in Moses' time, it was current only in a limited circle, as is seen from its absence in the composition of patriarchal proper names.

'Jehovah' is a modern and hybrid form, dating only from A.D. 1518. The name 'Jahweh' was so sacred that it was not, in later Jewish times, pronounced at all, perhaps owing to an over-literal interpretation of the Third Commandment. In reading 'Adonai' was substituted for it; hence the vowels of that name were in MSS attached to the consonants of 'Jahweh' for a guide to the reader, and the result, when the MSS are read *as written* (as they were never meant by Jewish scribes to be read), is 'Jehovah.' Thus this modern form has the consonants of one word and the vowels of another. The Hellenistic Jews, in Greek, substituted 'Kyrios' (Lord) for the sacred name, and it is thus rendered in LXX and NT. This explains why in EV 'the LORD' is the usual rendering of 'Jahweh.' The expression '*Tetragrammaton*' is used for the four consonants of the sacred name, YHWH, which appears in Greek capital letters as *Pipi*, owing to the similarity of the Greek capital *p* to the Hebrew *h*, and the Greek capital *i* to the Hebrew *y* and *w* [thus, Heb. יהוה = Gr. ΠΙΠΙ].

(*g*) **Jah** is an apocopated form of *Jahweh*, and appears in poetry (*e.g.* Ps 68^{4}, Ex 15^{2}) in the word 'Hallelujah' and in proper names. For *Jah Jahweh* see Is 11^{2} 26^{4}.

(*h*) **Jahweh Tsĕbā'ōth** ('Sabaoth' of Ro 9^{29} and Ja 5^{4}), in EV 'LORD of hosts' (wh. see), appears frequently in the prophetical and post-exilic literature (Is 1^{9} 6^{3}, Ps 84^{1} etc.). This name seems originally to have referred to God's presence with the armies of Israel in the times of the monarchy; as fuller conceptions of God became prevalent, the name received an ampler meaning. Jahweh was known as God, not only of the armies of Israel, but of all the hosts of heaven and of the forces of nature (Cheyne, *Aids to Devout Study of Criticism*, p. 284).

We notice, lastly, that 'Jahweh' and 'Elohim' are joined together in Gn 2^{4}–3^{22} 9^{26}, Ex 9^{30}, and elsewhere. Jahweh is identified with the Creator of the Universe (Ottley, *BL*^{2} p. 195). We have the same conjunction, with 'Sabaoth' added ('Lord God of hosts'), in Am 5^{27}. 'Adonai' with 'Sabaoth' is not uncommon.

3. Pre-Mosaic conceptions of God.—We are now in a position to consider the growth of the revelation of God in successive ages; and special reference may here be made to Kautzsch's elaborate monograph on the 'Religion of Israel' in Hastings' *DB*, Ext. vol. pp. 612–734, for a careful discussion of OT conceptions of God. With regard to those of pre-Mosaic times there is much room for doubt. The descriptions written so many centuries later are necessarily coloured by the ideas of the author's age, and we have to depend largely on the survival of old customs in historical times—customs which had often acquired a new meaning, or of which the original meaning was forgotten. Certainly pre-Mosaic Israel conceived of God as attached to certain places or pillars or trees or springs, as we see in Gn 12^{6} 13^{18} 14^{7} 35^{7}, Jos 24^{26} etc. It has been conjectured that the stone circle, Gilgal (Jos $4^{2\text{-}8.}$ $^{20ff.}$), was a heathen sanctuary converted to the religion of Jahweh. A. B. Davidson (Hastings' *DB* ii. 201) truly remarks on the difficulty in primitive times of realizing deity apart from a local abode; later on, the Ark relieved the difficulty without representing Jahweh under any form, for His presence was attached to it (but see below, § 4).—Traces of 'Totemism,' or belief in the blood relationship of a tribe and a natural object, such as an animal, treated as the protector of the tribe, have been found in the worship of Jahweh under the form of a molten bull (1 K 12^{28}; but this was doubtless derived from the Canaanites), and in the avoidance of unclean animals. Traces of 'Animism,' or belief in the activity of the spirits of one's dead relations, and its consequence 'Ancestor-worship,' have been found in the mourning customs of Israel, such as cutting the hair, wounding the flesh, wearing sackcloth, funeral feasts, reverence for tombs, and the levirate marriage, and in the name *elohim* (*i.e.* supernatural beings) given to Samuel's spirit and (probably) other spirits seen by the witch of Endor (1 S 28^{13}). Kautzsch thinks that these results are not proved, and that the belief in demoniacal powers explains the mourning customs without its being necessary to suppose that Animism had developed into Ancestor-worship.—Polytheism has been traced in the plural 'Elohim' (see **2** above), in the *teraphim* or household gods (Gn 31^{30}, 1 S $19^{13.\ 16}$; found in temples, Jg 17^{5} 18^{14}; cf. Hos 3^{4}); and patriarchal names, such as *Abraham*, *Sarah*, have been taken for the titles of pre-historic divinities. Undoubtedly Israel was in danger of worshipping foreign gods, but there is no trace of a *Hebrew* polytheism (Kautzsch). It will be seen that the results are almost entirely negative; and we must remain in doubt as to the patriarchal conception of God. It seems clear, however, that communion of the worshipper with God was considered to be effected by sacrifice.

4. Post-Mosaic conceptions of God.—The age of the Exodus was undoubtedly a great crisis in the theological education of Israel. Moses proclaimed Jahweh as the God of Israel, supreme among gods, alone to be worshipped by the people whom He had made His own, and with whom He had entered into covenant. But the realization of the truth that there is none other God but Jahweh came by slow degrees only; *henotheism*, which taught that Jahweh alone was to be worshipped by Israel, while the heathen deities were real but inferior gods, gave place only slowly to a true *monotheism* in the popular religion. The old name *Micah* (='Who is like Jahweh?', Jg 17^{1}) is one indication of this line of thought. The religion of the Canaanites was a nature-worship; their deities were personified forces of nature, though called 'Lord' or 'Lady' (*Baal*, *Baalah*) of the place where they were venerated (Guthe, *EBi* ii. art. 'Israel,' § 6); and when left to themselves the Israelites gravitated towards nature-worship. The great need of the early post-Mosaic age, then, was to develop the idea of *personality*. The defective idea of individuality is seen, for example, in the putting of Achan's household to death (Jos $7^{24f.}$), and in the wholesale slaughter of the Canaanites. (The defect appears much later, in an Oriental nation, in Dn 6^{24}, and is constantly observed by travellers in the East to this day.) Jahweh, therefore, is proclaimed as a personal God; and for this reason all the older writers freely use anthropomorphisms. They speak of God's arm, mouth, lips, eyes; He is said to move (Gn 3^{8} 11^{5} $18^{1f.}$), to wrestle ($32^{24ff.}$). Similarly He is said to 'repent' of an action (Gn 6^{6}, Ex 32^{14}; but see 1 S 15^{29}), to be grieved, angry, jealous, and gracious, to love and to hate; in these ways the intelligence, activity, and power of God are emphasized. As a personal God He enters into covenant with Israel, protecting, ruling, guiding them, giving them victory. The wars and victories of Israel are those of Jahweh (Nu 21^{14}, Jg 5^{23}).

The question of images in the early post-Mosaic period is a difficult one. Did Moses tolerate images of Jahweh? On the one hand, it seems certain that the Decalogue in some form or other comes from Moses; the conquest of Canaan is inexplicable unless Israel had some primary laws of moral conduct (Ottley, *BL*^{2} p. 172 f.). But, on the other hand, the Second Commandment need not have formed part of the original Decalogue; and there is a very general opinion that the making of images of *Jahweh* was thought unobjectionable up to the 8th cent. B.C., though Kautzsch believes that images of wood and stone were preferred to metal ones because of the Canaanitish associations of the latter (Ex 34^{17}, but see Jg 17^{3}); he thinks also that the fact of the Ark being the shrine of Jahweh and representing His presence points to its having contained an image of Jahweh (but see § 3 above), and that the **ephod** was originally

an image of Jahweh (Jg $8^{26f.}$), though the word was afterwards used for a gold or silver casing of an image, and so in later times for a sort of waistcoat. In our uncertainty as to the date of the various sources of the Hexateuch it is impossible to come to a definite conclusion about this matter; and Moses, like the later prophets, *may* have preached a high doctrine which popular opinion did not endorse. To this view Barnes (Hastings' *DB*, art. 'Israel,' ii. 509) seems to incline. At least the fact remains that images of Jahweh were actually used for many generations after Moses.

5. The conceptions of the Prophetic age.—This age is marked by a growth, perhaps a very gradual growth, towards a true monotheism. More spiritual conceptions of God are taught; images of Jahweh are denounced; God is unrestricted in space and time (*e.g.* 1 K 8^{27}), and is enthroned in heaven. He is holy (Is 6^{3})—separate from sinners (cf. He 7^{26}), for this seems to be the sense of the Hebrew word; the idea is as old as 1 S 6^{20}. He is the 'Holy One of Israel' (Is 1^{4} and often). He is Almighty, present everywhere (Jer 23^{24}), and full of love.—The prophets, though they taught more spiritual ideas about God, still used anthropomorphisms: thus, Isaiah *saw* Jahweh on His throne (Is 6^{1}), though this was only in a vision.—The growth of true monotheistic ideas may be traced in such passages as Dt $4^{35.\ 39}$ 6^{4} 10^{14}, 1 K 8^{60}, Is 37^{16}, Jl 2^{27}; it culminates in Deutero-Isaiah (Is 43^{10} 'Before me there was no God formed, neither shall there be after me'; 44^{6} 'I am the first and I am the last, and beside me there is no God'; so 45^{5}). The same idea is expressed by the teaching that Jahweh rules not only His people but all nations, as in the numerous passages in Deutero-Isaiah about the Gentiles, in Jer 10^{7}, often in Ezekiel (*e.g.* $35^{4.\ 9.\ 15}$ of Edom), Mal $1^{5.11.14}$, and elsewhere. The earlier prophets had recognized Jahweh as Creator (though Kautzsch thinks that several passages like Am 4^{13} are later glosses); but Deutero-Isaiah emphasizes this attribute more than any of his brethren (Is $40^{12.\ 22.\ 28}$ 41^{4} 42^{5} 44^{24} $45^{12.\ 18}$ 48^{13}).

We may here make a short digression to discuss whether the heathen deities, though believed by the later Jews, and afterwards by the Christians, to be no gods, were yet thought to have a real existence, or whether they were considered to be simply non-existent, creatures of the imagination only. In Is 14^{12} (the Babylonian king likened to false divinities?) and 24^{21} the heathen gods seem to be identified with the fallen angels (see Whitehouse, in Hastings' *DB* i. 592); so perhaps in Deutero-Isaiah ($46^{1f.}$). In later times they are often identified with demons. In Eth. Enoch (xix. 1) Uriel speaks of the evil angels leading men astray into sacrificing to demons as to gods (see Charles's note; and also xcix. 7). And the idea was common in Christian times; it has been attributed to St. Paul (1 Co 10^{20}; though $8^{5f.}$ points the other way, whether these verses are the Apostle's own words or are a quotation from the letter of the Corinthians). Justin Martyr (*Apol.* i. 9, 64, etc.), Tatian (*Add. to the Greeks*, 8), and Irenæus (*Hær.* iii. 6^{3}), while denying that the heathen deities are really gods, make them to have a real existence and to be demons; Athenagoras (*Apol.* 18, 28), Clement of Alexandria (*Exh. to the Greeks*, 2f.), and Tertullian (*Apol.* 10) make them to be mere men or beasts deified by superstition, or combine both ideas.

6. Post-exilic conceptions of God.—In the period from the Exile to Christ, a certain deterioration in the spiritual conception of God is visible. It is true that there was no longer any danger of idolatry, and that this age was marked by an uncompromising monotheism. Yet there was a tendency greatly to exaggerate God's *transcendence*, to make Him self-centred and self-absorbed, and to widen the gulf between Him and the world (Sanday, in Hastings' *DB* ii. 206). This tendency began even at the Exile, and accounts for the discontinuance of anthropomorphic language. In the Priest's Code (P) this language is avoided as much as possible. And later, when the LXX was translated, the alterations made to avoid anthropomorphisms are very significant. Thus in Ex 15^{3} LXX the name 'Man of war' (of Jahweh) disappears; in Ex 19^{3} LXX Moses went up not 'to Elohim,' but 'to the *mount* of God'; in Ex 24^{10} the words 'they saw Elohim of Israel' become 'they saw *the place* where the God of Israel stood.' So in the Targums man is described as being created in the image of *the angels*, and many other anthropomorphisms are removed.—The same tendency is seen in the almost constant use of 'Elohim' rather than of 'Jahweh' in the later books of OT. The tendency, only faintly marked in the later canonical books, is much more evident as time went on. Side by side with it is to be noticed the exaltation of the Law, and the inconsistent conception of God as subject to His own Law. In the Talmud He is represented as a great Rabbi, studying the Law, and keeping the Sabbath (Gilbert, in Hastings' *DCG* i. 582).

Yet there were preparations for the full teaching of the gospel with regard to distinctions in the Godhead. The old narratives of the Theophanies, of the mysterious 'Angel of the Lord' who appeared at one time to be God and at another to be distinct from Him, would prepare men's minds in some degree for the Incarnation, by suggesting a personal unveiling of God (see Liddon, *BL* II. i. β); even the common use of the plural name 'Elohim,' whatever its original significance (see § 2 above), would necessarily prepare them for the doctrine of distinctions in the Godhead, as would the *quasi*-personification of 'the Word' and 'Wisdom', as in Proverbs, Job, Wisdom, Sirach, and in the later Jewish writers, who not only personified but deified them (Scott, in Hastings' *DB*, Ext. vol. p. 308). Above all, the *quasi*-personification of the 'Spirit of God' in the prophetical books (esp. Is 48^{16} 63^{10}) and in the Psalms (esp. 51^{11}), and the expectation of a superhuman King Messiah, would tend in the same direction.

7. Christian development of the doctrine of God.—We may first deal with the development in the conception of God's **fatherhood.** As contrasted with the OT, the NT emphasizes the *universal* fatherhood and love of God. The previous ages had scarcely risen above a conception of God as Father of Israel, and in a special sense of Messiah (Ps 2^{7}); they had thought of God only as *ruling* the Gentiles and bringing them into subjection. Our Lord taught, on the other hand, that God is Father of all and loving to all; He is kind even 'toward the unthankful and evil' (Lk 6^{35}, cf. Mt 5^{45}). Jesus therefore used the name 'Father' more frequently than any other. Yet He Himself bears to the Father a unique relationship; the Voice at the Baptism and at the Transfiguration would otherwise have no meaning (Mk 1^{11} 9^{7} and ‖ Mt. Lk.). Jesus never speaks to His disciples of the Father as 'our Father'; He calls Him absolutely 'the Father' (seldom in Synoptics, Mt 11^{27} 24^{36} [RV] 28^{19} [see §8], Mk 13^{32}, Lk 10^{22}, *passim* in Jn.), or 'my Father' (very frequently in all the Gospels, also in Rev 2^{27} 3^{5}), or else 'my Father and your Father' (Jn 20^{17}). The use of 'his Father' in Mk 8^{38} and ‖ Mt. Lk. is similar. This unique relationship is the point of the saying that God sent His only-begotten Son to save the world (Jn $3^{16f.}$, 1 Jn 4^{9})—a saying which shows also the universal fatherhood of God, for salvation is offered to all men (so Jn 12^{32}). The passage Mt 11^{27} (= Lk 10^{22}) is important as being 'among the earliest materials made use of by the Evangelists,' and as containing 'the whole of the Christology of the Fourth Gospel' (Plummer, *ICC*, 'St Luke,' p. 282; for the latest criticism on it see Sanday, *Criticism of the Fourth Gosp.* p. 223f.). It marks the unique relation in which Jesus stands to the Father.—We have, then, in the NT three senses in which God is Father. (*a*) He is the *Father of Jesus Christ.* (*b*) He is the *Father of all His creatures* (cf. Ac 17^{28}, Ja $1^{17f.}$, He 12^{9}), of Gentiles as well as of Jews; Mk 7^{27} implies that, though the Jews were to be fed first, the Gentiles were also to be fed. He is the Father of all the Jews, as well as of the disciples of Jesus; the words 'One is your Father' were spoken to the multitudes also (Mt $23^{1.\ 9}$). (*c*) But in a very special sense He is *Father of the disciples*, who are taught to pray 'Our Father' (Mt 6^{9}; in the shorter version of Lk 11^{2} RV, 'Father'), and who call on Him as Father (1 P 1^{17} RV). For Pauline passages which teach this triple fatherhood see art. PAUL THE APOSTLE, iii. 1.

The meaning of the doctrine of the universal fatherhood is that God is love (1 Jn 4^8), and that He manifests His love by sending His Son into the world to save it (see above).

8. Distinctions in the Godhead.—We should not expect to find the nomenclature of Christian theology in the NT. The writings contained therein are not a manual of theology; and the object of the technical terms invented or adopted by the Church was to explain the doctrine of the Bible in a form intelligible to the Christian learner. They do not mark a development of doctrine in times subsequent to the Gospel age. The use of the words 'Persons' and 'Trinity' affords an example of this. They were adopted in order to express the teaching of the NT that there are distinctions in the Godhead; that Jesus is no mere man, but that He came down from heaven to take our nature upon Him; that He and the Father are one thing (Jn 10^{30}, see below), and yet are distinct (Mk 13^{32}); that the Spirit is God, and yet distinct from the Father and the Son (Ro 8^9, see below). At the same time Christian theology takes care that we should not conceive of the Three Persons as of three individuals. The meaning of the word 'Trinity' is, in the language of the *Quicunque vult*, that 'the Father is God, the Son is God, and the Holy Ghost is God; and yet they are not three Gods, but one God.'

The present writer must profoundly dissent from the view that Jesus' teaching about God showed but little advance on that of the prophets, and that the 'Trinitarian' idea as found in the Fourth Gospel and in Mt 28^{19} was a development of a later age, say of the very end of the 1st century. Confessedly a great and marvellous development took place. To whom are we to assign it, if not to our Lord? Had a great teacher, or a school of teachers, arisen, who could of themselves produce such an absolute revolution in thought, how is it that contemporary writers and posterity alike put them completely in the background, and gave to Jesus the place of the Great Teacher of the world? This can be accounted for only by the revolution of thought being the work of Jesus Himself. An examination of the literature will lead us to the same conclusion.

(*a*) We begin with St. Paul, as our earliest authority. The 'Apostolic benediction' (2 Co 13^{14}) which, as Dr. Sanday remarks (Hastings' *DB* ii. 213), has no dogmatic object and expounds no new doctrine—indeed expounds no doctrine at all—unequivocally groups together Jesus Christ, God [the Father], and the Holy Ghost as the source of blessing, and in that remarkable order. It is inconceivable that St. Paul would have done this had he looked on Jesus Christ as a mere man, or even as a created angel, and on the Holy Ghost only as an influence of the Father. But how did he arrive at this triple grouping, which is strictly consistent with his doctrine elsewhere? We cannot think that he invented it; and it is only natural to suppose that he founded it upon some words of our Lord.

(*b*) The command to baptize into the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Ghost (Mt 28^{19}), if spoken by our Lord,—whatever the exact meaning of the words, whether as a formula to be used, or as expressing the result of Christian baptism—would amply account for St. Paul's benediction in 2 Co 13^{14}. But it has been strenuously denied that these words are authentic, or, if they are authentic, that they are our Lord's own utterance. We must carefully distinguish these two allegations. *First*, it is denied that they are part of the First Gospel. It has been maintained by Mr. Conybeare that they are an interpolation of the 2nd cent., and that the original text had: 'Make disciples of all the nations in my name, teaching them,' etc. All extant manuscripts and versions have our present text (the Old Syriac is wanting here); but in several passages of Eusebius (*c.* A.D. 260–340) which refer to the verse, the words about baptism are not mentioned, and in some of them the words 'in my name' are added. The allegation is carefully and impartially examined by Bp. Chase in *JThSt* vi. 483 ff., and is judged by him to be baseless. As a matter of fact, nothing is more common in ancient writers than to omit, in referring to a Scripture passage, any words which are not relevant to their argument. Dean Robinson (*JThSt* vii. 186), who controverts Bp. Chase's interpretation of the baptismal command, is yet entirely satisfied with his defence of its authenticity. *Secondly*, it is denied that the words in question were spoken by our Lord; it is said that they belong to that later stage of thought to which the Fourth Gospel is ascribed. As a matter of fact, it is urged, the earliest baptisms were not into the name of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, but in the name of Jesus Christ, or into the name of the Lord Jesus, or into Christ Jesus, or into Christ (Ac 2^{38} 8^{16} 10^{48} 19^5, Ro 6^3, Gal 3^{27}). Now it is not necessary to maintain that in any of these places a formula of baptism is prescribed or mentioned. The reverse is perhaps more probable (see Chase, *l.c.*). The phrases in Acts need mean only that converts were united to Jesus or that they became Christians (cf. 1 Co 10^2); the phrase in Mt 28^{19} may mean that disciples were to be united to Father, Son, and Holy Ghost by baptism, without any formula being enjoined; or if we take what seems to be the less probable interpretation (that of Dean Robinson), that 'in the name' means 'by the authority of,' a similar result holds good. We need not even hold that Mt 28^{19} represents our Lord's *ipsissima verba*. But that it faithfully represents our Lord's teaching seems to follow from the use of the benediction in 2 Co 13^{14} (above), and from the fact that immediately after the Apostolic age the sole form of baptizing that we read of was that of Mt 28^{19}, as in *Didache* 7 (the words quoted exactly, though in § 9 Christians are said to have been baptized into the name of the Lord), in Justin Martyr, *Apol.* i. 61 (he does not quote the actual words, but paraphrases, and at the end of the same chapter says that 'he who is illuminated is washed in the name of Jesus Christ'), and in Tertullian, *adv. Prax.* 26 (paraphrase), *de Bapt.* 13 (exactly), *de Præscr. Hær.* 20 (paraphrase). Thus the second generation of Christians must have understood the words to be our Lord's. But the same doctrine is found also in numerous other passages of the NT, and we may now proceed briefly to compare some of them with Mt 28^{19}, prefacing the investigation with the remark that the suspected words in that verse occur in the most Jewish of the Gospels, where such teaching is improbable unless it comes from our Lord (so Scott in Hastings' *DB*, Ext. vol. p. 313).

(*c*) That the Fourth Gospel is full of the doctrine of 'Father, Son, and Spirit' is allowed by all (see esp. Jn 14–16). The Son and the Spirit are both Paracletes, sent by the Father; the Spirit is sent by the Father and also by Jesus; Jesus has all things whatsoever the Father has; the Spirit takes the things of Jesus and declares them unto us. In Jn 10^{30} our Lord says: 'I and the Father are one thing' (the numeral is neuter), *i.e.* one essence—the words cannot fall short of this (Westcott, *in loc.*). But the same doctrine is found in all parts of the NT. Our Lord is the only-begotten Son (see § **7** above), who was pre-existent, and was David's Lord in heaven before He came to earth (Mt 22^{45}: this is the force of the argument). He claims to judge the world and to bestow glory (Mt 25^{31}, Lk 22^{69}; cf. 2 Co 5^{10}), to forgive sins and to bestow the power of binding and loosing (Mk $2^{5.\ 10}$, Mt 28^{18} and 18^{18}; cf. Jn 20^{23}); He invites sinners to come to Him (Mt 11^{28}; cf. 10^{37}, Lk 14^{26}); He is the teacher of the world (Mt 11^{29}); He casts out devils as Son of God, and gives authority to His disciples to cast them out (Mk $3^{11f.\ 15}$). The claims of Jesus are as tremendous, and (in the great example of humility) at first sight as surprising, in the Synoptics as in Jn. (Liddon, *BL* v. iv.). Similarly, in the Pauline Epistles the Apostle clearly teaches that Jesus is God (see art. Paul the Apostle, iii. 3, 4). In them God the Father and Jesus Christ are constantly joined together (just as

Father, Son, and Spirit are joined in the Apostolic benediction), *e.g.* in 1 Co 1^3 8^6. So in 1 P 1^2 we have the triple conjunction—'the foreknowledge of God the Father,' 'the sanctification of the Spirit,' 'the blood of Jesus Christ.' The same conjunction is found in Jude 20^f. 'Praying in the Holy Spirit, keep yourselves in the love of God, looking for the mercy of our Lord Jesus Christ unto eternal life'; cf. also 1 Co 12^{3-6}, Ro 8^{14-17} etc.

The Holy Spirit is represented in the NT as a Person, not as a mere Divine influence. The close resemblance between the Lukan and the Johannine accounts of the promise of the Spirit is very noteworthy. St. Luke tells us of 'the promise of my Father,' and of the command to tarry in the city until the Apostles were 'clothed with power from on high' (Lk 24^{49}); this is interpreted in Ac 1^5 as a baptism with the Holy Ghost, and one of the chief themes of Acts is the bestowal of the Holy Ghost to give life to the Church (Ac $2^{4.\ 38}$ $8^{15ff.}$ $19^{2ff.}$ etc.). This is closely parallel to the promise of the Paraclete in Jn 14–16. Both the First and the Third Evangelists ascribe the conception of Jesus to the action of the Holy Ghost (Mt $1^{18.\ 20}$, Lk 1^{35}, where 'the Most High' is the Father, cf. Lk $6^{35f.}$). At the baptism of Jesus, the Father and the Spirit are both manifested, the appearance of the dove being an indication that the Spirit is distinct from the Father. The Spirit can be sinned against (Mk 3^{29} and || Mt. Lk.); through Him Jesus is filled with Divine grace for the ministry (Lk $4^{1.\ 14.\ 18}$), and casts out devils (Mt 12^{28}; cf. Lk 11^{20} 'the finger of God'). The Spirit inspired David (Mk 12^{36}). So in St. Paul's Epistles He intercedes, is grieved, is given to us, gives life (see art. Paul the Apostle, iii. 6). And the distinctions in the Godhead are emphasized by His being called the 'Spirit of God' and the 'Spirit of Christ' in the same verse (Ro 8^9). That He is the Spirit of Jesus appears also from Ac 16^7 RV, 2 Co 3^{17}, Gal 4^6, Ph 1^{19}, 1 P 1^{11}.

This very brief epitome must here suffice. It is perhaps enough to show that the revelation which Jesus Christ made caused an immeasurable enlargement of the world's conception of God. Our Lord teaches that God is One, and at the same time that He is no mere Monad, but Triune. Cf. art. Trinity. A. J. Maclean.

GOEL.—See Avenger of Blood, and Kin [Next of].

GOG.—**1.** The 'prince of Rosh, Meshech, and Tubal,' from the land of Magog (Ezk 38^2, and often in chs. 38. 39), whom Ezk. pictures as leading a great host of nations from the far North against the restored Israel, and as being ignominiously defeated, by J"'s intervention, upon the mountains of Canaan. Whence the name 'Gog' was derived we do not certainly know: the name reminds us of that of Gyges (Gr. *Guges*, Assyr. *Gugu*), the famous king of Lydia, of whom Hdt.(i. 8–14) tells us, and who, Ashurbanipal states (*KIB* ii. 173–5), when his country was invaded by the Gimirrâ (Cimmerians), expelled them with Assyrian help (c. B.C. 665); and it has been conjectured (Sayce) that this name might have reached Palestine as that of a distant and successful king, who might be made a typical leader of a horde of invaders from the North. That Gomer (=the Cimmerian), who was really his foe, appears in Ezk. among his allies, might be explained either from the vagueness of the knowledge which reached Pal., or because Ezk. had in view, not the historical 'Gog' but merely an ideal figure *suggested by* the historical 'Gog.'

Upon the basis of Ezk 38. 39, 'Gog' and 'Magog' appear often in the later Jewish eschatology as leading the final, but abortive, assault of the powers of the world upon the Kingdom of God. Cf. Rev. 20^{7-9}; in the Mishna, *Eduyoth* 2. 10; Sib. Orac. iii. 319–322; and see further refl. in Schürer, § 29. III. 4; Weber, *Altsynag. Theol.* (Index); Volz, *Jüd. Eschat.* p. 176 (and index).

2. The eponym of a Reubenite family (1 Ch 5^4).

S. R. Driver.

GOIIM is the Heb. word which in EV is variously rendered 'Gentiles,' 'nations,' 'heathen' (see Preface to RV of OT). In the obscure expression in Gn 14^1, where AV has 'king of nations,' RV retains *Goïim* (possibly a corruption from *Gutî* [a people living to the E. of the little Zab]) as a proper name, although RVm offers the alternative rendering 'nations.' The same difference in rendering between AV and RV is found also in Jos 12^{23}. Possibly in Gn 14^1 the reference may be to the *Umman-manda*, or 'hordes' of northern peoples, who from time to time invaded Assyria (so Sayce).

GOLAN.—One of the three cities of refuge E. of the Jordan (Dt 4^{43}, Jos 20^8), assigned to the sons of Gershon (Jos 21^{27}, 1 Ch 6^{71}), in the territory belonging to the half-tribe of Manasseh in Bashan. Both the town, Golan, and a district, **Gaulanitis,** were known to Josephus (*Ant.* xiii. xv. 3, xvii, viii. 1). The latter is called by the Arabs *Jaulân*. The name seems to have been applied first to a city, and then to the district round about; etymologically, however, the root, meaning 'circuit,' would point to the opposite conclusion. The exact site of the city is very uncertain. Schumacher (*Across the Jordan*, 92) somewhat hesitatingly identifies it with the ruins of *Sahem el-Jaulân*, 17 miles E. of the Sea of Galilee. George L. Robinson.

GOLD.—See Mining and Metals.

GOLGOTHA (Mt 27^{33}, Mk 15^{22}, Jn 19^{17}, from the Aram. *Gulgalta*. In Lk 23^{33} the place is called *Kranion* (RV 'the skull,' AV '**Calvary**')).—The situation was evidently outside the city (He 13^{12}), but near it (Jn 19^{20}); it was a site visible afar off (Mk 15^{40}, Lk 23^{49}), and was probably near a high road (Mt 27^{39}).

Four reasons have been suggested for the name. (1) That it was a place where skulls were to be found, perhaps a place of public execution. This is improbable. (2) That the 'hill' was skull-shaped. This is a popular modern view. Against it may be urged that there is no evidence that Golgotha was a hill at all. See also below. (3) That the name is due to an ancient, and probably pre-Christian, tradition that the skull of Adam was found there. This tradition is quoted by Origen, Athanasius, Epiphanius, etc., and its survival to-day is marked by the skull shown in the Chapel of Adam under the 'Calvary' in the Church of the Holy Sepulchre. (4) There is the highly improbable theory that the legend of the skull of Adam, and even the name Golgotha, really have their origin in the *capitolium* of Ælia Capitolina, which stood on the site now covered by the Church of the Sepulchre.

Of the many proposed sites for Golgotha it may be briefly said that there is no side of the city which has not been suggested by some authority for 'the place of a skull'; but, practically speaking, there are only two worth considering, the traditional site and the 'green hill' or 'Gordon's Calvary.' The traditional site included in the Church of the Sepulchre and in close proximity to the tomb itself has a continuous tradition attaching to it from the days of Constantine. In favour of this site it may be argued with great plausibility that it is very unlikely that all tradition of a spot so important in the eyes of Christians should have been lost, even allowing all consideration for the vicissitudes that the city passed through between the Crucifixion and the days of Constantine. The topographical difficulties are dealt with in the discussion of the site of the second wall [see Jerusalem], but it may safely be said that investigations have certainly tended in recent years to reduce them. With regard to the 'green hill' outside the Damascus gate, which has secured so much support in some quarters, its claims are based upon the four presuppositions that Golgotha was shaped like a skull, that the present skull-shaped hill had such an appearance at the time of the Crucifixion, that the ancient road and wall ran as they do to-day, and that the Crucifixion was near the Jewish 'place of stoning' (which is said by an unreliable local Jewish tradition to be situated here). All these hypotheses are extremely doubtful. E. W. G. Masterman.

GOLIATH.—A giant, said to have been a descendant

of the early race of Anakim. He was slain, in single combat, by David (or, according to another tradition, by Elhanan) at Ephes-dammim, before an impending battle between the Philistines and the Israelites. That this 'duel' was of a religious character comes out clearly in 1 S 17[43. 45], where we are told that *the Philistine cursed David by his gods*, while David replies: '*And I come to thee in the name of the Lord of hosts.*' The fact that David brings the giant's sword as an offering into the sanctuary at Nob points in the same direction. Goliath is described as being 'six cubits and a span' in height, *i.e.* over nine feet, at the likeliest reckoning; his armour and weapons were proportionate to his great height. Human skeletons have been found of equal height, so that there is nothing improbable in the Biblical account of his stature. The flight of the Philistines on the death of their champion could be accounted for by their belief that the Israelite God had shown Himself superior to their god (but see 2 S 23[9-12], 1 Ch 11[12ff.]); see, further, DAVID, ELHANAN.

W. O. E. OESTERLEY.

GOMER.—**1.** One of the sons of Japheth and the father of Ashkenaz, Riphath, and Togarmah (Gn 10[2f.], 1 Ch 1[5f.]), who along with Togarmah is included by Ezekiel in the army of Gog (Ezk 38[6]). Gomer represents the people termed *Gimirrâ* by the Assyrians, and **Cimmerians** by the Greeks. Their original home appears to have been north of the Euxine, but by the 7th cent. B.C. they had completely conquered Cappadocia and settled there.

2. Daughter of Diblaim, wife of the prophet Hosea (wh. see).

L. W. KING.

GOMORRAH.—See PLAIN [CITIES OF THE].

GOODMAN.—The only occurrence of this Eng. word in the OT is Pr 7[19] 'the goodman is not at home.' The Heb. is simply 'the man'; but as the reference is to the woman's husband, 'goodman,' still used in Scotland for 'husband,' was in 1611 an accurate rendering. In the NT the word occurs 12 times (always in the Synop. Gospels) as the trans. of *oikodespotēs*, 'master of the house.' The same Gr. word is translated 'householder' in Mt 13[27. 52] 20[1] 21[33], and 'master of the house' in Mt 10[25], Lk 13[25].

GOPHER WOOD (Gn 6[14]), of which the ark was constructed, was by tradition cypress wood, and this, or else the cedar, may be inferred as probable.

E. W. G. MASTERMAN.

GORGIAS.—A general of Antiochus Epiphanes, who is described as 'a mighty man of the king's friends' (1 Mac 3[38]), and a captain who 'had experience in matters of war' (2 Mac 8[9]). When Antiochus set out on his Parthian campaign (B.C. 166 or 165), his chancellor, Lysias, who was charged with the suppression of the revolt in Pal., despatched a large army to Judæa, under the command of Ptolemy, Nicanor, and Gorgias. The fortunes of the war are described in 1 Mac 3[40] 4[25] 5[16ff. 55ff.], 2 Mac 8[12-29] 10[14ff.] 12[32ff.]; Jos. *Ant.* XII. vii. 4, viii. 6.

GORTYNA.—The most important city in Crete, after Gnossus, situated about midway between the two ends of the island. It is named (1 Mac 15[23]) among the autonomous States and communes to which were sent copies of the decree of the Roman Senate in favour of the Jews.

GOSHEN.—**1.** An unknown city in Judah (Jos 15[51]). **2.** An unknown territory in S. Palestine, probably the environs of No. **1** (Jos 10[41]). **3.** A division of Egypt in which the children of Israel were settled between Jacob's entry and the Exodus. It was a place of good pasture, on or near the frontier of Palestine, and plentiful in vegetables and fish (Nu 11[5]). It cannot with exactness be defined. Jth 1[9. 10] is probably wrong in including the nomes of Tanis and Memphis in Goshen. The LXX reads 'Gesem of Arabia' in Gn 45[10] 46[34], elsewhere 'Gesem.' Now Arabia is defined by Ptolemy, the geographer, as an Egyptian nome on the East border of the Delta of the Nile, and this seems to be the locality most probably contemplated by the narrator. It runs eastwards from opposite the modern *Zagazig* (Bubastis) to the Bitter Lakes. There seems to be no Egyptian origin for the name, unless it represented *Kesem*, the Egyptian equivalent of *Phacussa* (the chief town of the nome of Arabia according to Ptolemy). It may be of Semitic origin, as is suggested by the occurrence of the name, as noticed above, outside Egyptian territory.

R. A. S. MACALISTER.

GOSPEL.—This word (lit. 'God-story') represents Greek *euangelion*, which reappears in one form or another in ecclesiastical Latin and in most modern languages. In classical Greek the word means the reward given to a bearer of good tidings (so 2 S 4[10] LXX in pl.), but afterwards it came to mean the message itself, and so in 2 S 18[20. 22. 25] [LXX] a derived word is used in this sense. In NT the word means 'good tidings' about the salvation of the world by the coming of Jesus Christ. It is not there used of the written record. A genitive case or a possessive pronoun accompanying it denotes: (*a*) the person or the thing preached (the gospel of Christ, or of peace, or of salvation, or of the grace of God, or of God, or of the Kingdom, Mt 4[23] 9[35] 24[14], Mk 1[14], Ac 20[24], Ro 15[19], Eph 1[13] 6[15] etc.); or sometimes (*b*) the preacher (Mk 1[1] (?), Ro 2[16] 16[25], 2 Co 4[3] etc.); or rarely (*c*) the persons preached to (Gal 2[7]). 'The gospel' is often used in NT absolutely, as in Mk 1[15] 8[35] 14[9] RV, 16[15], Ac 15[7], Ro 11[28], 2 Co 8[18] (where the idea must not be entertained that the reference is to Luke as an *Evangelist*), and so 'this gospel,' Mt. 26[13]; but English readers should bear in mind that usually (though not in Mk 16[15]) the EV phrase 'to preach the gospel' represents a simple verb of the Greek. The noun is not found in Lk., Heb., or the Catholic Epistles, and only once in the Johannine writings (Rev 14[6], 'an eternal gospel'—an angelic message). In Ro 10[16] 'the gospel' is used absolutely of the message of the OT prophets.

The written record was not called 'the Gospel' till a later age. By the earliest generation of Christians the oral teaching was the main thing regarded; men told what they had heard and seen, or what they had received from eye-witnesses. As these died out and the written record alone remained, the perspective altered. The earliest *certain* use of the word in this sense is in Justin Martyr (c. A.D. 150: 'The Apostles in the Memoirs written by themselves, which are called Gospels,' *Apol.* i. 66; cf. 'the Memoirs which were drawn up by His Apostles and those who followed them,' *Dial.* 103), though some find it in Ignatius and the *Didache*. The earliest known titles of the Evangelic records (which, however, we cannot assert to be contemporary with the records themselves) are simply 'According to Matthew,' etc.

A. J. MACLEAN.

GOSPELS.—Under this heading we may consider the four Gospels as a whole, and their relations to one another, leaving detailed questions of date and authorship to the separate articles.

1. The aims of the Evangelists.—On this point we have contemporary evidence in the Lukan preface (1[1-4]), which shows that no Evangelist felt himself absolved from taking all possible pains in securing accuracy, that many had already written Gospel records, and that their object was to give a contemporary account of our Lord's life on earth. As yet, when St. Luke wrote, these records had not been written by eye-witnesses. But they depended for their authority on eye-witnesses (1[2]); and this is the important point, the names of the authors being comparatively immaterial. The records have a religious aim (Jn 20[31]). Unlike the modern biography, which seeks to relate all the principal events of the life described, the Gospel aims at producing faith by describing a few significant incidents taken out of a much larger whole. Hence the Evangelists are all

silent about many things which we should certainly expect to read about if the Gospels were biographies. This consideration takes away all point from the suggestion that silence about an event means that the writer was ignorant of it (see Sanday, *Criticism of Fourth Gospel*, p. 71). Again, although, before St. Luke wrote, there were numerous Gospels, only one of these survived till Irenæus' time (see § 4). But have the rest entirely vanished? It may perhaps be conjectured that some fragments which seem not to belong to our canonical Gospels (such as Lk $22^{43f.}$, Jn 7^{53}–8^{11}, Mk 16^{9-20}) are survivals of these documents. But this is a mere guess.

2. The Synoptic problem.—The first three Gospels in many respects agree closely with one another, and differ from the Fourth. Their topics are the same; they deal chiefly with the Galilæan ministry, not explicitly mentioning visits to Jerusalem after Jesus' baptism until the last one; while the Fourth Gospel deals largely with those visits. In a word, the first three Gospels give the same general survey, the same 'synopsis,' and are therefore called the **'Synoptic Gospels,'** and their writers the 'Synoptists.' But further, they agree very closely in words, arrangement of sentences, and in many other details. They have a large number of passages in common, and in many cases all three relate the same incidents in nearly the same words; in others, two out of the three have common matter. The likeness goes far beyond what might be expected from three writers independently relating the same series of facts. In that case we should look for likenesses in details of the narratives, but not in the actual words. A striking example is in Mt 9^{6} = Mk 2^{10} = Lk 5^{24}. The parenthesis ('Then saith he to the sick of the palsy') is common to all three —an impossible coincidence if all were independent. Or again, in Mt. and Mk. the Baptist's imprisonment is related parenthetically, out of its place (Mt $14^{3ff.}$, Mk $6^{17ff.}$), though in Lk. it comes in its true chronological order (Lk 3^{19}). The coincidence in Mt. and Mk. shows some dependence. On the other hand, there are striking variations, even in words, in the common passages. Thus the Synoptists must have dealt very freely with their sources; they did not treat them as unalterable. What, then, is the nature of the undoubted literary connexion between them?

(*a*) *The Oral Theory.*—It is clear from NT (*e.g.* Lk 1^{2}) and early ecclesiastical writers (*e.g.* Papias, who tells us that he laid special stress on 'the utterances of a living and abiding voice,' see Eusebius, *HE* iii. 39), that the narrative teaching of the Apostles was handed on by word of mouth in a very systematic manner. Eastern memories are very retentive, and this fact favours such a mode of tradition. We know that the Jews kept up their traditions orally (Mt $15^{2ff.}$ etc.). It is thought, then, that both the resemblances and the differences between the Synoptists may be accounted for by each of them having written down the oral tradition to which he was accustomed.

This is the 'Oral Theory,' which met with a great degree of support, especially in England, a generation or so ago. It was first systematically propounded in Germany by Gieseler, in 1818, and was maintained by Alford and Westcott, and lately by A. Wright. It is suggested that this theory would account for unusual words or expressions being found in all the Synoptics, as these would retain their hold on the memory. It is thought that the catechetical instruction was carried out very systematically, and that there were different schools of catechists; and that this would account for all the phenomena. The main strength of the theory lies in the objections raised to its rival, the Documentary Theory (see below), especially that on the latter view the freedom with which the later Evangelists used the earlier, or the common sources, contradicts any idea of inspiration or even of authority attaching to their predecessors. It is even said (Wright) that a man copying from a document could not produce such multitudinous variations in wording. The great objection to the Oral Theory is that it could not produce the extraordinarily close resemblances in language, such as the parentheses mentioned above, unless indeed the oral teaching were so firmly stereotyped and so exactly learnt by heart that it had become practically the same thing as a written Gospel. Hence the Oral Theory has fallen into disfavour, though there is certainly this element of truth in it, that oral teaching went on for some time side by side with written Gospels, and provided independent traditions (*e.g.* that Jesus was born in a cave, as Justin Martyr says), and indeed influenced the later Evangelists in their treatment of the earlier Gospels. It was only towards the end of the lives of the Apostles that our Gospels were written.

(*b*) *The Documentary Theory*, in one form, now obsolete, supposed that the latest of the Synoptists knew and borrowed from the other two, and the middle Synoptist from the earliest.

This theory, if true, would be a sufficient cause for the resemblances; but in spite of Zahn's argument to the contrary (*Einleitung*, ii. 400), it is extremely unlikely that Matthew knew Luke's Gospel or *vice versa*. To mention only one instance, the Birth-narratives clearly argue the independence of both, especially in the matter of the genealogies. Augustine's theory that Mark followed, and was the abbreviator of, Matthew is now seen to be impossible, both because of the graphic and autoptic nature of Mk., which precludes the idea of an abbreviator, and because in parallel passages Mk. is fuller than Mt., the latter having had to abbreviate in order to introduce additional matter.

The form of this theory which may now be said to hold the field, is that the source of the common portions of the Synoptics is a Greek written narrative, called (for reasons stated in art. MARK [GOSPEL ACC. TO]) the 'Petrine tradition'—the preaching of St. Peter reduced to the form of a Gospel. The favourite idea is that our Mk. is itself the document which the other Synoptists independently used; but if this is not the case, at least our Mk. represents that document most closely. This theory would at once account for the close resemblances.

Here it may be as well to give at once a sufficient answer to the chief objection to all documentary theories (see above). The objection transfers modern ideas with regard to literary borrowing to the 1st century. As a matter of fact, we know that old writers did the very thing objected to; *e.g.* Genesis freely embodies older documents; the *Didache* (*c.* A.D. 120) probably incorporates an old Jewish tract on the 'Way of Life and the Way of Death,' and was itself afterwards incorporated and freely treated in later documents such as the *Apostolic Constitutions* (c. A.D. 375), which also absorbed and altered the *Didascalia*; and so the later 'Church Orders' or manuals were produced from the earlier. We have no right to make *a priori* theories as to inspiration, and to take it for granted that God inspired people in the way that commends itself to us. And we know that as a matter of fact written documents were in existence when St. Luke wrote (Lk 1^{1}). It is not then *unreasonable* to suppose that Mk. or something very like it was before the First and Third Evangelists when they wrote. A strong argument for the priority of Mk. will be seen if three parallel passages of the Synoptics be written out in Greek side by side, and the words and phrases in Mk. which are found in ‖ Mt. or ‖ Lk. be underlined; it will be found almost always that nearly the whole of Mk. is reproduced in one or both of the other Synoptics, though taken singly Mk. is usually the fullest *in parallel passages*. Mk. has very little which is peculiar to itself; its great value lying in another direction (see art. MARK [GOSPEL ACC. TO] for other arguments). The conclusion is that it, or another Gospel closely resembling it, is a common source of Mt. and Lk. This accounts for the resemblances of the Synoptists; their differences come from St. Matthew and St. Luke feeling perfectly free to alter their sources and narrate incidents differently as seemed best to them. They had other sources besides Mk. Here it may be desirable to remark by way of caution that in so far as they use a common source, the Synoptists are not independent witnesses to the facts of the Gospels; in so far as they supplement that source, they give additional attestation to the facts. Yet an event spoken of by all three Synoptists in the same way is often treated as being more trustworthy than one spoken of by only one or by two. A real example of double attestation, on the other hand, is the reference in 1 Co 13^{2} to the 'faith that removes mountains,' as compared with Mt 17^{20} 21^{21}.

Another form of the Documentary Theory may be briefly mentioned, namely, that the common source was an *Aramaic* document, differently translated by the three Evangelists. This, it is thought, might account

for the differences; and much ingenuity has been expended on showing how an Aramaic word might, by different pointing (for points take the place of vowels in Aramaic), or by a slight error, produce the differences in Greek which we find. But it is enough to say that this theory could not possibly account for the close verbal resemblances or even for most of the differences. A *Greek* document must be the common source.

(*c*) *The non-Markan sources of Mt. and Lk.*—We have now to consider those parts of Mt. and Lk. which are common to both, but are not found in Mk., and also those parts which are found only in Mt. or only in Lk. In the former the same phenomena of verbal resemblances and differences occur; but, on the other hand, the common matter is, to a great extent, treated in quite a different order by Mt. and Lk. This peculiarity is thought by some to be due to the source used being oral, even though the 'Petrine tradition,' the common source of the three, was a document. But the same objections as before apply here (*e.g.* cf. Mt $6^{24.\ 27}$ = Lk 16^{13} 12^{25}, or Mt $23^{37\text{-}39}$ = Lk $13^{34f.}$, which are almost word for word the same). We must postulate a written *Greek* common source; and the differences of order are most easily accounted for by observing the characteristics of the Evangelists. St. Matthew aimed rather at narrative according to subject, grouping incidents and teachings together for this reason, while St. Luke rather preserved chronological order (cf. the treatment of the Baptist's imprisonment, as above). Thus in Mt. we have groups of sayings (*e.g.* the Sermon on the Mount) and groups of parables, not necessarily spoken at one time, but closely connected by subject. We may infer that St. Luke treated the document common to him and St. Matthew in a stricter chronological order, because he treats Mk. in that way. He introduces a large part of Mk. in one place, keeping almost always to its order; then he interpolates a long section from some other authority (Lk 9^{51}–18^{14}), and then goes back and picks up Mk. nearly where he had left it. Probably, therefore, Lk. is nearer in order to the non-Markan document than Mt.

Of what nature was this document? Some, following a clue of Papias (see art. MATTHEW [GOSPEL ACC. TO]), call it the **'Logia,'** and treat it as a collection of teachings rather than as a connected history; it has been suggested that each teaching was introduced by 'Jesus said,' and that the occasion of each was not specified. This would account for differences of order. But it would involve a very unnecessary multiplication of documents, for considerations of verbal resemblances show that in the narrative, as well as in the discourses, a common non-Markan document must underlie Mt. and Lk.; and, whatever meaning be ascribed to the word *logia*, it is quite improbable that Papias refers to a record of sayings *only*. While, then, it is probable that discourses formed the greater part of the non-Markan document, we may by comparing Mt. and Lk. conclude that it described at least *some* historical scenes.—The document must have included the preaching of the Baptist, the Temptation, the Sermon on the Mount, the healing of the centurion's servant, the coming of John's messengers to Jesus, the instructions to the disciples, the Lord's Prayer, the controversy about Beelzebub, the denunciation of the Pharisees, and precepts about over-anxiety. It is very likely that it contained also an account of the Crucifixion and Resurrection, and many other things which are in Mk.; for in some of the passages common to all three Synoptists, Mt. and Lk. agree together against Mk. This would be accounted for by their having, in these instances, followed the non-Markan document in preference to the 'Petrine tradition.'

In addition there must have been other sources, oral or documentary, of Mt. and Lk. separately, for in some passages they show complete independence.

3. Relation of the Fourth Gospel to the Synoptics.—The differences which strike us at once when we compare Jn. with the Synoptics were obvious also to the Fathers. Clement of Alexandria accounts for the fact of the differences by a solution which he says he derived from 'the ancient elders,' namely, that John, seeing that the external (lit. 'bodily') facts had already been sufficiently set forth in the other Gospels, composed, at the request of his disciples and with the inspiration of the Spirit, a 'spiritual' Gospel (quoted by Eusebius, *HE* vi. 14). By this phrase Clement clearly means a Gospel which emphasizes the Godhead of our Lord. The human side of the Gospel story had already been adequately treated. Elsewhere Eusebius (*HE* iii. 24) gives an old tradition that John had the Synoptics before him, and that he supplemented them. In all essential particulars this solution may be treated as correct. The main differences between John and the Synoptics are as follows:

(*a*) *Geographical and Chronological.*—The Synoptists lay the scene of the ministry almost entirely in Galilee and Peræa; St. John dwells on the ministry in Judæa. The Synoptists hardly note the flight of time at all; from a cursory reading of their accounts the ministry might have been thought to have lasted only one year, as some early Fathers believed, thus interpreting 'the acceptable year of the Lord' (Is 61^2, Lk 4^{19}); though, if we carefully study the Synoptics, especially Lk., we do faintly trace three stages—in the wilderness of Galilee (a brief record), in Galilee (full description), and in Central Palestine as far as Jerusalem and on the other side of Jordan. During this last stage Jesus 'set his face' to go to Jerusalem (Lk 9^{51}; cf. 2 K 12^{17}, Ezk 21^2). But in Jn. time is marked by the mention of several Jewish feasts, notably the Passover, and we gather from Jn. that the ministry lasted either $2\frac{1}{2}$ or $3\frac{1}{2}$ years, according as we read in 5^1 'a feast' (which could hardly be a Passover) or 'the feast' (which perhaps was the Passover). These differences are what we should expect when we consider that the Synoptic story is chiefly a Galilæan one, and is not concerned with visits to Jerusalem and Judæa until the last one just before the Crucifixion. Yet from incidental notices in the Synoptics themselves we should have guessed that Jesus did pay visits to Jerusalem. Every religious Jew would do so, if possible, at least for the Passover. If Jesus had not conformed to this custom, but had paid the first visit of His ministry just before the Crucifixion, we could not account for the sudden enmity of the Jerusalem Jews to Him at that time, or for the existence of disciples in Judæa, *e.g.*, Judas Iscariot and his father Simon Iscariot (Jn 6^{71} RV), probably natives of Kerioth in Judæa; Joseph of Arimathæa, 'a city of the Jews' (Lk 23^{51}); the household at Bethany; and Simon the leper (Mk 14^3). The owner of the ass and colt at Bethphage, and the owner of the room where the Last Supper was eaten, evidently knew Jesus when the disciples came with the messages. And if the Apostles had just arrived in Jerusalem for the first time only a few weeks before, it would be unlikely that they would make their headquarters there immediately after the Ascension. Thus the account in Jn. of a Judæan ministry is indirectly confirmed by the Synoptics (cf. also Mt 23^{37} '*how often*').

(*b*) *Proclamation of Jesus' Messiahship.*—In the Synoptics, especially in Mk., this is a very gradual process. The evil spirits who announce it inopportunely are silenced (Mk $1^{2f.}$). Even after Peter's confession at Cæsarea Philippi at the end of the Galilæan ministry, the disciples are charged to tell no man (Mk 8^{30}). But in Jn., the Baptist begins by calling Jesus 'the Lamb of God' and 'the Son of God' ($1^{29.\ 34}$); Andrew, Philip, and Nathanael at once recognize him as Messiah ($1^{41.\ 45.\ 49}$). Can both accounts be true? Now, as we have seen, a Judæan ministry must have been carried on simultaneously with a Galilæan one; these would be kept absolutely separate by the hostile district of Samaria which lay between them (Jn 4^9). Probably two methods were used for two quite different peoples. The rural population of Galilee had to be taught by very slow degrees; but Jerusalem was the home of religious controversy, and

its inhabitants were acute reasoners. With them the question who Jesus was could not be postponed; this is shown by the way in which the Pharisees questioned the Baptist. To them, therefore, the Messiahship was proclaimed earlier. It is true that there would be a difficulty if the Twelve first learned about the Messiahship of Jesus at Cæsarea Philippi. But this does not appear from the Synoptics. The Apostles had no doubt heard the questions asked in Judæa, and did know our Lord's claim to be Christ; but they did not fully realize all that it meant till the incident of Peter's confession.

(*c*) *The claims of our Lord* are said to be greater in Jn. than in the Synoptics (*e.g.* Jn. 10^{30}), and it is suggested that they are an exaggeration due to a later age. Certainly Jn. is a 'theological' Gospel. But in reality the claims of our Lord are as great in the Synoptics, though they may not be so explicitly mentioned. The claim of Jesus to be Lord of the Sabbath (Mk 2^{28}), to re-state the Law (Mt $5^{17.\ 21f.}$ RV, etc.), to be about to come in glory (Mk 8^{38} 14^{62}), to be the Judge of the world (Mt $25^{31ff.}$ etc.), the invitation 'Come unto me' (Mt $11^{28ff.}$), the assertion of the atoning efficacy of His death (Mk 10^{45} 14^{24})—cannot be surpassed (see also MARK [GOSPEL ACC. TO], § 3). The self-assertion of the great Example of humility is equally great in all the Gospels, and is the great stumbling-block of all the thoughtful upholders of a purely humanitarian Christ.

(*d*) Other differences, which can here be only alluded to, are the emphasis in Jn. on the work of the Spirit, the Comforter; the absence in Jn. of set parables, allegories taking their place; and the character of the miracles, there being no casting out of devils in Jn., and, on the other hand, the miracle at Cana being unlike anything in the Synoptics. The only miracle common to the four Gospels is the feeding of the five thousand, which in Jn. is mentioned probably only to introduce the discourse at Capernaum, of which it forms the text (Jn 6). All these phenomena may be accounted for on Clement's hypothesis. The Fourth Evangelist had the Synoptics before him, and supplemented them from his own knowledge. And it may be remarked that, had Jn. been a late work written after the death of all the Apostles, the author would never have ventured to introduce so many differences from Gospels already long in circulation; whereas one who had been an eye-witness, writing at the end of his life, might well be in such a position of authority (perhaps the last survivor of the Apostolic company, whoever he was) that he could supplement from his own knowledge the accounts already in use.

The supplementary character of Jn. is seen also from its omission of matters to which the writer nevertheless alludes, assuming that his readers know them; *e.g.*, Jesus' baptism (without the knowledge of which Jn 1^{32} would be unintelligible), the commission to baptize (cf. the Nicodemus narrative, Jn 3), the Eucharist (cf. Jn 6, which it is hardly possible to explain without any reference to Jesus' words at the Last Supper, for which it is a preparation, taking away their apparent abruptness), the Transfiguration (cf. 1^{14}), the Birth of our Lord (it is assumed that the answer to the objection that Christ could not come from Nazareth is well known, 1^{46} $7^{41.\ 52}$), the Ascension (cf. 6^{62} 20^{17}), etc. So also it is often recorded in Jn. that Jesus left questions unanswered, and the Evangelist gives no explanation, assuming that the answer is well known (3^{4} $4^{11.\ 15}$ 6^{52} 7^{35}).

There are some well-known apparent differences in details between Jn. and the Synoptics. They seem to differ as to whether the death of our Lord or the Last Supper synchronized with the sacrificing of the Paschal lambs, and as to the hour of the Crucifixion (cf. Mk 15^{25} with Jn 19^{14}). Various solutions of these discrepancies have been suggested; but there is one solution which is impossible,—namely, that Jn. is a 2nd cent. 'pseudepigraphic' work. For if so, the first care that the writer would have would be to remove any obvious differences between his work and that of his predecessors. It clearly *professes* to be by an eye-witness (Jn 1^{14} 19^{35}). Either, then, Jn. was the work of one who wrote so early that he had never seen the Synoptic record,—but this is contradicted by the internal evidence just detailed,—or else it was written by one who occupied such a prominent position that he could give his own experiences without stopping to explain an apparent contradiction of former Gospels. In fact the differences, puzzling though they are to us, are an indication of the authenticity of the Fourth Gospel.

4. Are the Gospels contemporary records?—We have hitherto considered them from internal evidence. We may, in conclusion, briefly combine the latter with the external attestation, in order to fix their date, referring, however, for details to the separate headings. It is generally agreed that the Fourth Gospel is the latest. Internal evidence shows that its author was an eye-witness, a Palestinian Jew of the 1st cent., whose interests were entirely of that age, and who was not concerned with the controversies and interests of that which followed it. If so, we cannot place it later than A.D. 100, and therefore the Synoptics must be earlier. Irenæus (*c.* A.D. 180) had already formulated the necessity of there being four, and only four, canonical Gospels; and he knew of no doubt existing on the subject. It is incredible that he could have spoken thus if Jn. had been written in the middle of the 2nd century. Tatian (*c.* A.D. 160) made, as we know from recent discoveries, a Harmony of our four Gospels (the *Diatessaron*), and this began with the Prologue of Jn. Justin Martyr (*c.* A.D. 150) is now generally allowed to have known Jn., though some hold that he did not put it on a level with the Synoptics. Again, it is hard to deny that 1 Jn. and the Fourth Gospel were written by the same author, and 1 Jn. is quoted by Papias (*c.* 140 or earlier), as we learn from Eusebius (*HE* iii. 39), and by Polycarp (*Phil.* 7, written *c.* A.D. 111). If so, they must have known the Fourth Gospel. Other allusions in early 2nd cent. writers to the Fourth Gospel and 1 Jn. are at least highly probable. Then the external evidence, like the internal, would lead us to date the Fourth Gospel not later than A.D. 100. This Gospel seems to give the results of long reflexion on, and experience of the effect of, the teaching of our Lord, written down in old age by one who had seen what he narrates. The Synoptics, to which Jn. is supplementary, must then be of earlier date; and this is the conclusion to which they themselves point. The Third Gospel, being written by a travelling companion of St. Paul (see art. LUKE [GOSPEL ACC. TO]), can hardly have been written after A.D. 80; and the Second, whether it be exactly the Gospel which St. Luke used, or the same edited by St. Mark the 'interpreter' of St. Peter (see art. MARK [GOSPEL ACC. TO]), must be either somewhat earlier than Lk. (as is probable), or at least, even if it be an edited form, very little later. Its 'autoptic' character, giving evidence of depending on an eye-witness, makes a later date difficult to conceive. Similar arguments apply to Mt. (see art. MATTHEW [GOSPEL ACC. TO]). Thus, then, while there is room for difference of opinion as to the names and personalities of the writers of the Gospels (for, like the historical books of OT, they are anonymous), critical studies lead us more and more to find in them trustworthy records whose writers had first-hand authority for what they state.

It may be well here to state a difficulty that arises in reviewing the 2nd cent. attestation to our Gospels. In the first place, the Christian literature of the period A.D. 100–175 is extremely scanty, so that we should not *a priori* expect that every Apostolic writing would be quoted in its extant remains. And, further, the fashion of quotation changed as the 2nd cent. went on. Towards the end of the century, we find direct quotations by name. But earlier this was not so. In Ignatius, Polycarp, Justin, and other early 2nd cent. writers, we find many quotations and references, but without names given; so that doubt is sometimes raised whether they are indebted to our canonical Gospels or to some other source, oral or written, for our Lord's words. It is clear that our canonical Gospels were not the *only* sources of information that these writers had; oral tradition had not yet died out, and they may have used

other written records. To take an example, it is obvious that Justin knew the Sermon on the Mount; but when we examine his quotations from it we cannot be certain if he is citing Mt. or Lk. or both, or (possibly) an early Harmony of the two. It may be pointed out that if, as is quite possible, the quotations point to the existence of Harmonies before Tatian's, that fact in reality pushes back the external evidence still earlier. Many, or most, of the differences of quotation, however, may probably be accounted for by the difficulty of citing *memoriter*. When to quote accurately meant to undo a roll without stops or paragraphs, early writers may be pardoned for trusting too much to their memories. And it is noteworthy that as a rule the longer the quotation in these early writers, the more they conform to our canonical Gospels, for in long passages they could not trust their memories. The same peculiarity is observed in their quotations from the LXX.

Bearing these things in mind, we may, without going beyond Tatian, conclude with the highest degree of probability, from evidence which has undergone the closest scrutiny: (*a*) that our Mt. was known to, or was incorporated in a Harmony known to, Justin and the writer of the *Didache* (*c.* A.D. 120) and 'Barnabas'; and similarly (*b*) that our Mk. was known to Papias, Justin, Polycarp, and (perhaps) pseudo-Clement ('2 Clem. *ad Cor.*'), Hermas, and the author of the Gospel of pseudo-Peter and the *Clementine Homilies*, and Heracleon and Valentinus; (*c*) that our Lk. was known to Justin (very obviously), the *Didache* writer, Marcion (who based his Gospel on it), Celsus, Heracleon, and the author of the *Clementine Homilies*; and (*d*) that our Jn. was known to Justin, Papias, and Polycarp. A. J. MACLEAN.

GOSPELS, APOCRYPHAL.—According to Lk. 1^{1-4}, there were a number of accounts of the life and teachings of Jesus in circulation among the Christians of the 1st century. Among these were not only the sources of our canonical Gospels, but also a number of other writings purporting to come from various companions of Jesus and to record His life and words. In process of time these were lost, or but partially preserved. The Gospels were supplemented by others, until there resulted a literature that stands related to the NT Canon much as the OT Apocrypha stand related to the OT Canon. As a whole, however, it never attained the importance of the OT Apocrypha. Individual Gospels seem to have been used as authoritative, but none of them was ever accepted generally.

I. THE ORIGIN OF THE APOCRYPHAL GOSPELS.—So voluminous is this literature, so local was the circulation of most of it, and so obscure are the circumstances attending its appearance, that it is impossible to make any general statement as to its origin. Few apocryphal Gospels reach us entire, and many are known to us only as names in the Church Fathers. It would seem, however, as if the literature as we know it might have originated: (*a*) *From the common Evangelic tradition* preserved in its best form in our Synoptic Gospels (*e.g.* Gospel according to the Hebrews, Gospel of the Egyptians). (*b*) *From the homiletic tendency* which has always given rise to stories like the Haggadah of Judaism. The Gospels of this sort undertake to complete the account of Jesus' life by supplying fictitious incidents, often by way of accounting for sayings in the canonical Gospels. At this point the legend-making processes were given free scope (*e.g.* Gospel of Nicodemus, Protevangelium of James, Gospel according to Thomas, Arabic Gospel of Infancy, Arabic Gospel of Joseph, Passing of Mary). (*c*) From the need of Gospel narratives *to support various heresies*, particularly Gnostic and ascetic (*e.g.* Gospels according to Peter, Philip, pseudo-Matthew, the Twelve Apostles, Basilides).

In this collection may be included further a number of other Gospels about which we know little or nothing, being in ignorance even as to whether they were merely mutilated editions of canonical Gospels or those belonging to the third class. The present article will consider only the more important and best known of these apocryphal Gospels.

II. CHARACTERISTICS OF THESE GOSPELS.—Even the most superficial reader of these Gospels recognizes their inferiority to the canonical, not merely in point of literary style, but also in general soberness of view. In practically all of them are to be found illustrations of the legend-making process which early overtook the Christian Church. They abound in accounts of alleged miracles, the purpose of which is often trivial, and sometimes even malicious. With the exception of a few sayings, mostly from the Gospel according to the Hebrews, the teaching they contain is obviously a working up of that of the canonical Gospels, or clearly imagined. In the entire literature there are few sayings attributed to Jesus that are at the same time authentic and extra-canonical (see UNWRITTEN SAYINGS). These Gospels possess value for the Church historian in that they represent tendencies at work in the Church of the first four or five centuries. From the point of view of criticism, however, they are of small importance beyond heightening our estimation of the soberness and simplicity of the canonical narratives.

These Gospels, when employing canonical material, usually modify it in the interest of some peculiar doctrinal view. This is particularly true of that class of Gospels written for the purpose of supporting some of the earlier heresies. So fantastical are some of them, that it is almost incredible that they should ever have been received as authoritative. Particularly is this true of those that deal with the early life of Mary and of the infant Christ. In some cases it is not impossible that current pagan legends and folk-stories were attached to Mary and Jesus. Notwithstanding this fact, however, many of these stories, particularly those of the birth, girlhood, and death of Mary, have found their way into the literature and even the doctrine of the Roman Church. Of late there has been some attempt by the Curia to check the use of these works, and in 1884 Leo XIII. declared the Protevangelium of James and other works dealing with the Nativity of Jesus to be 'impure sources of tradition.'

III. THE MOST IMPORTANT GOSPELS.—**1. The Gospel according to the Hebrews.**—(1) The earliest Patristic statements regarding our NT literature contain references to events in the life of Jesus which are not to be found in our canonical Gospels. Eusebius declares that one of these stories came from the Gospel according to the Hebrews. Clement of Alexandria and Origen, particularly the latter, apparently knew such a Gospel well. Origen quotes it at least three times, and Clement twice. Eusebius (*HE* iii. 25) mentions the Gospel as belonging to that class which, like the *Shepherd of Hermas* and the *Didache*, were accepted in some portions of the Empire and rejected in others. Jerome obtained from the Syrian Christians a copy of this Gospel, which was written in Aramaic, and was used among the sects of the Nazarenes and Ebionites, by which two classes he probably meant the Palestinian Christians of the non-Pauline churches. Jerome either translated this book from Heb. or Aram. into both Greek and Latin, or revised and translated a current Greek version.

(2) The authorship of the Gospel according to the Hebrews is in complete obscurity. It appears that in the 4th cent. some held it to be the work of the Apostle Matthew. Jerome, however, evidently knew that this was not the case, for it was not circulating in the West, and he found it necessary to translate it into Greek. Epiphanius, Jerome's contemporary, describes it as beginning with an account of John the Baptist, and commencing without any genealogy or sections dealing with the infancy of Christ. This would make it like our Gospel according to Mark, with which, however, it cannot be identified if it is to be judged by such extracts as have come down to us.

(3) The time of composition of the Gospel according to the Hebrews is evidently very early. It may even have been one form of the original Gospel of Jesus,

co-ordinate with the *Logia* of Matthew and the earliest section of the Book of Luke. Caution, however, is needed in taking this position, as the quotations which have been preserved from it differ markedly from those of any of the sources of our canonical Gospels which can be gained by criticism. At all events, the Gospel is to be distinguished from the Hebrew original of the canonical Gospel of Matthew mentioned by Papias (Euseb. *HE* iii. 39. 16, vi. 25. 4; Irenæus, i. 1). On the whole, the safest conclusion is probably that the Gospel was well known in the eastern part of the Roman Empire in the latter half of the 2nd cent., and that in general it was composed of material similar to that of the canonical Gospels, but contained also sayings of Jesus which our canonical Gospels have not preserved for us.

The most important quotations from the Gospel are as follows:—

'If thy brother sin in word and give thee satisfaction, receive him seven times in the day. Simon, His disciple, said to Him, "Seven times in the day?" The Lord answered and said to him, "Yea, I say unto thee, until seventy times seven; for with the prophets also, after they were anointed with the Holy Spirit, there was found sinful speech"' (Jerome, *adv. Pelag.* iii. 2).

'Also the so-called Gospel according to the Hebrews, which was recently translated by me into Greek and Latin, which Origen, too, often uses, relates after the resurrection of the Saviour: "But when the Lord had given the linen cloth to the priest's servant, He went to James and appeared to him. For James had taken an oath that he would not eat bread from that hour in which he had drunk the cup of the Lord, until he should see Him rising from that sleep."'

'And again, a little farther on: "Bring me, saith the Lord, a table and bread." And there follows immediately: "He took the bread, and blessed, and brake, and gave to James the Just, and said to him, My brother, eat thy bread, inasmuch as the Son of Man hath risen from them that sleep"' (Jerome, *de Vir. Illus.* ii.).

'In the Gospel according to the Hebrews . . . is the following story: "Behold, the Lord's mother and His brethren were saying to Him, John the Baptist baptizes unto the remission of sins; let us go and be baptized by him. But He said unto them, What sin have I done, that I should go and be baptized by him? unless perchance this very thing which I have said is an ignorance"' (Jerome, *adv. Pelag.* iii. 2).

'In the Gospel which the Nazarenes are accustomed to read, that according to the Hebrews, there is put among the greatest crimes, he who shall have grieved the spirit of his brother' (Jerome, in *Ezech.* 18^{7}).

'In the Hebrew Gospel, too, we read of the Lord saying to the disciples, "And never," said He, "rejoice, except when you have looked upon your brother in love"' (Jerome, in *Ephes.* $5^{3f.}$).

'For those words have the same meaning with those others, "He that seeketh shall not stop until he find, and when he hath found he shall wonder, and when he hath wondered he shall reign, and when he hath reigned he shall rest"' (Clem. of Alex. *Strom.* ii. 9. 45).

'And if any one goes to the Gospel according to the Hebrews, there the Saviour Himself saith: "Just now my mother the Holy Spirit took me by one of my hairs and carried me off to the great mountain Tabor"' (Origen, in *Joan.* vol. ii. 6).

'It is written in a certain Gospel, the so-called Gospel according to the Hebrews, if any one likes to take it up not as having any authority but to shed light on the matter in hand: "The other," it says, "of the rich men said unto Him, Master, by doing what good thing shall I have life? He said to him, Man, do the Law and the Prophets. He answered unto him, I have. He said to him, Go, sell all that thou hast, and distribute to the poor, and come, follow Me. But the rich man began to scratch his head, and it pleased him not. And the Lord said unto him, How sayest thou, I have done the Law and the Prophets, since it is written in the Law, Thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself; and behold many brethren of thine, sons of Abraham, are clad in filth, dying of hunger, and thy house is full of good things, and nothing at all goes out from it to them. And He turned and said to Simon His disciple, who was sitting by Him: Simon, son of John, it is easier for a camel to go through the eye of a needle than for a rich man to enter into the kingdom of heaven"' (Origen, in *Mat.* 15^{14}).

'The Gospel which has come down to us in Hebrew characters gave the threat as made not against him who hid (his talent), but against him who lived riotously; for (the parable) told of three servants, one who devoured his lord's substance with harlots and flute-girls, one who gained profit many fold, and one who hid his talent; and how in the issue one was accepted, one merely blamed, and one shut up in prison' (Euseb. *Theoph.* xxii.).

2. The Gospel of the Egyptians.—This Gospel is mentioned in the last quarter of the 2nd cent. by Clement of Alexandria, by whom it was regarded as apparently of some historical worth, but not of the same grade as our four Gospels. Origen in his Commentary on Luke mentions it among those to which the Evangelist referred, but does not regard it as inspired. Hippolytus says that it was used by an otherwise unknown Gnostic sect known as Naassenes. It was also apparently known to the writer of 2 Clement (ch. xii.).

The origin of the Gospel is altogether a matter of conjecture. Its name would seem to indicate that it circulated in Egypt, possibly among the Egyptian as distinguished from the Hebrew Christians. The probability that it represents the original Evangelic tradition is not as strong as in the case of the Gospel according to the Hebrews. At least by the end of the 2nd cent. it was regarded as possessed of heretical tendencies, particularly those of the Encratites, who were opposed to marriage. It is not impossible, however, that the Gospel of the Egyptians contained the original tradition, but in form sufficiently variant to admit of manipulation by groups of heretics.

The most important sayings of Jesus which have come down from this Gospel are from the conversation of Jesus with Salome, given by Clement of Alexandria.

'When Salome asked how long death should have power, the Lord (not meaning that life is evil and the creation bad) said, "As long as you women bear"' (*Strom.* iii. 64.5).

'And those who opposed the creation of God through shameful abstinence allege also those words spoken to Salome whereof we made mention above. And they are contained, I think, in the Gospel according to the Egyptians. For they said that the Saviour Himself said, "I came to destroy the works of the female,"—the female being lust, and the works birth and corruption' (*Strom.* iii. 9. 63).

'And why do not they who walk any way rather than by the Gospel rule of truth adduce the rest also of the words spoken to Salome? For when she said, "Therefore have I done well in that I have not brought forth," as if it were not fitting to accept motherhood, the Lord replies, saying, "Eat every herb, but that which hath bitterness eat not"' (*ib.*).

'Therefore Cassian says: "When Salome inquired when those things should be concerning which she asked, the Lord said, When ye trample on the garment of shame, and when the two shall be one, and the male with the female, neither male nor female"' (*Strom.* iii. 13. 92).

3. The Gospel according to Peter.—This Gospel is mentioned by Eusebius (*HE* vi. 12) as having been rejected by Serapion, bishop of Antioch, in the last decade of the 2nd century. He found it in circulation among the Syrian Christians, and at first did not oppose it, but after having studied it further, condemned it as Docetic. Origen in his Commentary on Matthew (Book x. 17, and occasionally elsewhere) mentions it, or at least shows an acquaintance with it. Eusebius (*HE* iii. 3, 25) rejects it as heretical, as does Jerome (*de Vir. Illus.* i.).

In 1886 a fragment of this Gospel was discovered by M. Bouriant, and published with a transl. in 1892. It relates in some detail the death, burial, and resurrection of Jesus. It is particularly interesting as indicating how canonical material could be elaborated and changed in the interests of the Docetic heresy. Thus the words of Jesus on the cross, 'My God, my God, why hast thou forsaken me?' are made to read, 'My power, my power, thou hast forsaken me.' At the time of the resurrection the soldiers are said to have seen how 'three men came forth from the tomb, and two of them supported one, and the cross followed them; and of the two the head reached unto the heavens, but the head of him that was led by them overpassed the heavens; and they heard a voice from the heavens saying,

"Thou hast preached unto them that sleep." And a response was heard from the cross, "Yea."'

4. The Gospel of Nicodemus.—This Gospel embodies the so-called *Acts of Pilate*, an alleged official report of the procurator to Tiberius concerning Jesus. Tertullian (*Apol.* v. 2) was apparently acquainted with such a report, and some similar document was known to Eusebius (*HE* ii. 2) and to Epiphanius (*Hær.* i. 1); but the *Acts of Pilate* known to Eusebius was probably still another and heathen writing. Tischendorf held that the *Acts of Pilate* was known to Justin; but that is doubtful.

Our present Gospel of Nicodemus, embodying this alleged report of Pilate, was not itself written until the 5th cent., and therefore is of small historical importance except as it may be regarded as embodying older (but untrustworthy) material. As it now stands it gives an elaborate account of the trial of Jesus, His descent to Hades, resurrection, and ascension. Altogether it contains twenty-seven chapters, each one of which is marked by the general tendency to elaborate the Gospel accounts for homiletic purposes. Beyond its exposition of Jesus' descent into Hades it contains little of doctrinal importance. It is not improbable, however, that chs. 17–27, which narrate this alleged event, are later than chs. 1–16. The Gospel may none the less fairly be said to represent the belief in this visit of Jesus to departed spirits which marked the early and mediæval Church. It is also in harmony with the ante-Anselmic doctrine of the Atonement, in accordance with which Jesus gave Himself a ransom to Satan.

The first sixteen chapters abound in anecdotes concerning Jesus and His trial, in which the question of the legitimacy of Jesus' birth is established by twelve witnesses of the marriage of Mary and Joseph. It relates also that at the trial of Jesus a number of persons, including Nicodemus and Veronica, appeared to testify in His behalf. The accounts of the crucifixion are clearly based upon Lk 23. The story of the burial is further elaborated by the introduction of a number of Biblical characters, who undertake to prove the genuineness of the resurrection.

Although the Gospel of Nicodemus was of a nature to acquire great popularity, and has had a profound influence upon the various poetical and homiletic presentations of the events supposed to have taken place between the death and resurrection of Jesus, and although the *Acts of Pilate* has been treated more seriously than the evidence in its favour warrants, the Gospel is obviously of the class of Jewish Haggadah or legend. It is thus one form of the literature dealing with martyrs, and apparently never was used as possessing serious historical or doctrinal authority until the 13th century.

5. The Protevangelium of James.—This book in its present form was used by Epiphanius in the latter part of the 4th cent., if not by others of the Church Fathers. It is not improbable that it was referred to by Origen under the name of the *Book of James*. As Clement of Alexandria and Justin Martyr both referred to incidents connected with the birth of Jesus which are related in the Protevangelium, it is not impossible that the writing circulated in the middle of the 2nd century.

The Protevangelium purports to be an account of the birth of Mary and of her early life in the Temple, whither she was brought by her parents when she was three years of age, and where at twelve years of age she was married to Joseph, then an old man with children. It includes also an account of the Annunciation and the visit of Mary to Elisabeth, of the trial by ordeal of Joseph and Mary on the charge of having been secretly married, of the birth of Jesus in a cave, and accompanying miracles of the most extravagant sort. The writing closes with an account of the martyrdom of Zacharias and the death of Herod.

It is probable that the chapters dealing with the birth of Jesus are of independent origin from the others, although it is not improbable that even the remainder of the Protevangelium is a composite work, probably of the Jewish Christians, which has been edited in the interests of Gnosticism. The original cannot well be later than the middle of the 2nd cent., while the Gnostic revision was probably a century later.

From the critical point of view the Protevangelium is important as testifying to insistence in the middle of the 2nd cent. upon the miraculous birth of Jesus. It is also of interest as lying behind the two Latin Gospels of pseudo-*Matthew* and the *Nativity of Jesus*; although it may be fairly questioned whether these two later Gospels are derived directly from the Protevangelium or from its source.

6. The Gospel according to Thomas.—Hippolytus quotes from a Gospel according to Thomas which was being used by the Naassenes. The Gospel was also known to Origen and to Eusebius, who classes it with the heretical writings. It was subsequently held in high regard by the Manichæans. It exists to-day in Greek, Latin, and Syriac versions, which, however, do not altogether agree, and all of which are apparently abbreviated recensions of the original Gospel.

The Gospel of Thomas is an account of the childhood of Jesus, and consists largely of stories of His miraculous power and knowledge, the most interesting of the latter being the account of Jesus' visit to school, and of the former, the well-known story of His causing twelve sparrows of clay to fly.

The book is undoubtedly of Gnostic origin, and its chief motive seems to be to show that Jesus was possessed of Divine power before His baptism. The original Gospel of Thomas, the nature of which is, however, very much in dispute, may have been in existence in the middle of the 2nd century. Its present form is later than the 6th century.

7. The Arabic Gospel of the Childhood of Jesus.—The Arabic Gospel is a translation of a Syriac compilation of stories concerning the child Jesus. Its earlier sections are apparently derived from the Protevangelium, and its later from the Gospel of Thomas.

This Gospel supplies still further stories concerning the infancy of Jesus, and begins by declaring that Jesus, as He was lying in His cradle, said to Mary, 'I am Jesus, the Son of God, the Logos, whom thou hast brought forth.' The miracles which it narrates are probably the most fantastic of all in the Gospels of the infancy of Jesus. From the fact that it uses other apocryphal Gospels, it can hardly have been written prior to the 7th or 8th century.

8. The Gospel of Philip.—The only clear allusion to the existence of such a book is a reference in *Pistis Sophia*. From this it might be inferred that from the 3rd cent. such a Gospel circulated among the Gnostics in Egypt. It is of even less historical value than the Protevangelium.

9. The Arabic History of Joseph the Carpenter.—This Gospel undertakes to explain the non-appearance of Joseph in the account of the canonical Gospels. It describes in detail Joseph's death and burial, as well as the lamentation and eulogy spoken over him by Jesus. It is at some points parallel with the Protevangelium, but carries the miraculous element of the birth a step farther, in that it makes Jesus say of Mary, 'I chose her of my own will, with the concurrence of my Father and the counsel of the Holy Spirit.' Such a formulary points to the 4th cent. as the time of composition, but it could hardly have been written later than the 5th cent., as Jesus is said to have promised Mary the same sort of death as other mortals suffer. The work is probably a re-working of Jewish-Christian material, and is not strongly marked by Gnostic qualities.

10. The Gospel of the Twelve Apostles.—This Gospel is identified by Jerome with the Gospel according to the Hebrews. This, however, is probably a mistake on his

part. The Gospel comes down to us only in quotations in Epiphanius (Hær. xxx. 13–16, 22). To judge from these quotations, it was a re-writing of the canonical Gospels in the interest of some sect of Christians opposed to sacrifice. Jesus is represented as saying, 'I come to put an end to sacrifices, and unless ye cease from sacrificing, anger will not cease from you.' The same motive appears in its re-writing of Lk 22[15], where the saying of Jesus is turned into a question requiring a negative answer. If these fragments given by Epiphanius are from a Gospel also mentioned by Origen, it is probable that it dates from the early part of the 3rd century.

11. The Passing of Mary.—This Gospel has come to us in Greek, Latin, Syriac, Sahidic, and Ethiopic versions. It contains a highly imaginative account of the death of Mary, to whose deathbed the Holy Spirit miraculously brings various Apostles from different parts of the world, as well as some of them from their tombs. The account abounds in miracles of the most irrational sort, and it finally culminates in the removal of Mary's 'spotless and precious body' to Paradise.

The work is evidently based on various apocryphal writings, including the Protevangelium, and could not well have come into existence before the rise of the worship of the Virgin in the latter part of the 4th century. It has had a large influence on Roman Catholic thought and art.

12. In addition to these Gospels there is a considerable number known to us practically only by name:—

(*a*) *The Gospel according to Matthias* (or *pseudo-Matthew*).—Mentioned by Origen as a heretical writing, and possibly quoted by Clement of Alexandria, who speaks of the 'traditions of Matthias.' If these are the same as the 'Gospel according to Matthias,' we could conclude that it was known in the latter part of the 2nd cent., and was, on the whole, of a Gnostic cast.

(*b*) *The Gospel according to Basilides.*—Basilides was a Gnostic who lived about the middle of the 2nd cent., and is said by Origen to have had the audacity to write a Gospel. The Gospel is mentioned by Ambrose and Jerome, probably on the authority of Origen. Little is known of the writing, and it is possible that Origen mistook the commentary of Basilides on 'the Gospel' for a Gospel. It is, however, not in the least improbable that Basilides, as the founder of a school, re-worked the canonical Gospels, something after the fashion of Tatian, into a continuous narrative containing sayings of the canonical Gospels favourable to Gnostic tenets.

(*c*) *The Gospel of Andrew.*—Possibly referred to by Augustine, and probably of Gnostic origin.

(*d*) *The Gospel of Apelles.*—Probably a re-writing of some canonical Gospel. According to Epiphanius, the work contained the saying of Jesus, 'Be approved money-changers.'

(*e*) *The Gospel of Barnabas.*—Mentioned in the Gelasian Decree. A mediæval (or Renaissance) work of same title has lately been published (see *Exp. T.* xix. [1908], p. 263 ff.).

(*f*) *The Gospel of Bartholomew.*—Mentioned in the Gelasian Decree and in Jerome, but otherwise unknown.

(*g*) *The Gospel of Cerinthus.*—Mentioned by Epiphanius.

(*h*) *The Gospel of Eve.*—Also mentioned by Epiphanius as in use among the Borborites, an Ophite sect of the Gnostics.

(*i*) *The Gospel of Judas Iscariot*, used by a sect of the Gnostics—the Cainites.

(*j*) *The Gospel of Thaddæus.*—Mentioned in the Gelasian Decree, but otherwise unknown.

(*k*) *The Gospel of Valentinus.*—Used among the followers of that arch-heretic, and mentioned by Tertullian.

(*l*) The *Fayyum Gospel Fragment.*—It contains the words of Christ to Peter at the Last Supper, but in a different form from that of the canonical Gospels.

(*m*) The *Logia*, found by Grenfell and Hunt at Oxyrhynchus, contains a few sayings, some like and some unlike the canonical Gospels. Possibly derived from the Gospel of the Egyptians.

(*n*) *The Descent of Mary.*—Quoted by Epiphanius, and of the nature of a Gnostic anti-Jewish romance.

(*o*) *The Gospel of Zacharias.*—Subsequently incorporated into the Protevangelium.

Other Gospels were doubtless in existence between the 2nd and 6th centuries, as it seems to have been customary for all the heretical sects, particularly Gnostics, to write Gospels as a support for their peculiar views. The oldest and most interesting of these was—

(*p*) The so-called *Gospel of Marcion*, which, although lost, we know as a probable re-working of Luke by the omission of the Infancy section and other material that in any way favoured the Jewish-Christian conceptions which Marcion opposed. This Gospel can be largely reconstructed from quotations given by Tertullian and others. The importance of the Gospel of Marcion as thus reconstructed is considerable for the criticism of our Third Gospel.

SHAILER MATHEWS.

GOTHOLIAS (1 Es 8[33]).—Father of Jesaias, who returned with Ezra; called in Ezr 8[7] **Athaliah**, which was thus both a male and a female name (2 K 11[1]).

GOTHONIEL.—The father of Chabris, one of the rulers of Bethulia (Jth 6[15]).

GOURD (*kīkāyōn*, Jon 4[6]).—The similarity of the Heb. to the Egyp. *kiki*, the castor-oil plant, suggests this as Jonah's gourd. This plant, *Ricinus communis*, often attains in the East the dimensions of a considerable tree. The bottle-gourd, *Cucurbita lagenaria*, which is often trained over hastily constructed booths, seems to satisfy the conditions of the narrative much better.

Wild gourds (*pakkū'ōth*, 2 K 4[39]) were either the common squirting-cucumber (*Ecballium elaterium*), one of the most drastic of known cathartics, or, more probably, the colocynth (*Citrullus colocynthis*), a trailing vine-like plant with rounded gourds, intensely bitter to the taste and an irritant poison.

E. W. G. MASTERMAN.

GOVERNMENT.—The purpose of this article will be to sketch in outline the forms of government among the Hebrews at successive periods of their history. The indications are in many cases vague, and it is impossible to reconstruct the complete system; at no period was there a definitely conceived, still less a written, constitution in the modern sense. For fuller details reference should be made throughout to the separate articles on the officials, etc., mentioned.

We may at once set aside *Legislation*, one of the most important departments of government as now understood. In ancient communities, law rested on Divine command and immemorial custom, and could as a rule be altered only by 'fictions.' The idea of avowedly new legislation to meet fresh circumstances was foreign to early modes of thought. At no period do we find a legislative body in the Bible. Grote's dictum that 'The human king on earth is not a lawmaker, but a judge,' applies to all the Biblical forms of government. The main functions of government were judicial, military, and at later periods financial, and to a limited extent administrative.

1. *During the nomadic or patriarchal age* the unit is the family or clan, and, for certain purposes, the tribe. The head of the house, owing to his position and experience, was the supreme ruler and judge, in fact the only permanent official. He had undisputed authority within his family group (Gn 22. 38[24], Dt 21[18], Jg 11[34]). Heads of families make agreements with one another and settle quarrels among their dependents (Gn 21[22] 31[45]); the only sanction to which they can appeal is the Divine justice which 'watches' between them (31[49. 53] 49[7]). Their hold over the individual lay in the fact that to disobey was to become an outlaw; and to be an outcast from the tribe was to be without protector or avenger. The heads of families combined form, in a somewhat more advanced stage, the **'elders'** (Ex 3[16] 18[21], Nu 22[7]); and sometimes, particularly in time of war, there is a single chief for the whole tribe. Moses is an extreme instance of this, and we can see that his position was felt to be unusual (Ex 2[14] 4[1], Nu 16). It was undefined, and rested on his personal influence, backed by the Divine sanction, which, as his followers realized, had marked him out. This enables him to nominate Joshua as his successor.

2. *The period of the* **'Judges'** marks a higher stage; at the same time, as a period of transition it appeared rightly to later generations as a time of lawlessness. The name 'Judges,' though including the notion of

champion or deliverer, points to the fact that their chief function was judicial. The position was not hereditary, thus differing from that of king (Jg 9 ff. Gideon and Abimelech), though Samuel is able to delegate his authority to his sons (1 S 8^{1}). Their status was gained by personal exploits, implying Divine sanction, which was sometimes expressed in other ways; *e.g.* gift of prophecy (Deborah, Samuel). Their power rested on the moral authority of the strong man, and, though sometimes extending over several tribes, was probably never national. During this period the nomadic tribe gives way to the local; ties of place are more important than ties of birth. A town holds together its neighbouring villages ('daughters'), as able to give them protection (Nu $21^{25.\ 32}$, Jos 17^{11}). The **elders** become the 'elders of the city'; Jg $8^{6.\ 14.\ 16}$ mentions officials (*sārîm*) and elders of Succoth, *i.e.* heads of the leading families, responsible for its government. In 11^{5} the elders of Gilead have power in an emergency to appoint a leader from outside.

3. *The Monarchy* came into being mainly under the pressure of Philistine invasion. The **king** was a centre of unity, the leader of the nation in war, and a judge (1 S 8^{20}). His power rested largely on a personal basis. As long as he was successful and strong, and retained the allegiance of his immediate followers, his will was absolute (David, Ahab, Jehu; cf. Jer 36. 37). At the same time there were elements which prevented the Jewish monarchy from developing the worst features of an Oriental despotism. At least at first the people had a voice in his election (David, Rehoboam). In Judah the hereditary principle prevailed (there were no rival tribes to cause jealousy, and David's line was the centre of the national hopes), but the people still had influence (2 K 14^{21} 21^{24}). In the Northern Kingdom the position of the reigning house was always insecure, and the ultimate penalty of misgovernment was the rise of a new dynasty. A more important check was found in the religious control, democratic in its best sense, exercised by the prophets (Samuel, Nathan, Elijah, Elisha, Jeremiah, etc.). The Jewish king had at least to hear the truth, and was never allowed to believe that he was indeed a god on earth. At the same time there is no constitutional check on misrule; the 'law of the kingdom' in Dt 17^{14} deals rather with moral and religious requirements, as no doubt did Jehoiada's covenant (2 K 11^{17}). With the kingdom came the establishment of a standing army, David's 'mighty men' quickly developing into the more organized forces of Solomon's and later times. The command of the forces was essential to the king's power; cf. insurrection of Jehu 'the captain' (2 K 9), and Jehoiada's care to get control of the army (11^{4}). Side by side with the power of the sword came the growth of a court, with its harem and luxurious *entourage*, its palace and its throne. These were visible symbols of the royal power, impressing the popular mind. The lists of officers (2 S 8^{16}, 1 K 4) are significant; they indicate the growth of the king's authority, and the development of relations with other States. The real power of government has passed into the hands of the king's *clientèle*. His servants hold office at his pleasure, and, provided they retain his favour, there is little to limit their power. They may at times show independence of spirit (1 S 22^{17}, Jer 36^{25}), but are usually his ready tools (2 S 11^{14}; cf. the old and the young counsellors of Rehoboam, 1 K $12^{6ff.}$). The prophetic pictures of the court and its administration are not favourable (Am 3^{9} 4^{1} 6, Is 5 etc.). The methods of raising revenue were undefined, and being undefined were oppressive. We hear of gifts and tribute (1 S 10^{27}, 2 S 8^{10}, 1 K $4^{7.\ 21\text{-}23}$ $10^{11\text{-}25}$), of tolls and royal monopolies ($10^{15.\ 28.\ 29}$), of forced labour (5^{13}) and of the 'king's mowings' (Am 7^{1}), of confiscation (1 K 21), and, in an emergency, of stripping the Temple (2 K 18^{15}). In time of peace the main function of the king is the administration of justice (2 S 15^{2}, 2 K 15^{5}); his subjects have the right of direct access (2 K 8^{3}). This must have lessened the power of the local **elders**, who no doubt had also to yield to the central court officials. 'The elders of the city' appear during this period as a local authority, sometimes respected and consulted (2 S 19^{11}, 1 K 20^{7}, 2 K 23^{1}), sometimes the obedient agents of the king's will (1 K $21^{8.\ 11}$, 2 K $10^{1.\ 5}$). 2 Ch $19^{5\text{-}11}$ describes a judicial system organized by Jehoshaphat, which agrees in its main features with that implied by Dt 16^{18} $17^{8\text{-}13}$; there are local courts, with a central tribunal. In Dt. the elders appear mainly as judicial authorities, but have the power of executing their decisions (19^{12} 21. 22^{15} etc.). The influence of the priesthood in this connexion should be noticed. The administration of justice always included a Divine element (Ex $18^{15.\ 19}$ 21^{6} 22^{8}; cf. word 'Torah'), and in the Deuteronomic code the priests appear side by side with the lay element in the central court (17^{9} 19^{17}; cf. Is 28^{7}, Ezk 44^{24} etc.). But the government is not yet theocratic. Jehoiada relies on his personal influence and acts in concert with the chiefs of the army (2 K 11. 12), and even after the Exile Joshua is only the fellow of Zerubbabel. The appointment of Levites as judges, ascribed to David in 1 Ch 23^{4} 26^{29}, is no doubt an anachronism. Cf. also art. JUSTICE (II.).

4. *Post-exilic period.*—Under the Persians Judah was a subdistrict of the great province west of the Euphrates and subject to its governor (Ezr 5^{3}). It had also its local governor (Neh 5^{14}), with a measure of local independence (Ezr 10^{14}); we read, too, of a special official 'at the king's hand in all matters concerning the people' (Neh 11^{24}). The **elders** are prominent during this period both in exile (Ezk 8^{1} 14^{1} 20^{1}) and in Judah (Ezr 5^{9} 6^{7} 10^{8}, Neh 2^{16}). The chief feature of the subsequent period was the development of the priestly power, and the rise to importance of the office of the **high priest**. Under Greek rule (after B.C. 333) the Jews were to a great extent allowed the privileges of self-government. The 'elders' develop into a *gerousia* or **senate**—an aristocracy comprising the secular nobility and the priesthood (1 Mac 12^{6} 14^{20}); it is not known when the name 'Sanhedrin' was first used. The high priest became the head of the State, and its official representative, his political power receiving a great development under the Hasmonæans. Owing to the growing importance of the office, the Seleucids always claimed the power of appointment. In B.C. 142, Simon is declared to be 'high priest, captain, and governor for ever' (1 Mac $14^{27\text{-}47}$). The title 'ethnarch' (see GOVERNOR) is used of him and other high priests. Aristobulus becomes king (B.C. 105), and Alexander Jannæus uses the title on coins (B.C. 104–78). Under Roman rule (B.C. 63) the situation becomes complicated by the rise to power of the Herodian dynasty. Palestine passed through the varying forms of government known to the Roman Imperial constitution. Herod the Great was its titular king, with considerable independence subject to good behaviour (*rex socius*). Archelaus forfeited his position (A.D. 6). Thenceforward Judæa was under the direct rule of a procurator (see next article), except from A.D. 41 to 44, when Agrippa I. was king. Antipas was 'tetrarch' of Galilee and Peræa; Mark's title of 'king' (6^{14}) is corrected by Matthew and Luke. The position was less honourable and less independent than that of king. The high priest (now appointed by the Romans) and the Sanhedrin regained the power which they had lost under Herod; the government became once more an aristocracy (Jos. *Ant.* XX. X.). Except for the power of life and death the Sanhedrin held the supreme judicial authority; there were also local courts connected with the Synagogue (Mt 5^{22}). Its moral authority extended to Jews outside Palestine. In the Diaspora, the Jews, tenacious of their national peculiarities, were in many cases allowed a large measure of self-government, particularly in judicial matters. In Alexandria, in particular, they had special privileges

and an 'ethnarch' of their own (Jos. *Ant.* XIV. vii. 2). For the cities of Asia Minor, see Ramsay, *Letters to the Seven Churches*, chs. xi. xii.

For '**governments**' (1 Co 12[28]) see HELPS.

C. W. EMMET.

GOVERNOR.—This word represents various Heb. and Gr. words, technical and non-technical. In Gn 42[6] (Joseph, cf. 41[40]) it is probably the *Ta-te*, the second after the king in the court of the palace; cf. 1 K 18[3], Dn 2[48] for similar offices. It frequently represents an Assyr. word, *pechah*, used of Persian satraps in general (Est 3[12] 8[8]), and of Assyrian generals (2 K 18[24], cf. 1 K 20[24]). It is applied particularly to Tattenai, the governor of the large Persian province of which Judæa was a sub-district (Ezr 5[3] 6[6] etc., cf. Neh 2[7]). It is also, like *tirshatha* (wh. see), applied to the subordinate governor of Judæa (Ezr 5[14] [Sheshbazzar] 6[7] [Nehemiah], Hag 1[1. 14] [Zerubbabel]). The first passage shows that the subordinate *pechah* was directly appointed by the king.

In the NT the word usually represents Gr. *hēgemōn*, and is used of Pontius Pilate (Lk 3[1] etc.), of Felix (Ac 23[26]), and of Festus (26[30]). The proper title of these governors was '**procurator**' (Tac. *Ann.* XV. 44), of which originally *eparchos* and then *epitropos* were the Gr. equivalents. Josephus, however, uses *hēgemōn*, as well as these words, for the governor of Judæa, so that there is no inaccuracy in its employment by NT writers. But, being a general word, it does not help us to decide the nature of the 'governorship' of Quirinius (Lk 2[2]). The procurator, originally a financial official, was appointed directly by the Emperor to govern provinces, such as Thrace, Cappadocia, and Judæa, which were in a transitional state, being no longer ruled by subject kings, but not yet fully Romanized, and requiring special treatment. The procurator was in a sense subordinate to the legate of the neighbouring 'province,' *e.g.* Cappadocia to Galatia, Judæa to Syria; but except in emergencies he had full authority, military, judicial, and financial. In 1 P 2[14] the word is specially appropriate to any provincial governor, as 'sent' by the Emperor. In 2 Co 11[32] it represents '**ethnarch,**' a word apparently used originally of the ruler of a nation (*ethnos*) living with laws of its own in a foreign community; but as applied to Aretas it may mean no more than petty king. In Gal 4[2] it means '**steward**' (RV), the 'tutor' controlling the ward's person, the steward his property (Lightfoot, *ad loc.*). In Ja 3[4] RV has 'steersman.' The '**governor of the feast**' (Jn 2[8], RV 'ruler') was probably a guest, not a servant, chosen to control and arrange for the feast; it is doubtful whether he is to be identified with the 'friend of the bridegroom' or best man.

C. W. EMMET.

GOZAN.—One of the places to which Israelites were deported by the king of Assyria on the capture of Samaria (2 K 17[6] 18[11], 1 Ch 5[26]; mentioned also in 2 K 19[12], Is 37[12]). Gozan was the district termed *Guzanu* by the Assyrians and *Gauzanitis* by Ptolemy, and it was situated on the Khābūr.

L. W. KING.

GRACE (from Lat. *gratia* [=*favour*,—either received from or shown to another], through the Fr. *grace*).—Of the three meanings assigned to this word in the *Eng. Dict.*—(1) 'pleasingness,' (2) 'favour,' (3) 'thanks' (the sense of favour received)—(1) and (2) belong to the Eng. Bible; (3) attaches to the equivalent Gr. *charis*, where it is rendered 'thank(s)' or 'thankfulness' (He 12[28] RVm.). The specific Biblical use of 'grace' comes under the second of the above significations; it is prominent in the NT. The OT usage requires no separate treatment. (2) is the primary meaning of the Hebrew original, rendered 'favour' almost as often as 'grace'; but (1) of the Greek *charis*, which at its root signified *the gladdening, joy-bringing*. Hence the correspondence between the common Greek salutation *chaire*(*te*) or *chairein* ('Joy to you!') and the Christian *charis* ('Grace to you!') is more than a verbal coincidence.

1. Of the sense *charm, winsomeness* (of person, bearing, speech, etc.)—a usage conspicuous in common Greek, and personified in the *Charites*, the three Graces of mythology—the prominent instances in the OT are Ps 45[2] ('Grace is poured on thy lips') and probably Zec 4[7]; add to these Pr 1[9] 3[22] 4[9] 22[11] 31[30] ('favour'). The same noun occurs in the Heb. of Pr 5[19] 11[16], and Ec 10[12], Pr 17[8], under the adjectival renderings 'pleasant,' 'gracious,' 'precious,' and in Nah 3[4] ('well-favoured'). For the NT, 'grace' is *charm* in Lk 4[22], Col 4[6]; in Eph 4[29] there may be a play on the double sense of the word. *Charm of speech* is designated by *charis* in Sir 20[13] 21[16] 37[21], in the Apocrypha. In Ja 1[11] 'grace of the fashion' renders a single Greek word signifying 'fair-seemingness,' quite distinct from *charis*.

2. The OT passages coming under (2) above, employ 'grace' chiefly in the idiom 'to find grace (*or* favour),' which is used indifferently of favour in the eyes of J" (Gn 6[8]) or of one's fellow-men (39[4]), and whether the finder bring good (39[4]) or ill (19[19]) desert to the quest. With this broad application, 'grace' means *good-will, favourable inclination* towards another—of the superior (king, benefactor, etc.) or one treated as such by courtesy, *to the inferior*—shown on whatever ground. In the Eng. NT, 'favour' is reserved for this wide sense of *charis*; see Lk 1[30] 2[52], Ac 2[47] 7[10. 46] 25[3]: 'grace' has the same meaning in Lk 2[40], Ac 4[33]. Zec 12[10] is the one instance in which 'grace' in the OT approximates to its prevalent NT import; but the Heb. adj. for *gracious*, and the equivalent vb., are together used of J", in His attitude towards the sinful, more than twenty times, associated often with 'merciful,' etc.; see, *e.g.*, Ex 33[19] 34[6], Ps 77[9] 103[8], Jl 2[13], Jon 4[2]. The character in God which the OT prefers to express by *mercy*, signifying His pitiful disposition towards man as weak and wretched, the NT in effect translates into 'grace,' as signifying His forgiving disposition towards man as guilty and lost.

3. Christianity first made grace a leading term in the vocabulary of religion. The prominence and emphasis of its use are due to St. Paul, in whose Epp. the word figures twice as often as in all the NT besides. 'Grace' is the first word of greeting and the last of farewell in St. Paul's letters; for him it includes the sum of all blessing that comes from God through Christ: 'grace' the source, 'peace' the stream. In the Gospels, the Johannine Prologue (vv.[14-17]: contrasted with 'law,' and co-extensive with 'truth') supplies the only example of 'grace' used with the Pauline fulness of meaning. This passage, and the Lukan examples in Acts (6[8] 11[23] 13[43] 14[3] 15[11] 20[24. 32]), with the kindred uses in Hebrews, 1 and 2 Pet., Jude, 2 Jn., Rev., may be set down to the influence of Paulinism on Apostolic speech. There is little in earlier phraseology to explain the supremacy in the NT of this specific term; a new experience demanded a new name. 'Grace' designates *the principle in God of man's salvation through Jesus Christ*. It is God's unmerited, unconstrained love towards sinners, revealed and operative in Christ. Tit 2[11-14], interpreted by Ro 5[1]–6[23], is the text which approaches nearest to a definition; this passage shows how St. Paul derived from God's grace not only the soul's reconciliation and new hopes in Christ (Ro 5[1-11]), but the whole moral uplifting and rehabilitation of human life through Christianity. St. Paul's experience in conversion gave him this watchword; the Divine goodness revealed itself to the 'chief of sinners' under the aspect of 'grace' (1 Co 15[9f.], 1 Ti 1[13-16]). The spontaneity and generosity of God's love felt in the act of his salvation, the complete setting aside therein of everything legal and conventional (with, possibly, the added connotation of *charm* of which *charis* is redolent), marked out this word as describing what St. Paul had proved of Christ's redemption; under this name he could commend it to the world of sinful men; his ministry 'testifies the gospel of the grace of God' (Ac 20[24]). Essentially, *grace* stands opposed to *sin*; it is God's way of meeting and conquering man's sin (Ro 5[20f. 6[1ff. 15ff.]]): He thus effects 'the impossible

task of the Law' (Ro 7⁷–8⁴). The legal discipline had taught St. Paul to understand, by contrast, the value and the operation of the principle of grace; he was able to handle it with effect in the legalist controversy. Grace supplies, in his theology, the one and sufficient means of deliverance from sin, holding objectively the place which faith holds subjectively in man's salvation (Eph 2⁸, Tit 2¹¹). Formally, and in point of method, grace stands opposed to '*the law*,' 'which worketh wrath' (Ro 3¹⁹·²⁸ 4¹⁵, Gal 2¹⁵·²¹ 5⁴); it supersedes the futile 'works' by which the Jew had hoped, in fulfilling the Law, to merit salvation (Ro 4²·⁸ 11⁶, Gal 2¹⁶·²⁰, Eph 2⁸f.). Grace excludes, therefore, all notion of 'debt' as owing from God to men, all thought of earning the Messianic blessings (Ro 4⁴) by establishing 'a righteousness of one's own' (Ro 10³); through it men are 'justified *gratis*' (Ro 3²⁴) and 'receive the *gift* of righteousness' (5¹⁷). In twenty-two instances St. Paul writes of 'the grace *of God*' (or 'his grace'); in fifteen, of 'the grace of *Christ*' ('the Lord Jesus Christ,' etc.). Ten of the latter examples belong to salutation-formulæ (so in Rev 22²¹), the fullest of these being 2 Co 13¹⁴, where 'the grace of the Lord Jesus Christ' is referred to 'the love of God' as its fountain-head; in the remaining five detached instances the context dictates the combination 'grace of Christ' ('our Lord,' etc.),—Ro 5¹⁵, 2 Co 8⁹ 12⁹, Gal 1⁶, 1 Ti 1¹⁴ (also in 2 P 3¹⁸). In other NT writings the complement is predominantly 'of God'; 1 P 5¹⁰ inverts the expression—'the God of all grace.' Once—in 2 Th 1¹²—grace is referred conjointly to *God and Christ*. Christ is the expression and vehicle of the grace of the Father, and is completely identified with it (see Jn 1¹⁴·¹⁷), so that *God's* grace can equally be called *Christ's*; but its reference to the latter is strictly personal in such a passage as 2 Co 8⁹. A real distinction is implied in the remarkable language of Ro 5¹⁵, where, after positing 'the grace of God' as the fundamental ground of redemption, St. Paul adds to this 'the gift in grace, viz. *the grace of the one man Jesus Christ*,' who is the counterpart of the sinful and baleful Adam: the generous bounty *of the Man towards men*, shown by Jesus Christ, served an essential part in human redemption.

Cognate to *charis*, and charged in various ways with its meaning, is the vb. rendered (RV) *to grant* in Ac 27²⁴, Gal 3¹⁸, Ph 1²⁹, Philem ²², *give* in Ph 2⁹, *freely give* in Ro 8³², 1 Co 2¹², and (with 'wrong' or 'debt' for object, expressed or implied) *forgive* in Lk 7⁴²f., 2 Co 2⁷· ¹⁰ 12¹³, Eph 4³², Col 2¹³ 3¹³.

There are two occasional secondary uses of 'grace,' derived from the above, in the Pauline Epp.: it may denote (*a*) a *gracious endowment* or *bestowment*, God's grace to men taking shape in some concrete ministry (so Eph 4⁷, in view of the following context, and perhaps Gal 2⁹; cf. Ac 7¹⁰)—for *charis* in this sense *charisma* (*charism*) is St. Paul's regular term, as in 1 Co 12⁴ etc.; and (*b*) a *state of grace*, God's grace realized by the recipient (Ro 5², 2 Ti 2¹). G. G. Findlay.

GRACIOUS.—This Eng. adj. is now used only in an active sense = 'bestowing grace,' 'showing favour.' And this is its most frequent use in AV, as Ex 33¹⁹ 'And [I] will be gracious to whom I will be gracious.' But it was formerly used passively also = 'favoured,' 'accepted,' as 1 Es 8²⁰ 'Yea, when we were in bondage, we were not forsaken of our Lord; but he made us gracious before the kings of Persia, so that they gave us food.' And from this it came to signify 'attractive,' as Pr 11¹⁶ 'a gracious woman retaineth honour,' lit. 'a woman of grace,' that is, of attractive appearance and manner; Lk 4²² 'the gracious words which proceeded out of his mouth,' lit., as RV, 'words of grace,' that is, says Plummer, 'winning words'; he adds, 'the very first meaning of *charis* is comeliness, winsomeness.'

GRAFTING.—In olive-culture grafting is universal. When the sapling is about seven years old it is cut down to the stem, and a shoot from a good tree is grafted upon it. Three years later it begins to bear fruit, its produce gradually increasing until about the fourteenth year. No tree under cultivation is allowed to grow ungrafted; the fruit in such case being inferior. Grafting is alluded to only once in Scripture (Ro 11¹⁷ etc.). St. Paul compares the coming in of the Gentiles to the grafting of a **wild olive** branch upon a good olive tree: a process 'contrary to nature.' Nowack (*Heb. Arch.* i. 238) says that Columella's statement that olive trees are rejuvenated and strengthened in this way (see Comm. on *Romans*, by Principal Brown and Godet, *ad loc.*), is not confirmed. Sanday-Headlam say (*ICC* on 'Romans,' p. 328): 'Grafts must necessarily be branches from a cultivated olive inserted into a wild stock, the reverse process being one which would be valueless, and is never performed.' 'The ungrafted tree,' they say, 'is the natural or wild olive,' following Tristram, *Nat. Hist. of the Bible*, 371–377. Prof. Theobald Fischer inclines to view the olive and the wild olive as distinct species; in this agreeing with some modern botanists (*Der Ölbaum*, 4 f.), a contrary opinion being held by others (p. 5). Sir William Ramsay, *Expositor*, vi. ix. [1905], 154 ff., states grounds on which the oleaster (*Eleagnus angustifolia*) may be regarded as the plant intended. This is the type to which the cultivated olive tends to revert through centuries of neglect, as seen, *e.g.*, in Cyrenaica. (Prof. Fischer does not admit this [*Der Ölbaum*, 69].) When grafted with a shoot of the nobler tree it gives rise to the true olive. But the two are clearly distinguished by size, shape, and colour of leaves and character of fruit.

No one could mistake the oleaster for the olive; but the case is not clear enough to justify Ramsay in calling the oleaster the wild olive (*Expositor*, *ut supra*, 152). Dr. W. M. Thomson, whose accuracy Ramsay commends, citing him in favour of his own view (*ib.* 154), is really a witness on the other side, quite plainly holding that the wild olive is the ungrafted tree (*LB* iii. 33 ff.); and this is the universal view among olive growers in modern Palestine. The fruit of the wild olive is acrid and harsh, containing little oil.

Prof. Fischer states that in Palestine it is still 'customary to re-invigorate an olive tree which is ceasing to bear fruit, by grafting it with a shoot of wild olive, so that the sap of the tree ennobles this wild shoot, and the tree now again begins to bear fruit' (*Der Ölbaum*, 9). He gives no authority. Ramsay accepts the statement without question (*Expositor*, *ut supra*, 19), and the value of his subsequent discussion rests upon the assumption of its truth. The assumption is precarious. The present writer can find no evidence that such an operation is ever performed. In response to inquiries made in the main olive-growing districts of Palestine, he is assured that it is never done; and that, for the purpose indicated, it would be perfectly futile.

Sanday-Headlam seem rightly to apprehend the Apostle's meaning. It is not their view that St. Paul proves a spiritual process credible 'because it resembles a process impossible in and contrary to external nature' (Ramsay, *ib.* 26 f.). He exhorts the Gentiles to humility, because God in His goodness has done for them in the spiritual sphere a thing which they had no reason to expect, since it, according to Sanday-Headlam, never, according to Ramsay, very seldom, is done in the natural. The language of St. Paul is justified in either case: it might be all the more effective if the former were true. Mr. Baring Gould's inference as to the Apostle's ignorance only illustrates his own blindness (*Study of St. Paul*, p. 275). See also art. Olive. W. Ewing.

GRAPES.—See Wine and Strong Drink.

GRASS.—(1) *chatsīr*—equivalent of Arab. *khudra*, which includes green vegetables; many references, *e.g.* 1 K 18⁵, 2 K 19²⁶; tr. '**hay**' in Pr 27²⁵, Is 15⁶, and in Nu 11⁵ 'leeks'; refers to herbage in general. (2) *deshe'* (Aram. *dethe*), Jer 14⁵, Pr 27²⁵, Job 38²⁷, Is 66¹⁴

('pasture land'), Dn 4[15. 23] ('tender grass'). (3) *yereq*, tr. 'grass,' Nu 22[4]; see HERB. (4) '*ēseb*, Dt 11[15] 32[2] etc., but tr. 'herb' in other places; see HERB. (5) *chortos*, Mt 6[30], Mk 6[39] etc. Pasturage, as it occurs in Western lands, is unknown in Palestine. Such green herbage appears only for a few weeks, and when the rains cease soon perishes. Hence grass is in the OT a frequent symbol of the shortness of human life (Ps 90[5-7] 103[15], Is 40[6]; cf. 1 P 1[24]). Even more brief is the existence of 'the grass upon the [mud-made] house-tops, which withereth afore it groweth up' (Ps 129[6]).

E. W. G. MASTERMAN.

GRASSHOPPER.—See LOCUST.

GRATE, GRATING.—See TABERNACLE, § 4 (*a*).

GRAVE.—See MOURNING CUSTOMS, TOMB.

GRAVEN IMAGE.—See IMAGES.

GRAY.—See COLOURS, § 1.

GREAT BIBLE.—See ENGLISH VERSIONS, § 22.

GREAT SEA.—See SEA.

GREAT SYNAGOGUE.—See SYNAGOGUE.

GREAVES.—See ARMOUR, § 2 (*d*).

GREECE represents in English the Latin word *Græcia*, which is derived from *Græci*. This name *Græci* properly belonged only to a small tribe of Greeks, who lived in the north-west of Greece; but as this tribe was apparently the first to attract the attention of Rome, dwelling as it did on the other side of the Adriatic from Italy, the name came to be applied by the Romans to the whole race. The term *Græcia*, when used by Romans, is equivalent to the Greek name *Hellas*, which is still used by the Greeks to describe their own country. In ancient times *Hellas* was frequently used in a wide sense to include not only Greece proper, but every settlement of Greeks outside their own country as well. Thus a portion of the Crimea, much of the west coast of Asia Minor, settlements in Cyrene, Sicily, Gaul, and Spain, and above all the southern half of Italy, were parts of *Hellas* in this wide sense. Southern Italy was so studded with Greek settlements that it became known as *Magna Græcia*. After the conquests of Alexander the Great, who died 323 B.C., all the territory annexed by him, such as the greater part of Asia Minor, as well as Syria and Egypt, could be regarded as in a sense *Hellas*. Alexander was the chief agent in the spread of the Greek civilization, manners, language, and culture over these countries. The dynasties founded by his generals, the Seleucids and Ptolemys for example, continued his work, and when Rome began to interfere in Eastern politics about the beginning of the 2nd cent. B.C., the Greek language was already firmly established in the East. When, about three centuries after Alexander's death, practically all his former dominions had become Roman provinces, Greek was the one language which could carry the traveller from the Euphrates to Spain. The Empire had two official languages, Latin for Italy and all provinces north, south-west, and west of it; Greek for all east and south-east of Italy. The Romans wisely made no attempt to force Latin on the Eastern peoples, and were content to let Greek remain in undisputed sway there. All their officials understood and spoke it. Thus it came about that Christianity was preached in Greek, that our NT books were written in Greek, and that the language of the Church, according to all the available evidence, remained Greek till about the middle of the 2nd cent. A.D.

As Galilee was thickly planted with Greek towns, there can be little doubt that Jesus knew the language, and spoke it when necessary, though it is probable that He commonly used Aramaic, as He came first to 'the lost tribes of Israel.' With St. Paul the case was different. Most of the Jews of the Dispersion were probably unable to speak Aramaic, and used the OT in the Greek translation. These would naturally be addressed in Greek. It is true that he spoke Aramaic on one occasion (Ac 21[40]) at least, but this occasion was exceptional. It was a piece of tact on his part, to secure the respectful attention of his audience. Probably only the inhabitants of the villages in the Eastern Roman provinces were unable to speak Greek, and even they could doubtless understand it when spoken. The Jews were amongst the chief spreaders of the language. Some of the successors of Alexander esteemed them highly as colonists, and they were to be found in large numbers over the Roman Empire, speaking in the first instance Greek (cf. Ac 2[9]). When they wrote books, they wrote them in Greek: Philo and Josephus are examples. It is not meant that Greek killed the native languages of the provinces: these had their purpose and subsisted.

The name *Hellas* occurs only once in the NT (Ac 20[2]). There it is used in a narrow sense of the Greek peninsula, exclusive even of Macedonia: it is in fact used in the sense of Achaia (wh. see).

A. SOUTER.

GREEKS, GRECIANS.—Both these terms are used indifferently in AV of OT Apocr. to designate persons of Gr. extraction (1 Mac 1[10] 6[2] 8[9], 2 Mac 4[36] etc.). In NT the linguistic usage of EV makes a distinction between the terms 'Greeks' and 'Grecians.' '*Greeks*' uniformly represents the word *Hellēnēs*, which may denote persons of Gr. descent in the narrowest sense (Ac 16[1] 18[4], Ro 1[14]), or may be a general designation for all who are not of Jewish extraction (Jn 12[20], Ro 1[16] 10[12], Gal 3[28]). '*Grecians*,' on the other hand (Ac 6[1] 9[29]), is AV tr. of *Hellēnistai*, which means Gr.-speaking *Jews* (RV '*Grecian Jews*'). See preced. art. and DISPERSION. An interesting question is that of the correct reading of Ac 11[20]. Were those to whom the men of Cyprus and Cyrene preached, Grecians or Greeks? In other words, were they Jews or Gentiles? The weight of MS authority is in favour of 'Grecians,' but it is held by many that internal evidence necessitates 'Greeks.'

GREEK VERSIONS OF OT.—I. The Septuagint (LXX).—1. The Septuagint, or Version of the Seventy, has special characteristics which differentiate it strongly from all other versions of the Scriptures. Not only are its relations to the original Hebrew of the OT more difficult and obscure than those of any other version to its original, but, as the Greek OT of the Christian community from its earliest days, it has a special historical importance which no other version can claim, and only the Vulgate can approach. Its history, moreover, is very obscure, and its criticism bristles with difficulties, for the removal of which much work is still needed. The present article can aim only at stating the principal questions which arise in relation to it, and the provisional conclusions at which the leading students of the subject have arrived.

2. There is no doubt that the LXX originated in Alexandria, in the time of the Macedonian dynasty in Egypt. Greeks had been sporadically present in Egypt even before the conquest of the country by Alexander, and under the Ptolemys they increased and multiplied greatly. Hundreds of documents discovered in Egypt within the last few years testify to the presence of Greeks and the wide-spread knowledge of the Greek language from the days of Ptolemy Soter onwards. Among them, especially in Alexandria, were many Jews, to whom Greek became the language of daily life, while the knowledge of Aramaic, and still more of literary Hebrew, decayed among them. It was among such surroundings that the LXX came into existence. The principal authority on the subject of its origin is the Letter of Aristeas (edited by H. St. J. Thackeray in Swete's *Introduction to the OT in Greek* [1900], and by P. Wendland in the Teubner series [1900]). This document, which purports to be written by a Greek official of high rank in the court of Ptolemy II. (Philadelphus, B.C. 285–247), describes how the king, at the suggestion of his librarian, Demetrius of Phalerum, resolved to obtain a Greek translation of the laws of the Jews for the library of Alexandria; how, at the instigation

GREEK VERSIONS OF OT

of Aristeas, he released the Jewish captives in his kingdom, to the number of some 100,000, paying the (absurdly small) sum of 20 drachmas apiece for them to their masters; how he then sent presents to Eleazar, the high priest at Jerusalem, and begged him to send six elders out of each tribe to translate the Law; how the 72 elders were sent, and magnificently entertained by Ptolemy, and were then set down to their work in the island of Pharos; and how in 72 days they completed the task assigned to them. The story is repeated by Josephus (*Ant.* XII. ii.) from Aristeas in a condensed form. In later times it received various accretions, increasing the miraculous character of the work; but these additions have no authority.

3. That the Letter of Aristeas is substantially right in assigning the original translation of the Law to the time of one of the early Ptolemys there is no reason to doubt; but the story has the air of having been considerably written up, and it is impossible to say precisely where history stops and fiction begins. Demetrius of Phalerum was librarian to Ptolemy I., but was in disgrace under his successor, and died about 283; hence he can hardly have been the prime mover in the affair. But if not, the writer of the Letter cannot have been the person of rank in Ptolemy's court that he represents himself to be, and the credit of the document is severely shaken. It cannot be depended on for accuracy in details, and it is necessary to turn to the internal evidence for further information. It will be observed that Aristeas speaks only of 'the Law,' *i.e.* the Pentateuch; and there is no reason to doubt that this was the first part of the OT to be translated, and that the other books followed at different times and from the hands of different translators. A lower limit for the completion of the work, or of the main part of it, is given in the prologue to Sirach (written probably in B.C. 132), where the writer speaks of 'the law itself and the prophets and the rest of the books' (*sc.* the Hagiographa) as having been already translated. It may therefore be taken as fairly certain that the LXX as a whole was produced between B.C. 285 and 150.

4. Its character cannot be described in a word. It is written in Greek, which in vocabulary and accidence is substantially that *koinē dialektos*, or Hellenistic Greek, which was in common use throughout the empire of Alexander, and of which our knowledge, in its non-literary form, has been greatly extended by the recent discoveries of Greek papyri in Egypt. In its syntax, however, it is strongly tinged with Hebraisms, which give it a distinct character of its own. The general tendency of the LXX translators was to be very literal, and they have repeatedly followed Hebrew usage (notably in the use of pronouns, prepositions, and participial constructions) to an extent which runs entirely counter to the genius of the Greek language. [For examples, and for the grammar of the LXX generally, see the Introduction to *Selections from the Septuagint*, by F. C. Conybeare and St. George Stock (1905).] The quality of the translation differs in different books. It is at its best in the Pentateuch, which was probably both the first and the most deliberately prepared portion of the translation. It is at its worst in the Prophets, which presented the greatest difficulties in the way of interpretation. Neither the Greek nor the Hebrew scholarship of the translators was of a high order, and they not infrequently wrote down words which convey no rational meaning whatever. Something has been done of late to distinguish the work of different translators. [See the articles of H. St. J. Thackeray in *JThSt* iv. 245, 398, 578, viii. 262, the results of which are here summarized.] It has been shown that Jer. is probably the work of two translators, who respectively translated chs. 1–28 and 29–51 (in the Greek order of the chapters), the latter, who was an inferior scholar, being responsible also for Baruch. Ezek. likewise shows traces of two translators, one taking chs. 1–27 and 40–48, the other 28–39. The Minor Prophets form a single group, which has considerable affinities with the first translators of both Jer. and Ezekiel. Isaiah stands markedly apart from all these, exhibiting a more classical style, but less fidelity to the Hebrew. 1 Kings (=1 Sam.) similarly stands apart from 2–4 Kings, the latter having features in common with Judges.

5. Some other features of the LXX must be mentioned which show that each book, or group of books, requires separate study. In Judges the two principal MSS (Codd. A and B, see below, § **10**) differ so extensively as to show that they represent different recensions. In some books (notably the latter chapters of Ex., 3 K 4–11, Pr 24–29, Jer 25–51) the order of the LXX differs completely from that of the Hebrew, testifying to an arrangement of the text quite different from that of the Massoretes. Elsewhere the differences are not in arrangement but in contents. This is especially the case in the latter chapters of Jos., 1 Kings (=1 Sam.) 17–18, where the LXX omits (or the Heb. adds) several verses; 3 K 8 and 12, where the LXX incorporates material from some fresh source; Ps 151, which is added in the LXX; Job, the original LXX text of which was much shorter than that of the Massoretic Hebrew; Esther, where the Greek has large additions, which now appear separately in our Apocrypha, but which are an integral part of the LXX; Jer., where small omissions and additions are frequent; and Daniel, where the LXX includes the episodes of Susanna, Bel and the Dragon, and the Song of the Three Children, which have now been relegated (in obedience to Jerome's example) to the Apocrypha.

6. The mention of the Apocrypha suggests the largest and most striking difference between the LXX and the Hebrew OT, namely, in the books included in their respective canons; for the Apocrypha, as it stands to-day in our Bibles, consists (with the exception of 2 Esdras and the Prayer of Manasseh) of books which form an integral part of the LXX canon, but were excluded from the Hebrew canon when that was finally determined about the end of the 1st century [see CANON OF OT]. Nor did these books stand apart from the others in the LXX as a separate group. The historical books (1 Esdras, Tob., Judith, and sometimes Mac.) have their place with Chron., Ezr., Neh.; the poetical books (Wisd., Sir.) stand beside Prov., Eccles., and Cant.; and Baruch is attached to Jeremiah. The whole arrangement of the OT books differs, indeed, from the stereotyped order of the Massoretic Hebrew. The latter has its three fixed divisions—(i) the Law, *i.e.* the Pentateuch; (ii) the Prophets, consisting of the Former Prophets (Jos., Judg., 1–4 Kings) and the Latter Prophets (Isaiah, Jeremiah, Ezekiel, and the Minor Prophets); (iii) the Hagiographa, including Chron., Ps., Job, Prov., Ruth, Cant., Eccles., Lam., Esth., Dan., Ezr., Nehemiah. But the LXX attaches Ruth to Judges, Chron. and Ezr.-Neh. to Kings, Baruch and Lam. to Jer., and Dan. to the three Greater Prophets. Its principle of arrangement is, in fact, different. In place of divisions which substantially represent three different stages of canonization, it classifies the books in groups according to the character of their subject-matter—Law, History, Poetry, and Prophecy. The details of the order of the books differ in different MSS and authoritative lists, but substantially the principle is as here stated; and the divergence has had considerable historical importance. In spite of the dissent of several of the leading Fathers, such as Origen and Athanasius, the LXX canon was generally accepted by the early Christian Church. Through the medium of the Old Latin Version it passed into the West, and in spite of Jerome's adoption of the Hebrew canon in his Vulgate, the impugned books made their way back into all Latin Bibles, and have remained there from that day to this. [For an explanation of the curious misapprehension whereby 1 Esdras (on which see § **17**) was excepted from this favourable reception in the Latin printed Bibles and relegated to an appendix, see an article by Sir H. Howorth in *JThSt* vii. 343 (1906).] In the Reformed Churches their fate has been different; for the German

and English translators followed Jerome in adopting the Hebrew canon, and relegated the remaining books to the limbo of the Apocrypha. The authority attaching to the LXX and Massoretic canons respectively is a matter of controversy which cannot be settled offhand; but the fact of their divergence is certain and historically important.

7. If the LXX had come down to us in the state in which it was at the time when its canon was complete (say in the 1st cent. B.C.), it would still have presented to the critic problems more than enough, by reason of its differences from the Hebrew in contents and arrangement, and the doubt attaching to its fidelity as a translation; but these difficulties are multiplied tenfold by the modifications which it underwent between this time and the date to which our earliest MSS belong (4th cent. A.D.). It has been shown above that the LXX was the Bible of the Greek-speaking world at the time when Christianity spread over it. It was in that form that the Gentile Christians received the OT; and they were under no temptation to desert it for the Hebrew Bible (which was the property of their enemies, the Jews), even if they had been able to read it. The LXX consequently became the Bible of the early Christian Church, to which the books of the NT were added in course of time. But the more the Christians were attached to the LXX, the less willing became the Jews to admit its authority; and from the time of the activity of the Rabbinical school of Jamnia, about the end of the 1st cent., to which period the fixing of the Massoretic canon and text may be assigned with fair certainty, they definitely repudiated it. This repudiation did not, however, do away with the need which non-Palestinian Jews felt for a Greek OT; and the result was the production, in the course of the 2nd cent., of no less than three new translations. These translations, which are known under the names of Aquila, Theodotion, and Symmachus, are described below (§§ **15–18**); here it is sufficient to say that they were all translated from the Massoretic OT, and represent it with different degrees of fidelity, from the pedantic verbal imitation of Aquila to the literary freedom of Symmachus. By the beginning of the 3rd cent. there were, therefore, four Greek versions of the OT in the field, besides portions of others which will be mentioned below.

8. Such was the state of things when Origen (A.D. 185–253), the greatest scholar produced by the early Church, entered the field of textual criticism. His labours therein had the most far-reaching effect on the fortunes of the LXX, and are the cause of a large part of our difficulties in respect of its text to-day. Struck by the discrepancies between the LXX and the Heb., he conceived the idea of a vast work which should set the facts plainly before the student. This was the **Hexapla**, or sixfold version of the OT, in which six versions were set forth in six parallel columns. The six versions were as follows—(1) the Hebrew text; (2) the same transliterated in Greek characters; (3) the version of Aquila, which of all the versions was the nearest to the Hebrew; (4) the version of Symmachus; (5) his own edition of the LXX; (6) the version of Theodotion. In the case of the Psalms, no less than three additional Greek versions were included, of which very little is known; they are called simply *Quinta*, *Sexta*, and *Septima*. Elsewhere also there is occasional evidence of an additional version having been included; but these are unimportant. A separate copy of the four main Greek versions was also made, and was known as the Tetrapla. The principal extant fragment of a MS of the Hexapla (a 10th cent. palimpsest at Milan, containing about 11 Psalms) omits the Hebrew column, but makes up the total of six by a column containing various isolated readings. The only other fragment is a 7th cent. leaf discovered at Cairo in a *genizah* (or receptacle for damaged and disused synagogue MSS), and now at Cambridge. It contains Ps $22^{15-18.\ 20-28}$, and has been edited by Dr. C. Taylor (*Cairo Genizah Palimpsests*, 1900). Origen's Hebrew text was substantially identical with the Massoretic; and Aq., Symm., and Theod., as has been stated above, were translations from it; but the LXX, in view of its wide and frequent discrepancies, received special treatment. Passages present in the LXX, but wanting in the Heb., were marked with an obelus (— or ÷); passages wanting in the LXX, but present in the Heb., were supplied from Aq. or Theod., and marked with an asterisk (*); the close of the passage to which the signs applied being marked by a metobelus (: or ⁘ or ⁙). In cases of divergences in arrangement, the order of the Heb. was followed (except in Prov.), and the text of the LXX was considerably corrected so as to bring it into better conformity with the Heb. The establishment of such a conformity was in fact Origen's main object, though his conscience as a scholar and his reverence for the LXX did not allow him altogether to cast out passages which occurred in it, even though they had no sanction in the Hebrew text as he knew it.

9. The great MSS of the Hexapla and Tetrapla were preserved for a long time in the library established by Origen's disciple, Pamphilus, at Cæsarea, and references are made to them in the scholia and subscriptions of some of the extant MSS of the LXX (notably ℵ and Q). So long as they were in existence, with their apparatus of critical signs, the work of Origen in confusing the Gr. and Heb. texts of the OT could always be undone, and the original texts of the LXX substantially restored. But MSS so huge could not easily be copied, and the natural tendency was to excerpt the LXX column by itself, as representing a Greek text improved by restoration to more authentic form. Such an edition, containing Origen's fifth column, with its apparatus of critical signs, was produced early in the 4th cent. by Pamphilus, the founder of the library at Cæsarea, and his disciple Eusebius; and almost simultaneously two fresh editions of the LXX were published in the two principal provinces of Greek Christianity, by Hesychius at Alexandria, and by Lucian at Antioch. It is from these three editions that the majority of the extant MSS of the LXX have descended; but the intricacies of the descent are indescribably great. In the case of Hexaplaric MSS, the inevitable tendency of scribes was to omit, more or less completely, the critical signs which distinguished the true LXX text from the passages imported from Aq. or Theod.; the versions of Aq., Theod., and Symm. have disappeared, and exist now only in fragments, so that we cannot distinguish all such interpolations with certainty; Hexaplaric, Hesychian, and Lucianic MSS acted and reacted on one another, so that it is very difficult to identify MSS as containing one or other of these editions; and although some MSS can be assigned to one or other of them with fair confidence, the majority contain mixed and undetermined texts. The task of the textual critic who would get behind all this confusion of versions and recensions is consequently very hard, and the problem has as yet by no means been completely solved.

10. The materials for its solution are, as in the NT, threefold—Manuscripts, Versions, Patristic Quotations; and these must be briefly described. The earliest MSS are fragments on papyrus, some of which go back to the 3rd century. About 16 in all are at present known, the most important being (i) Oxyrhynchus Pap. 656 (early 3rd cent.), containing parts of Gn 14–27, where most of the great vellum MSS are defective; (ii) Brit. Mus. Pap. 37 (7th cent.), sometimes known as U, containing the greater part of Ps 10–34 [it is by a mere misunderstanding that Heinrici, followed by Rahlfs, quotes the authority of Wilcken for assigning this MS to the 4th cent.; Wilcken's opinion related to another Psalter-fragment in the British Museum (Pap. 230)]; (iii) a Leipzig papyrus (4th cent.), containing Ps 30–55, the first five being considerably mutilated; (iv) a papyrus at Heidelberg (7th cent.), containing Zec 4^{6}–Mal 4^{5}. A papyrus at Berlin, containing about

two-thirds of Gen., and said to be of the 4th or 5th cent., is not yet published.

The principal vellum uncial MSS, which are of course the main foundation of our textual knowledge, are as follows. See also TEXT OF NT.

א or S. *Codex Sinaiticus*, 4th cent., 43 leaves at Leipzig, 156 (besides the whole NT) at St. Petersburg, containing fragments of Gen. and Num., 1 Ch 9^{27}–19^{17}, 2 Es 9^{9} to end, Esth., Tob., Judith, 1 and 4 Mac., Is., Jer., La 1^{1}–2^{20}, Joel, Obad., Jon., Nah.–Mal., and the poetical books. Its text is of a very mixed character. It has a strong element in common with B, and yet is often independent of it. In Tob. it has a quite different text from that of A and B, and is perhaps nearer to the original Heb. Its origin is probably composite, so that it is not possible to assign it to any one school. Its most important correctors are C^{a} and C^{b}, both of the 7th cent., the former of whom states, in a note appended to Esth., that he collated the MS with a very early copy, which itself had been corrected by the hand of Pamphilus.

A. *Codex Alexandrinus*, 5th cent., in the British Museum; complete except in Ps 49^{19}–79^{10} and smaller lacunæ, chiefly in Gen.; 3 and 4 Mac. are included. The Psalter is liturgical, and is preceded by the Epistle of Athanasius on the Psalter, and the *Hypotheseis* of Eusebius; the Canticles are appended to it. The text is written by at least two scribes; the principal corrections are by the original scribes and a reviser of not much later date. It is almost certainly of Egyptian origin, and has sometimes been supposed to represent the edition of Hesychius, but this is by no means certain yet. In Judges it has a text wholly different from that of B, and in general the two MSS represent different types of text; the quotations from the LXX in the NT tend to support A rather than B.

B. *Codex Vaticanus*, 4th cent., in the Vatican; complete except for the loss of Gn 1^{1}–46^{28}, 2 K $2^{5-7.\ 10-13}$, Ps 105^{27}–137^{6}, and the omission of 1–4 Maccabees. Its character appears to differ in different books, but in general Hort's description seems sound, that it is closely akin to the text which Origen had before him when he set about his Hexapla. It is thus of Egyptian origin, and is very frequently in accord with the Bohairic version. Recently Rahlfs has argued that in Ps. it represents the edition of Hesychius, but his proof is very incomplete; for since he admits that Hesychius must have made but few alterations in the pre-Origenian Psalter, and that the text of B is not quite identical with that which he takes as the standard of Hesychius (namely, the quotations in Cyril of Alexandria), his hypothesis does not seem to cover the phenomena so well as Hort's. The true character of B, however, still requires investigation, and each of the principal groups of books must be examined separately.

C. *Codex Ephræmi rescriptus*, 5th cent., at Paris; 64 leaves palimpsest, containing parts of the poetical books.

D. *The Cotton Genesis*, 5th cent., in the British Museum; an illustrated copy of Gen., almost wholly destroyed by fire in 1731, but partially known from collations made previously.

G. *Codex Sarravianus*, 5th cent., 130 leaves at Leyden, 22 at Paris, and one at St. Petersburg, contains portions of the Octateuch in a Hexaplar text, with Origen's apparatus (incompletely reproduced, however) of asterisks and obeli.

L. *The Vienna Genesis*, 6th cent., in silver letters on purple vellum, with illustrations; contains Gen. incomplete.

N-V. *Codex Basiliano-Venetus*, 8th or 9th cent., partly in the Vatican and partly at Venice; contains portions of the OT, from Lv 13^{39}–4 Mac. Of importance chiefly as having been used (in conjunction with B) for the standard edition of the LXX printed at Rome in 1587.

Q. *Codex Marchalianus*, 6th cent., in the Vatican; contains the Prophets, complete. Written in Egypt; its text is believed to be Hesychian, and it contains a large number of Hexaplaric signs and readings from the Hexapla in its margins, which are of great importance.

R. *Codex Veronensis*, 6th cent., at Verona; contains Psalter, in Greek and Latin, with Canticles.

T. *Zürich Psalter*, 7th cent., written in silver letters, with gold initials, on purple vellum; the Canticles are included. R and T represent the Western text of the Psalms, as the Leipzig and London papyrus Psalters do the Upper Egyptian text, and B the Lower Egyptian.

A MS of Deut. and Jos., of the 6th cent., found in Egypt and now at the University of Michigan, is to be published shortly.

The other uncial MSS are fragmentary and of lesser importance. Of minuscule MSS over 300 are known, and some of them are of considerable importance in establishing the texts of the various recensions of the LXX. Most of them are known mainly from the collations of Holmes and Parsons, which are often imperfect; the Cambridge Septuagint, now in progress, will give more exact information with regard to selected representatives of them.

11. The Versions of the LXX do not occupy so prominent a position in its textual criticism as is the case in the NT, but still are of considerable importance for identifying the various local texts. The following are the most important—

(*a*) The *Bohairic* version of Lower Egypt, the latest of the Coptic versions, and the only one which is complete. The analysis of its character is still imperfect. It is natural to look to it for the Hesychian text, but it is doubtful how far this can be assumed, and in the case of the Minor Prophets it has been denied by Deissmann as the result of his examination of the Heidelberg papyrus. In the Psalms it agrees closely with B, in the Major Prophets rather with AQ.

(*b*) The *Sahidic* version of Upper Egypt; Job and Ps. are extant complete, and there are considerable fragments of other books. In Ps. the text agrees substantially with that of the papyrus Psalters, and is said to be pre-Origenian, but considerably corrupted. In Job also it is pre-Origenian, and its text is shorter by one-sixth than the received text; scholars still differ as to which is the truer representation of the original book. The fragments of the other books need fuller examination. A MS of Prov. in a third Coptic dialect (Middle Egyptian) has quite recently been discovered, and is now in Berlin; but no details as to its character have been published.

(*c*) The *Syriac* versions. The Old Syriac, so important for the NT, is not known to have existed for the OT. The Peshitta appears to have been made from the Hebrew, but to have been subsequently affected by the influence of the LXX, and consequently is not wholly trustworthy for either. The most important Syriac version of the OT is the translation made from the LXX column of the Hexapla by Paul of Tella in A.D. 616–617, in which Origen's critical signs were carefully preserved; an 8th cent. MS at Milan contains the Prophets and the poetical books, while Ex. and Ruth are extant complete in other MSS, with parts of Gen., Numb., Josh., Judg., and 3 and 4 Kings. The other historical books were edited in the 16th cent. from a MS which has since disappeared. This is one of the most important sources of our knowledge of Origen's work.

(*d*) The *Latin* versions. These were two in number, the *Old Latin* and the *Vulgate*. On the origin of the OL, see TEXT OF THE NT. The greater part of the Heptateuch (Gn 16^{9}–Jg 20^{31}, but with mutilations) is extant in a MS at Lyons of the 5th–6th cent. The non-Massoretic books (our Apocr.), except Judith and Tob., were not translated by Jerome, and consequently were incorporated in the Vulg. from the OL; Ruth survives in one MS, the Psalms in two, and Esther in several; and considerable fragments of most of the other books are extant in palimpsests and other incomplete MSS. In addition we have the quotations of Cyprian and other early Latin Fathers. The importance of the OL lies in the fact that its origin goes back to the 2nd cent., and it is consequently pre-Hexaplar. Also, since its affinities are rather with Antioch than with Alexandria, it preserves readings from a type of text prevalent in Syria, that, namely, on which Lucian subsequently based his edition. This type of text may not be superior to the Alexandrian, but at least it deserves consideration. On the OL, see Kennedy in Hastings' *DB*, and Burkitt's *The Old Latin and the Itala* (1896). On the Vulgate, see art. *s.v.* Since it was, in the main, a re-translation from the Hebrew, it does not (except in the Psalter) come into consideration in connexion with the LXX.

The remaining versions—Ethiopic, Armenian, Georgian, Arabic, Gothic, Slavonic—are of minor importance, and need not be described here.

12. The evidence of the Fathers has been less fully used for the LXX than for the NT, but its importance in distinguishing and localizing types of text is increasingly recognized.

Origen is of particular importance for his express statements on textual matters, though his declared acceptance of the Hebrew as the standard of truth has to be remembered in weighing his evidence. Much the same may be said of *Jerome*. Fathers who had no interest in textual criticism are often more valuable as witnesses to the type of text in use in their age and country. Thus *Cyril of Alexandria* gives us an Egyptian text, which may probably be that of Hesychius. *Theodoret* and *Chrysostom*, who belong to Antioch, represent the Syrian text, *i.e.* the edition of Lucian. *Cyprian* is a principal witness for the African Old Latin. The Apostolic Fathers, notably *Clement of Rome* and *Barnabas*, carry us farther back, and contribute some evidence towards a decision between the rival texts represented by A and B, their tendency on the whole being in favour of the former; and the same is the case with *Irenæus*, *Justin*, and *Clement*

of Alexandria, though their results are by no means uniform. This field of inquiry is not worked out yet.

13. With these materials the critic has to approach the problem of the restoration of the text of the LXX. Ideally, what is desirable is that it should be possible to point out the three main editions, those of Origen, Lucian, and Hesychius, and thence to go back to the text which lies behind them all, that of the pre-Origenian LXX. Some progress has been made in this direction. Some MSS are generally recognized as being predominantly Lucianic; some readings are certainly known to be Hexaplar; but we are still far from an agreement on all points. Especially is this the case with the edition of Hesychius. Some scholars have identified it (notably in the Prophets) with the text of A, which, however, seems certainly to have been modified by the influence of Origen. More recently the tendency has been to find it in B; but here it is still open to question whether B is not mainly both pre-Hesychian and pre-Origenian. It would be unjustifiable to pretend at present that certainty has been arrived at on these points. And with regard to the great bulk of MSS, it is clear that their texts are of a mixed character. In the Psalms it would appear that the edition of Lucian was, in the main, adopted at Constantinople, and so became the common text of the Church; but in regard to the other books, the common text, which appears in the bulk of the later MSS, cannot be identified with any of the three primary editions. The influence of the Hebrew, especially after the example of Origen, was constantly a disturbing factor; and it is certain that criticism has still much to do before it can give us even an approximately sound text of the LXX.

14. And when that is done, the question of the relation of the LXX to the Hebrew still remains. No other version differs so widely from its presumed original as the LXX does from the Massoretic Hebrew; but it is by no means easy to say how far this is due to the mistakes and liberties of the translators, and how far to the fact that the text before them differed from the Massoretic. That the latter was the case to some not inconsiderable extent is certain. Readings in which the LXX is supported against the Massoretic by the Samaritan version must almost certainly represent a divergent Hebrew original; but unfortunately the Samaritan exists only for the Pentateuch, in which the variants are least. Elsewhere we have generally to depend on internal evidence; and the more the LXX is studied in detail, the less willing, as a rule, is the student to maintain its authority against the Hebrew, and the less certain that its variants really represent differences in the original text. The palpable mistakes made by the translators, the inadequacy of their knowledge of Hebrew, the freedom with which some of them treated their original,—all these go far to explain a large margin of divergence; and to these must be added divergences arising, not from a different Hebrew text, but from supplying different vowel points to a text which originally had none. All these factors have to be taken into account before we can safely say that the Hebrew which lay before the LXX translators must have been different from the Massoretic text; and each passage must be judged on its own merits. An instructive lesson may be learnt from the recent discovery of the original Hebrew of Sirach, which has revealed a quite unsuspected amount of blundering, and even wilful alteration, on the part of the Greek translator. The testimony of the LXX must therefore be received with extreme caution; and although there is no reason to doubt that it contains much good grain, yet it is also certain that much skill and labour have still to be exercised in order to separate the grain from the chaff. In passing, it may be said that there appears to be no sound basis for the charge, often brought by early Christian writers, that the Jews made large alterations in the Heb. text for doctrinal and controversial reasons.

II. Aquila (Aq.).—15. Of the rival Greek versions which, as mentioned in § 7, came into being in the 2nd cent., the first was that of Aquila, a Gentile of Sinope, in Pontus, who was converted first to Christianity and then to Judaism. He is said to have been a pupil of Rabbi Akiba, and to have flourished in the reign of Hadrian (A.D. 117–138). His translation of the OT was made in the interests of Jewish orthodoxy. The text which subsequently received the name of Massoretic had practically been fixed by the Jewish scholars at the end of the 1st cent., and Aquila followed it with slavish fidelity. All thought for the genius and usage of the Greek language was thrown aside, and the Greek was forced to follow the idiosyncrasies of the Hebrew in defiance of sense and grammar. Aq. would consequently be an excellent witness to the Hebrew text of the 2nd cent., if only it existed intact; but we possess only small fragments of it. These consist for the most part (until recently, wholly) of fragments of Origen's third column preserved in the margins of Hexaplar MSS (such as Q); but they have been supplemented by modern discoveries. The Milan palimpsest of the Hexapla (see § 8) contains the text of Aq. for 11 Psalms; but though discovered by Mercati in 1896, only a small specimen of it has yet been published. The Cambridge fragment published by Dr. Taylor gives the text of Ps $22^{20\text{-}28}$. In 1897 Mr. F. C. Burkitt discovered three palimpsest leaves of a MS of Aq. (5th–6th cent.) among a large quantity of tattered MSS brought, like the last-mentioned fragment, from Cairo; and these, which contain 3 K $20^{7\text{-}17}$ and 4 K $23^{11\text{-}27}$, were published in 1897. Further fragments, from the same source and of the same date, published by Dr. C. Taylor (1900), contain Ps 90^{17}–92^{10} 96^{7}–97^{12} 98^{8} 102^{16}–103^{13}; and in 1900 Messrs. Grenfell and Hunt published Gn $1^{1\text{-}5}$ in the versions of the LXX and Aq. from a papyrus of the 4th cent. in the collection of Lord Amherst. These discoveries confirm our previous knowledge of the characteristics of Aq.; and it is noteworthy that in the Cambridge MSS of Aq. the Divine Tetragrammaton is written in the old Hebrew characters.

III. Theodotion (Theod.).—16. The origin of this version must be ascribed to a desire (similar to that which actuated Origen) on the part of the Christians to have a Greek version of the OT which should correspond better than the LXX with the current Hebrew text, and yet not be so closely identified with their Jewish opponents and so disregardful of the genius of the Greek language as Aquila. Theodotion, though sometimes described as a Jewish proselyte, appears rather to have been an Ebionitic Christian, who lived at Ephesus about the middle of the 2nd cent.; and his version found favour with the Christians, much as Aq. did with the Jews. This version follows in the main the authorized Hebrew, but is much more free than Aq., and agrees more with the LXX. Hence when Origen, in the execution of his plan for bringing the LXX into accord with the Hebrew, had to supply omissions in the LXX, he had recourse to Theod. for the purpose. Further, the LXX version of Dan. being regarded as unsatisfactory, the version of Theod. was taken into use instead, and so effectually that the LXX of this book has survived in but one single MS. It is probable, however, that Theod. was not wholly original in this book, for there are strong traces of Theodotionic readings in the NT (Hebrews and Apocalypse), Hermas, Clement, and Justin; whence it seems necessary to conclude that Theod. based his version on one which had been previously in existence side by side with the LXX.

17. Besides this complete book and the extracts from the Hexapla and the Milan palimpsest (the Theodotion column in the Cambridge MS is lost), there is some reason to believe that still more of Theod. has survived than was formerly supposed. It is well known that the book which appears in our Apocrypha as 1 Esdras, and in the Greek Bible as Ἔσδρας Α′, is simply a different recension of the canonical book of Ezra (with

parts of 2 Chron. and Nehemiah), which in the Greek Bible appears (with Neh.) as Ἔσδρας Β΄. Ἔσδρας Β΄ faithfully represents the Massoretic Hebrew; Ἔσδρας Α΄ is freely paraphrastic, and contains some additional matter (1 Es 3^{1}–5^{6}). Josephus, who knew the LXX, but not, of course, Theod., plainly follows Ἔσδ. Α΄; and it has been argued by Whiston (in 1722) and Sir H. Howorth (*Soc. Bibl. Arch.*, May 1901–Nov. 1902) that Ἔσδ. Α΄ is the original LXX version, and Ἔσδ. Β΄ the version of Theod., which, as in Dan., has ousted its predecessor from general use. The theory is not at all improbable (and there is some evidence that in the Hexapla, where Theod. of course had its own column, the text in the LXX column was Ἔσδ. Α΄), but it still needs confirmation by a linguistic comparison between Ἔσδ. Α΄ and Theodotion's Dan., which it is hoped will shortly be made. Sir H. Howorth further suggests that the version of Chron. which now appears in the LXX is really that of Theod., the original LXX having in this case completely disappeared. Chron. is certainly closely connected with Ἔσδ. Β΄, and the suggestion deserves full examination; but in the absence of an alternative version, or of any reference to one, it will be more difficult to establish.

IV. Symmachus (Symm.).—**18.** Of Symm. there is less to say. Like Theodotion, he has been called an Ebionite, and, like both Theodotion and Aquila, he has been said to be a proselyte to Judaism; the former statement is probably true. His work was known to Origen by about A.D. 228, and was probably produced quite at the end of the 2nd century. From the literary point of view, it was the best of all the Greek versions of the OT. It was based, like Aq. and Theod., on the Massoretic Hebrew, but it aimed at rendering it into idiomatic Greek. Consequently, it neither had the reputation which Aq. acquired among the Jews, nor was it so well fitted as Theod. to make good the defects, real or supposed, of the LXX among the Christians; and its historical importance is therefore less than that of its rivals. The extant materials for its study are practically the same as in the case of Aq., namely, the two fragments of MSS of the Hexapla [the Cambridge fragment contains the Symm. column for Ps $22^{15\text{-}18\ 20\text{-}24}$; the precise extent of the Milan MS is not known], and the copious extracts from the Hexapla in the margins of certain MSS and the quotations of the Fathers.

LITERATURE.—By far the best work on the LXX in any language is Dr. H. B. Swete's *Introd. to the OT in Greek* (1900), which includes full references to all the literature of the subject before that date. See also Nestle's article in Hastings' *DB*, and his *Septuagintastudien* (1886–1907). A popular account with a description of all the uncial MSS is given in Kenyon's *Our Bible and the Ancient MSS*, pp. 48–92 (1895; revised ed., 1898). The most important recent works are Rahlfs' *Septuaginta-Studien* (I., 1904, on the text of Kings; II., 1907, on Ps.), and R. L. Ottley's *Book of Isaiah according to the Septuagint* (2 vols., 1904–6). The remains of the Hexapla are collected in F. Field's *Origenis Hexaplorum quæ supersunt* (Oxford, 1875). Ceriani's study of the Codex Marchalianus and Deissmann's of the Heidelberg Prophets-papyrus make important contributions to the classification of the MSS. An English translation of the LXX was printed by C. Thomson at Philadelphia (1808), and has recently been reprinted by S. F. Pells; another by Sir L. Brenton was published in 1844.

Editions.—The LXX was first printed in the Complutensian Polyglot (1514–17, published 1521), but first published by Aldus (1519). The standard edition is that issued at Rome by Pope Sixtus v. in 1587. This, by excellent fortune, was based mainly on the Codex Vaticanus (B), with the help of the Venice MS (V), and others. Hence the TR of the Greek OT, unlike that of the NT, has always rested on the authority of good MSS, though these were not very critically employed. An edition based on the Codex Alexandrinus (A) was published at Oxford by Grabe in 1707–20. The textual criticism of the LXX rests upon the great edition of R. Holmes and J. Parsons (Oxford, 1798–1827), who printed the Sixtine text with an apparatus drawn from 20 uncial and 277 minuscule MSS, besides versions. Unfortunately several of the collations made by their assistants were not up to modern standards of accuracy. Tischendorf published a revised text, with various readings from a few of the leading uncials (1850; 7th ed., 1887); but the foundation of recent textual study of the LXX was laid by the Cambridge manual edition in 3 vols. by Swete (1887–94; revised, 1895–99). In this the text is printed from B, when available, otherwise from A or ℵ, and the textual apparatus gives all the variants in the principal uncial MSS. A larger edition giving the same text, but with the addition of the evidence of all the uncials, a considerable number of carefully selected and representative minuscules, and the principal versions and patristic quotations, is being prepared by A. E. Brooke and N. Maclean, and Genesis has already appeared (1906).

F. G. KENYON.

GREEN, GREENISH.—See COLOURS, § 1.

GREETING.—See SALUTATION.

GREYHOUND.—See DOG.

GRINDER.—The 'grinders' of Ec 12^{3} are women grinding at the mill. But in Job 29^{17m} the 'grinders' are the molar teeth. Holland, *Pliny*, xi. 37, says, 'The great grinders which stand beyond the eye-teeth, in no creature whatsoever do fall out of themselves.'

GRISLED.—See COLOURS, § 1.

GROUND.—See EARTH.

GROVE.—Apart from Gn 21^{33}, to be presently mentioned, 'grove' is everywhere in AV a mistaken tr., which goes back through the Vulgate to the LXX, of the name of the Canaanite goddess *Asherah*. The 'groves,' so often said to have been, or to be deserving to be, 'cut down,' were the wooden poles set up as symbols of Asherah. See further the art. ASHERAH.

In Gn 21^{33} the grove which AV makes Abraham plant in Beer-sheba was really 'a **tamarisk** tree' (so RV), a tree which also figures in the story of Saul, 1 S 22^{6} 31^{13} (both RV).

A. R. S. KENNEDY.

GRUDGE.—Ps 59^{15} 'Let them wander up and down for meat, and grudge if they be not satisfied.' The word 'grudge' formerly stood for dissatisfaction expressed aloud, *i.e.* murmur, grumble; but by 1611 it was becoming confined to the feeling rather than the open expression, so that it occurs in AV less frequently than in the older versions. Besides Ps 59^{15} it has the older meaning in Wis 12^{27}, Sir 10^{25}, and Ja 5^{9} 'grudge not one against another' (RV 'murmur not').

GUARD BODY-GUARD.—The former is used in EV almost exclusively for the body-guard of royal and other high-placed personages, such as Nehemiah (Neh $4^{22f.}$) and Holofernes (Jth 12^{7}). 'Body-guard' occurs only 1 Es 3^{4} RV of the 'guard' (AV) of Darius. The members of the body-guard of the Pharaoh of Gn 37^{36} and of Nebuchadnezzar (2 K 25^{8} etc.) are, in the original style, 'slaughterers (of animals for food),' not as RVm 'executioners.' Those composing the body-guard of the Hebrew kings, on the other hand, are styled **'runners'** (1 S 22^{17} RV and marg., 2 K 10^{25} 11^{4} etc.), one of their duties being to run in front of the royal state-chariot (cf. 2 S 15^{1}, 1 K 1^{5}). In 1 K 14^{28} we hear of a guard-chamber. The office of 'the captain of the guard' was at all times one of great dignity and responsibility. David's body-guard consisted of foreign mercenaries, the Cherethites and Pelethites (see p. 122[b]), commanded by Benaiah (2 S 20^{23} compared with 23^{23}). The famous **Prætorian guard** of the Roman emperors is mentioned in Ph 1^{13} RV; also Ac 28^{16} AV in a passage absent from the best texts and RV.

A. R. S. KENNEDY.

GUDGODAH.—A station in the journeyings of the Israelites (Dt 10^{7}), whence they proceeded to Jotbathah. There can be little doubt that Hor-haggidgad in the itinerary of Nu 33^{33} indicates the same place.

GUEST, GUEST-CHAMBER.—See HOSPITALITY.

GUILT.—**1.** Guilt may be defined in terms of relativity. It is rather the abiding result of sin than sin itself (see Pearson's *Exposition of the Creed*, ed. James Nichols, p. 514 f.). It is not punishment, or even liability to punishment, for this presupposes

personal consciousness of wrong-doing and leaves out of account the attitude of God to sin unwittingly committed (Lv $5^{1ff.}$; cf. Lk 12^{48}, Ro 5^{13}; see Sanday-Headlam, *Romans*, p. 144). On the other hand, we may describe it as a condition, a state, or a relation; the resultant of two forces drawing different ways (Ro $7^{14ff.}$). It includes two essential factors, without which it would be unmeaning as an objective reality or entity. At one point stands personal holiness, including whatever is holy in man; at another, personal corruption, including what is evil in man. Man's relation to God, as it is affected by sin, is what constitutes guilt in the widest sense of the word. The human struggle after righteousness is the surest evidence of man's consciousness of racial and personal guilt, and an acknowledgment that his position in this respect is not normal.

We are thus enabled to see that when moral obliquity arising from or reinforced by natural causes, adventitious circumstances, or personal environment, issues in persistent, wilful wrong-doing, it becomes or is resolved into guilt, and involves punishment which is guilt's inseparable accompaniment. In the OT the ideas of sin, guilt, and punishment are so inextricably interwoven that it is impossible to treat of one without in some way dealing with the other two, and the word for each is used interchangeably for the others (see Schultz, *OT Theol.* ii. p. 306). An example of this is found in Cain's despairing complaint, where the word 'punishment' (Gn 4^{13} EV) includes both the sin committed and the guilt attaching thereto (cf. Lv 26^{41}).

2. In speaking of the guilt of the race or of the individual, some knowledge of a law governing moral actions must be presupposed (cf. Jn 9^{41} $15^{22.\ 24}$). It is when the human will enters into conscious antagonism to the Divine will that guilt emerges into objective existence and crystallizes (see Martensen, *Christian Dogmatics*, Eng. tr. p. 203 ff.). An educative process is thus required in order to bring home to the human race that sense of guilt without which progress is impossible (cf. Ro 3^{20} 7^{7}). As soon, however, as this consciousness is established, the first step on the road to rebellion against sin is taken, and the sinner's relation to God commences to become fundamentally altered from what it was. A case in point, illustrative of this inchoate stage, is afforded by Joseph's brothers in their tardy recognition of a guilt which seems to have been latent in a degree, so far as their consciousness was concerned, up to the period of threatened consequences (Gn 42^{21}; cf. for a similar example of strange moral blindness, on the part of David, 2 S $12^{1ff.}$). Their subsequent conduct was characterized by clumsy attempts to undo the mischief of which they had been the authors. A like feature is observable in the attitude of the Philistines when restoring the sacred 'ark of the covenant' to the offended Jehovah. A 'guilt-offering' had to be sent as a restitution for the wrong done (1 S 6^{3}, cf. 2 K 12^{16}). This natural instinct was developed and guided in the Levitical institutions by formal ceremony and religious rite, which were calculated to deepen still further the feeling of guilt and fear of Divine wrath. Even when the offence was committed in ignorance, as soon as its character was revealed to the offender, he became thereupon liable to punishment, and had to expiate his guilt by restitution and sacrifice, or by a **'guilt-offering'** (AV 'trespass offering,' Lv $5^{15ff.}$ $6^{1ff.}$). To this a fine, amounting to one-fifth of the value of the wrong done in the case of a neighbour, was added and given to the injured party (6^{5}, Nu $5^{6f.}$). How widely diffused this special rite had become is evidenced by the numerous incidental references of Ezekiel (40^{39} 42^{13} 44^{29} 46^{20}); while perhaps the most remarkable allusion to this service of restitution occurs in the later Isaiah, where the ideal Servant of Jehovah is described as a 'guilt-offering' (53^{10}).

3. As might be expected, the universality of human guilt is nowhere more insistently dwelt on or more fully realized than in the Psalms (cf. Ps 14^{2} and 53^{2}, where the expression 'the sons of men' reveals the scope of the poet's thought; see also Ps 36 with its antithesis—the universal long-suffering of God and the universal corruption of men). In whatever way we interpret certain passages (*e.g.* Ps 69^{28} $109^{7ff.}$) in the so-called imprecatory Psalms, one thought at least clearly emerges, that wilful and persistent sin can never be separated from guiltiness in the sight of God, or from consequent punishment. They reveal in the writers a sense 'of moral earnestness, of righteous indignation, of burning zeal for the cause of God' (see Kirkpatrick, 'Psalms' in *Cambr. Bible for Schools and Colleges*, p. lxxv.). The same spirit is to be observed in Jeremiah's repeated prayers for vengeance on those who spent their time in devising means to destroy him and his work (cf. $11^{18ff.}$ $18^{19ff.}$ $20^{11ff.}$ etc.). Indeed, the prophetic books of the OT testify generally to the force of this feeling amongst the most powerful religious thinkers of ancient times, and are a permanent witness to the validity of the educative functions which it fell to the lot of these moral teachers to discharge (cf. *e.g.* Hos $10^{2ff.}$, Jl $1^{4ff.}$, Am $4^{9ff.}$, Mic $3^{4ff.}$, Hag $2^{21f.}$, Zec $5^{2ff.}$ etc.).

4. The final act in this great formative process is historically connected with the life and work of Jesus Christ. The doctrine of the Atonement, however interpreted or systematized, involves belief in, and the realization of, the guilt of the entire human race. The symbolic Levitical rite in which 'the goat for Azazel' bore the guilt (EV 'iniquities,' Lv 16^{22}) and the punishment of the nation, shadows forth clearly and unmistakably the nature of the burden laid on Jesus, as the Son of Man. Involved, as a result of the Incarnation, in the limitations and fate of the human race, He in a profoundly real way entered into the conditions of its present life (see Is 53^{12}, where the suffering Servant is said to bear the consequences of man's present position in regard to God; cf. 1 P 2^{24}). Taking the nature of Adam's race, He became involved, so to speak, in a mystic but none the less real sense, in its guilt, while Gethsemane and Calvary are eternal witnesses to the tremendous load willingly borne by Jesus (Jn 10^{18}) as the price of the world's guilt, at the hands of a just and holy but a loving and merciful God (Jn $3^{16f.}$, Ro 5^{8}, Eph $2^{3f.}$, 1 Th 1^{10}, Rev 15^{1}; cf. Ex 34^{7}).

'By submitting to the awful experience which forced from Him the cry, "My God, my God, why hast Thou forsaken Me?" and by the Death which followed, He made our real relation to God His own, while retaining—and, in the very act of submitting to the penalty of sin, revealing in the highest form—the absolute perfection of His moral life and the steadfastness of His eternal union with the Father' (Dale, *The Atonement*, p. 425).

It is only in the life of Jesus that we are able to measure the guilt of the human race as it exists in the sight of God, and at the same time to learn somewhat, from the means by which He willed to bring it home to the consciousness of men, of the full meaning of its character as an awful but objective reality. Man's position in regard to God, looked on as the result of sin, is the extent and the measure of his guilt.

'Only He, who knew in Himself the measure of the holiness of God, could realize also, in the human nature which He had made His own, the full depth of the alienation of sin from God, the real character of the penal averting of God's face. Only He, who sounded the depths of human consciousness in regard to sin, could, in the power of His own inherent righteousness, condemn and crush sin in the flesh. The suffering involved in this is not, in Him, punishment or the terror of punishment; but it is the full realizing, in the personal consciousness, of the truth of sin, and the disciplinary pain of the conquest of sin; it is that full self-identification of human nature, within range of sin's challenge and sin's scourge, with holiness as the Divine condemnation of sin, which was at once the necessity—and the impossibility—of human penitence. The nearest—and yet how distant!—an approach to it in our experience we recognize, not in the wild sin-terrified cry of the guilty, but rather

in those whose profound self-identification with the guilty overshadows them with a darkness and a shame, vital indeed to their being, yet at heart tranquil, because it is not confused with the blurring consciousness of a personal sin' (Moberly, *Atonement and Personality*, p. 130).

5. The clearest and most emphatic exposition of the fruits of the Incarnation, with respect to human guilt, is to be found in the partly systematized Christology of St. Paul, where life 'in the Spirit' is asserted to be the norm of Christian activity (Ro $8^{9ff.}$). 'There is therefore now no condemnation to them that are in Christ Jesus' (8^{1}) is a reversal of the verdict of 'Guilty' against the race (cf. Col $3^{6f.}$, 1 Th 2^{16}), in so far as man accepts the conditions of the Christian life (cf. Gal $5^{17f.}$). Where the conditions are not fulfilled, he is not included in the new order, for 'if any man hath not the Spirit of Christ, he is none of his.' His guilt is aggravated by 'neglecting so great salvation' (He 2^{3}; cf. Jn $15^{22.\ 24}$, Mt $11^{20ff.}$), and the sentence pronounced against the disobedience of the enlightened is, humanly speaking at least, irreversible (He $6^{4ff.}$ $10^{29ff.}$). J. R. Willis.

GUILT-OFFERING.—See Sacrifice and Offering.

GULF.—The only instance of the use of this word in the Bible occurs in the parable of Dives and Lazarus (Lk 16^{26}; cf. Nu 16^{30} where the word 'pit' is the translation of *Hades* or *Sheol*). Some commentators have discovered in Jesus' employment of this term ('chasm'), as well as in His assertion of the possibility of conversation, an approval in general terms of a current Rabbinical belief that the souls of the righteous and of the wicked exist after death in different compartments of the same under world (see J. Lightfoot, *Hor. Heb.* iii. p. 175). It is not possible, however, to construct a theory of Jesus' belief as to the intermediate state from evidence so scanty. Indeed, signs are not lacking that on this occasion He employs the language of metaphor in order to guard against placing His *imprimatur* on useless and materialistic speculations. The expressions 'from afar' (v.[23]) and 'a great gulf' (v.[26]) do not harmonize with the idea of holding a conversation; and it seems plain that they form but subsidiary portions of a parable by which He means to teach a lesson of purely ethical import. There is, moreover, an evident implication in the context that the gulf is not confined to the world beyond the grave. Having reminded the Rich Man of the contrast between his condition and that of Lazarus in their earthly lives, and of its reversal in their respective conditions at present, Abraham is made to say, 'In all these things (see RVm) there has been and remains fixed a great chasm' (cf. Plummer 'St. Luke' in *ICC*, *ad loc.*). The chasm is not only between *the conditions* of the two men's lives; it has its foundation in their *characters*, modified, no doubt, and influenced by the circumstances in which each lived. The impassable nature of the chasm can be explained only on the ground that it is the great moral division separating two fundamentally different classes of men. J. R. Willis.

GUNI.—**1.** The eponym of a Naphtalite family, Gn 46^{24}=1 Ch 7^{13} (cf. Nu 26^{48} where the gentilic **Gunites** occurs). **2.** A Gadite chief (1 Ch 5^{15}). Probably we should also read 'the Gunite' for '**Jonathan**' in 2 S 23^{32}; and for 'the **Gizonite**' in 1 Ch 11^{34}.

GUR.—An 'ascent' by Ibleam and Beth-haggan (2 K 9^{27}). Possibly these two are the modern *Yebla* and *Beit Jenn*. But see Ibleam.

GUR-BAAL ('dwelling of Baal').—An unknown locality named in 2 Ch 26^{7}.

GUTTER.—See House, § 5.

H

HAAHASHTARI.—A descendant of Judah (1 Ch 4^{6}).

HABAIAH ('J" hath hidden').—The head of a priestly family which returned with Zerubbabel, but, being unable to trace their genealogy, were not allowed to serve (Ezr 2^{61}); called in Neh 7^{63} **Hobaiah**, and in 1 Es 5^{38} **Obdia.**

HABAKKUK.—The eighth of the Minor Prophets. Except for legends, *e.g.* in Bel and the Dragon (vv.[33-42]), nothing is known of him outside the book that bears his name.

1. The Book of Habakkuk, read as it now stands, must be dated shortly after the appearance of the Chaldæans on the stage of world-history, seeing that their descent on the nations is imminent. It is probably later than the battle of Carchemish, where Nebuchadrezzar defeated the Egyptians in B.C. 605, and earlier than the first Judæan captivity in 597. If dated about the year 600, it falls in the reign of Jehoiakim, in the period of reaction that followed the defeat and death of Josiah at Megiddo (608). That event, apparently falsifying the promises of the recently discovered lawbook, had led to a general neglect of its ethical claims, and to a recrudescence of the religious abuses of the time of Manasseh (cf. 2 K 23^{37}, Jer $19^{4ff.}$ 25 etc.). The one immovable article of faith held by the Judæan nation seems to have been the inviolability of Jerusalem (cf. Jer 7^{1-15} etc.). The book appears to be the work of a prophet living in Jerusalem. It may be divided into six sections, the first four containing two dialogues between Jahweh and the prophet, while the last two contain confident declarations springing from and expanding the Divine reply.

(1) 1^{1-4}. Habakkuk, compelled to live in the midst of violent wrong-doing, contempt of religion manifesting itself in the oppression of the righteous by the wicked, complains strongly of the silence and indifference of God.

(2) 1^{5-11}. He receives an answer that a new and startling display of the Divine justice is about to be made. The Chaldæans, swift, bitter, and terrible, are to sweep down and overwhelm the whole world. No fortress can resist their onslaught. The incredibility of this must lie, not in the fact that the Chaldæans are the aggressors, but rather that Jerusalem, spared so long, is now to share the fate of so many other cities.

(3) 1^{12-17}. Some time may now be supposed to elapse before the next prophecy is spoken. During this period the prophet watches the progress of the Chaldæans, who have now (2^{17}) penetrated into Palestine. His observation raises a new and insoluble problem. This reckless, insolent, cruel, insatiable conqueror is worse than those he has been appointed to chastise. How can a holy God, so ready to punish the 'wicked' in Israel, permit one who deserves far more the name of 'wicked' to rage unchecked? Are wrong and violence to possess the earth for ever?

(4) 2^{1-4}. The prophet, retiring to his watch-tower, whence he looks out over the world, to see it in ruins, receives an oracle which he is bidden to write down on tablets for all to read. He is told that the purpose of God is hastening to its fulfilment, and is encouraged to wait for it. Then follows the famous sentence, 'Behold, his soul is puffed up, it is not upright in him: but the

just shall live in his faithfulness.' The meaning of this is plain. Tyranny is self-destructive, and carries within itself the seeds of doom. But while the evil-doer passes away, the just man, steadfast in the face of all contradiction, shall live, and last out the storm of judgment.

(5) 2^{5-20}. Content with this message, the prophet utters, triumphantly, a five-fold series of woes against the pride, the greed, the cruel building enterprises, the sensuality, the idolatry, of the heathen power.

(6) Ch. 3. Finally, in a magnificent lyric, which, as its heading and close prove, has been adapted for use in the Temple worship, the prophet sings the glorious redeeming acts of God in the past history of the people, and in the certainty of His immediate appearance, bringing hopeless ruin on the enemy, declares his unwavering trust.

So read, this short book is seen to be a human document of unique value. It marks the beginnings of Hebrew reflective thought as to the workings of Providence in history, afterwards so powerfully expressed in Job and in the later prophets.

2. Many modern scholars are unable to accept this explanation of these three chapters. It is argued that the use of the word 'wicked' in different senses in 1^4 and 1^{13} is unnatural, and awkward. Further, it is urged that the descriptions of the conqueror in chs. 1 and 2 do not suit the Chaldæans well at any time, and are almost impossible at so early a stage of their history as the one named. Accordingly, some have treated 1^{5-11} as a fragment of an older prophecy, and place the bulk of chs. 1 and 2 towards the close of the Exile, near the end of the Chaldæan period. Others place 1^{5-11} between 2^4 and 2^5, considering that the whole section has been misplaced. The rest of the chapters are then referred to another oppressor, either Assyria or Egypt, whom the Chaldæans are raised up to punish; and ch. 3 is ascribed to another author. Others again would alter the word 'Chaldæans,' and treat it as an error for either 'Persians' or 'Chittim.' In the second case the reference is to the Greeks, and the destroyer is Alexander the Great. Without attempting to discuss these views, it may be said that none of them supplies any satisfactory explanation of 1^{1-4}, in referring Habakkuk's complaint to wrongs committed by some heathen power. The mention of 'law' and 'judgment,' 1^4, seems to point decisively to internal disorders among the prophet's own countrymen. The double use of the word 'wicked' may well be a powerful dramatic contrast. The speed with which the enemy moves, said by some to be altogether inapplicable to the Chaldæans, may be illustrated by the marvellously rapid ride of Nebuchadrezzar himself, from Pelusium to Babylon, to take the kingdom on the death of his father. Troops of Scythian cavalry, at the service of the highest bidder after the disbanding of their own army, were probably found with the Chaldæans. The question cannot be regarded as settled, a fuller knowledge of Chaldæan history at the opening of the 7th cent. being much to be desired.

Most scholars regard ch. 3 as a separate composition. It is urged that this poem contains no allusions to the circumstances of Habakkuk's age, that the enemy in $v.^{14}$, rejoicing to devour the poor secretly, cannot be a great all-conquering army, that the disasters to flocks and herds ($vv.^{17-19}$) are quite different from anything in chs. 1 and 2. It is conjectured that the poem, under Habakkuk's name, had a place in a song-book, and was afterwards transferred, with the marks of its origin not effaced, to the close of this prophetic book. These considerations are of great weight, though it may be recalled that the poetical part of the Book of Job ends somewhat similarly, with a theophany little related to the bulk of the book. Whether the chapter belongs to Habakkuk or not, its picture of the intervention of God Himself, in His own all-powerful strength bringing to nought all the counsels of His enemies, is a fitting close to the book.

WILFRID J. MOULTON.

HABAZZINIAH.—The grandfather of Jaazaniah, one of the Rechabites who were put to the proof by the prophet Jeremiah (Jer 35^3).

HABERGEON (Ex 28^{32} 39^{23} AV).—An obsolete term replaced in RV by the modern 'coat of mail.' Cf. Job 41^{26} AV, RV 'pointed shaft,' and see ARMOUR, **2** (*c*).

A. R. S. KENNEDY.

HABOR.—A river flowing through the district of **Gozan,** on the banks of which Israelites were settled when deported from Samaria (2 K 17^6 18^{11}, 1 Ch 5^{26}). It is a tributary of the Euphrates, the *Chaboras* of the Greeks, the modern *Khābūr*.

L. W. KING.

HACALIAH.—The father of Nehemiah (Neh 1^1 10^1).

HACHILAH (1 S 23^{19} $26^{1.\ 3}$).—A hill in which David hid, and on which, during his pursuit, Saul pitched his camp, near the wilderness of Ziph. Ziph is mod. *Tell ez-Zīf*, to the S. of Hebron. Conder suggests that Hachilah may be the hill *Dahr el-Kōlā*, but this is perhaps rather far to the east.

W. EWING.

HACHMONI, HACHMONITE.—Both represent one and the same Heb. word, but in 1 Ch 27^{32} the latter is translated as a prop. name, 'Jehiel the son of Hachmoni,' whereas in 1 Ch 11^{11} Jashobeam is called 'a Hachmonite.' We should probably render it in both cases as a gentilic name. In 2 S 23^8, which is parallel to 1 Ch 11^{11}, we have 'the **Tahchemonite,**' which is probably a textual error (see ADINO, JOSHEB-BASSHEBETH).

HADAD.—1. The name of a Semitic divinity (also written Adad, and Dadda for Adāda), the equivalent of **Rimmon** (wh. see) among the Aramæans of Damascus and apparently worshipped by all the Aramæan peoples, as well as among both South-Arabian and North-Arabian tribes, and also among the Assyrians. In Assyria and Babylonia, however, his cult, combined with that of Rammān, was apparently not native, but introduced from the Aramæans of the west. Hadad, like Rimmon (Rammān), was the god of the air and of thunder and lightning. The word seems to be derived from Arabic *hadda*, 'to smite, crush.' The name of this deity is not found alone in the Bible, but appears in several compounds, *Benhadad*, *Bildad*, and those which follow this article. It is possible, also, that *Adrammelech* of 2 K 19^{37} and Is 37^{38} should be read *Adadmelech*, 'Adad is king.'

2. The eighth son of Ishmael, 1 Ch 1^{30}, and also Gn 25^{15} according to RV and the best readings. **3.** The fourth of the eight ancient kings of Edom, Gn 36^{35}; cf. 1 Ch 1^{46}. **4.** The eighth of the kings of Edom in the same list as the last-named, 1 Ch 1^{50} (in Gn 36^{39} miswritten **Hadar**). **5.** The son of a king of Edom in the 10th cent. B.C. (1 K $11^{14ff.}$). He escaped the massacre of Edomites perpetrated by Joab, David's general, and fled (according to the received reading) to Egypt, whose king befriended him, and gave him his sister-in-law as his wife. After the death of David he returned to Edom, and his efforts seem to have rescued Edom from the yoke of king Solomon. It is probable that in $v.^{17ff.}$ instead of *Mitsraim* (Egypt) *Mitsri* should be read in the Hebrew as the name of a region west of Edom, which in the old MSS was several times confounded with the word for Egypt. The reference to Pharaoh ($v.^{18ff.}$) would then have been a later addition.

J. F. M'CURDY.

HADADEZER.—The name of a king of Zobah (wh. see) in the time of David, 2 S $8^{3ff.}$, 1 K 11^{23}. In 1 Ch $18^{3ff.}$ the same king is called less correctly **Hadarezer.** He was at the head of the combination of the Aramæans of Northern Palestine against David, was repeatedly defeated, and finally made tributary. The word means 'Adad is (my) helper' (cf. Heb. *Eliezer*, *Ebenezer*, *Azariah*, etc.). It is found on the Black Obelisk of the Assyrian Shalmaneser II. under the more Aramaic form *Adadidri*, as the equivalent of *Benhadad* of Damascus, who led the great combination, in-

cluding Ahab of Israel, against the Assyrians in B.C. 854. J. F. M'CURDY.

HADADRIMMON.—A proper name occurring in Zec 12[11] 'as the mourning of Hadadrimmon in the valley of Megiddon.' It has usually been supposed to be a place-name. According to a notice by Jerome, it would be equivalent to **Megiddo** itself. The word, however, is a combination of the two names of a divinity (see HADAD). An equally good translation would be 'as the mourning *for* Hadadrimmon,' and it has been plausibly conjectured that it is the weeping for Tammuz referred to in Ezk 8[14], that is here meant. In this case the old Semitic deity Hadad-Rimmon would by the 2nd cent. B.C. have become confounded with Tammuz. There is no ground for supposing an allusion to the mourning for king Josiah, which, of course, took place in Jerusalem, not in the valley of Megiddo.
J. F. M'CURDY.

HADAR (Gn 36[39]).—See HADAD, **4.**

HADAREZER.—See HADADEZER.

HADASHAH.—A town in the Shephēlah of Judah (Jos 15[37]); site unknown.

HADASSAH ('myrtle').—The Jewish name of Esther (Est 2[7] only). See ESTHER.

HADES.—The Lat. term for the Heb. **Sheol,** the abode of departed spirits. It was conceived of as a great cavern or pit under the earth, in which the shades lived. Just what degree of activity the shades possessed seems to have been somewhat doubtful. According to the Greeks, they were engaged in the occupations in which they had been employed on earth. The Hebrews, however, seem rather to have thought of their condition as one of inactivity. (See SHEOL and GEHENNA.) RV has 'Hades' for AV **'hell'** when the latter = 'realm of the dead.' SHAILER MATHEWS.

HADID.—Named along with Lod and Ono (Ezr 2[33] = Neh 7[37]), peopled by Benjamites after the Captivity (Neh 11[34]), probably to be identified also with **Adida** of 1 Mac 12[38] 13[13]. It is the modern *Aditheh* in the low hills, about 3¼ miles N.E. of Lydda.

HADLAI.—An Ephraimite (2 Ch 28[12]).

HADORAM.—1. The fifth son of Joktan (Gn 10[27], 1 Ch 1[21]). **2.** The son of Tou, king of Hamath (1 Ch 18[10]). In the parallel passage, 2 S 8[9f.], Hadoram wrongly appears as **Joram. 3.** 2 Ch 10[18]. The parallel passage, 1 K 12[18], has preserved the more correct form **Adoram.**

HADRACH.—A place in Syria mentioned in Zec 9[1] as being, at the time of the writing of that passage, confederate with Damascus. Hadrach is undoubtedly identical with *Hatarikka* of the Assyrian inscriptions. It was the object of three expeditions by Assur-dan III., and Tiglath-pileser III. refers to it in the account of his war with 'Azariah the Judæan.' W. M. NESBIT.

HAFT.—'Haft,' still used locally for 'handle,' occurs in Jg 3[22] 'the haft also went in after the blade.'

HAGAB (Ezr 2[46]).—His descendants returned with Zerubbabel. The name is absent from the parallel list in Neh 7; it appears in 1 Es 5[30] as **Accaba.**

HAGABA (Neh 7[48]).—The head of a family of Nethinim who returned with Zerubbabel. See next article.

HAGABAH.—The slightly different form in which the last-mentioned name appears in Ezr 2[45]; in 1 Es 5[29] **Aggaba.**

HAGAR (prob. 'emigrant' or 'fugitive') was Sarah's Egyptian maid (Gn 16[1] 21[9]). Her story shows that Sarah renounced the hope of bearing children to Abraham, and gave him Hagar as concubine. Her exultation so irritated Sarah that the maid had to flee from the encampment, and took refuge in the wilderness of Shur (16[7] 25[18]), between Philistia and Egypt. Thence she was sent back by 'the angel of the Lord'; and soon after her return she gave birth to Ishmael. After the weaning of Isaac, the sight of Ishmael aroused Sarah's jealousy and fear (21[9]); and Abraham was reluctantly persuaded to send away Hagar and her son. Again 'the angel of God' cheered her; and she found her way southwards to the wilderness of Paran (21[21]), where her son settled.

This story is compacted of traditions gathered from the three great documents. J yields the greater part of Gn 16[1-14] and E of 21[9-21], while traces of P have been found in 16[3. 15f.]. The presence of the story in sources where such different interests are represented is in favour of its historicity; and instead of the assumption that Hagar is but the conjectural mother of the personified founder of a tribe, the more obvious explanation is that she was the actual ancestress of the people of Ishmael. Whatever anthropological interest attaches to the passages (see ISHMAEL), their presence may be defended on other grounds, the force of which a Hebrew would be more likely to feel. They serve to show the purity and pride of Jewish descent, other tribes in the neighbourhood being kindred to them, but only offshoots from the parent stock. The Divine guidance in Jewish history is emphasized by the double action of the angel in the unfolding of Hagar's career.

The story is an important part of the biography of Abraham, illustrating both the variety of trials by which his faith was perfected and the active concern of God in even the distracted conditions of a chosen household. Further interest attaches to the narrative as containing the earliest reference in Scripture to 'the angel of Jehovah' (Gn 16[7]), and as being the first of a series (Tamar, Rahab, Ruth, Naaman) in which the regard of God is represented as singling out for blessing persons outside Israel, and thus as preparing for the universal mission of Christ. There is but one other important allusion to Hagar in the OT. She is mentioned in Gn 25[12] in a sketch of the family of Ishmael (so in Bar 3[23] the Arabians are said to be her sons); and she has been assumed with much improbability to have been the ancestress of the Hagrites or Hagarenes of 1 Ch 5[10] and Ps 83[6] (see HAGRITES). In Gal 4[22ff.] Paul applies her story allegorically, with a view to show the superiority of the new covenant. He contrasts Hagar the bondwoman with Sarah, and Ishmael 'born after the flesh' with Isaac 'born through promise'; thence freedom and grace appear as the characteristic qualities of Christianity. There is good MS authority for the omission of 'Hagar' in v.[25], as in RVm; in which case the meaning is that **Sinai** is a mountain in Arabia, the land of bondmen and the country of Hagar's descendants. Even if the reading of the text stands, the meaning of the phrase will not be very different. 'This Hagar of the allegory is or represents Sinai, because Sinai is in Arabia, where Hagar and her descendants dwelt.' R. W. MOSS.

HAGARENES.—See HAGRITES.

HAGGADAH.—See TALMUD.

HAGGAI.—A prophet whose writings occupy the tenth place in the collection of the Minor Prophets.

1. The man and his work.—The sphere of his activity was the post-exilic community, his ministry (so far as may be gathered from his writings) being confined to a few months of the second year of Darius Hystaspes (B.C. 520). His name is perhaps a short form of *Haggiah* (1 Ch 6[30]), as *Mattenai* (Ezr 10[33]) is of *Mattaniah* (10[26]), and may mean 'feast of J",' though possibly it is merely an adjective signifying 'festal' (from *hag*; cf. *Barzillai* from *barzel*). According to late traditions, he was born in Babylon, and went up with Zerubbabel to Jerusalem, where he died. In his prophetic work he was associated with Zechariah (Ezr 5[1] 6[14]); and the names of the two are prefixed to certain Psalms in one or more of the Versions (to Ps 137 in LXX alone, to Ps 111 (112) in Vulg. alone, to Pss 125. 126 in Pesh. alone, to Pss 146. 147. 148 in LXX and Pesh., to Ps 145 in LXX, Vulg., and Pesh.).

His prophecies were evoked by the delay that attended the reconstruction of the Temple. The Jews, on returning to Palestine in the first year of Cyrus (536), at

once set up the altar of the Lord (Ezr 3^3), and in the following year laid the foundation of the Temple (3^{8-10}). The work, however, was almost immediately suspended through the opposition of the Samaritans (*i.e.* the semi-pagan colonists of what had once been the Northern Kingdom, 2 K 17^{24-41}), whose wish to co-operate had been refused (Ezr 4^{1-5}); and, this external obstruction being reinforced by indifference on the part of the Jews themselves (Hag 1^4), the site of the Temple remained a waste for a period of 15 years. But in the second year of Darius (B.C. 520), Haggai, aided by Zechariah (who was probably his junior), exhorted his countrymen to proceed with the rebuilding; and as the result of his exertions, in the sixth year of Darius (B.C. 516) the Temple was finished (Ezr 6^{15}).

2. The book.—The prophecies of Haggai consist of four sections, delivered at three different times.

(1) Ch. 1, on the 1st day of the 6th month (Aug.-Sept.), is the prophet's explanation of the prevalent scarcity, which (like the famines mentioned in 2 S 21 and 1 K 17. 18) is accounted for by human sin, the people being more concerned to beautify their own dwellings than to restore the house of the Lord. The admonition, coupled with a promise of Divine assistance, had its effect, and the work of reconstruction was renewed.

(2) Ch. 2^{1-9}, on the 21st day of the 7th month (Sept.-Oct.), has in view the discouragement experienced when the old men who had seen the glory of the first Temple contrasted with it the meanness of the second: the prophet declares that within a short while the wealth of the nations will be gathered into the latter (cf. Is 60), and its splendour will eventually exceed that of its predecessor. Haggai's anticipations were perhaps connected with the disturbances among the Persian subject States in the beginning of Darius' reign. The downfall of the Persian rule, which they threatened, might be expected, like the previous overthrow of Babylon by Cyrus, to redound to the advantage of Israel.

(3) Ch. 2^{10-19}, on the 24th of the 9th month (Nov.-Dec.), is a further attempt to explain the reason of the continued distress, and to raise hopes of its removal. The people's sacrifices and exertions cannot (it is contended) at once counteract the effects of their previous neglect, for the ruinous state of the Temple is a more penetrating source of pollution than holy things and acts are of sanctification; but henceforth the Lord's blessing will attend them (cf. Zec 8^{9-12}).

(4) Ch. 2^{20-23}, on the same day as the preceding, is an address to Zerubbabel, who in the impending commotion will be preserved by the Lord as a précious signet-ring (cf. Ca 8^6, and contrast Jer 22^{24}).

The Book of Haggai reflects the condition of its age, and offers a contrast to the earlier prophets in the absence of any denunciation of idolatry, the practice of which had been largely eradicated from the Jews of the Exile by their experiences. It resembles the prophecies of Zechariah and Malachi (both post-exilic) in laying more stress upon the external side of religion than do the pre-exilic writings. But, unlike the books of Zechariah and Malachi, it does not contain any rebuke of moral and social offences, but is devoted to the single purpose of promoting the rebuilding of the Temple, which was then essential to the maintenance of Israel's religious purity. The style of Haggai is plain and unadorned, and is rendered rather monotonous by the reiteration of certain phrases (especially 'saith the Lord of hosts').

G. W. Wade.

HAGGEDOLIM (RV and AVm; AV and RVm 'the great men').—Father of Zabdiel (Neh 11^{14}).

HAGGI ('born on a festival').—Son of Gad, Gn 46^{16}, Nu 26^{15} (P); patronymic, **Haggites**, Nu 26^{15}.

HAGGIAH ('feast of J"').—A Levite descended from Merari (1 Ch 6^{30}).

HAGGITES.—See Haggi.

HAGGITH ('festal').—The mother of Adonijah (2 S 3^4, 1 K 1^5 2^{13}).

HAGIOGRAPHA.—See Canon of OT, § 8.

HAGRI.—Father of Mibhar, one of David's heroes (1 Ch 11^{38}). The parallel passage, 2 S 23^{36}, reads 'of Zobah, Bani the Gadite,' which is probably the correct text.

HAGRITE.—Jaziz the Hagrite was 'over the flocks' of king David (1 Ch 27^{31}). See next article.

HAGRITES, HAGARITES, HAGARENES.—A tribe of Arabian or Aramæan origin inhabiting territory to the east of Gilead. Twice they were the object of campaigns by the trans-Jordanic Israelite tribes, by whom they were crushingly defeated and expelled from their land (1 Ch $5^{5.\ 19.\ 20}$). Because the name appears only in very late passages, Bertheau and others have conjectured that it was a late appellation for Bedouin in general. It has been supposed to mean 'Descendants of **Hagar**—hence to be synonymous with 'Ishmaelites.' But this is unlikely, since the Hagrites are named along with other tribes which, according to this theory, they included. The Hagrites are mentioned among a group of Aramæan tribes in an inscription of Tiglath-pileser III.

W. M. Nesbit.

HAHIROTH.—See Pi-hahiroth.

HAIL.—See Plagues of Egypt.

HAIR.—The usual word in OT is *sē'ār*, in NT *thrix*. Black hair was greatly admired by the Hebrews (Ca 4^1 5^{11} 7^5). Women have always worn the hair long, **baldness** or short hair being to them a disgrace (Is 3^{24}, Ezk 16^7, 1 Co 11^{15}, Rev 9^8). Absalom's hair was cut once a year (2 S 14^{26}; cf. rules for priests, Ezk 44^{20}), but men seem to have worn the hair longer than is seemly among us (Ca $5^{2.\ 11}$). In NT times it was a shame for a man to have long hair (1 Co $11^{6ff.}$). This probably never applied to the Arabs, who still wear the hair in long plaits. The locks of the Nazirite were, of course, an exception (Jg 16^{13} etc.). The Israelites were forbidden to cut the **corners** of their hair (Lv 19^{27} 21^5). In neighbouring nations the locks on the temples, in front of the ears, were allowed to grow in youth, and their removal was part of certain idolatrous rites connected with puberty and initiation to manhood. These peoples are referred to as those that 'have the corners polled' (Jer 9^{26} RV). The practice was probably followed by Israel in early times, and the prohibition was required to distinguish them from idolaters. One curious result of the precept is seen among the orthodox Jews of to-day, who religiously preserve the love-locks which, in the far past, their ancestors religiously cut.

The Assyrians wore the hair long (Herod. i. 195). In Egypt the women wore long hair. The men shaved both head and **beard** (Gn 41^{14}), but they wore imposing wigs and false beards, the shape of the latter indicating the rank and dignity of the wearer (Herod. ii. 36, iii. 12; Wilk. *Anc. Egyp.* ii. 324, etc.). Josephus says that young gallants among the horsemen of Solomon sprinkled gold dust on their long hair, 'so that their heads sparkled with the reflexion of the sunbeams from the gold' (*Ant.* VIII. vii. 3). Jezebel dressed her hair (2 K 9^{30}). Judith arranged her hair and put on a head-dress (Jth 10^3). St. Paul deprecates too much attention to 'braided hair' (1 Ti 2^9, cf. 1 P 3^3). Artificial curls are mentioned in Is 3^{24}. The fillet of twisted silk or other material by which the hair was held in position stands for the hair itself in Jer 7^{29}. Combs are not mentioned in Scripture; but they were used in Egypt (Wilk. *op. cit.* ii. 349), and were doubtless well known in Palestine. The **barber** with his **razor** appears in Ezk 5^1 (cf. *Chagiga* 4*b*, *Shab*, § 6). Herod the Great dyed his hair black, to make himself look younger (Jos. *Ant.* XVI. viii. 1). We hear of false hair only once, and then it is used as a disguise (*ib.*, *Vit.* 11). Light ornaments of

metal were worn on the hair (Is 3[18]): in modern times coins of silver and gold are commonly worn; often a tiny bell is hung at the end of the tress. It is a grievous insult to cut or pluck the hair of head or cheek (2 S 10[4ff.], Is 7[20] 50[6], Jer 48[37]). Letting loose a woman's hair is a mark of abasement (Nu 5[18] RV); or it may indicate self-humiliation (Lk 7[38]). As a token of grief it was customary to cut the hair of both head and **beard** (Is 15[2], Jer 16[6] 41[5], Am 8[10]), to leave the beard untrimmed (2 S 19[24]), and even to pluck out the hair (Ezr 9[3]). Tearing the hair is still a common Oriental expression of sorrow. Arab women cut off their hair in mourning.

The hair of the lifelong **Nazirite** might never be cut (Jg 13[5], 1 S 1[11]). The Nazirite for a specified time cut his hair only when the vow was performed. If, after the period of separation had begun, he contracted defilement, his head was shaved and the period began anew (Nu 6[5ff.]). An Arab who is under vow must neither cut, comb, nor cleanse his hair, until the vow is fulfilled and his offering made. Then cutting the hair marks his return from the consecrated to the common condition (Wellhausen, *Skizzen*, iii. 167). Offerings of hair were common among ancient peoples (W. R. Smith, *RS*[2] 324ff.; Wellhausen, *op. cit.* 118 f.). It was believed that some part of a man's life resided in the hair, and that possess on of hair from his head maintained a certain connexion with him, even after his death. Before freeing a prisoner, the Arabs cut a portion of his hair, and retained it, as evidence that he had been in their power (Wellh. *op. cit.* 118). Chalid b. al-Walid wore, in his military head-gear, hair from the head of Mohammed (*ib.* 146).

The colour of the hair was observed in the detection of leprosy (Lv 13[30ff.] etc.). Thorough disinfection involved removal of the hair (14[8. 9]). The shaving of the head of the slave-girl to be married by her captor marked the change in her condition and prospects (Dt 21[12]; W. R. Smith, *Kinship*[2], 209). Swearing by the hair (Mt 5[36]) is now generally confined to the beard. The hoary head is held in honour (Pr 16[31], Wis 2[10] etc.), and white hair is associated with the appearance of Divine majesty (Dn 7[9], Rev 1[14]).

W. Ewing.

HAJEHUDIJAH occurs in RVm of 1 Ch 4[18] in an obscure genealogical list. It is probably not a proper name, but means 'the Jewess' (so RV and AVm). AV reads **Jehudijah.**

HAKKATAN ('the smallest').—The head of a family of returning exiles (Ezr 8[12]); called in 1 Es 8[38] **Akatan.**

HAKKOZ.—1. A Judahite (1 Ch 4[8]). **2.** The eponym of a priestly family (1 Ch 24[10], Ezr 2[61] 7[63], Neh 3[4. 21]); called in 1 Es 5[38] **Akkos.** They were unable to prove their pedigree.

HAKUPHA.—Eponym of a family of Nethinim (Ezr 2[51], Neh 7[53]); called in 1 Es 5[31] **Achipha.**

HALAH.—One of the places to which Israelites were deported by the king of Assyria on the capture of Samaria (2 K 17[6] 18[11], 1 Ch 5[26]). It was situated in the region of Gozan (wh. see), but it has not yet been satisfactorily identified.

L. W. King.

HALAK, or the 'smooth mountain,' Jos 11[17] 12[7] (only).—This eminence has not been identified, but its approximate locality is indicated by the words 'that goeth up to Seir'; and it formed the southern limit of Joshua's conquests.

HALAKHAH.—See Talmud.

HALHUL.—A city of Judah (Jos 15[58]). It is the modern *Halhul*, a large village 4 miles north of Hebron.

HALI.—A city belonging to the tribe of Asher (Jos 19[25]). The site is doubtful. It may be the ruin '*Alia* on the hills N.E. of Achzib, about 13 miles N.E. of Acre.

HALICARNASSUS was one of the six Dorian colonies on the coast of Caria. Though excluded from the Dorian confederacy (Hexapolis) on account of some ancient dispute (Herod. i. 144), it was a very important city in respect of politics, commerce, literature, and art. It was one of the States to which the Roman Senate sent letters in favour of the Jews in B.C. 139 (1 Mac 15[23]). It must therefore have been a free and self-governing city at that time. The decree of the city passed in the first cent. B.C., granting to the Jews religious liberty and the right to build their *proseuchai* beside the sea (Jos. *Ant.* XIV. x. 23), attests the existence of an early Jewish colony in the city; and this was natural, as Halicarnassus was a considerable centre of trade owing to its favourable position on a bay opposite Cos, on the north-west side of the Ceramic Gulf. The city extended round the bay from promontory to promontory and contained, among other buildings, a famous temple of Aphrodite.

The site of Halicarnassus is now called *Bodrum* (*i.e.* 'fortress'), from the Castle of St. Peter which was built by the Knights of St. John (whose headquarters were in Rhodes), under their Grand Master de Naillac, A.D. 1404.

HALL.—See Prætorium.

HALLEL.—The name given in Rabbinical writings to the Pss 113–118—called the 'Egyptian Hallel' in distinction from the 'Great Hallel' (Pss 120–136), and from Pss 146–148, which are also psalms of Hallel character. The Hallel proper (Pss 113–118) was always regarded as forming one whole. The word *Hallel* means 'Praise,' and the name was given on account of the oft-recurring word *Hallelujah* ('Praise ye the Lord') in these psalms. The 'Hallel' was sung at the great Jewish festivals—Passover, Tabernacles, Pentecost, and Chanukkah ('Dedication' of the Temple).

W. O. E. Oesterley.

HALLELUJAH.—A Hebrew expression, used liturgically in Hebrew worship as a short doxology, meaning 'praise ye Jah.' With one exception (Ps 135[3]) it occurs only at the beginning or the end of psalms, or both: at the beginning only in Pss 111. 112; at the beginning and end in Pss 106. 113. 135. 146. 147. 148. 149, and 150; at the end only in Pss 104. 105. 115. 116. 117.

In the LXX, however, the Gr. (transliterated) form of the expression occurs only at the *beginning* of psalms as a *heading*, and this would seem to be the more natural usage. The double occurrence in the Heb. text may in some cases be explained as due to accidental displacement (the heading of the following psalm being attached to the conclusion of the previous one).

As a liturgical heading the term served to mark off certain well-defined groups of psalms which were probably intended in the first instance for synagogue use, and may once have existed as an independent collection. With the exception of Ps 135, these groups (in the Heb. text) are three in number, viz. 104–106; 111–113. 115–117; and 146–150. But in the LXX a larger number of psalms is so distinguished, and the consequent grouping is more coherent, viz. 105–107; 111–119 (135–136); 146–150. In the synagogue liturgy the last-mentioned group (146–150), together with 135–136, has a well-defined place in the daily morning service, forming an integral part of the great 'Benediction of Song' (in certain parts of the early Church, also, it was customary to recite the 'Hallelujah' psalms daily).

The 'Hallel' (Pss 113–118), which forms a liturgical unit in the synagogue liturgy, is the most complete example of 'Hallelujah' psalms in collected form. (In the LXX, notice all the individual psalms of this group are headed '**Alleluia**').

All the psalms referred to exhibit unmistakable marks of late composition, which would accord with their distinctively synagogal character. Like other Jewish liturgical terms (*e.g.* 'Amen'), 'Hallelujah' passed from the OT to the NT (cf. Rev 19[1-7]), from the Jewish to the Christian Church (cf. esp. the early liturgies),

and so to modern hymnody. Through the Vulgate the form **'Alleluia'** has come into use. The AV and RV, however, render 'Praise ye the Lord.'

G. H. Box.

HALLOHESH.—An individual or a family mentioned in connexion with the repairing of the wall (Neh 3^{12}) and the sealing of the covenant (10^{24}).

HALLOW.—To 'hallow' is either 'to make holy' or 'to regard as holy.' Both meanings are very old. Thus Wyclif translates Jn 17^{17} 'Halwe thou hem in treuthe,' and Dt 32^{51} 'Ye halwide not me amonge the sones of Yreal' (1388, 'Israel'). In the Lord's Prayer (Mt 6^{9}, Lk 11^{2}, the only places where 'hallow' occurs in the NT) the meaning is 'regard as sacred.' All the Eng. versions have 'hallowed' in these verses except the Rhemish (Rom. Cath.), which has 'sanctified'; but in the modern editions of this version the change has been made to 'hallowed.'

HALT.—This Eng. word is used (1) literally, as a verb 'to be lame, to limp,' or as an adj. 'lame.' Cf. Tindale's tr. of Mt 11^{5} 'The blynd se, the halt goo, the lepers are clensed.' Or (2) figuratively 'to stumble, fail,' as Jer 20^{10} 'All my familiars watched for my halting.' From this comes the meaning (3) 'to be undecided, waver,' 1 K 18^{21} 'How long halt [lit. 'limp,' as on unequal legs] ye between two opinions?' The Revisers have introduced (4) the mod. meaning 'to stop,' Is 10^{32} 'This very day shall he halt at Nob.'

HAM.—The original (?) use of the name as = Egypt appears in Ps 78^{51} $105^{23.\ 27}$ 106^{22}. It has been derived from an Egyptian word *kem*, 'black,' in allusion to the dark soil of Egypt as compared with the desert sands (but see Ham [Land of]). Hām came to be considered the eponymous ancestor of a number of other peoples, supposed to have been connected with Egypt (Gn 10^{6-20}). His 'sons' (v.^{6}) are the peoples most closely connected either geographically or politically. Great difficulty is caused by the fusion (in J) of two quite distinct traditions in Gn 9. 10. (i.) Noah and his family being the sole survivors of the Flood, the whole earth was populated by their descendants ($9^{18f.}$), and the three sons people the whole of the known world—the middle, the southern, and the northern portions respectively (ch. 10). (ii.) **Canaan,** and not Hām, appears to be Noah's son, for it is he who is cursed (9^{20-27}). The purpose of the story is to explain the subjugation of the people represented under the name 'Canaan' to the people represented under the names 'Shem' and 'Japheth.' To combine the two traditions a redactor has added the words, 'and Hām is the father of Canaan' in v.^{18}, and 'Hām the father of' in v.^{22}. (i.) The peoples connected, geographically, with Hām include Egypt (Mizraim), and the country S. of it (Cush), the Libyans (Put), and **'Canaan'** (see Canaanites). The descendants of these four respectively are so described in most cases from their geographical position, but at least one nation, the Caphtorim, from its political connexion with Egypt (see Driver on 9^{14}). (ii.) In the second tradition Shem, Japheth, and Canaan stand—not for large divisions of the world, but—for certain much smaller divisions *within the limits of Palestine.* **'Shem'** evidently stands for the Hebrews, or for some portion of them (see 10^{21} in the other tradition), and 'Japheth' for some unknown portion of the population of Palestine who dwelt 'in the tents of Shem' (9^{27}), *i.e.* in close conjunction with the Hebrews. 'Canaan' (in the other tradition, 10^{19}) inhabited the coast lands on the W., and the Arabah on the S.E. But there is no evidence that the peoples in these districts were ever in complete subjection to the Hebrews such as is implied in 'a slave of slaves' (9^{25}). Some think that the three names represent three grades or castes [cf. the three grades in Babylonia, who hold distinct legal positions in the Code of Hammurabi—*amelu* ('gentleman'), *mushkenu* ('commoner,' or 'poor man'), and *ardu* ('slave')].

A. H. M'Neile.

HAM.—According to Gn 14^{5}, the district inhabited by the Zuzim (wh. see). The locality is unknown.

J. F. M'Curdy.

HAM, LAND OF.—A poetical designation of Egypt used in the Psalms in reference to the sojourn there of the Children of Israel (Ps $105^{23.\ 27}$ 106^{22}). So also 'the tabernacles (RV 'tents') of Ham' (Ps 78^{51}) stands for the dwellings of the Egyptians. The Egyptian etymologies that have been proposed for *Hām* are untenable, and the name must be connected with that of the son of Noah.

F. Ll. Griffith.

HAMAN (Ad. Est 12^{6} $16^{10.\ 17}$ **Aman**), the son of Hammedatha, appears in the Bk. of Est. as the enemy of the Jews, and the chief minister of Ahasuerus. On his plot against the Jews and its frustration by Esther see art. Esther.

In later times, at the Feast of Purim, it seems to have been customary to hang an effigy of Haman; but as the gibbet was sometimes made in the form of a cross, riots between Jews and Christians were the result, and a warning against insults to the Christian faith was issued by the emperor Theodosius II. (*Cod. Theod.* XVI. viii. 18; cf. 21).

HAMATH.—A city on the Orontes, the capital of the kingdom of Hamath, to the territory of which the border of Israel extended in the reign of Solomon (1 K 8^{65}), who is related to have built store-cities there (2 Ch 8^{4}). Jeroboam II., the son of Joash, restored the kingdom to this northern limit (2 K $14^{25.\ 28}$), and it was regarded as the legitimate border of the land of Israel (Nu 34^{8}, Jos 13^{5}), and was employed as a geographical term (Nu 13^{21}, cf. Jg 3^{3}). The **Hamathite** is mentioned last of the sons of Canaan in the table of nations (Gn 10^{18}, 1 Ch 1^{16}). During the time of David, Toi was king of Hamath (2 S 8^{9}); the greatness of the city is referred to by the prophet Amos (Am 6^{2}), and it is classed by Zechariah with Damascus, Tyre and Zidon (Zec $9^{1f.}$). The city was conquered by Tiglath-pileser III. and Sargon, and part of its inhabitants were deported and the land was largely colonized by Assyrians; its capture and subjugation are referred to in the prophetic literature (Is 10^{9}, Jer 49^{23}; cf. also 2 K 18^{34}, Is 36^{19}, 2 K 19^{13}). Hamath is mentioned as one of the places to which Israelites were exiled (Is 11^{11}), and it was also one of the places whose inhabitants were deported to colonize Israelite territory on the capture of Samaria (2 K $17^{24.\ 30}$). See Ashima.

L. W. King.

HAMATH-ZOBAH (or 'Hamath of Zobah'). A city in the neighbourhood of Tadmor, conquered by Solomon (2 Ch 8^{3}). Some have conjectured that it is identical with Hamath (wh. see), and that *Zobah* is used here in a broader sense than usual. On the other hand, it may be another Hamath situated in the territory of Zobah proper.

W. M. Nesbit.

HAMMATH ('hot spring').—**1.** 'Father of the house of Rechab' (1 Ch 2^{55}). **2.** One of the 'fenced' cities of Naphtali (Jos 19^{35}), probably the same as **Hammon** of 1 Ch 6^{76} and **Hammoth-dor** of Jos 21^{32}. It is doubtless the *Hamata* of the Talmud, the *Emmaus* or *Ammathus* of Jos. (*Ant.* XVIII. ii. 3), and the modern *Hammām*, 35 minutes' walk S. of Tiberias, famous for its hot baths.

HAMMEAH, THE TOWER OF (Neh 3^{1} 12^{39}).—A tower on the walls of Jerus., near the tower of **Hananel** (wh. see), between the Sheep-gate on the east and the Fish-gate on the west. These two towers were probably situated near the N.E. corner of the city (cf. Jer 31^{38}, Zec 14^{10}). The origin of the name 'tower of Hammeah,' or 'tower of the hundred' (RVm), is obscure. It has been suggested that the tower was 100 cubits high, or that it was approached by 100 steps, or that it required a garrison of 100 men.

HAMMEDATHA (Est $3^{1.\ 10}$ 8^{5} $9^{10.\ 24}$; in Ad. Est 12^{6} $16^{10.\ 17}$ **Amadathus**).—The father of Haman. The

name is probably Persian; possibly the etymology is *māh* = 'moon'—*data* = 'given.'

HAMMELECH occurs as a proper name in AV and RVm of Jer 36[26] 38[6], but there is little doubt that the rendering ought to be 'the king,' as in RV and AVm.

HAMMER.—See Arts and Crafts, §§ 1. 2. 3.

HAMMIPHKAD (AV **Miphkad**), Neh 3[31].—See Jerusalem, II. 4, and Miphkad.

HAMMOLECHETH ('the queen'?).—The daughter of Machir and sister of Gilead (1 Ch 7[17f.]).

HAMMON ('hot spring').—**1.** A town in Naphtali (1 Ch 6[76]), prob. identical with **Hammath** (wh. see). **2.** A town in Asher (Jos 19[28]). Its site is uncertain.

HAMMOTH-DOR.—A Levitical city in Naphtali (Jos 21[32]), probably identical with **Hammath** (wh. see).

HAMMUEL.—A Simeonite of the family of Shaul (1 Ch 4[26]).

HAMMURABI.—See Assyria and Babylonia, II. 1 (*b*).

HAMONAH ('multitude').—The name of a city to be built in commemoration of the defeat (?) of Gog (Ezk 39[16]).

HAMON-GOG ('Gog's multitude').—The name to be given to the valley (outside the Holy Land) where Gog and all his multitude are to be buried (Ezk 39[11. 15]).

HAMOR ('he-ass').—Some think that the name points to a totem clan, such as there is reason to believe existed among the early Canaanite, and other Semitic, peoples. He is 'the father of **Shechem**' (Gn 33[19] 34, Jos 24[32], Jg 9[28]); but in the first and last two of these passages, the inhabitants of Shechem are called 'the sons of Hamor' and 'the men of Hamor.' It would seem, therefore, that Hamor is not to be considered an historical individual, but the eponymous ancestor of the Hamorites [cf. 'the sons of Heth' = the Hittites, Gn 23[3]], who were a branch of the Hivites (34[2]); and 'the father of Shechem' means the founder of the place Shechem (cf. 1 Ch 2[50f.]).

Gn 34 contains a composite narrative. According to P (vv.[1. 2a. 4. 6. 8-10. 13-18. 20-24. 25 (partly) 27-29]), Hamor negotiates with Jacob and his sons for the marriage of Shechem and Dinah, with the object of amalgamating the two peoples; circumcision is imposed by the sons of Jacob upon the whole Hamorite tribe, and then they attack the city, slaying all the males and carrying off the whole of the spoil. In the remaining verses of the chapter, the earlier narrative (J) pictures a much smaller personal affair, in which Shechem loves, and is ready to marry, Dinah; he only is circumcised, and he and Hamor alone are slain by Simeon and Levi—an incident to which Gn 49[5-7] appears to refer. It is probable that not only Hamor, but also Dinah, Simeon, and Levi, stand for tribes or communities. See, further, under these names.

There is a curious fusion of traditions in Ac 7[16], where Jacob 'and our fathers' are said to have been 'laid in the tomb which Abraham bought for a money price from the sons of Emmor in Sychem.' Abraham bought a tomb in Machpelah, not in Shechem (Gn 23[17f.]), and Jacob was buried in it (50[13]). Of the latter's sons, Joseph alone is related in the OT to have been buried in the tomb bought from the sons of Hamor (Jos 24[32]).

A. H. M'Neile.

HAMRAN (1 Ch 1[41]).—An Edomite. In Gn 36[26] the name is more correctly given as **Hemdan.**

HAMUL ('spared').—A son of Perez and grandson of Judah (Gn 46[12] = 1 Ch 2[5], Nu 26[21]). The gentilic **Hamulites** occurs in Nu 26[21].

HAMUTAL (2 K 23[31] and 24[18], Jer 52[1]).—Mother of the kings Jehoahaz and Zedekiah, sons of Josiah.

HANAMEL.—Jeremiah's cousin, the son of his uncle Shallum (Jer 32[7. 8. 9. 12. 44]).

HANAN.—**1.** One of the Levites who assisted Ezra in reading and explaining the Law to the people (Neh 8[7]; in 1 Es 9[48] **Ananias**); probably the same as the signatory to the covenant (10[10]). **2.** The son of Zaccur the son of Mattaniah, one of the four treasurers appointed by Neh. over the storehouses in which the tithes were kept (Neh 13[13]). **3.** A Benjamite chief (1 Ch 8[23]). **4.** The youngest son of Azel, a descendant of Saul (1 Ch 8[38] = 9[44]). **5.** One of David's mighty men (1 Ch 11[43]). **6.** The son of Igdaliah. His sons had a chamber in the Temple (Jer 35[4]). **7.** The head of a family of Nethinim who returned with Zerub. (Ezr 2[46], Neh 7[49]); called **Anan** in 1 Es 5[30]. **8. 9.** Two of 'the chiefs of the people' who sealed the covenant (Neh 10[22. 26]).

HANANEL ('El is gracious').—The name of a tower on the wall of Jerusalem. It is four times mentioned in OT; in Neh 3[1] in connexion with the repairing, and in 12[39] in connexion with the dedication, of the walls; in Jer 31[38] and Zec 14[10] as a boundary of the restored and glorified Jerusalem. In both the passages in Neh. it is coupled with the tower of **Hammeah** (wh. see), and some have supposed it to be identical with the latter.

HANANI.—**1.** A brother, or more prob. near kinsman, of Neh., who brought tidings to Susa of the distressed condition of the Jews in Pal. (Neh 1[2]). Under Neh. he was made one of the governors of Jerus. (7[2]). **2.** A son of Heman (1 Ch 25[4]). **3.** The father of Jehu the seer (1 K 16[1]). Hanani reproved Asa for entering into alliance with Syria, and the angry king cast him into prison (2 Ch 16[7]). **4.** A priest of the sons of Immer who had married a foreign wife (Ezr 10[20]); called **Ananias** in 1 Es 9[21]. **5.** A chief musician mentioned in connexion with the dedication of the walls of Jerus. (Neh 12[36]).

HANANIAH ('Jahweh has been gracious').—**1.** One of the sons of Shashak, of the tribe of Benjamin (1 Ch 8[24. 25]). **2.** One of the sons of Heman, who could 'prophesy with harps, with psalteries, and with cymbals' (1 Ch 25[6]), though their special function seems to have been the use of the horn (vv.[1. 4. 5]). **3.** One of king Uzziah's captains (2 Ch 26[11]). **4.** The 'lying prophet,' son of Azzur the prophet, a Gibeonite, who was condemned by Jeremiah, in the reign of Zedekiah, for prophesying falsely. The prophecy of Hananiah was to the effect that king Jeconiah and the captives in Babylon would all return in two years' time, bringing back with them the vessels of the Lord's house which Nebuchadnezzar had carried away (cf. Dn 1[1. 2]). He expressed this in symbolic fashion by taking the 'bar' (cf. Jer 27[2]) from Jeremiah's neck and breaking it, with the words, 'Thus saith the Lord: Even so will I break the yoke of Nebuchadnezzar king of Babylon within two full years from off the neck of all the nations' (Jer 28[11]). In reply Jeremiah declares this prophecy to be false, and that because Hananiah has made the people to trust in a lie, he will die within the year. The words of Jeremiah come to pass: Hananiah dies in the seventh month (v.[17]). **5.** Father of Zedekiah, one of the princes of Judah (Jer 36[12]). **6.** Grandfather of Irijah, who assisted Jeremiah (37[13]). **7.** A son of Zerubbabel (1 Ch 3[19]). **8.** A priest, head of the house of Jeremiah, who returned with Nehemiah from Babylon (Neh 12[12]). **9.** Governor of 'the castle,' who, together with Hanani, was appointed by Nehemiah to the 'charge over Jerusalem' (Neh 7[2]). **10.** The friend of Daniel, who received the name *Shadrach* from the 'prince of the eunuchs' (Dn 1[7. 11]). Several others also bear this name, but they are not of importance (see Ezr 10[28], Neh 3[8. 30] 10[23] 12[41]; these are not necessarily *all* different people).

W. O. E. Oesterley.

HAND is EV tr. of Heb. *yād*, 'the open hand,' *kaph*, 'the closed hand,' and Gr. *cheir*, 'hand.' Sometimes it is idiomatic, *e.g.* 'at hand' (Is 13[6] etc., Heb. *qārōb*,

Mt 26[18] etc., Gr. *engys*, lit. 'near'). In determining the directions in the Orient, the face is turned to the east, not to the north as with us. So it comes that *yāmîn*, 'right hand,' and *semō'l*, 'left hand,' like the Arab. *yamîn* and *shimāl*, denote respectively 'south' and 'north.'

In prayer the hands were stretched up (Ex 17[11], 1 K 8[22], Ps 28[2] etc.). To lift the hand to God signified a vow (Gn 14[22]). To put the hand under the thigh of one to whom a vow was made, constituted a binding form of oath (Gn 24[2] 47[29]). Blessing was conveyed by laying hands upon the head (Gn 48[14]). Out of this probably grew the practice in ordination—see Laying on of Hands. To 'fill the hand' (Ex 28[41] etc.) was to set apart to the priesthood. Sin was supposed to be conveyed to the head of the victim for sacrifice (Ex 29[10] etc.), especially to that of the scapegoat (Lv 16[21] etc.), by laying on of the priests' hands. Washing the hands was a declaration of innocence (Dt 21[6], Ps 26[6], Mt 27[24] etc.). Clean hands were a symbol of a righteous life (Job 22[30], Ps 18[20] 24[4] etc.). To smite the hands together was a sign of anger (Nu 24[10]). To pour water on another's hands was to be his servant (2 K 3[11]). To join hand in hand was to conspire together (Pr 11[21] etc.). To strike hands sealed a compact (Pr 6[1] etc.). Folded hands betoken slumber (Pr 24[33]). Left-handedness seems to have been common among the Benjamites (Jg 20[16]), and once it was of signal service (Jg 3[15. 21]).

'The hand of the Lord,' and 'a mighty hand' (Dt 2[15] 4[34] etc.), stand for the resistless power of God. 'The hand of the Lord upon' the prophet signifies the Divine inspiration (Ezk 8[1] 37[1] etc.). 'The good hand of the Lord' (Ezr 7[6] etc.), 'my hand' and 'my Father's hand' (Jn 10[28. 29]), denote the providential, preserving care of God.

It appears that certain marks or cuttings in the hand were evidence of what deity one served (Is 44[5] RVm, cf. Gal 6[17]). The mark of the beast 'upon their hand' (Rev 20[4]) is probably an allusion to this custom. See Cuttings in the Flesh, and Marks.

In court the accuser stands on the right hand (Ps 109[6], Zec 3[1]). The left hand bears the shield, leaving the right side exposed in battle. The protector, therefore, stands on the right hand (Ps 109[31] etc.). Perhaps on this account honour attaches to the right hand, the place given to the most favoured guest. The seat of the Redeemer's glory is at the right hand of God (Ps 110[1], Lk 22[69], Ro 8[34] etc.).

Thrice (1 S 15[12], 2 S 18[18], Is 56[5]) *yād* clearly means 'monument' or 'memorial,' probably a stone block or pillar; a hand may have been carved upon it, but this is uncertain. W. Ewing.

HANDBREADTH.—See Weights and Measures.

HANDKERCHIEFS, only Ac 19[12], *soudaria*, a loan-word from the Latin, elsewhere rendered **'napkin,'** for which see Dress, § 5 (*a*).

HANDSTAVES.—Only Ezk 39[9], either clubs or the equally primitive throw-sticks; see Armour Arms, § 1.

HANES is associated with Zoan in a difficult context, Is 30[4]. Some would place it in Lower Egypt, with Anysis in Herodotus, and *Khininshi* in the annals of Ashurbanipal; but there can be little doubt that it is the Egyptian *Hnēs* (Heracleopolis Magna) on the west side of the Nile, just south of the Fayyum. Hnēs was apparently the home of the family from which the 22nd Dyn. arose, and the scanty documents of succeeding dynasties show it to have been of great importance: in the 25th and 26th Dyns. (*c.* B.C. 715–600) the standard silver of Egypt was specifically that of the treasury of Harshafe, the ram-headed god of Hnēs, and during the long reign of Psammetichus I. (*c.* 660–610) Hnēs was the centre of government for the whole of Upper Egypt. The LXX does not recognize the name of the city, and shows a wide divergence of reading: 'for there are in Tanis princes, wicked messengers.' F. Ll. Griffith.

HANGING.—See Crimes and Punishments, § 10; Gallows.

HANGING, HANGINGS.—**1.** The former is AV's term for the *portière* closing the entrance to the court of the Tent of Meeting (Ex 35[17] etc.), for the similar curtain at the entrance to the Tent itself (26[36f.] etc.), and once for the 'veil' or hanging separating the Holy of Holies from the rest of the Tabernacle. In the last passage, Nu 3[31], we should probably read, as in 4[5], 'the veil of the screen,' **'screen'** being RV's substitute for 'hanging' throughout.

RV, however, retains 'hangings' as the tr. of a different original denoting the curtains 'of fine twined linen' which surrounded the court (Ex 27[9] etc.). See, for these various 'hangings,' the relative sections of the art. Tabernacle.

2. In a corrupt passage, 2 K 23[7], we read of 'hangings for the grove,' or rather, as RV, of 'hangings for the Asherah' (cf. RVm), woven by the women of Jerusalem. The true text is probably Lucian's, which has 'tunics,' the reference being to robes for an image of the goddess Asherah (wh. see). In the religious literature of Babylonia there is frequent reference to gifts of sheepskins, wool, etc., as clothing 'for the god' (*ana lubushti ili*). A. R. S. Kennedy.

HANNAH ('grace').—The wife of Elkanah, and mother of Samuel. She came year by year to the sanctuary at Shiloh praying that she might become a mother; on one occasion she made a vow that if God would hear her prayer and grant her a 'man child,' she would dedicate him 'to the Lord all the days of his life.' Eli, the high priest, mistakes the silent movement of her lips as she prays, and accuses her of drunkenness; but when he finds out the mistake he has made, he gives her his blessing, and prays that her petition may be granted. Hannah returns home in peace, and in faith. In due time she gives birth to Samuel; when she has weaned him she brings him to Shiloh and dedicates him to God. It is on this occasion that the 'song' contained in 1 S 2[1-10] is put into her mouth. Afterwards she comes to visit him once a year, bringing him each time a 'little robe.' Hannah bore her husband three sons and two daughters after the birth of Samuel (see Elkanah, Samuel).
W. O. E. Oesterley.

HANNATHON.—A place on the N. border of Zebulun, Jos 19[14]. The site is uncertain.

HANNIEL ('grace of God').—**1.** Son of Ephod, and Manasseh's representative for dividing the land (Nu 34[23]). **2.** A hero of the tribe of Asher (1 Ch 7[39]).

HANOCH.—**1.** A grandson of Abraham by Keturah, and third of the sons of Midian (Gn 25[4]). **2.** The eldest son of Reuben, and head of the family of the **Hanochites** (Gn 46[9], Ex 6[14], Nu 26[5], 1 Ch 5[3]).

HANUN ('favoured').—**1.** The son of Nahash, king of the Ammonites. Upon the death of the latter, David sent a message of condolence to Hanun, who, however, resented this action, and grossly insulted the messengers. The consequence was a war, which proved most disastrous to the Ammonites (2 S 10[1ff.], 1 Ch 19[1ff.]). **2. 3.** The name occurs twice in the list of those who repaired the wall and the gates of Jerus. (Neh 3[13. 30]).

HAP, HAPLY.—The old word 'hap,' which means *chance*, is found in Ru 2[3] 'her hap was to light on a part of the field belonging to Boaz.' The Heb. is literally 'her chance chanced' (AVm 'her hap happened'). 'Haply' is 'by hap.' 'Happily' is the same word under a different spelling, and had formerly the same meaning, though it now means 'by *good* luck.' In AV the spelling is now always 'haply,' but in the first edition it was 'happily' in 2 Co 9[4] 'Lest happily if they of

Macedonia come with mee, and find you unprepared, wee (that wee say not, you) should bee ashamed in this same confident boasting.'

HAPHARAIM.—A town in Issachar (Jos 19[19]). The *Onomasticon* places it 6 Roman miles N. of Legio. It is probably *Khirbet el-Farrīyeh*, an ancient site with noteworthy tombs, to the N.W. of *el-Lejjūn*.

W. Ewing.

HAPPIZZEZ.—The head of the 18th course of priests (1 Ch 24[15]).

HARA.—Mentioned in 1 Ch 5[26] as one of the places to which Israelites were deported by the king of Assyria on the capture of Samaria. But in the corresponding accounts (2 K 17[6] 18[11]) Hara is not mentioned, and most probably the name 'Hara' in 1 Ch 5[26] is due to a corruption of the text. There is much to be said for the suggestion that the original text read *hārē Mādai*, 'mountains of Media,' corresponding to the cities of Media of the parallel passages (LXX 'the Median mountains'); and that *Mādai* dropped out of the text, and *hārē*, 'mountains of,' was changed to the proper name *Hara*.

L. W. King.

HARADAH.—A station in the journeyings of the Israelites mentioned only in Nu 33[24. 25]. It has not been identified.

HARAN.—**1.** Son of Terah, younger brother of Abram, and father of Lot, Gn 11[26] (P), also father of Milcah and Iscah, v.[29] (J). **2.** A Gershonite Levite (1 Ch 23[9]).

HARAN.—A city in the N.W. of Mesopotamia, marked by the modern village of *Harran*, situated on the Bēlikh, a tributary of the Euphrates, and about nine hours' ride S.E. of Edessa (*Urfa*). Terah and his son Abram and his family dwelt there on their way from Ur of the Chaldees to Canaan (Gn 11[31] 12[4. 5]; cf. Ac 7[2]), and Terah died there (Gn 11[32]; cf. Ac 7[4]). Nahor, Abram's brother, settled there; hence it is called 'the city of Nahor' in the story of Isaac and Jacob (cf. Gn 24[10] 27[43]). Its position on one of the main trade-routes between Babylonia and the Mediterranean coast rendered it commercially of great importance (cf. Ezk 27[23]). It was the chief seat of the worship of Sin, the moon-god, and the frequent references to the city in the Assyrian inscriptions have to do mainly with the worship of this deity and the restoration of his temple. It is probable that Haran rebelled along with the city of Ashur in B.C. 763, and a reference to its subsequent capture and the suppression of the revolt may be seen in 2 K 19[12]; Sargon later on restored the ancient religious privileges of which the city had been then deprived. The worship of the moon-god at Haran appears to have long survived the introduction of Christianity.

L. W. King.

HARARITE.—An epithet of doubtful meaning (possibly 'mountain-dweller,' but more probably 'native of [an unknown] Harar') applied to two of David's heroes. **1.** Shammah the son of Agee (2 S 23[11. 33], 1 Ch 11[34] [where **Shagee** should probably be **Shammah**]). **2.** Ahiam the son of Sharar (2 S 23[33] [RV **Ararite**], 1 Ch 11[35]).

HARBONA (Est 1[10]) or **HARBONAH** (7[9]).—The third of the seven eunuchs or chamberlains of king Ahasuerus. It was on his suggestion that Haman was hanged upon the gallows which he had prepared for Mordecai.

HARD.—Besides other meanings which are still in use, 'hard' sometimes means *close*: Jg 9[52] 'And Abimelech . . . went hard unto the door of the tower to burn it with fire'; Ps 63[8] 'My soul followeth hard after thee'; Ac 18[7] 'Justus . . . whose house joined hard to the synagogue.' Cf. Job 17[1] in Coverdale, 'I am harde at deathes dore.'

Hardiness is used in Jth 16[10] for courage: 'the Medes were daunted at her hardiness' (RV 'boldness').

Hardly means either 'harshly,' as Gn 16[6] 'Sarai dealt hardly with her,' or 'with difficulty,' as Ex 13[15] 'Pharaoh would hardly let us go'; Mt 19[23] 'a rich man shall hardly enter into the kingdom of heaven'; Lk 9[39] 'bruising him, hardly departeth from him'; Ac 27[8] 'And, hardly passing it, came unto a place which is called The fair havens.' So Adams (*II Peter* 1[4]) 'He that hath done evil once, shall more hardly resist it at the next assault.'

Hardness for modern 'hardship' occurs in 2 Ti 2[3] 'endure hardness as a good soldier.' Cf. Shakespeare, *Cymb.* III. vi. 21—

'Hardness ever
Of hardiness is mother.'

HARDENING.—Both in the OT (1 S 6[6]) and in the NT (Ro 9[17f.]) Pharaoh's hardening is regarded as typical. In Exodus, two explanations are given of his stubbornness: (1) 'Pharaoh hardened his heart' (8[15. 32]); (2) 'the Lord hardened the heart of Pharaoh' (9[12]). The former statement recognizes man's moral responsibility, and is in accord with the exhortation, 'Harden not your hearts' (Ps 95[8], He 3[8]). To the latter statement St. Paul confines his thought when he insists on the sovereignty of God as manifested in the election of grace (Ro 9[18]); but having vindicated the absolute freedom of the Divine action, the Apostle proceeds to show that the Divine choice is neither arbitrary nor unjust. The difficulty involved in combining the two statements is philosophical rather than theological. 'The attempt to understand the relation between the human will and the Divine seems to lead of necessity to an antinomy which thought has not as yet succeeded in transcending' (Denney, *EGT* ii. 663). The same Divine action softens the heart of him who repents and finds mercy, but hardens the heart of him who obstinately refuses to give heed to the Divine call. 'The sweet persuasion of His voice respects thy sanctity of will.' The RV rightly renders Mk 3[5] 'being grieved at the hardening of their heart'; grief is the permanent attitude of the Saviour towards all in whom there is any sign of this 'process of moral ossification which renders men insensible to spiritual truth' (Swete, *Com. in loc.*).

J. G. Tasker.

HARE (Lv 11[6], Dt 14[7]).—Four species of hare are known in Palestine, of which the commonest is the *Lepus syriacus*. The hare does not really 'chew the cud,' though, like the coney, it appears to do so; it was, however, unclean because it did not 'divide the hoof.' Hares are to-day eaten by the Arabs.

E. W. G. Masterman.

HAREPH.—A Judahite chief (1 Ch 2[51]).

HARHAIAH.—Father of Uzziah, a goldsmith who repaired a portion of the wall of Jerusalem (Neh 3[8]).

HARHAS.—Ancestor of Shallum, the husband of Huldah the prophetess (2 K 22[14]); called **Hasrah** in 2 Ch 34[22].

HARHUR.—Eponym of a family of Nethinim (Ezr 2[51], Neh 7[53]); called in 1 Es 5[31] **Asur**.

HARIM.—**1.** A lay family which appears in the list of the returning exiles (Ezr 2[32] = Neh 7[35]); of those who had married foreign wives (Ezr 10[31]); and of those who signed the covenant (Neh 10[27]). **2.** A priestly family in the same lists (Ezr 2[39] = Neh 7[42] = 1 Es 5[25] **Harim**; Ezr 10[21], Neh 10[5]). The name is found also among 'the priests and Levites that went up with Zerubbabel' (Neh 12[3], where it is miswritten **Rehum**); among the heads of priestly families in the days of Joiakim (Neh 12[15]); and as the third of the 24 courses (1 Ch 24[8]). To which family Malchijah the son of Harim, one of the builders of the wall (Neh 3[11]), belonged cannot be determined.

HARIPH.—A family which returned with Zerubbabel (Neh 7[24]) and signed the covenant (Neh 10[19]) = Ezr 2[18] **Jorah**, 1 Es 5[16] **Arsiphurith**; one of David's companions in 1 Ch 12[5] is termed a **Haruphite** (*Kethibh*),

or **Hariphite** (*Qerē*). The latter reading, if correct, perhaps points to a connexion with Hariph.

HARLOT (Heb. *zōnāh*, *'ishshāh nokrīyyāh* [lit. 'strange woman'], *qedēshāh*, Gr. *pornē*) in EV denotes unchaste women, especially those devoted to immoral service in idol sanctuaries, or given to a dissolute life for gain. We find evidence of their existence in very early times (Gn 38). From the name 'strange woman' in Pr 6^{24} 23^{27} etc. (cf. 1 K 11^{1}, Ezr 10^{2} etc.), we may perhaps infer that in later times they were chiefly foreigners. By songs (Is 23^{16}) and insinuating arts (Pr 6^{24} etc.) they captivated the unwary. They acted also as decoys to the dens of robbery and murder (Pr $7^{22.\ 27}$ etc.). Wealth was lavished upon them (Ezk $16^{33.\ 39}$ 23^{26} etc.; cf. Lk 15^{30}). Apart from breaches of the marriage vows, immoral relations between the sexes were deemed venial (Dt $22^{23ff.}$). A man might not compel his daughter to sin (Lv 19^{29}), but apparently she was free herself to take that way. Children of harlots were practical outlaws (Dt 23^{2}, Jg $11^{1ff.}$, Jn 8^{41}), and in NT times the harlot lived under social ban (Mt 21^{32} etc.).

The picture takes a darker hue when we remember that in ancient Syria the reproductive forces of nature were deified, and worshipped in grossly immoral rites. Both men and women prostituted themselves in the service of the gods. The Canaanite sanctuaries were practically gigantic brothels, legalized by the sanctions of religion. The appeal made to the baser passions of the Israelites was all too successful (Am 2^{7}, Hos $4^{13f.}$ etc.), and it is grimly significant that the prophets designate apostasy and declension by 'whoredom.' There were therefore special reasons for the exceptional law regarding the priest's daughter (Lv 21^{9}). Religious prostitution was prohibited in Israel (Dt 23^{17}), and all gain from the unholy calling as Temple revenue was spurned (see Driver, *Deut., in loc.*). The pure religion of J″ was delivered from this peril only by the stern discipline of the Exile. A similar danger beset the early Church, *e.g.* in Greece and Asia Minor: hence such passages as Ro $1^{24ff.}$, 1 Co $6^{9ff.}$, Gal 5^{19} etc., and the decree of the Apostolic Council (Ac $15^{20.\ 29}$). W. Ewing.

HAR-MAGEDON.—The name of the place in which, according to Rev 16^{16} (AV **Armageddon**), the kings of the lower world are to be gathered together by the Dragon, the Beast, and the false prophet, to make war upon God. The most generally accepted location makes this to be the mountains of **Megiddo**, that is to say, those surrounding the plain of Megiddo, in which so many great battles of the past were fought. The difficulty with this explanation is that one would expect the plain rather than the mountains to be chosen as a battle-field. Another explanation finds in the word a survival of the name of the place in which the gods of Babylonia were believed to have defeated the dragon Tiāmat and the other evil spirits. Such a view, however, compels a series of highly speculative corrections of the text, as well as various critical suppositions regarding the structure of the Book of Revelation. While the reference is apocalyptic, it seems probable on the whole that the word perpetuates Megiddo as the synonym of the battle-field—whether above the earth or in the under world—on which the final victory over evil was to be won. Shailer Mathews.

HARMON.—Am 4^{3} (RV; AV 'the palace'). No place of the name of Harmon is known. The text appears to be hopelessly corrupt.

HARMONIES OF THE GOSPELS.—The beginnings of works of this class go back to very early days. Tatian's *Diatessaron* (2nd cent.) is of the nature of a Gospel Harmony. The *Sections* of Ammonius (3rd cent.) arrange the Gospels in four parallel columns. The *Sections* and *Canons* of Eusebius (4th cent.) develop still further the plan of Ammonius, enabling the reader to discover at a glance the parallel passages in the Gospels. In the 5th cent. Euthalius, a deacon of Alexandria, besides adopting the division into sections, applied the method of numbered lines to the Acts and Epistles.

The following are the principal modern Harmonies: A. Wright, *Synopsis of the Gospels in Greek, with Various Readings and Critical Notes* (Macmillan, 1903); Huck, *Synopsis der drei ersten Evangelien*[3] (Tübingen, 1906); Tischendorf, *Synopsis evangelica, ex iv. Evangeliis ordine chronologico concinnata et brevi commentario illustrata* (Leipzig, 1891); C. C. James, *Harmony of the Gospels in the words of the RV*[2] (Cambridge, 1901).

J. S. Banks.

HARNEPHER.—An Asherite (1 Ch 7^{36}).

HARNESS.—See, generally, Armour, which RV substitutes in most places for AV 'harness.' Similarly 'harnessed' (Ex 13^{18}) becomes 'armed,' and the 'well harnessed' camp of 1 Mac 4^{7} becomes 'fortified.' For 'the joints of the harness' of 1 K 22^{34} RVm substitutes 'the lower armour and the breastplate,' the former being probably 'the *tassets* or jointed appendages of the cuirass, covering the abdomen' (Skinner, *Cent. Bible, in loc.*). The only passage where 'harness' as a verb has its modern signification is Jer 46^{4} 'harness the horses,' the verb in the original being that used in Gn 46^{29}, Ex 14^{6} etc. for yoking the horses to the chariot.

A. R. S. Kennedy.

HAROD.—A spring, not a well as in AV, near the mountains of Gilboa (wh. see), where Gideon tested his men (Jg 7^{1}), and which was probably the site of Saul's camp before his fatal battle with the Philistines (1 S 29^{1}). It has been very generally identified with the copious *'Ain Jalud* in the Vale of Jezreel, E. of *Zer'in*. The water rises in a natural cavern and spreads itself out into a considerable pool, partially artificial, before descending the valley. It is one of the most plentiful and beautiful fountains in Palestine, and one that must always have been taken into account in military movements in the neighbourhood. The 'fountain in Jezreel' (1 S 29^{1}) may have been the *'Ain el-Meyiteh* just below *Zer'in* (Jezreel); but this and another neighbouring spring are of insignificant size compared with *'Ain Jalud*. E. W. G. Masterman.

HARODITE.—A designation applied in 2 S 23^{25} to two of David's heroes, Shammah and Elika. The second is wanting in LXX and in the parallel list in 1 Ch 11^{27}. In the latter passage, by a common scribal error 'the Harodite' has been transformed into 'the **Harorite.**' 'The Harodite' was probably a native of *'Ain-harod* (*Jalud*), Jg 7^{1}. See preceding article.

HAROEH ('the seer').—A Judahite (1 Ch 2^{52}). Perhaps the name should be corrected to **Reaiah** (cf. 1 Ch 4^{2}).

HARORITE.—See Harodite.

HAROSHETH.—A place mentioned only in the account of the fight with Sisera (Jg $4^{2.\ 13.\ 16}$). From it Sisera advanced, and thither he fled. It has been identified with the modern *Tell el-Harathiyeh*, which is 16 miles N.N.W. from Megiddo. But this is uncertain; nor do we know why the descriptive epithet 'of the Gentiles' is added. W. F. Cobb.

HARP.—See Music and Musical Instruments.

HARROW.—In 2 S 12^{31}—a passage which had become corrupt before the date of 1 Ch 20^{3}—as rendered in EV, David is represented as torturing the Ammonites 'under harrows of iron.' The true text and rendering, however, have reference to various forms of forced labour (see RVm), and the 'harrows' become 'picks of iron' or some similar instrument.

The Heb. verb tr. 'harrow' in Job 39^{10} is elsewhere correctly rendered 'break the clods' (Hos 10^{11}; also Is 28^{24}, but Amer. RV has here 'harrow'). In Hastings' *DB* ii. 306 several reasons were given for rejecting the universal modern rendering of the original by 'harrow.' This conclusion has since been confirmed

by the discovery of the original Hebrew of Sir 38[26] where 'who setteth his mind to "harrow" in the furrows' would be an absurd rendering. There is no evidence that the Hebrews at any time made use of an implement corresponding to our harrow. Stiff soil was broken up by the plough or the mattock. Cf. AGRICULTURE, § 1.
A. R. S. KENNEDY.

HARSHA.—Eponym of a family of Nethinim (Ezr 2[52], Neh 7[54]); called in 1 Es 5[32] **Charea.**

HARSITH.—The name of a gate in Jerusalem (Jer 19[2] RV). RVm has 'the gate of **potsherds,**' *i.e.* where they were thrown out. AV, deriving the word from *heres* 'sun,' has 'the east gate,' AVm 'the sun gate.' This gate led into the Valley of Hinnom.

HART, HIND (*'ayyāl*, *'ayyālāh*, and *'ayyeleth*).—This is the fallow-deer, the *'iyyāl* of the Arabs, *Cervus dama.* It is not common in W. Palestine to-day, but evidently was so once (1 K 4[23]): it is mentioned as a clean animal in Dt 12[15. 22] etc. Its habits when pursued are referred to in Ps 42[1] and La 1[6]. The '**fallow-deer**' of Dt 14[5] and 1 K 4[23] refers to the roe (wh. see). The hind is mentioned in Gn 49[21], Job 39[1], Ps 29[9] etc. Its care of its young (Jer 14[5]), the secrecy of its hiding-place when calving (Job 39[1]), and its timidity at such times (Ps 29[9]) are all noticed. In Gn 49[21] Naphtali is compared to 'a hind let loose,' although many prefer to render a 'slender terebinth.' E. W. G. MASTERMAN.

HARUM.—A Judahite (1 Ch 4[8]).

HARUMAPH.—Father of Jedaiah, who assisted in repairing the walls of Jerusalem (Neh 3[10]).

HARUPHITE.—See HARIPH.

HARUZ.—Father of Meshullemeth, mother of Amon king of Judah (2 K 21[19]).

HARVEST.—See AGRICULTURE.

HASADIAH ('J" is kind').—A son of Zerubbabel (1 Ch 3[20]).

HASHABIAH.—**1. 2.** Two Levites of the sons of Merari (1 Ch 6[45] 9[14], Neh 11[15]). **3.** One of the sons of Jeduthun (1 Ch 25[3]). **4.** A Hebronite (1 Ch 26[30]). **5.** The 'ruler' of the Levites (1 Ch 27[17]). **6.** A chief of the Levites in the time of Josiah (2 Ch 35[9]); called in 1 Es 1[9] **Sabias.** **7.** One of the Levites who were induced to return under Ezra (Ezr 8[19]); called in 1 Es 8[48] **Asebias.** **8.** One of the twelve priests entrusted with the holy vessels (Ezr 8[24]); called in 1 Es 8[54] **Assamias.** **9.** The 'ruler of half the district of Keilah,' who helped to repair the wall (Neh 3[17]), and sealed the covenant (Neh 10[11] 12[24. 26]). **10.** A Levite (Neh 11[22]). **11.** A priest (Neh 12[21]). In all probability these eleven are not all distinct, but we have not sufficient data to enable us to effect the necessary reduction of the list.

HASHABNAH.—One of those who sealed the covenant (Neh 10[25]).

HASHABNEIAH.—**1.** Father of a builder of the wall (Neh 3[10]). **2.** A Levite (Neh 9[5]). It is possible that we ought to identify this name with **Hashabiah** of Ezr 8[19. 24], Neh 10[11] 11[22] 12[24].

HASHBADDANAH.—One of the men who stood on the left hand of Ezra at the reading of the Law (Neh 8[4]); called in 1 Es 9[44] **Nabarias.**

HASHEM.—See GIZONITE, JASHEN.

HASHMONAH.—A station in the journeyings of the Israelites, mentioned only in Nu 33[29. 30].

HASHUBAH.—A son of Zerubbabel (1 Ch 3[20]).

HASHUM.—**1.** The eponym of a family of returning exiles (Ezr 2[19] 10[33], Neh 7[22] 10[18]); called in 1 Es 9[33] **Asom.** **2.** One of those who stood on Ezra's left hand at the reading of the Law (Neh 8[4]); called in 1 Es 9[44] **Lothasubus.**

HASIDÆANS (AV **Assideans**; Heb. *chasīdīm*, 'the Pious').—A group of religionists in Judæa (1 Mac 2[42]) to be distinguished from the priestly party who had come under the influence of Hellenism. The Hasidæans were devoted to the Law, and refused to compromise in any way with the Hellenizing policy enforced by Antiochus IV. They furnished the martyrs of the persecution under that monarch. Strictly speaking, they were not a political party, and probably lived in the smaller Jewish towns, as well as in Jerusalem. They joined with Mattathias in his revolt against the Syrians, but were not interested in the political outcome of the struggle, except as it gave them the right to worship Jehovah according to the Torah. After Judas had cleansed the Temple, they separated themselves from the Hasmonæan or Maccabæan party, and united with them only temporarily, when they found that under Alcimus the Temple worship was again threatened. Their defection from Judas was largely the cause of his downfall.

Although their precise relation to the Scribal movement cannot be stated, because of lack of data, it is clear that the Hasidæans must have included all the orthodox scribes and were devotees to the growing Oral Law. They were thus the forerunners of the Pharisees and probably of the Essenes, which latter party, although differing from them in rejecting animal sacrifice, probably preserved their name. Both the Pharisees and the Essenes represented a further development of views and practices which the Hasidæans embodied in germ. SHAILER MATHEWS.

HASMONÆANS.—See MACCABEES.

HASRAH.—See HARHAS.

HASSENAAH.—His sons built the Fish-gate (Neh 3[3]). Their name, which is prob. the same as **Hassenuah,** seems to be derived from some place *Senaah* (cf. Ezr 2[35], Neh 7[38]). See SENAAH.

HASSENUAH.—A family name found in two different connexions in the two lists of Benjamite inhabitants of Jerusalem (1 Ch 9[7], Neh 11[9]). Cf. preced. article.

HASSHUB.—**1. 2.** Two builders of the wall (Neh 3[11. 23]). **3.** One of those who signed the covenant (Neh10[23]). **4.** A Levite of the sons of Merari (1 Ch 9[14], Neh 11[15]).

HASSOPHERETH.—See SOPHERETH.

HASUPHA.—The head of a family of Nethinim who returned with Zerub. (Ezr 2[43], Neh 7[46]); called in 1 Es 5[29] **Asipha.**

HAT.—See DRESS, § 5 (*a*).

HATCHET (Ps 74[6] RV).—See ARTS AND CRAFTS, § 1.

HATHACH.—A eunuch appointed by the king to attend on queen Esther. By his means Esther learned from Mordecai the details of Haman's plot against the Jews (Est 4[5. 6. 9. 10]).

HATHATH.—A son of Othniel (1 Ch 4[13]).

HATIPHA.—Eponym of a family of Nethinim (Ezr 2[54], Neh 7[56]); called in 1 Es 5[32] **Atipha.**

HATITA.—Eponym of a guild of porters (Ezr 2[42], Neh 7[45]); called in 1 Es 5[28] **Ateta.**

HATRED.—Personal hatred is permitted in the OT, but forbidden in the NT (Mt 5[43-45]). Love is to characterize the Christian life (Mt 22[37-40]). The only hatred it can express is hatred of evil (He 1[9], Jude [23], Rev 2[6] 17[16]). In Lk 14[26] and Jn 12[25] the use of the verb 'hate' by Jesus is usually explained as Oriental hyperbole; and we are gravely assured that He did not mean *hate,* but only *love less than some other thing.* It would seem fairer to suppose that He meant what He said and said what He meant; but that the hatred He enjoined applied to the objects mentioned only so far as they became identified with the spirit of evil and so antagonistic to the cause of Christ. D. A. HAYES.

HATTIL.—Eponym of a family of 'the children of Solomon's servants' (Ezr 2[57], Neh 7[59]); called in 1 Es 5[34] **Agia.**

HATTUSH.—**1.** A priestly family that went up with Zerubbabel (Neh 12[2]) and signed the covenant (Neh 10[4]). **2.** A descendant of David, who returned with Ezra from Babylon (Ezr 8[2] [read with 1 Es 8[29] 'of the sons of David, Hattush the son of Shecaniah']); see also 1 Ch 3[22] (but if we accept the LXX reading here, a younger Hattush must be meant). In 1 Es. the name is **Attus.** **3.** A builder at the wall of Jerusalem (Neh 3[10]).

HAUNT.—In older English 'haunt' conveyed no reproach, but meant simply to spend time in or frequent a place. Thus Tindale translates Jn 3[22] 'After these thinges cam Jesus and his disciples into the Jewes londe, and ther he haunted with them and baptized.' So 1 S 30[31], Ezk 26[17], and the subst. in 1 S 23[22] 'know and see his place where his haunt is.'

HAURAN.—A man 'far gone in years and no less also in madness,' who endeavoured to suppress a tumult in Jerusalem provoked by the sacrileges of Lysimachus, brother of the apostate high priest Menelaus (2 Mac 4[40]).

HAURAN ('hollow land').—The district S.E. from Mt. Hermon; in particular the fertile basin, about 50 miles square and 2000 feet above sea-level, between the *Jaulān* and *Lejā*. Only in Ezk 47[16. 18] is the name mentioned, and there as the ideal border of Canaan on the east. The modern Arabs call essentially the same district *el-Hauran*. The name occurs also in the ancient inscriptions of Assyria. In Græco-Roman times the same general region was known as *Auranitis*; it was bounded on the N. by Trachonitis, and on the N.W. by Gaulanitis and Batanæa. All these districts belonged to Herod the Great. Upon his death they fell to Philip (Lk 3[1]). Troglodytes doubtless once occupied the E. portion; it is now inhabited by Druzes. The entire territory is to-day practically treeless.

GEORGE L. ROBINSON.

HAVILAH.—A son of Cush according to Gn 10[7], 1 Ch 1[9], of Joktan according to Gn 10[29], 1 Ch 1[23]. The river Pison (see EDEN [GARDEN OF]) is said to compass the land of Havilah (Gn 2[11. 12]), and it formed one of the limits of the region occupied by the sons of Ishmael (Gn 25[18]) in which also Saul smote the Amalekites (1 S 15[8]). It has been suggested that it formed the N.E. part of the Syrian desert, but it may with greater probability be identified with central and N.E. Arabia.

L. W. KING.

HAVVOTH-JAIR.—The precise meaning of *Havvoth* is uncertain, but it is taken usually to mean 'tent-villages.' In Nu 32[41] these villages are assigned to Gilead, but in Dt 3[14] and Jos 13[30] to Bashan. The difficulty is caused by the attempt of the editors in the last two passages to harmonize the reference in Numbers with the tradition about the sixty fortresses of 1 K 4[13]. There is no doubt that the Jair of Numbers and the Jair of Judges are identical.

W. F. COBB.

HAWK.—Some eighteen species of hawk are known to exist in Palestine. The common kestrel (*Falco tinnunculus*) and the sparrow-hawk (*Accipiter nisus*) are the commonest. The traveller through the land sees them everywhere. Hawks were 'unclean' birds (Lv 11[16], Dt 14[15]). The migratory habits of many species of Palestine hawks are referred to in Job 39[26].

E. W. G. MASTERMAN.

HAY.—See GRASS.

HAZAEL usurped the throne of Syria (*c.* 844 B.C.) by murdering Ben-hadad II. (Hazael's successor was probably Ben-hadad III., the Mari' of the inscriptions.) The form and fragmentary character of the OT references to Hazael demand caution in drawing conclusions from them. According to 1 K 19[15], Elijah is sent to anoint Hazael king of Syria; he is regarded as Jahweh's instrument who is to punish the Baal-worshippers in Israel (v.[18]). The next mention of him describes how Ben-hadad, Hazael's predecessor, who is ill, sends Hazael to Elisha, to inquire whether he will recover (2 K 8[7ff.]); at the interview which Hazael has with the Israelite prophet, the murder of the Syrian king is arranged, and Elisha designates Hazael as his successor on the throne. Both these passages introduce Hazael somewhat abruptly; in each case the Israelite prophet goes to Damascus; and each passage has for its central point the question of Hazael's succeeding to the throne of Syria; these considerations (not to mention others) suggest that the passages come from different sources, and are dealing with two accounts of the same event.

The next mention of Hazael shows him fighting at Ramoth-gilead against the allied armies of Joram, king of Israel, and Ahaziah, king of Judah (2 K 8[28. 29] 9[14. 15]); the narrative here breaks off to deal with other matters, and does not say what the result of the fighting was, but from 2 K 10[32ff.] it is clear not only that Hazael was victorious then, but that he continued to be so for a number of years (see, further, 2 K 12[17ff.], cf. Am. 1[3-5]); indeed, it was not until his death that the Israelites were once more able to assert themselves.

W. O. E. OESTERLEY.

HAZAIAH.—A descendant of Judah (Neh 11[5]).

HAZAR-ADDAR.—A place on the southern border of Canaan, west of Kadesh-barnea (Nu 34[4]). It appears to be the same as **Hezron** of Jos 15[3], which in the latter passage is connected with but separated from **Addar.**

HAZAR-ENAN (once Ezk 47[17] **Hazar-enon**).—A place mentioned in Nu 34[9. 10] as the northern boundary of Israel, and in Ezk 47[17] 48[1] as one of the ideal boundaries. It was perhaps at the sources of the Orontes. See also HAZER-HATTICON.

HAZAR-GADDAH.—An unknown town in the extreme south of Judah (Jos 15[27]).

HAZARMAVETH.—The eponym of a Joktanite clan (Gn 10[26] = 1 Ch 1[20]), described as a 'son' of Joktan, fifth in order from Shem. Its identity with the modern *Hadramaut* is certain. It was celebrated for its traffic in frankincense.

HAZAR-SHUAL.—A place in S. Judah (Jos 15[28] = 1 Ch 4[28]) or Simeon (Jos 19[3]), re-peopled by Jews after the Captivity (Neh 11[27]). It may be the ruin *Sa'weh* on a hill E. of Beersheba.

HAZAR-SUSAH (in 1 Ch 4[31] **Hazar-susim**).—A city in Simeon (Jos 19[5] = 1 Ch 4[31]). The site is unknown. There is a ruin *Susin*, W. of Beersheba.

HAZAR-SUSIM.—See HAZAR-SUSAH.

HAZAZON-TAMAR (? 'pruning of the palm,' Gn 14[7]). —It is identified with **En-gedi** (2 Ch 20[2]). The name is preserved in *Wādy Hasaseh*, N. of *'Ain Jidy*. Gn 14[7], however, seems to place it to the S.W. of the Dead Sea.

W. EWING.

HAZEL (Gn 30[37]).—See ALMOND.

HAZER-HATTICON ('the middle Hazer').—A place named among the boundaries of (ideal) Israel (Ezk 47[16]). It is described as 'by the border of Hauran.' If the MT be correct, Hazer-hatticon is quite unknown; but there can be no reasonable doubt that we ought to emend to **Hazar-enon** as in vv.[17. 18] and 48[1].

HAZERIM.—In AV a place-name, but rightly replaced by 'villages' in RV (Dt 2[23]).

J. F. M'CURDY.

HAZEROTH.—A camping-ground of Israel, the second station northward in the journey from Sinai (Nu 11[35] 12[16] 33[17f.], and probably Dt 1[1]). It is usually identified with the beautiful wady of *'Ain el-Khadrah*, about 30 miles north-east of Jebel Musa.

J. F. M'CURDY.

HAZIEL.—A Gershonite Levite (1 Ch 23[9]).

HAZO.—The eponym of a Nahorite clan (Gn 22[22]). It is no doubt identical with *Hazū*, which along with *Bazū* is mentioned in an inscription of Esarhaddon.

HAZOR.—**1.** The city of Jabin (Jos 11[1] etc.), in Naphtali (Jos 19[36]), S. of Kedesh (1 Mac 11[63. 67] etc.

called in To 1[2] **Asher**), overlooking Lake Semechonitis = *el-Hūleh* (Jos. *Ant.* v. v. 1). The name probably lingers in *Jebel* and *Merj el-Hadīreh*, about 7 miles N. of *Safed*. It was taken and destroyed by Joshua. Solomon fortified it (1 K 9[15]). It was taken by Tiglath-pileser III. (2 K 15[29]). **2.** A town in the Negeb of Judah (Jos 15[23]), unidentified. **3.** A town also in the Negeb (Jos 15[25]), identical with **Kerioth-hezron**. **4.** A place in Benjamin, N. of Jerusalem (Neh 11[33]), probably *Khirbet Hazzūr*, between *Beit Haninah* and *Neby Samwīl*. **5.** The kingdoms of Hazor, named with Kedar (Jer 49[28] etc.), an Arabian district, possibly on the border of the desert. W. Ewing.

HAZOR-HADATTAH.—The text (Jos 15[25]) is not beyond suspicion. If it is correct, the name may mean 'new Hazor.' The place was in the Negeb of Judah, but the site is unknown.

HAZZELELPONI.—A female name in the genealogy of Judah (1 Ch 4[3]).

HE.—The fifth letter of the Hebrew alphabet, and as such used in the 119th Psalm to designate the 5th part, each verse of which begins with this letter.

HEAD.—Not the head but the heart was regarded as the seat of intellect; it was, however, the seat of life, and was naturally held in honour. Hence phrases such as 'keeper of my head' (1 S 28[2]; cf. Ps 140[7]), 'swearing by the head' (Mt 5[36]), and the metaphorical use, common to all languages, as equivalent to 'chief.' In Dt 28[13], Is 9[14], we find 'head and tail' as a proverbial expression. Christ is the head of the Church (Eph 4[15], Col 1[18] 2[19]), as man is of the woman (Eph 5[23]). *To lift up the head* is to grant success (Ps 27[6] 110[7], Gn 41[13], where there is an obvious ironical parallel in v.[19]). *The hand on the head* was a sign of mourning (2 S 13[19], Jer 2[37]); so dust or ashes (2 S 1[2], La 2[10]); or *covering the head* (2 S 15[30], Jer 14[3]). On the other hand, to *uncover the head, i.e.* to loose the turban and leave the hair in disorder, was also a sign of mourning (see AV and RVm, Lv 10[6] 13[45], Ezk 24[17]). Similarly *shaving the head*, a common practice in the East (Job 1[20], Is 15[2] 22[12], Ezk 7[18], Am 8[10]); it was forbidden to priests (Lv 21[5]), and, in special forms, to all Israelites (19[27], Dt 14[1]). It might also mark the close of a period of mourning (Dt 21[12]), or of a Nazirite's vow (Nu 6[9], Ac 18[18]), or of a Levite's purification (Nu 8[7]). In Dt 32[42] there is a reference to the warrior's long hair, RVm. *Laying hands on the head* was (*a*) part of the symbolism of sacrifice (Lv 16[21]), (*b*) a sign of blessing (Gn 48[14]), (*c*) a sign of consecration or ordination (Nu 27[23], Ac 6[6]). In 2 K 2[3] the reference seems to be to the pupil sitting at the feet of his master. 'Head' is also used, like 'face,' as a synonym for 'self' (Ps 7[16]; and probably Pr 25[22], Ro 12[20]). C. W. Emmet.

HEADBAND.—In 1 K 20[38. 41] RV this is the correct rendering of the word tr. **'ashes'** in AV. Beyond the fact that it covered the wearer's forehead its form is unknown. A different word, tr. 'headbands,' Is 3[20] AV, more probably represents **'sashes,'** as in RV; it is used again in Jer 2[32] for the sash or girdle (EV 'attire') with which a bride 'girds' herself (Is 49[18] RV, the cognate verb). A. R. S. Kennedy.

HEADSTONE, more correctly 'head stone,' Zec 4[7] etc. See Corner, Corner-Stone.

HEADTIRE, TIRE.—The former is found in AV, as one word, only 1 Es 3[6], for the *kidaris*, the stiff upright headdress of the Persian kings. In RV **headtire** supplants AV's **bonnet** (wh. see). 'The tire of thine head' of Ezk 24[17] AV becomes in RV 'thy headtire,' but 'tires' is retained in v.[23]. For the 'round tires like the moon' of Is 3[18] AV, the **crescents** of RV, see Ornaments, and for the Hebrew headgear generally, see Dress, § 5.

HEADY.—This form of the English word has been displaced by 'headstrong.' It occurs in 2 Ti 3[4], where the same Gr. word is used as is translated 'rashly' (RV 'rash') in Ac 19[36]. Bp. Hall (*Works*, ii. 109) says, 'We may offend as well in our heddye acceleration, as in our delay.'

HEALTH.—The word formerly covered (*a*) healing, (*b*) spiritual soundness, (*c*) general well-being. For (*a*) cf. Pr 12[18] 13[17], Jer 8[15], where it represents the word usually translated 'healing.' (*b*) In Ps 42[11] 43[5] 67[2], and frequently in Pr. Bk. Version, it stands for the word otherwise tr. 'salvation' or 'help.' In these usages it is active. (*c*) The wider passive use, including general well-being of body and soul, not merely the absence of disease, is illustrated by Ac 27[34], 3 Jn [2]. Cf. *General Confession*, 'There is no health in us.' See Medicine.

C. W. Emmet.

HEART.—**1.** Instances are not wanting in the OT of the employment of this word in a physiological sense, though they are not numerous. Jacob, for example, seems to have suffered in his old age from weakness of the heart; a sudden failure of its action occurred on receipt of the unexpected but joyful news of Joseph's great prosperity (Gn 45[26]). A similar failure proved fatal in the case of Eli, also in extreme old age (1 S 4[13-18]; cf. the case of the exhausted king, 28[20]). The effect of the rending of the pericardium is referred to by Hosea as well known (13[8]); and although the proverb 'a sound (RVm 'tranquil') heart is the life of the flesh' (Pr 14[30]) is primarily intended as a psychological truth, the simile is evidently borrowed from a universally recognized physiological fact (cf. 4[23]). The aphorism attributed to 'the Preacher' (Ec 10[2]) may be interpreted in the same way; the 'right hand' is the symbol of strength and firmness, and the left of weakness and indecision (cf. 2[14]). Nor does it appear that OT writers were ignorant of the vital functions which the heart is called on to discharge. This will be seen by their habit of using the word metaphorically as almost a synonym for the entire life (cf. Ps 22[26] 69[32], Is 1[5], where 'head' and 'heart' cover man's whole being).

2. The preponderating use of the word is, however, psychological; and it is in this way made to cover a large variety of thought. Thus it is employed to denote *the centre of man's personal activities*, the source whence the principles of his action derive their origin (see Gn 6[5] 8[21], where men's evil deeds are attributed to corruption of the heart). We are, therefore, able to understand the significance of the Psalmist's penitential prayer, 'Create in me a clean heart' (Ps 51[10]), and the meaning of the prophet's declaration, 'a new heart also will I give you' (Ezk 36[26]; cf. 11[19]). The heart, moreover, was considered to be *the seat of the emotions and passions* (Dt 19[6], 1 K 8[38], Is 30[29]; cf. Ps 104[15], where the heart is said to be moved to gladness by the use of wine). It was a characteristic, too, of Hebraistic thought which made this organ *the seat of the various activities of the intellect*, such as understanding (Job 34[10. 34], 1 K 4[29]), purpose or determination (Ex 14[5], 1 S 7[3], 1 K 8[48], Is 10[7]), consciousness (Pr 14[10], where, if EV be an accurate tr. of the original text, the heart is said to be conscious both of sorrow and of joy; cf. 1 S 2[1]), imagination (cf. Lk 1[51], Gn 8[21]), memory (Ps 31[12], 1 S 21[12]; cf. Lk 2[19. 51] 1[66]). *The monitions of the conscience* are said to proceed from the heart (Job 27[6]), and the counterpart of the NT expression 'branded in their own conscience as with a hot iron' (1 Ti 4[2] RV) is found in the OT words 'I will harden his heart' (Ex 4[21]; cf. Dt 2[30], Jos 11[20] etc.). Closely connected with the idea of conscience is that of moral character, and so we find 'a new heart' as the great desideratum of a people needing restoration to full and intimate relationship with God (Ezk 18[31]; cf. Dt 9[5], 1 K 11[4]). It is, therefore, in those movements which characterize repentance, placed in antithesis to outward manifestations of sorrow for sin, 'Rend your heart and not your garments' (Jl 2[13]).

3. Moving along in the direction thus outlined, and not forgetting the influence of the Apocryphal writings

on later thought (cf. *e.g.* Wis 8^{19} 17^{11}, Sir 42^{18} etc.), we shall be enabled to grasp the religious ideas enshrined in the teaching of the NT. In the recorded utterances of Jesus, so profoundly influenced by the ancient writings of the Jewish Church, the heart occupies a very central place. The beatific vision is reserved for those whose hearts are 'pure' (Mt 5^{8}; cf. 2 Ti 2^{22}, 1 P 1^{22} RVm). The heart is compared to the soil on which seed is sown; it contains moral potentialities which spring into objective existence in the outward life of the receiver (Lk 8^{15}; cf., however, Mk $4^{15\text{-}20}$, where no mention is made of this organ; see also Mt 13^{19}, in which the heart is referred to, as in Is 6^{10}, as the seat of the spiritual understanding). Hidden within the remote recesses of the heart are those principles and thoughts which will inevitably spring into active life, revealing its purity or its native corruption (Lk 6^{45}; cf. Mt $12^{34f.}$ $15^{18f.}$). It is thus that men's characters reveal themselves in naked reality (1 P 3^{4}). It is the infallible index of human character, but can be read only by Him who 'searcheth the hearts' (Ro 8^{27}; cf. 1 S 16^{7}, Pr 21^{2}, Lk 16^{15}). Human judgment can proceed only according to the unerring evidence tendered by this resultant of inner forces, for 'by their fruits ye shall know them' (Mt 7^{20}). The more strictly Jewish of the NT writers show the influence of OT thought in their teaching. Where we should employ the word **'conscience'** St. John uses 'heart,' whose judgments in the moral sphere are final (1 Jn $3^{20f.}$). Nor is St. Paul free from the influence of this nomenclature. He seems, in fact, to regard conscience as a function of the heart rather than as an independent moral and spiritual organ (Ro 2^{15}, where both words occur; cf. the quotation He 10^{16}). In spite of the fact that the last-named Apostle frequently employs the terms 'mind,' 'understanding,' 'reason,' 'thinkings,' etc., to express the elements of intellectual activity in man, we find him constantly reverting to the heart as discharging functions closely allied to these (cf. 'the eyes of your heart,' Eph 1^{18}; see also 2 Co 4^{6}). With St. Paul, too, the heart is the seat of the determination or will (cf. 1 Co 7^{37}, where 'steadfast in heart' is equivalent to will-power). In all these and similar cases, however, it will be noticed that it is man's moral nature that he has in view; and the moral and spiritual life, having its roots struck deep in his being, is appropriately conceived of as springing ultimately from the most essentially vital organ of his personal life.

J. R. Willis.

HEARTH.—See House, § 7.

HEATH.—See Tamarisk.

HEATHEN.—See Idolatry, Nations.

HEAVEN.—In the cosmic theory of the ancient world, and of the Hebrews in particular, the earth was flat, lying between a great pit into which the shades of the dead departed, and the heavens above in which God and the angels dwelt, and to which it came to be thought the righteous went, after having been raised from the dead to live for ever. It was natural to think of the heavens as concave above the earth, and resting on some foundation, possibly of pillars, set at the extreme horizon (2 S 22^{8}, Pr $8^{27\text{-}29}$).

The Hebrews, like other ancient peoples, believed in a plurality of heavens (Dt 10^{14}), and the literature of Judaism speaks of seven. In the highest, or *Aravoth*, was the throne of God. Although the descriptions of these heavens varied, it would seem that it was not unusual to regard the third heaven as Paradise. It was to this that St. Paul said he had been caught up (2 Co 12^{2}).

This series of superimposed heavens was regarded as filled by different sorts of superhuman beings. The second heaven in later Jewish thought was regarded as the abode of evil spirits and angels awaiting punishment. The NT, however, does not commit itself to these precise speculations, although in Eph 6^{12} it speaks of spiritual hosts of wickedness who dwell in heavenly places (cf. Eph 2^{2}). This conception of heaven as being above a flat earth underlies many religious expressions which are still current. There have been various attempts to locate heaven, as, for example, in Sirius as the central sun of our system. Similarly, there have been innumerable speculations endeavouring to set forth in sensuous form the sort of life which is to be lived in heaven. All such speculations, however, lie outside of the region of positive knowledge, and rest ultimately on the cosmogony of prescientific times. They may be of value in cultivating religious emotion, but they belong to the region of speculation. The Biblical descriptions of heaven are not scientific, but symbolical. Practically all these are to be found in the Johannine Apocalypse. It was undoubtedly conceived of eschatologically by the NT writers, but they maintained a great reserve in all their descriptions of the life of the redeemed. It is, however, possible to state definitely that, while they conceived of the heavenly condition as involving social relations, they did not regard it as one in which the physical organism survived. The sensuous descriptions of heaven to be found in the Jewish apocalypses and in Mohammedanism are altogether excluded by the sayings of Jesus relative to marriage in the new age (Mk 12^{25}‖), and those of St. Paul relative to the 'spiritual body.' The prevailing tendency at the present time among theologians, to regard heaven as a state of the soul rather than a place, belongs likewise to the region of opinion. The degree of its probability will be determined by one's general view as to the nature of immortality. Shailer Mathews.

HEAVE-OFFERING.—See Sacrifice and Offering.

HEAVINESS.—The Eng. word 'heaviness' is used in AV in the sense of 'grief,' and in no other sense. Thus Pr 10^{1} 'A wise son maketh a glad father: but a foolish son is the heaviness of his mother.' Compare Coverdale's tr. of Ps 30^{5} 'hevynesse maye well endure for a night, but joye commeth in the mornynge,' whence the Prayer Bk. version 'heaviness may endure for a night.'

HEBER.—**1.** A man of Asher (Gn 46^{17}, Nu 26^{45}, 1 Ch $7^{31.\ 32}$). The gentilic name **Heberites** occurs in Nu 26^{45}. **2.** The Kenite, according to Jg 4^{17} 5^{24}, husband of Jael. He separated himself (Jg 4^{11}) from his Bedouin caste of Kenites or nomad smiths, whose wanderings were confined chiefly to the south of Judah, and settled for a time near Kedesh on the plain to the west of the Sea of Galilee. **3.** A man of Judah (1 Ch 4^{18}). **4.** A Benjamite (1 Ch 8^{17}).

HEBREW.—See Eber; Text Versions and Languages of OT.

HEBREWS, EPISTLE TO.—*Introductory.*—At first sight it is not easy to understand why this treatise has been designated an Epistle. The only direct references by the writer to the character of his work are found in 13^{22}, where he styles it a 'word of exhortation' (cf. Ac 13^{15}, 4 Mac 1^{1}), and speaks of having written '(a letter) unto you in few words' (this verb seems to be more justly treated in AV than in RV). The general salutation of 13^{24} is similar to what is found in most of the NT Epistles (cf. Ro $16^{3ff.}$, 1 Co $16^{19ff.}$, 2 Co $13^{12f.}$, Ph $4^{21f.}$, Col $4^{10ff.}$ etc.). At the same time, there are numerous personal references scattered throughout the writing (13^{7} 5^{11} 4^{1} 10^{19} 6^{9} etc.), and in most cases the author places himself on the same level with those to whom he is writing (3^{19} $8^{18ff.}$ 11^{40} 10^{10} etc.). In spite of the formality which might characterize this writing as a theological essay, it is evident that the early instinct of the Church in regarding it as essentially an Epistle is substantially sound and correct (cf. Deissmann, *Bible Studies*, p. 49 f.). Of course, the title 'The Epistle of Paul the Apostle to the Hebrews' (EV) is without early textual authority. The oldest MSS have merely the superscription 'to Hebrews,' just as they have in the case of other NT epistles ('to Romans,' etc.). The only

other early description to which it is necessary to refer in this place is that given to it by Tertullian, who expressly quotes it by the title of 'Barnabas to the Hebrews' (*de Pud.* 20). It seems to have been unanimously accepted from the very earliest period that the objective of the Epistle was correctly described by this title. Whether, however, this conclusion was based on sound traditional evidence or was merely arrived at from the internal character of the writing itself, must be left to research or conjecture; for we must not suppose that the words 'to Hebrews' form any part of the original document.

1. Authorship.—Notwithstanding the fact that this writing was known by the most ancient Christian writers, at all events by those belonging to the Church in Rome, it is noteworthy that all traces as to its authorship seem to have been lost very soon. The only information, with regard to this question, to be gleaned from the Roman Church is of the negative character that it was not written by St. Paul. Indeed, the Western Church as a whole seems to have allowed its presence in the Canon only after a period of uncertainty, and even then to have regarded it as of secondary importance because of its lack of Apostolic authority.

The Muratorian Fragment does not include it in its catalogue, and implicitly denies its Pauline authorship ('The blessed Apostle Paul himself, following the example of his predecessor John, wrote only to seven Churches by name,' etc., see Westcott, *Canon of the NT*, App. C.), as does also Caius. Of more direct value are the testimonies of Hippolytus and Irenæus, both of whom were acquainted with the Epistle, but denied that St. Paul wrote it (cf. Eusebius, *HE* v. 26, vi. 20; see Salmon's *Introd. to NT*[6], p. 47). The Churches of North Africa and Alexandria, on the contrary, have their respective positive traditions on this question. The former, as has been noted already, attributed the writing to Barnabas—a theory preserved by Tertullian alone, and destined to fall into complete oblivion until quite recent times (cf. *e.g.* Zahn, *Einleitung*, ii. p. 116 f.).

The Alexandrian belief in the authorship of St. Paul, indirectly at least, dates as far back as the closing years of the 2nd century. Clem. Alex. goes so far as to suggest that St. Paul wrote it originally in Hebrew, suppressing his name from motives of expediency, and that St. Luke translated it for the use of those who understood only Greek. Origen, who had his own doubts as to the reliability of the local tradition, nevertheless upheld St. Paul as the ultimate author; and his influence undoubtedly had powerful weight in overcoming the Western hesitation. At all events, by the 5th cent. it was almost universally held to be the product of St. Paul's literary activity; and this belief was not disturbed until the revival of learning in the 16th cent., when again a wide divergence of opinion displayed itself.

Erasmus, the first to express the latent feelings of uncertainty, conjectured in a characteristically modest fashion that Clement of Rome was possibly the author. Luther, with his usual boldness and independence, hazarded the unsupported guess that its author was Apollos (cf. Farrar, *The Early Days of Christianity*, ch. xvii.; and Bleek, *Introd. to NT* ii. pp. 91 ff.). Calvin wavered between St. Luke and Clement, following, no doubt, some of the statements of Origen as to traditions current in his day (see Eusebius, *HE* vi. 25).

In the midst of such conflicting evidence it is impossible to feel certain on the question of authorship; nor need we experience uneasiness on this head. The authenticity and inspiration of a book are not dependent upon our knowing who wrote it. In the case of our Epistle, it is the subject-matter which primarily arrests the attention. The writer is holding before the minds of his readers the Son of God, who, as man, has spoken 'at the end of these days' (1^{2}). It seems to be suitable to his theme that he should retire behind the veil of anonymity; for he speaks of One who is the 'effulgence' of the Divine Glory, 'and the very image of his substance' ($v.^{3}$).

We have thus no resource but to appeal to the writing itself in order to arrive at a decision as to the *kind* of person likely to have penned such a document (cf. art. 'Hebrews' in Hastings' *DB*, vol. ii. 338*a*). The author seems to have a personal and an intimate knowledge of the character and history of those whom he addresses (cf. $6^{9f.}$ 10^{34} $13^{7.\ 19}$). It is quite possible, of course, that this may have been gained through the medium of others, and that he is speaking of a reputation established and well known. When we consider, however, the numerous instances in which close ties of relationship betray themselves, we are forced to the conclusion that the writer and his readers were personally known to each other. Timothy was a mutual friend (13^{23}), although it is confessed that both the author and those addressed belong to the second generation of Christians (2^{3}). There is, moreover, a constant use of the first personal pronoun (1^{2} $2^{1ff.\ 9}$ $3^{6.\ 14}$ $4^{3.\ 14}$ $6^{18ff.}$ 8^{1} 9^{24} $10^{10.\ 19\text{-}25.\ 30}$ 11^{3} 13^{10}), even in places where we should have expected that of the second person (*e.g.* $12^{1f.\ 28}$ $13^{12ff.}$). To the present writer the words translated 'that I may be restored speedily unto you' (13^{19}) seem to convey the meaning that he had been amongst them once, although Westcott is inclined to see here but a suggestion of 'the idea of service which he had rendered and could render to his readers' (*Ep. to the Hebrews, in loc.*, see also Introd. pp. lxxv–vi and Cremer, *Bibl.-Theol. Lex. of NT Greek*, p. 312). If thus he were a close personal acquaintance, these reminiscences of their former endurance, and of the faithfulness of those through whose instrumentality they had embraced the Christian faith, gain force and point (cf. 10^{32} 13^{7}). There is, moreover, a tone of authority throughout, as if the writer had no fear that his words would be resented or misinterpreted ($12^{4f.}$ 13^{9} $10^{25.\ 35}$ $5^{11ff.}$ 3^{12} etc.).

To these notes of authorship must be added the evidence of wide literary culture observable throughout the Epistle. This characteristic has been, and is, universally acknowledged. The author did not use the Hebrew OT, and in the single quotation where he varies from the LXX we gather, either that he was acquainted with the Epistle to the Romans, or that he gives a variant reading preserved and popularized by the Targ. Onk. (cf. 10^{30} and Ro 12^{19}). There is no other NT writer who displays the same rhetorical skill in presenting the final truths of the Christian religion in their world-wide relations (cf. $1^{1\text{-}4}$ $2^{14\text{-}18}$ $6^{17\text{-}20}$ $11^{1\text{-}40}$ etc.). His vocabulary is rich and varied, and in this respect stands closer to the writings of St. Luke than to any other of the NT books. 'The number of words found in the Epistle which have a peculiar Biblical sense is comparatively small' (Westcott, *ib.* Introd. xlvi.). For these and similar reasons it is generally believed that our author was a scholar of Hellenistic training, and most probably an Alexandrian Jew of philosophic temperament and education (see Bacon, *Introd. to NT*, p. 141).

2. Destination, circumstances of readers, date.—When we ask ourselves the question, Who were the people addressed in this Epistle?, we are again met with a confusing variety of opinion. The chief rival claimants to this honour are three: *Palestine*, which has the most ancient tradition in its favour, and which is countenanced by the superscription; *Alexandria*; and *Rome*, where the Epistle first seems to have been known and recognized. One conclusion may, at any rate, be accepted as certain: the addressees formed a definite homogeneous body of Christians. The writer has a local Church in view, founded at a specific period, and suffering persecution at a definite date (note the tense of the verbs, 'ye were enlightened,' 'ye endured,' 10^{32}). He addresses this Church independently of its recognized 'leaders' (13^{24}). In his exhortation to patience and endurance he reminds his readers of the speedy return of Jesus, as if they had already begun to despair of the fulfilment of that promise ($10^{36ff.}$; cf. 2 P $3^{3ff.}$, Rev 3^{3}, 2 Th $2^{1ff.}$). He had been with them at some period prior

to his writing, and he hoped once again to visit them with Timothy as his companion ($13^{19.\ 23}$). Their spiritual growth was arrested just at the point where he had looked for vigour and force ($5^{11ff.}$ $6^{1ff.}$), and this resulted in moral degeneracy (5^{11} 12^{5} 3^{12}), and in neglect of that ordinance which promotes social intercourse and Christian fellowship (10^{25}). As a Church, too, they were in a position to help their poorer brethren (6^{10}), and he expected them to continue that help in the future (6^{11})—a feature of early Christian activity which reminds us of the poverty of the Church in Judæa (cf. Ac 11^{29} 24^{17}, Ro 15^{26}, 1 Co $16^{1ff.}$ etc.). To the present writer this allusion of itself presents a formidable, if not a fatal, objection to the theory that Palestine was the destination of our Epistle. This conclusion is strengthened by the elegant Greek in which the Epistle is written, and by the writer's use of the LXX instead of the Hebrew OT. On the other hand, the only direct internal evidence pointing to the readers' relations with Rome is found in the salutation, 'They of Italy salute you' (13^{24}). It is true that this is sufficient to establish a connexion; but it would be futile to deny that it is capable of a double explanation—that the Epistle was written either *from* or *to* Italy. The former seems at first sight the more natural interpretation of the words (cf. Col 4^{16}) and we are not surprised to find such scholars as Theodoret and Primasius expressing their belief that our author here discloses the place from which he writes. Indeed, on the supposition that 'they of Italy' were the writer's companions who were absent with him from Rome, the words do not seem the most felicitous method of expressing their regards. It would be natural to mention some at least of their names in sending greetings from them to their brethren, with whom they must have been on terms of the most intimate fellowship (cf. Ro $16^{21ff.}$, 1 Co 16^{19}). Besides, if he wrote from Rome we have a natural explanation, amounting to a *vera causa*, of the fact that our Epistle was known there from the very first; for it must not be supposed that a writing like this was allowed to go forth without copies having been made beforehand (for a supposed instance of this kind in the case of St. Luke's writings, see Blass, *Ev. sec. Lucam*, and *Acta Apostolorum*, especially the Præfatio and Prolegomena respectively, where that scholar contends that the remarkable textual variations in these writings can be explained only by the theory of a second edition of each).

Nor can the claim of Alexandria to be the destination of the Epistle be said to have much force. The argument on which this theory is mainly based has to do with the discrepancies between the writer's descriptions of Levitical worship and that which obtained in the Jewish Temple in accordance with the Mosaic code (cf. *e.g.* $9^{3f.}$ 7^{27} etc.). It has been supposed that he had in his mind the temple of Onias at Leontopolis in Egypt. This, however, is pure conjecture (cf. Westcott, *ib.* Introd. p. xxxix.), and is contradicted by the historical evidence of the late date at which the Epistle seems to have been known in Alexandria, and by the fact that its authorship was completely hidden from the heads of the Church in that place. We are thus reduced to the balancing of probabilities in selecting an objective for our Epistle, and in so doing we have to ask ourselves the much canvassed question, What were the antecedents of the readers? Were they Gentile or Jewish converts? Until a comparatively recent date it was believed universally that the writer had Jewish Christians before his mind. A formidable array, however, of NT critics, especially Continental, now advocate the theory that, in spite of appearances to the contrary, the original readers of our Epistle were Gentiles or mainly Gentiles (*e.g.* von Soden, Jülicher, Weizsäcker, Pfleiderer, M'Giffert, Bacon, etc.). Certainly among the Christians of the first two or three generations there must have been a large number of proselytes who were well acquainted with the Levitical ceremonial, and to whom the description of the furniture of the Tabernacle would have been perfectly intelligible ($9^{2ff.}$; cf. vv.$^{13ff.\ 19ff.}$ $10^{11ff.}$ etc.). That the addressees included Jews cannot be denied (see $6^{6f.}$ 13^{9-16} etc.). At the same time, it would be futile to base an argument for the purely Jewish destination of the Epistle upon such passages as speak of OT prophetic revelations having been made to 'the fathers' (1^{1}), or of 'the seed of Abraham' (2^{16}) as constituting the basis of Jesus' human nature. A similar identification is made by St. Paul in writing to the Church in Rome (Ro 4^{1-25}), where undoubtedly there was a large admixture of Gentile Christians. Moreover, Clement of Rome again and again refers to 'our fathers,' though he too is writing to a Church largely Gentile (see cc. 4. 31. 62. etc.). It is also well to remember that the Christian Churches, for a century at least after they had begun to take definite shape as organized bodies, were dependent, to a very large extent, upon the OT Scriptures for their spiritual nourishment and guidance. These were to them the chief, if not the only, authoritative record of God's revelation of Himself and His purposes to the world. It was perfectly natural, therefore, that St. Paul should presuppose a wide knowledge of OT history, and, indeed, of the Jewish interpretations of that history (cf. Ro $5^{12ff.}$, 1 Co 15^{22}, 2 Co $3^{7ff.}$ 6^{16}, Gal 3^{23}), on the part of his Gentile readers, just as Clement of Rome does.

When we turn to our Epistle, we are struck at once by the fact that the writer is not moving in, or thinking of, a living practical Leviticalism. He is dealing with Mosaism in its ideal conditions. The ritualism about which he addresses his readers seems to be, not that which actually obtained in the later Temple services (cf. *e.g.* 7^{27} 10^{11} 9^{21}), but that splendid theoretical ceremonial every detail of which was believed to be a type and a shadow 'of the good things to come' (9^{11}; cf. W. R. Smith's art. 'Hebrews' in *EBr*). Indeed, the typological and allegorizing elements in the Epistle claim for it almost peremptorily a non-Eastern objective; and though the present writer cannot see his way to accept Zahn's conclusion that the addressees formed a compact body of Jewish Christians within a large Gentile community of believers, he is ready to yield to his exhaustive study of the problem when he points to Rome as offering the fewest objections, on the whole, to be the destination of the writing (*Einleit. in das NT*, ii. p. 146 ff.).

Accepting this conclusion as at least a provisional, and it may be a temporary, solution of the difficult question arising out of the objective of our Epistle, we shall find several allusions to *the existing conditions of life in the Church addressed*. Nor shall we be left completely in the dark as to the probable *date* of its composition. Looking first for incidental remarks, independently of the *locale* of the readers, we find several hints pointing to a comparatively late period in the history of the early Church. Both writer and readers were separated by at least a generation from the first circle of believers (2^{3}). The readers, moreover, had been long enough under the influence of the Christian faith to give our author grounds for hope that they could occupy the position of teachers and of 'perfect' ('full grown,' RV) professors of their religion ($5^{11ff.}$; note the verb translated 'ye are become,' which expresses the end of a lengthened process of degeneracy). This hope was bitterly disappointed, although he is careful to recall a period when their love was warm and their Christian profession an active force in their lives ($6^{9f.}$). Basing his appeal on this memory, he strives to encourage them to revert to their former earnestness ('diligence,' EV 6^{11}); and, in order to prevent that dulness to which they had already given way from developing further, he urges them to take for a pattern those Christian teachers who had already spent their lives in the service of the faith (6^{12}). It is probable that their own rulers of the preceding generation had signalized their fidelity

HEBREWS, EPISTLE TO

to Christ by enduring martyrdom for His sake (cf. Westcott, *Ep. to Heb., in loc.*). The first freshness of their enthusiasm for the gospel was wearing off, and some at least amongst them were in danger of a complete lapse from Church membership (10^{25}). The cause of this temptation is not far to seek. In an earlier period of their history they had 'endured a great conflict of sufferings' ($10^{32ff.}$), and the writer hints at another and a similar experience, of which the beginnings were making themselves felt (cf. $12^{3f.}$; note the warning tone in 10^{36} exhorting to the cultivation of patience). Persecution on this occasion had not as yet burst with its full fury upon them (12^{4}). That he sees it fast coming is evident from the writer's continually appealing for an exhibition of fortitude and patient endurance ($12^{1ff.\ 11f.}$ etc.). Indeed, he understands the dangers to which a Church, enjoying a period of freedom from the stress of active opposition (in this case peace for the Church had lasted, in the opinion of the present writer, for close on thirty years [see Robertson's *Hist. of Christ. Church*, vol. i. p. 7 f.]), is exposed when brought face to face with a sudden storm of persecution and relentless hatred ($12^{5.\ 7f.}$). He seems to fear apostasy as the result of moral relaxation ($12^{12f.}$), and encourages his readers by telling them of the liberation of Timothy from his imprisonment for the faith (13^{23}). It is not impossible that one of his reasons for writing directly to the Church, instead of addressing it through 'them that had the rule over them' (13^{24}), was that he feared a similar fate for the latter, or that, like himself, they were compulsorily separated from their brethren (13^{19}) by the persecuting authorities. Now, if we accept Rome as the destination of our Epistle, and see in 13^{7} an allusion to the martyrdom of St. Peter and St. Paul, and at the same time remember that we have the Epistle of Clement to the Corinthian Church as its *terminus ad quem*, we have reduced the limits of the date of its composition to the period between the Neronic and Domitianic persecutions. Rather we should say, following some of the allusions referred to above, that it was written at the begininng of the latter crisis; in other words, the date would be within the closing years of the 8th and the opening years of the 9th decade of the 1st cent. A.D. The fact that Timothy was alive when our author wrote does not militate against this date, as he seems to have been a young man when converted through the instrumentality of St. Paul (cf. 1 Co 16^{11}, 1 Ti 4^{12}, 2 Ti 2^{22}).

Besides the danger to the faith arising from physical sufferings and persecutions, another and a more deadly enemy seems to have been threatening to undermine the foundations of the Church at this period. After the destruction of the Jerusalem Temple, Jewish Rabbinism seems to have been endowed with a new and vigorous life. Hellenistic Judaism, with its syncretistic tendencies and its bitter proselytizing spirit, must have appealed very strongly to that class of Christians for whom an eclectic belief always has a subtle charm (cf. the warning 'Be not carried away by divers and strange teachings,' and the reference to the distinctions regarding 'meats' in 13^{9}, which forcibly remind us of St. Paul's language in Col 2^{16}; for an exhaustive survey of the extent and number of proselytes to Judaism, and the eagerness with which this work was pursued, see Schürer, *HJP* II. ii. 291–327).

3. Purpose and contents.—In order to counteract this deadly influence, the writer sets about proving the final and universalistic character of the Christian revelation. It is with this practical aim that he takes his pen in hand, and he himself gives its true designation to his literary effort when he styles it 'a word of encouragement' (13^{22}). At the same time, it is evident that our author moves on a high plane both of thought and of language. No other NT writer seems to have grasped so fully the cosmological significance attaching to the earthly life and experiences of Jesus ($5^{7f.}$ 4^{15} $2^{9ff.\ 17f.}$), or to have set forth so clearly His present activity on behalf of 'all them that obey him' (5^{9} 2^{18} 7^{25} $9^{15.\ 24}$, cf. Ro 8^{34}). For him the Incarnation has bridged once and for all the hitherto impassable gulf separating God and man, and has made intelligible for man the exhortation 'Let us draw near' to God, for a 'new and living way' has been 'dedicated for us' through His flesh ($10^{20ff.}$, cf. 7^{19}). It may be said, indeed, that the author regards Christianity as the final stage in the age-long process of religious evolution. The Levitical institutions, with their elaborate ceremonialism, constituted the preceding and preparatory step in the Divine plan of world-salvation. This too was good in its way, and necessary, but of course imperfect. It did its duty as a good servant, faithfully and well, but had to give way when the 'heir of all things' (1^{2}) came to claim His inheritance (cf. $3^{5f.}$).

In order to establish emphatically the pre-eminence of Christianity over all that went before, the Epistle opens with a series of comparisons between Christ and the great representatives of the former dispensation. (*a*) In the 'old time' the messages of God were delivered 'by divers portions and in divers manners' through the prophets, but now 'at the end of these days' He has spoken His final word 'in a Son' ($1^{1ff.}$). (*b*) The Law of Moses was revealed through the mediation of angels and was 'steadfast' (2^{2}); but angels were employed in service 'on behalf of those who are to inherit salvation' (1^{14}), whereas the revelation through the medium of the Son who was 'made a little lower than the angels' was correspondingly of a higher order than that which had these beings as intermediaries (1^{4-14} 2^{5-9}). (*c*) The great lawgiver Moses occupied but the position of servant, and therefore holds a subordinate place to that of the Son in the Divine scheme of redemption (3^{2-6}). (*d*) Finally, as Christ is personally superior to Aaron, so His office is essentially more profound and efficacious than that which typified it.

This last comparison is elaborated at much greater length than the others (8^{1}–10^{18}), and indeed in its argumentative treatment is developed into a contrast. The discussion here is simple but effective. All recognize that 'without blood-shedding there is no forgiveness' (9^{22}), but Aaron and his successors went into the holy place 'with blood not their own' (9^{25}), the blood of bulls and of goats, which cannot possibly take away sins (10^{4}). Moreover, the first requisite to the high-priestly service of atonement is that a sin-offering had to be made for the officiating priest himself before he offered for the people (9^{7} 5^{3}). The temporary makeshift character of these ordinances was shown and acknowledged by the fact that they had to be constantly repeated ('once in the year,' 9^{7}, cf. 10^{3}). They had in themselves no moral uplifting force, cleansing the consciences of, and perfecting, 'them that draw nigh' ($10^{1f.}$). On the other hand, Christ entered into 'the holy place once for all through his own blood' (9^{12}), and, though He 'is able to sympathize with our weaknesses, having been tempted in all things according to the likeness of our temptations,' yet He remained sinless (4^{15}). He needed not to offer on His own behalf, for temptation and suffering proved to Him but stages in the process of perfecting His Sonship (2^{10} $5^{2f.}$ 7^{28}). In describing the personal character of the high priest suited to our needs, the writer is at the same time describing the character of the sacrifice which Christ offered, for 'he offered up himself ($7^{26ff.}$). In order to obviate any objection likely to be made against the irregularity of a priesthood outside the Levitical order, he has already pointed to an OT case in point, and here he strengthens his plea by quoting from a Psalm universally recognized as Messianic. Melchizedek was a priest who had no genealogical affinity with the tribe of Levi, and yet he was greater than Aaron (7^{4-10}); and it was said by God of His own Son that He should be a 'priest for ever after the order of Melchizedek' (5^{6} 7^{17}).

We have said above that the central thought of our Epistle is the discovery by Christianity of a way, hitherto hidden from the eyes of man, of access to God (cf. 4^{16} 10^{19} $7^{19.\ 25}$). Once this was accomplished, nothing further remained to be done (10^{18}) but to enter on that path which leads to the 'Sabbath-rest reserved for the people of God' (4^{9}). We may now ask the question. What are the author's conceptions with regard

to the Being and Personality of the High Priest upon whose functions he sets such value? In other words, *What are the chief features of the Christology of the Epistle?* We have not to proceed far in the study of our Epistle before we are brought face to face with a thought which dominates each discussion of the relative claims of Christ and the OT ministers of revelation and redemption. It is upon His Sonship that the superiority of Jesus is based. Neither the prophets nor the ministering angels, neither Moses nor Aaron, could lay claim to that relationship which is inherent in the Person of Jesus Christ. In consequence of the unique position occupied by 'the Son of God' (4^{14}; cf. $1^{2.\ 6}$ 3^{6} 5^{8} 7^{28} 10^{29}), it follows that the dispensation ushered in by Him is above all that went before it. The latter was but the dim outline ('shadow'), not even the full representation ('the very image') 'of the good things which were to be' (10^{1}). Regarded as a means of revealing God to man, this superiority is self-evident, as the Son is above both prophets and angels. Looked on as a mediatorial scheme of redemption and of reconciliation, it stands immeasurably above that whose representatives were Moses the lawgiver and Aaron the priest.

It is evident from what has been said that this feature of the Personality of Jesus is transcendent and unique. It is also evident that sonship in a general sense is not unknown to the author (cf. 2^{10} $12^{5.\ 7f.}$). As if to preclude all misunderstanding of his meaning, he at the outset defines his belief when he represents the Son as 'the heir of all things' and the agent of God's creative activity ($3^{3f.}$; cf. Jn 1^{3}), the effulgence of His glory and the very image of His Person. Not only do we see in these words the definition of a faith which confesses Jesus as the great world-sustaining power (1^{3}); there is also implied, so far as a non-technical terminology can do so, belief in the eternity of His Being. It is true that the term 'first-begotten' (1^{6}) does not necessarily carry the idea of eternity with it, or even the statement that He is the Maker of the ages (1^{2}). On the other hand, we must remember that these are but supplemental to the grand Christological confession of v.^{2}, which excludes the notion of the non-existence of the Son at any time in the ages of eternity. The shining of light is coeval with the light itself, and the impress of the seal on wax is the exact reproduction of the original engraving. It is true that we have here no systematic declaration of Christological belief. The time had not yet come for the constructive theologian. At the same time, it is difficult to see how the author could have framed a more emphatic expression of his belief that Jesus the Son of God is a Divine Person from eternity to eternity (cf. 7^{28}). The grand and final scene in the Divine process of self-revelation is painted in words of magnificent solemnity, referred to incidentally, and repeated again and again. As the Son of God, Jesus had a Divine inheritance into which He entered, after His work of redemption was completed on earth, by sitting down on the right hand of the Majesty on High (1^{3}; cf. 1^{13} $2^{9f.}$ 4^{14} 6^{20} 7^{26}, Lk 22^{69}, Mk 16^{19}).

In his reference to the work of the Son in 'making purification for sins' (1^{3}) the author implies at once his belief in the humanity of the Son. Although he gives us no direct clue to the extent of his knowledge of the conditions under which the Incarnation was effected, he leaves us in no doubt not only that the manhood of the Son is a reality, but that for the work of redemption it was necessary that it should be so. The fact that his allusions to this doctrine are always indirect point to the conclusion that he expected his readers to be familiar with it as an indisputable article of the Christian faith. Besides, he reinforces his arguments by a running commentary upon those Psalms wherein he sees prophetic expressions of the humiliation of the Christ (cf. $2^{7.\ 9.\ 14.\ 16.\ 18}$ 5^{7}). Incorporated with them we have numerous references to the earthly experiences of Jesus. The manner of His death (12^{2}, cf. $2^{9.\ 14}$), His general temptations (2^{18} 4^{15}), and, in particular, that of Gethsemane (5^{7}, where the author boldly refers to Jesus' prayer to His Father in the face of an awful calamity, and the cause which occasioned that prayer), His work as preacher of salvation, and the delegation by Him of the work of proclamation to those who heard Him (1^{2} 2^{3}), His protracted struggle with implacable religious enemies (12^{3})—all point to our author's minute acquaintance with the historical facts of Jesus' life.

No attempt is made by the writer to minimize the extent and character of Jesus' earthly sufferings and the limitations to which He was subjected. It seems as if, above all things, he is anxious to impress his readers with their stern reality, and as if they, in their turn, were tempted to despise the salvation which was wrought out through such humiliation (2^{3}). For him this humiliation is filled with a moral and spiritual significance of the most vital importance. In His constant endurance and His ultimate triumph Jesus has left an abiding example to all who suffer temptation and persecution ($12^{2f.}$; cf. the expression 'we behold him,' etc., 2^{9}). The power of this example is the greater because of the oneness of Jesus and His people (cf. 2^{11}), by which their endurance and witness become the embodiment and extension of His work in this respect (cf. 5^{12} 13^{7} 12^{1}). The spiritual significance of the earthly life of Jesus is no less real and splendid. 'It was fitting' that Jesus should be perfected 'through sufferings' ($2^{10.\ 17}$), not only because He thereby attained to the captaincy of salvation, becoming merciful and faithful (2^{17}) and sympathizing (4^{15}), but because the ability to help 'his brethren' (cf. $2^{11.\ 17}$) springs from the double fact that He is one with them in His experiences, and at the same time victorious over sin ('apart from sin,' 4^{15}, cf. 7^{26} 9^{28}) as they are not. The profound synthesis of the humiliation and the glory of Jesus thus effected by our author is enhanced as it reaches its climax in the bold assertion that development in character was a necessary element in His earthly life (5^{8}; cf. the words 'perfected for evermore,' 7^{28}).

In order that his readers may fully appreciate the character of the work accomplished by the life and death of Jesus, the writer proceeds to answer objections which may be raised against the propriety of His discharging the priestly functions of mediation and atonement. This he does by a twofold process of reasoning. First, reverting to the language of the great Messianic Psalm, he demonstrates the superiority in point of order, as in that of time, of the priesthood of Melchizedek to that of Aaron ($5^{6.\ 10}$ $7^{4ff.\ 17}$ etc.). Next he shows how the ideals dimly foreshadowed by the functions of the Aaronic priesthood have become fully and finally realized in the priesthood of Jesus ($8^{4ff.}$ $9^{8f.\ 14f.}$). There are certain characteristics in the Melchizedekian order which, by an allegorical method of interpretation, are shown to be typical in the sublime sense of the priesthood of Christ. It was (*a*) royal, (*b*) righteous, (*c*) peaceful, (*d*) personal, (*e*) eternal ($7^{2f.}$). A high priest having these ideal attributes realized in himself answers to man's fallen condition, and they all meet in the Person of the Son 'perfected for evermore' (cf. 7^{26}). No mention is made of the sacrificial aspect of Melchizedek's work, but this is implied in the subsequent assertion that our high priest 'offered up himself once for all' (7^{27}). Indeed, it may be said that the latter characteristic is inseparable from the above-mentioned five, for the priesthood which realizes in itself the ethical ideals here outlined will inevitably crown itself by the act of self-sacrifice. The argument is then transferred from the Melchizedekian to the Levitical order, where the last-named function found detailed expression in the Mosaic ritual institutions. Here an answer is given to the question, 'What has this man to offer?' The Aaronic priests offered sacrifices continually, and in his description of the functions

incidental to their position we seem to hear echoes of contrasts out of the very parallelisms instituted. The Levitical priest is not (*a*) royal; he 'is appointed' to fulfil certain obligations (8^3, cf. 5^1); he is not (*b*) essentially righteous; he has, before he fulfils his mediatorial functions, first to offer for his own sins (8^7, cf. 5^3); his work does not conduce to (*c*) peace, for 'conscience of sins' is still, in spite of priestly activity, alive, and 'perfection' is not thereby attained ($10^{1ff.}$); his priesthood is not (*d*) personal; it is an inherited authority 'made after the law of a carnal commandment' (7^{16}), and the personal equation is shown to be eliminated by the fact that it is the blood of goats and calves that he offers (9^{12}); finally, it is not (*e*) eternal; its ordinances were temporary, 'imposed until a time of reformation' (9^{10}). In every instance 'the more excellent ministry' (8^6) of Jesus is substantiated, while the repeated assertions of the sacrificial character of His priestly work, by the emphatic declarations that He is not only the Priest but the Sacrifice (7^{27} $9^{12.\ 26}$), show the difficulty the writer must have felt in sustaining a comparison which is summed up in an antithesis ('once in the year' 9^7, and 'eternal' 9^{12}). The whole discussion may be regarded as an *a fortiori* argument on behalf of the superiority of the priesthood of Jesus. The ritual of the Day of Atonement is selected as the basis of his contention, and it was here that the Levitical ceremonial was at its noblest (9^{1-7}). Even here the above-mentioned antithesis is observable; the Levitical ministry was discharged in a Tabernacle which was but 'a copy and shadow of the heavenly things' (8^5), while that of Christ fulfils itself in 'the true tabernacle' (8^2), where alone are displayed the eternal realities of priestly sacrifice and mediation. The offering of Himself is not merely the material sacrifice of His body on the cross, though that is a necessary phase in His ministerial priesthood (cf. $2^{8.\ 14}$); it is the transcendent spiritual act of One who is sinless ('through the eternal Spirit offered Himself without blemish,' 9^{14} 7^{26} 4^{15}). This gives the offering its eternal validity ('once for all,' 7^{27} 9^{12} 10^{10}), and although 'the sacrifice of Himself' was consummated 'at the end of the ages,' its force and value reach back to 'the foundation of the world' (9^{26}, cf. 9^{15}), and continue for all the time that is to come (7^{25} 9^{24}).

Two other interdependent ideas remain to be briefly considered. It has already been said that our author may be described as a theological evolutionist, and in no sphere of his thought is this more evident than in his ideas of salvation and of faith. Salvation is not so much the present realization of the redemptive value of Christ's atoning work as a movement commencing here and now towards that realization in all its fulness. It is true that faith is for him the power to bring the unseen realities into touch with the present life ($11^{1ff.}$). At the same time, the dominant conception of salvation in the writer's mind is the fruition of hopes originated and vitalized by the teaching and experiences of Jesus. Future dominion in a new world ordered and inhabited in perfect moral harmony (see Westcott, *Ep. to Heb.*, on 2^5) awaits those who neglect not 'so great salvation' (2^3). The basis upon which this lordship rests is the actualized crowned Kingship of the Man Jesus, which is at once the guarantee and the *rationale* of the vision ($2^{9ff.}$). Immediately following this view another conception arises dealing with the realization, in the future, of a dominion based upon conquest. Death and the author of death are the enemies which Jesus has 'brought to nought'; and not only has He done this, but He delivers those who all their life were in bondage 'through fear.' The perfect humanity of Jesus is again the avenue along which this goal is reached. No other way is possible, and in Him all may find their servitude transmuted into freedom and dominion (cf. 2^{14-18}). Once more, arguing from the imperfect realization by the Israelites, under Joshua, of their hopes, the author points out that what they looked for in vain is a type of a higher thing which is now actually awaiting 'the people of God.' Salvation consists in entering into that eternal Sabbath-rest where Jesus has gone before, and where the presence of God is (cf. $4^{9ff.}$). The pivotal conception round which these ideas revolve is the unity of Christ and man, the likeness in all things, sin alone excepted, which was effected by the Incarnation.

Our author's habit of looking on faith as an active force in men's lives displays the same tendency to make the future rather than the present the field of his vision. At the same time, it would be a great mistake to imagine that the present is outside the scope of his thought. *Obedience*, however, is the word and thought preferred by him when he speaks of the present grounds of salvation ($5^{8f.}$, cf. 11^8). Faith is for him a force working towards ethical ideals, a power which enables men of every nation and class to live lives of noble self-denial for righteousness' sake, 'as seeing him who is invisible' (cf. 11^{1-40} 4^2 6^{12} 10^{39}). Of this faith Jesus is 'the author and perfecter' (12^2), and here, too, we get a glimpse of that quickening Divine humanity upon which the writer lays such constant stress, and which is the source of the effort demanded from his readers when he asks them to imitate their former rulers in a faith which issued in a glorious martyrdom. J. R. Willis.

HEBRON ('association').—**1.** The third son of Kohath, known to us only from P (Ex 6^{18}, Nu $3^{19.\ 27}$) and the Chronicler (1 Ch $6^{2.\ 18}$ 15^9 $23^{12.\ 19}$). The **Hebronites** are mentioned at the census taken in the wilderness of Sinai (Nu 3^{27}), and appear again at the later census in the plains of Moab (26^{58}); cf. also 1 Ch 15^9 23^{19} $26^{23.\ 30f.}$. **2.** A son of Mareshah and father of Korah, Tappuah, Rekem, and Shema (1 Ch 2^{42-43}).

HEBRON.—A very ancient city in Palestine, 20 miles S.S.W. from Jerusalem. It is in a basin on one of the highest points of the Judæan ridge, being about 3040 ft. above sea-level. A note of its antiquity is given in Nu 13^{22}, which states that it was 'seven years older than Zoan in Egypt.' Its original name seems to have been **Kiriath-arba** (*i.e.* probably *Tetrapolis*, or 'Four Cities'), and it was a stronghold of the Anakim. In the time of Abraham, however (whose history is much bound up with this place), we read of Hittites here. From Ephron the Hittite he purchased the cave of Machpelah for the burial of Sarah his wife (Gn 23). This allusion has given rise to much controversy. At the time of the entry of the Israelites it was held by three chieftains of great stature, Sheshai, Ahiman, and Talmai (Nu 13^{22}). On the partition of the country it was allotted to the tribe of Judah, or rather to the Calebites (Jos 14^{12} 15^{14}), who captured it for the Israelite immigrants. The city itself was allotted to the Kohathite Levites, and it was set apart as a city of refuge (Jos 20^7). Here David reigned seven and a half years over Judah (2 S 5^5), till his capture of Jerusalem from the Jebusites fixed there the capital of the country. It was here also that the rebellious Absalom established himself as king (2 S $15^{7ff.}$). It was fortified by Rehoboam (2 Ch 11^{10}). After the Captivity it was for a time in the hands of the Edomites (though from Neh 11^{25} it would appear to have been temporarily colonized by the returned Jews), but was re-captured by Judas Maccabæus (1 Mac 5^{65}). In the war under Vespasian it was burned. In 1167 it became the see of a Latin bishop; in 1187 it was captured for the Muslims by Saladin.

The modern town contains about 10,000 inhabitants. Its chief manufactures are glassware and leather waterskins. In the centre is the Haram or mosque, formerly a Crusaders' church, built over the reputed cave of Machpelah. The modern name is *Khalîl er-Rahmân*, 'the friend of the Merciful'—the Muslim title of Abraham. 'Abraham's oak' is shown near the city, but this is as apocryphal as the ascription of a cistern called 'Sarah's

bath.' There is a remarkable stone-built enclosure near by called *Rāmat el-Khalīl*; it has been attempted to show this to be Samuel's Ramah; probably, however, it is nothing more important than a Muslim *khan*, built out of earlier materials. R. A. S. MACALISTER.

HEDGE.—(1) *mesūkah*, a thorn hedge (Is 5^5). (2) *gādēr* or *gedērah*—probably a stone wall (Ps 89^{40} etc.). (3) *phragmos* (Gr.), Mt 21^{33}, Mk 12^1, Lk 14^{23}—a 'partition' of any kind. E. W. G. MASTERMAN.

HEGAI or **HEGE** (Est $2^{8.\ 15}$ 2^3).—A eunuch of Ahasuerus, and keeper of the women, to whom the maidens were entrusted before they were brought in to the king.

HEGEMONIDES (2 Mac 13^{24}).—An officer left in command of the district from Ptolemais to the Gerrenians, by Lysias when he was forced to return to Syria to oppose the chancellor Philip (B.C. 162).

HEIFER.—The heifer was used in agriculture (Jg 14^{18}, Jer 50^{11}, Hos 10^{11}), and in religious ritual (Gn 15^9, 1 S 16^2, Nu $19^{2f.}$ etc.). Israel is compared to a heifer in Hos 4^{16}, and so is Egypt in Jer 46^{20}, and Chaldæa in Jer 50^{11}. See also OX, RED HEIFER.

E. W. G. MASTERMAN.

HEIR.—See INHERITANCE.

HELAH.—One of the wives of Ashhur the 'father' of Tekoa (1 Ch $4^{5.\ 7}$).

HELAM.—The Aramæans from beyond the river, whom Hadarezer summoned to his aid, came to Helam (2 S 10^{16}) and were there met and defeated by David (v.$^{17f.}$). So far as the *form* of the word is concerned, *hēlām* in v.^{16} might mean 'their army.' There can, however, be little doubt that the LXX, Pesh. and Targ. are right in taking it as a proper name. Upon the ground of the LXX some introduce Helam also in Ezk 47^{16}. In this case it must have lain on the border between Damascus and Hamath.

HELBAH.—A town of Asher (Jg 1^{31}). Its identity is quite uncertain.

HELBON.—A place celebrated in old times for the excellence of its wines (Ezk 27^{18}). It is identified with *Halbūn*, about 12 miles N. of Damascus. Grapes are still grown extensively on the surrounding slopes.

W. EWING.

HELDAI.—1. The captain of the military guard appointed for the twelfth monthly course of the Temple service (1 Ch 27^{15}). He is probably to be identified with **'Heleb** the son of Baanah the Netophathite,' one of David's thirty heroes (2 S 23^{29}). In the parallel list (1 Ch 11^{30}) the name is more correctly given as **Heled.** The form *Heldai* is supported by Zec 6^{10}, and should probably be restored in the other two passages. **2.** According to Zec 6^{10}, one of a small band who brought gifts of gold and silver from Babylon to those of the exiles who had returned under Zerubbabel. From these gifts Zechariah was told to make a crown for Joshua the high priest, which was to be placed in the Temple as a memorial of Heldai and his companions. In v.^{14} **Helem** is clearly an error for Heldai.

HELEB (2 S 23^{22}).—See HELDAI, **1.**

HELED (1 Ch 11^{30}).—See HELDAI, **1.**

HELEK.—Son of Gilead the Manassite, Nu 26^{30}, Jos 17^2 (P). Patronymic, **Helekites,** Nu 26^{30}.

HELEM.—1. A man of Asher (1 Ch 7^{35}).—**2.** See HELDAI, **2.**

HELEPH.—A town on the border of Naphtali (Jos 19^{33}). Although mentioned in the Talmud (*Megillah*, i. 1, Heleph has not been identified.

HELEZ.—1. One of David's thirty heroes (2 S 23^{26}). He is described as 'the **Paltite,**' *i.e.* a native of Beth-pelet in the Negeb of Judah (cf. Jos 15^{27}, Neh 11^{26}). But in the two parallel lists (1 Ch 11^{27} and 27^{10}) both the Hebrew text and the LXX read 'the **Pelonite.**' The former reading is further inconsistent with 1 Ch 27^{10}, where Helez is expressly designated as 'of the children of Ephraim.' He was in command of the military guard appointed for the seventh monthly course of the Temple service. See PELONITE. **2.** A Judahite (1 Ch 2^{39}).

HELI.—1. The father of Joseph, in the genealogy of Jesus (Lk 3^{23}). **2.** An ancestor of Ezra (2 Es 1^2); omitted in parallel passages, 1 Es 8^2, Ezr $7^{2.\ 3}$.

HELIODORUS.—The chancellor of Seleucus IV. Philopator. At the instigation of Apollonius he was sent by the king to plunder the private treasures kept in the Temple of Jerus.; but was prevented from carrying out his design by an apparition (2 Mac $3^{ff.}$). In B.C. 175, Heliodorus murdered Seleucus, and attempted to seize the Syrian crown; but he was driven out by Eumenes of Pergamus and his brother Attalus; and Antiochus Epiphanes, brother of Seleucus, ascended the throne. There is commonly supposed to be a reference to Heliodorus in Dn 11^{20}, but the interpretation of the passage is doubtful. Further, he is frequently reckoned as one of the *ten* or the *three* kings of Dn $7^{7f.}$

HELKAI.—A priest (Neh 12^{15}).

HELKATH.—A Levitical city belonging to the tribe of Asher (Jos 19^{25} 21^{31}). The site is uncertain. The same place, owing probably to a textual error, appears in 1 Ch 6^{75} as **Hukok.**

HELKATH-HAZZURIM.—The name given to the spot at Gibeon where the fatal combat took place between the twelve champions chosen on either side from the men of Abner and Joab (2 S 2^{16}). The name means 'the field of sword edges.'

HELKIAS.—1. The high priest **Hilkiah** in Josiah's reign. He is mentioned in 1 Es 1^8=2 Ch 35^8 as a governor of the Temple, subscribing handsomely to Josiah's great Passover; in 1 Es 8^1 (cf. Ezr 7^1) as the great-grandfather of Ezra; and in Bar 1^7 as father of Joakim, who was governor of the Temple in the reign of Zedekiah. **2.** A distant ancestor of Baruch (Bar 1^1.) **3.** The father of Susanna (Sus $^{2-29}$).

HELL.—See ESCHATOLOGY, GEHENNA, HADES, SHEOL.

HELLENISM.—See EDUCATION, GREECE.

HELMET.—See ARMOUR, § 2 (*b*).

HELON.—Father of Eliab, the prince of Zebulun at the first census, Nu 1^9 2^7 $7^{24.\ 29}$ 10^{16} (P).

HELPS.—Ac 27^{17} 'they used helps, undergirding the ships.' The reference is to 'cables passed round the hull of the ship, and tightly secured on deck, to prevent the timbers from starting, especially amidships, where in ancient vessels with one large mast the strain was very great. The technical English word is *frapping*, but the process has only been rarely employed since the early part of the century, owing to improvements in shipbuilding' (Page's *Acts of the Apostles*; see Smith's *Voyage and Shipwreck of St. Paul*, p. 105).

HELPS.—In 1 Co 12^{28} St. Paul, in order to show the diversity in unity found in the Church as the body of Christ, gives a list of services performed by various members of the churchly body. In the course of his enumeration he uses two Gr. nouns (*antilēmpseis* and *kybernēseis*) employed nowhere else in the NT, and rendered in EV 'helps,' 'governments.' 'Helps' may suggest a lowly kind of service, as of one who acts as assistant to a superior. The usage of the Gr. word, however, both in the LXX and in the papyri, points to succour given to the needy by those who are stronger; and this is borne out for the NT when the same word in its verbal form occurs in St. Paul's exhortation to the elders of the Ephesian Church to 'help the weak' (Ac 20^{35} RV). 'Helps' in this list of churchly gifts and services thus denotes such attentions to the poor and afflicted as were specially assigned at a later time to the office of the deacon; while **'governments'** (RVm

'wise counsels') suggests that rule and guidance which afterwards fell to presbyters or bishops.

We are not to think, however, that there is any reference in this passage to deacons and bishops as Church officials. The fact that 'helps' are named before 'governments,' and especially that abstract terms are used instead of concrete and personal ones as in the earlier part of the list, shows that it is functions, not offices, of which the Apostle is thinking throughout. The analogy of Ac 20[35], moreover, where it is presbyters (v.[17] RVm) or bishops (v.[28] RV) that are exhorted to help the weak, is against the supposition that in an Ep. so early as 1 Cor. 'helps' and 'governments' corresponded to deacons and bishops. 'Helps,' as Hort says (*Chr. Ecclesia*, p. 159), are 'anything that could be done for poor or weak or outcast brethren, either by rich or powerful or influential brethren, or by the devotion of those who stood on no such eminence.' 'Governments,' again, refers to 'men who by wise counsels did for the community what the steersman or pilot does for the ship.' J. C. LAMBERT.

HELVE.—Dt 19[5]: a word nearly obsolete, equivalent to 'handle.'

HEM.—See FRINGES.

HEMAM.—A Horite clan of Edom (Gn 36[22]). 1 Ch 1[39] has **Homam,** but the LXX in both places *Heman*. Many scholars follow the LXX, others identify with *Humaimeh* south of Petra, or *Hammam* near Maon.
GEORGE A. BARTON.

HEMAN.—There appear at first to be three different men of this name in the OT. **1.** A legendary wise man whose wisdom Solomon excelled (1 K 4[31]). **2.** A son (or clan) of Zerah of the tribe of Judah (1 Ch 2[6]), probably also alluded to in the title of Ps 88 as Heman the Ezrahite, *Ezrah* being another form of *Zerah*. **3.** A Korahite singer of the time of David, said to be the son of Joel the son of Samuel (1 Ch 6[33]; cf. also 15[17. 19] 16[41] 25[1-6]). As Chronicles in a number of cases confuses the genealogy of Judah with that of Levi (cf., *e.g.*, 1 Ch 2[42. 43] with 6[2]), and as the wise men of 1 K 4[31] are legendary, it is probable that the three Hemans are the same legendary ancestor of a clan celebrated for its music and wisdom. This view finds some support in the fact that the title of Ps 88 makes Heman both an Ezrahite (Judahite) and a Korahite (Levite).
GEORGE A. BARTON.

HEMDAN.—See HAMRAN.

HEMLOCK.—See GALL, WORMWOOD.

HEV.—See COCK.

HEN.—In Zec 6[14] 'Hen the son of Zephaniah' is mentioned amongst those whose memory was to be perpetuated by the crowns laid up in the Temple (so AV, RV). Some would substitute for 'Hen' the name 'Joshua' [Josiah] found in v.[10].

HENA.—A word occurring in conjunction with **Ivvah** (2 K 18[34] 19[13], Is 37[13]). Both are probably place-names. Büsching has identified Hena with the modern *Ana* on the Euphrates; and Sachau supposes that Ivvah is '*Imm* between Aleppo and Antioch. The Targum, however, takes the words as verb-forms, and reads 'he has driven away and overturned.' Hommel regards them as divine star-names (cf. Arab. *al-han'a* and *al-'awwā*). Cheyne emends the text, striking out *Hena*, and reading *Iwwah* as '*Azzah* (=Gaza). W. M. NESBIT.

HENADAD.—A Levite (Ezr 3[9], Neh 3[18. 24] 10[9]).

HENNA.—See CAMPHIRE.

HEPHER.—**1.** Son of Gilead the Manassite, and father of Zelophehad, Nu 26[32] 27[1], Jos 17[2f.] (P). Patronymic, **Hepherites** (Nu 26[32]). **2.** One of the tribe of Judah (1 Ch 4[6]). **3.** A Mecherathite, one of David's heroes (1 Ch 11[36]). **4.** A Canaanite royal city, named immediately before Aphek (Jos 12[17]). The site is uncertain. The land of Hepher is mentioned in 1 K 4[10] along with Socoh.

HEPHZI-BAH ('she in whom is my delight').—**1.** The mother of Manasseh, king of Judah (2 K 21[1]). **2.** Symbolic name of the Zion of Messianic times (Is 62[4]).

HERALD.—The word occurs only in Dn 3[4] as tr. of Aram. *kārōz* (probably=Gr. *kēryx*). The herald is the mouthpiece of the king's commands (cf. Gn 41[43], Est 6[9]). It is found also in RVm of 1 Ti 2[7], 2 Ti 1[11], 2 P 2[5], of St. Paul and Noah as heralds of God. The cognate Gr. verb and noun are regularly used in NT of 'preaching.' 'Crier' occurs in Sir 20[15]. There is no instance in the Bible of the employment of 'heralds' in war.
C. W. EMMET.

HERB.—(1) *yārāq*, *yereq*, twice tr. 'green thing' (Ex 10[15], Is 15[6]); *gan yārāq*, 'garden of herbs,' Dt 11[10], 1 K 21[2]. (2) '*ēseb*, herbage in general, Gn 1[11] (cf. Arab. '*ushb*). See GRASS. (3) *deshe'* is six times tr. 'herb' (Dt 32[2], 2 K 19[26], Job 38[27], Ps 37[2], Is 37[27] 66[14]). (4) *'ōrōth*, 2 K 4[39] 'herbs.' This is explained to be the plant colewort, but may have been any eatable herbs that survived the drought. The expressions 'dew of herbs' (Is 26[19] AV) and 'upon herbs' (Is 18[4] AV) are obscure. In the NT we have the Gr. terms *botanē* (He 6[7] 'grass') and *lachanon*=*yereq* (Mt 13[32]).
See also BITTER HERBS. E. W. G. MASTERMAN.

HERCULES is mentioned by this name only in 2 Mac 4[19. 20], where Jason, the head of the Hellenizing party in Jerus. (B.C. 174), sent 300 silver drachmas (about £12, 10s.) to Tyre as an offering in honour of Hercules, the tutelary deity of that city. Hercules was worshipped at Tyre from very early times, and his temple in that place was, according to Herod, ii. 44, as old as the city itself, 2300 years before his own time. As a personification of the sun he afforded an example of the nature-worship so common among the Phœn., Egyp., and other nations of antiquity.

HERD.—See CATTLE, OX, SHEEP.

HEREAFTER.—In Mt 26[64] 'Hereafter shall ye see the Son of Man sitting on the right hand of power, and coming in the clouds of heaven,' the meaning of 'hereafter' is 'from this time' (RV 'henceforth'). So Mk 11[14], Lk 22[69], Jn 1[51] 14[30]. Elsewhere the meaning is 'at some time in the future,' as Jn 13[7] 'What I do thou knowest not now; but thou shalt know hereafter.'

HEREDITY, which may be defined as 'the hereditary transmission of qualities, or even acquirements,' so far as it is a scientific theory, is not anticipated in Holy Scripture. That men are 'made of one' (Ac 17[26] RV) is a fact of experience, which, in common with all literature, the Bible assumes. The unsophisticated are content to argue from like to like, that is, by analogy. But the modern doctrine of heredity, rooted as it is in the science of biology, involves the recognition of a principle or law according to which characters are transmitted from parents to offspring. Of this there is no trace in the Bible. Theology is therefore not directly interested in the differences between Weismann and the older exponents of Evolution.

1. In the OT, which is the basis of the doctrine of the NT, there is no dogmatic purpose, and therefore no attempt to account for the fact that 'all flesh' has 'corrupted his way upon the earth' (Gn 6[12]), and that 'there is none that doeth good' (Ps 14[1]). A perfectly consistent point of view is not to be expected. Not a philosophical people, the Hebrews start from the obvious fact of the unity of the race in the possession of common flesh and blood (Job 14[1] 15[14]), the son being begotten after the image of the father (Gn 5[3]; cf. He 2[14]). This is more especially emphasized in the unity of the race of Abraham, that 'Israel after the flesh' (1 Co 10[18]), whose were the fathers and the promises (Ro 9[4. 5]). But the Bible never commits itself to a theory of the generation or procreation of the spirit, which is apparently given

by God to each individual (Gn 2^{7} 7^{22}, Job 33^{4}), constitutes the personality ('life' 2 S 1^{9}, 'soul' Nu 5^{6}), and is withdrawn at death (Ec 12^{7}). This is the source of Ezekiel's emphasis on individual responsibility (18^{4}), a criticism of the proverb concerning sour grapes (v.^{2}), which was made to rest on an admitted principle of the Mosaic covenant, the visitation upon the children of the fathers' sins (Ex 20^{5}). This principle involves corporate guilt; which, though sometimes reduced to a pardonable weakness inseparable from flesh (Ps 78^{39} 103^{14}, Job 10^{9}), and therefore suggestive of heredity, yet, as involving Divine wrath and punishment, cannot be regarded as a palliation of transgression (Ex 34^{7}, Ps 7^{11}, Ro 1^{18}). Sin in the OT is disobedience, a breach of personal relations, needing from God forgiveness (Ex $34^{6.\ 7}$, Is 43^{25}); and cannot therefore be explained on the principle of hereditary transmission. Moreover, the unity of Israel is as much one of external status as of physical nature, of the inheritance of the firstborn no less than of community in flesh and blood (Ex 4^{22}; cf. Gn 25^{23} 27^{35}). Similarly Adam is represented as degraded to a lower status by his sin, as cast out of the garden and begetting children in banishment from God's presence.

2. Such are the materials from which NT theology works out its doctrine of **original sin,** not a transmitted tendency or bias towards evil, but a submission to the power of the devil which may be predicated of the whole race. [See art. Sin.] J. G. Simpson.

HERES.—1. A mountain from which the Danites failed to expel the Amorites (Jg $1^{34f.}$). It is probably connected with **Beth-shemesh** (1 K 4^{9}, 2 Ch 28^{18}) or **Ir-shemesh** (Jos 19^{41}), on the boundary between Judah and Dan. **2.** In Jg 8^{13} (RV) 'the ascent of Heres' is mentioned as the spot from which Gideon returned after the defeat of Zebah and Zalmunna. Both the topography and the text of the narrative are doubtful. See also Ir-ha-heres, Timnath-heres, Timnath-serah.

HERESH.—A Levite (1 Ch 9^{15}).

HERESY.—The word 'heresy' (Gr. *hairesis*) is never used in the NT in the technical sense in which we find it by the first quarter of the 2nd cent., as a doctrinal departure from the true faith of the Church, implying a separation from its communion. The usual NT meaning of *hairesis* is simply a party, school, or sect; and **sect** is the word by which it is most frequently rendered. In Acts this is the invariable use. Thus it is applied to the parties of the Pharisees and Sadducees (5^{17} 15^{5} 26^{5}), precisely as in Jos. (*Ant.* xiii. v. 9). Similarly it is used of the followers of Christ, though not by themselves ($24^{5.\ 14}$ 28^{22}). In 24^{14} St. Paul substitutes 'the **Way**' for his accusers' term 'a **sect.**' The reason may partly have been that in his own usage *hairesis*, while still bearing the general sense of 'party,' had come to convey a reproach as applied to Christians.

There was nothing that distressed St. Paul more than the presence of strife and party-feeling among his converts. The unity of the Church as the body of Christ was one of his ruling ideas (1 Co $12^{12ff.}$, Ro 12^{5}, Eph $1^{22f.}$ $5^{23ff.}$, Col $1^{18.\ 24}$ 2^{19}); and the existence of factions, as fatal to the sense of unity, was strongly deprecated and condemned (Gal 5^{20}, 1 Co 11^{19}; cf. 'heretic,' Tit 3^{10}). 'Heresy' was division or **schism** (1 Co $11^{18.\ 19}$ shows that 'heresy' and 'division' [Gr. *schisma*] were practically synonymous); and 'schism' was a rending or cleaving of the body of Christ ($12^{25.\ 27}$). It was not doctrinal aberration from the truth, however, but practical breaches of the law of brotherly love that the Apostle condemned under the name of 'heresy' (see esp., as illustrating this, 1 Co $11^{19ff.}$).

Outside of Acts and the Pauline Epp., *hairesis* is used in the NT only in 2 P 2^{1}. In this, probably the latest of the NT writings, we see a marked advance towards the subsequent ecclesiastical meaning of the word. The 'damnable (RV 'destructive') heresies' here spoken of spring not merely from a selfish and factious spirit, but from false teaching. As yet, however, there seems to be no thought of the existence of heretical bodies outside of the general Christian communion. The heresies are false teachings (v.^{1}) leading to 'licentious doings' (v.^{2}), but they are 'brought in,' says the writer, 'among you.' J. C. Lambert.

HERETH.—A forest which was one of the hiding-places of David (1 S 22^{5}). The reference may be to the wooded mountain E. of Adullam, where the village of *Kharas* now stands.

HERMAS.—A Christian at Rome, saluted in Ro 16^{14}. The name is a common one, especially among slaves. Origen identifies this Hermas with the celebrated author of *The Shepherd*, a book considered by many in the 2nd cent. to be on a level with Scripture. For the disputed date of the book, which professes to record visions seen in the episcopate of Clement (*c.* A.D. 90–100), but which is said in the *Muratorian Fragment* (*c.* 180–200?) to have been written in the episcopate of Pius (not before A.D. 139), see Salmon's *Introd. to the NT*, Lect. xxvi. But Origen's identification is very improbable, the dates being scarcely compatible, and the name so common. A. J. Maclean.

HERMES.—One of those greeted in Ro 16^{14}, possibly a slave in Cæsar's household. Hermes was a very common slave's name (Lightfoot, *Philipp.* p. 176). A. J. Maclean.

HERMOGENES.—A companion of St. Paul, who, with **Phygelus** and 'all that are in Asia,' deserted him (2 Ti 1^{15}). The defection may probably have occurred at a time long past when St. Paul wrote (note RV). The AV refers to a defection at Rome, perhaps of natives of the province Asia in the city; but the aorist is against this. A. J. Maclean.

HERMON.—The highest mountain in Syria (9050 ft. high), a spur of the Anti-Lebanon. Its name means 'apart' or 'sanctuary,' and refers to its ancient sanctity (cf. Ps 89^{12}; and the name 'mount **Baal-hermon,**' Jg 3^{3}). Meagre traces of ruins remain on its summit, probably connected, at least partly, with a former high place. According to Dt 3^{9}, it was called **Sirion** by the Sidonians and **Senir** (wh. see) by the Amorites. It may have been the scene of the Transfiguration (Mk 9^{2}). The summit has three peaks, that on the S.E. being the highest. Snow lies on the top throughout the year, except in the autumn of some years; but usually there is a certain amount in the ravines. The top is bare above the snow-line; below it is richly wooded and covered with vineyards. The Syrian bear can sometimes be seen here; seldom, if ever, anywhere else. The modern name is *Jebel esh-Sheikh*, 'the Mountain of the Chief.' R. A. S. Macalister.

HERMONITES.—A mistaken tr. in Ps 42^{6} AV, corrected in RV to **Hermons,** and referring to the three peaks of the summit of Hermon (wh. see).

HEROD.—The main interest attaching to the Herods is not concerned with their character as individual rulers. They acquire dignity when they are viewed as parts of a supremely dramatic situation in universal history. The fundamental elements in the situation are two. First, the course of world-power in antiquity, and the relation between it and the political principle in the constitution of the Chosen People. Second, the religious genius of Judaism, and its relation to the political elements in the experience of the Jews.

A glance at the map shows that Palestine is an organic part of the Mediterranean world. When, under the successors of Alexander, the centre of political gravity shifted from Persia to the shores of the Great Sea, the door was finally closed against the possibility of political autonomy in the Holy Land. The kingdom of the Seleucids had a much larger stake in the internal

affairs of the country than the Persian Empire thought of claiming. For one thing, the political genius of the Greeks demanded a more closely knit State than the Persian. For another, the fact that Palestine was the frontier towards Egypt made its political assimilation to Northern Syria a military necessity. The Maccabæan War gave rise to the second Jewish State. But it was short-lived. Only during the disintegration of the house of Seleucus could it breathe freely. The moment Rome stretched out her hands to Syria its knell was rung.

The Hasmonæan house was obliged to face a hopeless foreign situation. World-politics made a career impossible. In addition, it had to face an irreconcilable element in the constitution of Judaism. The rise of the Pharisees and the development of the Essenes plainly showed that the fortune of the Jews was not to be made in the political field. In truth, Judaism was vexed by an insoluble contradiction. The soul of this people longed for universal dominion. But efficient political methods for the attainment of dominion were disabled by their religion. The Hasmonæan house was caught between the upper and the nether millstone.

The foundations of the Herodian house were laid by Antipater, an Idumæan (Jos. *Ant.* XIV. i. 3). Apparently the Idumæans, converted by the sword, were never Jewish to the core. More than once the Pharisees flung the reproach 'half-Jew' in the teeth of Herod. Antipater was a man of undistinguished family, and fought his way up by strength and cunning. The decay of the Hasmonæan house favoured his career. Palestine needed the strong hand. The power of Syria and the power of Egypt were gone. Rome was passing through the decay of the Senatorial régime. The Empire had not appeared to gather up the loose ends of provincial government. Pompey's capture of Jerusalem had shattered what little was left of Hasmonæan prestige. Yet Rome was not ready to assume direct control of Palestine.

1. Herod the Great.—Antipater's son, Herod, had shown himself before his father's death both masterful and merciless. His courage was high, his understanding capable of large conceptions, and his will able to adhere persistently to a distant end of action. His temperament was one of headlong passion; and when, in the later period of his life, the power and suspiciousness of the tyrant had sapped the real magnanimity of his nature, it converted him into a butcher, exercising his trade upon his own household as well as upon his opponents. His marriage with Mariamme, the heiress of the Hasmonæan house, and his league with Rome, indicate the story of his life. His marriage was one both of love and of policy. His league was a matter of clear insight into the situation. He was once driven out of Palestine by an alliance between the Hasmonæan house and the Parthians (Jos. *Ant.* XIV. xiii. 9, 10). But, backed by Rome, he returned with irresistible force. Mutual interest made the alliance close. Herod served the Empire well. And Augustus and his successors showed their appreciation. They stood by Herod and his descendants even when the task was not wholly pleasing.

Josephus calls Herod a man of extraordinary fortune. He was rather a man of extraordinary force and political discernment. He owed his good fortune largely to himself, manifesting powers which might have made him, in a less difficult field, fully deserving of his title 'the Great.' He enjoyed the life-long favour of Augustus and his minister Agrippa. He made life and property in Palestine safe from every foe but his own tyranny. And though he showed himself a brutal murderer of Mariamme and his own children, not to speak of the massacre of the Innocents (Mt 2), it must be remembered that Jerusalem was a hot-bed of intrigue. This does not justify him, but it explains his apparently insensate blood-lust.

His sympathy with Hellenism was a matter of honest conviction. The Empire was slowly closing in on Palestine. An independent Jewish power was impossible. The man who ruled the country was bound to work in the interest of Rome. Hellenism in the Holy Land was the political order of the day. So Herod built cities and gave them imperial names. He built amphitheatres, patronized the Greek games and, so far as his temperament and opportunities permitted, Greek literature. At the same time, while he was but 'half-Jew,' he sincerely desired to do large things for Judaism. He was a stout defender of the rights of the Jews in the Diaspora. He rebuilt the Temple with great splendour. But his supreme gift to the Jews, a gift which they were not capable of appreciating, was a native Palestinian power, which, whatever its methods, was by profession Jewish. When he died, after a long reign (B.C. 37 to A.D. 4), and the Jews petitioned the Emperor for direct Roman rule (Jos. *Ant.* XVII. ii. 2), they showed their incompetence to read the signs of the times. Roman rule was a very different thing from Persian rule. When it came, the iron entered into the soul of Judaism.

2. Archelaus.—After some delay Herod's will was carried out. His sons were set up in power,—Archelaus over Judæa and Idumæa, Antipas over Galilee and Peræa, Philip over Batanæa, Trachonitis, and Auranitis. To Archelaus had fallen the greatest prize, and at the same time the hardest task. Having maintained himself till the year 6 of our era, his misgovernment and weakness, co-operating with the impossible elements in Judaism, caused his downfall and exile. The Jews now had their own wish. Judæa came under direct Roman rule. A tax was levied. Judas of Gamala rose in rebellion. He was easily put down. But the significance of his little rebellion was immense. For now was born what Josephus calls 'the fourth philosophical sect' amongst the Jews (*Ant.* XVII. i. 6). The Zealots dragged into the light the self-contradiction of Judaism. The Jews could not build a State themselves. Their principles made it impossible for them to keep the peace with their heathen over-lord. Conflict was inevitable.

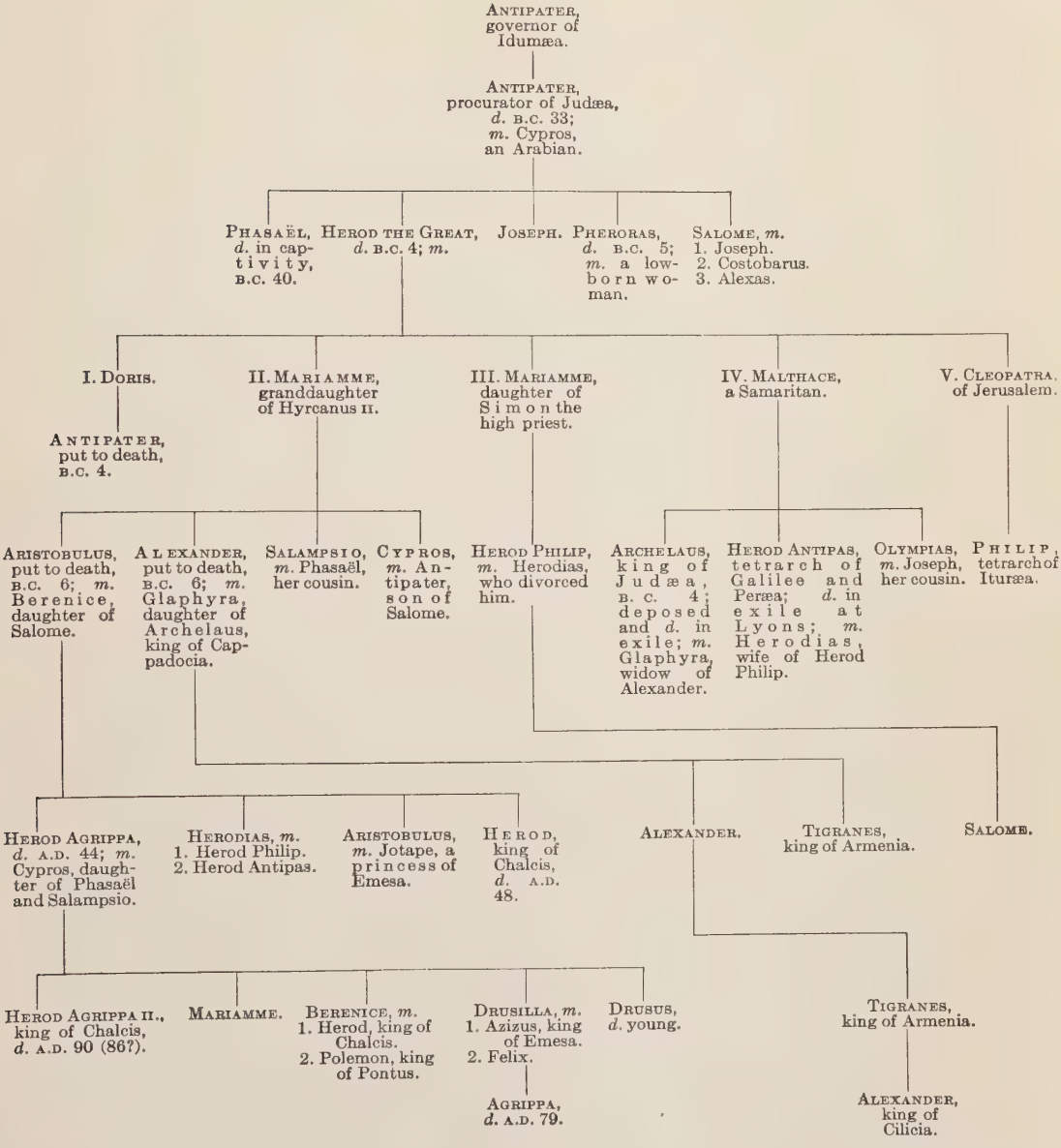
3. Herod Antipas, called 'the tetrarch' (Mt 14^{1}, Lk 3^{19} 9^{7}, Ac 13^{1}), had better fortune. Our Lord described him as a 'fox' (Lk 13^{32}). The name gives the clue to his nature. He was a man of craft rather than strength. But cunning served him well, and he kept his seat until the year 39. The corroding immorality of his race shows itself in his marriage with **Herodias,** his brother's wife, and the wanton offence thereby given to Jewish sensibilities. (See JOHN THE BAPTIST.) His lust proved his undoing. Herodias, an ambitious woman, spurred him out of his caution. In rivalry with Herod Agrippa, he asked of Caligula the royal title. This exciting suspicion, his doings were looked into and he was banished.

4. Philip (Lk 3^{1}) seems to have been the best among the sons of Herod. And it was his good fortune to rule over an outlying country where the questions always rife in Jerusalem were not pressed. His character and his good fortune together gave him a long and peaceful rule (*d.* A.D. 34).

5. Another **Philip** (son of Herod the Great and Mariamme) is mentioned in Mt 14^{3} || Mk 6^{17} as the first husband of Herodias.

6. In Herod Agrippa I. the Herodian house seemed at one time to have reached the highwater-mark of power. He had served a long apprenticeship in the Imperial Court, where immorality, adaptability, and flattery were the price of position. That he was not altogether unmanned is proved by his dissuading Caligula from his insane proposal to set up a statue of himself in the Temple; for, in setting himself against the tyrant's whim, he staked life and fortune (Jos. *Ant.* XVIII. viii.). In high favour with Caligula's successor, he came to Jerusalem in the year 39, and was welcomed

GENEALOGICAL TABLE OF THE FAMILY OF HEROD.


ANTIPATER, governor of Idumæa.
ANTIPATER, procurator of Judæa, d. B.C. 33; m. Cypros, an Arabian.
PHASAËL, d. in captivity, B.C. 40.
HEROD THE GREAT, d. B.C. 4; m.
JOSEPH.
PHERORAS, d. B.C. 5; m. a low-born woman.
SALOME, m. 1. Joseph. 2. Costobarus. 3. Alexas.
I. DORIS.
ANTIPATER, put to death, B.C. 4.
II. MARIAMME, granddaughter of Hyrcanus II.
III. MARIAMME, daughter of Simon the high priest.
IV. MALTHACE, a Samaritan.
V. CLEOPATRA of Jerusalem.
ARISTOBULUS, put to death, B.C. 6; m. Berenice, daughter of Salome.
ALEXANDER, put to death, B.C. 6; m. Glaphyra, daughter of Archelaus, king of Cappadocia.
SALAMPSIO, m. Phasaël, her cousin.
CYPROS, m. Antipater, son of Salome.
HEROD PHILIP, m. Herodias, who divorced him.
ARCHELAUS, king of Judæa, B.C. 4; deposed and d. in exile; m. Glaphyra, widow of Alexander.
HEROD ANTIPAS, tetrarch of Galilee and Peræa; d. in exile at Lyons; m. Herodias, wife of Herod Philip.
OLYMPIAS, m. Joseph, her cousin.
PHILIP, tetrarch of Ituræa.
HEROD AGRIPPA, d. A.D. 44; m. Cypros, daughter of Phasaël and Salampsio.
HERODIAS, m. 1. Herod Philip. 2. Herod Antipas.
ARISTOBULUS, m. Jotape, a princess of Emesa.
HEROD, king of Chalcis, d. A.D. 48.
ALEXANDER.
TIGRANES, king of Armenia.
SALOME.
HEROD AGRIPPA II., king of Chalcis, d. A.D. 90 (86?).
MARIAMME.
BERENICE, m. 1. Herod, king of Chalcis. 2. Polemon, king of Pontus.
DRUSILLA, m. 1. Azizus, king of Emesa. 2. Felix.
DRUSUS, d. young.
AGRIPPA, d. A.D. 79.
TIGRANES, king of Armenia.
ALEXANDER, king of Cilicia.

by the Jews with open arms. He continued to hold the Imperial favour, and his territory was expanded until his rule had a wider range than that of his grandfather. His reign was the Indian summer of Judaism. Even the Pharisees thought well of him. When he was at Rome he lived as one who knew Rome well. But in Jerusalem he wore his Judaism as a garment made to order. He was quite willing to gratify the Jews by putting leading Christians to death (Ac 12). In high favour both at Jerusalem and at Rome, he seemed to be beyond attack. But the veto put on his proposal to rebuild the walls of his capital showed clearly that he was on very thin ice. And the pagan streak in him was sure, sooner or later, to come to light. The story of his death, wherein the Book of Acts (12^{20-23}) and Josephus (*Ant.* XIX. viii. 2) substantially agree, brings this out. At Cæsarea he paraded himself before a servile multitude as if he were a little Cæsar, a god on earth. Smitten by a terrible disease, he died in great agony (A.D. 42). Jews and Christians alike looked on his end as a fitting punishment for his heathenism. The house of Herod was 'half-Jew' to the last.

7. Herod Agrippa II., son of the last named, before whom St. Paul delivered the discourse contained in Ac 26.

[The genealogical table will bear out the opinion that Herod and his family brought into history a very considerable amount of vigour and ability.]

HENRY S. NASH.

HERODIANS.—The name of a political party among the Jews, which derived its name from the support it gave to the dynasty of Herod. Perhaps they hoped for the restoration of the national kingdom under one of the sons of Herod. The Herodians appear in the Gospels on two occasions (Mk 3^{6}, Mt 22^{16} ‖ Mk 12^{13}) as making common cause with the Pharisees against Jesus.

HERODIAS.—See HEROD, No. 3, and JOHN THE BAPTIST.

HERODION.—A Christian mentioned in Ro 16^{11}, apparently a Jew, and perhaps a freedman of the Herods.

HERON.—The Heb. word *'anāphāh* designates an unclean bird (Lv 11^{19}, Dt 14^{18}), not otherwise mentioned in the Bible, but sufficiently well known to be taken as a type of a class. The occurrence of this name immediately after *stork*, and followed by the expression 'after her kind,' makes it probable that the EV rendering is correct. The heron belongs to the same group as the stork, and no fewer than six species of the genus *Ardea* alone are found in Palestine.

HESHBON is the modern *Hesbān*, finely situated close to the edge of the great plateau of Eastern Palestine. The extensive ruins, mainly of Roman times, lie on two hills connected by a saddle. The site commands views, E. and S., of rolling country; N., of hills, including *e.g.* that on which *el-'Al* (Elealeh) lies; and W., in the distance, of the hills of Judah, and nearer, through a gap in the near hills, of the Jordan valley, which lies some 4000 feet below, the river itself being barely 20 miles distant. Allotted to Reuben (Jos 13^{17}), Heshbon appears in the OT most frequently as being, or having been, the capital of Sihon (wh. see), king of the Amorites (Dt 2^{26} and often), or, like many other towns in this neighbourhood, in the actual possession of the Moabites (Is 15^{4} $16^{8f.}$, Jer $48^{2.\ 34f.}$), to whom, according to Nu 21^{26}, it had belonged before Sihon captured it. Jer 49^{3}, which appears to make Heshbon an Amorite city, is probably corrupt (cf. Driver, *Book of the Prophet Jeremiah*). According to Josephus (*Ant.* XIII. xv. 4), it was in the hands of the Jews in the time of Alexander Jannæus (B.C. 104–78). The **pools** in Heshbon, mentioned in Ca 7^{4}, were perhaps pools near the spring which rises 600 feet below the city, and in the neighbourhood of which are traces of ancient conduits.

G. B. GRAY.

HESHMON.—An unknown town in the extreme south of Judah (Jos 15^{27}).

HETH.—A 'son' of Canaan, Gn 10^{15} (J) = 1 Ch 1^{13}. The wives of Esau are called in Gn 27^{46} (R) 'daughters of Heth'; and in Gn $23^{3ff.}$ 25^{10} 49^{32} (all P) 'children of Heth,' *i.e.* Hittites, are located at Mamre. See, further, HITTITES.

HETHLON.—A place mentioned by Ezekiel (47^{15} 48^{1}) as situated on the ideal northern boundary of Israel. Furrer identifies it with the present *Heitela*, N.E. of Tripoli; and von Kasteren and others favour *'Adlun*, north of the mouth of the Kasimiyyeh.

W. M. NESBIT.

HEXATEUCH.—The first five books of the OT were known in Jewish circles as 'the five-fifths of the Law.' Christian scholars as early as Tertullian and Origen adopted the name *Pentateuch*, corresponding to their Jewish title, as a convenient designation of these books. 'The Law' was regarded as a unique and authoritative exposition of all individual and social conduct within Israel: a wide gulf seemed to divide it from the Book of Joshua, which inaugurated the series of historical books known as 'the Latter Prophets.' As a matter of fact, this division is wholly artificial. The five books of the Law are primarily intended to present the reader not with a codification of the legal system, but with some account of the antiquities and origins of Israel, as regards their religious worship, their political position, and their social arrangements. From this standpoint, nothing could be more arbitrary than to treat the Book of Joshua as the beginning of an entirely new series: 'its contents, and, still more, its literary structure, show that it is intimately connected with the Pentateuch, and describes the final stage in the history of the *Origines* of the Hebrew nation' (Driver, *LOT*[6] 103). Critics have accordingly invented the name *Hexateuch* to emphasize this unity; and the name has now become universally accepted as an appropriate description of the first six volumes of the OT. In this article we propose to consider (I.) the composition, (II.) the criticism, and (III.) the characteristics of the Hexateuch.

I. COMPOSITION OF THE HEXATEUCH.—**1.** The Mosaic authorship of the Pentateuch was for long regarded as an unquestioned fact. The basis of this belief was the Jewish tradition of their origin which the Church took over with the books themselves. But this wide-spread and long-prevailing tradition cannot be sustained after an impartial investigation of all the facts. Indeed, the Pentateuch itself never claims such an authorship.

The account of the death of Moses and Joshua must, of course, have been added by a later writer. The description of Moses' character in Nu 12^{3} cannot be the comment of the legislator himself; while the appreciation of his character which closes Deuteronomy (34^{10}) suggests that a long line of prophets had intervened between the writer's own time and Moses' death. Similarly, Gn 12^{6} is a reminder to the readers that the Canaanites were the original inhabitants of Palestine—a fact which it would have been obviously needless for Moses to record, but which subsequent generations might have forgotten. Again, in Gn 36^{31} a reference is made to the time 'before there reigned any king over the children of Israel,' which is explicable only as the comment of an author who lived under the monarchy. The words contain no hint of any predictive suggestion such as might be held to dispute the legitimacy of the same inference being drawn from the law of the kingdom (Dt 17^{14}), though even then it would be difficult to deny that, if Moses provided for the contingency of a monarchical constitution, the form in which his advice is recorded is largely coloured by reminiscences of the historical situation in the reign of Solomon.

Certain passages do, indeed, lay claim to Mosaic authorship—*e.g.* the defeat of the Amalekites (Ex 17^{14}) and the Book of the Covenant (Ex 24^{4}), the central part of the Deuteronomic legislation, *i.e.* chs. 12–26 (Dt 31^{24}).

(In the same way Jos 24^{26} refers to the preceding section, not to the whole book.) In fact, the care with which the writers or editors felt it necessary to emphasize a Mosaic origin for certain sections, is the surest indication that it never occurred to them to attribute the remaining portions of the book either to Moses or to Joshua, and that they wished their readers to exercise as much discrimination as themselves in such matters. How did the belief in the Mosaic authorship of the Pentateuch arise? Probably it was a natural inference from the language of Deuteronomy. There is absolutely nothing to suggest his name as the probable author of the four earlier books; but when once Deuteronomy was added to the collection, the name of Moses was transferred from that book to the whole work; much as, at a later period, the name of David was prefixed to the Psalter, though there has practically never been any doubt as to the inclusion of many post-Davidic psalms in that anthology of religious poems.

2. The indirect evidence of the Hexateuch, however, is of more importance; and the multitudinous repetitions, divergences, and even contradictions thus brought to light furnish a convincing proof that the books of the Hexateuch are the result of complicated literary processes, and cannot by any possibility be ascribed to a single author. It will be well to consider these phenomena as they concern respectively the legal and the historical sections of the Hexateuch.

(*a*) The demonstration that in the Hexateuch we have at least *three independent bodies of law*, corresponding to the requirements of as many distinct historical situations, may be considered one of the most brilliant, as it is also one of the most certain, of the achievements of Biblical criticism.

(i.) **The Book of the Covenant** (=**C**), Ex 20–23.—In these laws we catch a glimpse of primitive Israel. They are directed to the simple needs of an agricultural community. In religious matters, three feasts are mentioned when the sanctuary must be visited; and sacrifice may be done to Jehovah in any place, upon rough altars of earth or unhewn stone.

(ii.) **The Deuteronomic Code** (=**D**) gives unmistakable evidence of an advanced civilization. Seven feasts are mentioned; and their original agricultural character is wholly subordinated to their religious significance; the permission as to the numerous localities where Jehovah might be met and worshipped is arbitrarily and emphatically abrogated.

(iii.) The Levitical legislation, or **Priestly Code** (=**P**), presupposes rather than anticipates a completely altered situation. The consciousness of sin, and the need of forgiveness, had taken the place of the earlier spirit of joyous festivity which came at stated times 'to see Jehovah' (an expression judiciously altered by orthodox scribes in later times into 'to be seen by, *or* to appear before, Jehovah'). Accordingly P describes with the utmost fulness the ritual of the Day of Atonement; this 'culminating institution of the Levitical system' is apparently unknown to all previous legislation. P, moreover, is in open conflict with D on the subject of the priesthood. In pre-exilic days the Levites *were* priests, even if one family, that of Aaron, may have enjoyed a special pre-eminence; but P takes the utmost pains to distinguish 'the priests, the sons of Aaron,' from 'the Levites,' the subordinate ministers of the sanctuary—a fact which practically proves the composition of the Priestly Code to have been subsequent to the reforms indicated by Ezekiel. Further innovations may be observed in the means adopted for the provision of the priesthood. Thus, while in D the worshipper himself consumes the firstlings, though of course the priest receives his due, in P the worshipper has no part or lot therein, as they are unreservedly appropriated for the support of the officiating minister. Other differences have also been detected.

Now these divergences might conceivably be susceptible of being explained away by harmonistic ingenuity, were not the conclusions they suggest borne out by corroborative testimony drawn from two independent quarters.

Historically it can be shown that these different codes correspond to different stages of Israel's development. It can be shown that D was unknown before Josiah, and P before the Exile. A minute and patient investigation of such contemporary evidence as we possess in the historical books has proved conclusively that many of the laws of the Pentateuch as a whole were for centuries wholly unknown to the religious leaders or social reformers of the country. It has also been shown that on two occasions far-reaching changes were taken in hand on the lines, and on the basis, of those two later codes, embodied in Deuteronomy and Leviticus.

Linguistically it has become no less evident that each code has its own peculiar terminology, its own stylistic idiosyncrasies, its own characteristic mode of presentation. The continual recurrence of remarkable words, phrases, and even sentences, in each of the three codes, coupled with the fact that this distinctive phraseology and vocabulary is strictly confined to that particular code, and does not reappear in either of the others, practically excludes the possibility of their emanating from the same author.

It may therefore be held to be beyond reasonable dispute that the legal portions of the Hexateuch are incompatible either with unity of authorship or with an even approximately contemporaneous promulgation. Language shows that they are not the work of the same legislator; history is equally decisive against their being the product of a single age.

(*b*) Passing from the legal to *the narrative portion of the Hexateuch*, we are confronted with a problem even more intricate and involved.

(i.) *There are frequent repetitions.* Continually we see the clearest traces of the same event being twice recorded. We may instance the story of Creation, the Flood, the history of Joseph, the Plagues of Egypt, the giving of quails and the sending of manna, the history of the spies, the rebellion of Korah, the appointment of Joshua, the conquest of Canaan. The names of various personages and famous sanctuaries are explained twice and even thrice. These examples must by no means be considered exhaustive: they could be multiplied almost indefinitely. It might, of course, be argued that the author deliberately repeated himself, but—

(ii.) These repetitions are marked by a corresponding *change of language*, and a *difference of representation* in the events they describe. We shall take the latter, the material differences, first.

The second story of Creation (Gn $2^{4b\text{-}25}$) seems to know nothing of the six days, and gives an order of the creative acts (man—vegetation—animals—woman) evidently opposed to that given in the first chapter.

In the two accounts of the Flood ($6^{18\text{-}22}$ $7^{1\text{-}25}$), the former states that two of every sort of beast entered the ark (6^{19} 7^{15}), while the latter states with equal explicitness that for one couple of unclean beasts, seven couples of clean animals were to be admitted ($7^{2.\ 3}$). One account gives the duration of the Flood as 61 days; the other as a year and 10 days.

In Joseph's history, while one writer explains that at Reuben's suggestion he was thrown into a pit from which he was stolen by the Midianites, the other records how Judah took the lead in selling him to the Ishmaelites ($37^{15\text{-}20}$ the exact division is uncertain).

'The narrative of the plagues (Ex 7^{14}–11^{10}) is marked by a series of systematic differences, relating to four distinct points—(1) the terms of the command addressed to Moses; (2) the demand made of Pharaoh; (3) the description of the plague; (4) the formula expressive of Pharaoh's obstinacy' (Driver, *l.c.* p. 25).

In the story of the spies (Nu 13. 14), the two accounts are so clear and complete that they can be extricated from each other without much difficulty and present us with two wholly independent narratives. In one, the spies explore only the south of Judah, and returning praise the fertility of the land, but dread the strength of the inhabitants; Caleb alone dissents from their counsel of despair, and is alone exempted from the punishment of exclusion from the Holy Land. In the other, the spies penetrate to the extreme north, and on their return expatiate on the sterility of the

soil; Joshua is associated with Caleb both in the vain task of pacification and in the ensuing promise.

We may take as a final instance the rebellion of Korah (Nu 16. 17), where it seems that three narratives have been combined. In one, Dathan and Abiram, of the tribe of Reuben, head a political rebellion against the civil domination of Moses, and are swallowed up alive by the earth; in the second, Korah and two hundred and fifty princes of the congregation protest against the limitation of priestly rites to the tribe of Levi, and are consumed by fire; in the third, Korah is the spokesman of an ecclesiastical agitation fostered by the Levites against the exclusive privileges enjoyed by Aaron and the Aaronic priesthood.

These differences of representation are invariably accompanied by *a change of language and of characteristic expression*—so that out of inextricable confusion there are gradually seen to emerge three literary entities corresponding to the three great legal strata.

(1) Deuteronomy (=**D**) stands almost alone; but there are several Deuteronomic additions in the Book of Joshua, conceived in that spirit of bitter hostility to the heathen which was considered an indispensable accompaniment of meritorious zeal.

(2) The main body of the work corresponds to the Book of the Covenant, which is contained in its pages. Laborious investigations have established the fact that this is not a homogeneous document, but a composite work. Two writers have been distinguished; and from the fact that one uses 'Jahweh,' the other 'Elohim' as the ordinary title for God, they have been called respectively the Jahwist and the Elohist, contracted into J and E—while the combination of those histories which seems to have been effected at a comparatively early date is known as **JE.**

(3) The framework of the entire history is due to the author of the Priestly Code, and this document, which supplies the schematic basis for the arrangement of the whole work, is accordingly known as **P.**

In conclusion, we should mention **H,** which stands for the Law of Holiness (Lv 17–26), a collection of moral and ceremonial precepts plainly anterior to the work of P in which it is embodied. There is also the redactor or editor (= **R**), who fused the different narratives together into one smooth and connected whole.

Even this enumeration does not exhaust the capacity of critics to distinguish yet other sources used in the composition of the Hexateuch. The excessive subtlety and arbitrary methods by which some writers have succeeded in detecting the existence, and defining the precise limits, of multitudinous authors, editors, and revisers, often resting their hypotheses on no surer foundation than the extremely precarious basis of subjective preferences, must be pronounced rather a caricature than a legitimate development of critical ingenuity.

II. Criticism of the Hexateuch.—It is the task of criticism to discover the respective dates, and to determine the mutual relations of the component parts of the Hexateuch.

1. Spasmodic attempts have been made throughout the 17th cent. towards a critical study of the Hexateuch; but to Jean Astruc, physician to Louis XIV., belongs the honour of being the first to deal with the subject in a scientific and systematic form (1753). He it was who first noted in Genesis the alternation of Divine names, and attributed this phenomenon to the two main sources from which he concluded Genesis was compiled. This discovery was developed by Eichhorn, and became known as the **Document Hypothesis.** Eichhorn observed that the variation of Divine names was regularly accompanied by other characteristic differences both from a linguistic and an historical standpoint. Further investigation revealed the presence of two sources, both employing the title 'Elohim.' This theory of a Second Elohist, from which at first many erroneous inferences were drawn, has established itself in the domain of Biblical criticism as a no less unassailable conclusion than the original discovery of Astruc himself.

2. These unexpected discoveries in the text of Genesis naturally suggested the critical analysis of the remaining books of the Hexateuch. But the absence of any such distinctive criterion as the use of the two Divine names made progress difficult. Geddes, however, in Scotland (1800) and Vater in Germany (1802) essayed the task. The latter, in particular, developed a consistent theory, known as the **Fragment Hypothesis.** He held that the perpetual repetitions and varying phraseology characteristic of the different sections, were susceptible of rational explanation only as an agglomeration of unconnected fragments, subsequently collected and not inharmoniously patched together by an industrious historian of Israel's early literature and antiquities. He believed that Deuteronomy originated in the time of David; and that it formed the kernel round which the rest of the Pentateuch was gradually added.

3. The chief weakness of this second theory (itself a natural exaggeration of the first) lay in the fact that it entirely ignored those indications of a unifying principle and of a deliberate plan which are revealed by an examination of the Hexateuch as a whole. It was the great merit of de Wette to make this abundantly clear. But he also inaugurated an era of historical as opposed to, or rather as complementary to, literary criticism. He led the way in instituting a careful comparison between the contemporary narratives and the Pentateuchal legislation. As a result of this examination, he became convinced that Deuteronomy presented a picture of Israel's life and worship unknown in Israel before the time of Josiah's reformation. Only a short step separated this conclusion from the identification of D with the law-book discovered in the Temple in Josiah's reign and adopted by that monarch as the basis of his reforms (2 K 22). The elimination of D considerably simplified, but did not finally solve, the main problem. A reaction against de Wette's (at first) exclusively historical methods in favour of literary investigations resulted in establishing the connexion that subsisted between the Elohist of Genesis and the legislation of the middle books. This was considered the *Grundschrift* or primary document, which the Jahwistic writer supplemented and revised. Hence this theory is known as the **Supplement Hypothesis,** which held the field until Hupfeld (1853) pointed out that it ascribed to the Jahwist mutually incompatible narratives, and a supplementary position quite foreign to his real character.

4. We thus come to the **Later Document Theory.** Hupfeld's labours bore fruit in three permanent results. (1) There are two distinct Elohistic documents underlying Genesis—those chapters which have undergone a Jahwistic redaction (*e.g.* 20–22) being due to an entirely different author from the writer of Gn 1. (2) The Jahwist must be regarded as an independent source no less than the Elohist. (3) The repetitions and divergences of the Jahwist entirely disprove the Supplement Theory, and show that he is probably not even acquainted with the Elohist, but furnishes a self-contained, complete, and independent account. Hupfeld found a valuable ally in Nöldeke, who, while introducing some minor modifications, showed how the Elohistic framework could be traced throughout the entire Hexateuch, and how it might easily be recognized by observing the recurrence of its linguistic peculiarities and the fixity of its religious ideas.

5. The Graf-Wellhausen Theory.—It will be observed that although criticism had begun to disentangle the component parts of the Hexateuch, no effort was made to inaugurate an inquiry into the mutual relations of the different documents. Still less does it seem to have occurred to any one to regard these three literary stratifications as embodiments, as it were, of various historical processes through which the nation passed at widely different periods. A provisional solution had been reached as to the use and extent of the different sources. Graf (1866) instituted a comparison between these sources themselves; and, assuming the identity of D with Josiah's law-book as a fixed point from which

to commence investigations, concluded, after an exhaustive inquiry, that while D presupposes the Jahwistic laws in Ex 20–23. 34, the bulk of the Levitical legislation (*i.e.* P or the Elohistic *Grundschrift*) must have been unknown to the writer. Testing this result by external evidence, he concluded that P could not have been produced before the Exile, and that in all probability it was compiled by Ezra.

Some details of Graf's theory rendered it especially vulnerable; but it was adopted by Wellhausen, whose *Prolegomena to the History of Israel* (1883) may be regarded as the culminating point of Biblical criticism. In his opinion—and in general we may consider his views on the main question indisputable—a comparison of the laws with the evidence supplied by the prophetical and historical books shows that 'the three great strata of laws embodied in the so-called books of Moses are not all of one age, but correspond to three stages in the development of Israel's institutions.' Moreover, he justly pointed out that there were no valid grounds to distinguish between the legal and the historical sections: JE, which is mainly narrative, yet embodies the Sinaitic legislation; Deuteronomy gives a full historical presentation; the Priestly Code supplies the framework of the whole. The chronological order of these codes may now be considered beyond dispute—Jahwistic, Deuteronomy, Priestly Code. 'When the codes are set in their right places the main source of confusion in the study of the Old Testament is removed, the central problem of criticism is solved, and the controversy between modern criticism and conservative tradition is really decided' (W. R. Smith, *OTJC*[2] 388).

III. Characteristics of the Hexateuch.—It now remains to note the characteristics of the different documents, distinguishing not merely their literary differences but also their religious standpoint. Perhaps it will be simplest to begin with Deuteronomy, which, being more self-contained, also exhibits more unmistakably the clearest evidence of independent thought and language, and whose approximate age, moreover, can be determined with a precision little short of absolute certainty.

(1) **D.**—From 2 K 22. 23 we learn that a book of the Law discovered in the Temple created an immense sensation, and provided the basis for the national reformation undertaken by king Josiah in the year B.C. 621 at the instance of the prophetic party. The old theory was that this 'Book of the Covenant' was really the Pentateuch, composed ages before, long fallen into complete oblivion, at length accidentally re-discovered, and finally adopted as the rule of national righteousness. But this view is wholly untenable.

(i.) It is incredible that the whole Pentateuch should have disappeared so utterly, or been so wholly forgotten. The book discovered in the Temple made so great an impression because to every one concerned it brought an entirely *new* message.

(ii.) History has shown clearly that a very large part of the Pentateuch—the Levitical legislation—did not come into being, or at any rate into force, till very many years later; and that, therefore, these laws could not by any possibility have been included in this newly discovered work.

(iii.) We may add that the account mentions that 'all the words of the book' were read out loud twice on one day. The manifest impossibility of such a feat with reference to the entire Pentateuch has driven conservative critics to suggest a theory of appropriate selections; but this arbitrary supposition is little better than a dishonest evasion.

(iv.) Finally, the 'Book of the Covenant' is a title never given to the entire Pentateuch, but only to certain of its constituent elements.

If negative evidence proves that the law-book thus discovered was only a part of the Pentateuch, positive reasons leave practically no room for doubt that this part of the Law was identical with Deuteronomy.

(i.) The name 'Book of the Covenant' can refer only to Ex 24[7] or to Deuteronomy. The other title 'Book of the Law' is repeatedly used in D itself as its own appropriate and familiar designation.

(ii.) But we can best judge of the contents and character of Josiah's law-book by observing its effect. The discovery of the book led to two important consequences. (*a*) An entire reform of the whole system of Israelite religion, the abolition of local sanctuaries, and the centralization of all sacrificial worship in the Temple at Jerusalem. (*b*) The celebration of a great Passover strictly in accordance with the ceremonies prescribed in the new book, by the entire people.

Stylistically and linguistically, the distinguishing characteristics of D are very marked. 'In vocabulary, indeed, it presents comparatively few exceptional words; but particular words and phrases, consisting sometimes of entire clauses, recur with extraordinary frequency, giving a distinctive colouring to every part of the work' (Driver, *op. cit.* 99). So much so, indeed, that it is possible to recognize immediately a passage of Deuteronomic authorship, or written under Deuteronomic influence. (For a convenient conspectus of such words and phrases the reader is referred to the careful synopsis, *ib.* 99–102.) The style is free and flowing; long and stately periods abound; but there is no affectation or monotony in the persuasive eloquence with which the writer urges the claims of Jahweh upon Israel.

Theologically, the distinctive feature of D is the law of the one sanctuary, which is perpetually enforced with solemn warnings; but it is, after all, only an external method of realizing the inmost thought of the book—the greatness of God's love in the election and redemption of Israel, and the response for which He looks in the entire devotion of the human heart. This truly prophetical theme is handled with such warmth and tenderness as to justify its happily chosen designation as 'the Gospel of the OT.'

(2) **P.**—If D represents the prophetic formulation of Mosaic legislation, viewed in the light of the subsequent history and religious experiences of four centuries, so does P show us how, a hundred years later, when the theocracy found practical embodiment in the realization of priestly ideals, the early history of Israel was interpreted in accordance with the requirements of a later age. Just as the law of the one sanctuary in Deut. is the practical application of Isaiah's doctrine concerning the sanctity and inviolability of Zion, so the separation of the Levites from the priests, which is perpetually emphasized throughout Leviticus, is really the outcome of Ezekiel's suggestion as to the best solution of the difficulty which arose when, in consequence of Josiah's reformation, the high places were suppressed, and the priests who served them were consequently dispossessed of all means of subsistence. It was Ezekiel's idea that the Levites, though previously enjoying full priestly rights, should forfeit their privileges in consequence of their participation in the idolatrous practices which had characterized the worship at the high places, and should be degraded to the performance of menial duties connected with the cultus established at Jerusalem. A comparison of the theology and of the historical circumstances presupposed by P practically demonstrates its origin to be later than Ezekiel. Of course this refers only to its literary production, not to all its contents, some of which (*e.g.* the 'Law of Holiness') are plainly derived from a much more ancient source. It is, however, a mistake to view P as simply a code dealing with ritual regulations, or as the religious law-book of the restored community. The author, writing from a priestly standpoint, aims at giving a complete and systematic account of the 'origins,' both political and religious, of his nation. Accordingly chronological lists, enumeration of names, and other similar statistics constitute a prominent feature of his narrative; and by those signs throughout the entire Hexateuch it becomes easy to distinguish the writer. As a rule, he is content to give a mere outline of the history, unless it becomes necessary to explain the origin of some ceremonial institution. In representing God's converse with men, he shrinks from using the

forcible, familiar language which earlier writers employed without scruple. Anthropomorphisms are rare, angels and dreams are not mentioned. On the other hand, P nowhere deals with those deeper spiritual problems—the origin of evil, the purpose of election, the idea of a universal mission, the Messianic hope—which were so marked a feature in Israel's religious consciousness, and which both claimed and received sympathetic, if not systematic, treatment from the other authors of the Hexateuch.

The style of P is scarcely less distinctive than that of D. It is 'stereotyped, measured, and prosaic.' There is a marked absence of the poetical element; and a no less marked repetition of stated formulæ. Even the historical sections are marked by a *quasi*-legal phraseology, while the methodical completeness with which details are described, and directions given, tends at times to degenerate into monotonous prolixity.

There can be no doubt that P with its systematic chronology furnishes the historical and literary framework of the Hexateuch; but the obvious deduction that it was therefore the earliest document, to which the others were in process of time attached, has been proved erroneous by a comparison and combination of historical, literary, and theological considerations. We must, however, remember that 'although there are reasons'—and reasons which cannot seriously be controverted—'for supposing that the Priests' Code assumed finally the shape in which we have it, in the age subsequent to Ezekiel, it rests ultimately upon an ancient traditional basis. . . . The laws of P, even when they included later elements, were still referred to Moses—no doubt because in its basis and origin Hebrew legislation was actually derived from him, and was only modified gradually' (Driver, *op. cit.* 154).

(3) **JE.**—We now come to the remaining portions of the Hexateuch—which for convenience' sake are known as the work of JE. One is naturally suspicious of any needless multiplication of writers or documents; but the critical analysis of JE forces us to the conclusion that it is really a composite work, embodying two distinct traditions combined with no little skill by a subsequent editor. From a literary no less than from a linguistic standpoint, diversities and even divergences appear which convert doubt into certainty. Yet the compilation has a character of its own, and principles of its own, which may be termed *prophetical* in distinction from those which find expression in the Priestly Code. Both the documents from which JE was compiled traverse pretty much the same ground, and were probably composed at about the same time. This would largely account for their frequent similarities; and of course it would have been the editor's aim to remove any glaring discrepancies. We thus find the whole narrative characterized by a kind of superficial homogeneity, and also by the same general religious beliefs and hopes. But notwithstanding these considerations, the original independence of the two documents is so manifest in the greater part of the narrative that it has become an almost unanimously accepted conclusion of Hexateuchal criticism. The two sources are distinguished in three ways. They often tell a different tale; they employ different language; they proclaim a different message.

It is in the history of the patriarchs that we first become aware of different accounts of the same transaction (neither of which can be referred to P) standing side by side, although the independence is so marked that it passes into irreconcilable divergences. Similar phenomena abound throughout the Hexateuch. When once the possibility of two documents was suspected, stylistic distinctions, themselves hitherto unsuspected, began to confirm this conclusion. The use of 'Jahweh' by the one writer, of 'Elohim' by the other, furnished a simple criterion, which was not, however, uniformly available, especially after Genesis. But other differences, not sufficient in themselves to prove diversity of authorship, were yet collected in sufficient numbers to lend strong support to the hypothesis which had been arrived at on quite different grounds. But the distinctions are by no means merely literary artifices. While E arose in Northern Israel, as is evidenced by the interest the author manifests in the Northern sanctuaries, J appears to have originated in the kingdom of Judah (cf. the prominent part that distinctively Southern stories occupy in the course of the patriarchal history, and the pre-eminence of Judah, rather than Reuben, among the sons of Jacob). J is a patriot, and takes a loving pride in Israel's early history; but he is not content with the mere facts, he seeks a philosophy of history. He embodies in his narrative his reflexions on the origin of sin, and on the character of Israel's God. He not merely recounts the election of the patriarchs, but realizes that the election is according to purpose, and that God's purpose embraces humanity. The whole patriarchal story is 'instinct with the consciousness of a great future' (Driver), which takes the form of a mission *in*, if not *to*, the world. The style of J is free and flowing, vivid and picturesque. His delineation of character, his introduction of dialogue, his powerful description of scenes from common life, if somewhat idealistic, are yet so natural and graceful as to give the impression of unsurpassable charm. Speaking of Jahweh, he is untrammelled by theological scruples, and uses anthropomorphic and even anthropopathic expressions with frequency and without reserve.

E—the Elohist or Ephraimite source—is more restrained in his language, more didactic in his history, more theological in his religious beliefs. The prophetical element is strongly brought out. Abraham is expressly called a prophet, Miriam a prophetess. The function of Moses is prophetic in all but in name; the seventy elders receive prophetic inspiration; Joseph receives the spirit of Elohim; and Balaam's prophetic office is recognized. E, moreover, both in his historical and in his legal sections, emphasizes the importance of a high ethical standard. God speaks through angels and human agents, reveals Himself in dreams. By this means the bold but forceful language of J is toned down in conformity with the demands or fears of a more timorous orthodoxy. It is a curious fact that E ignores Israel's mission to the world; indeed, the author takes little or no interest in the affairs of other nations, or in the universal significance of Israel's history or Israel's hope. It is the theocracy in Israel that engages all his attention, and his work may be considered as drawing from the early history of the national ancestors a much needed lesson for the age in which he wrote—a lesson of the importance of high ethical standards, and of the reverence and worship due to the exalted Being who was Israel's God.

Which of those two histories was the first to be committed to writing is a subject upon which critics are not agreed; but there is a general consensus of opinion that both authors wrote after the establishment of the monarchy. The usual date fixed is the century before B.C. 750. It must not, however, for a moment be imagined that the date of an event being recorded in a regular historical work is contemporaneous with its actual occurrence, and there is no valid reason for throwing discredit upon the narratives or representations of JE because it was not till many years later that oral tradition concerning them became crystallized in a written record.

It may legitimately be asked to what extent the criticism of the Hexateuch affects our belief in *the inspiration of the sacred books*. Our answer is that we have gained immeasurably. (1) Assuming the whole Hexateuch to have been composed by Moses, the divergences and alterations throughout the entire legislation are so numerous and manifold as to lay the work of the great lawgiver open to the charge of endless inconsistency and 'arbitrary experimentalizing.' (2) The history of the chosen nation was, on the traditional

view, perfectly unintelligible. For many centuries the majority of the laws given *ex hypothesi* at Sinai were not only impracticable but even unknown. Now we see how at each stage of the nation's religious development God raised up men inspired by His Spirit to interpret the past in the light of present requirements, and the present by the aid of past experience; men who were commissioned to develop past legislation into a living message, to show how the Mosaic legislation contained within itself germs productive of an inextinguishable life, ever ready to renew itself in such laws or forms as were required to secure the preservation of the nation and the religious ideals for which it stood. It is true that the Hexateuch has been analyzed into many component parts; yet it was not by one man's mouth, but 'in many fragments and in many manners, that God spoke of old to the fathers' (He 1^{1}); and it is the realization of this progressive revelation in olden days which, more than anything else, enables Christians to grasp the majesty of that supreme and final dispensation wherein the same God has spoken once for all to us in His Son. Ernest A. Edghill.

HEZEKIAH.—**1.** One of the most prominent kings of Judah. He came to the throne after his father Ahaz, about B.C. 714. The assertions that Samaria was destroyed in his sixth year and that Sennacherib's invasion came in his fourteenth year are inconsistent (2 K $18^{10.\ 13}$). The latter has probability on its side, and as we know that Sennacherib invaded Palestine in 701 the calculation is easily made.

Politically Hezekiah had a difficult task. His father had submitted to Assyria, but the vassalage was felt to be severe. The petty kingdoms of Palestine were restive under the yoke, and they were encouraged by the Egyptians to make an effort for independence. There was always an Egyptian party at the court of Jerusalem, though at this time Egypt was suffering from internal dissensions. In the East the kingdom of Babylon under Merodach-baladan was also making trouble for the Assyrians. Hezekiah seems to have remained faithful to the suzerain for some years after his accession, but when, about the time of Sennacherib's accession (705), a coalition was formed against the oppressor he joined it. We may venture to suppose that about this time he received the embassy from Merodach-baladan (2 K $20^{12ff.}$, Is $39^{1ff.}$), which was intended to secure the co-operation of the Western States with Babylon in the effort then being made. Isaiah, as we know from his own discourses, was opposed to the Egyptian alliance, and apparently to the whole movement. The Philistines were for revolt; only Padi, king of Ekron, held out for his master the king of Assyria. For this reason Hezekiah invaded his territory and took him prisoner. If, as the Biblical account seems to intimate (2 K 18^{8}), he incorporated the conquered land in his own kingdom, the gain was not for a long time. In 701 Sennacherib appeared on the scene, and there was no possibility of serious resistance. The inscriptions tell us that the invaders captured forty-six walled towns, and carried 200,000 Judahites into slavery. The Egyptian (some suppose it to be an Arabian) army made a show of coming to the help of its allies, but was met on the border and defeated. Hezekiah was compelled to release the captive Padi, who returned to his throne in triumph. Sennacherib was detained at Lachish by the stubborn resistance of that fortress, and could send only a detachment of his troops to Jerusalem. With it went an embassy, the account of which may be read in 2 K 18. 19 and Is 36. 37. The laconic sentence: 'Hezekiah sent to the king of Assyria at Lachish, saying: I have offended; that which thou puttest on me will I bear' (2 K 18^{14}) shows that abject submission was made. The price of peace was a heavy one—three hundred talents of silver and thirty talents of gold. To pay it, all the gold and silver that could be found was gathered together, even the Temple doors (v.^{16}) being stripped of their precious metal.

In our accounts we read of a great destruction which came upon the Assyrian army (2 K 19^{35}, Is 37^{36}). Whether Sennacherib was not satisfied with the submission of Hezekiah, or whether a second campaign was made which the historian has confused with this one, is not yet certainly known. There *was* a second expedition of Sennacherib's to the west some years later than the one we have been considering. At that time, it may be, the pestilence broke out and made the army too weak for further operations. It is clear that the people of Jerusalem felt that they had had a remarkable deliverance. Hezekiah's sickness is dated by the Biblical writer in the time of this invasion, which can hardly be correct if the king lived fifteen years after that experience.

The account of Hezekiah's religious reforms is more sweeping than seems probable for that date. There seems no reason to doubt, however, that he destroyed the brazen serpent, which had been an object of worship in the Temple (2 K 18^{4}). The cleansing of the country sanctuaries from idolatry, under the influence of Isaiah, may have been accomplished at the same time. The expansions of the Chronicler (2 Ch 29ff.) must be received with reserve.

2. An ancestor of the prophet Zephaniah (Zeph 1^{1}), possibly to be identified with the king of the same name. **3.** Head of a family of exiles who returned, Ezr 2^{16} = Neh 7^{21} (cf. 10^{17}). H. P. Smith.

HEZION.—Father of Tabrimmon, and grandfather of Benhadad, the Syrian king (1 K 15^{18}). It has been plausibly suggested that Hezion is identical with **Rezon** of 1 K 11^{23}, the founder of the kingdom of Damascus, and an adversary to Solomon.

HEZIR.—**1.** The 17th of the priestly courses (1 Ch 24^{15}). **2.** A lay family, which signed the covenant (Neh 10^{22}).

HEZRO or **HEZRAI.**—One of David's thirty heroes (2 S 23^{35}, 1 Ch 11^{37}).

HEZRON.—**1.** The eponymous head of a Reubenite family (Gn 46^{9}, Ex 6^{14}, Nu 26^{6} = 1 Ch 5^{3}). **2.** The eponymous head of a Judahite family (Gn 46^{12}, Nu 26^{21} = Ru $4^{18.\ 19}$, 1 Ch $2^{5.\ 9.\ 18.\ 21.\ 24.\ 25}$ 4^{1}). This Hezron appears also in the NT in the genealogy of our Lord (Mt 1^{3}, Lk 3^{33}). The gentilic name **Hezronites** occurs in Nu 26^{6} referring to the descendants of No. **1**, and in v.^{21} referring to those of No. **2** above. **3.** A town in the south of Judah (Jos 15^{3}) = **Hazar-addar** of Nu 34^{4}.

HIDDAI.—One of David's thirty heroes (2 S 23^{30}). He is called **Hurai** in the parallel list 1 Ch 11^{32}.

HIDDEKEL.—The river Tigris, mentioned as the third river of Paradise (Gn 2^{14}), and as 'the great river' by the side of which Daniel had his vision (Dn 10^{4}). The Heb. *Hiddeqel* was taken from the Bab. name for the Tigris, *Idiglat* or *Diglat*, which was in turn derived from its Sumerian name, *Idigna*. L. W. King.

HIEL.—The name of a certain Bethelite who in the days of Ahab fortified Jericho, and possibly sacrificed his two sons to appease the gods of the disturbed earth (1 K 16^{34}). Some obscure event is here applied as a comment on the curse on Jericho pronounced by Joshua. W. F. Cobb.

HIERAPOLIS ('holy city') is mentioned in the Bible only in Col 4^{13}, in association with the neighbouring towns Laodicea and Colossæ. All three were situated in the valley of the Lycus, a tributary of the Mæander, in Phrygia, Hierapolis on the north side being about 6 miles from the former and 12 miles from the latter. (The best map of this district is at p. 472 of Ramsay's *Church in the Roman Empire*.) It probably belonged originally to the tribe Hydrelitæ, and derived its title from the medicinal hot springs there, which revealed plainly to the ancient mind the presence of a divinity.

The water is strongly impregnated with alum, and the calcareous deposit which it forms explains the modern name *Pambuk-Kalessi* (Cotton Castle). Another sacred attribute of the city was a hole, about the circumference of a man's body, from which noxious vapours issued: Strabo (in the time of Augustus) had seen sparrows stifled by them. The city owed all its importance in NT times to its religious character. It had not been visited by St. Paul, but derived its Christianity from his influence (cf. Ac 19[10] and Col.). Legend declares that the Apostles Philip and John preached there, and this appears trustworthy. The fight between native superstition and the enlightenment brought by Christianity must have been very bitter. The city remained important throughout the Empire, and was the birthplace of Epictetus, the Stoic. A. SOUTER.

HIEREEL (1 Es 9[21]) = **Jehiel** of Ezr 10[21].

HIEREMOTH.—**1.** 1 Es 9[27] = Ezr 10[26] **Jeremoth.** **2** 1 Es 9[30] = Ezr 10[29] **Jeremoth** (RVm 'and Ramoth').

HIERMAS (Es 9[26]) = Ezr 10[25] **Ramiah.**

HIERONYMUS.—A Syrian officer in command of a district of Pal. under Antiochus v. Eupator, who harassed the Jews after the withdrawal of Lysias in B.C. 165 (2 Mac 12[2]).

HIGGAION.—See PSALMS (Titles).

HIGH PLACE, SANCTUARY.—The term 'sanctuary' is used by modern students of Semitic religion in two senses, a wider and a narrower. On the one hand, it may denote, as the etymology suggests, any 'holy place,' the sacredness of which is derived from its association with the presence of a deity. In the narrower sense 'sanctuary' is used of every recognized place of worship, provided with an altar and other apparatus of the cult, the special designation of which in OT is *bāmāh*, EV '**high place**.' In this latter sense 'sanctuary' and 'high place' are used synonymously in the older prophetic literature, as in Am 7[9] 'the high places of Isaac shall be desolate, and the sanctuaries of Israel shall be laid waste.'

1. In the wider sense of 'sanctuary,' as above defined, any arbitrarily chosen spot may become a holy place, if tradition associates it with a theophany, or visible manifestation of a Divine being. Such, indeed, was the origin of the most famous of the world's sanctuaries (see 2 S 24[16ff.]). On the other hand, certain objects of nature—springs and rivers, trees, rocks and, in particular, mountains—have been regarded with special reverence by many primitive peoples as 'the homes or haunts of the gods.' Thus the belief in the peculiar sacredness of **springs** and **wells** of 'living water' is one that has survived to our own day, even among advanced races. It was to this belief that the ancient sanctuary of Beersheba (which see) owed its origin. A similar belief in sacred **trees** as the abode of superhuman spirits or *numina* has been scarcely less tenacious. The holy places which figure so conspicuously in the stories of the patriarchs are in many cases tree-sanctuaries of immemorial antiquity, such as 'the terebinth of Moreh,' at Shechem, under which Abram is said to have built his first altar in Canaan (Gn 12[6f.]; cf. 13[18]).

More sympathetic to the modern mind is the choice of **mountains** and hills as holy places. On mountain-tops, men, from remote ages, have felt themselves nearer to the Divine beings with whom they sought to hold converse (cf. Ps 121[1]). From OT the names of Horeb (or Sinai), the 'mountain of God' (Ex 3[1]), of Ebal and Gerizim, of Carmel and Tabor (Hos 5[1]), at once suggest themselves as sanctuaries where the Hebrews worshipped their God.

2. From these natural sanctuaries, which are by no means peculiar to the Hebrews or even to the Semitic family, we may now pass to a fuller discussion of the local sanctuaries or 'high places,' which were the recognized places of worship in Israel until near the close of the seventh century B.C. Whatever may be the precise etymological significance of the term *bāmāh* (plur. *bāmōth*), there can be no doubt that 'high place' is a sufficiently accurate rendering. Repeatedly in OT the worshippers are said to 'go up' to, and to 'come down' from, the high places. The normal situation of a high place relative to the city whose sanctuary it was is very clearly brought out in the account of the meeting of Samuel and Saul at Ramah (1 S 9[13-25]). It is important, however, to note that a local sanctuary, even when it bore the name *bāmāh*, might be, and presumably often was, *within* the city, and was not necessarily situated on a height. Thus Jeremiah speaks of 'high places' (*bāmōth*) in the valley of Topheth at Jerusalem (7[31] 19[5] RV; cf. Ezk 6[3]), and the high place, as we must call it, of the city of Gezer, presently to be described, lay in the depression between the two hills on which the city was built.

With few exceptions the high places of OT are much older, as places of worship, than the Hebrew conquest. Of this the Hebrews in later times were well aware, as is shown by the endeavour on the part of the popular tradition to claim their own patriarchs as the founders of the more famous sanctuaries. Prominent among these was the 'king's sanctuary' (Am 7[13] RV) at Bethel, with its companion sanctuary at Dan; scarcely less important were those of Gilgal and Beersheba, and 'the great high place' at Gibeon (1 K 3[4]). In the period of the Judges the chief sanctuary in Ephraim was that consecrated by the presence of the ark at Shiloh (Jg 21[19], 1 S 1[3] etc.), which was succeeded by the sanctuary at Nob (1 S 21[1]). But while these and others attracted worshippers from near and far at the time of the great festivals, it may safely be assumed that every village throughout the land had, like Ramah, its local *bāmāh*.

3. In taking over from the Canaanites the high places at which they worshipped Baal and Astarte, the Hebrews made little or no change in their appearance and appointments. Our knowledge of the latter gleaned from OT has of late years been considerably extended by excavations and discoveries in Palestine. By these, indeed, the history of some of the 'holy places' of Canaan has been carried back to the later Stone Age. Thus the excavations at Gezer, Taanach, and elsewhere have laid bare a series of rock surfaces fitted with **cup-marks**, which surely can have been intended only for the reception of sacrificial blood. The sanctuary of the Gezer cave-dwellers measures 90 by 80 feet, and 'the whole surface is covered with cup-marks and hollows ranging from a few inches to 5 or 6 feet in diameter.' From one part of this primitive altar—a similar arrangement was found at Taanach—a shoot or channel had been constructed in the rock for the purpose of conveying part of the blood to a cave beneath the rock, in which was found a large quantity of the bones of pigs (*PEFSt*, 1903, 317 ff.; 1904, 112 f.; Vincent, *Canaan d'après l'exploration récente*, 1907, 92 ff.). This cave was evidently regarded as the abode of chthonic or earth deities.

The excavations at Gezer have also furnished us with by far the most complete example of a high place of the Semitic invaders who took possession of the country about the middle of the third millennium B.C., and whose descendants, variously named Canaanites and Amorites, were in turn partly displaced by, partly incorporated with, the Hebrews. The **high place of Gezer** consists of a level platform about 33 yards in length, lying north and south across the middle of the *tell*. Its most characteristic feature is a row of standing stones, the pillars or *mazzēbāhs* of OT, of which eight are still *in situ*. They range in height from 5 ft. 5 in. to 10 ft. 6 in., and are all 'unhewn blocks, simply set on end, supported at the base by smaller stones.' The second and smallest of the series is regarded by Mr. Macalister as the oldest and most sacred, inasmuch as

its top has become smooth and polished by repeated anointings with blood or oil, perhaps even by the kisses of the worshippers (cf. 1 K 19[18], Hos 13[2]).

It is impossible within present limits to describe fully this important discovery, or to discuss the many problems which it raises (see, for details, *PEFSt*, 1903, 23 ff.; Macalister, *Bible Sidelights from the Mound of Gezer*, 54 ff.; Vincent, *op. cit.* 109 ff., all with plans and illustrations). It must, however, be added that 'all round the feet of the columns and over the whole area of the high place the earth was discovered to be a regular cemetery, in which the skeletons of young infants, never more than a week old, were deposited in jars'—evidence of the sacrifice of the firstborn (Macalister, *op. cit.* 73 f.). Similar ancient high places, but on a smaller scale, have been found at Tell es-Safi (perhaps the ancient Gath), and in the north of Palestine, by the Austrian and German explorers, of whose discoveries an excellent summary is given by Father Vincent in his recently published work above cited.

Several examples of another type of high place have been discovered on a rocky summit overlooking **Petra**; the most complete is that described in Hastings' *DB* iv. 396. Still another type of Semitic sanctuary with temple, presenting many features of interest, is minutely described and illustrated by Flinders Petrie in his *Researches in Sinai*, 1906, chs. vi. vii. x.

4. Combining the materials furnished by these recent discoveries with the OT data, we find that the first essential of a Hebrew high place was the **altar**. This might consist merely of a heap of earth or unhewn stones, as commanded by Ex 20[25]; or, as shown by surviving examples (see ALTAR, § **2**), it might be hewn out of the solid rock and approached by steps. Against this more elaborate type the legislation of Ex 20[25f.] was intended as a protest. Equally indispensable to the proper equipment of a high place (cf. Dt 12[3], Hos 10[1] RV etc.) were the stone **pillars** or *mazzēbāhs*, the symbols of the deity (see PILLAR), and the wooden tree-stumps or **poles**, known as *ashērāhs* (which see). To these must be added a **laver** or other apparatus for the ceremonial ablutions of the worshippers. If the sanctuary possessed an image of the deity, such as the golden bulls at Dan and Bethel, or other sacred object—an ark, an ephod, or the like—a building of some sort was required to shelter and protect it. Such was Micah's 'house of gods' (Jg 17[5]), and the 'houses of high places' of 1 K 12[31] RV. The ark was housed at Shiloh in a **temple** (1 S 1[9] 3[3]), and a similar building is presupposed at Nob (21[6. 9]). Every sanctuary of importance presumably had a **dining-hall** (9[22] RV 'guest-chamber'), where the worshippers joined in the sacrificial feast (cf. 1[4ff.]).

5. At these local sanctuaries, and at these alone, the early Hebrews worshipped J″ their God. The new sanctuary established by David at the threshing-floor of Araunah, where afterwards the Temple of Solomon was erected, was at first but another added to the list of Hebrew high places. At these, from Dan to Beersheba, **sacrifices** were offered by individuals, by the family (1 S 1[3]), and by the clan (20[6]); there men ate and drank 'before the LORD' at the joyful sacrificial meal. Thither were brought the **tithes** and other thankofferings for the good gifts of God; thither men resorted to consult the priestly **oracle**, to inquire of the 'Lord' in cases of difficulty; and there justice was administered in the name of J″. At the local sanctuary, when a campaign was impending, the soldiers were consecrated for 'the wars of J″' (see WAR). There, too, the manslayer and certain others enjoyed the right of **asylum**. But there was a darker side to the picture. The feasts were not seldom accompanied by excess (Am 2[8], Is 28[7]; cf. 1 S 1[13]); prostitution even was practised with religious sanction (Dt 23[18], 1 K 14[24]).

6. 'The history of the high places is the history of the old religion of Israel' (Moore). As the Hebrews gradually became masters of Canaan, the high places at which the local Baals and Astartes had been worshipped became, as we have seen, the legitimate sanctuaries of J″, in harmony with the universal experience of history as to the permanence of sacred sites through all the changes of race and religion. At these the most zealous champions of the religion of J″ were content to worship. It was inevitable, however, that in the circumstances heathen elements should mingle with the purer ritual of Jahweh worship. It is this contamination and **corruption of the cultus** at the local sanctuaries that the eighth-century prophets attack with such vehemence, not the high places themselves. In Hosea's day the higher aspects of the religion of J″ were so completely lost sight of by the mass of the people, that this prophet could describe the religion of his contemporaries as unadulterated heathenism, and their worship as idolatry.

While this was the state of matters in the Northern Kingdom, the unique position which the sanctuary at Jerusalem had acquired in the south, and the comparative purity of the cultus as there practised, gradually led, under the Divine guidance, to the great thought that, as *J″ Himself was one, the place of His worship should also be one*, and this place Jerusalem. The Book of Deuteronomy is the deposit of this epoch-making teaching (see esp. 12[4ff.]). Whatever may have been the extent of Hezekiah's efforts in this direction, it was not until the eighteenth year of the reign of Josiah (622–621 B.C.) that effective measures were taken, under the immediate impulse of Deuteronomy, for the destruction of the high places and the suppression of the worship which for so many centuries had been offered at the local shrines (2 K 23[5ff.]). But the break with the ideas and customs of the past was too violent. With the early death of Josiah the local cults revived, and it needed the discipline of the Exile to secure the victory of the Deuteronomic demand for the centralization of the cultus.

7. To men inspired by the ideals of Dt. we owe the compilation of the Books of Kings. For them, accordingly, the worship at the local sanctuaries became illegal from the date of the erection of Solomon's Temple—'only the people sacrificed in the high places, because there was no house built for the name of the LORD until those days' (1 K 3[2] RV). From this standpoint the editors of Kings pass judgment on the successive sovereigns, by whom 'the high places were not taken away' (1 K 15[14] RV and oft.). This adverse judgment is now seen to be unhistorical and undeserved.

A. R. S. KENNEDY.

HIGH PRIEST.—See PRIESTS AND LEVITES.

HILEN (1 Ch 6[58]).—See HOLON, No. **1**.

HILKIAH ('Jah [is] my portion,' or 'portion of Jah').—A favourite priestly name. **1.** Father of Eliakim, Hezekiah's chief of the household (2 K 18[18] etc. = Is 36[3] etc., Is 22[20-25]). **2.** A priest of Anathoth, probably of the line of Eli (see 1 K 2[26. 27]), father of Jeremiah (Jer 1[1]); he is not to be identified with the next. **3.** The high priest in B.C. 621, who 'found' during the repairs of the Temple and brought to Josiah's notice, through Shaphan, 'the book of the law' (2 K 22[3-11] = 2 Ch 34[8-19]), which occasioned the reformation of religion thereafter effected (2 K 23[1-24] = 2 Ch 34[29]–35[19]). Hilkiah headed the deputation sent to consult Huldah on this discovery (2 K 22[12-20] = 2 Ch 34[20-28]); and presided over the subsequent purification of the Temple (2 K 23[4ff.]). He was a chief actor in the whole movement. There is no reason to doubt that his find was the genuine discovery of a lost law-book; this book was unmistakably the code of Deuteronomy (wh. see). **4.** Father of the Gemariah of Jer 29[3]. **5. 6.** Levites of the clan of Merari (1 Ch 6[45. 26][11]). **7.** A 'chief of the priests' returning from the Exile in B.C. 536 (Neh 12[7. 21]). **8.** A companion of Ezra at the public reading of the Law (Neh 8[4]); he appears as **Ezekias** in 1 Es 9[43]. G. G. FINDLAY.

HILL, HILL-COUNTRY.—These terms in RV represent Heb. (*gib'ah*, *har*) and Greek names for either an isolated eminence, or a table-land, or a mountain-range, or a mountainous district. *Gib'ah* denotes properly 'the large rounded hills, mostly bare or nearly so, so conspicuous in parts of Palestine, especially in Judah.' Cf. 'Gibeah of Saul,' 'of Phinehas,' 'of the foreskins,' 'of Moreh,' 'of Hachilah,' 'of Ammah,' 'of Gareb,' and 'of Elohim.' *har* is to *gib'ah* as the genus is to the species, and includes not merely a single mound, but also a range or a district. It is usually applied to Zion. It is especially the description of the central mountainous tract of Palestine reaching from the plain of Jezreel on the N. to the Negeb or dry country in the S.; the Shephēlah or lowlands of the S.W.; the *midbar* or moorland, and the *'arabah* or steppes of the S.E. The best-known *har-* or hill-country in Palestine is the 'hill-country of Ephraim,' but besides this we hear of the 'hill-country of Judah' (*e.g.* in Jos 11[21]), the 'hill-country of Naphtali' (20[7]), the 'hill-country of Ammon' (Dt 2[37]), and of Gilead (3[12]). Among the eminences of Palestine as distinct from hill-districts are Zion, the hill of Samaria, the triple-peaked Hermon, Tabor, and Carmel.

W. F. Cobb.

HILLEL.—Father of Abdon (Jg 12[13. 15]).

HIN.—See Weights and Measures.

HIND.—See Hart.

HINGE.—See House, § 6.

HINNOM, VALLEY OF (called also 'valley of the son [Jer 7[32]] *or* children [2 K 23[10]] of Hinnom,' and 'the valley' [2 Ch 26[9], Neh 2[13. 15] 3[13] and perhaps Jer 2[23]]).—It was close to the walls of Jerusalem 'by the entry of the gate Harsith' (Jer 19[2] RV), possibly the Dung-gate. Evidently the Valley-gate opened into it (Neh 2[13] 3[13]). It formed part of the boundary between Judah and Benjamin (Jos 15[8] 18[16]). The place acquired an evil repute on account of the idolatrous practices carried on there (2 K 23[10], 2 Ch 28[3] 33[6]), and on this account Jeremiah (7[32] 19[6]) announced that it was to receive the name 'valley of Slaughter.' Here perpetual fires are said to have been kept burning to consume the rubbish of the city. Such associations with the Valley led afterwards to *Ge-hinnom* (NT *Gehenna*) becoming the type of hell.

The situation of the Valley of Hinnom has been much disputed. Of the three valleys of Jerusalem—the Kidron on the E., the Tyropœon in the centre, and the *Wady er-Rabābi* on the W.—each has in turn been identified with it. In favour of the **Kidron** is the fact that the theological *Gehinnom* or Arab. *Jahannum* of Jewish, Christian, and early Moslem writers is located here; but this was probably a transference of name after the old geographical site was lost, for there are strong reasons (see below) against it. As the Tyropœon was incorporated within the city walls before the days of Manasseh, it is practically impossible that it could have been the scene of the sacrifice of children, which must have been outside the city bounds (2 K 23[10] etc.). The chief data are found in Jos 15[8] 18[16], where the boundary of Judah and Benjamin is described. If *Bîr Eyyūb* is En-rogel, as certainly is most probable, then the *Wady er-Rabābi*, known traditionally as Hinnom, is correctly so designated. Then this Valley of Hinnom is a *gai* or gorge, but the Valley of Kidron is always described as a *nachal* ('wady'). It is, of course, possible that the Valley of Hinnom may have included part of the open land formed by the junction of the three valleys below Siloam; and **Topheth** may have lain there, as is suggested by some authorities, but there is no necessity to extend the name beyond the limits of the actual gorge. The *Wady er-Rabābi* commences as a shallow open valley due W. of the Jaffa gate; near this gate it turns due South for about ½ of a mile, and then gradually curves to the East. It is this lower part, with its bare rocky scarps, that presents the characters of a *gai* or gorge. Near where the valley joins the wide Kidron is the traditional site of Akeldama. E. W. G. Masterman.

HIPPOPOTAMUS.—See Behemoth.

HIRAH.—The Adullamite with whom Judah, according to the story of Gn 38 (J), appears to have entered into a kind of partnership in the matter of flocks. After Tamar had successfully carried out her stratagem, it was by the hand of his 'friend' Hirah that Judah sent the promised kid to the supposed *qedēshāh* (Gn 38[20ff.]).

HIRAM.—1. King of Tyre, son and successor of Abibaal. When David was firmly established on his throne, Hiram, we are told, sent messengers to him, and, in order to show his goodwill, gave David materials for building his palace, sending at the same time workmen to assist in the building (2 S 5[11], 1 Ch 14[1]). This first mention of Hiram is somewhat abrupt, and leads to the supposition that there must have been some earlier intercourse between him and David, the details of which have not come down to us. A real friendship, however, undoubtedly existed between the two (1 K 5[1]), and this was extended to Solomon after the death of David. A regular alliance was made when Solomon came to the throne, Hiram supplying men and materials for the building of the house of the Lord, while Solomon, in return, sent corn and oil to Hiram. Another sign of friendliness was their joint enterprise in sending ships to Ophir to procure gold (1 K 9[26-28] 10[11], 2 Ch 8[17. 18] 9[10. 21]). A curious episode is recounted in 1 K 9[10. 14], according to which Solomon gave Hiram 'twenty cities in the land of Galilee.' Hiram was dissatisfied with the gift, though he gave Solomon 'sixscore talents of gold.' In the parallel account (2 Ch 8[1. 2]) it is Hiram who gives cities (the number is not specified) to Solomon.

There is altogether considerable confusion in the Biblical references to Hiram, as a study of the passages in question shows. When these are compared with extra-Biblical information which we possess in the writings of early historians, discrepancies are emphasized. While, therefore, the friendly intercourse between Hiram and Solomon (as well as with David) is unquestionably historical, it is not always possible to say the same of the details.

2. The name of an artificer from Tyre 'filled with wisdom and understanding and cunning, to work all works in brass' (see 1 K 7[13-47]); he is also spoken of as 'skilful to work in gold, and in silver, in brass, in iron, in stone, and in timber, in purple, in blue, and in fine linen, and in crimson . . . ' (2 Ch 2[14]). There is a discrepancy regarding his parentage: in 1 K 7[14] he is said to have been the son of a widow of the tribe of Naphtali, and his father a man of Tyre: according to 2 Ch 2[14] his mother belonged to the tribe of Dan, though here, too, his father was a Tyrian.

The form of the name is usually *Hiram* in the Books of Samuel and Kings, but the Chronicler adheres uniformly to the form **Huram**, while we find also **Hirom** in 1 K 5[10. 18] 7[40].

W. O. E. Oesterley.

HIRE, HIRELING.—The former is used in AV alongside of its synonym 'wages,' by which it has been supplanted in mod. English as in Gn 31[8] RV (cf. 30[18. 32f.] with 29[15] 30[28] etc.). A **hireling** is a person 'hired' to work for a stipulated wage, such as a field-labourer (Mal 3[5]), shepherd (Jn 10[12f.]), or mercenary soldier (Is 16[14], cf. Jer 46[21]). No imputation of unfaithfulness or dishonesty is necessarily conveyed by the term, although these ideas have now become associated with it owing to our Lord's application of the word to an unfaithful shepherd in Jn 10[12. 13].

A. R. S. Kennedy.

HITTITES.—A people said in the J document (Ex 3[8. 17]) to have been one of the pre-Israelitish occupants of Palestine. The E document says they lived in the mountains (Nu 13[29]). They are often included by D and

his followers among the early inhabitants of the land, while P tells us (Gn 23) that Abraham bought from a Hittite the cave of Machpelah at Hebron. They are probably the people known in Egyptian inscriptions as *Kheta*, in Assyrian annals as *Khatti*, and in Homer (*Od.* xi. 521) as *Kēteioi*.

It is supposed that the carved figures found in many parts of Asia Minor, having a peculiar type of high hat and shoes which turn up at the toe, and containing hieroglyphs of a distinct type which are as yet undeciphered, are Hittite monuments. Assuming that this is correct, the principal *habitat* of the Hittites was Asia Minor, for these monuments are found from Karabel, a pass near Smyrna, to Erzerum, and from the so-called Niobe (originally a Hittite goddess), near Magnesia, to Jerabis, the ancient Carchemish, on the Euphrates. They have also been found at Zenjirli and Hamath in northern Syria (cf. Messerschmidt's 'Corp. Inscript. Hett.' in *Mitteilungen der Vorderas. Gesell.* vol. v.; and Sayce, *PSBA* vol. xxviii. 91–95). It appears from these monuments that at Boghazkui east of the Halys, at Marash, and at various points in ancient Galatia, Lycaonia, Isauria, and Cilicia the Hittites were especially strong. It is probable that their civilization was developed in Asia Minor, and that they afterwards pushed southward into northern Syria, invading a region as far eastward as the Euphrates.

This is confirmed by what we know of them from the inscriptions of other nations. Our earliest mention of them occurs in the annals of Thothmes III. of Egypt (about B.C. 1500), to whom they paid tribute (cf. Breasted's *Ancient Records of Egypt*, ii. 213).

In the reign of Amenophis III. (about B.C. 1400) they attempted unsuccessfully to invade the land of Mittani on the Euphrates, and successfully planted themselves on the Orontes valley in Syria (cf. *KIB* v. 33, and 255, 257). In the reign of Amenophis IV. they made much greater advances, as the el-Amarna letters show. In the next dynasty Seti I. fought a battle with the Hittites between the ranges of the Lebanon (Breasted, *op cit.* iii. 71). In the reign of Rameses II. Kadesh on the Orontes was in their hands. Rameses fought a great battle with them there, and afterwards made a treaty of peace with them (Breasted, *op. cit.* iii. 125 ff., 165 ff.). Meren-Ptah and Rameses III. had skirmishes with them, the latter as late as B.C. 1200. From the similarity of his name to the names of Hittite kings, Moore has conjectured (*JAOS* xix. 159, 160) that Sisera (Jg 5) was a Hittite. If so, in the time of Deborah (about B.C. 1150) a Hittite dynasty invaded northern Palestine.

About B.C. 1100 Tiglath-pileser I. of Assyria fought with Hittites (*KIB* i. 23). In David's reign individual Hittites such as Ahimelech and Uriah were in Israel (1 S 26^{6}, 2 S 11^{3} etc.). Kings of the Hittites are said to have been contemporary with Solomon (1 K 10^{29} 11^{1}), also a century later contemporary with Joram of Israel (2 K 7^{6}). In the 9th cent. the Assyrian kings Ashur-nazir-pal (*KIB* i. 105) and Shalmaneser II. (*ib.* p. 139) fought with Hittites, as did Tiglath-pileser III. (*ib.* ii. 29), in the next century, while Sargon II. in 717 (*ib.* ii. 43; Is 10^{9}) destroyed the kingdom of Carchemish, the last of the Hittite kingdoms of which we have definite record. The researches of recent years, especially those of Jensen and Breasted, make it probable that the Cilicians were a Hittite people, and that Syennesis, king of Cilicia, mentioned in Xenophon's *Anabasis* as a vassal king of Persia about B.C. 400, was a Hittite. Possibly the people of Lycaonia, whose language Paul and Barnabas did not understand (Ac 14^{11}), spoke a dialect of Hittite.

The Hittites accordingly played an important part in history from B.C. 1500 to B.C. 700, and lingered on in many quarters much longer. It is probable that a Hittite kingdom in Sardis preceded the Lydian kingdom there (cf. Herod. i. 7). The Lydian Cybele and Artemis of Ephesus were probably originally Hittite divinities. Jensen, who has made a little progress in deciphering the Hittite inscriptions, believes them to be an Aryan people, the ancestors of the Armenians (cf. his *Hittiter und Armenier*), but this is very doubtful.

Politically the Hittites were not, so far as we know, united. They seem to have formed small city-kingdoms.

The religion of the Hittites seems to have had some features in common with Semitic religion (cf. Barton, *Semitic Origins*, pp. 311–316). GEORGE A. BARTON.

HIVITES.—One of the tribes of Palestine which the Israelites displaced (Ex $3^{8.\ 17}$ [J]). Our oldest source (J) says that they were the people who, fearing to meet the Israelites in battle, by a ruse made a covenant with them (Jos 9^{7}). A Deuteronomic editor states that their villages were Gibeon, Chephira, Kiriath-jearim, and Beeroth (Jos 9^{17}). Gibeon was six miles N.W. of Jerusalem, and Beeroth ten miles N. of it. Probably, therefore, they inhabited a region north of Jerusalem. Gn 34^{2} (P) makes the Shechemites Hivites, but this is of doubtful authority. The main part of the chapter is silent on this point. In Jos 11^{3} and Jg 3^{3} they seem to be located near Hermon in the Lebanon, but 'Hivite' is probably here a corruption of 'Hittite' (cf. Moore, *Judges*, p. 79). Deuteronomic editors introduce Hivites often in their list of Canaanitish peoples, usually placing them before Jebusites. Perhaps this indicates that they lived near Jerusalem. 2 S 24^{7}, though vague, is not inconsistent with this. Some have supposed *Hivite* to mean 'villager,' but the etymology is most uncertain. Really nothing is known of their racial affinities. GEORGE A. BARTON.

HIZKI.—A Benjamite (1 Ch 8^{17}).

HIZKIAH (AV **Hezekiah**).—A son of Neariah, a descendant of David (1 Ch 3^{23}).

HOBAB.—In E (Ex 3^{1} 4^{18} $18^{1.\ 2ff.}$) the father-in-law of Moses is uniformly named **Jethro.** But Nu 10^{29} (J) speaks of 'Hobab the son of **Reuel** the Midianite Moses' father-in-law' (*hōthēn*). It is uncertain how this should be punctuated, and whether Hobab or Reuel was Moses' father-in-law. The former view is found in Jg 4^{11} (cf. 1^{16}), the latter in Ex 2^{18}. The RV in Jg 1^{16} 4^{11} attempts to harmonize the two by rendering *hōthēn* 'brother-in-law.' But this harmonization is doubtful, for (1) though it is true that in Aram. and Arab. the cognate word can be used rather loosely to describe a wife's relations, there is no evidence that it is ever so used in Heb.; and it would be strange to find the father and the brother of the same man's wife described by the same term; (2) Ex 2^{16} appears to imply that the priest of Midian had no sons. It is probable that the name Reuel was added in v.^{18} by one who misunderstood Nu 10^{29}. The suggestion that 'Hobab the son of' has accidentally dropped out before Reuel is very improbable. Thus Jethro (E) and Hobab (J) are the names of Moses' father-in-law, and Reuel is Hobab's father. A Mohammedan tradition identifies Sho'aib (perhaps a corruption of Hobab), a prophet sent to the Midianites, with Moses' father-in-law. On his nationality, and the events connected with him, see KENITES, MIDIAN, JETHRO.
A. H. M'NEILE.

HOBAH.—The place to which, acc. to Gn 14^{15}, Abraham pursued the defeated army of Chedorlaomer. It is described as 'on the left hand (*i.e.* 'to the north') of Damascus.' It is identified, with considerable probability, with the modern *Hoba*, 20 hours N. of Damascus.

HOBAIAH.—See HABAIAH.

HOD ('majesty').—An Asherite (1 Ch 7^{37}).

HODAVIAH.—**1.** A Manassite clan (1 Ch 5^{24}). **2.** The name of a Benjamite family (1 Ch 9^{7}). **3.** A Levitical family name (Ezr 2^{40}); called in Neh 7^{43} **Hodevah.** **4.** A descendant of David (1 Ch 3^{24}).

HODESH ('new moon').—One of the wives of Shaharaim, a Benjamite (1 Ch 8^{9}).

HODEVAH.—See Hodaviah, No. **3.**

HODIAH.—**1.** A man of Judah (1 Ch 4^{19}). AV wrongly takes it as a woman's name. **2.** A Levite (Neh 8^{7} 9^{5} 10^{10}). **3.** Another Levite (Neh 10^{13}). **4.** One of those who sealed the covenant (Neh 10^{18}).

HOGLAH ('partridge').—Daughter of Zelophehad, Nu 26^{33} 27^{1} 36^{11}, Jos 17^{3} (P).

HOHAM, king of Hebron, formed an alliance with other four kings against Gibeon, but was defeated by Joshua at Beth-horon, and put to death along with his allies at Makkedah (Jos $10^{3ff.}$).

HOLINESS.—I. IN OT.—

The Heb. words connected with the Semitic root *qdsh* (those connected with the root *chrm* may be left out of the inquiry: cf. art. Ban), namely, *qōdesh* 'holiness,' *qādōsh* 'holy,' *qiddash*, etc. 'sanctify,' the derived noun *miqdāsh* 'sanctuary,' *qādēsh qedēshāh* 'whore,' 'harlot'—occur in about 830 passages in OT, about 350 of which are in the Pentateuch. The Aram. *qaddīsh* 'holy' is met with 13 times in the Book of Daniel. *qādēsh* and *qedēshāh* have almost exclusively heathen associations, *qaddīsh* is used in a few passages of the gods, but otherwise the Biblical words from this root refer exclusively to Jehovah, and persons or things connected with Him. The primary meaning seems at present indiscoverable, some making it to be that of 'separation' or 'cutting off,' others connecting with *chādāsh* 'new,' and the Assyr. *quddushu* 'pure,' 'bright'; but neither brings conclusive evidence. In actual use the word is always a religious term, being, when applied to deity, almost equivalent to 'divine,' and meaning, when used of persons or things, 'set apart from common use for divine use.'

1. Holiness of God.—For all the Ancient East, Phœnicians and Babylonians as well as Hebrews, a god was a holy being, and anything specially appropriated to one, for example an ear-ring or nose-ring regarded as an amulet, was also holy. The conception of holiness was consequently determined by the current conception of God. If the latter for any people at any time was low, the former was low also, and *vice versa*. In the heathen world of the Ancient East the Divine holiness had no necessary connexion with character. The ethical element was largely or altogether absent. So a holy man, a man specially intimate with a god, need not be a moral man, as in Palestine at the present day, where holy men are anything but saints in the Western sense of the term (Curtiss, *Primitive Semitic Religion To-day*, p. 149 f.). In ancient Israel the holiness of Jehovah may in the first instance have been ceremonial rather than ethical, but this cannot be proved. In the so-called *Law of Holiness* (H, contained chiefly in Lv 17–26)—a document which, though compiled about the time of Ezekiel, probably contains very ancient elements—the ceremonial and the ethical are inextricably blended. The holiness which Jehovah requires, and which is evidently to be thought of as to some extent of the same nature as His own: 'Ye shall be holy, for I the Lord your God am holy' (Lv 19^{2}), includes not only honesty ($19^{11.\ 36}$), truthfulness ($v.^{11}$), respect for parents ($v.^{3}$, 20^{9}), fair dealing with servants (19^{13}), kindness to strangers ($v.^{34}$), the weak and helpless ($vv.^{14.\ 32}$), and the poor ($v.^{9f.}$), social purity ($20^{11ff.\ 18ff.}$), and love of neighbours (19^{18}), but also abstinence from blood as an article of food ($17^{10ff.}$ 19^{26}), from mixtures of animals, seeds, and stuffs (19^{19}), and from the fruit of newly planted trees for the first four years ($v.^{23ff.}$); and, for priests, compliance with special rules about mourning and marriage (21^{1-15}). In other words, this holiness was partly ceremonial, partly moral, without any apparent distinction between the two, and this double aspect of holiness is characteristic of P (in which H was incorporated) as a whole, stress being naturally laid by the priestly compiler or compilers on externals. In the prophets, on the other hand, the ethical element greatly preponderates. The vision of the Holy Jehovah in Isaiah, which wrung from the seer the cry 'Woe is me, for I am a man of unclean lips' (Is 6^{5}), leaves the ceremonial aspect almost completely out of sight. The holiness of Jehovah there is His absolute separation from moral evil, His perfect moral purity. But there is another element clearly brought out in this vision—the majesty of the Divine holiness: 'Holy, holy, holy is the Lord of hosts; the whole earth is full of his glory' ($v.^{3}$). This aspect also comes out very distinctly in the great psalm of the Divine holiness, perhaps from the early Greek period, where the holy Jehovah is declared to have 'a great and terrible name' (Ps 99^{3}) and to be 'high above all peoples' ($v.^{2}$), and in one of the later portions of the Book of Isaiah, where He is described as 'the high and lofty One that inhabiteth eternity, whose name is Holy' (Is 57^{15}). The holiness of God in OT is characterized by stainless purity and awful majesty.

2. Holy persons and things.—In ancient Israel all connected with God was holy, either permanently or during the time of connexion. He dwelt in a holy heaven (Ps 20^{6}), sat on a holy throne (Ps 47^{8}), and was surrounded by holy attendants (Ps 89^{7}). His Spirit was holy (Ps 51^{11}, Is $63^{10f.}$), His name was holy (Lv 20^{3} etc.), His arm was holy (Ps 98^{1}), and His way was holy (Is 35^{8}). His chosen people Israel was holy (Lv 19^{2}, Dt 7^{6} etc.), their land was holy (Zec 2^{12}), the Temple was holy (Ps 11^{4} etc.), and the city of the Temple (Is 52^{1}, Neh 11^{1}). Every part of the Temple (or Tabernacle) was holy, and all its utensils and appurtenances (1 K 8^{4}); the altars of incense and burnt-offering (Ex $30^{27f.}$), the flesh of a sacrifice (Hag 2^{12}), the incense (Ex 30^{36}), the table (Ex 30^{27}), the shew-bread (1 S 21^{6}), the candlestick (Ex 30^{27}), the ark ($v.^{26}$, 2 Ch 35^{3}), and the anointing oil (Ex 30^{25}). Those attached more closely to the service of Jehovah—priests (Lv 21^{6}, H), Levites (Nu $8^{17f.}$), and perhaps to some extent prophets (2 K 4^{9}),—were holy (with ceremonial holiness) in a higher degree than others. The combination of merely external and ethical holiness as the requirement of Jehovah lasted until the advent of Christianity, the proportion of the elements varying with the varying conception of God.

II. IN NT.—

The word 'holiness' in EV stands for *hosiotēs* (Lk 1^{75}, Eph 4^{24}), *hagiotēs* (2 Co 1^{12} RV,[1] AV having another reading; He 12^{10}), *hagiōsynē* (Ro 1^{4}, 2 Co 7^{1}, 1 Th 3^{13}), *hagiasmos* (in AV, Ro $6^{19.\ 22}$, 1 Th 4^{7}, 1 Ti 2^{15}, He 12^{14}, but in the other 5 passages in which the word occurs we find 'sanctification'; RV has 'sanctification' throughout), and for part of *hieroprepēs* (Tit 2^{3}), 'as becometh holiness,' RV 'reverent in demeanour.' The idea of holiness, however, is conveyed mainly by the adjective *hagios* 'holy' (about 230 times) and the verb *hagiazō* (27 times, in 24 of which it is rendered in EV 'sanctify'), also by *hosios* (Ac 2^{27} $13^{34f.}$, 1 Ti 2^{8}, Tit 1^{8}, He 7^{26}, Rev 15^{4} 16^{5}, not in the text of AV) and *hieros* (1 Co 9^{13}, 2 Ti 3^{15}; RV has in both passages 'sacred'). Of these words by far the most important is the group which has *hagios* for its centre, and which is the real equivalent of *qōdesh*, *qādōsh*, etc., *hieros* referring rather to external holiness and *hosios* to reverence, piety. *hagios*, which is freely used in LXX, but is very rare in classical Greek and not frequent in common Greek, never occurring (outside of Christian texts) in the seven volumes of papyri issued by the Egypt Exploration Society, is scarcely ever used in NT in the ceremonial sense (cf. 1 Co 7^{14}, 2 P 1^{18}) except in quotations from OT or references to Jewish ritual (He $9^{2.\ 3.\ 8.\ 24}$ 10^{19} etc.), and in current Jewish expressions, *e.g.* 'the holy city,' Mt 4^{5} etc. Otherwise it is purely ethical and spiritual.

Three uses demand special notice. **1.** The term 'holy' is seldom applied directly to God (Lk 1^{49}, Jn 17^{11}, 1 P $1^{15f.}$, Rev 4^{8}), but it is very often used of the Spirit of God ('the Holy Spirit' 94 times, 56 of which are in the writings of Luke: cf. art. Holy Spirit). **2.** The epithet is used in 10 passages of Christ ('the Holy One of God,' Mk 1^{24}, Lk 4^{34}, Jn 6^{69}; also Lk 1^{35}, Ac 3^{14} $4^{27.\ 30}$, He 7^{26}, 1 Jn 2^{20}, Rev 3^{7}). **3.** It is very often used of Christians. They are called **'saints'** or 'holy ones' (*hagioi*) 60 times, 39 in the Pauline Epistles. The expression is no doubt of OT origin, and means 'consecrated to God,' with the thought that this consecration involves effort after moral purity (cf. Lightfoot on Ph 1^{1}). In this use the ethical element is always in

the foreground. So we find *hagios* associated with *amōmos* 'without blemish,' RV Eph 1^{4} 5^{27}, Col 1^{22}; and with *dikaios* 'righteous,' RV Mk 6^{20}, Ac 3^{14}. The three words *hagiotēs*, *hagiōsynē*, and *hagiasmos* designate respectively the quality of holiness, the state of holiness, and the process or result. For the sphere and source of holiness, cf. SANCTIFICATION.

W. TAYLOR SMITH.

HOLM TREE.—See CYPRESS.

HOLOFERNES.—According to the Book of Judith, Holofernes was the general entrusted by Nebuchadnezzar, 'king of Nineveh,' with the task of wreaking vengeance on 'all the earth' ($2^{1.4}$). Before his vast army nation after nation submitted and acknowledged Nebuchadnezzar as a god. The Jews alone would not yield; and Holofernes accordingly blockaded their city of Bethulia. For the subsequent story and the death of Holofernes at the hands of Judith, see art. JUDITH.

Holofernes has been variously identified with Ashurbanipal, Cambyses, Orophernes of Cappadocia (a friend of Demetrius Soter, the enemy of the Jews), Nicanor (the Syrian general conquered by Judas Maccabæus), Scaurus (Pompey's lieutenant in Syria), and Severus (Hadrian's general).

W. M. NESBIT.

HOLON.—**1.** A city of Judah in the Hebron hills, given to the Levites (Jos 15^{51} 21^{15}). In the parallel passage 1 Ch 6^{58} it is called **Hilen.** The ruin *Beit Aūla*, in the lower hills west of Hebron, would be a suitable site. **2.** A city of Moab near Heshbon (Jer 48^{21}). Its site has not been recovered.

HOLY OF HOLIES, HOLY PLACE.—See TABERNACLE, and TEMPLE.

HOLY ONE OF ISRAEL.—A title of God used with especial frequency by Isaiah to express His transcendence and majesty. The idea of God's holiness is, of course, much older than Isaiah, but to him, as to no one before, it was the central and most essential attribute of God, far more so than His power or majesty. We can trace this idea from the very moment of his call in the Temple. As he felt himself on that day standing in God's presence, his first thought was of his own uncleanness, and this wrung from him a cry of anguish (Is 6^{5}; cf. St. Peter's cry in Lk 5^{8}). When this passed away, he heard the angelic choir chanting the refrain, 'Holy, holy, holy is the Lord of hosts.' From henceforth he thought of God most often as a pure, unique, spiritual Being removed from all the imperfections of earth—an idea found also in some of the Psalms (*e.g.* 71^{22} 78^{41} 89^{18}). It was in a special sense against the Assyrian invaders that God vindicated His claim to this title (2 K 19^{22}), by showing that the might of man was powerless against His own people when protected by Him. In this sense the holiness and the omnipotence of God are nearly allied, though never synonymous.

H. C. O. LANCHESTER.

HOLY SEPULCHRE.—See JERUSALEM, § 7.

HOLY SPIRIT.—The Christian doctrine of the Holy Spirit arises out of the experience of the Church, as it interprets, and is itself interpreted by, the promise of the Comforter given by Jesus to His disciples (Jn 14–16). This appeal to experience follows the method adopted by St. Peter in his Pentecostal sermon (Ac 2^{33}). The teaching may briefly be stated as follows: The Holy Spirit is God; a Person within the Godhead; the Third Person, the knowledge of whom depends on the revelation of the Father and the Son, from both of whom He proceeds. He was in the world, and spoke by the prophets before the Word became flesh, and was Himself the agent in that creative act. Through Him the atonement was consummated. He is the life-giving presence within the universal Church, the Divine agent in its sacramental and authoritative acts; communicating Himself as a presence and power to the individual Christian; mediating to him forgiveness and new birth; nourishing, increasing, and purifying his whole personality; knitting him into the fellowship of saints; and finally, through the resurrection of the body, bringing him to the fulness of eternal life. The purpose of this article is to justify this teaching from Scripture.

1. The promise of Christ.—It is unnecessary to discuss the historical character of the Last Discourses as presented in John, because the fact of the promise of the Spirit is sufficiently attested by St. Luke (Lk 24^{49}, Ac $1^{4.5.8}$ 2^{33}), and its significance corroborated by the whole tenor of the NT. The specific promise of the Paraclete (Jn $14^{16.17.26}$ 15^{26} 16^{7-15}) must be read in view of the wider promise of the Abiding Presence, which is its background ($14^{2.3.18-23}$ 15^{4-11}). The first truth to be grasped by the Christian disciple is that to see Jesus is to see the Father (14^{9}, cf. 12^{45}), because the Son abides in the Father (v.$^{10f.}$ $17^{21.23}$). Next he must realize the true meaning of the comfort and peace he has found in Christ as the way through which he attains his own true end, which is to come to the Father and abide in Him (14^{6-9} 17^{21}; cf. He 7^{25} $10^{19.20}$). So the promise takes, first, the form of a disclosure. If Jesus is not only to embody God but to be the channel through which the faithful have communion with Him, He must Himself depart to prepare abiding-places in the Father's house (14^{2}), that He may lift men to the sphere of His own eternal life, and that where He is they too may be (v.^{3}, cf. 12^{26}). It is necessary, therefore, not only that the disciple should behold Jesus ($16^{16.17.19}$) as the Apostles did with their eyes (1 Jn 1^{1}, Jn 19^{35}) and as later believers do through the Apostolic word (17^{20}, Lk 1^{2}), but that he should abide in Him (Jn 15^{4}). Thus the purpose of the Incarnation is fulfilled in the linking up of the chain—the Father in the Son; the Son in the Father; the believer in the Son; mankind in God.

The method by which Jesus is to consummate this reconciling work is declared in the promise of the Paraclete. (For the question whether the word *Paraklētos* is to be translated 'Comforter,' or 'Advocate,' see art. ADVOCATE.) Having promised another 'Comforter,' the Lord proceeds to identify Him with the Spirit (Jn 14^{17}), which enables Him to give to the Person, of whom He speaks, the name of 'the Holy Spirit' (v.^{26}, the Greek having the definite article before both 'Spirit' and 'Holy'). Only once in His previous teaching is He reported to have employed this title (Mk 3^{29} ||). Mk 12^{36} and 13^{11} appear to supply other instances, but comparison should be made with the parallel passages in either case (Mt 22^{43}, Mt 10^{20}, Lk 21^{15}). And there is something abnormal in the warning concerning the unpardonable sin, being one of the hard sayings fully interpreted only in the light of subsequent events) cf. Mk 8^{34}, Jn 6^{53}). But 'Spirit' and 'Holy Spirit' occur as used by Christ in the Synoptics (Mt 12^{28}, Lk 11^{13}; Gr. no definite article) and in John (3^{6}). Too much cannot be made of this argument, as we are at best dealing with a Greek tr. of the words actually used by our Lord. But it remains true that in these cases a new and unexpected development is given to old ideas, as when Nicodemus fails to understand the spiritual birth (Jn 3^{10}), or disciples are scandalized by the spiritual food (6^{60}), yet both the terms used and the thoughts represented are familiar, and postulate a previous history of doctrine, the results of which 'a master in Israel' ought at least to have apprehended. The passage read by Jesus in the synagogue at Nazareth (Lk $4^{18.19}$, Is $61^{1.2}$) forms a link between the Gospel and the OT in respect to the Spirit.

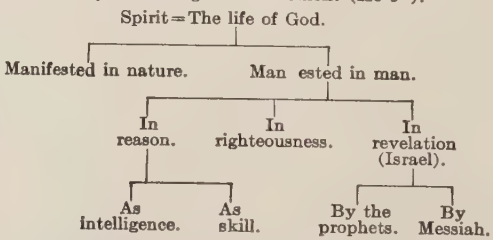
2. The Spirit in OT.—(1) *General.* The OT never uses the phrase 'the Holy Spirit.' In two passages the epithet 'holy' is applied to the Spirit, but in each it is still further qualified by a possessive pronoun (Ps 51^{11} 'thy,' Is 63^{10} 'his'). But the conception of the 'Spirit of God' is characteristic, being closely related to the Word (Schultz, *OT Theol.* ii. 184). The distinction

between them is that between the breath and the voice, the latter being the articulate expression of thought, the former the force by which the word is made living. The Spirit is the life of God, and, as such, is life-giving. The account of creation in Genesis puts us in possession of the root idea (1[2. 3]). 'It was no blind force inherent in nature which produced this beautiful world, but a divine Thinker' (Cheyne, *OP*, p. 322). The Spirit is the life of God communicated by a 'word' (cf. Ps 33[6] 51[11] 104[30] 139[7]). This creative principle, which animates the universe, finds a special sphere of activity in man (Gn 2[7], Job 27[3] 33[4]), who by its operation becomes not only a living soul, but a rational being created in the image of God and reproducing the Divine life (Gn 1[27]). Thus the Spirit is the source of the higher qualities which manhood develops—administrative capacity in Joseph (Gn 41[38]), military genius in Joshua (Nu 27[18]), judicial powers in the seventy elders (Nu 11[17]), the craftsman's art in Bezalel and Oholiab (Ex 31[3. 6]). So far there is nothing directly moral in its influence. But above all it is the Spirit that reproduces in man the moral character of God (Ps 51[11] 143[10], Is 30[1], Neh 9[20]), though this aspect is by no means so clearly presented as might have been expected. Wickedness grieves His Spirit (Is 63[10]), which strives with the rebellious (Gn 6[3], Neh 9[30]). This comprehensive dealing, affecting alike intellect, affections, and will, arises out of the central conception, stated in the Book of Wisdom, that God made man 'an image of his own proper being' (2[23]).

(2) *The Chosen Race.* The epithet 'holy' as applied in the OT to the Spirit, though it may include positive righteousness and purity, arises in the first instance out of the negative meaning primarily attaching to holiness in Scripture; namely, separation to Him whose being is not compassed by human infirmity and mortal limitations. The Spirit, therefore, in its more general bearing, is the indwelling influence which consecrates all things to the fulfilment of the universal purpose. But Israel believed that God had a particular purpose, which would be accomplished through His presence in the Chosen Nation. A special consecration rested upon Jacob, in view of which the Gentiles might be regarded as aliens, sinners, who were outside the purpose (Gal 2[15], Eph 2[12] 4[18]). Thus the presence of God's good or holy Spirit is the peculiar endowment of the Hebrew people (Neh 9[20], Is 63[11]), which becomes the organ of the Divine self-manifestation, the prophetic nation (Ps 105[15], cf. Is 44[1] etc.). The term 'prophet' is also applied to those who were representative leaders—to Abraham (Gn 20[7]), Moses (Dt 18[15]), Miriam (Ex 15[20]), Deborah (Jg 4[4]), and Samuel. The Spirit 'came upon' David not only as the psalmist (2 S 23[2]) but as the ideal king (1 S 16[13]). The instruments of God's 'preferential action'—Israel, and those who guided its destiny—became the channel of revelation, the 'mouth' (Ex 4[16]) through which the message was delivered. More directly still, God 'spake by the mouth of his holy prophets' (Lk 1[70]; cf. Is 51[16], Jer 1[9]), who hear the word at His mouth (Ezk 3[17], 1 S 3[11]).

(3) *Prophecy.* This brings us to the yet more definite sphere of the Spirit's action in the OT. 'It appears to the earlier ages mainly as the *spirit of prophecy*' (Schultz). Among the later Jews also the Holy Spirit was equivalent to the spirit of prophecy (Cheyne). From Samuel onwards prophecy takes its place alongside the monarchy as an organized function of the national life. From the visions of seers (1 S 9[9], 2 S 24[11], 2 Ch 9[29]) and the ecstatic utterance of the earlier *nebi'im* (1 S 10[6-10] 19[23. 24], 2 K 3[15]; cf. Nu 11[25]) to the finished literature of Isaiah and Jeremiah, revelation is essentially a direct and living communication of the Spirit to the individual prophet (Dt 34[10], Am 3[8], Mic 3[8]). Though the Spirit is still an influence rather than a personality, yet as we rise to the higher plane of prophecy, where the essential thought is that of God working, speaking, manifesting Himself personally, we approach the NT revelation. 'The Lord God hath sent me, and his spirit' (Is 48[16], cf. Mt 10[20]).

(4) *The Spirit and Messiah.* The point of contact between the OT and NT is the expectation of a special outpouring of the Spirit in connexion with the establishment of Messiah's Kingdom (Ezk 39[29], Jl 2[28. 29], Zec 12[10]; cf. Is 35, Jer 31[7-9]). This was to distribute itself over the whole nation, which was no longer to be by representation from among its members the prophetic medium of Jehovah's messages, but universally the organ of the Spirit. The diffusion of the gift to 'all flesh' corresponds with that extension of the Kingdom to include all nations in the people of God which is characteristic of later Hebrew prophecy (Is 56[7] etc., Ps 87, Lk 2[32]). But it is on Messiah Himself that the Spirit is to rest in its fulness (Is 11[1-5]). Its presence is His anointing (Is 61[1]). This is the connexion in which the relation of the Spirit to the manifestation of righteousness is most clearly shown (Is 11[5], Ps 45[4-7]). So when Jesus of Nazareth begins His work as the Anointed One of Hebrew expectation, there lights upon Him what to the outward eye appears as a dove (Mk 1[10] ‖), emblem of that brooding presence (cf. Gn 1[2]) which was to find its home in the Messiah (Jn 1[33] 'abiding'); in the power of which He was to 'fulfil all righteousness' (Mt 3[15]); to be driven into the wilderness for His fight with temptation (4[1]); to return to His ministry in Galilee (Lk 4[14]); to work as by the finger of God (Lk 11[20], cf. ‖); and to accomplish His destiny in making the Atonement (He 9[14]).



3. Theology of the Holy Spirit.—These two elements, namely, the promise of a Paraclete to the disciples, based on their experience of Himself, and the identification of that Paraclete with the Spirit of God, based on the older revelation, combine to produce that language in which Jesus expressed the Divine Personality of the Holy Spirit, and upon which the Christian theology of the subject is founded. When first the Holy Spirit is mentioned, Jesus says 'whom the Father will send in my name' (Jn 14[26]). At the next stage of the revelation of the Comforter, it is 'whom I will send unto you from the Father' (15[26]). Then it is the Spirit Himself coming (16[7. 13]), guiding (v.[13]), declaring truth (v.[13]), and glorifying the Son (v.[14]).

(1) He is *from the Father.* The revelation of Jesus Christ is primarily a showing of the Father (14[8. 9]). The principle of Jehovah's life thus becomes in the NT the Holy Spirit who proceeds from the Father (15[26]). This relation is consistently preserved even when the Spirit is represented as Christ's own gift (16[15]). Just as the Son is spoken of as God only in relation to the Father, and as subordinate to, in the sense of deriving His being from, Him, so there is no independent existence or even revelation of the Spirit. The technical term 'proceeding,' as adopted in the creeds, is taken from 15[26], which, while it refers immediately to the coming of the Spirit into the world, is seen, when the proportions of Scripture are considered, to follow a natural order inherent in the Divine Being (cf. Rev 22[1]). Already in His teaching the Lord had spoken of the 'Spirit of your Father (Mt 10[20]). And the special relation of the Spirit to the Father is prominent in St. Paul. By the Spirit

God raised up Jesus and will quicken men's mortal bodies (Ro 8^{11}). In the Spirit the disciple is justified (1 Co 6^{11}) and enabled to realize his redeemed sonship and address God as Father (Ro 8^{14-16}, Eph 2^{18}). His relation to God (*i.e.* the Father) is further asserted in many places (*e.g.* 1 Co 2^{10-12}, 2 Co 1^{22} 5^{5}, Eph 4^{30}).

(2) This is, however, not inconsistent with, but rather results in, *a dependence upon the Son* (Jn 15^{26} 16^{15}, cf. 15^{15}) which enables the Spirit to become the organ, whereby is applied to mankind the redemptive efficacy of the Incarnate Life ($14^{17.\ 18.\ 21.\ 23.\ 26}$ $16^{13.\ 14}$). Jesus speaks of the Spirit as His own gift (15^{26}). As Christ came in the Father's name, so will the Spirit come in Christ's name (14^{26}, cf. 5^{43}). His office is to be the witness and interpreter of Christ (15^{26} 16^{14}). The testimony of the disciples is to reflect this witness (15^{27}). The dependence of the Spirit on the Son, both in His eternal being and in His incarnate life, is fully borne out by the language of the NT generally. He is the Spirit of God's Son (Gal 4^{6}), of the Lord [Jesus] (2 Co 3^{17}), of Jesus (Ac 16^{7} RV), of Jesus Christ (Ph 1^{19}), of Christ (Ro 8^{9}, 1 P 1^{11}). It is to disciples only that the promise is made (Jn 14^{17} $17^{9.\ 20.\ 21}$), and the experience of Pentecost corresponds with it (Ac 2^{1-4}), the extension of the gift being offered to those only who by baptism are joined to the community (Ac 2^{38}).

(3) The operations of the Spirit thus bestowed are all *personal* in character. He teaches (Jn 14^{26}), witnesses (15^{26}), guides and foretells (16^{13}), and glorifies the Son (v.^{14}). So in the Acts He forbids (16^{7}), appoints (13^{2}), decides (15^{28}). To Him the lie of Ananias is told (5^{3}). And the testimony of the Epistles coincides (1 Co 2^{10} 3^{16} 6^{19}, Ro 8 *passim*, etc.). The fellowship of the Holy Spirit is parallel with the grace of Christ and the love of God in 2 Co 13^{14}. To the world His presence is not power, but condemnation. He is to convict the world (Jn 16^{8}) by carrying on in the life and work of the Church the testimony of Jesus (Jn $15^{26.\ 27}$, 1 Co 12^{3}, 1 Jn 5^{7}, Rev 19^{10}), in whom the prince of this world is judged (Jn 12^{31} 14^{30}). The witness, the power, and the victory of Christ are transferred to the society of His disciples through the Spirit.

4. Work of the Spirit in the Church.—(1) While anticipated by His work in the world (Ps 139^{7}, Wis 1^{7}) and foreshadowed by His special relations with Israel, the presence of the Spirit is yet so far *a new experience for Christians* that St. John, speaking of the age before Pentecost, can say that 'the Spirit was not yet [given]' (Jn 7^{39} RV). As from the point of view of the Chosen Race, those without were 'sinners of the Gentiles' (Gal 2^{15}), 'without God in the world' (Eph 2^{12}), so the world outside Christ is a stranger to the Spirit. This is made clear by the facts of Pentecost. The experience of the descent, attested, to those who were the subjects of Divine favour, by the wind and fiery tongues (Ac 2^{2}), was granted only to the Apostles and their companions in the upper chamber (2^{1}, cf. $1^{13.\ 14}$). The phenomena which followed (2^{6}) were interpreted by those outside, who had heard without understanding the rushing sound, either as a mysterious gift of power (v.^{12}) or as the effect of wine (v.^{13}).

Whether the tongues were foreign languages, as the narrative of Acts taken by itself would suggest (v.^{6}), must, in the light of 1 Co 14^{1-19}, where the gift is some form of ecstatic speech needing the correlative gift of interpretation, be regarded as at least doubtful; see also Ac 10^{46} 11^{15}. But that it enabled those who were not Palestinian Jews (vv.$^{8-11}$) to realize 'the mighty works of God' (v.^{11}) is certain. The importance attached to it in the Apostolic Church was due, perhaps, to the peculiar novelty of the sign as understood to have been foretold by Christ Himself (Mk 16^{17}), more certainly to the fact that it was a manifestation characteristic of the Christian community. See, further, TONGUES, GIFT OF.

Though, by the time that St. Paul wrote to the Corinthians, prophecy was already attaining higher importance as a more useful and therefore greater gift (1 Co 12^{28-31} 14^{1}), the memory of the impression created at Pentecost, as of the arrival in the world of a new and unparalleled power, united to the spiritual exaltation felt by the possessor of the gift, was still living in the Church. Nor can the Pentecostal preaching of St. Peter, with its offer of the Holy Spirit to those that repented and were baptized (Ac 2^{38}), be regarded otherwise than as evidence, alike in the Apostles and in those who were 'added to them' (v.^{47}), that they were dealing with a new experience. That this was a transfer of the Spirit which dwelt in Christ from His baptism (Mk $1^{10}\|$), carrying with it the fulness of the Incarnate Life (Jn 1^{16}, Eph 3^{14-19} 4^{13}), was attested by the miracles wrought in His name (Ac $3^{6.\ 7}$ 4^{30} etc.), the works which He had done and which His disciples were also to do (Jn 14^{12}), bearing witness to a unity of power.

(2) *The Incarnation.* That the presence of the Holy Spirit was not only a new experience for themselves, but also, as dwelling in the Incarnate Son, *a new factor in the world's history*, was recognized by the primitive Christians in proportion as they apprehended the Apostolic conception of the Person of Christ. One of the earliest facts in Christian history that demands explanation is the separation from the Apostolic body of the Jewish party in the Church, which, after the fall of Jerusalem, hardened into the Ebionite sects. The difference lies in the perception by the former of that new element in the humanity of Jesus which is prominent in the Christology of the Pauline Epistles (Ro 1^{4} 5^{12-21}, 1 Co 15^{20-28}, 2 Co 8^{9}, Gal 4^{4}, Ph 2^{5-11}, Col 2^{9}).

It is all but certain that this language depends upon the acceptance of the Virgin Birth, which the sects above mentioned, because they had no use for it, tended to deny. The Apostles were enabled through a knowledge of this mystery to recognize Jesus as the second Adam, the quickening spirit, the beginning of the new creation of God (Rev 3^{14}, cf. $21^{5.\ 6}$). If the narrative of the Annunciation in Luke (1^{35}) be compared with the Prologue of John (1^{1-18}) and with the account of Creation in Gn 1, the full import of this statement becomes apparent. The Spirit overshadows Mary as He brooded upon the face of the waters. The manifestation of the Messiah was, therefore, no mere outpouring of the spirit of prophecy even in measure hitherto unequalled, but God visiting and redeeming His people through the incarnation of His image (He 1^{1-3}, Col 1^{15}).

St. Paul's protest, therefore, against Judaic Christianity, which, in spite of temporary misgivings on the part of St. Peter and St. James (Gal $2^{11.\ 12}$), received the assent of the Apostolic witnesses, resulted from a true interpretation of his experience of that Holy Spirit into which he had been baptized (Ac $9^{17.\ 18}$). The Gentiles, apart from circumcision (Gal 5^{2}, cf. Ac 15), were capable of the Holy Spirit as well as the Jews, by the enlargement of human nature through union with God in Christ, and by that alone (Gal $4^{5.\ 6}$ 6^{15}, 2 Co $3^{17.\ 18}$; cf. Ro. 8^{29}, 1 Co 15^{49}). Thus, though the Apostolic preaching was the witness to Jesus and the Resurrection, beginning from the baptism of John (Ac $1^{21.\ 22}$), the Apostolic record is necessarily carried back to the narratives of the Infancy. The ministry of reconciliation, though fulfilled in the power of the baptismal Spirit (Lk 4^{14}), depended for its range on the capacity of the vessel already fashioned by the same Spirit (1^{35}) for His habitation—God was in Christ (2 Co 5^{19}).

(3) *Union with Christ.* What, therefore, the Apostolic community claimed to possess was not merely the aptitude for inspiration, as when the Spirit spoke in old times by the mouth of the prophets, but *union with the life and personality of their Master* (Jn 17^{23}), through the fellowship of a Spirit (2 Co 13^{14}, Ph 2^{1}) which was His (Ph 1^{19}). The Acts is the record of the Spirit's expanding activity in the organic and growing life of the Christian Church. The 'things concerning the kingdom' (1^{3}), of which Christ spoke before His Ascension, are summed up in the witness to be given 'unto the uttermost part of the earth' (v.^{8}) and in the promise of power (v.^{8}). The events subsequently recorded are a series of discoveries as to the

potentialities of this new life. The Epistles set before us, not systematically, but as occasion serves, the principles of the Spirit's action in this progressive experience, corporate and individual.

(4) *Spiritual gifts.* The NT teaching with regard to spiritual gifts (wh. see) springs out of the conception of the Church as the mystical body of Christ (Eph 1^{22} $2^{16\text{-}20}$ 4^{16}, 1 Co 12^{12}). The Holy Spirit is the living principle distributed throughout the body (1 Co 12^{13}, Eph 2^{18} 4^{4}). The point of supreme importance to the Christian is to have the inward response of the Spirit to the Lordship of Christ (1 Co 12^{3}). This life is universally manifested in love (ch. 13), to strive after which is ever the 'more excellent way' (12^{31}). But, though bestowed on all Christians alike, it is distributed to each 'according to the measure of the gift of Christ' (Eph 4^{7}). The principle of proportion is observed by Him who has 'tempered the body together' (1 Co 12^{24}). The same gifts or manifestations of the Spirit are not, therefore, to be expected in all believers or in all ages. They are given that the whole body may profit (12^{7}). They are correlative to the part which each has to fulfil in the organic structure of the whole ($12^{14\text{-}20}$, Eph 4^{16}). The desire for them, though not discouraged (1 Co 12^{31} 14^{1}), must be regulated by consideration of the needs of the Church (14^{12}) and the opportunities of service (Ro $12^{1\text{-}6}$, cf. 1 P 5^{5}). 'Each "gifted" individual becomes himself a gift' (Gore).

Nowhere do we find any attempt to make a complete enumeration of spiritual gifts. In Eph 4^{11}, where the completion of the structure of Christ's body is the main thought (v.[12]), four classes of ministerial function are named. In Ro $12^{6\text{-}8}$, where a just estimate of the individual's capacity for service is prominent, the list is promiscuous, exceptional gifts like prophecy, ministerial functions like teaching, and ordinary graces like liberality, being mentioned indifferently. Local circumstances confine the lists of 1 Co $12^{8\text{-}10.\ 28}$ to the 'greater gifts' (v.[31]), those granted for more conspicuous service, most of which are tokens of God's exceptional activity. The object of the Apostle in this catalogue is to show that tongues are by no means first in importance. 'Faith' in v.[9] is not to be confused with the primary virtue of 13^{13}, but is interpreted by 13^{2} (cf. Mt 17^{20}).

(5) *Inspiration.* It is in this connexion that inspiration as applied to the Bible must be brought into relation with the doctrine of the Holy Spirit. No theory, as applying to the whole Canon, is in the nature of the case to be expected in the NT itself. But prophecy is one of the gifts of the Spirit (1 Co $12^{10.\ 28}$), and it is clear that the prophets were recognized as a distinct order in the Apostolic Church (Ac 11^{27} 13^{1} 21^{10}; cf. 1 Ti 1^{18} 4^{14}), though there was nothing professional in this ministry (Ac 19^{6} 21^{9}). The type was undoubtedly that of the OT prophets (see above), and a distinct link with the ancient line is found in St. Peter's reference to the words of Joel as fulfilled at Pentecost (Ac $2^{16.\ 17.\ 18}$). Agabus prophesies by the Spirit (11^{28}). He adopts the method of signs (21^{11}) and the phrase 'Thus saith the Holy Spirit' (cf. OT 'Thus saith the Lord'). Here, then, we have a gift that was conceived as perpetuating the mouthpiece whereby the will of God was revealed to the fathers (H 1^{1}). The inspiration of the OT Scriptures as understood in the 1st cent. of the Christian era was undoubtedly regarded as an extension of the prophetic gift. They were the oracles of God (Ac 7^{38}, Ro 3^{2}, He 5^{12}), and as such 'the sacred writings' (2 Ti 3^{15}), profitable because inbreathed by God for spiritual ends (v.[16]). The connexion with prophecy is explicitly drawn out in 2 P $1^{20.\ 21}$, the same Epistle showing the process by which the writings of Apostles were already beginning to take similar rank ($3^{15.\ 16}$, cf. Eph 3^{5}). That the Bible is either verbally accurate or inerrant is no more a legitimate deduction from this principle than is ecclesiastical infallibility from that of the Abiding Presence in the Church. In either case the method of the Spirit's activity must be judged by experience. Nor, in face of the express declaration of St. Paul, that 'the spirits of the prophets are subject to the prophets' (1 Co 14^{32}), may we tolerate any theory which impairs the freedom of human personality.

(6) *The laying on of hands* in the ministration of the Spirit seems to have been adopted by a spontaneous impulse in the primitive community, and to have become immediately an established ordinance. The place accorded to the practice in He 6^{2}, as belonging to the alphabet of gospel knowledge, attests the importance attached to it. Like baptism, its roots are in the OT, where it is found as an act of dedication (Nu $8^{9.\ 10.\ 12}$ $27^{18\text{-}23}$; see Schultz, *OT Theol.* i. 391) or benediction (Gn $48^{14.\ 15}$). Christ uses it in blessing the children (Mk 10^{16}). The Apostles adopt it as the sign, joined with prayer, for the anointing of the Holy Spirit, by which they effected consecration to an office or function (Ac 6^{6}; cf. 1 Ti 4^{14} 5^{22} (? see below), 2 Ti 1^{6}), or conferred blessing on the baptized (Ac $8^{14\text{-}24}$ $19^{5.\ 6}$). The offer of money to Peter at Samaria (8^{18}) shows that the rite might be, and in this case was, followed by exceptional manifestations, like those which appeared at Pentecost; and that the fallacy which awakened Simon's covetousness was the identification of the gift with these effects. Though associated with the bestowal of the Spirit, the laying on of hands has not yet been reduced to a technical rite in a crystallized ecclesiastical system. Ananias uses it in the recovery of Saul's sight (Ac $9^{12.\ 17}$); the Antiochene Church, not probably in ordaining Barnabas and Saul, but in sending them forth to a particular mission (Ac 13^{3}). In Mk 16^{18} and Ac 28^{8} it is a symbol of healing (cf. Mk 1^{41} 5^{23} 6^{5} 8^{23}, Rev 1^{17}, also Ja $5^{14.\ 15}$); in 1 Ti 5^{22} not improbably of absolution (see Hort, *Ecclesia*, p. 214). According to 2 Ti 1^{6}, it was used by St. Paul in conveying spiritual authority to his representative at Ephesus; or, if the reference be the same as in 1 Ti 4^{14}, in the ordination of Timothy to a ministerial function. The symbolism is natural and expressive, and its employment by the Christian Church was immediately justified in experience (*e.g.* Ac. 19^{6}). Its connexion with the bestowal of specific gifts, like healing, or of official authority, like that of the Seven (Ac 6^{6}), is easily recognized.

A more difficult question to determine is its precise relation to baptism, where the purpose of the ministration is general. The Holy Spirit is offered by St. Peter to such as repent and are baptized (Ac 2^{38}, cf. 1 Co 12^{13}); while of those whom Philip had baptized at Samaria (Ac 8^{12}) it is expressly asserted that He had 'fallen upon none of them' (v.[16]). It may have been that the experience of the Apostles, as empowered first by the risen Christ (Jn 20^{22}), and then by the Pentecostal descent (Ac 2^{4}), led them to distinguish stages in the reception of the Spirit, and that the apparent discrepancy would be removed by a fuller knowledge of the facts. But this uncertainty does not invalidate the positive evidence which connects the ministration of the Spirit with either ordinance. See also Laying on of Hands.

J. G. Simpson.

HOMAM.—See Hemam.

HOMER.—See Weights and Measures.

HOMICIDE.—See Crimes, § 7. Refuge [Cities of].

HONEST, HONESTY.—In 2 Es 16^{49} 'honest' has the meaning of 'chaste.' Elsewhere it means either 'honourable' or 'becoming.' For the meaning 'honourable' compare Ru 1^{22} Cov. 'There was a kinsman also . . . whose name was Boos, which was an honest man'; and, for 'becoming,' Is 52^{1} Cov. 'Put on thine honest rayment, O Jerusalem, thou citie of the holy one.'

'Honesty' in 1 Ti 2^{2}, its only occurrence, means 'seemliness' (RV 'gravity').

HONEY.—The appreciation of honey by the Hebrews from the earliest times, and its abundance in Canaan, are evident from the oft-recurring description of that country as a 'land flowing with milk and honey' (Ex $3^{8.\ 17}$ onwards). In the absence of any mention of bee-keeping in OT, it is almost certain that this proverbial expression has reference to the honey of the wild bee (see Bee). The latter had its nest in the

clefts of rocks, hence the 'honey out of the rock' of Dt 32^{13}, in hollow tree-trunks (1 S 14^{26}, but the Heb. text is here in disorder), and even, on occasion, in the skeleton of an animal (Jg $14^{8ff.}$). In later times, as is evident from the Mishna, bee-keeping was widely practised by the Jews. The hives were of straw or wicker-work. Before removing the combs the bee-keepers stupefied the bees with the fumes of charcoal and cow-dung, burnt in front of the hives.

In Bible times honey was not only relished by itself (cf. Sir 11^{3} 'the bee is little, but her fruit is the chief of sweet things'), and as an accompaniment to other food (Mt 3^{4}, Mk 1^{6} 'locusts and wild honey,' Lk 24^{42}, AV with fish), but was also largely used in the making of 'bakemeats' and all sorts of sweet cakes (Ex 16^{31}), sugar being then, of course, unknown. Although it formed part of the first-fruits presented at the sanctuary, honey was excluded from the altar, owing to its liability to fermentation.

Honey for domestic use was kept in earthen jars (1 K 14^{3} EV 'cruse'), in which, doubtless, it was also put for transport (Gn 43^{11}) and export (Ezk 27^{17}). Many scholars, however, would identify the 'honey' of the two passages last cited with the grape syrup (the Arab. *dibs*, equivalent of the Heb. *debash*, 'honey') of modern Syria, which is produced by the repeated boiling of grape juice (for details see art. 'Honey' in *EBi* col. 2105). Indisputable evidence of the manufacture of *dibs* in early times, however, is still lacking.

In addition to the proverbial expression of fertility above quoted, honey, in virtue of its sweetness, is frequently employed in simile and metaphor in Heb. literature; see Ps 19^{10} 119^{103}, Pr 16^{24} $24^{13f.}$, Ca 4^{11} 5^{1}, Sir 24^{20} 49^{1} etc. A. R. S. Kennedy.

HOODS.—Only Is 3^{23} AV, for which RV has rightly 'turbans.' See Dress, § 5.

HOOK.—**1.** *vav*, a hook or ring with a spike driven into wood (Ex 26^{32} etc.). **2.** Is 19^{8}, Job 41^{1}, Am 4^{2}, Mt 17^{27}. The hook used in fishing was of course attached to a line, but whether the latter was simply held in the hand or was attached to a rod cannot be decided.

HOOPOE (Lv 11^{19}, Dt 14^{18} RV; AV **'lapwing').**—The hoopoe (*Upupa epops*) is a common spring visitor in Palestine, where its striking plumage, its tall crest and odd movements, make it conspicuous. Various folklore tales exist in the Talmud and among the *fellahīn* regarding it. It was an 'unclean' bird (Lv 11^{19}), possibly because of its habit of haunting dunghills, but it is eaten to-day by the *fellahīn*.

E. W. G. Masterman.

HOPE.—**1.** Hope and faith (the soul's *forward* and *upward look* towards God) are imperfectly differentiated in the OT, as with men who 'greeted the promises from afar' (He 11^{13-16}); hope has there the greater vogue.

Amongst the several Heb. words thus rendered, (1) signifying *restful hope* (*leaning* on J", &c.), oftener appears as 'trust' and sometimes as 'confidence'—'hope' in Job 6^{20}, Ps 16^{9}, Pr 14^{32}, Ec 9^{4}, Jer 17^{7}. (2) A subjective synonym (radically, *the loins*) is variously translated 'hope,' 'confidence,' and 'folly' (cf. AV and RV in Job 8^{14} 31^{24}; also Job 4^{6}, Ps 49^{13} 78^{7} 85^{8}, Pr 3^{26}, Ec 7^{25}). (3) RV corrects the 'hope' (AV) of Jer 17^{17}, Jl 3^{16}, into 'refuge.' (4) A synonym hardly distinguishable from (5) and (6), and rendered 'hope' or 'wait upon,' occurs 8 times (Ps 104^{27} 146^{5} etc.). The two most distinctive OT words for hope are frequently rendered 'wait (for *or* upon).' Of these (5) bears a relatively passive significance (*e.g.* in Job 6^{11} 14^{14}, Ps 33^{18-22} 42^{5}, La 3^{24}). (6) The term oftenest recurring, denoting *practical*, even *strenuous*, *anticipation* (rendered 'expectation' in Ps 9^{18} 62^{5}), has a root-meaning not far removed from that of the Heb. verb for 'believe'; Gn 49^{18}, Ru 1^{12}, Job 14^{7}, Ps $25^{5.\ 21}$, Ezk 37^{11}, Hos 2^{15} afford good examples.

It is to the OT rather than the NT that one must look for definite representations of the *earthly* hopes belonging to God's Kingdom, the social regeneration and national well-being that come in its train (see, *e.g.*, Is $9^{6f.}$ 11^{1-9} 55. 60 f., Pss 72. 96–98, etc.); broadly interpreted, these promises are of permanent validity (see Mt $6^{10.\ 33}$ 13^{33}, 1 Ti 4^{8} etc.). Hope plays an increasing part in the later OT books; it advances in distinctness, grandeur, and spirituality with the course of revelation. The Holy One of Israel made Himself 'the God of hope' for mankind (Ro 15^{13}; cf. Jer 14^{8} and 17^{13} with Is 42^{4} $51^{4ff.}$ 60). When the national hopes foundered, OT faith anchored itself to two objects: (*a*) *the Messianic Kingdom* (see Kingdom of God); and (*b*), esp. in the latest times, *the resurrection of the dead* (Is 25^{8} 26^{19}, Dn 12^{2}; probably Job $19^{25ff.}$, Ps 16^{8-11} 17^{15})—the latter conceived as necessary to the former, since otherwise those who had suffered most for God's Kingdom would miss it (cf. He 11^{35}, 1 Th $4^{16ff.}$). The OT heritage is developed in extravagant forms by Jewish Apocalyptic literature, which was the product of a powerful ferment in the Judaism of New Test. times. Philo Judæus, who represents philosophic Judaism at the farthest remove from popular Messianic enthusiasm, nevertheless makes *hope* (followed by *repentance* and *righteousness*) the leader in his triad of the elementary religious virtues (cf. 1 Co 13^{13}), while *faith* leads the second and highest triad.

2. To both factors of 'the hope of Israel,' separately or together, St. Paul appealed in addressing his compatriots (Ac 13^{32} $23^{6ff.}$ $26^{6ff.}$ $22^{ff.}$ 28^{20}). It was 'a lamp shining in a dark place' (2 P 1^{19}): hope at the Christian era was flickering low in the Gentile world (see Eph 2^{12}, 1 Th 4^{13}, 1 Co $15^{32ff.}$—amply confirmed by classical literature). 'By the resurrection of Jesus Christ from the dead' humanity was 'begotten again unto a living hope' (1 P 1^{3}; cf. Ac 2^{22-36}, 1 Co 15^{12-26}, Rev $1^{17f.}$): the Israelite hope was verified, and the Christian hope founded, by the return of Jesus from the grave. The Greek word for 'hope' (*elpis*, noun; *elpizō*, verb) primarily meant *expectation* of good or evil—commonly, in effect, the former; but 'in later Greek, at the time when hope made its presence so powerfully felt in the Christian sphere, *elpis* elsewhere came to be increasingly used with the sense of *anxiety* or *fear*, of which there is not a single example in the LXX or NT' (Cremer); 'evil hopes' in the Gr. of Is 28^{11} is ironical, similarly in Wis 13^{10}. The RV rightly substitutes 'hope' for 'trust' in the 18 places where AV rendered *elpizō* by the latter; for the NT clearly differentiates 'faith' and 'hope,' referring the latter to the future good of Christ's Kingdom longingly expected, while the former is directed to God's past deeds of salvation and His present grace in Christ. 'Hope' is used by metonymy for the *matter of hope*, the *thing hoped for*, in Gal 5^{5}, Col 1^{5}, Tit 2^{13}, He 6^{18}. It is sometimes replaced by 'patience' (or 'endurance'), its expression in outward bearing (cf. 1 Th 1^{3} and 2 Th $1^{3f.}$); and (as in the OT) the verbs 'hope' and 'wait' or 'look for' or 'expect' are interchangeable (see Ro 8^{19-25}, 1 Co 1^{7}, Gal 5^{5}, He 10^{13}). St. Paul uses a graphic and intense synonym for hope, lit. 'watching with outstretched head,' in Ro 8^{19}, Ph 1^{20}.

elpis appears first with its full Christian meaning in the NT Epp.; for it dates from our Lord's resurrection and the gift of the Holy Spirit (Ro 15^{13}). Its *object* is, in general, 'the glory of God' (Ro 5^{2}, 1 Th 2^{12}), *i.e.* the glorious manifestation of His completed redemption and the 'coming' of His 'kingdom in power,' which is to be realized, particularly, in the acknowledged lordship of Jesus (1 Co 15^{24-28}, Ph $2^{9ff.}$, Rev 17^{14} etc.), bringing about the glorification of His saints, shared by material nature (Ro $8^{17.\ 25}$, 2 Th $1^{10f.}$, 1 Co $15^{35ff.}$). This will begin with the resurrection of the dead (1 Th 4^{16}, 1 Co 15^{12-23}, Jn $5^{28f.}$) and the transformation of the earthly body (1 Co $15^{50ff.}$, 2 Co $5^{1ff.}$, Ph 3^{21}), ushering in for 'those who are Christ's' the state of 'incorruption' which constitutes their 'eternal life' enjoyed in the vision of God and the full communion of the Lord Jesus (Lk $20^{35f.}$, 1 Co $15^{54ff.}$, Mt 5^{8}, Jn $14^{2f.}$ 17^{24}, 1 Jn 3^{2}, Rev 7^{14-17} etc.). Its *goal* is in heaven; and all the proximate and earthly aims of Christianity,

whether in the way of personal attainment or of social betterment, are steps in the progress towards the final 'deliverance from the bondage of corruption' and 'the revealing of the sons of God'—the great day of the Lord. Its *ground* lies in the 'promise(s) of God' (Tit 1^2, He 6^{13-18}, 2 P 3^{13}, 1 Jn 2^{25}), esp. the definite promise of the triumphant return of Jesus ensuring the consummation of the Messianic Kingdom (Mt $24^{30f.}$, Ac 1^{11} 3^{18-21}, 1 Co 15^{24-28}, Rev 11^{15-18} etc.); and its *guarantee* is twofold, being given objectively in the resurrection and ascension of our Lord (Ac 17^{31}, Ro 1^4, Eph 1^{18-23}, Col 1^{18}, He 6^{20}, 1 P 1^{21} etc.), and subjectively in 'the earnest of the Spirit within' Christian 'hearts' (2 Co $1^{20ff.}$, Ro $8^{16f.}$, Eph $1^{13f.}$). Its *subjects* are 'the men of faith' (Ro 5^{1-5} 15^{13} etc.): it is 'the hope of our calling' (Eph 4^4, 1 Th 2^{12}, Rev 19^9), 'the hope of the gospel' (Col 1^{23})—that which the gospel conveys, and 'the hope of righteousness' (Gal 5^5)—that which the righteousness of faith entertains; it belongs only to the Christianly pure, and is purifying in effect (1 Jn $3^{2f.}$; cf. Ps 24^{3-6}, Mt 5^8, Rev $22^{14f.}$). Finally, it is a *collective* hope, the heritage of 'the body of Christ,' dear to Christian brethren because of their affection for each other (1 Th 4^{13-18}, 2 Th 2^1, Eph 5^{27}, Rev $19^{8f.}$ 21^{1-7} etc.); and is cherished esp. by ministers of Christ for those in their charge (2 Co 1^{7-10}, 1 Th $2^{19f.}$, Col 1^{28} 3^4, Ph 2^{16} etc.), as it animated the Chief Shepherd (Jn $10^{27ff.}$ 12^{26} $14^{2ff.}$ 17^2 etc.). 'In Christ Jesus' hope is bound up as intimately with *love* as with *faith*; these are the triad of essential graces (1 Co 13^{13}, 1 Th 1^3, 2 Th $1^{3f.}$, Eph 4^{1-4}, He $10^{22ff.}$).

The whole future of the Christian life, for man and society, is lodged with 'Christ Jesus our hope' (1 Ti 1^1, Col 1^{27}); NT expectation focussed itself on His Parousia—'the blessed hope' (Tit 2^{13}). *Maranatha* ('our Lord cometh' was a watchword of the Pauline Churches (1 Co 16^{22}; cf. $1^{7f.}$). 'The hope laid up for' them 'in the heavens' formed the treasure of the first believers (Col 1^5 3^{1-4} etc.); to 'wait for' the risen Jesus, coming as God's son 'from heaven' (1 Th $1^{9f.}$), was half their religion. 'By this hope' were they 'saved,' being enabled in its strength to bear joyfully the ills of life and the universal contempt and persecution of the world around them, which stimulated instead of quenching their courage (Ro 5^{2-5} 8^{18-25}, 2 Co 4^{13} 5^8, Ph $1^{20f.}$, He 10^{32-36}, Rev 7^{13-17}). According to the fine figure of He $6^{18ff.}$, hope was their 'anchor of the soul,' grappled to the throne of the living, glorified Jesus 'within the veil.' G. G. Findlay.

HOPHNI AND PHINEHAS.—The two sons of Eli; they were priests in the sanctuary at Shiloh, where, in spite of the presence of their father, they carried on their evil practices. In consequence of their deeds a curse is twice pronounced upon the house of Eli, first by a 'man of God' (1 S 2^{27}) who is not named, and again by the mouth of Samuel (ch. 3). The curse was accomplished when Hophni and Phinehas were slain at the battle of Aphek, and the ark of God was lost—an incident which was the cause of the death of Eli (ch. 4). The malpractices of these two consisted in their claiming and appropriating more than their due of the sacrifices (2^{13-17}), and in their immoral actions in the Tabernacle (v.^{22}; cf. Am $2^{7.8}$).

W. O. E. Oesterley.

HOPHRA.—Jer 44^{30}; the Egyptian Wahebrē, Apries of Herodotus, fourth king of the 26th Dyn. (*c.* B.C. 588–569 and grandson of Necho. He, or possibly his predecessor Psammetichus II., is also referred to as Pharaoh in Jer $37^{5.7.11}$, Ezk 29^3 etc. Little is certainly known of his reign. Hophra must have been defeated by Nebuchadnezzar in Syria in attempting to resist the progress of the Babylonian army, and he received the fugitives from Palestine after the destruction of Jerusalem in B.C. 586. There is no evidence that Nebuchadnezzar plundered Egypt, as was anticipated by Ezekiel, though he seems to have attacked Hophra's successor Amasis in B.C. 568 with some success, and may have overrun some part of Lower Egypt. The Syrian and other mercenary soldiers stationed at Elephantine revolted in the reign of Hophra, but were brought again to submission. Another mutiny of the Egyptian soldiery, recorded by Herodotus, resulted in Amasis being put upon the throne as champion of the natives. Hophra relied on the Greek mercenaries, and maintained himself, perhaps in a forced co-regency, in Lower Egypt until the third year of Amasis, when he was defeated and slain. F. Ll. Griffith.

HOR.—**1.** A mountain 'in the edge of the land of Edom' (Nu 33^{37}), where Aaron died. Constant tradition, at least since Josephus, sees Mount Hor in *Jebel Harūn*, 'the Mountain of Aaron,' above Petra. This is regarded by the Arabs as the mountain sacred to the great high priest, and his tomb is shown and reverenced under a small dome on its summit. Some modern writers, especially H. C. Trumbull, have doubted the tradition and endeavoured to fix other sites, such as *Jebel Madāra*, N.W. of 'Ain Kadis. *Jebel Harūn* rises 4780 ft. above the sea-level. Its western side is an unscalable precipice; it is ascended from the pass leading into Petra. A very wide view over the Arabian desert, down to the Red Sea and up to the Ghōr, is commanded from the summit. **2.** A mountain mentioned in Nu $34^{7.8}$, as in the northern boundary of the Promised Land. In all probability this is meant for *Hermon*.

R. A. S. Macalister.

HORAM.—A king of Gezer defeated and slain by Joshua (Jos 10^{33}).

HOREB.—See Sinai.

HOREM.—A city of Naphtali in the mountains (Jos 19^{38}); prob. the modern *Hūrah* west of Kedesh-naphtali.

HORESH.—The word *hōresh* means 'wooded height' in Is 17^9, Ezk 31^3, 2 Ch 27^4, and this is probably its meaning in 1 S 23^{15} (cf. vv.$^{16.18}$), although some would make Horesh a proper name, as in RVm.

HOR-HAGGIDGAD.—A station in the journeyings of the Israelites (Nu $33^{32.33}$). The name suggests the land of the Horites, or its neighbourhood.

HORI.—**1.** A son of Seir (Gn 36^{22} = 1 Ch 1^{39}). **2.** The father of Shaphat the Simeonite spy (Nu 13^5).

HORITES.—The pre-Edomitic inhabitants of Seir or Edom according to Gn 14^6 (a late passage) and Dt $2^{12.22}$ (D^2). Apparently they commingled with the Edomite invaders, for Gn $36^{20.21.29}$ (P^S) counts them among the descendants of Esau. The name is usually taken to mean 'cave-dwellers,' and this is probably correct. There are many tombs in the rocks at Petra (cf. Robinson, *BRP*^{2} ii. 129, 134), and some of these, like some at Beit Jibrin and some recently discovered at Gezer (cf. *PEFSt*, 1902, pp. 345 ff., and 1903, pp. 9–12) may have been used as dwellings originally. Sayce (*HCM* 203 ff.) derives the name from a root meaning 'white' as contrasted with the 'red'-skinned Edomites, while Hommel (*AHT* 261 ff.) takes it as a form of *Garu* (or *Kharu*) of one of the Amarna tablets. *Kharu* was, however, in Egyptian a name for all the inhabitants of Syria (cf. W. M. Müller, *Asien und Europa*, 148 ff.), and can hardly be connected with *Horites*. Driver (*Deut.* p. 38) favours the explanation as equivalent to 'cave-dwellers' or 'troglodytes.'

George A. Barton.

HORMAH ('devoted' or 'accursed') was a city, apparently not far from Kadesh, where the Israelites were overthrown, when, after the death of the ten spies, they insisted on going forward (Nu 14^{45}, Dt 1^{44}). At a later time it was taken and destroyed by Israel (Nu 21^3, Jos 12^{19}), this feat being attributed in Jg 1^{17} to Judah and Simeon. There we learn that the former name was **Zephath.** Possibly the memory of the previous disaster here led to its being called 'Accursed.' It was one of

'the uttermost cities of Judah, towards the borders of Edom in the south,' and is named between Chesil and Ziklag (Jos 15^{30}), also between Bethul (or Bethuel) and Ziklag (Jos 19^4, 1 Ch 4^{30}), in the territory occupied by Simeon. It was one of the towns to which David sent a share of the booty taken from the Amalekites who had raided Ziklag in his absence (1 S 30^{30}). There is no need to assume with Guthe (*Bibelwörterbuch*, *s.v.*) that two cities are so named. Probably, as in so many other cases, the old name persisted, and may be represented by the modern *es-Sebaitā*, 23 miles north of '*Ain Kadīs*, and 26 miles south of Beersheba. The probability is increased if Ziklag is correctly identified with '*Asluj*, 14 miles north of *es-Sebaitā*. On the other hand, *Naqb es-Safā* agrees better with the position of Arad; but it seems too far from Kadesh, being more than 40 miles to the north-east (Robinson, *BRP*^{2} ii. 181).

W. Ewing.

HORN (Heb. *qeren*, Gr. *keras*).—Sometimes horns were wrought into vessels in which oil was stored (1 K 1^{39}) or carried (1 S 16^1). Probably with some dainty ornamentation, they were used to hold eye-paint (Job 42^{14}, *Keren-happuch*). Of rams' horns a kind of trumpet was made Jos 6^4); see Music, 4 (2) (*e*). 'Horns' in poetry symbolized strength (Dt 33^{17} etc.). 'Horn' in Ps 18^2 = 2 S 22^3 stands for offensive weapons, as 'shield' for defensive (Perowne). To 'exalt one's horn,' or 'cause it to bud' (grow), is to strengthen and prosper him (1 S 2^1, Ezk 29^{21} etc.). For one to 'lift his horn' is to be arrogant (Ps $75^{4.\ 5}$). To crush or weaken one is to 'break *or* cut off his horn' (Jer 48^{25}, La 2^3). In prophetic symbolism horns stand for kings and military powers (Dn 7^8 8^{21} etc.). The altar horns (Ex 27^2), to which fugitives seeking asylum clung (1 K 1^{50} etc.), were projections at the four corners, and apparently peculiarly sacred (Ex 30^{10} etc.); but their significance and use are now unknown. W. Ewing.

HORNED SNAKE.—See Serpent.

HORNET (Ex 23^{28}, Dt 7^{20}, Jos 24^{12}).—In all three references the hornet is mentioned as an instrument of the Lord to drive out the Canaanites. By most interpreters a literal interpretation is accepted, but a metaphorical use of the word is contended for by some. Sayce has suggested that the reference may be to the armies of Rameses III., as the standard-bearers wore two devices like flies. The most plentiful hornet in Palestine is the *Vespa orientalis*. Hornets attack only when interfered with. E. W. G. Masterman.

HORONAIM (perh. 'the two hollows').—A city of Moab, whose site has not been recovered with certainty. It is mentioned in Is 15^5, Jer $48^{3.\ 5.\ 34}$, and also on the Moabite Stone (ll. 31, 32). It may have lain to the south of the Arnon, in the neighbourhood of the *Wady ed-Derā'a*.

HORONITE (Neh $2^{10.\ 19}$ 13^{28}).—A title given to Sanballat (wh. see), the opponent of Nehemiah. The name probably denotes an inhabitant of Beth-horon (wh. see).

HORSE.—The Israelites must have been acquainted with horses in Egypt (Gn 47^{17}), and it is evident, too, from the Tell el-Amarna correspondence that horses were familiar animals in Palestine at an early period; but it would appear that the children of Israel were slow in adopting them. Throughout the OT up to the Exile they appear only as war-horses; the ass, the mule, and the camel were the beasts for riding and burden-bearing. Even for warlike purposes horses were only slowly adopted, the mountainous regions held by the Israelites being unsuitable for chariot warfare. David commenced acquiring chariots (2 S 8^4), and Solomon greatly added to their numbers, obtaining horses for them from *Musri* [not *Mizraim*, 'Egypt'] in N. Syria and *Kue*, in Cilicia (1 K 10^{28}, 2 Ch 1^{16} [amending the text]). Horses were obtained also from Egypt (Is $31^{1.\ 3}$, Ezk 17^{15}). Some of the references may be to hired horsemen. The kings of Israel were warned against multiplying horses (Dt 17^{16}). Trust in horses is put in antithesis to trust in the Lord (Is 30^{16}, Ps 20^7 33^{17}). Before the reforms of Josiah, horses sacred to the sun were kept in the Temple (2 K 23^{11}; cf. 11^{16}). The appearance of the war-horse seems to have made a deep impression (Job $39^{19\text{-}25}$, Jer 47^3, Nah 3^2 etc.). After the Exile horses were much more common: the returning Jews brought 736 horses with them (Neh 7^{68}). Horses were fed on barley and *tibn* (chopped straw) in Solomon's time as in Palestine to-day (1 K 4^{28}). Although the breeding of horses has become so intimately associated with our ideas of the Arabs, it would seem that during the whole OT period horses were unknown, or at least scarce, in Arabia. The equipment of horses is mentioned in the Bible—the bit and bridle (Ps 32^9, Pr 26^3), bells of the horses (Zec 14^{20}), and 'precious clothes for chariots' (Ezk 27^{20}). In OT times they were apparently unshod (Is 5^{28}). E. W. G. Masterman.

HORSE-GATE.—See Jerusalem, p. 439^b.

HORSE-LEECH ('*aluqah*, cf. Arab. '*alaqeh*).—The horse-leech (*Hæmopis sanguisuga*) and the medicinal leech (*Hirudo medicinalis*) are very common in Palestine and are the cause of much trouble, even sickness and death, to man and beast. They abound in many springs, streams, and pools, and lodge themselves, while still small, in the mouths of those drinking. Thence they not infrequently find their way to the pharynx, and even larynx, where they live and grow for many months. They cause frequent hæmorrhages, and, if not removed, lead to progressive anæmia and death. Their voracious appetite for blood, possibly referred to in Pr 30^{15}, is well illustrated by their habits as internal parasites. It is probable, however, that the reference here is not to the leech of common life, but to the mythological vampire, the *ghul* of the Arabs. E. W. G. Masterman.

HOSAH ('refuge').—**1.** A Levitical doorkeeper of the Temple (1 Ch 16^{38} $26^{10.\ 11.\ 16}$). **2.** A city of Asher, apparently south of Tyre (Jos 19^{29}). The site is doubtful.

HOSANNA (='O save'!).—An acclamation used by the people on Palm Sunday in greeting Jesus on His last entry into Jerusalem, and afterwards by the children in the Temple (Mt $21^{9.\ 15}$). It occurs six times in the Gospels (all in the connexion above noted).

The expression, which has preserved its Hebrew form (like 'Amen' and 'Hallelujah'), was originally (in Hebrew) a cry addressed to God '*Save now*'! used as an invocation of blessing. When the word passed over (transliterated into Greek) into the early Church it was misunderstood as a shout of homage or greeting = 'Hail' or 'Glory to.'

The simplest form of the Palm Sunday greeting occurs in Mk 11^9 and Jn 12^{13} 'Hosanna! Blessed is he that cometh in the name of the Lord,' which really was the cry of the people. The additions that occur in the other passages ('Hosanna *to the son of David*,' Mt $21^{9.\ 15}$, and 'Hosanna *in the highest*,' Mt 21^9, Mk 11^{10}) seem really to be later amplifications due to misunderstanding of the real meaning of 'Hosanna.' The Hosanna cry (cf. Ps $118^{25f.}$) and the palm branches naturally suggest the Feast of Tabernacles, when the people used to raise the cry of 'Hosanna,' while marching in procession and waving branches of palm, myrtle, and willow. The great occasion for this was especially the 7th day of the Feast, when the Hosanna processions were most frequent. Hence this day was early designated 'Day of Hosha'na' [Hosanna], and the *lulab* branches then used also received the same name. It was the greatest of popular holidays, probably the lineal descendant of an old Canaanitish festival, and still retains its joyous character in the Jewish Festival calendar (*Hosha'na Rabba*).

It is not necessary, however, to suppose, with Wünsche (*Erläuterungen der Evangelien aus Talmud und Midrash*, p. 241), that a confusion has arisen in the Gospel accounts

of Palm Sunday between Tabernacles and Passover. Such processions were not peculiar to Tabernacles. They might be extemporized for other occasions of a joyous character (cf. 1 Mac 13^{51}, 2 Mac 10^{7}), and this was the case in the scene described in the Gospels.

In its transliterated form the word 'Hosanna' passed over into early liturgical (esp. doxological) use (cf. e.g. *Didache* 10^{6} 'Hosanna to the God of David'), as an interjection of praise and joy, and was developed on these lines. The early misunderstanding of its real meaning was perpetuated. But the history of this development lies outside the range of purely Biblical archæology.

G. H. Box.

HOSEA.—The name of the prophet Hosea, though distinguished by the English translators, is identical with that of the last king of Israel and with the original name of Joshua; in these cases it appears in the EV as Hoshea. Hosea, the son of Beeri, is the only prophet, among those whose writings have survived, who was himself a native of the Northern Kingdom. The main subject of the prophecy of Amos is the Northern Kingdom, but Amos himself was a native of the South; so also were Isaiah and Micah, and these two prophets, though they included the Northern Kingdom in their denunciations, devoted themselves mainly to Judah.

Hosea's prophetic career extended from shortly before the fall of the house of Jeroboam II. (*c.* B.C. 746) to shortly before the outbreak of the Syro-Ephraimitish war in B.C. 735—a period of rapidly advancing decay following on the success and prosperity of the reign of Jeroboam II. He began to prophesy within some 10 or 15 years of the prophetic activity of Amos at Bethel, and continued to do so till some years after Isaiah had made his voice heard and his influence felt in the Southern Kingdom. Influenced himself probably by Amos, he seems to have exercised some influence over Isaiah; but these conclusions must rest on a comparison of the writings of the three prophets. Our direct knowledge of Hosea is derived entirely from the book which bears his name; he is mentioned nowhere else in the OT.

If the account given in the 1st and 3rd chapters of Hosea were allegory, as many ancient and some modern interpreters have held, our knowledge of Hosea would be slight indeed. But since these chapters are clearly not allegorical, there are few prophets whose spiritual experience is better known to us. In favour of an allegorical interpretation the clearly symbolical character of the names of Hosea's children has been urged; but the names of Isaiah's children—*Shear-jashub* and *Maher-shalal-hash-baz*—are also symbolical (cf. Is 8^{18}). Moreover, if the narrative were allegorical, there would be just as much reason for the names of Hosea's wife and her father as for the names of the children being symbolical; on the other hand, in real life it was within the power of the prophet to give symbolical names to the children, but not to his wife or her father. The names of Hosea's wife, Gomer, and her father, Diblaim are not symbolical. Further, the reference to the weaning of Lo-ruhamah in 1^{8} is purposeless in allegory, but natural enough in real life, since it serves to fix the interval between the birth of the two children.

The command in 1^{2} has seemed to some, and may well seem, if prophetic methods of expression are forgotten, impossible except in allegory. It is as well, therefore, to approach the important narrative of Hosea with a recollection of such a method of describing experience as is illustrated by Jer 18^{1-4}. This describes a perfectly familiar scene. The incident, translated out of prophetic language, is as follows. On an impulse Jeremiah one day went down to watch, as he must often have watched before, a potter at his work; but on this particular day the potter's work taught him a new lesson. Then he recognized (1) that the impulse that had led him that day was from Jahweh, and (2) that the new suggestion of the potter's wheel was a word from Jahweh. So again, Jer $32^{6f.}$ describes what we should term a presentiment; *after* it was realized, it was recognized to have been a word from Jahweh (Jer 32^{8}). Interpreted in the light of these illustrations of prophetic methods of speech, the narrative of Hosea 1 gives us an account of the experience of Hosea, as follows. Driven by true love in which, probably enough, Hosea at the time felt the approval, not to say the direct impulse of Jahweh, Hosea married Gomer, the daughter of Diblaim. After marriage she proved unfaithful, and Hosea heard that the woman whom he had been led by Jahweh to marry had had within her all along the tendency to unfaithfulness. She was not at the time of marriage an actual harlot, but, had Hosea only fully understood, he would have known when he married her, as these years afterwards he has come to know, that when Jahweh said, 'Go, marry Gomer,' He was really saying 'Go, marry a woman who will bestow her love on others.' His new, sad knowledge does not make him feel less but more that his marriage had been ordered of God. Not only through the love of youth, but even more through the conflict and the treachery and the ill-return which his love has received, Jahweh is speaking. Had Hosea spoken just like Jeremiah, he might have continued: 'Then I discovered that my wife had played the harlot, and that my children were not mine. Then I knew that this was the word of Jahweh, and Jahweh said unto me: Even as the bride of thy youth has played the harlot, even so has My bride, Israel, played the harlot: even as thy children are children of harlotry, even so are the children of Israel children of harlotry, sons of the Baals whom they worship.'

Apparently Hosea reached the conclusion that none of the children were his; he calls them without exception 'children of harlotry' (1^{2}). But the name **Jezreel** (1^{4}) certainly does not suggest that at the birth of his firstborn he was already aware of his wife's unfaithfulness, the name of the second, **Lo-ruhamah** ('Not pitied,' 1^{6}), does not prove it, and even that of the third child, **Lo-ammi** ('Not my kinsman,' 1^{9}), may merely carry further the judgment on the nation expressed unquestionably in the first and probably in the second. In any case we may somewhat safely infer that Hosea became a prophet *before* he had learned his wife's unfaithfulness, and that in his earnest preaching he, like Amos, denounced inhumanity as offensive to God; for this is the purpose of the name *Jezreel*; the house of Jehu, established by means of bloodshed and inhumanity (1^{4}), is about to be punished. 'Kindness not sacrifice' (6^{6}) must have been the ideal of religion which from the first Hosea held up before his people.

It has generally been inferred that Hosea's wife subsequently left him (or that he put her away), but that at last in his love for her, which could not be quenched, he rescued her from the life of shame into which she had sunk (ch 3). And this perhaps remains most probable, though Marti has lately argued with much ability (1) that ch. 3 does not refer to Gomer, (2) that, unlike ch. 1, ch. 3 is allegorical, and (3) that ch. 3 formed no part of the original Book of Hosea. Be this as it may, it is clear that although the circumstances of Hosea's married life were not the cause of his becoming a prophet, they do explain certain peculiar characteristics of his message and personality: his insistence on the love of God for Israel, and on Israel's sin as consisting in the want of love and of loyalty towards God; and the greater emotional element that marks him as compared with Amos. At the same time, it is important not to exaggerate the difference between Amos and Hosea, of to lose sight of the fact that Hosea not less than Amos or Isaiah or Micah insisted on the worthlessness of religion or of devotion to Jahweh which was not ethical (*Jezreel*, 1^{4}; 6^{6}). In considering the greater sympathy of Hosea with the

people whom he has to condemn, it must be remembered that he was of them, whereas Amos, a native of the South, was not. G. B. Gray.

HOSEA, BOOK OF.—The Book of Hosea formed the first section of a collection of prophetic writings which was formed after the Exile, probably towards the close of the 3rd century B.C., and entitled 'The Twelve Prophets' (see Micah [Book of]). The greater part of the Book of Hosea clearly consists of the writings of Hosea, the son of Beeri, who prophesied in the 8th cent. B.C. (see preced. art.), but it also contains the annotations or additions of editors who lived between the 8th and the 3rd centuries. It is not always possible to determine with certainty these editorial portions of the book.

Though we have no positive evidence to this effect, there is no reason to doubt that Hosea himself committed to writing the prophetic poems by which he gave expression to his message and of which the greater part of the Book of Hosea consists (chs. 2. 4–14), and that he prefixed to these the prose narrative of his life (chs. 1. 3, see Hosea) with which the book now opens. It is possible, of course, that Hosea first circulated in writing single poems or a collection of two or three; but the complete collection, though scarcely made later than 735, since the prophecies make no allusion to the Syro-Ephraimitish war which broke out in that year, cannot be much earlier than 735, since the prophecies make allusions to the circumstances of the period that followed the death, in about B.C. 746, of Jeroboam II. (anarchy, 7^{3-7} 8^{4}; cf. 2 K 15^{8-26}; factions favouring appeal to Egypt and Assyria respectively, 5^{13} 7^{11} 8^{9} 12^{1}), and probably in particular to the payment of tribute by Menahem to Tiglath-pileser [= Pul, 2 K 15^{19}], which took place in B.C. 738 (5^{13} $10^{5.\ 6}$). Again, the opening narrative (ch. 1), though it describes Hosea's life and teaching *before* the death of Jeroboam II. (1^{4}, see Hoshea), was not written until some years later, for it also records the birth of Lo-ammi (1^{9}), which was separated by hardly less and possibly more than 5 years from the date of Hosea's marriage.

In its earliest form, then, the Book of Hosea was published by the prophet about the year 736 *in the Northern Kingdom*. Now, in common with all literature of the Northern Kingdom, Hosea owes its preservation to the care of the Southern Kingdom of Judah. It is tolerably certain that the Jews who preserved the book adapted it for Jewish use; in other words, that the Book of Hosea as we have it is a Jewish edition of the writings of an Israelite prophet. The hand of a Jewish editor (and in this case a somewhat late one) is perhaps clearest in the title (1^{1}), for Hosea, a citizen of the Northern Kingdom and addressing himself to the North, would scarcely date his prophecy by kings of the Southern Kingdom of Judah, nor would a contemporary be likely to equate the days of Uzziah *and his successors* with the days of Jeroboam, since Uzziah himself outlived Jeroboam. With more or less reason, additions to or modifications of Hosea's work by Jewish editors have been suspected in 1^{7} 1^{10}–2^{1} 3^{5} ('and David their king') 4^{15a} 5^{5} (last clause) 6^{11} 8^{14} 10^{11} 11^{12b}. In several other cases ($5^{10.\ 12.\ 13.\ 14}$ 6^{4} 12^{2}) it is possible that the editor has pointed the original prophecies at his own people of the South by substituting 'Judah' where Hosea had written 'Israel'; thus, although at present Jacob-Judah are mentioned in 12^{2}, the terms 'Jacob' and 'Israel,' synonyms for the people of the Northern Kingdom, were certainly in the mind of the writer of $12^{2.\ 3}$, for in 12^{3} he puns on these names: 'In the womb he *Jacobed* his brother, and in his manhood *Israeled* with God.'

Another whole group of passages has been suspected of consisting of additions to Hosea's prophecies. These are the passages of promise (1^{10}–2^{1} 2^{14-23} 3^{1-5} [regarded as an allegory of restoration] 5^{15} 6^{3} $11^{10.\ 11}$ 14). There is little doubt that such passages were added to ancient prophecies, but it is not yet by any means generally admitted that the early prophets made no promises of a brighter future beyond judgment.

Apart from the intentional modifications of the original words of Hosea by later editors, the text has suffered very seriously from accidents of transmission. To some extent the Greek version allows us to see an earlier Hebrew text than that perpetuated by the Jews from which the EV is made. The English reader will find the translation from a critically emended text by Dr. G. A. Smith (*Book of the Twelve Prophets*, vol. i.) of great assistance. The best English commentary is that by W. R. Harper in the *International Critical Commentary*. G. B. Gray.

HOSEN.—The plural of 'hose' (cf. 'ox,' 'oxen'), only Dn 3^{21} AV, and now obsolete in the sense, here intended, of breeches or trousers. The article of dress denoted by the original is uncertain. According to an early tradition (LXX *tiara*), some form of headdress is intended (cf. RVm 'turbans'), but modern opinion favours 'coats' or 'tunics' as in RV.

A. R. S. Kennedy.

HOSHAIAH ('Jah has saved').—**1.** A man who led half the princes of Judah in the procession at the dedication of the walls of Jerusalem (Neh 12^{32}). **2.** The father of Jezaniah (Jer 42^{1}), or Azariah (43^{2}).

HOSHAMA.—A descendant of David (1 Ch 3^{18}).

HOSHEA.—**1.** See Joshua. **2.** An Ephraimite (1 Ch 27^{20}). **3.** One of those who sealed the covenant (Neh 10^{23}). **4.** The last king of Israel. The chronological data of our text are not entirely accordant (2 K 15^{30} 17^{1}), but we know that he came to the throne not far from B.C. 732. Taking into view the Assyrian annals along with the Biblical accounts, we gather that there were two parties in Samaria, one advocating submission to Assyria, the other hoping for independence. Pekah was placed on the throne by the latter; Hoshea was the candidate of the Assyrians, and was perhaps actively supported by them in his revolt against Pekah, whom he supplanted. This was when Tiglath-pileser punished Pekah and Rezin for interfering in the affairs of Judah (see Ahaz). At the death of Tiglath-pileser, however, Hoshea was enticed by the Egyptian king or sub-king, and went over to the party which was ready for revolt. It is probable that he had convinced himself that the land could not longer pay the heavy tribute laid upon it. The new king of Assyria (Shalmaneser IV.) moved promptly, captured and imprisoned the king, and laid siege to the capital. It speaks well for the strength of Samaria and for the courage of its people that the place held out for more than two years; but the result can hardly have been doubtful from the first. The surrender was followed by the deportation of a considerable part of the people, and the planting of foreign colonies in the country (2K $17^{6.\ 24}$). Sargon, who came to the throne just before the surrender, had no desire to experiment with more vassal kings, and set an Assyrian governor over the wasted province. Thus ended the kingdom of Israel. H. P. Smith.

HOSPITALITY.—In the life of the East there are no more attractive features than those that centre in the practice of hospitality. The virtue of hospitality ranked high in the ancient Orient, and the laws regulating its observance hold undisputed sway in the desert still. The pleasing picture of the magnanimous sheik, bidding strangers welcome to his tent and to the best he owns (Gn 18), is often repeated to this hour in the Arabian wilderness. It was to Lot's credit and advantage that he had preserved this virtue amid the corruptions of Sodom (Gn $19^{2ff.}$). To shirk an opportunity for its exercise was shameful (Jg $19^{15.\ 18}$). A man's worth was illustrated by his princely hospitality (Job $31^{31f.}$). Jesus sent forth the Twelve (Mt $10^{9f.}$), and the Seventy (Lk $10^{4ff.}$), relying on the hospitality of the people. Its exercise secured His blessing; woe threatened such as refused it. The Samaritans' churlish denial of hospitality to Jesus excited the wrath of His disciples (Lk 9^{53}).

The **guest** had a right to expect certain attentions (Lk $7^{44ff.}$). The practice of hospitality distinguished those on the right from those on the left hand (Mt 25^{35}; cf. 10^{40}, Jn 13^{20}). It is commended by precept (Ro $12^{13.\ 20}$, 1 Ti 3^{2} etc.), and also by example (He 13^{2}).

Hospitality was highly esteemed amongst other ancient peoples. In Egypt its practice was thought to favour the soul in the future life. By kindness to strangers the Greeks secured the approval of Zeus Xenios, their protector. For the Romans hospitality was a sacred obligation.

In its simplest aspect, hospitality is the reception of the wayfarer as an honoured guest, providing shelter and food. In the ancient, as indeed for the most part in the modern, Orient, men journey only under necessity. Travel for purposes of pleasure and education is practically unknown. Save in cities, therefore, and in trading centres along the great highways, there was little call for places of public entertainment. Villages probably always contained what is called the *medāfeh*—properly *madyafah*—a chamber reserved for guests, whose entertainment is a charge upon the whole community. From personal experience the present writer knows how solicitous the humblest villagers are for the comfort and well-being of their guests. If the chief man in a village be well off, he greatly adds to his prestige by a liberal display of hospitality.

In the desert, every tent, however poor its owner, offers welcome to the traveller. In the master's absence the women receive the guests, and according to their means do the honours of the 'house of hair.' It is the master's pride to be known as a generous man; any lack of civility or of kindness to a guest meets severe reprobation. In the guest's presence he calls neither his tent, nor anything it contains, his own. During his sojourn the visitor is owner. The women bake bread; the master slays a 'sacrifice,' usually a lamb, kid, or sheep, which is forthwith dressed, cooked, and served with the bread. The proud son of the wilds has high ideas of his own dignity and honour; but he himself waits upon his guest, seeking to gratify with alacrity his every wish. If his visitors are of superior rank he stands by them (Gn 18^{8}), and in any case sits down only if they invite him. The safety and comfort of the guests are the first consideration; many place them before even the honour of wife and daughter (Gn 19^{8}, Jg 19^{24}; cf. Lane, *Mod. Egyp.* 297). If a guest arrives after sunset he is entitled only to shelter, as the host might then be unable to prepare a meal creditable to himself. If food is offered, it is of the host's goodwill (Lk $11^{5ff.}$). The guest, careful of the host's honour, will indicate that more than he requires has been provided by leaving a portion in the dish.

The open hand, as the token of a liberal heart, wins the respect and esteem of the Arabs. Leadership does not of necessity descend from father to son. Right to the position must be vindicated by wisdom, courage, dignity, and not least by generous hospitality. For the niggard in this regard there is nothing but contempt. It is a coveted distinction to be known as a 'coffee sheik,' one who without stint supplies his visitors with the fragrant beverage.

The Arabs are sometimes charged with want of gratitude; justly, as it seems from our point of view. But what seems ingratitude to us may be due simply to the influence of immemorial custom, in a land where the necessities of life are never sold, but held as common good, of which the traveller may of right claim a share. The 'right of a guest' may be taken, if not freely offered. The man who refuses covers himself with perpetual shame. The guest enjoys only *his right*; therefore no thanks mingle with his farewell.

The right, however, is limited. 'Whoever,' says the Prophet, 'believes in God and the day of resurrection must respect his guest; and the time of being kind to him is one day and one night; and the period of entertaining him is three days; and if after that he does it longer, he benefits him more: but it is not right for the guest to stay in the house of his host so long as to incommode him' (Lane, *Arabian Society in the Middle Ages*, 143). After three days, or, some say, three days and four hours, the host may ask if he proposes to honour him by a longer stay. The guest may wish to reach some point under protection of the tribe. If so, he is welcome to stay; only, the host may give him work to do. To remain while refusing to do this is highly dishonourable. But the guest may go to another tent at the expiry of every third day, thus renewing his 'right,' and sojourn with the tribe as long as is necessary.

Hospitality involves protection as well as maintenance. 'It is a principle alike in old and new Arabia that the guest is inviolable' (W. R. Smith, *Kinship*^{2}, 48). That this provision applies to enemies as well as to friends shows the magnanimity of the desert law. Every stranger met in the open is assumed to be an enemy: he will owe his safety either to his own prowess or to fear that his tribe will exact vengeance if he is injured. But the stranger who enters the tent is *daïf Ullah*, the guest whom God has sent, to be well entreated for His sake. In an enemy's country one's perils are over when he reaches a tent, and touches even a tent peg. A father's murderer may find sure asylum even in the tent of his victim's son. When he has eaten of the host's bread, the two are at once bound as brothers for mutual help and protection. It is said that 'there is **salt** between them.' Not that literal salt is required. This is a term covering milk, and indeed food of any kind. A draught of water taken by stealth, or even against his will, from a man's dish, serves the purpose. When protection is secured from one, the whole tribe is bound by it (W. R. Smith, *RS*^{2} 76).

To understand this we must remember (1) that in Arabia all recognition of mutual rights and duties rests upon kinship. Those outside the kin may be dealt with according to each man's inclination and ability. (2) Kinship is not exclusively a matter of birth. It may be acquired. When men eat and drink together, they renew their blood from the one source, and to that extent are partakers in the same blood. The stranger eating with a clansman becomes 'kinsman' to all the members of the clan, as regards 'the fundamental rights and duties that turn on the sanctity of kindred blood' (Wellhausen, *Reste Arab. Heid.* 119f.; W. R. Smith, *RS*^{2} 273 n.). This sanctity may be traced to the ancient belief that the clan god shared its life, and when an animal was slain for food took part in the common meal. The clan's friends were therefore the god's friends, whom to injure was to outrage the deity. That the slaughter of the victim was a religious act involving the whole kin is borne out (*a*) by the fact that when an animal is slain all have an undisputed right to come to the feast; (*b*) by the name *dhabīhah*, 'sacrifice,' still applied to it. The present writer was once entertained in the camp of a rather wild and unkempt tribe. His attendants supped with the crowd. Fearing this might not be agreeable to a European, the chief's son, who presided in his father's absence, with innate Arab courtesy, asked him to sup with him in the sheik's tent. Bringing in a portion of the flesh, the youth repeatedly remarked, as if for the stranger's re-assurance, *edh-dhabīhah wāhideh*, 'the slaughtering—sacrifice—is one'; *i.e.* the tribesmen and he ate from the same victim.

The bond thus formed was temporary, holding good for 36 hours after parting. By frequent renewal, however, it might become permanent. 'There was a sworn alliance between the Lihyān and the Mostalic: they were wont to eat and drink together' (*RS*^{2} 270 f.). A man may declare himself the *dakhīl*—from *dakhala*, 'to enter,' *i.e.* to claim protection—of a powerful man, and thus pass under shelter of his name even before his tent is reached. Whoever should injure him then would have to reckon with the man whose name he had invoked. The rights of sanctuary associated with temples, and until recently with certain churches, originated in an appeal to the hospitality of the local deity. The refugee's safety depended on the respect paid to the god. Joab would have been safe had he not outlawed himself in this regard (1 K $2^{31ff.}$). Jael's

dastard deed could be approved only in the heat of patriotic fanaticism (Jg 4^{17} 5^{24}).

In OT times it can hardly be said that **inns** in the later sense existed. The ordinary traveller was provided for by the laws of hospitality. The *mālōn* of Gn 42^{27} etc. was probably nothing more than a place where caravans were accustomed to halt and pass the night. A building of some kind may be intended by the 'lodge of wayfaring men' in the wilderness (Jer 9^{2}). For *gērūth* (Jer 41^{17}) we should probably read *gidrōth*, 'folds' (cf. Jos. *Ant.* x. ix. 5). Great changes were wrought by Greek and Roman influence, and there can be no doubt that in NT times, especially in the larger centres of population, inns were numerous and well appointed. The name *pandocheion* = Arab. *funduq*, shows that the inn was a foreign importation. Those on the highways would in some respects resemble the *khāns* of modern times, and the buildings that stood for centuries on the great lines of caravan traffic, before the sea became the highway of commerce. These were places of strength, as well as of entertainment for man and beast. Such was probably the inn of the Good Samaritan (Lk 10^{34}), identified with *Khān Hadrūr*, on the road to Jericho. The inns would be frequented by men of all nationalities and of all characters. Rabbinical references show that their reputation was not high. It was natural that Christians should, for their own safety, avoid the inn, and practise hospitality among themselves (1 P 4^{9} etc.).

In Lk 2^{7} 'inn' (*kataluma*) probably means, as it does in Mk 14^{14} and Lk 22^{11}, the **guest-chamber** in a private house. Such guest-chambers were open freely to Jews visiting Jerusalem at the great feasts (*Aboth R. Nathan*, cap. 34). It is reasonable to suppose that they would be equally open on an occasion like the registration, requiring the presence of such numbers. If Joseph and Mary, arriving late, found the hoped-for guest-chamber already occupied, they might have no resort but the *khān*, where, in the animal's quarters, Jesus was born.

In modern Palestine hotels are found only at important places on the most popular routes of travel.

W. Ewing.

HOST.—See next art. and Army.

HOST OF HEAVEN.—The phrase 'host (or army) of heaven' occurs in OT in two apparently different senses—referring (1) to stars, (2) to angels.

1. The 'host of heaven' is mentioned as *the object of idolatrous worship*; it is frequently coupled with 'sun and moon,' the **stars** being obviously meant; where 'sun and moon' are not specifically mentioned, the phrase may be used as including them as well. Dt 4^{19} speaks of this worship as a special temptation to Israel; it has been appointed or allotted 'to all the peoples,' *i.e.* the heathen, and is absolutely inconsistent with the worship of J″; the penalty is stoning (17^{3}). The references to it suggest that it became prominent in Israel in the 7th cent. B.C., when Manasseh introduced it into the Temple (2 K 21^{5}); its abolition was part of Josiah's reform ($23^{4.\ 5.\ 12}$). The mention, in the last verse, of 'the altars which were on the roof of the upper chamber of Ahaz' suggests that the worship was, in fact, older than the reign of Manasseh, and had been practised by Ahaz; it was carried on upon the roofs of houses (Jer 19^{13}, Zeph 1^{5}), so that 2 K 23^{12} may well refer to it. Is 17^{8} mentions 'sun-pillars' as characteristic of the idolatry of the reign of Ahaz (unless the words are a later addition), and there are possible traces of nature-worship in earlier periods in Am 5^{26}, and in the names *Beth-shemesh*, *Jericho*, which suggest sun- and moon-worship. 2 K 17^{16}, which speaks of the worship of the host of heaven as prevalent in the Northern Kingdom, is a 'Deuteronomic' passage, which can hardly be pressed historically. Whilst, then, there are early traces of nature-worship, the systematized idolatry of 'the host of heaven' belongs to the period of special Assyrian and Babylonian influence; astrology and kindred beliefs were characteristic of the religions of these countries.

The phrase is used in other contexts of the stars as *the armies of J″*, innumerable, ordered, and obedient (Gn 2^{1}, Ps 33^{6}, Is 34^{4} 45^{12}, Jer 33^{22}). Is 40^{26} ('bringeth out their host by number; he calleth them all by name') comes very near to a personification. In Dn 8^{10} we read of the assault of the 'little horn' on the 'host of heaven' and their 'prince.' This may be only a hyperbolical expression for blasphemous pride, but it strongly suggests the influence of the Babylonian 'dragon myth,' in which heaven itself was stormed; cf. Rev 12^{4} 13^{6}, where the Beast blasphemes God, His tabernacles, and them that dwell in heaven; *i.e.* the angelic host (so Bousset), at least in the idea underlying the conception. Hence in Dn 8^{10} we are probably right in seeing a reference to the stars regarded as animate warriors of J″, their 'captain'; cf. the poetical passages Jg 5^{20} (the stars in their courses fighting against Sisera) and Job 38^{7} (the morning stars, coupled with the 'sons of God,' singing for joy); in these passages it remains a question how far the personification is merely a poetic figure. It is at least possible that a more literally conceived idea lies behind them. In Is 24^{21} we read of the 'host of the height' ('high ones on high'), whom J″ shall punish in the Day of Judgment, together with the kings of the earth. The passage, the date of which is very doubtful, is strongly eschatological, and the phrase must refer to supramundane foes of J″, whether stars or angels; again, a reference to the dragon myth is very possible.

2. Passages such as these lead to the consideration of others where 'host of heaven' = '**angels.**' The chief is 1 K 22^{19} (Micaiah's vision); cf. Ps 103^{21}, Lk 2^{13}. Though this actual phrase is not often used, the attendant ministers of J″ are often spoken of as an organized army (Gn 32^{2}, Jos 5^{14}, 2 K 6^{17}, Job 25^{3}). Cf. in this connexion the title 'Lord of hosts (Sabaoth),' which, though it *may* have been used originally of J″ as the leader of the armies of Israel, admittedly came to be used of Him as ruler of the celestial hosts (see Lord of Hosts). There are passages where the phrase 'host of heaven' is ambiguous, and may refer either to stars or to angels (Dn 4^{35}, Neh 9^{6}, Ps 148^{2} [where it connects angels and sun, moon, and stars]).

3. It remains to consider *the connexion between the two uses of the phrase*. It has been supposed by some to be purely verbal, stars and angels being independently compared to an army; or it has been suggested that the stars were 'the visible image' of the host of angels. But a study of the passages quoted above will probably lead to the conclusion that the connexion is closer. The idolaters evidently regarded the stars as animate; prophets and poets seem to do so too. When this is done, it lies very near at hand to identify them with, or at least assimilate them to, the angels. In the ancient myths and folklore, the traces of which in the Bible are increasingly recognized, stars and angels play a large part, and the conception of the two is not kept distinct. Later thought tended to identify them (Enoch 18^{12} 21^{1} etc., Rev $9^{1.\ 11}$; cf. Is 14^{12}, Lk 10^{18}). Hence the one use of the phrase 'host of heaven' ran naturally into the other, and it seems impossible to draw a sharp line of distinction between the two. As we have seen, there are passages where it is ambiguous, or where it seems to imply the personification of the stars, *i.e.* their practical identification with angels. While there is no reason why the spiritual teachers of Israel should not have countenanced this belief at a certain stage and to a certain point, and should not have adopted in a modified form the eschatology in which it figured, it is of course clear that the conception was kept free from its grosser and superstitious features. Whatever it may have been in the popular mind, to them it is little more than a metaphor, and nothing either distantly resembling the fear or the worship of the stars receives any countenance in their teaching. It is, however, worth while insisting

on the full force of their language as affording a key to the reconstruction of the popular beliefs which seem to lie behind it. It should be noted that Wis 13[2] protests against any idea that the heavenly bodies are animate, and it has been suggested that Ezekiel's avoidance of the phrase 'Lord of hosts' may be due to a fear of seeming to lend any countenance to star-worship.

C. W. Emmet.

HOTHAM.—**1.** An Asherite (1 Ch 7[32]). **2.** Father of two of David's heroes (1 Ch 11[44]).

HOTHIR.—A son of Heman (1 Ch 25[4]).

HOUGH.—The hough (modern spelling 'hock') of a quadruped is the joint between the knee and the fetlock in the hind leg; in man the back of the knee joint, called the ham. To 'hough' is to cut the tendon of the hough, to hamstring. The subst. occurs in 2 Es 15[36] 'the camel's hough' (AVm 'pastern *or* litter'). The verb is found in Jos 11[6. 9], 2 S 8[4], 1 Ch 18[4] always of houghing horses. Tindale translates Gn 49[6] 'In their selfe-will they houghed an oxe,' which is retained in AVm, and inserted into the text of RV in place of 'they digged down a wall.'

HOUR.—See Time.

HOUSE.—The history of human habitation in Palestine goes back to the undated spaces of the palæolithic or early stone age (see especially the important chapter on 'Prehistoric Archæology' in Vincent, *Canaan d'après l'exploration récente*, 1907, pp. 373 ff.). The excavations and discoveries, of the last few years in particular, have introduced us to the pre-historic inhabitants whom the Semitic invaders, loosely termed Canaanites or Amorites, found in occupation of the country somewhere in the third millennium before our era (*circa* B.C. 2500). The men of this early race were still in the neolithic stage of civilization, their only implements being of polished flint, bone, and wood. They lived for the most part in the natural limestone caves in which Palestine abounds. In the historical period such underground **caves** (for descriptions and diagrams of some of the more celebrated, see Schumacher, *Across the Jordan*, 135–146; Bliss and Macalister, *Excavations in Palestine*, 204–270) were used by the Hebrews as places of refuge in times of national danger (Jg 6[2], 1 S 13[6]) and religious persecution (2 Mac 6[11], He 11[38]). But it is not with these, or with the **tents** in which the patriarchs and their descendants lived before the conquest of Canaan, that this article has to deal, but with the houses of clay and stone which were built and occupied after that epoch.

1. *Materials.*—The most primitive of all the houses for which man has been indebted to his own inventiveness is that formed of a few leafy boughs from the primeval forest, represented in Hebrew history to this day by the **booths** of OT (see Booth). Of more permanent habitations, the earliest of which traces have been discovered are probably the **mud huts,** whose foundations were found by Mr. Macalister in the lowest stratum at Gezer, and which are regarded by him as the work of the cave-dwellers of the later stone age (*PEFSt*, 1904, 110). **Clay** in the form of bricks, either sun-dried or, less frequently, baked in a kiln (see Brick), and **stone** (Lv 14[40ff.], Is 9[10] etc.), have been in all ages the building materials of the successive inhabitants of Palestine. Even in districts where stone was available the more tractable material was often preferred. Houses built of crude brick are the 'houses of clay,' the unsubstantial nature of which is emphasized in Job 4[19f.], and whose walls a thief or another could easily dig through (Ezk 12[5], Mt 6[19f.]).

The excavations have shown that there is no uniformity, even at a given epoch, in the size of bricks, which are both rectangular and square in shape. The largest, apparently, have been found at Taanach, roughly 21 inches by 15¼, and 4¾ inches in thickness. At Gezer a common size is a square brick 15 inches in the side and 7 inches thick (*PEFSt*, 1902, 319). In the Mishna the standard size is a square brick 9 inches each way (*Erubin*, i. 3).

The stone used for house building varied from common field stones and larger, roughly shaped, quarry stones to the carefully dressed **wrought stone** (*gāzith*, 1 K 5[17] RV) or 'hewn-stone, according to measure, sawed with saws' (7[9]), such as was used by Solomon in his building operations. Similarly rubble, wrought stone, and brick are named in the Mishna as the building materials of the time (*Baba bathra*, i. 1). For **mortar** clay was the usual material, although the use of **bitumen** [wh. see] (Gn 11[3] RVm, EV 'slime') was not unknown. **Wood** as a building material was employed mainly for roofing, and to a less extent for internal decoration (see below).

2. *General plan of Hebrew houses.*—The recent excavations at Gezer and elsewhere have shown that the simplest type of house in Palestine has scarcely altered in any respect for four thousand years. Indeed, its construction is so simple that the possibility of change is reduced to a minimum. In a Syrian village of to-day the typical abode of the *fellah* consists of a walled enclosure, within which is a small court closed at the farther end by a house of a single room. This is frequently divided into two parts, one level with the entrance, assigned at night to the domestic animals, cows, ass, etc.; the other, about 18 in. higher, occupied by the peasant and his family. A somewhat better class of house consists of two or three rooms, of which the largest is the family living and sleeping room, a second is assigned to the cattle, while a third serves as general store-room (AV **closet**).

The Canaanite houses, which the Hebrews inherited (Dt 6[10]) and copied, are now known to have been arranged on similar lines (see the diagram of a typical Canaanite house in Gezer, restored by Mr. Macalister in his *Bible Sidelights from Gezer* [1906], fig. 25). As in all Eastern domestic architecture, the rooms were built on one or more sides of an open **court** (2 S 17[18], Jer 32[2] etc.). These rooms were of small dimensions, 12 to 15 feet square as a rule, with which may be compared the legal definition of 'large' and 'small' rooms in the late period of the Mishna. The former was held to measure 15 ft. by 12, with a height, following the model of the Temple (1 K 6[2ff.]), equal to half the sum of the length and breadth, namely, 13½ ft.; a 'small' room measured 12 ft. by 9, with a height of 10½ ft. (*Baba bathra*, vi. 4).

Should occasion arise, through the marriage of a son or otherwise, to enlarge the house, this was done by building one or more additional rooms on another side of the court. In the case of a 'man of wealth' (1 S 9[1] RVm), the house would consist of two or even more courts, in which case the rooms about the 'inner court' (Est 4[11]) were appropriated to the women of the family. The court, further, often contained a **cistern** to catch and retain the precious supply of water that fell in the rainy season (2 S 17[18]). For the question of an upper storey see § 4.

3. *Foundation and dedication rites.*—In building a house, the first step was to dig out the space required for the foundation (cf. Mt 7[24ff.]), after which came the ceremony of the laying of the **foundation stone**, the **'corner stone** of sure foundation' of Is 28[16] (see, further, Corner-Stone). The 'day of the foundation' (2 Ch 8[16]), as we learn from the poetic figure of Job 38[6ff.], was, as it is at the present day, one of great rejoicing (cf. Ezr 3[11]).

With the exception of a passage to be cited presently, the OT is silent regarding a foundation rite on which a lurid light has been cast by the latest excavations in Palestine. It is now certain that the Canaanites, and the Hebrews after them, were wont to consecrate the foundation of a new building by a **human sacrifice.** The precise details of the rite are still uncertain, but there is already ample evidence to show that, down even to 'the latter half of the Hebrew monarchy' (*PEFSt*, 1903, 224), it was a frequent practice to bury infants, whether alive or after previous sacrifice is still doubtful, in large jars 'generally under the ends of walls,—that is, at the corners of houses or chambers or just under the door

jambs' (*ibid.* 306). At Megiddo was found the skeleton of a girl of about fifteen years, who had clearly been built alive into the foundation of a fortress; at Taanach was found one of ten years of age; and skeletons of adults have also been discovered.

An interesting development of this rite of **foundation sacrifice** can be traced from the fifteenth century B.C. onwards. With the jar containing the body of the victim there were at first deposited other jars containing jugs, bowls, and a lamp, perhaps also food, as in ordinary burials. Gradually, it would seem, lamps and bowls came to be buried alone, as substitutes and symbols of the human victim, most frequently a lamp within a bowl, with another bowl as covering. Full details of this curious rite cannot be given here, but no other theory so plausible has yet been suggested to explain these 'lamp and bowl deposits' (see Macalister's reports in *PEFSt*, from 1903—esp. p. 306 ff. with illustrations—onwards, also his *Bible Sidelights*, 165 ff.; Vincent, *Canaan*, 50 f., 192, 198 ff.). The only reference to foundation sacrifice in OT is the case of Hiel the Bethelite, who sacrificed his two sons—for that such is the true interpretation can now scarcely be doubted—his first-born at the re-founding of Jericho, and his youngest at the completion and dedication of the walls and gates (1 K 16^{34} RV).

Here by anticipation may be taken the rite of the formal **dedication** of a private house, which is attested by Dt 20^{5}, although the references in Hebrew literature to the actual ceremony are confined to sacred and public buildings (Lv $8^{10ff.}$, 1 K $8^{1ff.\ 10ff.}$, Ezr $6^{16\ f.}$, Neh 3^{1} 12^{27}, 1 Mac $4^{52ff.}$). It is not improbable that some of the human victims above alluded to may have been offered in connexion with the dedication or restoration of important buildings (cf. 1 K 16^{34} above).

On the whole subject it may be said, in conclusion, that, judging from the ideas and practice of the Bedouin when a new tent or 'house of hair' is set up, we ought to seek the explanation of the rite of foundation sacrifice—a practice which obtains among many races widely separated in space and time—in the desire to propitiate the spirit whose abode is supposed to be disturbed by the new foundation (cf. Trumbull, *Threshold Covenant*, 46 ff.), rather than in the wish to secure the spirit of the victim as the tutelary genius of the new building. This ancient custom still survives in the sacrifice of a sheep or other animal, which is indispensable to the safe occupation of a new house in Moslem lands, and even to the successful inauguration of a public work, such as a railway, or—as the other day in Damascus—of an electric lighting installation. In the words of an Arab sheik: 'Every house must have its death—man, woman, child, or animal' (Curtiss, *Primitive Semitic Religion To-day*).

4. *Details of construction, walls and floor.*—The **walls** of Canaanite and Hebrew houses were for the most part, as we have seen, of crude brick or stone. At Tell el-Hesy (Lachish), for example, we find at one period house walls of 'dark-brown clay with little straw'; at another, walls of 'reddish-yellow clay, full of straw' (Bliss, *A Mound of Many Cities*, 44). At Gezer Mr. Macalister found a wall that was 'remarkable for being built in alternate courses of red and white bricks, the red course being four inches in height, the white five inches' (*PEFSt*, 1903, 216). As a rule, however, the Gezer house walls consisted 'of common field stones, among which dressed stones—even at corners and door posts—are of the rarest possible occurrence. The joints are wide and irregular, and filled with mud packed in the widest places with smaller stones' (*ibid.* 215). The explanation of this simple architecture is that in early times each man built his own house, expert **builders** (Ps 118^{22}) or **masons** (see Arts and Crafts, § 3) being employed only on royal residences, city walls, and other buildings of importance. Hence squared and dressed stones are mentioned in OT only in connexion with such works (1 K 5^{17} 7^{9}) and the houses of the wealthy (Am 5^{11}, Is 9^{10}). In the Gezer houses of the post-exilic period, however, 'the stones are well dressed and squared, often as well shaped as a modern brick' (*PEFSt*, 1904, 124, with photograph, 125). Between these two extremes are found walls of rubble, and quarry stones of various sizes, roughly trimmed with a hammer. Mud was 'universally used as **mortar.**'

In ordinary cases the thickness of the outside walls varied from 18 to 24 inches; that of partition walls, on the other hand, did not exceed 9 to 12 inches (*ib.* 118). In NT times the thickness varied somewhat with the materials employed (see *Baba bathra*, i. 1). It is doubtful if the common view is correct, which finds in certain passages, especially Ps 118^{22} and its NT citations, a reference to a **corner stone** on the topmost course of masonry (see Corner). In most cases the reference is to the foundation stone at the corner of two walls, as explained above.

The inside walls of stone houses received a **'plaister'** (EV) of clay (Lv $14^{41ff.}$, AV 'dust,' RV 'mortar'), or, in the better houses, of lime or gypsum (Dn 5^{5}). The 'untempered mortar' of Ezk 13^{11} 22^{28} was some sort of **whitewash** applied to the outside walls, as is attested for NT times (Mt 23^{27}, Ac 23^{3} 'thou whited wall'). In the houses of the wealthy, as in the Temple, it was customary to line the walls with cypress (2 Ch 3^{5}, EV 'fir'), cedar, and other valuable woods (1 K $6^{15.\ 18}$ 7^{7}). The 'cieled houses' of EV (Jer 22^{14}, Hag 1^{4} etc.) are houses panelled with wood in this way (Cieled). The acme of elegance was represented by cedar panels inlaid with ivory, such as earned for Ahab's pleasure kiosk the name of 'the ivory house' (1 K 22^{39}) and incurred the denunciation of Amos (Am 3^{15}). We also hear of the panelled **'cielings'** of the successive Temples (1 K 6^{15}, 2 Mac 1^{16} RV).

The **floors** of the houses were in all periods made of hard beaten clay, the permanence of which to this day has proved to the excavators a precious indication of the successive occupations of the buried cities of Palestine. Public buildings have been found paved with slabs of stone. The better sort of private houses were no doubt, like the Temple (1 K 6^{15}), floored with cypress and other woods.

The presence of vaults or **cellars,** in the larger houses at least, is shown by Lk 11^{33} RV. The excavations also show that when a wholly or partly ruined town was rebuilt, the houses of the older stratum were frequently retained as underground store-rooms of the new houses on the higher level. The reference in 1 Ch $27^{27.\ 28}$ to wine and oil 'cellars' (EV) is to 'stores' of these commodities, rather than to the places where the latter were kept.

5. *The roof.*—The ancient houses of Canaan, like their modern representatives, had flat **roofs,** supported by stout wooden **beams** laid from wall to wall. Across these were laid smaller **rafters** (Ca 1^{17}), then brushwood, reeds, and the like, above which was a layer of earth several inches thick, while on the top of all came a thick plaster of clay or of clay and lime. It was such a roofing (AV **tiling,** RV **tiles,** Lk 5^{19}) that the friends of the paralytic 'broke up' in order to lower him into the room below (Mk 2^{4}). The wood for the roof-beams was furnished mostly by the common sycamore, cypress (Ca 1^{17}) and cedar (1 K 6^{9}) being reserved for the homes of the wealthy. Hence the point of Isaiah's contrast between the humble houses of crude brick, roofed with sycamore, and the stately edifices of hewn stone roofed with cedar (Is 9^{10}).

It was, and is, difficult to keep such a roof watertight in the rainy season, as Pr 27^{16} shows. In several houses at Gezer a primitive drain of jars was found for carrying the water from the leaking roof (Ec 10^{18} RV) through the floor to the foundations beneath (*PEFSt*, 1904, 14, with illust.). In the Mishna there is mention of at least two kinds of spout or **gutter** (2 S 5^{8} AV, but the sense here is doubtful) for conveying the rain water from the roof to the cistern. Evidence has accumulated in recent years showing that even in the smallest houses it was usual to have the beams of the roof supported

by a row of wooden posts, generally three in number, resting on stone bases, 'from 1 foot 6 inches to 2 feet in diameter' (*PEFSt*, 1904, 115, with photo.). The same method was adopted for the roofs of large public buildings (see Bliss, *Mound of Many Cities*, 91 f., with plan), and Mr. Macalister has ingeniously explained Samson's feat at the temple of Dagon, by supposing that he slid two of the massive wooden pillars (Jg $16^{29\,f.}$) supporting the portico from their stone supports, thus causing its collapse (*Bible Sidelights*, 136 ff. with illust.).

The roof was required by law to be surrounded by a **battlement**, or rather a parapet, as a protection against accident (Dt 22^{8}). Access to the roof was apparently obtained, as at the present day, by an **outside stair** leading from the court. Our EV finds **winding stairs** in the Temple (1 K 6^{8}), and some sort of inner stair or ladder is required by the reference to the secret trap-door in 2 Mac 1^{16}. The roof or **housetop** was put to many uses, domestic (Jos 2^{6}) and other. It was used, in particular, for recreation (2 S 11^{2}) and for sleeping (1 S $9^{25\,f.}$), also for prayer and meditation (Ac 10^{9}), lamentation (Is 15^{3}, Jer 48^{38}), and even for idolatrous worship (Jer 19^{13}, Zeph 1^{5}). For these and other purposes a tent (2 S 16^{22}) or a booth (Neh 8^{16}) might be provided, or a permanent **roof-chamber** might be erected. Such were the 'chamber with walls' (2 K 4^{10} RVm) erected for Elisha, the 'summer **parlour**' (Jg 3^{20}, lit. as RVm 'upper chamber of cooling') of Eglon, and the '**loft**' (RV 'chamber') of 1 K 17^{19}.

Otherwise the houses of Palestine were, as a rule, of one storey. Exceptions were confined to the houses of the great, and to crowded cities like Jerusalem and Samaria. Ahaziah's upper chamber in the latter city (2 K 1^{2}) may well have been a room in the second storey of the royal palace, where was evidently the window from which Jezebel was thrown (9^{33}). The same may be said of the 'upper room' in which the Last Supper was held (Mk 14^{15}‖; cf. Ac 1^{13}). It was a Greek city, however, in which Eutychus fell from a window in the '**third story**' (Ac 20^{9} RV).

6. *The door and its parts.*—The door consisted of four distinct parts: the **door** proper, the **threshold**, the **lintel** (Ex 12^{7} RV), and the two **doorposts**. The first of these was of wood, and was hung upon projecting pivots of wood, the **hinges** of Pr 26^{14}, which turned in corresponding sockets in the threshold and lintel respectively. Like the Egyptians and Babylonians, the Hebrews probably cased the pivots and sockets of heavy doors with bronze; those of the Temple doors were sheathed in gold (1K 7^{50}). In the Hauran, doors of a single slab of stone with stone pivots are still found *in situ*. **Folding doors** are mentioned only in connexion with the Temple (1 K 6^{34}).

The **threshold** (Jg 19^{27}, 1 K 14^{17} etc.) or sill must have been invariably of stone. Among the Hebrews, as among so many other peoples of antiquity, a special sanctity attached to the threshold (see Trumbull, *The Threshold Covenant, passim*). The **doorposts** or jambs were square posts of wood (1 K 7^{5}, Ezk 41^{21}) or of stone. The command of Dt 6^{9} 11^{20} gave rise to the practice, still observed in all Jewish houses, of enclosing a piece of parchment containing the words of Dt $6^{4\text{-}9}$ $11^{13\text{-}21}$ in a small case of metal or wood, which is nailed to the doorpost, hence its modern name *mezuzah* ('doorpost').

Doors were locked (Jg $3^{23\,f.}$) by an arrangement similar to that still in use in Syria (see the illust. in Hastings' *DB* ii. 836). This consists of a short upright piece of wood, fastened on the inside of the door, through which a square wooden **bolt** (Ca 5^{5}, Neh 3^{3} RV, for AV **lock**) passes at right angles into a socket in the jamb of the door. When the bolt is shot by the hand, three to six small iron pins drop from the upright into holes in the bolt, which is hollow at this part. The latter cannot now be drawn back without the proper **key**. This is a flat piece of wood—straight or bent as the case may be—into the upper surface of which pins have been fixed corresponding exactly in number and position to the holes in the bolt. The person wishing to enter the house 'puts in his hand by the hole of the door' (Ca 5^{4}), and inserts the key into the hollow part of the bolt in such a way that the pins of the key will displace those in the holes of the bolt, which is then easily withdrawn from the socket and the door is open.

In the larger houses it was customary to have a man (Mk 13^{34}) or a woman (2 S 4^{6} RVm, Jn 18^{17}) to act as a **doorkeeper** or **porter**. In the palaces of royalty this was a military duty (1 K 14^{27}) and an office of distinction (Est 2^{21} 6^{2}).

7. *Lighting and heating.*—The ancient Hebrew houses must have been very imperfectly lighted. Indeed, it is almost certain that, in the poorer houses at least, the only light available was admitted through the doorway (cf. Sir 42^{11} [Heb. text], 'Let there be no casement where thy daughter dwells'). In any case, such windows as did exist were placed high up in the walls, at least six feet from the ground, according to the Mishna. We have no certain monumental evidence as to the size and construction of the **windows** of Hebrew houses (but see for a probable stone window-frame, 20 inches high, Bliss and Macalister, *Excavs. in Palest.* 143 and pl. 73). They may, however, safely be assumed to have been much smaller than those to which we are accustomed, although the commonest variety, the *challōn*, was large enough to allow a man to pass out (Jos 2^{15}, 1 S 19^{12}) or in (Jl 2^{9}). Another variety (*'arubbah*) was evidently smaller, since it is used also to designate the holes of a dovecot (Is 60^{8} EV 'windows'). These and other terms are rendered in our versions by 'window,' **lattice**, and **casement** (Pr 7^{6} AV and RV 'lattice'). None of these, of course, was filled with glass. Like the windows of Egyptian houses, they were doubtless closed with wood or lattice-work, which could be opened when necessary (2 K 13^{17}). An obscure expression in 1 K 6^{4} is rendered by RV, 'windows of fixed lattice-work.' During the hours of darkness, light was supplied by the small oil lamp which was kept continually burning (see LAMP).

Most of the houses excavated show a depression of varying dimensions in the floor, either in the centre or in a corner, which, from the obvious traces of fire, was clearly the family **hearth** (Is 30^{14}). Wood was the chief **fuel** (see COAL), supplemented by withered vegetation of all sorts (Mt 6^{30}), and probably, as at the present day, by dried cow and camel dung (Ezk 4^{15}). The pungent smoke, which was trying to the eyes (Pr 10^{26}), escaped by the door or by the window, for the **chimney** of Hos 13^{3} is properly 'window' or 'casement' (*'arubbah*, see above). In the cold season the upper classes warmed their rooms by means of a **brasier** (Jer $36^{22\,f.}$ RV), or **fire-pan** (Zec 12^{6} RV).

8. *Furniture of the house.*—This in early times was of the simplest description. Even at the present day the fellahin sit and sleep mostly on **mats** and mattresses spread upon the floor. So the Hebrew will once have slept, wrapped in his *simlah* or cloak as 'his only covering' (Ex 22^{27}), while his household gear will have consisted mainly of the necessary utensils for the preparation of food, to which the following section is devoted. Under the monarchy, however, when a certain 'great woman' of Shunem proposed to furnish 'a little chamber over the wall' for Elisha, she named 'a bed and a table and a stool and a candlestick' (2 K 4^{10}), and we know otherwise that while the poor man slept on a simple mat of straw or rushes in the single room that served as living and sleeping room, the well-to-do had not only **beds** but **bedchambers** (2 S 4^{7}, 2 K 11^{2}, Jth 16^{19} etc.). The former consisted of a framework of wood, on which were laid **cushions** (Am 3^{12} RV), 'carpets' and 'striped cloths' (Pr 7^{16} RV). We hear also of the 'bed's head' (Gn 47^{31}) or curved end, as figured by Wilkinson, *Anc. Egyp.* i. 416, fig. 191 (where note the steps for 'going up' to the bed; cf. 1 K 1^{4}). **Bolsters** have rightly disappeared from RV, which renders otherwise (see 1 S 19^{13} 26^{7} etc.); the **pillow** also from Gn $28^{11.\ 18}$ and Mk 4^{38}

(RV here, 'cushion'), and where it is retained, as 1 S 19[13], the sense is doubtful. Reference may be made to the richly appointed bed of Holofernes, with its gorgeous **mosquito curtain** (Jth 10[21] 13[9]).

The bed often served as a **couch** by day (Ezk 23[41], Am 3[12] RV—see also MEALS, § 3), and it is sometimes uncertain which is the more suitable rendering. In Est 1[6], for example, RV rightly substitutes 'couches' for 'beds' in the description of the magnificent divans of gold and silver in the palace of Ahasuerus (cf. 7[8]). The wealthy and luxurious contemporaries of Amos had their beds and couches inlaid with ivory (Am 6[4]), and furnished, according to RV, with 'silken cushions' (3[12] RV).

As regards the stool above referred to, and the seats of the Hebrews generally, it must suffice to state that the seats of the contemporary Egyptians (for illustt. see Wilkinson, *op. cit.* i. 408 ff.) and Assyrians were of two main varieties, namely, **stools** and **chairs.** The former were constructed either with a square frame or after the shape of our camp-stools; the latter with a straight or rounded back only, or with a back and arms. The Hebrew word for Elisha's stool is always applied elsewhere to the seats of persons of distinction and the thrones of kings; it must therefore have been a chair rather than a stool, although the latter is its usual meaning in the Mishna (Krengel, *Das Hausgerät in der Mishnah*, 10 f.—a mine of information regarding the furniture, native and foreign, to be found in Jewish houses in later times). **Footstools** were also in use (2 Ch 9[18] and oft., especially in metaphors).

The **tables** were chiefly of wood, and, like those of the Egyptians (Wilkinson, *op. cit.* i. 417 f. with illustt.), were 'round, square, or oblong,' as the Mishna attests. They were relatively much smaller and lower than ours (see, further, MEALS, § 4).

The fourth article in Elisha's room was a **candlestick,** really a **lampstand,** for which see LAMP. It would extend this article beyond due limits to discuss even a selection from the many other articles of furniture, apart from those reserved for the closing section, which are named in Biblical and post-Biblical literature, or which have been brought to light in surprising abundance by the recent excavations. Mention can be made only of articles of toilet, such as the 'molten **mirror**' of Job 37[18] (AV **looking-glass**), the paint-pot (2 K 9[30]), pins and needles, of which many specimens in bone, bronze, and silver have been found; of the distaff, spindle, and loom (see SPINNING AND WEAVING), for the manufacture of the family garments, and the chest for holding them; and finally, of the children's cradle (Krengel, *op. cit.* 26), and their toys of clay and bone.

9. *Utensils connected with food.*—Conspicuous among the 'earthen vessels' (2 S 17[28]) of every household was the water-jar or **pitcher** (*kad*)—the **barrel** of 1 K 18[33], Amer. RV **jar**—in which water was fetched from the village well (Gn 24[15], Mk 14[13], and oft.). From this smaller jar, carried on head or shoulder, the water was emptied into the larger **waterpots** of Jn 2[6]. Large jars were also required for the household provisions of wheat and barley—one variety in NT times was large enough to hold a man. Others held the store of olives and other fruits. The **cruse** was a smaller jar with one or two handles, used for carrying water on a journey (1 S 26[11f.], 1 K 19[6]), also for holding oil (1 K 17[12]). (See, further, art. POTTERY, and the elaborate studies, with illustrations, of the thousands of 'potter's vessels' which the excavations have brought to light, in the great work of Bliss and Macalister entitled *Excavations in Palestine*, 1898–1900, pp. 71–141, with plates 20–55; also Vincent's *Canaan d'après l'exploration récente*, 1907, pp. 296–360, with the illustrations there and throughout the book).

The **bucket** of Nu 24[7], Is 40[15] was a water-skin, probably adapted, as at the present day, for drawing water by having two pieces of wood inserted crosswise at the mouth. The main use of skins among the Hebrews, however, was to hold the wine and other fermented liquors. The misleading rendering **bottles** is retained in RV except where the context requires the true rendering '**skins**' or '**wine-skins**' (Jos 9[4. 13], Mt 9[17]). For another use of skins see MILK. 'After the water-skins,' says Doughty, 'a pair of **mill-stones** is the most necessary husbandry in an Arabian household,' and so it was among the Hebrews, as may be seen in the article MILL.

No house was complete without a supply of **baskets** of various sizes and shapes for the bread (Ex 29[23]) and the fruit (Dt 26[2]), and even in early times for the serving of meat (Jg 6[19]). Among the 'vessels of wood' of Lv 15[12] was the indispensable wooden bowl, which served as a **kneading-trough** (Ex 12[34]), and various other **bowls,** such as the 'lordly dish' of the nomad Jael (Jg 5[25]) and the bowl of Gideon (6[38]), although the bowls were mostly of earthenware (see BOWL).

As regards the actual preparation of food, apart from the **oven** (for which see BREAD), our attention is drawn chiefly to the various members of the pot family, so to say. Four of these are named together in 1 S 2[14], the *kiyyōr*, the *dūd*, the *qallachath*, and the *pārūr*, rendered respectively the **pan,** the **kettle,** the **caldron,** and the **pot.** Elsewhere these terms are rendered with small attempt at consistency; while a fifth, the most frequently named of all, the *sīr*, is the **flesh-pot** of Ex 3[16], the 'great pot' of 2 K 4[38], and the 'caldron' of Jer 1[13]. In what respect these differed it is impossible to say. The *sīr* was evidently of large size and made of bronze (1 K 7[45]), while the *pārūr* was small and of earthenware, hence ben-Sira's question: 'What fellowship hath the [earthen] pot with the [bronze] caldron?' (Sir 13[2], Heb. text). The *kiyyōr*, again, was wide and shallow, rather than narrow and deep. Numerous illustrations of cooking-pots from OT times may be seen in the recent works above referred to. The only cooking utensils known to be of iron are the **baking-pan** (Lv 2[5] RV), probably a shallow iron plate (see Ezk 4[3]), and the **frying-pan** (Lv 2[7]). A **knife,** originally of flint (Jos 5[2]) and later of bronze, was required for cutting up the meat to be cooked (Gn 22[6. 10], Jg 19[29]), and a **fork** for lifting it from the pot (1 S 2[13] EV **fleshhook** [wh. see]).

In the collection of pottery figured in Bliss and Macalister's work one must seek the counterparts of the various dishes, mostly wide, deep bowls, in which we read of food being served, such as the '**dish**' from which the sluggard is too lazy to withdraw his hand (Pr 19[24] RV), and the **chargers** of Nu 7[13], though here they are of silver (see, further, MEALS, § 5). In the same work the student will find an almost endless variety of **cups,** some for drawing the 'cup of cold water' from the large water-jars, others for wine—**flagons,** jugs, and juglets. The material of all of these will have ascended from the coarsest earthenware to bronze (Lv 6[28]), and from bronze to silver (Nu 7[13], Jth 12[1]) and gold (1 K 10[21], Est 1[7]), according to the rank and wealth of their owners and the purposes for which they were designed.

A. R. S. KENNEDY.

HOZAI is given as a prop. name in RV of 2 Ch 33[19], where AV and RVm give 'the seers.' AVm has **Hosai.** If we retain the MT, the tr. of RV seems the only defensible one, but perhaps the original reading was 'his seers.'

HUKKOK.—A place near Tabor on the west of Naphtali (Jos 19[34]). It may be the present village *Yākūk* near the edge of the plateau to the N.W. of the Sea of Galilee.

HUKOK.—See HELKATH.

HUL.—The eponym of an Aramæan tribe (Gn 10[23]) whose location is quite uncertain.

HULDAH ('weasel'; an old totem clan-name—so W. R. Smith).—'The prophetess, wife of Shallum, keeper of the wardrobe,' living in a part of Jerusalem called the *Mishneh* ('second quarter'), whose advice

Josiah sought, by a deputation of his chief ministers, on the alarming discovery of 'the book of the law' in the Temple, in 621 B.C. (2 K 22^{3-20} = 2 Ch 34^{8-28}). Her response was threatening for the nation, in the strain of Jeremiah, while promising exemption to the pious king. Huldah ranks with Deborah and Hannah among the rare women-prophets of the OT.

G. G. FINDLAY.

HUMILITY.—Trench defines 'humility' as the esteeming of ourselves small, inasmuch as we are so; the thinking truly, and because truly, therefore lowlily, of ourselves. Alford, Ellicott, Salmond, Vincent, and many others agree. It is an inadequate and faulty definition. A man may be small and may realize his smallness, and yet be far from being humble. His spirit may be full of envy instead of humility. He may be depressed in spirit because he sees his own meanness and general worthlessness, and yet he may be as rebellious against his lot or his constitutional proclivities as he is clearly cognizant of them. Low-mindedness is not lowly-mindedness. The exhortation of Ph 2^{3} does not mean that every man ought to think that everybody else is better than himself in moral character, or in outward conduct, or in natural or inherited powers. That would be impossible in some cases and untruthful in many others. It is not an exhortation to either an impossibility or an untruthfulness. A better definition of the Christian grace of humility is found in the union of highest self-respect with uttermost abandon of sacrifice in service. A man who knows his own superior worth and yet is willing to serve his inferiors in Christian love is a humble man. The classic example in the NT is Jn 13^{3-15}. The Lord, knowing that the Father had given all things into His hands, and that He came forth from God and would go again unto God, knowing His incomparable superiority to every one in that company, was yet so meek and lowly in heart, so humble in spirit and ready for service, that He girded Himself with a towel and washed the disciples' feet. The consciousness of His own transcendent worth was in no respect inconsistent with His humility. Genuine humility leads the strong to serve the weak. It never underestimates its own worth, but in utter unselfishness it is ready to sacrifice its own claims at any moment for the general good. Genuine humility loses all its self-conceit but never loses its self-respect. It is consistent with the highest dignity of character and life. Hence we may rightly call the Incarnation the Humiliation of Christ. He stood at the head of the heavenly hierarchies. He was equal with God. There was no dignity in the universe like unto His. Yet He humbled Himself to become a man. He made Himself of no reputation. He came not to be ministered unto, but to minister. He was the servant of all. There was no humility in the universe like unto His. He never forgot His dignity. When Pilate asked Him if He were a king, He answered that He was. He stood in kingly majesty before the mob, in kingly serenity before the magistrates; He hung as King upon the cross. Yet He never forgot His humility. Being found in fashion as a man, He humbled Himself, and became obedient unto death, even the death of the cross. St. Paul exhorts, 'Let this mind be in you which was also in Christ Jesus' (Ph 2^{5-11}). God giveth grace to all who are thus humble (Ja 4^{6}).

When Augustine was asked, 'What is the first article in the Christian religion?' he answered, 'Humility.' And they said, 'What is the second?' and he said, 'Humility.' And they said, 'What is the third?' and he said the third time, 'Humility.' Pascal said: 'Vanity has taken so firm a hold on the heart of man, that a porter, a hodman, a turn-spit, can talk greatly of himself, and is for having his admirers. Philosophers who write of the contempt of glory do yet desire the glory of writing well, and those who read their compositions would not lose the glory of having read them. We are so presumptuous as that we desire to be known to all the world; and even to those who are not to come into the world till we have left it. And at the same time we are so little and vain as that the esteem of five or six persons about us is enough to content and amuse us.'

D. A. HAYES.

HUMTAH.—A city of Judah (Jos 15^{54}). The site is doubtful.

HUNTING is not conspicuous in the literature of the Hebrews that remains to us. We may probably infer that it did not bulk largely in their life. As an amusement, it seems to belong to a more advanced stage of civilization than they had reached. The typical hunter was found outside their borders (Gn 10^{9}). Esau, skilful in the **chase,** is depicted as somewhat uncouth and simple (Gn 25^{27} etc.). Not till the time of Herod do we hear of a king achieving excellence in this form of sport (Jos. *BJ* I. xxi. 13). Wild animals and birds were, however, appreciated as food (Lv 17^{13}, 1 S 26^{20} etc.); and in a country like Palestine, abounding in beasts and birds of prey, some proficiency in the huntsman's art was necessary in order to secure the safety of the community, and the protection of the flocks. Among these 'evil beasts' lions and bears were the most dangerous (Gn 37^{33}, 1 K 13^{24}, 2 K 2^{24}, Pr 28^{15} etc.). Deeds of prowess in the slaughter of such animals—by Samson in self-defence (Jg 14^{5}), David the shepherd to rescue his charges (1 S 17^{34}), and Benaiah (2 S 23^{20}) —gained for these men abiding fame. H. P. Smith (*Samuel, in loc.*) would read of Benaiah: 'He used to go down and smite the lions in the pit on snowy days,' when he could track them easily. The difficulty is that snowy days would be rather few to permit of his making a reputation in this way.

Among the animals hunted for food were the gazelle, the hart, the roebuck, and the wild goat (Dt $12^{15.\ 22}$ 14^{5} etc.). The first three are mentioned specially as furnishing the table of Solomon (1 K 4^{23}). The partridge was perhaps the bird chiefly hunted in ancient times, as it is at the present day (1 S 26^{20}). Neither beast nor bird might be eaten unless the blood had been 'poured out' (Lv 17^{13}, Dt 12^{16} etc.)—a law still observed by the Moslems.

Little information is given in Scripture as to the methods followed by the huntsmen. The hunting dog is not mentioned; but it is familiar to Josephus (*Ant.* VI. viii. 9). The following implements were in use, viz.:— the bow and arrow (Gn 27^{3} etc.), the club (Job 41^{29}), nets (Job 19^{6}, Ps 9^{16}, Is 51^{20} etc.), pits, in which there might be a net, dug and concealed to entrap the larger animals (Ps 9^{15}, Ezk 19^{8} etc.), the sling (1 S 17^{40}), the snare of the fowler (Ps 64^{5} 91^{3} 124^{7}). The tame partridge in a cage was used as a decoy (Sir 11^{30}). The modern Syrian is not greatly addicted to hunting. Occasional raids are made upon the bears on Mt. Hermon. To the scandal of Jew and Moslem, Christians sometimes hunt the wild boar in the Huleh marshes, and in the thickets beyond Jordan. See also NETS, SNARES, etc.

W. EWING.

HUPHAM.—See HUPPIM.

HUPPAH.—A priest of the 13th course (1 Ch 24^{13}).

HUPPIM.—The head of a Benjamite family (Gn 46^{21} P, 1 Ch $7^{12.\ 15}$, Nu 26^{39} **[Hupham]**).

HUR.—The name is possibly of Egyptian origin. **1.** With Aaron he held up Moses' hands, in order that by the continual uplifting of the sacred staff Israel might prevail over Amalek (Ex $17^{10.\ 12}$ E). With Aaron he was left in charge of the people when Moses ascended the mountain (24^{14} E). **2.** A Judahite, the grandfather of Bezalel (Ex 31^{2} 35^{30} 38^{22} P). According to the Chronicler, he was descended from Perez, through Hezron and Caleb (1 Ch $2^{19-f\ 50}$ 4^{1-4}, 2 Ch 1^{5}); and in Jos. *Ant.* III. ii. 4, vi. 1, he is the husband of Miriam, and identical with **1.** **3.** One of the kings of Midian slain after the sin at Peor (Nu 31^{8}); described as 'chiefs' of Midian, and 'princes' of Sihon (Jos 13^{21}). **4.** The father of one of the twelve officers who supplied Solomon and his court with food (1 K 4^{8} RV **'Ben-hur'**).

5. The father of Rephaiah, who was a ruler of half of Jerusalem, and who helped to repair the walls (Neh 3^{9}). LXX omits the name Hur. A. H. M'Neile.

HURAI.—See Hiddai.

HURAM.—**1.** A Benjamite (1 Ch 8^{5}). **2. 3.** See Hiram, **1** and **2**.

HURI.—A Gadite (1 Ch 5^{14}).

HUSBAND.—See Family.

HUSBANDMAN, HUSBANDRY.—In EV the former is, in most cases, synonymous with 'a tiller of the ground,' which RV has substituted for it in Zec 13^{5}—in modern English, a farmer. The first farmer mentioned in OT, therefore, is not Noah the 'husbandman' (Gn 9^{20}), but Cain the 'tiller of the ground' (4^{2}). In Jn 15^{1}, however, the former has the more limited sense of vinedresser: 'I am the true vine and my Father is the vinedresser' (AV and RV 'husbandman'). So, too, in the parable of the Vineyard (Mt $21^{33ff.}$).

'Husbandry,' in the same way, is tillage, farming. Thus of king Uzziah it is said that 'he loved husbandry' (lit. 'the land' in the modern sense, 2 Ch 26^{10}), that is, as the context shows, he loved and fostered agriculture, including viticulture. In 1 Co 3^{9} 'husbandry' is used by metonymy of the land tilled (cf. RVm): 'ye are God's field' (Weymouth, *The NT in Modern Speech*).

A. R. S. Kennedy.

HUSHAH.—Son of Ezer, the son of Hur (see Hur, **2**), and therefore of the tribe of Judah (1 Ch 4^{4}).

HUSHAI.—An Archite (2 S 15^{32} $17^{5.\ 14}$), *i.e.* a native of 'the border of the Archites' (Jos 16^{2}) to the W. of Bethel. He is further described as 'the friend of David' (15^{37}), while at 2 S 16^{16} the two titles are united. At the rebellion of Absalom he was induced by David to act as if he favoured the cause of the king's son. By so doing he was enabled both to defeat the plans of Ahithophel and to keep David informed (by means of Ahimaaz and Jonathan, the sons of Zadok and Abiathar the priests) of the progress of events in Jerusalem (2 S 16^{16}–17^{23}). He is probably to be identified with the father of Baana, one of Solomon's twelve commissariat officers (1 K 4^{16}).

HUSHAM.—A king of Edom (Gn $36^{34.\ 35}$ = 1 Ch $1^{45.\ 46}$).

HUSHATHITE (prob. = an inhabitant of Hushah).—This description is applied to **Sibbecai**, one of David's thirty heroes (2 S 21^{18} = 1 Ch 20^{4}, 2 S 23^{27} = 1 Ch 11^{29} 27^{11}).

HUSHIM.—**1.** The eponym of a Danite family (Gn 46^{23}); called in Nu 26^{42} **Shuham.** In 1 Ch 7^{12} Hushim seems to be a Benjamite, but it is possible that for 'sons of Aher' we should read 'sons of another,' *i.e.* Dan. **2.** The wife of Shaharaim the Benjamite (1 Ch $8^{8.\ 11}$).

HUSKS (*keratia*, Lk 15^{16}) are almost certainly the pods of the **carob** tree (*Ceratonia siliqua*), commonly called the **locust** tree. This common Palestine tree is distinguished by its beautiful dark glossy foliage. The long pods, which ripen from May to August according to the altitude, are even to-day used as food by the poor; a confection is made from them. But they are used chiefly for cattle. The name 'St. John's bread' is given to these pods, from a tradition that these, and not locusts, composed the food of St. John the Baptist, but see Food, **18.** E. W. G. Masterman.

HUZZAB.—A word occurring in Nah 2^{7}. Gesenius derived it from a verb *tsābhabh*, and read 'the palace is dissolved and *made to flow down*.' Many recent authorities regard it as from *nātsabh*, and tr. '*it is decreed*.' But Wellhausen and others have considered it a proper name—referring to the Assyrian queen, or to the city of Nineveh personified. W. M. Nesbit.

HYACINTH.—Rev 9^{17} RV; AV '**jacinth.**' See Jewels and Precious Stones.

HYÆNA (*zābuā'*, Jer 12^{9} [but see art. Speckled Bird]. *Zeboîm* [1 S 13^{18}] probably means '[Valley of] Hyænas').—The hyæna (Arab. *daba'*) is a very common Palestine animal, concerning which the *fellahīn* have countless tales. It is both hated and dreaded; it consumes dead bodies, and will even dig up corpses in the cemeteries; the writer has known such rifling of graves to occur on the Mount of Olives. It is nocturnal in its habits; in the day-time it hides in solitary caves, to which the *fellahīn* often follow it and attack it by various curious devices. In the gathering dusk and at night the hungry hyæna frequently becomes very bold, and will follow with relentless persistence a solitary pedestrian, who, if he cannot reach safety, will surely be killed. In spite of its habits it is eaten at times by the Bedouin.

E. W. G. Masterman.

HYDASPES.—A river mentioned in Jth 1^{6} as on the Medo-Babylonian frontier. The name is probably the result of a confusion with the well-known Hydaspes in India (now the *Jalam*). In view of the mythical character of the Book of Judith, speculation as to the identity of this river is likely to remain fruitless. However, there may be a suggestion in the fact that the Syr. version reads **Ulai** (wh. see). W. M. Nesbit.

HYMENÆUS.—A heretical Christian associated with **Alexander** in 1 Ti $1^{19f.}$, and with **Philetus** in 2 Ti $2^{17f.}$, though some have considered that two different persons are meant. These false teachers 'made shipwreck concerning the faith'; their heresy consisted in denying the bodily resurrection, saying that the resurrection was already past—apparently an early form of Gnosticism which, starting with the idea of matter being evil, made the body an unessential part of our nature, to be discarded as soon as possible. In the former passage St. Paul says that he 'delivered' the offenders 'unto Satan, that they might be taught not to blaspheme'; he uses a similar phrase of the incestuous Corinthian (1 Co 5^{5}), there also expressing the purpose of the punishment,—the salvation of the man's spirit. The phrase may mean simple excommunication with renunciation of all fellowship, or may include a miraculous infliction of disease, or even of death. Ramsay suggests that it is a Christian adaptation of a pagan idea, when a person wronged by another, but unable to retaliate, consigned the offender to the gods and left punishment to be inflicted by Divine power.

A. J. Maclean.

HYMN (in NT; for OT, see Music, Poetry, Psalms).—The Greek word signified specifically a poem in praise of a god or hero, but it is used, less exactly, also for a religious poem, even one of petition. The use of hymns in the early Christian Church was to be anticipated from the very nature of worship, and from the close connexion between the worship of the disciples and that of the Jews of that and earlier centuries. It is proved by the numerous incidental references in the NT (cf. Ac 16^{25}, 1 Co 14^{26}, Eph 5^{19}, Ja 5^{13}, and the passages cited below), and by the famous letter of Pliny to Trajan describing the customs of the Christians. We lack, however, any collection of hymns comparable to the Psalms of the OT. Doubtless the Psalms were largely used, as at the Passover feast when the Lord's Supper was instituted (Mt 26^{30}); but in addition new songs would be written to express the intense emotions of the disciples, and even their spontaneous utterances in the gatherings of early Christians would almost inevitably take a rhythmical form, modelled more or less closely upon the Psalms. In some localities, perhaps, Greek hymns served as the models. St. Paul insists (1 Co 14^{15}, Col 3^{16}) that the singing be with the spirit and the understanding, an intelligent expression of real religious feeling. These passages specify 'psalms, hymns, and spiritual songs.' While at first it seems as if three classes of composition are here distinguished, either as to source or character, it is probably not the case, especially as in Mt 26^{30}, Mk 14^{26} the verb 'to hymn' is used of singing a

psalm. Luke's Gospel contains several hymns, but does not mention their use by the disciples. They are the *Magnificat* (Lk 1$^{46-55}$), the *Benedictus* (1$^{68-79}$), the *Gloria in Excelsis* (2^{14}), and the *Nunc Dimittis* (2$^{29-32}$). Whether these were Jewish or Jewish-Christian in origin is disputed. The free introduction of hymns of praise in the Apocalypse, in description of the worship of the new Jerusalem, points to their use by the early Church. The poetical and liturgical character of some other NT passages is asserted with more or less reason by different scholars (*e.g.* Eph 5^{14}, 1 Ti 1^{17} 3^{16} 6^{16}, 2 Ti 4^{18}). See Hastings' *DCG*, art. 'Hymn.'

OWEN H. GATES.

HYPOCRITE.—This word occurs in the NT only in the Synoptic Gospels; but 'hypocrisy' is used in the Epistles (Gal 2^{13}, 1 Ti 4^{2}, 1 P 2^{1}), and the verb 'to play the hypocrite' in Lk 20^{20} (tr. 'feigned'). The hypocrisy of the Gospels is the 'appearing before men what one ought to be, but is not, before God.' At times it is a deliberately played part (*e.g.* Mt 6$^{2.\ 5.\ 16}$ 22^{18} etc.), at others it is a deception of which the actor himself is unconscious (*e.g.* Mk 7^{6}, Lk 6^{42} 12^{56} etc.). Thus, according to Christ, all who play the part of religion, whether consciously or unconsciously, without being religious, are hypocrites; and so fall under His sternest denunciation (Mt 23). This meaning of the word has led some to give it the wider interpretation of 'godlessness' in some passages (*e.g.* Mt 24^{51}; cf. Lk 12^{46}); but as there may always be seen in the word the idea of a religious cloak over the godlessness, the ordinary sense should stand.

In the AV of OT (*e.g.* Job 8^{13}, Is 9^{17}) 'hypocrite' is a mistranslation of the Heb. word *chănēph*. It passed into the AV from the Latin, which followed the Greek Versions. In RV it is rendered 'godless,' 'profane.'

CHARLES T. P. GRIERSON.

HYRCANUS.—1. The son of Tobias, who had money deposited at Jerus., in the Temple treasury, at the time of the visit of Heliodōrus (2 Mac 3^{11}). The name seems to be a local appellative. Its use among the Jews is perhaps to be explained from the fact that Artaxerxes Ochus transported a number of Jews to Hyrcania. 2. See MACCABEES, § 5.

HYSSOP is mentioned several times in the Bible. It was used for sprinkling blood (Ex 12^{22}), and in the ritual of the cleansing of lepers (Lv 14^{4}, Nu 19^{6}); it was an insignificant plant growing out of the wall (1 K 4^{33}); it could afford a branch strong enough to support a wet sponge (Jn 19^{29}). It is possible that all these references are not to a single species. Among many suggested plants the most probable is either a species of marjoram, *e.g.*, *Origanum maru*, or the common caper-plant (*Capparis spinosa*), which may be seen growing out of crevices in walls all over Palestine. See CAPER-BERRY.

E. W. G. MASTERMAN.

I

IADINUS (1 Es 9^{48}) = **Jamin** of Neh 8^{7}.

IBHAR.—One of David's sons, born at Jerusalem (2 S 5^{15}, 1 Ch 3^{6} 14^{5}).

IBLEAM.—A town belonging to West Manasseh (Jos 17^{11}, Jg 1^{27}). It is mentioned also in 2 K 9^{27} in connexion with the death of king Ahaziah, who fled by the way of Beth-haggan and 'the ascent of Gur, which is by Ibleam.' The Biblical data seem to be well satisfied by the modern ruin *Bel'ame*, some 13 miles E. of N. of Samaria, more than half-way to Jezreel.

In 2 K 15^{10} (AV and RV) 'before the people' should certainly be emended to 'in Ibleam.' **Gath-rimmon** of Jos 21^{25} is a scribal error for *Ibleam*. It is the same place that is called **Bileam** in 1 Ch 6^{70}.

IBNEIAH.—A Benjamite (1 Ch 9^{8}).

IBNIJAH.—A Benjamite (1 Ch 9^{8}).

IBRI.—A Merarite Levite (1 Ch 24^{27}).

IBSAM.—A descendant of Issachar (1 Ch 7^{2}).

IBZAN.—One of the minor judges, following Jephthah (Jg 12$^{8-10}$). He came from Bethlehem, probably the Bethlehem in Zebulun (Jos 19^{15}), 7 miles N.W. of Nazareth. He had 30 sons and 30 daughters—an evidence of his social importance—and arranged their marriages. He judged Israel 7 years, and was buried at Bethlehem. According to Jewish tradition, Ibzan was the same as Boaz.

ICHABOD.—Son of Phinehas and grandson of Eli. The name means 'inglorious,' but probably should be 'Jahweh is glory,' from an original *Jochebed*. If this guess be well founded, then the turn given to the story in 1 S 4^{21} is due to a desire to mould it on the story of the birth of Benjamin in Gn 35^{18}.

W. F. COBB.

ICONIUM, now called *Konia*, is an ancient city of continuous importance from early times to the present day. Situated at the western edge of the vast central plain of Asia Minor, and well watered, it has always been a busy place. It is surrounded by beautiful orchards, which cover the meanness of its modern buildings. About the beginning of the Christian era it was on the border of the two ethnic districts, Lycaonia and Phrygia. It was in reality the easternmost city of Phrygia, and the inhabitants considered themselves Phrygians, but ancient writers commonly speak of it as a city of Lycaonia (wh. see), the fate of which it generally shared. In the 3rd cent. B.C. it was ruled by the Seleucids, and about B.C. 164, probably, it passed under the power of the Galatæ (Asiatic Celts). It was the property of the Pontic kings from about 130, was set free during the Mithridatic wars, and in B.C. 39 was given by Mark Antony to Polemon, king of Cilicia Tracheia. In B.C. 36 Antony gave it to Amyntas, who was at that time made king of Galatia (wh. see). On his death in B.C. 25 the whole of his kingdom became the Roman province of Galatia. Iconium could thus be spoken of as Lycaonian, Phrygian, or Galatic, according to the speaker's point of view. In the time of the Emperor Claudius, it, along with Derbe, received the honorary prefix Claudio-, becoming *Claudiconium* (compare our Royal Burghs), but it was not till Hadrian's time (A.D. 117–138) that it became a Roman colony (wh. see). Its after history may be omitted. It was eighteen miles distant from Lystra, and a direct route passed between them.

The gospel was brought to Iconium by Paul and Barnabas, who visited it twice on the first missionary journey (Ac 13^{51} 14^{21}). The presence of Jews there is confirmed by the evidence of inscriptions. According to the view now generally accepted by English-speaking scholars, it is comprehended in the 'Phrygo-Galatic region' of Ac 16^{6} and the 'Galatic region and Phrygia' of Ac 18^{23}. It was thus visited four times in all by St. Paul, who addressed it among other cities in his Epistle to the Galatians. During the absence of Paul it had been visited by Judaizers, who pretended that Paul was a mere messenger of the earlier Apostles, and contended that the Jewish ceremonial law was binding on the Christian converts. Paul's Epistle appears to have been

successful, and the Galatians afterwards contributed to the collection for the poor Christians of Jerusalem. The alternative view is that Iconium is not really included in the Acts narrative after $16^{2ff.}$, as the words quoted above from Ac 16^{6} and 18^{23} refer to a different district to the far north of Iconium, and that the Epistle to the Galatians, being addressed to that northern district, had no connexion with Iconium. In any case, Iconium is one of the places included in the (province) Galatia which is addressed in First Peter (about A.D. 80 probably), and the large number of Christian inscriptions which have been found there reveal the existence of a vigorous Christian life in the third and following centuries. A. SOUTER.

IDALAH.—A town of Zebulun (Jos 19^{15}).

IDBASH.—One of the sons of the father of Etam (1 Ch 4^{3}).

IDDO.—**1.** Ezr 8^{17} (1 Es $8^{45f.}$ **Loddeus**) the chief at Casiphia, who provided Ezra with Levites and Nethinim. **2.** 1 Ch 27^{21} son of Zechariah, captain of the half tribe of Manasseh in Gilead, perh. =No. **4.** **3.** Ezr 10^{43} (1 Es 9^{35} **Edos**) one of those who had taken 'strange' wives. **4.** 1 K 4^{14} father of Abinadab, who was Solomon's commissariat officer in Mahanaim in Gilead (see No. **2**). **5.** 1 Ch 6^{21} a Gershonite Levite called **Adaiah** in v.^{41}. **6.** A seer and prophet cited by the Chronicler as an authority for the reigns of Solomon (2 Ch 9^{29}), Rehoboam (2 Ch 12^{15}), Abijah (2 Ch 13^{22}). **7.** Zec $1^{1.\ 7}$, Ezr 5^{1} 6^{14} (1 Es 6^{1} **Addo**) grandfather (father acc. to Ezr.) of the prophet Zechariah; possibly of the same family as No. **2**. **8.** Neh $12^{4.\ 16}$ one of the priestly clans that went up with Zerubbabel.

IDOLATRY.—Hebrew religion is represented as beginning with Abraham, who forsook the idolatry, as well as the home, of his ancestors (Gn 12^{1}, Jos 24^{2}); but it was specially through the influence of Moses that Jehovah was recognized as Israel's God. The whole subsequent history up to the Exile is marked by frequent lapses into idolatry. We should therefore consider (1) the causes of Hebrew idolatry, (2) its nature, (3) the opposition it evoked, and (4) the teaching of NT. The subject is not free from difficulty, but in the light of modern Biblical study, the main outlines are clear.

1. Causes of Hebrew idolatry.—(1) When, after the Exodus, the Israelites settled in Canaan among idolatrous peoples, they were far from having a pure monotheism (cf. Jg 11^{24}). Their faith was crude. (*a*) Thus the idea that their neighbours' gods had real existence, with rights of proprietorship in the invaded land, would expose them to risk of contamination. This would be the more likely because as yet they were not a united people. The tribes had at first to act independently, and in some cases were unable to dislodge the Canaanites (Jg 1). (*b*) Their environment was thus perilous, and the danger was intensified by intermarriage with idolaters. Particularly after the monarchy was established did this become a snare. Solomon and Ahab by their marriage alliances introduced and promoted idol cults. It is significant that post-exilic legislation had this danger in view, and secured that exclusiveness so characteristic of mature Judaism (Ezr $10^{2f.}$). (*c*) The political relations with the great world-powers, Egypt and Assyria, would also tend to influence religious thought. This might account for the great heathen reaction under Manasseh.

(2) But, specially, certain ideas *characteristic of Semitic religion generally* had a strong influence. (*a*) Thus, on Israel's settling in Canaan, the existing shrines, whether natural (hills, trees, wells—each understood to have its own tutelary *baal* or lord) or artificial (altars, stone pillars, wooden poles), would be quite innocently used for the worship of J″. (*b*) Idols, too, were used in domestic worship (Jg 17^{5}; cf. Gn 31^{19}, 1 S 19^{13}). (*c*) A darker feature, inimical to Jehovism, was the sanction of sexual impurity, cruelty and lust for blood (see below, § **2** (1)).

Here then was all the apparatus for either the inappropriate worship of the true God, or the appropriate worship of false gods. That was why, later on in the eighth and seventh centuries B.C., when the earlier Jehovism was changing into typical Judaism, all such apparatus was felt to be wrong, and was attacked with increasing violence by prophets and reformers, as their conception of God became more clear and spiritual.

2. Its nature.—(1) Common to all Canaanite religions, apparently, was the worship of Baal as representing the male principle in nature. Each nation, however, had its own provincial Baal with a specific name or title—Chemosh of Moab, Molech of Ammon, Dagon of Philistia, Hadad-Rimmon of Syria. Associated with Baalism was the worship of Ashtoreth (Astarte), representing the female principle in nature. Two features of these religions were prostitution [of both sexes] (cf. Nu $25^{1f.}$, Dt $23^{17f.}$, 1 K 14^{24}, Hos 4^{13}, Am 2^{7}, Bar 6^{43}) and human sacrifice (cf. 2 K 17^{17}, Jer 7^{31}, and art. TOPHETH). Baalism was the chief Israelite idolatry, and sometimes, *e.g.* under Jezebel, it quite displaced Jehovism as the established religion.

(2) The underlying principle of all such religion was nature-worship. This helps to explain the calf-worship, represented as first introduced by Aaron, and at a later period established by Jeroboam I. in Egypt —which also exercised a sinister influence on the Hebrews—religion was largely of this type; but living animals, and not merely images of them, were there venerated. Connected with this idolatry is *totemism*, so widely traced even to-day. Some find a survival of early Semitic totemism in Ezk 8^{10}.

(3) Another form of Hebrew nature-worship, **astrolatry**, was apparently of foreign extraction, and not earlier than the seventh cent. B.C. There is a striking allusion to this idolatry in Job 31^{26-28}. There were sun-images (2 Ch 34^{4}), horses and chariots dedicated to the sun (2 K 23^{11}); an eastward position was adopted in sun-worship (Ezk 8^{16}). The expression 'queen of heaven' in Jer 7^{18} 44^{19} is obscure; but it probably points to this class of idolatry. In the heathen reaction under Manasseh the worship of the 'host of heaven' is prominent (2 K 17^{16}). Gad and Meni (Is 65^{11}) were possibly star-gods. Related to such nature-worship perhaps was the mourning for Tammuz [Adonis] (Ezk 8^{14}, Is 17^{10} RVm). Nature-worship of all kinds is by implication rebuked with amazing force and dignity in Gn 1, where the word GOD as Creator is written 'in big letters over the face of creation.' Stars and animals and all things, it is insisted, are created things, not creators, and not self-existent.

(4) There are no clear traces of ancestor-worship in OT, but some find them in the *teraphim* (household gods) and in the reverence for tombs (*e.g.* Machpelah); in Is 65^{4} the context suggests idolatry.

(5) A curious mixture of idolatry and Jehovism existed in Samaria after the destruction of the Northern Kingdom. The foreign colonists brought with them the worship of various deities, and added that of J″ (2 K 17^{24-41}). These gods cannot be identified with certainty. By this mixed race and religion the Jews of the Return were seriously hindered, and there resulted the Samaritan schism which, in an attenuated form, still exists.

3. Opposition to idolatry.—While fully allowing for the facts alluded to in § **1**, it is impossible to account—not for mere temporary lapses, but—for the marked persistence of idolatry among the Hebrews, unless we recognize the growth which characterizes their laws and polity from the simple beginning up to the finished product. Laws do but express the highest sense of the community—however deeply that sense may be quickened by Divine revelation—whether those laws are viewed

from the ethical or from the utilitarian standpoint. If the legislation embodied in the Pentateuch had all along been an acknowledged, even though a neglected, code, such a complete neglect of it during long periods, taken with the total silence about its distinctive features in the sayings and writings of the most enlightened and devoted men, would present phenomena quite inexplicable. It is needful, therefore, to observe that the true development from original Mosaism, though perhaps never quite neglected by the leaders of the nation, does not appear distinctly in any legislation until the closing decades of the 7th cent. B.C. This development continued through and beyond the Exile. Until the Deuteronomic epoch began, the enactments of Mosaism in regard to idolatry were clearly of the slenderest proportions. There is good reason for thinking that the Second of the Ten Commandments is not in its earliest form; and it is probable that Ex 34^{10-28} (from the document J, *i.e.* *c.* B.C. 850) contains an earlier Decalogue, embodying such traditional Mosaic legislation as actually permitted the use of simple images (distinct from molten cultus-idols, Ex 34^{17}). Such development accounts for the phenomena presented by the history of idolatry in Israel. For example, Samuel sacrifices in one of those 'high places' (1 S $9^{12ff.}$) which Hezekiah removed as idolatrous (2 K 18^{4}). Elijah, the stern foe of Baalism, does not denounce the calf-worship attacked later on by Hosea. Even Isaiah can anticipate the erection in Egypt of a pillar (Is 19^{19}) like those which Josiah in the next century destroyed (2 K 23^{14}). As with reforming prophets, so with reforming kings. Jehu in Israel extirpates Baalism, but leaves the calf-worship alone (2 K $10^{28f.}$). In Judah, where heathenism went to greater lengths, but where wholesome reaction was equally strong, Asa, an iconoclastic reformer, tolerates 'high places' (1 K 15^{12-14}; cf. Jehoshaphat's attitude, 1 K 22^{43}). It was the work of the 8th cent. prophets that prepared the way for the remarkable reformation under Josiah (2 K 22. 23). Josiah's reign was epoch-making in everything connected with Hebrew religious thought and practice. To this period must be assigned that Deuteronomic legislation which completed the earlier attempts at reformation. This legislation aims at the complete destruction of everything suggestive of idolatry. A code, otherwise humane, is on this point extremely severe: idolatry was punishable by death (Dt 17^{2-7}; cf. 6^{15} 8^{19} 13^{6-10} etc.). Such a view of idolatry exhibits in its correct perspective the teaching of Jeremiah and Ezekiel, the elaborate Levitical enactments, the exilic and post-exilic literature. Distinctive Judaism has succeeded to Jehovism, monotheism has replaced henotheism, racial and religious exclusiveness has supplanted the earlier eclecticism. The Exile marks practically the end of Hebrew idolatry. The lesson has been learned by heart.

A striking proof of the great change is given by the Maccabæan war, caused by the attempt of Antiochus Epiphanes to force idolatry on the very nation which in an earlier period had been only too prone to accept it. Relations with Rome in the 1st and 2nd centuries A.D. illustrate the same temper. Had not Caligula's death so soon followed his insane proposal to erect his statue in the Temple, the Jews would assuredly have offered the most determined resistance; a century later they did actively resist Rome when Hadrian desecrated the site of the ruined Temple.

4. Teaching of the NT.—As idolatry was thus non-existent in Judaism in the time of Christ, it is not surprising that He does not allude to it. St. Paul, however, came into direct conflict with it. The word itself (*eidōlolatreia*) occurs first in his writings; we have his illuminating teaching on the subject in Ro 1^{18-32}, Ac 17^{22-31}, 1 Co 8 etc. But idolatry in Christian doctrine has a wider significance than the service of material idols. Anything that interferes between the soul and its God is idolatrous, and is to be shunned (cf. Eph 5^{5}, Ph 3^{19}, 1 Jn $5^{20f.}$, and the context of Gal 5^{20} etc.). See also art. Images.

H. F. B. Compston.

IDUEL (1 Es 8^{43}) =Ezr 8^{16} **Ariel.** The form is due to confusion of Heb. *d* and *r*.

IDUMÆA.—The Greek equivalent (in RV only in Mk 3^{8}) of the name **Edom,** originally the territory east of the Jordan-Arabah valley and south of the land of Moab. This country was inhabited, when we first catch a glimpse of it, by a primitive race known as Horites, of whom little but the name is known. The apparent meaning of the name ('cave-dwellers') and comparison with the remains of what seems to have been an analogous race discovered in the excavations at Gezer, shew that this race was at a low stage of civilization. They were partly destroyed, partly absorbed, by the Bedouin tribes who claimed descent through Esau from Abraham, and who were acknowledged by the Israelites as late as the date of the Deuteronomic codes as brethren (Dt 23^{7}). They were governed by sheiks (EV 'dukes,' a lit. tr. of the Lat. *dux*), and by a non-hereditary monarchy whose records belonged to a period anterior to the time of Saul (Gn 36^{31-39}, 1 Ch 1^{43-54}). See Edom.

After the fall of Babylon the pressure of the desert Arabs forced the Edomites across the Jordan-Arabah valley, and the people and name were extended westward. In 1 Mac 5^{65} we find Hebron included in Idumæa. Josephus, with whom Jerome agrees, makes Idumæa extend from Beit Jibrin to Petra; Jerome assigns the great caves at the former place to the troglodyte Horites. The Herod family was by origin Idumæan in this extended sense. In the 2nd cent. A.D. the geographer Ptolemy restricts Idumæa to the cis-Jordanic area, and includes the original trans-Jordanic Edom in Arabia.

R. A. S. Macalister.

IEDDIAS (1 Es 9^{26}).—One of those who agreed to put away their 'strange' wives, called **Izziah** in Ezr 10^{25}.

IEZER, IEZERITES (Nu 26^{30}).—Contracted from **Abiezer, Abiezerites.** See Abiezer.

IGAL.—1. The spy representing the tribe of Issachar (Nu 13^{7}). **2.** One of David's heroes, the son of Nathan of Zobah (2 S 23^{36}). In the parallel list (1 Ch 11^{38}) the name is given as **'Joel,** the brother of Nathan.' **3.** Son of Shemaiah of the royal house of David (1 Ch 3^{22}).

IGDALIAH.—A 'man of God,' father of Hanan, whose name is mentioned in connexion with Jeremiah's interview with the Rechabites (Jer 35^{4}).

IGNORANCE.—It appears to be in accordance with natural justice that ignorance should be regarded as modifying moral responsibility, and this is fully recognized in the Scriptures. In the OT, indeed, the knowledge of God is often spoken of as equivalent to true religion (see Knowledge), and therefore ignorance is regarded as its opposite (1 S 2^{12}, Hos 4^{1} 6^{6}). But the Levitical law recognizes sins of ignorance as needing some expiation, but with a minor degree of guilt (Lv 4, Nu 15^{22-32}). So **'ignorances'** are spoken of in 1 Es 8^{75} (RV 'errors'), To 3^{3}, Sir $23^{2f.}$ as partly involuntary (cf. He 5^{2} 9^{7}). The whole of the OT, however, is the history of a process of gradual moral and spiritual enlightenment, so that actions which are regarded as pardonable, or even praiseworthy, at one period, become inexcusable in a more advanced state of knowledge. In the NT the difference between the 'times of ignorance' and the light of Christianity is recognized in Ac 17^{30} (cf. 1 Ti 1^{13}, 1 P 1^{14}), and ignorance is spoken of as modifying responsibility in Ac 3^{17}, 1 Co 2^{8}, Lk 23^{34}. This last passage, especially, suggests that sin is pardonable because it contains an element of ignorance, while Mk 3^{29} appears to contemplate the possibility of an absolutely wilful choice of evil with full knowledge of what it is, which will be unpardonable (cf. 1 Jn 5^{16}). Immoral and guilty ignorance is also spoken of in Ro $1^{18ff.}$, Eph 4^{18}. For the question whether Christ in

His human nature could be ignorant, see KENOSIS, KNOWLEDGE. J. H. MAUDE.

IIM.—A city of Judah (Jos 15[29]); site unknown. See IYIM, 2.

IJON.—A town in the north part of the mountains of Naphtali, noticed in 1 K 15[20] (=2 Ch 16[4]) as taken by Benhadad. It was also captured and depopulated by Tiglath-pileser (2 K 15[29]). The name survives in *Merj 'Ayūn*, a plateau N.W. of Dan. The most important site in this plateau is *Tell Dibbīn*, which may be the site of Ijon.

IKKESH.—The father of Ira, one of David's heroes (2 S 23[26], 1 Ch 11[28] 27[9]).

ILAI.—One of David's heroes (1 Ch 11[29]). In the parallel list (2 S 23[28]) the name appears as **Zalmon,** which is probably the more correct text.

ILIADUN (1 Es 5[58]).—Perhaps to be identified with **Henadad** of Ezr 3[9].

ILLYRICUM.—The only Scripture mention is Ro 15[19], where St. Paul points to the fact that he had fully preached the good news of the Messiah from Jerusalem and round about as far as Illyricum. Neither geographical term is included in the sense of the Greek, which is that he had done so from the outer edge of Jerusalem, so to speak, round about (through various countries) as far as the border of Illyricum. These provinces in order are Syria, Cilicia, Galatia, Asia, and Macedonia, and a journey through them in succession describes a segment of a rough circle. The provinces Macedonia and Illyricum are conterminous, and the nearest city in Macedonia in which we know St. Paul to have preached is Berœa (Ac 17[10ff.]). *Illyricum* is a Latin word, and denotes the Roman province which extended along the Adriatic from Italy and Pannonia on the north to the province Macedonia on the south. A province Illyria had been formed in B.C. 167, and during the succeeding two centuries all accessions of territory in that quarter were incorporated in that province. In A.D. 10 Augustus separated Pannonia from Illyricum, and gave the latter a settled constitution. The government of this important province was difficult, and was entrusted to an ex-consul with the style *legatus Augusti pro prætore.* The northern half was called Liburnia and the southern Dalmatia (wh. see). The latter term gradually came to indicate the whole province of Illyricum. A. SOUTER.

IMAGE.—In theological usage the term 'image' occurs in two connexions: (1) as defining the nature of man ('God created man in his own image,' Gn 1[27]); and (2) as describing the relation of Christ as Son to the Father ('who is the image of the invisible God,' Col 1[15]). These senses, again, are not without connexion; for, as man is re-created in the image of God—lost, or at least defaced, through sin (Col 3[10]; cf. Eph 4[24])—so, as renewed, he bears the image of Christ (2 Co 3[18]). These Scriptural senses of the term 'image' claim further elucidation.

1. As regards *man*, the fundamental text is that already quoted, Gn 1[26. 27]. Here, in the story of Creation, man is represented as called into being, not, like the other creatures, by a simple *fiat*, but as the result of a solemn and deliberate act of counsel of the Creator: 'Let us make man in our image, after our likeness. ... And God created man in his own image, in the image of God created he him; male and female created he them.' Distinctions, referred to below, have been sought, since Patristic times, between 'image' and 'likeness,' but it is now generally conceded that no difference of meaning is intended. The two words 'image' (*tselem*) and 'likeness' (*demūth*) combine, without distinction of sense, to emphasize the idea of resemblance to God. This is shown by the fact that in v.[27] the word 'image' alone is employed to express the total idea, and in 5[1] the word 'likeness.' Man was made *like* God, and so bears His *image*. The expression recurs in Gn 9[6], and again repeatedly in the NT (1 Co 11[7], Col 3[10]; cf. Ja 3[9] 'likeness'). The usage in Genesis is indeed peculiar to the so-called 'Priestly' writer; but the *idea* underlies the view of man in the Jahwistic sections as well, for only as made in God's image is man capable of knowledge of God, fellowship with Him, covenant relation to Him, and character conformable to God's own. To 'be as God' was the serpent's allurement to Eve (Gn 3[5]). Ps 8 echoes the story of man's creation in Gn 1.

In what did this Divine image, or likeness to God, consist? Not in bodily form, for God is Spirit; nor yet simply, as the Socinians would have it, in dominion over the creatures; but in those features of man's rational and moral constitution in which the peculiar dignity of man, as distinguished from the animal world below him, is recognized. Man, as a spiritual nature, is self-conscious, personal, rational, free, capable of rising to the apprehension of general truths and laws, of setting ends of conduct before him, of apprehending right and wrong, good and evil, of framing ideas of God, infinity, eternity, immortality, and of shaping his life in the light of such conceptions. In this he shows himself akin to God; is able to know, love, serve, and obey God. The germ of sonship lies in the idea of the image. To this must be added, in the light of such passages as Eph 4[24] and Col 3[10], the idea of actual moral conformity—of actual knowledge, righteousness, and holiness—as pertaining to the perfection of the image. Sin has not destroyed the essential elements of God's image in man, but it has shattered the image in a moral respect; and grace, as the above passages teach, renews it in Christ.

If this explanation is correct, the older attempts at a distinction between 'image' and 'likeness,' *e.g.* that 'image' referred to the body, 'likeness' to the intellectual nature; or 'image' to the intellectual, 'likeness' to the moral, faculties; or, as in Roman Catholic theology, 'image' to the natural attributes of intelligence and freedom, 'likeness' to a superadded endowment of supernatural righteousness—must, as already hinted, be pronounced untenable.

2. The idea of *Christ*, the Son, as 'the image (*eikōn*) of the invisible God' (Col 1[15]; cf. 2 Co 4[4]) connects itself with the doctrine of the Trinity, and finds expression in various forms in the NT, notably in He 1[3]—'who being the effulgence of his glory and the very image of his substance.' Jesus Himself could declare of Himself that he who had seen Him had seen the Father (Jn 14[9]). But the passages quoted refer to a supra-temporal and essential relation between the Son and the Father. God, in His eternal being, reflects Himself, and beholds His own infinite perfection and glory mirrored, in the Son (cf. Jn 1[1] 17[5]). It is this eternal Word, or perfect self-revelation of God, that has become incarnate in Jesus Christ (Jn 1[14]). The consequence is obvious. Bearing Christ's image, we bear God's. Being renewed in God's image, we are conformed to the image of His Son (Ro 8[29]). JAMES ORR.

IMAGES.—1. The making of an image implies a definite conception and the application of art to religion. The earliest Semitic religion (like that of Greece, Rome, etc.) was accordingly imageless. The first images were the stone pillar and the wooden pole or **asherah** (a tree fetish possibly of phallic significance). Then came real idols, at first for domestic use (as probably the **teraphim,** portable household gods), and subsequently those of greater size for public worship.

2. About 15 words in OT are used specifically for images. The earliest point to the process of manufacture—graven, sculptured, molten images. The word properly meaning image, *i.e.* 'likeness,' is not earlier than the end of 7th cent. B.C. From that time onwards metaphor is frequent: images are 'vanity,' 'lies,' and objects inspiring disgust or horror [cf. the name

Beelzebul, which some interpret as='lord of dung']. Sometimes such terms would replace those used without offence in earlier days; thus, in a proper name compounded with *baal* (lord), the objectionable word would be replaced by *bosheth* ('shame'), in obedience to Ex 23[13] etc.

3. Images represented animals (*e.g.* the golden calves and the serpent Nehushtan) and human forms (cf. Ezk 16[17f.], Is 44[13], Ps 115[4-8], Wis 14[15. 16. 20]). The **ephod** appears to have been some sort of image, but was perhaps originally the *robe* worn by the image.

4. The materials used in idol manufacture were clay (Wis 15[13], Bel [7]), wood (Is 44[15], Wis 13[13]), silver and gold (Hos 8[4], Dn 3[1]). They might be painted (Wis 13[14] 15[4]), dressed up (Jer 10[9], Ezk 16[18]), crowned and armed (Bar 6[9. 15]). They were kept in shrines (Jg 17[5], Wis 13[15] etc.), and secured from tumbling down (Is 41[7], Jer 10[4]). Refreshments (Is 65[11], Jer 7[18]) and kisses (Hos 13[2], 1 K 19[18]) were offered to them, as well as sacrifice and incense. They figured in processions (cf. ancient sculptures, and Is 46[7], Jer 10[5]). See also art. IDOLATRY. H. F. B. COMPSTON.

IMAGINATION.—In the AV imagine always means 'contrive' and imagination 'contrivance.' In the case of imagination a bad intention is always present (except Is 26[4] AVm), as in Ro 1[21] 'they . . . became vain in their imaginations' (RV 'reasonings'); 2 Co 10[5] 'casting down imaginations and every high thing that exalteth itself' (RVm 'reasonings'). The Greek words have in these passages the same evil intent as the AV word, so that the RV renderings are not so good. Coverdale translates Is 55[7] 'Let the ungodly man forsake his wayes, and the unrighteous his ymaginacions, and turne agayne unto the LORDE.'

IMALCUE (1 Mac 11[39]).—An Arab prince to whom Alexander Balas entrusted his youthful son Antiochus. After the death of Alexander, in B.C. 145, Imalcue reluctantly gave up the boy to Tryphon, who placed him on the throne of Syria as Antiochus VI. in opposition to Demetrius II.

IMLA (2 Ch 18[7. 8]) or **IMLAH** (1 K 22[8. 9]).—The father of Micaiah, a prophet of J" in the days of Ahab.

IMMANUEL.—The name occurs in Is 7[14] 8[8], Mt 1[23], and is a Heb. word meaning 'God is with us'; the spelling **Emmanuel** comes from the LXX (see Mt 1[23] AV, RVm). Its interpretation involves a discussion of Is 7, esp. vv.[10-17].

1. *Grammatical difficulties.*—The RV should be consulted throughout. The exact implication of the word 'virgin' or 'maiden' (RVm) is doubtful (see art. VIRGIN); it is sufficient here to say that it 'is not the word which would be naturally used for *virgin*, if that was the point which it was desired to emphasize' (Kirkpatrick, *Doctrine of the Prophets*, p. 187). The definite article may either indicate that the prophet has some particular mother in mind, or be generic, referring to the class. In v.[15] the renderings of RV and RVm are both admissible, but the former is more probable; in v.[16] RV should be followed, AV being quite misleading. In 8[8] there may be no reference to Immanuel at all; a very slight alteration of the vowel points would give the reading ' . . . of the land; for God is with us'; the refrain occurs in v.[10].

2. *Historical situation.*—In B.C. 735 the kings of Syria and Ephraim formed an alliance against Judah, with the object of setting Tabeel, a nominee of their own, on the throne of David, and forcing the Southern Kingdom to join in a confederacy against Assyria. Ahaz had only lately come to the throne, and the kingdom was weak and demoralized (2 K 16[6]). The purpose of Isaiah was to calm the terror of the people (Is 7[2]), and to restore faith in Jehovah (v.[9]). But the policy of Ahaz was to take the fatal step of invoking the aid of Assyria itself. Hence, when the prophet offered him a sign from God, he refused to accept it, for fear of committing himself to the prophet's policy of faith and independence. He cloaked his refusal in words of apparent piety. A sign is, however, given—the birth of a child, who shall eat butter and honey (*i.e.* poor pastoral fare; cf. v.[22]) till (?) he comes to years of discretion. Before that time, *i.e.* before he is four or five years old, Syria and Ephraim shall be ruined (v.[16]). But Ahaz and his own kingdom shall become the prey of Assyria (v.[17]); the rest of the chapter consists of pictures of desolation. The interpretation of the sign is by no means clear. Who is the child and what does his name imply? Is the sign a promise or a threat? It should be noticed, as probably an essential element in the problem, that it is the house or dynasty of *David* which is being attacked, and which is referred to throughout the chapter (vv.[2. 13. 17]).

3. *Who is the child?* (see Driver, *Isaiah*, p. 40 ff.). (*a*) The traditional interpretation sees in the passage a direct prophecy of the Virgin-birth of Christ, and nothing else. In what sense, then, was it a sign to Ahaz? The view runs counter to the modern conception of prophecy, which rightly demands that its primary interpretation shall be brought into relation to the ideas and circumstances of its age. The rest of the chapter does not refer to Christ, but to the troubles of the reign of Ahaz; is it legitimate to tear half a dozen words from their context, and apply them arbitrarily to an event happening generations after? (*b*) It is suggested that the maiden is the wife of Ahaz and that her son is Hezekiah, the king of whom Isaiah rightly had such high hopes; or (*c*) that she is the 'prophetess,' the wife of Isaiah himself. In both cases we ask why the language is so needlessly ambiguous. The chronological difficulty would seem to be fatal to (*b*), Hezekiah being almost certainly several years old in 735; and (*c*) makes the sign merely a duplication of that given in 8[3]. It becomes a mere note of time ('before the child grows up, certain things shall have happened'); it leaves unexplained the solemn way in which the birth is announced, the choice of the name, and its repetition in 8[3] (if the usual reading be retained). It also separates this passage from 9[1-7] 11[1-9], which almost certainly stand in connexion with it. Similar objections may be urged against the view (*d*), which sees in the maiden any Jewish mother of marriageable age, who in spite of all appearances to the contrary may call her child, then about to be born, by a name indicating the Divine favour, in token of the coming deliverance. The point of the sign is then the mother's faith and the period of time within which the deliverance shall be accomplished. (*e*) A more allegorical version of this interpretation explains the maiden as Zion personified, and her 'son' as the coming generation. But the invariable word for Zion and countries in such personifications is *bethulah*, not '*almah* (see art. VIRGIN). (*f*) There remains the view which sees in the passage a reference to a Messiah in the wider use of the term, as understood by Isaiah and his contemporaries. There probably already existed in Judah the expectation of an ideal king and deliverer, connected with the house of David (2 S 7[12-16]). Now at the moment when that house is attacked and its representative proves himself unworthy, Isaiah announces in oracular language the immediate coming of that king. The reference in 8[8], and the passages in chs. 9. 11, will then fall into their place side by side with this. They show that the prophet's thoughts were at this period dwelling much on the fate and the work of the 'wondrous child,' who will, in fact, be a scion of the house of David (9[7] 11[1]). Strong support is given to this view by Mic 5[3] ('until the time when she that beareth hath brought forth'); whether the passage belong to Micah himself, a contemporary of Isaiah, or be of later date, it is clearly a reference to Is 7, and is of great importance as an indication of the ideas current at the time. With regard to the beliefs of the time, evidence has been lately brought forward (esp. by Jeremias and Gressmann) showing that outside Israel (particularly in Egypt and

Babylonia) there existed traditions and expectations of a semi-divine saviour-king, to be born of a divine, perhaps a virgin, mother, and to be wonderfully reared. That is to say, there was an already existing tradition to which the prophet could appeal, and which is presupposed by his words; note esp. '*the* virgin.' How much the tradition included, we cannot say; *e.g.* did it include the name 'Immanuel'? The 'butter and honey' seems to be a pre-existing feature, representing originally the Divine nourishment on which the child is reared; so, according to the Greek legend, the infant Zeus is fed on milk and honey in the cave on Ida. But in the prophecy, as it stands, it seems to be used of the hard fare which alone is left to the inhabitants of an invaded land. We must indeed distinguish throughout between the conceptions of the primitive myth, and the sense in which the prophet applies these conceptions. The value of the supposition that he was working on the lines of popular beliefs ready to his hand, is that it explains how his hearers would be prepared to understand his oracular language, and suggests that much that is obscure to us may have been clear to them. It confirms the view that the prophecy was intended to be Messianic, *i.e.* to predict the birth of a mysterious saviour.

4. *Was the sign favourable or not?* The text, as it stands, leaves it very obscure whether Isaiah gave Ahaz a promise or a threat. The fact that the king had hardened his heart may have turned the sign which should have been of good omen into something different. The name of the child and v.[16] speak of deliverance; vv.[15. 17] and the rest of the chapter, of judgment. It is perfectly true that Isaiah's view of the future was that Ephraim and Syria should be destroyed, that Judah should also suffer from Assyrian invasion, but that salvation should come through the faithful remnant. The difficulty is to extract this sense from the passage. The simplest method is to follow the critics who omit v.[16], or at least the words 'whose two kings thou abhorrest'; 'the land' will then refer naturally to Judah; if referring, as it is usually understood, to Syria and Ephraim, the singular is very strange. The prophecy is then a consistent announcement of judgment. Immanuel shall be born, but owing to the unbelief of Ahaz, his future is mortgaged and he is born only to a ruined kingdom (cf. 8^8); it is not stated in this passage whether the hope implied in his name will ever be realized. Others would omit v.[17], and even v.[15], making the sign a promise of the failure of the coalition. Whatever view be adopted, the inconsistencies of the text make it at least possible that it has suffered from interpolation, and that we have not got the prophecy in its original form. The real problem is not to account for the name 'Immanuel,' or for the promise of a saviour-king, but to understand what part he plays in the rest of the chapter. Connected with this is the further difficulty of explaining why the figure of the Messianic king disappears almost entirely from Isaiah's later prophecies.

5. *Its application to the Virgin-birth.*—The full discussion of the quotation in Mt 1^{23} is part of the larger subjects of Messianic prophecy, the Virgin-birth, and the Incarnation. The following points may be noticed here. (*a*) Though the LXX (which has *parthenos* 'virgin') and the Alexandrian Jews apparently interpreted the passage in a Messianic sense and of a virgin-birth, there is no evidence to show that this interpretation was sufficiently prominent and definite to explain the rise of the belief in the miraculous conception. The text was applied to illustrate the fact or the belief in the fact; the fact was not imagined to meet the requirements of the text. The formula used in the quotation suggests that it belongs to a series of OT passages drawn up in the primitive Church to illustrate the life of Christ (see Allen, *St. Matthew*, p. lxii.). (*b*) The text would not now be used as a *proof* of the Incarnation. 'Immanuel' does not in itself imply that the child was regarded as God, but only that he was to be the pledge of the Divine presence, and endowed in a special sense with the spirit of Jehovah (cf. Is 11^2). The Incarnation 'fulfils' such a prophecy, because Christ is the true realization of the vague and half-understood longings of the world, both heathen and Jewish.

C. W. Emmet.

IMMER.—**1.** Eponym of a priestly family (1 Ch 9^{12} 24^{14}, Ezr 2^{37} 10^{20}, Neh 3^{29} 7^{40} 11^{13}). **2.** A priest contemp. with Jeremiah (Jer 20^1). **3.** The name of a place (?) (Ezr 2^{59} = Neh 7^{61}). The text is uncertain (cf. 1 Es 5^{36}).

IMMORTALITY.—See Eschatology.

IMNA.—An Asherite chief (1 Ch 7^{35}).

IMNAH.—**1.** The eldest son of Asher (Nu 26^{44}, 1 Ch 7^{30}). **2.** A Levite in the time of Hezekiah (2 Ch 31^{14}).

IMNITES.—Patronymic from Imnah (No. 1), Nu 26^{44}.

IMPORTUNITY.—The Greek word so translated in Lk 11^8 is literally 'shamelessness.' It is translated 'impudence' in Sir 25^{22}. These are its only occurrences in the Bible. It is probable, however, that it had lost some of its original force, and that 'importunity' is a fair rendering. The Eng. word signified originally 'difficulty of access' (*in-portus*), hence persistence. It is now practically obsolete, and 'persistence' might have been introduced into the RV.

IMPOTENT.—This word, now obsolescent in common speech, means literally 'without strength.' It is used as the tr. of Gr. words which mean 'without power' (Bar 6^{28}, Ac 14^8) or 'without strength' (Jn $5^{3.\ 7}$, Ac 4^9). 'When religion is at the stake,' says Fuller (*Holy State*, ii. 19, p. 124), 'there must be no lookers on (except impotent people, who also help by their prayers), and every one is bound to lay his shoulders to the work.'

IMPRISONMENT.—See Crimes and Punishments, § 9.

IMRAH.—An Asherite chief (1 Ch 7^{36}).

IMRI.—**1.** A Judahite (1 Ch 9^4). **2.** Father of Zaccur, who helped to build the wall (Neh 3^2).

INCANTATIONS.—See Magic Divination and Sorcery.

INCARNATION.—It is a distinguishing feature of Christianity that it consists in faith in a person, Jesus Christ, and in faith or self-committal of such a character that faith in Him is understood to be faith in God. The fact on which the whole of the Christian religion depends is therefore the fact that Jesus Christ is both God and man. Assuming provisionally this fact to be true, or at least credible, this article will briefly examine the witness borne to it in the books of the OT and NT.

1. The Incarnation foreshadowed in the OT.—Early religions have attempted to explain two things—the existence and order of the universe, and the principles of conduct or morality. The Hebrews attained at an early period to a belief in God as the creator and sustainer of the universe, but their interest in metaphysic did not go beyond this. It is in their moral idea of God that we shall find anticipations of the Incarnation. (*a*) *The OT conception of man.* Man is made in the image of God (Gn 1^{26} 9^6). Whatever may be the exact meaning of this expression, it appears to imply that man has a free and rational personality, and is destined for union with God. (*b*) *God reveals Himself to man.* A belief in the self-manifestation of God, through visions, dreams, the ministry of angels, the spirit of prophecy, and in the possibility of personal converse between God and man, is apparent upon every page of the OT. The 'theophanies' further suggest the possibility of the appearance of God in a human form. It is also remarkable that, although the sense of the holiness and transcendency of God grew with time, the Jews in the later periods did not shrink from strongly anthropomorphic expressions. (*c*) *Intimations of relationships in the Deity.* Without unduly pressing such

particular points as the plural form of *Elohim* (God), or the triple repetition of the Divine name (Is 6^3, Nu 6^{23}), it may at least be said that the idea of God in Jewish monotheism is not a bare unit, and 'can only be apprehended as that which involves diversity as well as unity.' Moreover, the doctrine of the Divine Wisdom as set forth in the Books of Proverbs and Wisdom (Pr 8^{22}, Wis 7^{23-25} 8^1 etc.) personifies Wisdom almost to the point of ascribing to it separate existence. The doctrine was carried further by Philo, with assistance from Greek thought, and prepared the way for St. John's conception of the Logos, the Word of God. (*d*) *The Messianic hope.* This was at its root an anticipation of the union of Divine and human attributes in a single personality (see Messiah). It developed along several distinct lines of thought and expectation, and it will be noted that these are not combined in the OT; but Christianity claims to supply the explanation and fulfilment of them all.

2. The fact of the Incarnation in the NT.—(*a*) *The humanity of Christ.* It is beyond dispute that Christ is represented in the NT as a man. He was born, indeed, under miraculous conditions, but of a human mother. He grew up with gradually developing powers (Lk 2^{52}). The people among whom He lived for thirty years do not appear to have recognized anything extraordinary in Him (Mt 13^{55}). During the period of His life about which detailed information has been recorded, we read of ordinary physical and moral characteristics. He suffered weariness (Mk 4^{38}, Jn 4^6), hunger (Mt 4^2), thirst (Jn 19^{28}); he died and was buried. He felt even strong emotions: wonder (Mk 6^6, Lk 7^9), compassion (Mk 8^2, Lk 7^{13}), joy (Lk 10^{21}), anger (Mk 8^{12} 10^{14}); He was deeply moved (Jn 11^{33}, Mk 14^{33}). He acquired information in the ordinary way (Mk 6^{38} 9^{21}, Jn 11^{34}). He was tempted (Mt 4^{1-11}, Lk 22^{28}). And it may be further asserted with the utmost confidence, that neither in the Gospels nor in any other part of the NT is there the smallest support for a Docetic explanation of these facts (that is, for the theory that He only *seemed* to undergo the experiences narrated). (*b*) *The Divinity of Christ.* Side by side with this picture of perfect humanity there is an ever-present belief through all the NT writings that Christ was more than a man. From the evidential point of view the most important and unquestionable testimony to the early belief of His disciples is contained in St. Paul's Epistles, especially those to the Romans, Galatians, and Corinthians, which are among the earliest books of the NT, and of the most undisputed genuineness. In these Epistles we find Jesus Christ 'co-ordinated with God in the necessarily Divine functions, in a manner impossible to the mind of a Jewish monotheist like St. Paul, unless the co-ordinated person is really believed to belong to the properly Divine being.' In the Gospels we have an account of how this belief arose. The Synoptic Gospels supply a simple narrative of fact in which we can mark the growing belief of the disciples; and the Fourth Gospel definitely marks stages of faith on the part of Christ's adherents, and of hatred on the part of His enemies. The following points may be specially noted in the Gospels:—

(1) Extraordinary characteristics are constantly ascribed to Christ, not in themselves necessarily Divine, but certainly such as to distinguish Christ in a marked degree from other men. There is a personal influence of a very remarkable kind. This is naturally not described or dwelt upon, but every page of the Gospels testifies to its existence. The earliest record of Christ's life is pre-eminently miraculous. In spite of economy and restraint of power, mighty works are represented as having been the natural, sometimes the almost involuntary, accompaniments of His ministrations. Two special miracles, the Resurrection and the Virgin-birth, are noticed separately below. He spoke with authority (Mk 7^{29}). He claimed to fulfil the Law—a law recognized as Divine—to be Lord of the Sabbath, and to give a new law to His disciples. In all His teaching there is an implicit claim to infallibility. In spite of His being subject to temptation, the possibility of moral failure is never entertained. There is nothing that marks Christ off from other men more than this. In all other good men the sense of sin becomes more acute with increasing holiness. In Christ it did not exist. The title of 'Son of Man' which He habitually used may have more meanings than one. But comparing the different connexions in which it is used, we can hardly escape the conclusion that Christ identifies Himself with the consummation and perfection of humanity.

(2) He claimed to be the Messiah, summing up and uniting the different lines of expectation alluded to above. As has been pointed out, the Messianic hope included features both human and Divine; and although this was not recognized beforehand, it appears to us, looking back, that these expectations could not have been adequately satisfied except by the Incarnation.

(3) Of some of the things mentioned above it might be a sufficient explanation to say, that Christ was a man endowed with exceptional powers and graces by God, and approved by mighty wonders and signs. But even in the Synoptic Gospels, which are for the most part pure narrative, there is more than this. In the claim to forgive sins (Mt 9^{2-6}), to judge the world (Mk $14^{62.\ 63}$), to reveal the will of the Father (Mt 11^{27}), in His commission to the Church (Mt 28^{18-20}, Mk 16^{15-18}, Lk 24^{44-48}), and above all, perhaps, in the claim of personal adhesion which He ever made on His disciples, He assumes a relationship to God which would not be possible to one who was not conscious of being more than man.

(4) In the discourses in the Fourth Gospel, Christ plainly asserts His own pre-existence and His own essential relation to the Father. If these discourses represent even the substance of a side of Christ's teaching (a point which must be assumed and not argued here), He explicitly bore witness to His eternal relation to the Father.

(5) What crowned the faith of the disciples was the fact of the Resurrection. Their absolute belief in the reality of this fact swept away all doubts and misgivings. At first, no doubt, they were so much absorbed in the fact itself that they did not at once reason out all that it meant to their beliefs; and in teaching they had to adapt their message to the capacities of their hearers; but there can be no question about the place which the belief in the Resurrection took in determining their creed (see Jesus Christ, p. 458[a]).

(6) One miracle recorded in the Gospels, the **Virgin-birth,** naturally did not form part of the first cycle of Apostolic teaching. The Apostles bore witness to their own experience and to the growth of their own faith, and they knew Jesus Christ first as a man. Apart from the evidence for the fact, it has seemed to most Christians in all ages that the idea of a new creative act is naturally associated with the occurrence of the Incarnation.

3. Purpose and results of the Incarnation.—(*a*) *Consummation of the universe and of humanity.*—St. Paul (Eph 1^{10}) speaks of the purpose of God 'to sum up all things in Christ, the things in the heavens and the things upon the earth' (cf. He 2^{10}). This is a view which is not often explicitly dwelt upon in the Scriptures, but the idea appears to pervade the NT, and it is conspicuous in Eph., Col., and Hebrews. Christ is represented as fulfilling the purpose of humanity and therefore of the universe, as being its first and final cause, 'for whom are all things, and through whom are all things.' It is hardly necessary to point out that the modern teaching of evolution, if not anticipated by Christianity, at least adapts itself singularly well to the expression of this aspect of it.

(*b*) *Supreme revelation of God.*—Christians have always believed that even the material universe was destined

ultimately to reveal God, and St. Paul appeals to the processes of nature as being an indication not only of the creative power, but also of the benevolence of God (Ac 14[17], cf. Ro 1[20]). The OT is the history of a progressive revelation which is always looking forward to more perfect illumination, and the whole history of man is, according to the NT, the history of gradual enlightenment culminating in the Incarnation (He 1[2], Jn 14[9], Col 1[14]).

(*c*) *Restoration of man.*—It has been a common subject of speculation in the Church whether the Incarnation would have taken place if man had not sinned, and it must be recognized that to such a question no decisive answer can be given. As a fact the Incarnation was conditioned by the existence of man's sin, and the restoration of man is constantly put forward as its purpose. Three special aspects of this work of restoration may be noticed. (1) Christ offers an example of perfect and sinless humanity: He is the unique example of man as God intended him to be. The ideal of the human race becomes actual in Him. His life was one of perfect obedience to the will of God (Mt 17[5], Lk 3[22], Jn 8[29]). (2) He removed the barriers which sin had placed between man and his Creator. This work is invariably associated in the NT with His death and resurrection. It is described as an offering, a sacrifice, of Himself (He 9[26]), which takes away the sin of the world (Jn 1[29]). Many metaphors are used in the NT to describe the effect of His death and resurrection, such as redemption, which conveys the idea of a deliverance at a great cost from slavery; propitiation, or an act or process by which sin is neutralized; salvation, or bringing into a condition of health or safety; reconciliation with God, and remission of sin (see Atonement). (3) These two parts of Christ's work for man were accomplished by His earthly life, death, and resurrection. But they do not comprise all that the Incarnation has done for the restoration of man. The completion of His work Christ left to His Church, the society which He founded, and in which He promised that He would dwell through the Holy Spirit. The Church, St. Paul says, is His body, living by His life and the instrument of His work. Thus the Kingdom of God which Christ brought to the earth, and which He constantly speaks of both as being already come and as still to come, is visibly represented in His Church, which is 'the Kingdom of heaven in so far as it has already come, and prepares for the Kingdom as it is to come in glory.'

4. Relation of the NT doctrine to that of the Councils.—It has been seen above that the disciples knew our Lord first as a man, and that they advanced by degrees to a belief in His Divinity. Men educated in Jewish habits of thought would not readily apprehend in all its bearings the Christian idea of a Person who could be both God and man. It is therefore not surprising that there should be in the NT a diversity of treatment with regard to the question of the Person of Christ, and that it should be possible to recognize what may be called different levels of Christological belief. Before our Lord's death the disciples had recognized Him as the Messiah, though with still very inadequate ideas as to the nature of the Messianic Kingdom which He was to set up. The Resurrection transformed this faith, and it naturally became the central point of their early teaching. The conception of Christ prominent in the earliest Apostolic age, and emphasized in the first part of the Acts and in the Epistles of 1 Peter, James, and Jude, regards Him primarily as the Messiah, the glory of whose Person and mission has been proved by the Resurrection, who has been exalted to God's right hand, and who will be judge of quick and dead. St. Paul in his earlier Epistles regards Christ's Person more from the point of view of personal religion, as One who has bridged over the gulf which sin has caused between God and man, and in whom man's desire for reconciliation with God finds satisfaction. St. Paul's later Epistles, as well as the Ep. to the Hebrews and St. John's Gospel, deal with the cosmological and mystical aspects of the Incarnation, and contain the most definite statements of the Divinity of Christ.

It has been further maintained that the definitions of the doctrine made by the great Councils and embodied in the Creeds show an advance upon the doctrine contained in the NT. This was not, however, the view of those who drew up the definitions, for they invariably appealed to the NT writings as conclusive, and believed themselves to be only formulating beliefs which had always been held by the Church. The language of the definitions was undoubtedly to some extent new, but it has never been shown that the substance of the doctrine expressed by them in any respect goes beyond what has been represented above as the teaching of the NT. If the NT writers really believed, as has been maintained above, that Christ was a Person who was perfectly human and who was also Divine, there is nothing in the dogmatic decrees of the 4th and 5th centuries which asserts more than this. What these definitions do is to negative explanations which are inconsistent with these fundamental beliefs. It is not surprising that men found it difficult to grasp the perfect Divinity as well as the perfect humanity of Christ, and that attempts should have been made to explain away one side or other of the doctrine of the Incarnation. The attempt which met with the widest success, and most threatened the doctrine of the Church, was that of Arius, who taught that the Son of God was a created being, a sort of demi-god. This teaching found ready support and sympathy among men who had not shaken off pagan habits of thought, and in opposing it the Church was contending for a true Theism, which cannot endure the multiplication of objects of worship, no less than for Christianity. But although a word was used in the definition finally accepted, the celebrated *homoousion*—'of one substance with the Father'—which was not used by any NT writer, it was used unwillingly, and only because other attempts to assert beyond the possibility of cavil the true Divinity of Christ had failed. Again, when the Divinity of Christ was fully accepted, the difficulty of believing the same Person to be both God and man led to attempts to explain away the perfect humanity. Apollinaris taught that the Word of God took the place of the human mind or spirit in Christ, as at a later period the Monothelites held that He had no human will; Nestorius practically denied an Incarnation, by holding that the Son of God and Jesus Christ were two separate persons, though united in a singular degree; Eutyches taught that the manhood in Christ was merged in the Godhead so as to lose its proper and distinct nature. These explanations contradicted in various ways the plain teaching of the Gospels that Christ was a truly human Person, and they were all decisively negatived by the Church in language which no doubt shows a distinct advance in theological thought, but without adding anything to the substance of the Apostolic doctrine. J. H. Maude.

INCENSE.—(1) *lebōnāh*, which should always be tr. 'frankincense' (wh. see). It was burnt with the meat-offering (Lv 2[1. 2. 15. 16] 6[15] etc.), and offered with the shewbread (Lv 24[7-9]). (2) *qĕṭōreth*, lit. 'smoke,' and so used in Is 1[13], Ps 66[15] 141[2]; used for a definite substance, Lv 10[1], Ezk 8[11] etc. (3) *thumiama* (Gr.), Lk 1[10], Rev 5[8] 8[3] 18[13]. The holy incense (Ex 30[34]) was made of stacte, onycha, galbanum, and frankincense, but the incense of later times, which was offered daily (Jth 9[1], Lk 1[8-10]), was more complicated. According to Josephus, it had thirteen constituents (*BJ* v. v. 5). Incense was originally burned in censers, but these were latterly used only to carry coals from the great altar to the 'altar of incense.' E. W. G. Masterman.

INCENSE, ALTAR OF.—See Tabernacle, § 6 (*c*), and Temple, § 4.

INCEST.—See Crimes and Punishments, § 3.

INDIA (Heb. *Hōddū*) is named as the E. boundary of the empire of Ahasuerus (Est 1[1] 8[9]). The Heb. is contracted from *Hondu*, the name of the river Indus. It indicated the country through which that river flows: not the great peninsula of Hindustan. So also in 1 Mac 8[8], Ad. Est 13[1] 14[1], 1 Es 3[2]. Possibly the drivers of the elephants (1 Mac 6[37]) were true Indians. If India

proper is not named, there is little doubt that from ancient times Israel had relations with the country, by means of the caravan trade through Arabia. Many of the articles of commerce in the account given of this trade are of Indian origin: *e.g.* 'ivory and ebony,' 'cassia and calamus,' 'broidered work,' and 'rich apparel' (Ezk 27[15. 19. 24]).

W. Ewing.

INDITE.—This Eng. verb is now somewhat old-fashioned. When it is used, it means to write. But formerly, and as found in AV, it meant to inspire or dictate to the writer. Thus St. Paul indited and Tertius wrote (Ro 16[22]). The word occurs in the Preface to the AV and in Ps 45[1] 'My heart is inditing a good matter.' In the Douai version (though this word is not used) there is a note: 'I have received by divine inspiration in my hart and cogitation a most high Mysterie.'

INFIDEL.—This word has more force now than formerly. In AV it signifies no more than 'unbeliever.' It occurs in 2 Co 6[15], 1 Ti 5[8] (RV 'unbeliever' in both). So 'infidelity' in 2 Es 7[44] is simply 'unbelief' (Lat. *incredulitas*).

INGATHERING.—See Tabernacles [Feast of].

INHERITANCE.—It is a remarkable fact that the Hebrew language fails to discriminate between the inheritance of property and its possession or acquisition in any other manner. The two words most constantly used in this connexion denote the idea of settled possession, but are quite indeterminate as to the manner in which that possession has been acquired. As might easily be inferred, from the historical circumstances of Israel's evolution, the words became largely restricted to the holding of land, obviously the most important of all kinds of property among a pastoral or agricultural people.

i. Inheritance in Law and Custom.—**1. Property.**—While land was the most important part of an inheritance, the rules for succession show that it was regarded as belonging properly to the family or clan, and to the individual heir only as representing family or tribal rights. Cattle, household goods, and slaves would be more personal possessions, which a man could divide among his sons (Dt 21[16]). Originally wives, too, as part of the property of the deceased, would fall to the possession of the heir-in-chief (cf. 2 S 16[20-23], 1 K 2[13ff.]).

2. Heirs.—(*a*) The *firstborn son*, as the new head of the family, responsible for providing for the rest, inherited the land and had also his claim to a double portion of other kinds of wealth (Dt 21[17]). To be the son of a concubine or inferior wife was not a bar to heirship (Gn 21[10], 1 Ch 5[1]); though a jealous wife might prevail on her husband to deprive such a son of the right of succession (Gn 21[10]). That a father had power to transfer the birthright from the firstborn to another is implied in the cases of Ishmael and Isaac (Gn 21[10]), Esau and Jacob (27[37]), Reuben and Joseph (1 Ch 5[1]), Adonijah and Solomon (1 K 1[11ff.]). But this was contrary to social usage, and is prohibited in Dt 21[15-17]. Moreover, the exceptions to the rule are presented as examples of a Divine election rather than a human preference (Isaac, Gn 21[12]; Jacob, Mal 1[2. 3], Ro 9[13]; Joseph, Gn 49[24ff.]; Solomon, 1 Ch 22[9. 10]), and can hardly be adduced as survivals of the ancient custom of 'Junior Right.' (*b*) At first a *daughter* could not succeed (the inheritance of the daughters of Job [Job 42[15]] is noted as exceptional)—an arrangement that has been referred either to the influence of ancestor-worship, in which a male heir was necessary as priest of the family cult, or to the connexion between inheritance and the duty of blood revenge. For unmarried daughters, however, husbands would almost invariably be found. In the case of the daughters of Zelophehad (Nu 27[1-11]) we see the introduction of a change; but it is to be noted that this very case is associated with the provision (Nu 36[1-12]) that heiresses should marry only within their father's tribe, so that the inheritance might not be alienated from it. (*c*) For the *widow* no immediate place was found in the succession. So far from being eligible as an heir, she was strictly a part of the property belonging to the inheritance. According to the levirate law, however, when a man died leaving no son, his brother or other next-of-kin (*go'ēl*) must marry the widow, and her firstborn son by this marriage became the heir of her previous husband (Dt 25[5]). (*d*) For the *order of succession* the rule is laid down in Nu 27[8-11] that if a man die without male issue the right of inheritance shall fall successively to his daughter, his brothers, his father's brothers, his next kinsman thereafter. The provision for the daughter was an innovation, as the context shows, but the rest of the rule is in harmony with the ancient laws of kinship.

ii. National and Religious Inheritance.—**1.** The possession of the land of Canaan was commonly regarded as the inheritance of the whole people. In this particular case the inheritance was won only as the result of conflict and effort; moreover, theoretically at any rate, it involved the annihilation of the previous inhabitants. Consequently the inheritance of Canaan was not entirely devoid of the idea of succession. But the extermination of the Canaanites was never effected; and although the conquest was achieved only by the most strenuous effort, yet the Israelites were so strongly impressed with a vivid sense of Jehovah's intervention on their behalf, that to subsequent generations it seemed as if they had entered into the labours of others, not in any sense whatever by their own power, but solely by Jehovah's grace. The inheritance of Canaan signified the secure possession of the land, as the gift of God to His people. 'The dominant Biblical sense of inheritance is the enjoyment by a rightful title of that which is not the fruit of personal exertion' (Westcott, *Heb.* 168).

2. It is not surprising that the idea of inheritance soon acquired religious associations. The Hebrew mind invested all social and political institutions with a religious significance. As Israel became increasingly conscious of its mission *in*, and began dimly to apprehend its mission *to*, the world, the peaceful and secure possession of Canaan seemed an indispensable condition of that self-development which was itself the necessary prelude to a more universal mission. The threatening attitude of the great world powers in the eighth and subsequent centuries B.C. brought the question prominently to the front. Over and over again it seemed as if Jerusalem must succumb to the hordes of barbarian invaders, and as if the last remnant of Canaan must be irretrievably lost; but the prophets persistently declared that the land should not be lost; they realized the impossibility of Israel's ever realizing her true vocation, unless, at any rate for some centuries, she preserved her national independence; and the latter would, of course, be wholly unthinkable without territorial security. The career of Israel, as a nation, the influence, even the existence, of its religion, would be endangered by the dispossession of Canaan; moreover, it was recognized that as long as the people remained true to Jehovah, He on His part would remain true to them, and would not suffer them to be dispossessed, but would make them dwell securely in their own land, in order that they might establish on their side those conditions of righteousness and justice which represented the national obligations, if Jehovah's covenant with them was to be maintained.

3. The possession of the land, the inheritance of Canaan, symbolized the people's living in covenant with their God, and all those spiritual blessings which flowed from such a covenant. And inasmuch as the validity of the covenant implied the continuance of Divine favour, the inheritance of the Holy Land was viewed as the outward and visible sign of God's presence and power among His own. We know how the remorseless

logic of history seemed to point to an opposite conclusion. The Exile spelt disinheritance; and disinheritance meant a great deal more than the loss of a little strip of territory; it meant the forfeiture of spiritual blessings as a consequence of national sin. The more ardent spirits of the nation refused, however, to believe that these high privileges were permanently abrogated; they were only temporarily withdrawn; and they looked forward to a new covenant whose spiritual efficacy should be guaranteed by national restoration. In the reconstituted theocracy, the Messiah figured as the mediator both of temporal and of spiritual blessings. The idea of a restored inheritance suggested at once the glorious anticipations of the Messianic age, when the people, not by works which they had done, but by Jehovah's grace, should recover that which they had lost; and renew the covenant that had been broken.

4. In this sense 'the inheritance' became almost equivalent to the Messianic salvation; and participation in this salvation is not a future privilege, but a present possession. In the OT the secure inheritance of the Holy Land was the outward symbol of these spiritual blessings; under the New Dispensation they are assured by membership in the Christian body.

5. As every Jew regarded himself as an inheritor of the land of Canaan, so also is each Christian an inheritor of the Kingdom of heaven. He is not the heir, in the sense of enjoying an honorary distinction, or of anticipating future privileges; but as one who is already in a position of assured privilege, conferred upon him with absolute validity. As Lightfoot remarks, 'Our Father never dies; the inheritance never passes away from Him; yet nevertheless we succeed to the full possession of it' (*Galatians*[8] 165).

6. Three particular usages remain to be noticed. (*a*) The Jews never lost the conviction that Jehovah was the supreme overlord of the land, and of the people that dwelt in it. Accordingly Canaan is the Holy Land, and Jehovah's own inheritance; and Messiah when incarnate 'came to His own country, and His own people received Him not.' (*b*) The Jews also recognized that the possession of Canaan had value only in so far as it assured them of the free exercise of their religion, and all other spiritual blessings. This they strove to express by boldly declaring that Jehovah was Himself the inheritance of His people. (*c*) The Messiah, through whom the disinheritance should be brought to a close, and the covenant should be renewed, was naturally regarded as the supreme 'inheritor' or 'heir' of all the promises and privileges implied in the covenant. As, moreover, the Messiah's unique relation to the Father became more clearly defined, the idea of His inheritance, connoting His unique primogeniture and universal supremacy, became enlarged and expanded. It was, moreover, through the humanity which He restored that the Son proved and realized His heirship of all things; and thus His actual position is the potential exaltation of redeemed mankind.

J. C. Lambert and Ernest A. Edghill.

INIQUITY.—See Sin.

INJURIOUS.—In the language of the AV 'injurious' is more than hurtful; it is also insulting. It 'adds insult to injury.' It occurs Sir 8[11], 1 Ti 1[13]; and the Gr. word used in these places is in Ro 1[30] translated 'despiteful' (RV 'insolent').

INK is mentioned once in OT (Jer 36[18]). Ex 32[33] and Nu 5[23] are adduced as evidence that the old Hebrew ink (derived from lamp-black [?]) could be washed off. From the bright colours that still survive in some papyri, it is evident that the ink used by the Egyptians must have been of a superior kind. The NT term for 'ink,' occurring three times (2 Co 3[3], 2 Jn [12], 3 Jn [13]), is *melan* (lit. 'black'). See, further, under Writing.

INKHORN.—In one of Ezekiel's visions (Ezk 9[2. 3. 11]) a man appears with a scribe's inkhorn by his side (lit. 'upon his loins'). The 'inkhorn' consisted of a case for the reed pens, with a cup or bulb for holding the ink, near the upper end of the case. It was carried in the girdle (hence the above expression).

INN.—See Hospitality.

INNER MAN.—The implied contrast involved in this expression may be regarded as exclusively Pauline. The antithesis between the adorning of the visible body, and 'the incorruptible (ornament) of a meek and quiet spirit,' 'the hidden man of the heart' (1 P 3[3f.]) is an example of the Paulinism which pervades this encyclical letter (see Moffatt, *Historical NT* [2], p. 250). The contrast, so vividly portrayed in Ro 7[22f.], is essentially ethical in its character. It is between the law which passion blindly follows, and that to which 'the mind' or the informed conscience yields a delighted because a reasoned obedience (cf. Sanday-Headlam, *Romans, in loc.*). Different from this is the contrast in 2 Co 4[16], where 'our outward man,' decaying and dying, stands over against 'our inward man,' which is in a constant state of renewal. Here we have the antithesis of the 'temporal' and the 'eternal' elements in man's complex personality (v.[18]). This phrase is found in an absolute sense in Eph 3[16], where it denotes the entire basis of man's higher life, on which God's Spirit works, and in which Christ dwells. The intellectual and moral apprehension of the fruits of the Incarnation depend, first and last, upon whether 'the inward man' has its roots struck deep in that Divine love which is the first cause of man's redemption (v.[17ff.]; cf. Jn 3[16]).

J. R. Willis.

INSPIRATION.—The subject comprises the doctrine of inspiration in the Bible, and the doctrine of the inspiration of the Bible, together with what forms the transition from the one to the other, the account given of the prophetic consciousness, and the teaching of the NT about the OT.

1. The agent of inspiration is the Holy Spirit (see p. 360) or Spirit of God, who is active in Creation (Gn 1[2], Ps 104[30]), is imparted to man that the dust may become living soul (Gn 2[7]), is the source of exceptional powers of body (Jg 6[34] 14[6. 19]) or skill (Ex 35[31]); but is pre-eminently manifest in prophecy (wh. see). The NT doctrine of the presence and power of the Spirit of God in the renewed life of the believer is anticipated in the OT, inasmuch as to the Spirit's operations are attributed wisdom (Job 32[8], 1 K 3[28], Dt 34[9]), courage (Jg 13[25] 14[6]), penitence, moral strength, and purity (Neh 9[20], Ps 51[11], Is 63[10], Ezk 36[26], Zec 12[10]). The promise of the Spirit by Christ to His disciples was fulfilled when He Himself after the Resurrection breathed on them, and said, 'Receive ye the Holy Ghost' (Jn 20[22]), and after His Ascension the Spirit descended on the Church with the outward signs of the wind and fire (Ac 2[2. 3]). The Christian life as such is an inspired life, but the operation of the Spirit is represented in the NT in two forms; there are the extraordinary gifts (charisms)—speaking with tongues, interpreting tongues, prophecy, miracles (1 Co 12),—all of which St. Paul subordinates to faith, hope, love (ch. 13); and there are the fruits of the Spirit in moral character and religious disposition (Gal 5[22. 23]). Intermediate may be regarded the gifts for special functions in the Church, as teaching, governing, exhorting (Ro 12[7. 8]). The prophetic inspiration is continued (Ro 12[6]); but superior is the Apostolic (1 Co 12[28]) (see Apostles).

2. The doctrine of the inspiration of the NT attaches itself to the promise of Christ to His disciples that the Holy Spirit whom the Father would send in His name should teach them all things, and bring to their remembrance all things that He had said to them (Jn 14[26]); and that, when the Spirit of truth had come, He should guide them into all the truth, and should declare to them the things that were to come (16[13]). These promises cover the contents of Gospels, Epistles, and the Apocalypse. The inspiration of Christ's own words is affirmed in His

claim to be alone in knowing and revealing the Father (Mt 11[27]), and His repeated declaration of His dependence in His doctrine on the Father.

3. Christ recognizes the inspiration of the OT (Mt 22[43]), and the authority of the prophets (Lk 24[25]). The word 'inspire' is used only in Wis 15[11] 'Because he was ignorant of him that moulded him, and of him that inspired into him an active soul, and breathed into him a vital spirit.' The word 'inspiration' is used in this general sense in Job 32[8] AV 'But there is a spirit in man; and the inspiration (RV 'breath') of the Almighty giveth them understanding.' In special reference to the OT we find in 2 Ti 3[16] (RV) 'every scripture inspired of God is also profitable for teaching,' etc. While the term is not used, the fact is recognized in 2 P 1[21] 'For no prophecy ever came by the will of man; but men spake from God, being moved by the Holy Ghost.' It must be added, however, that both these passages are in writings the Apostolic authorship of which is questioned by many scholars. But the NT view of the authority of the OT is fully attested in the use made of the OT as trustworthy history, true doctrine, and sure prophecy; and yet the inaccuracy of many of the quotations, as well as the use of the Greek translation, shows that the writers, whether they held a theory of verbal inspiration or not, were not bound by it.

4. Although the doctrine of the inspiration of the Bible does not properly fall within the scope of a Bible Dictionary, a brief summary of views held in the Christian Church may be added: (*a*) The Theory of *verbal* inspiration affirms that each human author was but the mouthpiece of God, and that in every word, therefore, God speaks. But the actual features of the Bible, as studied by reverent and believing scholarship, contradict the theory. (*b*) The theory of *degrees of inspiration* recognizes suggestion, direction, elevation, and superintendency of the human by the Divine Spirit; but it is questionable whether we can so formally define the process. (*c*) The *dynamical* theory recognizes the exercise of human faculties in the author, but maintains their illumination, stimulation, and purification by the Spirit of God, in order that in doctrine and ethics the Divine mind and will may be correctly and sufficiently expressed; but this divorces literature from life. (*d*) We may call the view now generally held *personal inspiration*: by the Spirit of God men are in various degrees enlightened, filled with zeal and devotion, cleansed and strengthened morally, brought into more immediate and intimate communion with God; and this new life, expressed in their writings, is the channel of God's revelation of Himself to men. In place of stress on the words and the ideas of Scripture, emphasis is now laid on the moral character and religious disposition of the agents of revelation. ALFRED E. GARVIE.

INSTANT.—'Instant' and 'instantly' are now used only of time. In AV they have their earlier meaning of 'urgent,' 'urgently,' as in Lk 23[23] 'they were instant with loud voices, requiring that he might be crucified'; Lk 7[4] 'they besought him instantly' (RV 'earnestly'). Cf. Erasmus, *Paraphrase*, i. 31, 'whoso knocketh at the doore instantly, to him it shal be opened.'

INSTRUMENT.—For musical instruments see MUSIC. The word is also frequently used in AV (though only twice in NT, both times in Ro 6[13]) for any utensil, implement, or weapon, and in To 7[14], 1 Mac 13[42] for a legal document or deed.

INTERCESSION.—See PRAYER.

INTEREST.—See USURY.

INTERMEDIATE STATE.—See ESCHATOLOGY, 3 (*d*), and PARADISE, 3.

INTERPRETATION.—This word and its cognates are found throughout the Bible with a wide variety in their use. **1.** In the earlier stages of the history of mankind *dreams* were looked upon as manifestations of Divine intervention in human affairs, and it was regarded as of the first importance that their mysterious revelations should be explained for those to whom they were vouchsafed. From the story of Joseph we learn that a special class at the court of the Pharaohs discharged the function of interpreters of dreams (cf. 'magicians' [RVm 'sacred scribes'] and 'wise men,' Gn 41[8]). A similar body of wise or learned men is mentioned in the Book of Daniel, for the same object at the court of Babylon (Dn 2[2ff. 4 6f.]). The idea that dreams were a means of communication between the Deity and men was also current amongst the Hebrews from a very early date. In the NT we find that dreams occupy the place of direct visions or revelations from God, and no difficulty seems to have been experienced by the recipients as to their precise meaning (Mt 1[20] 2[12. 13. 19. 22]).

2. Turning again to the history of Joseph, we find there an incidental remark which leads us to believe that there was an official interpreter, or a body of interpreters, whose work it was *to translate foreign languages into the language of the court* (cf. 'the interpreter,' Gn 42[23]). The qualification to act as interpreter seems to have been required of those who acted as ambassadors at foreign courts (cf. 2 Ch 32[31]). That prominent politicians and statesmen had this means of international communication at their disposal is seen in the translation by the Persian nobles of their letter from their own language into Aramaic (Ezr 4[7]). As the Hebrew tongue ceased to be that of the common people, interpreters were required at the sacred services to translate or explain the Law and the Prophets after the reading of the original (see W. R. Smith, *OTJC*[2] 36, 64n, 154). In the NT, examples are frequent of the interpretation in Greek of a Hebrew or Aramaic phrase (Mt 1[23] 27[46], Mk 5[41] 15[22. 34], Jn 1[38. 41f.], Ac 4[36] 9[36] 13[8]); and in this connexion it is interesting to recall the extract from the writings of Papias preserved by Eusebius, in which Mark is called 'the interpreter of Peter' (see *HE* iii. 39)—a tradition accepted by Jerome and Athanasius. The most natural explanation is that which makes St. Mark's Gospel the outcome in Greek of St. Peter's teaching in his native tongue.

3. The function of the *prophets* is described as that of interpreters or ambassadors explaining to Israel Jehovah's messages in terms suited to their capacity (Is 43[27], cf. Elihu's reference to the intercessory or ambassadorial work of angels in interpreting to man what God requires of him in the way of conduct, as well as explaining the mystery of His dealings with men [Job 33[23]]).

4. Frequent reference is made by St. Paul to a peculiar phase in the life of the early Corinthian Church—speaking with tongues. Whatever may be the precise meaning attaching to this feature of Christian activity, and it is plain that in individual cases the practice gave the Apostle considerable cause for anxiety, one of the special spiritual 'gifts' to believers was the power of *interpreting these strange utterances*. The speaker himself might possess the gift of interpretation and use it for the benefit of the congregation (see 1 Co 14[5. 13]), or, on the other hand, he might not. In the latter event his duty was to keep silence, unless an interpreter were at hand to make his message intelligible to the other assembled worshippers (cf. 1 Co 14[26ff. 12 10. 30]).

5. A somewhat ambiguous use of the word 'interpretation' occurs in 2 P 1[20], where the writer refers to the expounding of ancient prophecies; 'no prophecy of scripture is of private (RVm 'special') interpretation.' Two explanations of this passage are current: (1) the 'interpretation' is that of the prophet himself, who, because of his peculiar relation to the Spirit of God, uttered words the full meaning of which he did not comprehend; or (2) the word has a reference to the exegesis of the passage in question by individual readers. The present writer is of opinion that neither explanation does full justice to the author's idea. If the word translated 'private' be confined solely in its meaning to the noun which it

qualifies, we may understand by the phrase that no single event or result can be looked on as a complete fulfilment of the prophet's message. It has a wider range or scope than the happening of any special occurrence, though that occurrence may be regarded as *a* fulfilment of the prophet's announcement. J. R. Willis.

INTREAT.—Besides the mod. sense of 'beseech,' intreat (spelled also 'entreat') means 'deal with,' 'handle,' mod. 'treat,' always with an adverb 'well,' 'ill,' 'shamefully,' etc. Coverdale translates Is 40[11] 'He shal gather the lambes together with his arme, and carie them in his bosome, and shal kindly intreate those that beare yonge.'

It is even more important to notice that when the meaning seems to be as now, viz. 'beseech,' the word is often in reality much stronger, 'prevail on by entreaty.' Thus Gn 25[21] 'And Isaac intreated the Lord for his wife, . . . and the Lord was intreated of him,' *i.e.* yielded to the entreaty, as the Heb. means. Cf. Grafton, *Chron.* ii. 768, 'Howbeit she could in no wise be intreated with her good wyll to delyver him.'

In Jer 15[11] and its margin the two meanings of the word and the two spellings are used as alternative renderings, 'I will cause the enemy to entreat thee well,' marg. 'I will intreat the enemy for thee' (RV 'I will cause the enemy to make supplication unto thee').

INWARDS, INWARD PARTS.—**1.** The former of these expressions is frequently found in EV (Ex. and Lv.), meaning the entrails or bowels of the animals to be sacrificed according to the Levitical institutions (Ex 29[13. 22], Lv 3[3. 9. 14] 4[8. 11] 7[3] 8[16. 21] etc.). The same idea is found in Gn 41[21], where EV has 'had eaten them up,' and LXX renders 'came into their belly' (see AVm which gives the alternative 'had come to the inward parts of them'; cf. also 1 K 17[21] AVm). For the most part, however, the expression 'inward parts' is used in a metaphorical sense, to denote the contrast between the inward reality and the outward clothing of human character. Situated within the 'inward parts' is the capacity for wisdom (Job 38[36], see nevertheless EVm), truth (Ps 51[6]), ethical knowledge, and moral renovation (Jer 31[33], where 'inward parts' is almost synonymous with 'heart,' cf. Pr. 20[30]). Here, too, lie hidden the springs of active wickedness (Ps 5[9]), and deceitful language (Ps 62[4] AVm). The power of deceiving as to character and motives comes from man's inherent ability to secrete, within the profound depths of the 'innermost parts,' his daily thoughts (Pr 18[8]; cf. Ps 64[6]). At the same time, these hidden designs are as an open book, beneath the bright light of a lamp, to the Lord (Pr 20[27]; cf., for a similar thought, Ps 26[2] 7[9], Jer 11[20], Rev 2[23] etc.).

2. In the NT the expression is used only to denote the power of the hypocrites to deceive their fellowmen (Lk 11[39]; cf. Mt 7[15] 23[28]). The curious phrase 'give for alms those things which are within' (Lk 11[41]) may be taken as an incidental reference by Jesus to the necessity and the possibility of man's inmost life being renewed and restored to a right relationship with God and men (cf. Is. 58[10]). At least it is permissible to take the word rendered 'the things which are within' as equivalent to 'the inward man,' or 'the inward parts' (see Plummer, *ICC, in loc.*; cf. Mk 7[18f.], Lk 16[9]). It is not enough to give alms mechanically; the gift must be accompanied by the spontaneous bestowal of the giver's self, as it were, to the receiver. J. R. Willis.

IOB.—See Jashub, No. **1.**

IPHDEIAH.—A Benjamite chief (1 Ch 8[25]).

IPHTAH.—A town in the Shephēlah of Judah, Jos 15[43]; site unknown.

IPHTAH-EL.—A ravine N.W. of Hannathon, on the north border of Zebulun (Jos 19[14. 27]). It is identified by some with the Jotapata (mod. *Jefāt*) of Josephus.

IR (1 Ch 7[12]).—A Benjamite (called in v.[7] **Iri**).

IRA.—**1.** The Jairite who was *kōhen* or priest to David (2 S 20[26]). His name is omitted from the original (?) passage in 2 S 8[18], and from the passage in 1 Ch 18[17]. 'The Jairite' denotes that he was of the Gileadite clan of the Jairites. The name probably means 'the watchful.' **2.** The Ithrite, one of David's heroes (2 S 23[38], where perhaps *Ithrite* should be *Jattirite*). **3.** The son of Ikkesh the Tekoite (2 S 23[26]), another of David's heroes. W. F. Cobb.

IRAD.—Son of Enoch and grandson of Cain (Gn 4[18]).

IRAM.—A 'duke' of Edom (Gn 36[43] = 1 Ch 1[54]).

IR-HA-HERES.—In Is 19[18] the name to be given in the ideal future to one of the 'five cities in the land of Egypt that speak the language of Canaan, and swear to Jehovah of hosts'; AV and RV 'one shall be called, The city of destruction.' The usually accepted explanation of the passage is that the name 'city of *heres*, or destruction,'—or, more exactly, 'of *tearing down*' (the verb *hāras* being used of *pulling* or *tearing down* cities, altars, walls, etc., Jg 6[25], Is 14[17], Ezk 13[14]),—is chosen for the sake of a punning allusion to *cheres*, in Heb. a rare word for 'sun' (Job 9[7]), the 'city of *cheres*,' or 'the sun,' being a designation which might have been given in Heb. to On, the Heliopolis of the Greeks, a city a few miles N.E. of the modern Cairo, in ancient times the chief centre of the sun-worship in Egypt, and full of obelisks dedicated to the sun-god Ra ('Cleopatra's needle,' now on the Thames Embankment, was originally one of these obelisks, erected by Thothmes III. in front of the temple of the sun-god at On); and the meaning of the passage being that the place which has hitherto been a 'city of the sun' will in the future be called the 'city of destroying,' *i.e.* a city devoted to destroying the temples and emblems of the sun (cf. Jer 43[13]). [The LXX have *polis hasedek, i.e.* 'city of righteousness,' a reading which is open to the suspicion of being an alteration based on 1[26].]

To some scholars, however, this explanation appears artificial; and the question is further complicated by historical considerations. The high priest Onias III., after his deposition by Antiochus Epiphanes in B.C. 175 (2 Mac 4[7-9]), despairing of better times in Judah, sought refuge in Egypt with Ptolemy Philometor; and conceived the idea of building there a temple dedicated to J", in which the ancient rites of his people might be carried on without molestation, and which might form a religious centre for the Jews settled in Egypt. Ptolemy granted him a site at Leontopolis, in the 'nome,' or district, of Heliopolis; and there Onias erected his temple (Jos. *BJ.* I. i. 1, *Ant.* XIII. iii. 1–3, and elsewhere; Ewald, *Hist.* v. 355 f.),—not improbably at Tell el-Yahudiyeh, about 10 m. N. of Heliopolis, near which there are remains of a Jewish necropolis (Naville, *The Mound of the Jew and the City of Onias*, pp. 18–20). In support of his plan, Onias had pointed to Is 19[18] and its context as a prediction that a temple to J" was to be built in Egypt (Jos. *Ant.* XIII. iii. 1 *end*). These facts have indeed no bearing on Is 19[18], supposing the passage to be really Isaiah's; but many modern scholars are of opinion that Is 19[16(18)-25] are not Isaiah's, and even those who do not go so far as this would be ready to grant that 19[18b] (from 'one shall be called') might be a later addition to the original text of Isaiah.

The following are the chief views taken by those who hold that this clause (with or without its context) is not Isaiah's. (1) Duhm and Marti render boldly 'shall be called Lion-city (*or* Leontopolis),' explaining *heres* from the Arab. *haris*, properly the *bruiser, crusher*, a poetical name for a lion. But that a very special and fig. application of an Arab. root, not occurring in Heb. even in its usual Arabic sense, should be found in Heb. is not probable. (2) Dillmann, while accepting the prophecy as a whole as Isaiah's, threw out the suggestion that v.[18b] was added after the temple of Onias

was built, *cheres*, 'sun' (so Symm., Vulg., and some Heb. MSS), being the original reading, which was altered afterwards by the Jews of Palestine into *heres*, 'destruction,' in order to obtain a condemnation of the Egyptian temple, and by the Jews of Egypt into *tsedek*, 'righteousness' (LXX), in order to make the prophecy more distinctly favourable to it. (3) Cheyne (*Introd. to Is.* pp. 102–110) and Skinner, understanding v.[18] ('there shall be five cities,' etc.), not (as is done upon the ordinary view) of the conversion of Egyp. cities to the worship of J", but of Jewish colonies in Egyp. maintaining their national language and religion, suppose vv.[16-25] to have been written in the latter years of the first Ptolemy (Lagi), *c.* B.C. 290, when there were undoubtedly many Jewish settlements in Egypt: the original reading, these scholars suppose with Dillmann, was 'city of the sun,' the meaning being that one of these colonies, preserving loyally the faith of their fathers, should flourish even in Heliopolis, the city of the sun-god; the reading was altered afterwards, when the Jews of Palestine began to show hostility towards the Egyptian temple, by the Jews of Egypt into 'city of righteousness' (LXX), and then further, by the Jews of Palestine, as a counter-blow, into 'city of destruction' (Heb. text).

It may be doubted whether there are sufficient reasons for departing from the ordinary explanation of the passage. S. R. Driver.

IRI.—See Ir.

IRIJAH.—A captain who arrested Jeremiah on the charge of intending to desert to the Chaldæans (Jer 37[13. 14]).

IR-NAHASH.—A city of Judah (1 Ch 4[12]). The site is uncertain.

IRON.—**1.** A city of Naphtali, in the mountains, Jos 19[38]. It is probably the modern *Yārūn*. **2.** See Mining and Metals.

IRPEEL.—A city of Benjamin (Jos 18[27]); possibly the ruin *Rafāt*, N. of *el-Jîb* (Gibeon).

IRRIGATION.—Owing to the lack of a sufficient rainfall, Babylonia and Egypt have to be supplied with water from their respective rivers. This is conveyed over the country by canals. The water is conducted along these canals by various mechanical devices, and at a cost of great labour. In Palestine the need for artificial irrigation is not so great, as is indicated by the contrast with Egypt in Dt 11[10]. As a rule the winter rainfall is sufficient for the ordinary cereal crops, and no special irrigation is necessary. The case is different, however, in vegetable and fruit-gardens, which would be destroyed by the long summer droughts. They are always established near natural supplies of water, which is made to flow from the source (either directly, or raised, when necessary, by a *sakiyeh* or endless chain of buckets worked by a horse, ox, or donkey) into little channels ramifying through the garden. When the channels are, as often, simply dug in the earth, they can be stopped or diverted *with the foot*, as in the passage quoted. Artificial water-pools for gardens are referred to in Ec 2[6]. A storage-pool is an almost universal feature in such gardens. R. A. S. Macalister.

IR-SHEMESH.—See Beth-Shemesh, No. 1.

IRU.—The eldest son of Caleb (1 Ch 4[15]). The correct name is probably *Ir*, the -u being simply the conjunction 'and' coupling it with the following name Elah.

ISAAC.—Son of Abraham and Sarah. The meaning of the name is 'he laugheth,' and several reasons for bestowing it are suggested (Gn 17[17] 18[12] 21[6]). The narrative as it occurs in Scripture was derived from three principal sources. J supplied Gn 18[9-15] 21[1-7] 24 25[5. 11] 26 and the bulk of 27; to E may be attributed 22[1-14] with 27[11f. 17f. 20-22]; while P was responsible for 25[19f. 26] 27[46]–28[9] 35[27-29]. Apparent discrepancies in the story, such as that Isaac, on his deathbed (27[1. 41]), blessed Jacob, and yet did not die until many years afterwards (35[27]), are evidently due to original differences of tradition, which later editors were not careful to remove. Viewed as coming from independent witnesses, they present no serious difficulty, and do not destroy the verisimilitude of the story. In outline the narrative describes Isaac as circumcised when eight days old (21[4]), and as spending his early youth with his father at Beersheba. Thence he was taken to 'the land of Moriah,' to be offered up as a burnt-offering at the bidding of God; and if Abraham's unquestioning faith is the primary lesson taught (22[12] 26[5], He 11[17ff.]), Isaac's child-like confidence in his father is yet conspicuous, with the associated sense of security. His mother died when he was thirty-six years of age; and Abraham sent a servant to fetch a wife for Isaac from amongst his kindred in Mesopotamia, according to Gn 24, where the religious spirit is as noticeable as the idyllic tone. For many years the couple were childless; but at length Isaac's prayers were heard, and Rebekah gave birth to the twins, Esau and Jacob. Famine and drought made it necessary for Isaac to shift his encampment to Gerar (26[1]), where a story similar to that of Abraham's repudiation of Sarah is told of him (ch. 20; cf. 12[10-20]). The tradition was evidently a popular one, and may have found currency in several versions, though there is no actual impossibility in the imitation by the son of the father's device. Isaac's prosperity aroused the envy of the Philistine herdsmen (26[20f.]) amongst whom he dwelt, and eventually he withdrew again to Beersheba (26[23]). He appears next as a decrepit and dying man (27[1. 41]), whose blessing, intended for Esau (25[28] 27[4]), was diverted by Rebekah upon Jacob. When the old man discovered the mistake, he was agitated at the deception practised upon him, but was unable to do more than predict for Esau a wild and independent career. To protect Jacob from his brother's resentment Isaac sent him away to obtain a wife from his mother's kindred in Paddan-aram (28[2]), and repeated the benediction. The next record belongs to a period twenty-one years later, unless the paragraph (35[27-29]) relates to a visit Jacob made to his home in the interval. It states that Isaac died at Hebron at the age of 180. He was buried by his sons in the cave of Machpelah (49[31]).

Isaac is a less striking personality than his father. Deficient in the heroic qualities, he suffered in disposition from an excess of mildness and the love of quiet. His passion for 'savoury meat' (25[28] 27[4]) was probably a tribal failing. He was rather shifty and timid in his relations with Abimelech (26[1-22]), too easily imposed upon, and not a good ruler of his household,—a gracious and kindly but not a strong man. In 26[5] he is subordinated to Abraham, and blessed for his sake; but the two are more frequently classed together (Ex 2[24] 3[6], Mt 8[11] 22[32], Ac 3[13] *et al.*), and in Am 7[9. 16] 'Isaac' is used as a synonym for Israel. If therefore the glory of Isaac was partly derived from the memory of his greater father, the impression made upon posterity by his almost instinctive trust in God (Gn 22[7. 8]) and by the prevailing strength of his devotion (25[21]) was deep and abiding. Jacob considered piety and reverent awe as specially characteristic of his father (31[42. 53], where 'the Fear of Isaac' means the God tremblingly adored by him). The submission of Isaac plays a part, although a less important one than the faith of Abraham, in the NT references (He 11[17f.], Ja 2[21]). R. W. Moss.

ISAIAH.—Of the four prophets of the 8th cent. B.C., some of whose prophecies are preserved in the OT, Isaiah appeared third in the order of time—some twenty years after Amos preached at Bethel, and a few years after Hosea had begun, but before he had ceased, to prophesy. Isaiah's prophetic career apparently began before, but closed after, that of Micah. Hosea was a native of the Northern Kingdom, and addressed himself mainly, if not exclusively, to his own people. Amos was a native of Judah, but prophesied in and to Israel; and thus Isaiah is the earliest of these four prophets who addressed himself primarily to Judah, and even he in his earlier years, like his fellow-countryman Amos, prophesied also against Israel (see Is 9[7]–10[4] 5[26-30] 17[1-11]).

Our knowledge of the life and teaching of Isaiah rests on the book that bears his name, which, however, is not a book compiled by him, but one containing, together with other matter, such of his prophecies as have been preserved, and narratives relating to him; see, in detail, next article.

Isaiah received the call to be a prophet 'in the year that king Uzziah (or Azariah) died' (Is 6^1). The year is not quite certain. If Azariah king of Judah and the Azriau king of Jaudi mentioned in Tiglath-pileser's annals of the year 738 be identical, Isaiah's call cannot be placed earlier than 738. But if the identification be not admitted, and it is by no means certain, his call may with more probability be placed a few years earlier. His activity extended at least down to the invasion of Sennacherib in 701, and some years later, if the theory be correct that chs. 36–39 refer to two invasions of Sennacherib, of which that in 701 was the first. In any case Isaiah's public career covered at the least close on forty years, whence we may infer that, like Jeremiah (Jer 1^6), he became a prophet in early life. Unlike his contemporary Micah, his life, so far as we can trace it, was spent in Jerusalem. Not improbably he was a man of rank, at least he had easy access to the king (Is $7^{1ff.}$), and was on terms of intimacy with persons of high position (8^2). His father's name, *Amoz*, has in Hebrew no resemblance to that of the prophet *Amos*. Isaiah was married, and his wife is termed the prophetess (8^3). Like Hosea, he gave to his children, Shear-jashub (7^3) and Maher-shalal-hash-baz (8^3), names which briefly stated characteristic elements in his teaching; his own name, though of a normal and frequent Hebrew type, also happened to have a significance ('help of Jahweh' or 'Jahweh helps') of which he could have made use; that he actually did so we may perhaps infer from 8^{18}, if we do not rather interpret that statement, so far as Isaiah himself is concerned, of such symbolic conduct as that which he pursued when he went 'half-clad and barefoot' (ch. 20).

It is impossible either to construct a complete biography of the prophet or to trace with any elaboration developments in his thought and teaching. His prophecies have obviously not come down to us in chronological order, and many are without any clear indication of the date when they were delivered; any attempt to date accurately much of the material must therefore be exceedingly uncertain, and the numerous attempts that have been made naturally differ widely in their results. But there are four periods at which we can clearly trace the prophet and his thought or teaching: these are the time of his call, about B.C. 740 (ch. 6); of the Syro-Ephraimitish War (B.C. 735–734: 7^1–8^{18}); of the siege of Ashdod in B.C. 711 (ch. 20); and of the invasion of Sennacherib in B.C. 701 (chs. 36–39). The last-mentioned narratives are, however, of a later age than that of Isaiah, and require to be carefully used.

At the time of his call Isaiah became conscious that he was to be a teacher whose primary task was to warn his people of judgment to come, of judgment which was to issue in the extermination of his nation (6^{10-13}—the last clause is absent from the LXX, and probably not original). This judgment of Jahweh on His people was to be executed by means of Assyria, which, since the accession of Tiglath-pileser in 745, had entered on a course of conquest, and, as early as 740, had achieved marked success in Northern Syria. The causes of this coming judgment, Isaiah, like Amos before him, and not improbably in part owing to the influence on him of the teaching of Amos, found in the prevalent social and moral disorder (see *e.g.* 2^6–4^1 5^{8-24} for the kind of offences which he denounced), in the ingratitude (*e.g.* 1^3 5^{1-7}) of the people to Jahweh, and in their failure to trust Him or to understand that what He required was not sacrifice, which was offered by the people in wearisome abundance, but justice and humanity (cf. *e.g.* 1^{2-31}). In this teaching, as in his lofty conception of God, Isaiah did not fundamentally advance beyond the already lofty moral and religious standpoint of Amos and Hosea, though there are naturally enough differences in the details of the presentation. But, so far as we can see, he exercised a more direct, immediate, and decisive influence, owing to the fact that over a long period of years he was able to apply this teaching to the changing political conditions, insisting, for example, at the several political crises mentioned above, that the duty of Jahweh's people was to trust in Jahweh, and not in political alliances, whether with Assyria, Egypt, or Ethiopia (cf. *e.g.* 7^{4-9} 20, and [in B.C. 701] $30^{1-5.\ 15}$ 31^{1-3}); and to the fact that from the first he set about the creation of a society of disciples who were to perpetuate his teaching (cf. 8^{16}).

Although judgment to come was the fundamental note of Isaiah's teaching, there was another note that marked it from the outset: Israel-Judah was to perish, but a remnant was to survive. This at least seems to be the significance of the name of **Shear-jashub**, who must have been born very shortly after the call, since in 735 he was old enough to accompany his father on his visit to Ahaz (7^3). Beyond the judgment, moreover, he looked forward to a new Jerusalem, righteous and faithful (1^{26}). How much further was Isaiah's doctrine of the future developed? Was he the creator of those ideas more particularly summed up in the term 'Messianic,' which exercised so powerful an influence in the later periods of Judaism, and which are doubtless among those most intimately connected with the prophet in the minds of the majority of students of the Bible? In particular, was the vision (9^{1-6}) of the Prince of Peace with world-wide dominion his? Or, to take another detail, did he hold that Zion itself was invincible, even though hostile hosts should approach it? These are questions that have been raised and have not yet received a decisive answer. On the one hand, it is exceedingly probable that in the several collections of the ancient prophecies later passages of promise have in some instances been added to earlier prophecies of judgment; that later prophecy in general is fuller than the earlier of promises; and that several of the Messianic passages, in particular, in the Book of Isaiah, stand isolated and disconnected from passages which bear unmistakably the impress of Isaiah or his age. On the other hand, Isaiah's belief in a **remnant**, which seems secured (apart from individual and perhaps doubtful passages) by the name of his son, forms a certain and perhaps a sufficient basis for the more elaborate details of the future. Further, from the very fact that they deal with the future, the passages in question, even if they were by Isaiah, might naturally bear less unmistakable evidence of their age than those which deal with the social and political conditions of his own time. And again, had Isaiah prophesied exclusively of judgment and destruction, we might have expected to find his name coupled with Micah's in Jer $26^{18f.}$.

G. B. Gray.

ISAIAH, ASCENSION OF.—See Apocalyptic Literature, No. 6.

ISAIAH, BOOK OF.—The Book of Isaiah is one of the four great collections of Hebrew prophecies. Like the book of 'The Twelve Prophets'—another of these great collections (see Micah [Book of])—it was formed by incorporating with one another smaller and earlier collections, and contains prophecies of many prophets living at different periods; with the exception of Isaiah's, the prophecies contained in the collection are anonymous, the term 'Deutero-Isaiah,' applied to the author of chs. 40–66 (or 40–55), being of course nothing more than a modern symbol for one of these anonymous writers.

1. Composition and literary history of the present book.—The Book of Isaiah, substantially as we now have it, probably dates, like the 'Book of the Twelve Prophets,' from towards the end of the 3rd cent. B.C. But

the external evidence is scanty and some of it ambiguous; and the internal evidence of certain sections is differently interpreted; if, as the interpretation of Duhm and Marti would require us to infer, ch. 33 and ch. 34 f. were not written till towards the middle of the 2nd cent., and chs. 24–27 not until after B.C. 128, it is obvious that the collection which contains these sections did not attain its present form and size till some (possibly considerable) time later than B.C. 128.

The most important piece of external evidence is contained in Sir $48^{22\text{-}24}$. In this passage the author, writing about B.C. 180, refers to Isaiah as one of the godly men of Israel, worthy of praise, and, as afterwards ($49^{6\text{-}8}$) in the case of Ezekiel and of Jeremiah, he cites, or alludes to, certain sections which now stand in the book that bears the prophet's name. Thus he says: v.^{22} 'For Hezekiah did that which was pleasing to the Lord, and was strong in the ways of David his father, which Isaiah the prophet commanded, who was great and faithful in his vision'; v.^{23} 'In his days the sun went backward; and he added life to the king'; v.^{24} 'By a spirit of might he saw the end, and comforted the mourners in Sion'; v.^{25} 'For ever he declared the things that should be, and hidden things before they came.' Possibly the last clause of v.^{22} refers to the title 'The vision of Isaiah' (Is 1^{1}); certainly v.^{23} refers to the narrative of Is 38 (=2 K 20), and v.$^{24f.}$ shows familiarity with the recurrent arguments from prophecy in Is 44–48 (see *e.g.* $41^{21\text{-}24}$ 43^{9} 46^{9} $48^{4ff.}$), while v.^{24b} is somewhat clearly reminiscent of the actual phraseology of 40^{1} $61^{2.\ 3}$. Though it would be possible to invent somewhat different explanations of these facts, much the most probable inference is that, by the beginning of the 2nd cent. B.C., some (if not all) of the prophecies in chs. 1–35 had already been brought into a book, and to these had been appended, not necessarily or even probably at the same time, (*a*) chs. 36–39, (*b*) chs. 40–66 (or the most part thereof), and that the whole book at this time was attributed to Isaiah. Actual citations from the Book of Isaiah *by name*, which would help to prove the extent of the book at given periods, are not numerous before the 1st cent. A.D., when we find several in the NT: 1^{9} is cited in Ro 9^{29}; $6^{9f.}$ in Mt $13^{14f.}$, Jn 12^{40}, Ac $28^{25f.}$; $9^{1f.}$ in Mt $4^{14ff.}$; $10^{22f.}$ in Ro $9^{27f.}$; 11^{10} in Ro 15^{12}; 29^{13} in Mk $7^{6f.}$; $40^{3\text{-}5}$ in (Mk 1^{3}) Mt 3^{3}; $42^{1\text{-}4}$ in Mt $12^{17\text{-}21}$; $53^{1.\ 4.\ 7f.}$ in Ro 10^{16}, Mt 8^{17}, Ac $8^{30.\ 32f.}$; $61^{1f.}$ in Lk $4^{17\text{-}19}$; $65^{1f.}$ in Ro $10^{20f.}$. There are also some twenty-five unnamed citations in NT (Swete, *Introd. to OT in Greek*, 385 f.), some of which, like the unnamed citations from the Greek text of Is 3^{10} and 44^{20} in Wis 2^{12} 15^{10} (about B.C. 50), are, taken in conjunction with the named citations, not without significance. Still, *rigorous* proof that the Book of Isaiah contained all that it now contains much before the final close of the Canon (see CANON OF OT), is wanting. The general considerations which, taken in conjunction with the proof afforded by Sir $48^{17\text{-}25}$ that (most or all of) chs. 40–66 ranked as Isaiah's as early as B.C. 180, make it wisest, failing strong evidence to the contrary, to reckon with the probability that by about that time the book was substantially of the same extent as at present, are (*a*) the history of the formation of the Canon (see CANON OF OT), and (*b*) the probability, created by the allusions in the prologue (about B.C. 132) to Sirach to translations of prophecies, that our present Greek version dates from before 132. This version appears to proceed from a single age or hand, and yet it is, apart from brief glosses, of the same extent as the present Hebrew text of the book.

If we may adopt the most natural inference from 2 Ch $36^{22f.}$=Ezr $1^{1f.}$, external evidence would go far to prove that chs. 40–66 were *not* included in the Book of Isaiah much before the close of the 3rd cent. B.C. For the Chronicler here attributes the prophecy of Cyrus, which forms so conspicuous a feature of Is 40–48 (see $41^{1f.}$ 43^{24}–45^{7}, and esp. compare 2 Ch 36^{23} with Is 43^{28}), not to Isaiah but to Jeremiah, which he would scarcely have done if in his time (not earlier than B.C. 300) these anonymous chapters were already incorporated in a book entitled Isaiah. If we reject this inference, we are thrown back entirely on the evidence of the Book of Isaiah itself for the determination of the earliest date at which it can have been compiled.

Turning then to the internal evidence, we note first the structure of the book: (*a*) chs. 1–35—prophecies, some of which are attributed to Isaiah (1^{1} 2^{1} etc.), interspersed with narratives by or about Isaiah (chs. 6. 7. 8. 20); (*b*) chs. 36–39—historical narratives of the life and times of Isaiah, identical in the main with 2 K 18–20; (*c*) chs. 40–66—anonymous prophecies. Comparison with the Book of Jeremiah, which concludes with a chapter (52) about the times of Jeremiah derived from 2 K $24^{18ff.}$, suggests that our present book has resulted from the union of a prophetic volume, consisting (in the main) of prophecies by or attributed to Isaiah, with an historical appendix and a book of anonymous prophecies. This union, as we have seen above, took place before B.C. 180: if any parts of chs. 1–39 are later than this, their presence in the book is due to subsequent interpolation.

If it were possible to write a full history of the literary process which culminated in the Book of Isaiah as we now have it, it would be necessary to trace in detail first the growth of chs. 1–39, then that of chs. 40–66, and lastly the causes which led to the union of the two. But this is not possible; in particular, we do not know whether chs. 40–66 were added to chs. 1–39 owing to the triumph of an Isaianic theory over the Jeremianic theory or tradition of the origin of these chapters (2 Ch $36^{22f.}$; see above), or whether, as some have supposed, they were added to make the Book of Isaiah more nearly equal in size to the other prophetic collections—Ezekiel, Jeremiah, and the Twelve—with the result that as early as B.C. 180 these chapters came to be attributed to Isaiah; or whether something else, which we cannot conjecture, was the real cause of this union. But, apart from internal evidence pointing to the different periods in which different sections originated, certain indications of the complexity of the literary process do exist, particularly in the case of chs. 1–39; these we may consider. (1) The matter is not arranged chronologically: the call (cf. Ezk 1, Jer 1) of Isaiah, which naturally preceded any of his prophecies, is recorded not in ch. 1, but in ch. 6. Similarly, in the Koran the record of Mohammed's call does not occur till *Sura* 96; in this case the reason is that the editors of the Koran followed the rather mechanical principle of arranging the *suras* according to their size. The cause of the order in the case of the Book of Isaiah may in part be found in the fact that (2) the occurrence of several titles and indications of different principles of editorial arrangement points to the fact that chs. 1–35 (39) is a collection of material, some of which had previously acquired a fixed arrangement; in other words, chs. 1–35 is a book formed not entirely, or perhaps even mainly, by the collection and free re-arrangement of prophetic pieces, but rather by the incorporation whole of earlier and smaller books. Following these clues, we may first divide these chapters thus: (1) ch.1 with title (v.^{1}), probably intended to cover the larger collection; (2) chs. 2–12 with title 2^{1}; (3) chs. 13–23 with title 13^{1} naming Isaiah, and corresponding sub-titles not mentioning Isaiah, in 15^{1} 17^{1} 19^{1} $21^{1.\ 11.\ 13}$ 22^{1} 23^{1} (cf. elsewhere 30^{6}); (4) chs. 24–27, distinguished from the preceding sections by the absence of titles, and from the following by the absence of the opening interjection; (5) chs. 28–31 (33)—a group of woes; see 28^{1} 29^{1} (RV 'Ho' represents the same Hebrew word that is translated 'Woe' in 28^{1} etc.) 30^{1} 31^{1} 33^{1}; (6) chs. 34. 35, which, like chs. 24–27, are without title. Some even of these sections seem to have arisen from the union of still smaller and earlier booklets. Thus it is reasonable to suppose that ch. 6 once formed the commencement of a booklet; again, chs. 2–4 are prophecies of judgment enclosed

between Messianic prophecies 2^{2-7} and 4^{2-6}; ch. 5 contains a brief group of 'Woes' (vv.$^{8.\ 11.\ 18.\ 20.\ 21.\ 22}$).

It is impossible to enter into details here as to the dates when these several booklets first appeared, or as to the various processes of union or re-arrangement or interpolation or other modifications. Merely to state theories which have been put forward, without adducing proof or offering criticism, would require more space than is available. And from the nature of the case it would be impossible to offer any complete theory that would not be in many respects uncertain. It is more important to appreciate the general fact, which is clear, that the Book of Isaiah is the result of a long and complex literary history, than to be ready to subscribe to any particular theory of this history. But two points may be briefly touched on. (1) Much of the literary process just referred to lies after the Exile. As will be shown below, chs. 40–55 were not written till the last years of the Exile; chs. 56–66 are certainly of no earlier, and probably of later, origin. The union of chs. 1–39 and 40–66 cannot therefore fall *before* the close of the Exile, and, as shown above, it need not, so far as the external evidence is concerned, fall much before B.C. 180. But even 1–39 was not a volume of pre-exilic origin; for the appendix 36–39 is derived from Kings, which was not completed till, at the earliest, B.C. 561 (cf. 2 K 25^{27}), or even in what may be regarded as its first edition (cf. Driver, *LOT* [6], 189) before about B.C. 600. On this ground alone, then, the completion of chs. 1–39, by the inclusion of the appendix 36–39, cannot be placed earlier than the Exile, and should probably be placed later. It must indeed be placed later, unless we regard all the sections in chs. 1–35 which are of post-exilic origin (see below) as interpolations rather than as what, in many cases at least, they probably are, original parts of the booklets incorporated in chs. 1–39. Thus chs. 2–12 and 13–23 (apart from subsequent interpolations or amplifications) as they lay before the editor who united them, probably owed their form to post-exilic editors. (2) The earliest stage of this long literary process falls in the lifetime of Isaiah (*c.* B.C. 740–701). But even in its earliest stage the literary process was not uniform. In chs. 6 and 8^{1-8} we have what there is no reason to question are pieces of Isaiah's autobiography; Isaiah here speaks of himself in the first person. Chs. 7 and 20 may have the same origin, the fact that Isaiah is here referred to in the third person being perhaps in that case due to an editor; or these chapters may be drawn from early biographies of the prophet by a disciple. Thus chs. 1. 2–12. 13–23 and 28–33 consist in large part of prophetic poems or sayings of Isaiah; many of them were (presumably) written as well as spoken by Isaiah himself, others we not improbably owe to the memory of his disciples. There is no reason for believing that the present arrangement of this matter, even within the several booklets, goes back to Isaiah himself; the division into chapters and verses is of course of very much later origin, and in several cases does violence to the original connexion, either by uniting, as in ch. 5, originally quite distinct pieces, or dividing, as in the case of 9^{8}–10^{4}, what formed an undivided whole. Justice can be done to the prophetic literature only when the brevity of the several pieces is recognized, instead of being obscured by treating several distinct pieces as a single discourse. Unfortunately, we have not for the teaching of Isaiah, as for that of Jesus, a triple tradition. But the analogy of the diverse treatment of the same sayings in the different Gospels may well warn us that sayings which lie side by side (as *e.g.* in 5^{8-24}) in the Book of Isaiah were not necessarily spoken in immediate succession.

But how far, if not in the order in which he spoke or wrote them, have the words of Isaiah reached us substantially as he spoke them. The question is not altogether easy to answer, particularly in one respect. Isaiah was pre-eminently a prophet of judgment; but intermingled with his warnings are many passages of promise: see *e.g.* 2^{2-4} and 4^{2-6}, enclosing 2^{7}–4^{1}, 9^{1-6} concluding the warnings of ch. 8, and the constant interchange of warning and promise in chs. 28–31. Are these passages of promise Isaiah's, or the work of some later writers with which later editors sought to comfort as well as to exhort their readers? These questions in general, and in detail with reference to each particular passage, are still far from settled. The general question of Messianic prophecy in Isaiah is briefly referred to in preceding art.; for details see Cheyne's *Introd. to the Book of Isaiah*, or commentaries such as those of Duhm and Marti, or, on a smaller scale and in English, of Whitehouse. Here this alone can be said: the period over which and down to which the history of the growth of the Book of Isaiah extends, and the complexity of that growth, would easily allow of these passages being incorporated as suggested by the theory; and we have the presumption created, for example, by the absence of the last clause of ch. 6 from the Greek text, that short consolatory annotations were still being made as late as the 2nd cent. B.C. Once the significance of the complexity of the Book of Isaiah is grasped, this at least should become clear, that the question, Is such and such a passage authentic? meaning, Was it written by Isaiah? proceeds from a wrong point of view. The proper question is this: To what period does such and such a passage in this collection of prophecies, made certainly after the Exile and probably not much before the close of the 3rd cent. B.C., belong?

The presence of *explanatory* annotations is now generally recognized. For example, in 7^{20} Isaiah speaks figuratively of Jahweh using a razor; an editor added a note, which has intruded into the text, that by 'razor' we are to understand the king of Assyria. As to the number of such annotations scholars differ.

2. Summary.—The following summary of the Book of Isaiah and of the periods at which its several parts appear, or have been supposed, to have been written, must be used in the light of the foregoing account of the origin of the book. In the clearer cases the evidence of date is briefly indicated; in others one or two theories are mentioned. But for the evidence, such as it is, the reader must turn to larger works; it would require more space than the scope of the article allows, even to summarize it here. Again, in the majority of cases no attempt is made to indicate the smaller annotations of which an example is given in the preced. paragraph. For a synthesis (in part) of those sections of the book which consist of Isaiah's prophecies, see ISAIAH; and in connexion with chs. 40–55, consult art. SERVANT OF THE LORD.

1^{1}. Title.—Probably prefixed by an editor who brought together a considerable collection of Isaiah's prophecies. 'The days of Uzziah, Jotham, Ahaz, and Hezekiah' describe the entire period of Isaiah's activity.

1^{2-31}. Till comparatively recently this was generally regarded as a single discourse, constituting, as Ewald terms it, the 'great arraignment.' But there was no agreement as to the period of Isaiah's lifetime to which it belonged,—some scholars referring it to the period of the Syro-Ephraimitish War (cf. ch. 7), almost at the beginning, others to the time of Sennacherib's invasion at the close, of Isaiah's career. If, as is really probable, this is not a single discourse, these differences are in part accounted for. The chapter falls into these sections—(*a*) vv.$^{2-17}$, which may perhaps itself consist of two distinct pieces, vv.$^{2-9}$ and vv.$^{10-17}$; (*b*) vv.$^{18-20}$, perhaps consisting of distinct sayings, namely, v.^{18} and vv.$^{19-20}$; (*c*) vv.$^{21-26}$; (*d*) vv.$^{27-31}$, which again, as some think, are two fragments—v.$^{27f.}$ and vv.$^{29-31}$. Of these sections (*a*) and (*c*) are distinct prophetic poems of Isaiah complete in themselves, (*a*) dating probably from 701, since the terms of vv.$^{5-7}$ are better accounted for by the Assyrian invasion of that year than by that of the Syro-Ephraimitish army in 735; (*c*) *perhaps* from about 705. The short sayings of (*b*) and the fragment (*d*) are more difficult to date; (*d*) has been regarded by some as a denunciation of the Northern Kingdom, and therefore delivered before B.C. 722; by others as a post-exilic passage of promise (v.^{27}).

2^{1}. Title of a collection of Isaianic prophecies.

2^{2}–4^{6}. The main body of this section, consisting of a

poem announcing the near advent of the 'day of Jahweh' against 'everything proud and lifted up' (2^{6-21}), another ($3^{1.15}$) describing the imminent social disintegration of Judah, and tracing its cause to the moral condition of the nation, and a third denouncing the light and luxurious ladies of Jerusalem (3^{16}–4^{1}, the catalogue in prose of 3^{18-23} being perhaps an interpolation), appears to preserve the earlier teaching of Isaiah. It has been thought that in 2^{6-21} Isaiah writes with the experience of the great earthquake (Zec 14^{5}) of Uzziah's time fresh in mind, and that 3^{12} contains an allusion to Ahaz (died ? 728) as the reigning king. The section, like the Book of Amos (Am $9^{8f.-15}$), was provided by an editor (cf. 4^{4} and 3^{16}), as many think, rather than by Isaiah himself, with a consolatory conclusion. The opening poem (2^{2-4}), if not, as some still consider, Isaiah's, was incorporated by an editor. It is also included in the Book of the Twelve (Mic 4^{1-4}; see MICAH).

Ch. 5. Of independent origin are vv.1-7. 8-24. 25-30.

Vv.1-7. The parabolic song of the vineyard pointing to the coming rejection by Jahweh of unworthy and ungrateful Judah. The song is Isaiah's, but whether composed early or late in his career is disputed. Vv.8-24: six, perhaps originally seven, 'Woes'—some of them fragments. These cannot easily be dated, nor are they necessarily all of the same date; they may owe their present arrangement to an editor rather than to Isaiah. Vv.25-30: the refrain of v.25b connects this with 9^{8}–10^{4}, of which poem it probably formed the last strophe.

Ch. 6. Isaiah's own record of his call in the year of Uzziah's death (B.C. 740±), written perhaps some years later.

7–8^{18}. Narratives (in part, and originally perhaps wholly, autobiographical) relating to prophecies delivered during the Syro-Ephraimitish War in B.C. 734. In detail: 7^{1-16}, Isaiah's interview with Ahaz; the sign of Immanuel (7^{14}); v.15, perhaps interpolated; 7^{17-25}, somewhat fragmentary, and probably not the immediate continuation of 7^{1-16}; 8^{1-4}, two signs indicating that Syria and Ephraim will perish before Assyria; vv.5-8, Judah, not having trusted in Jahweh, will also suffer, and (vv.9.10) so will the nations that oppose Judah; vv.11-15, Jahweh the only real and true object of fear; vv.16-18, the conclusion—his disciples are to preserve and witness to what he has said.

8^{19}–9^{7}. In spite of the link between 8^{20} and 8^{16}, it is very doubtful whether this section was originally attached to the preceding, which seemed to reach a very definite conclusion in 8^{16-18}. If not, its date is very uncertain. It consists of an obscure fragment or fragments (8^{19-22}) describing a period of great distress, a statement in prose of an imminent change of fortune (9^{1}), and a Messianic poem (9^{2-7}) celebrating the restoration, triumph, and prosperity of the people under their mighty Prince. Those who deny *in toto* the existence of Messianic passages in Isaiah's prophecies naturally treat this poem as a later product, some assigning it to about B.C. 500. The positive defence of Isaianic authorship is rendered difficult by its isolation and by the absence (not unnatural in a poem dealing entirely with the ideal future) of direct allusions of Isaiah's age.

9^{8}–10^{4} with $5^{25\ (26)-30}$. A carefully constructed poem of five strophes of nearly (and perhaps in its original form of exactly) equal length, marked off from one another by the refrain in $9^{12.\ 17.\ 21}$ 10^{4} (5^{25}). It belongs to Isaiah's early period (about B.C. 735), and deals with the collapse of the *Northern* Kingdom, Ephraim, before the Assyrians, who, without being named, are vigorously described in 5^{26-30}.

10^{5-27}. Assyria will be punished for its pride and misunderstanding of the purpose for which Jahweh used it. Date much disputed; probably only in part the work of Isaiah.

10^{28-32}. A dramatic idyll portraying an (imaginary) Assyrian descent on Jerusalem. The period in Isaiah's lifetime to which it could best be referred is 701.

$10^{33.\ 34}$. Appended to the preceding poem, and pointing out that Assyria will perish just outside the city on which it has descended.

Ch. 11. Messianic prophecies: (*a*) vv.1-9, description of the new prince of the house of Jesse (David), and of the ideal conditions that will exist under his reign; (*b*) v.9; (*c*) vv.11-16, the restoration of Jewish exiles. The last section clearly seems to be post-exilic; for it presupposes the exile on an extensive scale not only of Israelites, which might be explained by the events of B.C. 722, but also of Jews, which can be satisfactorily explained only by the captivity of 597 and 586. The first section must also date from after 586, if the figure of the felled tree in v.1 implies that the Davidic monarchy has ceased.

Ch. 12. A psalm of thanksgiving. If most of the psalms in the Psalter (see PSALMS) are later in origin than the age of Isaiah, this psalm probably is so likewise.

13–23. The 'Book of Oracles' (AV 'Burdens'). The untitled sections, 14^{24-27} (14^{28-32}) 17^{12-14} 18. 20, which deal with Judah, as contrasted with most of the Oracles, which are against the foreign nations, perhaps formed no part of the original book.

13^{1}–14^{23}. The fall of Babylon (13^{19} $14^{3.\ 22}$). The section contains two poems (13^{2-22} and 14^{4b-21}) in the same rhythm as is used in the elegies of the Book of Lamentations; between the poems, and at the close of the second, are short prose passages ($14^{1-4a.\ 22f.}$). The section throughout presupposes conditions resembling those presupposed in chs. 40–55, and is, as certainly as that section, to be referred not to Isaiah, but to a writer living after 586, when Jerusalem was destroyed by the Chaldæans (cf. 13^{19}), whose king was king of Babylon (cf. 14^{4}). To the Assyrians, who play so conspicuous a part in Isaiah's prophecies, there is naturally no allusion; for with the fall of Nineveh about B.C. 606 the Assyrians ceased to count, and Babylon, which in Isaiah's time was subject to Assyria, here figures as possessed of world-wide dominion. Again, the *point* of the prophecy in $14^{1f.}$ is to be observed: it is restoration from exile; the Exile itself is, for this writer, an existing fact, which of course it was not for Isaiah. From the allusion to the Medes (13^{17}) only, and not to the Persians or to Cyrus, it has commonly been inferred that this section is somewhat earlier than 40–55, and was written about B.C. 549.

14^{24-27}. A short prophecy, perhaps of the year 701, predicting the overthrow of the Assyrian invaders of Judah.

—14^{28-32}. Philistia warned: according to the title, delivered in the year that Ahaz died (? B.C. 728). Neither this date nor even the Isaianic authorship of the passage is universally admitted.

Chs. 15. 16. The fate of Moab. The prophecy is provided with an epilogue, $16^{13f.}$, written at a later date (and not claiming to be by the author of the prophecy), explaining that what was predicted long ago will be fulfilled within three years. In style the prophecy is very generally admitted to be singularly unlike that of the better attested prophecies of Isaiah; it is therefore either attributed to an anonymous prophet who was earlier than Isaiah, and, as some think, lived in the reign of Jeroboam II., the epilogue in this case being regarded as Isaiah's (though it contains nothing very characteristic of Isaiah), or the prophecy as well as the epilogue is assigned to a writer later than Isaiah. Much of the material of 15^{1}–16^{12} appears to be worked up from older material, and some of it is in turn used again in Jer $48^{5.\ 29-38}$.

17^{1-11}. The impending fall of Damascus, Syria, and Ephraim (cf. 7–8^{12}): a prophecy of Isaiah's before the fall of Damascus in B.C. 732.

17^{12-14}. The roar of hostile nations (presumably in the Assyrian army) advancing, which are to be suddenly dispersed. Date uncertain.

Ch. 18. A difficult prophetic poem containing much that is exceedingly obscure; it is commonly understood to embody Isaiah's disapproval of accepting proffered Ethiopian assistance; if this be correct, it may be assigned to some time between 704–701.

19^{1-15}. Jahweh's judgment on Egypt, which will take the form of civil discord (v.2), foreign dominion (v.4), and social distress. Vv.16-25, the conversion of Egypt, which, together with Assyria, will worship Jahweh. Date of both sections much disputed; assigned by some to Isaiah and to the time of the defeat of the Egyptians by Sargon (? v.2) at Raphia in 720. Many question the Isaianic authorship, especially of vv.16 (18)-25, and some see in v.18 an allusion to the temple of Onias in Heliopolis, built about B.C. 170 (Josephus, *BJ*, VII. X. 2–4). See IR-HA-HERES.

Ch. 20. A narrative and prophecy showing how Isaiah insisted that it was folly to trust in the Mizrites and Cushites (Arabians, according to some, but as commonly interpreted, Egyptians and Ethiopians). The date in v.1 corresponds to B.C. 711.

21^{1-10}. A vision of the fall of Babylon (v.9) before Elamites (*i.e.* Persians) and Medes (v.2). Like 40–55, this prophecy was written between 549, when Cyrus of Persia conquered Media, and 538, when Babylon fell before him.

$21^{11f.}$ and 21^{13-17}. Brief and obscure oracles on (*a*) Edom; (*b*) some nomad tribes of Arabia.

22^{1-14}. Isaiah declares to Jerusalem, once (or, as others interpret it, now) given up to tumultuous revels (v.2), that it has committed unpardonable sin (v.14). Assigned by some to B.C. 711, when Sargon's troops were at Ashdod (ch. 20); by others to the time of revelry that followed Sennacherib's retreat in 701.

22^{15-25}. Singular among Isaiah's prophecies in that it is addressed to an individual, namely Shebna, the governor of the palace, who is threatened with disgrace, which in 701 had

befallen him in so far that he then occupies the lower office of secretary (36^2 37^2).

23^{1-14}. An elegiac poem, closing (v.[14]) as it begins (v.[1]), on the approaching fall of Phœnicia: the occasion, according to some, being the siege of Tyre (vv.[5. 8]) by Shalmaneser, between B.C. 727 and 723: according to others, the destruction of Sidon (vv.[2. 4. 12]), in B.C. 348. After its fall Tyre will rise again and serve Jahweh (vv.[16-18]); cf. 19.

Chs. 24–27. An apocalyptic vision, in which we see universal catastrophe (24^{1-23}), which extends to the supernatural rulers or patron angels of the nations (24^{21}; cf. 27^1), followed by the reign of Jahweh, who to His coronation feast invites all nations; death is abolished and sorrow banished (25^{6-8}). The Jews, hidden during the time of judgment (26^{20}–27^1), return from their dispersion one and all to Jerusalem ($27^{12f.}$). Interspersed are songs or hymns ($25^{1-5.\,9-12}$ 26^{1-19} 27^{2-5}). Difficult of interpretation as apocalypses are wont to be, and in parts obscured by very serious textual corruption, it is yet clear that this is a post-exilic work (cf. *e.g.* $27^{12f.}$); and the occurrence of striking ideas, such as those of resurrection (26^{19}), immortality (25^8), and patron angels, which occur elsewhere in the OT only in its latest parts, suggests a relatively late point even in this period.

Chs. 28–33. A group of prophecies brought together probably by an editor on account of the similar opening of the sections with 'Woe' (see above). In this section there is a constant and remarkable alternation between menace and denunciation of Judah, and consolation of her, which at times takes the form of menace to her foes. Looked at from this standpoint, this booklet falls into the following sections, of which the references to the sections of promise are here given in brackets, 28^{1-4} ($28^{5.\,6}$), 28^{7-22} (28^{23-29}), $29^{1-6\ (7)}$ (29^8, and possibly parts of 29^{1-7}, according to interpretation), 29^{9-16} (29^{17-24}), 30^{1-17} (30^{18-33}), 31^{1-4} (31^{5-9}), 32^{1-8} (32^{9-14} 32^{15-20}) (33). In some cases it will be seen that the promise follows abruptly on the threat, and considerably lessens the force of the latter. The menaces and denunciations seem clearly to be the work of Isaiah, though some question his authorship of 32^{9-14} (a parallel to 3^{16}–4^1); but of late several scholars have attributed the entire group of promises to later writers, and a larger number do not consider ch. 33 to be the work of Isaiah. In any case, the section has merely an editorial unity, and is not all of one period; 28^{1-4} would appear to have been composed before the fall of Samaria in 722; the majority of the remaining menaces, particularly those which denounce the resort to Egypt for help, may best be referred to the period immediately before Sennacherib's invasion in B.C. 701.

Chs. 34. 35. The future of Edom, on whom vengeance is to be taken (34^8) for its treatment of Zion (? in 586), and the future of the Jews contrasted. Not earlier than the Exile, which is presupposed (35^{10}), and probably depended on, and therefore later than, chs. 40–55.

Chs. 36–39. Cf. art. KINGS [BOOKS OF]. It is now generally agreed that the editor of the Book of Isaiah derived this section from 2 Kings. The only section of these chapters not found in Kings is 38^{9-20}, which the editor apparently derived from a collection of liturgical poems (cf. 38^{20}). The ascription of this psalm to Hezekiah (38^9) is much questioned.

Chs. 40–66. Once, perhaps, attributed to Jeremiah, but from the beginning of the 2nd cent. B.C. (see above) to the close of the 18th cent. A.D., these chapters were regarded as the work of Isaiah. Since the close of the 18th cent. the evidence of their later origin, which is remarkably clear, has been increasingly, till it is now generally, admitted. But till within the last 15 years the chapters were commonly regarded as a unity; now it is by many admitted that chs. 40–55 and 56–66 belong to different periods, the former to the end of the Exile, the latter (in the main) to the age of Ezra, while some carry disintegration considerably further. It is impossible to enter further into details here.

(*a*) Chs. 40–55. These chapters presuppose that the writer and those whom he addresses lived during the period of the Babylonian Exile; they predict as imminent the close of the Exile, and return of the Jews. In detail observe that Zion lies waste and needs rebuilding (44^{28} 49^{14-21} $51^{3.\ 17-23}$ 52^{7-12} 54), whereas Babylon is exalted, but is shortly to be brought low (47. $46^{1f.}$). Cyrus himself, mentioned by name in 44^{28} 45^1, and quite clearly referred to in $41^{25ff.}$, is not the subject of prediction; he is already well known to the prophet and his audience (or readers); his future career is predicted. By observing what part of Cyrus' career was already over, and what still future to the prophet as he wrote, his book can be dated somewhat precisely. Cyrus appeared shortly before 550 in Persia to the E. of Babylon; in 549 he conquered Media to the N. of Babylon, and in 538 he captured Babylon. Is 41^{25} refers to Cyrus as ruling both to the N. and E.; the prophet then writes after the conquest of Media; but he *predicts* the fall of Babylon, and therefore writes before that event. Between 549 and 538, and probably nearer the latter date, the prophecy was written.

Speaking generally, chs. 40–55 are dominated by one ruling purpose, namely, to rouse the exiles out of their despondency, and to fire them with enthusiasm for what the writer regards as their future destiny, the instruction of the world in Jahweh's ways and will,—in a word, in true religion. For this purpose he emphasizes and illustrates the omnipotence and omniscience of Jahweh, and the futility of the gods of the nations. Again, the passages dealing with the 'Servant of the Lord' (wh. see) are but one form in which he develops his main theme; for the Servant is Israel. The only sins of the people on which his purpose allows him to lay stress are those of despondency and unbelief; he is aware, indeed, that there have been other sins in the past, but as to these his message is that they are pardoned (40^2). These chapters, then, though the progress of thought in them may be less in a straight line than circular, are closely knit together. But when we turn to—

(*b*) Chs. 56–66, the contrast is great: this may be seen by a brief summary. Thus (1) 56^{1-8} describes the terms on which the eunuch and the foreigner may be admitted to the Jewish community, and enforces the observance of the Sabbath; (2) 56^9–57^{21} describes and denounces an existing state of society in which the watchmen of the people are neglectful, from which the righteous perish, and in which the people generally resort to various illegitimate rites: (3) denunciation of people sedulous in fasting, but given to inhumanity and (cf. 56^{1-8}) profanation of the Sabbath; (4) 59, a denunciation similar to the preceding, followed (vv.[15b-21]) by a theophany in which Jahweh appears as a man of war (cf. 63^{1-6}); (5) chs. 60–62, the future glory of Zion; (6) 63^{1-6}, Jahweh's day of vengeance against Edom (cf. ch. 34); (7) 63^7–64, a liturgical confession; (8) the contrasted characters and destinies of the apostates and the loyal; the idolatrous cults (cf. 56^9–57^{21}) of the former.

The difference of outlook, subject, and treatment between chs. 40–55 and chs. 56–66 is obvious, and must not be disregarded. In itself such difference need not necessarily imply difference of authorship, though it certainly suggests that we have to do with different works, even if of the same author, written with a different purpose and under different conditions. And there are other facts which confirm this suggestion. Thus a number of passages on the most obvious and natural, if not the only possible, interpretation imply the existence of the Temple and the presence of the speaker and his audience in Jerusalem, and consequently that the Exile is over (or not yet begun); see $56^{5.\ 7}$ (cf. 44^{28}) 60^7 [in chs. 60–62 the *walls* of Jerusalem require rebuilding (60^{10}, cf. 61^4), as they still did in the days of Nehemiah (Neh 1–3), but the Temple is apparently already there] 66^7 61^3. In 57^{5-7} it is implied that the persons addressed are living in a country of torrent valleys and lofty hills such as Judah was and Babylon was not. The general social condition implied is more easily and naturally explained of the Jews in Palestine than in Babylon; for example, the tribunals are administered, though unjustly, by Jews ($59^{9-9.\ 14}$), and there are 'watchmen' (prophets) and 'shepherds' (rulers).

The presence of such passages as 57^{5-7} was very naturally and rightly used by those who defended the unity of the Book of Isaiah as proof that the passages in question were not written in the Exile; but, of course, such passages could not annul the even clearer evidence of the exilic origin of chs. 40–55. For a time other scholars saw in those parts of chs. 56–66 which imply residence in Palestine proof of the embodiment in chs. 40–66 of *pre-exilic* literature. But a clearer view of the history of the Book of Isaiah shows that a theory that such passages are post-exilic is equally legitimate. Whether pre-exilic or post-exilic must be determined by other considerations. The present tendency is to regard the whole of chs. 56–66 as post-exilic, and most of it, if not the whole, as belonging to the age of Ezra and Nehemiah, to which such characteristics as the stress laid on the observance of the Sabbath and the interest in the question of the admission of strangers to the community very naturally point. If this view is correct, we have, for example in 56^{1-8} 60–62, the work of broader-minded and less exclusive contemporaries of Ezra and Nehemiah.

It is exceedingly unfortunate that the RV does not distinguish the poetical, which are by far the larger, parts of the Book of Isaiah from the prose. But this defect is made good in Cheyne's translation (*Polychrome Bible*), which must on every ground be recommended as one of the most valuable aids to the study of the

book of which the English student can avail himself. Of commentaries in English, Skinner's (on the AV) and Whitehouse's (on the RV) are convenient and good. The larger commentary by Cheyne has been to some considerable extent antiquated, particularly by his own edition of the book in the Polychrome Bible, and his invaluable *Introduction to the Book of Isaiah*. In these works, and in, *e.g.*, Driver's *Isaiah, his Life and Times*, and his *LOT*, and G. A. Smith's 'Isaiah' (*Expositor's Bible*), the student will find sufficient guidance to the extensive literature which has gathered round the Book of Isaiah. G. B. Gray.

ISCAH.—A daughter of Haran and sister of Milcah, Gn 11^{29} (J).

ISCARIOT.—See Judas Iscariot.

ISDAEL (1 Es 5^{33}) = Ezr 2^{56} and Neh 7^{58} **Giddel.**

ISHBAH.—A Judahite (1 Ch 4^{17}).

ISHBAK.—A son of Abraham by Keturah (Gn 25^{2} = 1 Ch 1^{32}). The tribe of which he is the eponym is somewhat uncertain.

ISHBI-BENOB.—One of the four Philistines of the giant stock who were slain by the mighty men of David (2 S 21^{15-17}).

ISHBOSHETH.—1. The fourth son of Saul; on the death of his father and three brothers on Mt. Gilboa, he contested the throne of Israel with David for seven years. Driven by David over the Jordan, he took up his headquarters at Mahanaim, where, after having been deserted by Abner, he was murdered by two of his captains. His name is given in 1 Ch 8^{33} and 9^{39} as **Esh-baal.** The same variation meets us in the name of Jonathan's son—*Mephibosheth* or *Meribbaal*—and in the case of *Jerubbaal* or *Jerubbesheth*; similarly, we have *Beeliada* and *Eliada*. In 1 S 14^{49} *Ishbaal* has become *Ishvi*, which in its turn is a corruption for *Ishiah*, or 'man of Jahweh.' The change of *Ish-baal*, 'man of Baal,' into *Ishbosheth*, 'man of the shameful thing,' is ordinarily accounted for on the supposition 'that the later religion wished to avoid the now odious term Baal.' The theory, however, is met by the difficulty that it is in the Chronicler that the form compounded with Baal occurs. Hence it has been suggested that Bosheth is the fossilized name of a Babylonian deity Bast, for which theory, however, little support is forthcoming. **2.** *Ishbosheth* or *Ishbaal* is probably the true reading for **Jashobeam** in 1 Ch 11^{11} etc., which is corrupted to *Josheb-basshebeth* in 2 S 23^{8}.

W. F. Cobb.

ISHHOD.—A Manassite (1 Ch 7^{18}).

ISHI.—1. A Jerahmeelite (1 Ch 2^{31}). **2.** A Judahite chief (1 Ch 4^{20}). **3.** A chief of East Manasseh (1 Ch 5^{24}). **4.** One of the captains of the 500 men of the tribe of Simeon who smote the Amalekites at Mt. Seir (1 Ch 4^{42}).

ISHI ('my husband').—The name which Hosea (2^{16}) recommends Israel to apply to J" instead of *Baali* ('my lord').

ISHMA.—One of the sons of Etam (1 Ch 4^{3}).

ISHMAEL.—1. The son of Abraham by Hagar. His name, which means 'May God hear,' was decided upon before his birth (Gn 16^{11}). As in the case of the history of his mother, three documentary sources are used by the narrator. J supplied Gn 16^{4-14}, E 21^{6-21}, whilst P adds such links as $16^{15f.}$ 17^{18-27} $25^{7-10.\ 12-17}$. For the story of his life up to his settlement in the wilderness of Paran, the northern part of the Sinaitic peninsula, see Hagar. At the age of thirteen he was circumcised on the same day as his father (Gn $17^{25f.}$). In Paran he married an Egyptian wife, and became famous as an archer ($21^{20f.}$). No other incident is recorded, except that he was associated with his step-brother in the burial of their father (25^{9}), and himself died at the age of 137 (25^{17}).

Ishmael had been resolved into a conjectural personification of the founder of a group of tribes; but the narrative is too vivid in its portrayal of incident and character, and too true in its psychological treatment, to support that view. That there is some idealization in the particulars is possible. Tribal rivalry may have undesignedly coloured the presentment of Sarah's jealousy. The little discrepancies between the documents point to a variety of human standpoints, and are as explicable upon the implication of historicity as upon the theory of personification. The note of all the recorded passions and promptings is naturalness; and the obvious intention of the narrative, with the impression produced upon an uncommitted reader, is that of an attempt at actual biography rather than at the construction of an artificial explanation of certain relationships of race.

In regard to the so-called **Ishmaelites**, the case is not so clear. Ishmael is represented as the father of twelve sons (Gn 25^{12-16}, 1 Ch 1^{29-31}), and the phrase 'twelve princes according to their nations' (cf. Gn 17^{20}) almost suggests an attempt on the part of the writer at an exhibition of his view of racial origins. A further complication arises from the confusion of Ishmaelites and **Midianites** ($37^{28ff.}$, *Jg* $8^{24.\ 26}$), though the two are distinguished in the genealogies of Gn $25^{1.\ 4.\ 13}$. Branches of the descendants of the two step-brothers may have combined through similarity of habit and location, and been known sometimes by the one name, and sometimes by the other; but there was clearly no permanent fusion of the two families. Nor is it possible to say whether at any time a religious confederation of twelve tribes was formed under the name of Ishmael, or if the name was adopted, because of its prominence, for the protection of some weaker tribes. The scheme may have even less basis in history, and be but part of an ethnic theory by which the Hebrew genealogists sought to explain the relationships of their neighbours to one another, and to the Hebrews themselves. A dozen tribes, scattered over the Sinaitic peninsula and the districts east of the Jordan, because of some similarity in civilization or language, or in some cases possibly under the influence of correct tradition, are grouped as kinsmen, being sons of Abraham, but of inferior status, as being descended from the son of a handmaid. That the differences from the pure Hebrew were thought to be strongly Egyptian in their character or source, is indicated by the statement that Ishmael's mother and his wife were both Egyptians. The Ishmaelites soon disappear from Scripture. There are a few individuals described as of that nationality (1 Ch 2^{17} 27^{30}); but in later times the word could be used metaphorically of any hostile people (Ps 83^{6}).

2. A son of Azel, a descendant of Saul through Jonathan (1 Ch 8^{38} 9^{44}). **3.** Ancestor of the Zebadiah who was one of Jehoshaphat's judicial officers (2 Ch 19^{11}). **4.** A military officer associated with Jehoiada in the revolution in favour of Joash (2 Ch 23^{1}). **5.** A member of the royal house of David who took the principal part in the murder of Gedaliah (Jer $41^{1.\ 2}$). The story is told in Jer 40^{7}–41^{15}, with a summary in 2 K 25^{23-26}. It is probable that Ishmael resented Nebuchadnezzar's appointment of Gedaliah as governor of Judæa (Jer 40^{5}) instead of some member of the ruling family, and considered him as unpatriotic in consenting to represent an alien power. Further instigation was supplied by Baalis, king of Ammon (Jer 40^{14}), who was seeking either revenge or an opportunity to extend his dominions. Gedaliah and his retinue were killed after an entertainment given to Ishmael, who gained possession of Mizpah, the seat of government. Shortly afterwards he set out with his captives to join Baalis, but was overtaken by a body of Gedaliah's soldiers at the pool of Gibeon (Jer 41^{12}), and defeated. He made good his escape (41^{15}) with the majority of his associates; but of his subsequent life nothing is known. The conspiracy may have been

prompted by motives that were in part well considered, if on the whole mistaken; but it is significant that Jeremiah supported Gedaliah (40[6]), in memory of whose murder an annual fast was observed for some years in the month Tishri (Zec 7[5] 8[19]). **6.** One of the priests persuaded by Ezra to put away their foreign wives (Ezr 10[22]; cf. **Ismael**, 1 Es 9[22]). R. W. Moss.

ISHMAIAH.—**1.** The 'ruler' of the tribe of Zebulun (1 Ch 27[19]). **2.** One of David's 'thirty' (1 Ch 12[4]).

ISHMERAI.—A Benjamite chief (1 Ch 8[18]).

ISHPAH.—The eponym of a Benjamite family (1 Ch 8[16]).

ISHPAN.—A Benjamite chief (1 Ch 8[22]).

ISH-SECHEL.—In Ezr 8[18] it is said: 'And by the good hand of our God upon us they brought us a man of understanding, of the sons of Mahli,' where RV gives for 'man of understanding' the marginal proper name 'Ish-sechel.' That a proper name is required is certain, but whether Ish-sechel is that name is not so certain. *Issachar* has been suggested. W. F. Cobb.

ISHVAH.—Second son of Asher (Gn 46[17], 1 Ch 7[30]).

ISHVI.—**1.** Third son of Asher (Gn 46[17], Nu 26[44] P, 1 Ch 7[30]); patronymic **Ishvites** (Nu 26[44]). **2.** Second son of Saul by Abinoam (1 S 14[49]).

ISLAND, ISLE.—The Heb. word 'ī means primarily 'coastlands,' but sometimes lands in general, and in one passage (Is 42[15]) 'dry land' as opposed to water. In Is 20[6] Palestine is called 'this isle' (AV, but RV 'coastland'). The islands of the Gentiles or heathen (Gn 10[5], Zeph 2[11]) are apparently the coasts of the W. Mediterranean; the 'isles of the sea' (Est 10[1], Ezk 26[18] etc.) are also the Mediterranean coasts; 'the isles' (Ps 72[10] etc., Is 42[10] etc.) means the West generally as contrasted with the East. Tyre is mentioned as an isle in Is 23[2], and here perhaps the term may be taken literally, as Tyre was actually at that time an island. The isle of Kittim (Jer 2[10], Ezk 27[6]) is probably Cyprus, and the isle of Caphtor (Jer 47[4] mg.), Crete. In the NT five islands are mentioned: Cyprus (Ac 4[36] 11[19f.] 13[4] 15[39] 21[3. 16] 27[4]), Crete (27[7. 12. 13. 21]), Clauda (v.[16]), Melita (28[1]), and Patmos (Rev 1[9]). E. W. G. Masterman.

ISMACHIAH.—A Levite in the time of Hezekiah (2 Ch 31[13]). Cf. Semachiah.

ISMAEL (1 Es 9[22]) = Ezr 10[22] **Ishmael.**

ISMAERUS (1 Es 9[34]) = Ezr 10[34] **Amram.**

ISRAEL.—I. History.—**1. Sources.**—The sources of Jewish political and religious history are the OT, the so-called Apocryphal writings, the works of Josephus, the Assyrian and Egyptian inscriptions, allusions in Greek and Roman historians, and the Mishna and Talmud.

Modern criticism has demonstrated that many of these sources were composed by weaving together previously existing documents. Before using any of these sources except the inscriptions, therefore, it is necessary to state the results of critical investigation and to estimate its effect upon the historical trustworthiness of the narratives. Genesis, Exodus, Leviticus, Numbers, Deuteronomy, and Joshua (the Hexateuch) are the product of one long literary process. Four different documents, each the work of a school of writers, have been laid under tribute to compose it. These documents are quoted so literally that they can still be separated with practical certainty one from another. The documents are the Jahwistic (J), composed in Judah by J^1 before B.C. 800, perhaps in the reign of Jehoshaphat, though fragments of older poems are quoted, and supplemented a little later by J^2; the Elohistic (E), composed in the Northern Kingdom by E^1 about B.C. 750 and expanded somewhat later by E^2; the Deuteronomic code (D), composed by D^1 about B.C. 650, to which D^2 prefixed a second preface about ninety years later; the Code of Holiness, compiled by P^1 about B.C. 500 or a little earlier, the priestly 'Book of Origins' written by P^2 about B.C. 450, and various supplementary priestly notes added by various writers at later times. It should be noted that D^2 added various notes throughout the Hexateuch.

The dates here assigned to these documents are those given by the Graf-Wellhausen school, to which the majority of scholars in all countries now belong. The Ewald-Dillmann school, represented by Strack and Kittel, still hold that P is older than D. For details see Hexateuch.

Judges, 1 and 2 Samuel, and 1 and 2 Kings were also compiled by one literary process. The compiler was a follower of D, who wrote probably about 600. The work received a supplement by a kindred writer about 560. The sources from which the editor drew were, for Judges, Samuel, and the first two chapters of Kings,—the J and E documents In Jg 5 a poem composed about B.C. 1100 is utilized. The editor interpolated his own comments and at times his own editorial framework, but the sources may still be distinguished from these and from each other. A few additions have been made by a still later hand, but these are readily separated. In 1 K 3–11 a chronicle of the reign of Solomon and an old Temple record have been drawn upon, but they are interwoven with glosses and later legendary material. In the synchronous history (1 K 12–2 K 17) the principal sources are the 'Book of the Chronicle of the Kings of Israel' and the 'Book of the Chronicle of the Kings of Judah,' though various other writings have been drawn upon for the narratives of Elijah and Elisha. The concluding portion (2 K 18–25) is dependent also upon the Judæan Chronicle. In all parts of Kings the Deuteronomic editor allows himself large liberties. For details see artt. on the Books of Judges, Samuel, and Kings.

Chronicles, Ezra, and Nehemiah are all the result of a late literary movement, and came into existence about B.C. 300. They were composed under the influence of the Levitical law. The history was re-told in Chronicles, in order to furnish the faithful with an expurgated edition of the history of Israel. The chief sources of the Chronicler were the earlier canonical books which are now found in our Bibles. Where he differs from these he is of doubtful authority. See Chronicles. A memoir of Ezra and one of Nehemiah were laid under contribution in the books which respectively bear these names. Apart from these quotations, the Chronicler composed freely as his point of view guided his imagination. See Ezra and Nehemiah [Books of].

Of the remaining historical books 1 Maccabees is a first-rate historical authority, having been composed by an author contemporary with the events described. The other apocryphal works contain much legendary material.

Josephus is for the earlier history dependent almost exclusively upon the OT. Here his narrative has no independent value. For the events in which he was an actor he is a writer of the first importance. In the non-Israelitish sources Israel is mentioned only incidentally, but the information thus given is of primary importance. The Mishna and Talmud are compilations of traditions containing in some cases an historical kernel, but valuable for the light they throw upon Jewish life in the early Christian centuries.

2. Historical value of the earlier books.—If the oldest source in the Pentateuch dates from the 9th cent., the question as to the value of the narratives concerning the patriarchal period is forced upon us. Can the accounts of that time be relied upon as history? The answer of most scholars of the present day is that in part they can, though in a different way from that which was formerly in vogue. Winckler, it is true, would dissolve these narratives into solar and astral myths, but the majority of scholars, while making allowance for legendary and mythical elements, are confident that important outlines of tribal history are revealed in the early books of the Bible.

The tenth chapter of Genesis contains a genealogical table in which nations are personified as men. Thus the sons of Ham were Cush (Nubia), Mizraim (Egypt), Put (East Africa?), and Canaan. The sons of Shem were Elam, Assyria, Mesopotamia, Lud (a land of unknown situation, not Lydia), and Aram (the Aramæans). If countries and peoples are here personified as men, the same may be the case elsewhere: and in Abraham, Isaac, Jacob, Esau, and the twelve sons of Jacob, we may be dealing not with individuals but with tribes. The marriages of individuals may represent the alliances or union of tribes. Viewed in this way, these narratives disclose to us the formation of the Israelitish nation.

The traditions may, however, be classified in two ways: (1) as to origin, and (2) as to content. (For the classification as to origin see Paton, *AJTh* viii. [1904], 658 ff.)

1. (*a*) Some traditions, such as those concerning kinship with non-Palestinian tribes, the deliverance from Egypt, and concerning Moses, were brought into Palestine from the desert. (*b*) Others, such as the traditions of Abraham's connexion with various shrines, and the stories of Jacob and his sons, were developed in the land of Canaan. (*c*) Still others were learned from the Canaanites. Thus we learn from an inscription of Thothmes III. about B.C. 1500 that *Jacob-el* was a place-name in Palestine. (See W. M. Müller, *Asien und Europa*, 162.) Israel, as will appear later, was a name of a part of the tribes before they entered Canaan. In Genesis, Jacob and Israel are identified, probably because Israel had settled in the Jacob country. The latter name must have been learned from the Canaanites. Similarly, in the inscription of Thothmes *Joseph-el* is a place-name. Genesis (48$^{9ff.}$) tells how Joseph was divided into two tribes, Ephraim and Manasseh. Probably the latter are Israelitish, and are so called because they settled in the Joseph country. *Lot* or *Luten* (Egyp. *Ruten*) is an old name of Palestine or of a part of it. In Genesis, Moab and Ammon are said to be the children of Lot, probably because they settled in the country of Luten. In most cases where a tradition has blended two elements, one of these was learned from the Canaanites. (*d*) Finally, a fourth set of traditions were derived from Babylonia. This is clearly the case with the Creation and Deluge narratives, parallels to which have been found in Babylonian and Assyrian literature. (See *KIB* vi.)

2. Classified according to their content, we have: (*a*) narratives which embody the history and movements of tribes. (*b*) Narratives which reflect the traditions of the various shrines of Israel. The stories of Abraham at Bethel, Shechem, Hebron, and Beersheba come under this head. (*c*) Legendary and mythical survivals. Many of these have an ætiological purpose; they explain the origin of some custom or the cause of some physical phenomenon. Thus Gn 18. 19—the destruction of Sodom and the other cities of the plain—is a story which grew up to account for the Dead Sea, which, we now know, was produced by very different causes. Similarly Gn 22 is a story designed to account for the fact that the Israelites sacrificed a lamb instead of the firstborn. (*d*) Other narratives are devoted to cosmogony and primeval history. This classification is worked out in detail in Peters' *Early Hebrew Story*. It is clear that in writing a history of the origin of Israel we must regard the patriarchal narratives as relating largely to tribes rather than individuals, and must use them with discrimination.

3. Historical meaning of the patriarchal narratives.—Parts of the account of Abraham are local traditions of shrines, but the story of Abraham's migration is the narrative of the westward movement of a tribe or group of tribes from which the Hebrews were descended. Isaac is a shadowy figure confined mostly to the south, and possibly represents a south Palestinian clan, which was afterwards absorbed by the Israelites. Jacob-Israel (Jacob, as shown above, is of Canaanitish origin; Israel was the name of the confederated clans) represents the nation Israel itself. Israel is called an Aramæan (Dt 26^{5}), and the account of the marriage of Jacob (Gn 29–31) shows that Israel was kindred to the Aramæans. We can now trace in the cuneiform literature the appearance and westward migration of the Aramæans, and we know that they begin to be mentioned in the Euphrates valley about B.C. 1300, and were moving westward for a little more than a century (see Paton, *Syria and Palestine*, 103 ff.). The Israelites were a part of this Aramæan migration.

The sons of Jacob are divided into four groups. Six—Reuben, Simeon, Levi, Judah, Issachar, and Zebulun—are said to be the sons of Leah. Leah probably means 'wild cow' (Delitzsch, *Prolegomena*, 80; W. R. Smith, *Kinship*^{2}, 254). This apparently means that these tribes were of near kin, and possessed as a common totem the 'wild cow' or 'bovine antelope.' The tribes of Manasseh, Ephraim, and Benjamin traced their descent from Rachel. Rachel means 'ewe,' and these tribes, though kindred to the other six, possessed a different totem. Judah was, in the period before the conquest, a far smaller tribe than afterwards, for, as will appear later, many Palestinian clans were absorbed into Judah. Benjamin is said to have been the youngest son of Jacob, born in Palestine a long time after the others. The name *Benjamin* means 'sons of the south,' or 'southerners': the Benjamites are probably the 'southerners' of the tribe of Ephraim, and were gradually separated from that tribe after the conquest of Canaan. Four sons of Jacob—Dan, Naphtali, Gad, and Asher—are said to be the sons of concubines. This less honourable birth probably means that they joined the confederacy later than the other tribes. Since the tribe of Asher can be traced in the el-Amarna tablets in the region of their subsequent *habitat* (cf. Barton, *Semitic Origins*, 248 ff.), this tribe probably joined the confederacy after the conquest of Palestine. Perhaps the same is true of the other three.

4. The beginnings of Israel.—The original Israel, then, probably consisted of the eight tribes—Reuben, Simeon, Levi, Judah, Issachar, Zebulun, Manasseh, and Ephraim, though perhaps the Rachel tribes did not join the confederacy until they had escaped from Egypt (see § **6**). These tribes, along with the other Abrahamidæ—the Edomites, Ammonites, and Moabites—moved westward from the Euphrates along the eastern border of Palestine. The Ammonites, Moabites, and Edomites gained a foothold in the territories afterwards occupied by them. The Israelites appear to have been compelled to move on to the less fertile steppe to the south, between Beersheba and Egypt, roaming at times as far as Sinai. Budde (*Rel. of Isr. to the Exile*, 6) regards the Khabiri, who in the el-Amarna tablets lay siege to Jerusalem, as Hebrews who made an incursion into Palestine, *c.* B.C. 1400. Though many scholars deny that they were Hebrews, perhaps they were.

5. The Egyptian bondage.—From the time of the first Egyptian dynasty (*c.* B.C. 3000), the Egyptians had been penetrating into the Sinaitic Peninsula on account of the mines in the Wadi Maghara (cf. Breasted, *Hist. of Egypt*, 48). In course of time Egypt dominated the whole region, and on this account it was called *Musru*, Egypt being *Musru* or *Misraim* (cf. Winckler, *Hibbert Jour.* ii. 571 ff., and *KAT*^{3}144ff.). Because of this, Winckler holds (*KAT*^{3} 212 ff.) that there is no historical foundation for the narrative of the Egyptian oppression of the Hebrews and their exodus from that country; all this, he contends, arose from a later misunderstanding of the name *Musru*. But, as Budde (*Rel. of Isr. to the Exile*, ch. i.) has pointed out, the firm and constant tradition of the Egyptian bondage, running as it does through all four of the Pentateuchal documents and forming the background of all Israel's religious and prophetic consciousness, must have some historical content. We know from the Egyptian monuments that at different times Bedu from Asia entered the country on account of its fertility. The famous Hyksos kings and their people found access to the land of the Nile in this way. Probability, accordingly, strengthens the tradition that Hebrews so entered Egypt. Ex 1^{11} states that they were compelled to aid in building the cities of Pithom and Raamses. Excavations have shown that these cities were founded by Rameses II. (B.C. 1292–1225; cf. Hogarth, *Authority and Archæology*, 55). It has been customary, therefore, to regard Rameses as the Pharaoh of the oppression, and Menephtah (Meren-ptah, 1225–1215) as the Pharaoh of the Exodus. This view has in recent years met with an unexpected difficulty. In 1896 a stele was discovered in Egypt on which an inscription of Menephtah, dated in his fifth year, mentions the Israelites as already in Palestine or the desert to the south of it, and as defeated there (cf. Breasted, *Anc.*

Records of Egypt, iii. 256 ff.). This inscription celebrates a campaign which Menephtah made into Palestine in his third year (cf. Breasted, *op. cit.* 272). On the surface this inscription, which contains by far the oldest mention of Israel yet discovered in any literature, and the only mention in Egyptian, seems to favour Winckler's view. The subject cannot, however, be dismissed in so light a manner. The persistent historical tradition which colours all Hebrew religious thought must have, one would think, some historical foundation. The main thread of it must be true, but in details, such as the reference to Pithom and Raamses, the tradition may be mistaken. Traditions attach themselves to different men, why not to different cities? Perhaps, as several scholars have suggested, another solution is more probable, that not all of the Hebrews went to Egypt. Wildeboer (*Jahvedienst en Volksreligie Israel*, 15) and Budde (*op. cit.* 10) hold that it was the so-called Joseph tribes, Ephraim and Manasseh, that settled for a time in Egypt, and that Moses led forth. This receives some support from the fact that the E document, which originated among the Ephraimites, is the first one that remembers that the name Jahweh was, until the Exodus, unknown to them (cf. Ex 3^{14}).

Probably we shall not go far astray, if we suppose that the Leah tribes were roaming the steppe to the south of Palestine where Menephtah defeated them, while the Rachel tribes, enticed into Egypt by the opportunity to obtain an easier livelihood, became entangled in trouble there, from which Moses emancipated them, perhaps in the reign of Menephtah himself.

6. The Exodus.—The J, E, and P documents agree in their main picture of the Exodus, although J differs from the other two in holding that the worship of Jahweh was known at an earlier time. Moses, they tell us, fled from Egypt and took refuge in Midian with Jethro, a Kenite priest (cf. Jg 1^{16}). Here, according to E and P, at Horeb or Sinai, Jahweh's holy mount, Moses first learned to worship Jahweh, who, he believed, sent him to deliver from Egypt his oppressed brethren. After various plagues (J gives them as seven; E, five; and P, six) Moses led them out, and by Divine aid they escaped across the Red Sea. J makes this escape the result of Jahweh's control of natural means (Ex 14^{21}). Moses then led them to Sinai, where, according to both J and E, they entered into a solemn covenant with Jahweh to serve Him as their God. According to E (Ex $18^{12ff.}$), it was Jethro, the Kenite or Midianite priest, who initiated them into the rite and mediated the covenant. After this the Rachel tribes probably allied themselves more closely to the Leah tribes, and, through the aid of Moses, gradually led them to adopt the worship of Jahweh. Religion was at this period purely an affair of ritual and material success, and since clans had escaped from Egypt through the name of Jahweh, others would more readily adopt His worship also. Perhaps it was during this period that the Rachel tribes first became a real part of the Israelite confederation.

7. The Wilderness wandering.—For some time the *habitat* of Israel, as thus constituted, was the region between Sinai on the south and Kadesh,—a spring some fifty miles south of Beersheba,—on the north. At Kadesh the fountain was sacred, and at Sinai there was a sacred mountain. Moses became during this period the sheik of the united tribes. Because of his pre-eminence in the knowledge of Jahweh he acquired this paramount influence in all their counsels. In the traditions this period is called the Wandering in the Wilderness, and it is said to have continued forty years. The expression 'forty years' is, however, used by D and his followers in a vague way for an indefinite period of time. In this case it is probably rather over than under the actual amount.

The region in which Israel now roamed was anything but fertile, and the people naturally turned their eyes to more promising pasture lands. This they did with the more confidence, because Jahweh, their new God, had just delivered a portion of them from Egypt in an extraordinary manner. Naturally they desired the most fertile land in the region, Palestine. Finding themselves for some reason unable to move directly upon it from the south (Nu 13. 14), perhaps because the hostile Amalekites interposed, they made a circuit to the eastward. According to the traditions, their detour extended around the territories of Edom and Moab, so that they came upon the territory north of the Arnon, where an Amorite kingdom had previously been established, over which, in the city of Heshbon, Sihon ruled. See Amorites.

8. The trans-Jordanic conquest.—The account of the conquest of the kingdom of Sihon is given by E with a few additions from J in Nu 21. No details are given, but it appears that in the battles Israel was victorious. We learn from the P document in Nu 32 that the conquered cities of this region were divided between the tribes of Reuben and Gad. Perhaps it was at this time that the tribe of Gad came into the confederacy. At least they appear in real history here for the first time. The genealogies represent Gad as the son of a slave-girl. This, as already noted, probably means that the tribe joined the nation at a comparatively late period. Probably the Gadites came in from the desert at this period, and in union with the Reubenites won this territory, which extended from the Arnon to a point a little north of Heshbon. It is usually supposed that the territory of Reuben lay to the south of that of Gad, extending from the Arnon to Elealeh, north of Heshbon; but in reality each took certain cities in such a way that their territory interpenetrated (Nu 32^{34}). Thus the Gadites had Dibon, Ataroth, and Aroer to the south, Jazer north of Heshbon, and Beth-nimrah and Beth-haran in the Jordan valley; while the Reubenites had Baal-meon, Nebo, Heshbon, and Elealeh, which lay between these. Probably the country to the north was not conquered until later. It is true that D claims that Og, the king of Bashan, was conquered at this time, but it is probable that the conquest of Bashan by a part of the tribe of Manasseh was a backward movement from the west after the conquest of Palestine was accomplished. During this period Moses died, and Joshua became the leader of the nation.

9. Crossing the Jordan.—The conquests of the tribe of Gad brought the Hebrews into the Jordan valley, but the swiftly flowing river with its banks of clay formed an insuperable obstacle to these primitive folk. The traditions tell of a miraculous stoppage of the waters. The Arabic historian Nuwairi tells of a land-slide of one of the clay hills that border the Jordan, which afforded an opportunity to the Arabs to complete a military bridge. The account of this was published with translation in the *PEFSt*, 1895, p. 253 ff. The J writer would see in such an event, as he did in the action of the winds upon the waters of the Red Sea, the hand of Jahweh. The accounts of it in which the priests and the ark figure are of later origin. These stories explained the origin of a circle of sacred stones called *Gilgal*, which lay on the west of the Jordan, by the supposition that the priests had taken these stones from the bed of the river at the time of the crossing.

10. The conquest of Canaan.—The first point of attack after crossing the Jordan was Jericho. In Jos 6 J's account and E's account of the taking of Jericho are woven together (cf. the *Oxford Hexateuch*, or *SBOT*, *ad. loc.*). According to the J account, the Israelites marched around the city once a day for six days. As they made no attack, the besieged were thrown off their guard, so that, when on the seventh day the Israelites made an attack at the end of their marching, they easily captured the town. As to the subsequent course of the conquest, the sources differ widely. The D and

P strata of the book of Joshua, which form the main portion of it, represent Joshua as gaining possession of the country in two great battles, and as dividing it up among the tribes by lot. The J account of the conquest, however, which has been preserved in Jg 1 and Jos 8–10. $13^{1.\ 7a.\ 13}$ $15^{14-19.\ 63}$ $16^{1-3.\ 10}$ 17^{11-18} 19^{47}, while it represents Joshua as the leader of the Rachel tribes and as winning a decisive victory near Gibeon, declares that the tribes went up to win their territory singly, and that in the end their conquest was only partial. This representation is much older than the other, and is much more in accord with the subsequent course of events and with historical probability.

According to J, there seem to have been at least three lines of attack: (1) that which Joshua led up the valley from Jericho to Ai and Bethel, from which the territories afterwards occupied by Ephraim and Benjamin were secured. (2) A movement on the part of the tribe of Judah followed by the Simeonites, south-westward from Jericho into the hill-country about Bethlehem and Hebron. (3) Lastly, there was the movement of the northern tribes into the hill-country which borders the great plain of Jezreel. J in Jos $11^{1.\ 4-9}$ tells us that in a great battle by the Waters of Merom (wh. see) Joshua won for the Israelites a victory over four petty kings of the north, which gave the Israelites their foothold there. In the course of these struggles a disaster befell the tribes of Simeon and Levi in an attempt to take Shechem, which practically annihilated Levi, and greatly weakened Simeon (cf. Gn 34). This disaster was thought to be a Divine punishment for reprehensible conduct (Gn 49^{5-7}). J distinctly states (Jg 1) that the conquest was not complete, but that two lines of fortresses, remaining in the possession of the Canaanites, cut the Israelitish territory into three sections. One of these consisted of Dor, Megiddo, Taanach, Ibleam, and Beth-shean, and gave the Canaanites control of the great plain of Jezreel, while, holding as they did Jerusalem, Aijalon, Har-heres (Beth-shemesh), and Gezer, they cut the tribe of Judah off from their northern kinsfolk. J further tells us distinctly that not all the Canaanites were driven out, but that the Canaanites and the Hebrews lived together. Later, he says, Israel made slaves of the Canaanites. This latter statement is perhaps true for those Canaanites who held out in these fortresses, but reasons will be given later for believing that by intermarriage a gradual fusion between Canaanites and Israelites took place.

Reasons have been adduced (§ 3) for believing that the tribe of Asher had been in the country from about B.C. 1400. (The conquest probably occurred about 1200.) Probably they allied themselves with the other tribes when the latter entered Canaan. At what time the tribes of Naphtali and Dan joined the Hebrew federation we have no means of knowing. J tells us (Jg $1^{34.\ 35}$) that the Danites struggled for a foothold in the Shephēlah, where they obtained but an insecure footing. As they afterwards migrated from here (Jg 17. 18), and as a place in this region was called the 'Camp of Dan' (Jg 13^{25} 18^{12}), probably their hold was very insecure. We learn from Jg 15 that they possessed the town of Zorah, where Samson was afterwards born.

11. Period of the Judges.—During this period, which extended from about 1200 to about 1020 B.C., Israel became naturalized in the land, and amalgamated with the Canaanites. The chronology of the period as given in the Book of Judges is certainly too long. The Deuteronomic editor, who is responsible for this chronology, probably reckoned forty years as the equivalent of a generation, and 1 K 6^{1} gives us the key to his scheme. He made the time from the Exodus to the founding of the Temple twelve generations (cf. Moore, 'Judges' in *ICC*, p. xxxviii.). The so-called 'Minor Judges'—Tola, Jair, Ibzan, Elon, and Abdon (Jg 10^{1-5} 12^{8-15})—were not included in the editor's chronology. The statements concerning them were added by a later hand. As three of their names appear elsewhere as clan names (cf. Gn $46^{13.\ 14}$, Nu $26^{23.\ 26}$, Dt 3^{14}), and as another is a city (Jos 21^{30}), scholars are agreed that these were not real judges, but that they owe their existence to the mistake of a late writer. Similarly, Shamgar (Jg 3^{31}) was not a real judge. His name appears where it does because some late writer mistakenly inferred that the reference to Shamgar (probably a Hittite chief) in Jg 5^{6} was an allusion to an earlier judge (cf. Moore, *JAOS* xix. 159 ff.). Some doubt attaches also to Othniel, who is elsewhere a younger brother of a Caleb,—the Calebites, a branch of the Edomite clan of the Kenaz (cf. Jg 1^{13} with Gn $36^{11.\ 15.\ 42}$), which had settled in Southern Judah. This doubt is increased by the fact that the whole of the narrative of the invasion of Cushan-rishathaim, king of Mesopotamia, is the work of the editor, R^{D}, and also by the fact that no king of Mesopotamia who could have made such an invasion is known to have existed at this time. Furthermore, had such a king invaded Israel, his power would have been felt in the north and not in Judah. If there is any historical kernel in this narrative, probably it was the Edomites who were the perpetrators of the invasion, and their name has become corrupted (cf. Paton, *Syr. and Pal.* 161). It is difficult, then, to see how Othniel should have been a deliverer, as he seems to have belonged to a kindred clan, but the whole matter may have been confused by oral transmission. Perhaps the narrative is a distorted reminiscence of the settlement in Southern Judah of the Edomitic clans of Caleb and Othniel.

The real judges were Ehud, Deborah, Gideon, Jephthah, Eli, and Samuel. Samson was a kind of giant-hero, but he always fought single-handed; he was no leader and organizer of men, and it is difficult to see how he can justly be called a judge. The age was a period of great tribal restlessness. Others were trying to do what the Israelites had done, and gain a foothold in Palestine. Wave after wave of attempted invasion broke over the land. Each coming from a different direction affected a different part of it, and in the part affected a patriot would arouse the Hebrews of the vicinity and expel the invader. The influence thus acquired, and the position which the wealth derived from the spoil of war gave him, made such a person the sheik of his district for the time being. Thus the judges were in reality great tribal chieftains. They owed their office to personal prowess. Because of their character their countrymen brought to them their causes to adjust, and they had no authority except public opinion whereby to enforce their decisions.

Deborah and Barak delivered Israel, not from invaders, but from a monarch whom up to that time the Hebrews had been unable to overcome. It is probable that this power was Hittite (cf. Moore, *JAOS*, xix. 158 ff.). This episode, which should probably be dated about 1150, marks the conclusion of the conquest of Northern Palestine.

There were four real invasions from outside during the period of the judges: that of the Moabites, which called Ehud into prominence; that of the Midianites, which gave Gideon his opportunity; that of the Ammonites, from whom Jephthah delivered Gilead; and that of the Philistines, against whom Samson, Eli, Samuel, and Saul struggled, but who were not overcome until the reign of David. The first of these invasions affected the territories of Reuben and Gad on the east, and of Benjamin on the west, of the Jordan. It probably occurred early in the period. The second invasion affected the country of Ephraim and Manasseh, and probably occurred about the middle of the period. Gideon's son Abimelech endeavoured to establish a petty kingdom in Shechem after Gideon had run his successful career, but the attempt at kingship was premature (cf. Jg 9). The Ammonite invasion affected only Gilead, while the Philistine invasion was later, more prolonged, and affected all of Central Palestine. These people came into Palestine from the outside (cf. PHILISTINES), pushed the inhabitants of the Maritime Plain back upon the Israelites, made many attempts to conquer the hill-country, and by the end of the reign of Saul held the greater part of the Plain of Jezreel.

The struggles with these invaders gradually called into existence a national consciousness in Israel. It is clear from the song of Deborah that when that poem was written there was no sense of national unity. A dim sense of kinship held the tribes together, but this

kinship brought to Deborah's standard only those who had some tribal interest in the struggle. The Reubenites did not respond to the appeal (Jg 5^{16}), while the tribe of Judah is not mentioned at all.

At the end of the period, the kingship of Saul, who responded to a call to help Jabesh, a Gileadite city, against a second invasion of Ammonites, is the expression of a developing national consciousness.

At some time during this period a part of the Danites moved to the foot of Mount Hermon, to the city which was henceforth to be called Dan (Jg 17. 18). During these years the process of amalgamation between the Israelites and the tribes previously inhabiting the land went steadily forward. Perhaps it occurred in the tribe of Judah on a larger scale than elsewhere. At all events, we can trace it there more clearly. The stories of Judah's marriages in Gn 38 really represent the union of Shuaites and Tamarites with the tribe. The union of the Kenazites and Calebites with Judah has already been noted. The Kenites also united with them (Jg 1^{16}), as did also the Jerahmeelites (cf. 1 S 30^{29} with 1 Ch 2^{9}). What went on in Judah occurred to some extent in all the tribes, though probably Judah excelled in this. Perhaps it was a larger admixture of foreign blood that gave Judah its sense of aloofness from the rest of Israel. Certain it is, however, that the great increase in strength which Israel experienced between the time of Deborah and the time of David cannot be accounted for on the basis of natural increase. There were elements in the religion of the Israelites which, notwithstanding the absorption of culture from the Canaanites, enabled Israel to absorb in turn the Canaanites themselves. The religious and ethical aspects of the period will be considered in connexion with the religion.

12. Reign of Saul.—There are two accounts of how Saul became king. The older of these (1 S 9^{1} $10^{16.\ 27b}$ $11^{1\ 15}$) tells how Saul was led to Samuel in seeking some lost asses, how Samuel anointed him to be king, and how about a month after that the men of Jabesh-gilead, whom the Ammonites were besieging, sent out messengers earnestly imploring aid. Saul, by means of a gory symbolism consonant with the habits of his age, summoned the Israelites to follow him to war. They responded, and by means of the army thus raised he delivered the distressed city. As a result of this Saul was proclaimed king, apparently by acclamation. The later account (which consists of the parts of 1 S 8–12 not enumerated above) presents a picture which is so unnatural that it cannot be historical. Saul gained his kingdom, then, because of his success as a military leader. Probably at first his sovereignty was acknowledged only by the Rachel tribes and Gilead.

The Philistines, upon hearing that Israel had a king, naturally endeavoured to crush him. Soon after his accession, therefore, Saul was compelled to repel an invasion, by which the Philistines had penetrated to Michmash, within ten miles of his capital. Their camp was separated from Saul's by the deep gorge of Michmash. Owing to the daring and valour of Jonathan, a victory was gained for Israel which gave Saul for a time freedom from these enemies (cf. 1 S 13. 14). Saul occupied this respite in an expedition against Israel's old-time enemies the Amalekites. Our account of this (1 S 15) comes from the later (E) source, and gives us, by way of explaining Saul's later insanity, the statement that he did not destroy the accursed Amalekites with all their belongings, but presumed to take some booty from them.

Soon, however, Saul was compelled once more to take up arms against the Philistines, whom he fought with varying fortunes until they slew him in battle on Mount Gilboa. During the later years of Saul's life fits of insanity came upon him with increasing frequency. These were interpreted by his contemporaries to mean that Jahweh had abandoned him; thus his followers were gradually estranged from him. A large part of the space devoted to his reign by the sacred writers is occupied with the relations between Saul and the youthful David. These narratives are purely personal. The only light which they throw upon the political history of the period is that they make it clear that Saul's hold upon the tribe of Judah was not a very firm one.

How long the reign of Saul continued we have no means of knowing. The Books of Samuel contain no statement concerning it. Many scholars believe that the editor of Samuel purposely omitted it because he regarded David as the legitimate religious successor of Samuel, and viewed Saul consequently as a usurper. Saul must have ruled for some years—ten or fifteen, probably—and his kingdom included not only the territory from the Plain of Jezreel to Jerusalem, with a less firm hold upon Judah, but the trans-Jordanic Gileadites. The latter were so loyal to him that his son, when Judah seceded, abandoned his home in Gibeon, and made Mahanaim his capital. What attitude the tribes to the north of Jezreel took towards Saul we do not know.

13. Reign of David.—Before Saul's death David had attached the men of Judah so firmly to himself, and had exhibited such qualities of leadership, that, when Saul fell at Gilboa, David made himself king of Judah, his capital being Hebron. As Jonathan, the crown prince, had fallen in battle, Abner, Saul's faithful general, made Ish-baal (called in Samuel *Ish-bosheth*) king, removing his residence to Mahanaim. For seven and a half years civil war dragged itself along. Then Joab by treacherous murder removed Abner (2 S $3^{27ff.}$), assassins disposed of the weak Ish-baal, and Israel and Judah were soon united again under one monarch, David. We are not to understand from 2 S 5 that the elders of Israel all came immediately in one body to make David king. Probably they came one by one at intervals of time. There were many tribal jealousies and ambitions deterring some of them from such a course, but the times demanded a united kingdom, and as there was no one but David who gave promise of establishing such a monarchy, they ultimately yielded to the logic of events.

David soon devoted himself to the consolidation of his territory. Just at the northern edge of the tribe of Judah, commanding the highway from north to south, stood the ancient fortress of Jerusalem. It had never been in the possession of the Israelites. The Jebusites, who had held it since Israel's entrance into Canaan, fondly believed that its position rendered it impregnable. This city David captured, and with the insight of genius made it his capital (2 S $5^{6ff.}$). This choice was a wise one in every way. Had he continued to dwell in Hebron, both Benjamin—which had in the previous reign been the royal tribe—and Ephraim—which never easily yielded precedence to any other clan—would have regarded him as a Judæan rather than a national leader. Jerusalem was to the Israelites a new city. It not only had no associations with the tribal differences of the past, but, lying as it did on the borderland of two tribes, was neutral territory. Moreover, the natural facilities of its situation easily made it an almost impregnable fortress. David accordingly rebuilt the Jebusite stronghold and took up his residence in it, and from this time onward it became the city of David.

The Philistines, ever jealous of the rising power of Israel, soon attacked David in his new capital, but he gained such a victory over them (2 S $5^{18ff.}$) that in the future he seems to have been able to seek them out city by city and subdue them at his leisure (2 S $8^{1ff.}$). Having crushed the Philistines, David turned his attention to the trans-Jordanic lands. He attacked Moab, and after his victory treated the conquered with the greatest barbarity (8^{2}). He was, however, the child of his age. All wars were cruel, and the Assyrians could teach even David lessons in cruelty. Edom was also conquered ($8^{13.\ 14}$). Ammon needlessly provoked a war with David, and after a long siege their capital Rabbah, on the distant border of the desert, succumbed (10. 11). The

petty Aramæan State of Zobah was drawn into the war, and was compelled to pay tribute (8$^{3ff.}$). Damascus, whose inhabitants, as kinsfolk of the people of Zobah, tried to aid the latter, was finally made a tributary State also (8$^{5ff.}$), so that within a few years David built up a considerable empire. This territory he did not attempt to organize in a political way, but, according to the universal Oriental custom of his time, he ruled it through tributary native princes. Toi, king of Hamath, and Hiram, king of Tyre, sent embassies to welcome David into the brotherhood of kings. Thus Israel became united, and gained a recognized position among the nations.

This success was possible because at the moment Assyria and Egypt were both weak. In the former country the period of weakness which followed the reign of the great Tiglath-pileser I. was at its height, while in the latter land the 21st dynasty, with its dual line of rulers at Thebes and Tanis, rendered the country powerless through internal dissensions.

David upon his removal to Jerusalem organized his court upon a more extensive scale than Saul had ever done, and, according to Oriental custom, increased his harem. The early Semite was often predisposed to sexual weakness, and David exhibited the frequent bent of his race. His sin with Bathsheba, and subsequent treachery to her husband Uriah, need not be re-told. David's fondness for his son Absalom and his lax treatment of him produced more dire political consequences. Absalom led a rebellion which drove the king from Jerusalem and nearly cost him his throne. David on this occasion, like Ish-baal before him, took refuge at Mahanaim, the east Jordanic hinterland. Here David's conduct towards the rebellious son was such that, but for the fact that the relentless Joab disregarded the express commands of his royal master and put Absalom to death after his army had been defeated, it is doubtful whether Absalom would not have triumphed in the end. A smaller revolt grew out of this, but the reduction of Abel near Dan in the north finally restored David's authority throughout the land.

During the reign of David, though we do not know in what part of it, two misfortunes befell the country. The first of these was a famine for three successive years (2 S 21). The means taken to win back the favour of Jahweh, which it was supposed Israel had forfeited, so that He should give rain again, is an eloquent commentary on the barbarous nature of the age and the primitive character of its religious conceptions. The other event was a plague, which followed an attempt of David to take a census (ch. 24), and which the Israelites accordingly believed Jahweh had sent to punish the king for presumptuously introducing such an innovation.

The last days of David were rendered unquiet by the attempt of his son Adonijah to seize the crown (1 K 1). Having, however, fixed the succession upon Solomon, the son of Bathsheba, David is said to have left to him as an inheritance the duty of taking vengeance upon Joab and Shimei (1 K 2$^{1ff.}$).

To the reign of David subsequent generations looked as the golden age of Israel. Never again did the boundaries of a united Israelitish empire extend so far. These boundaries, magnified a little by fond imagination, became the ideal limits of the Promised Land. David himself, idealized by later ages, became the prototype of the Messiah. The reign of David is said to have lasted forty years. It probably extended from about B.C. 1017 to 977.

14. Reign of Solomon.—Probably upon the accession of Solomon, certainly during his reign, two of the tributary States, Edom and Damascus, gained their independence (1 K 11$^{14-25}$). The remainder of the empire of David was held by Solomon until his death. Up to the time of Solomon the Israelites had been a simple rural people untouched by the splendour or the culture of the world outside. Simple shepherds and vine-dressers, they knew nothing of the splendours of Tyre or Babylon or Egypt, and had never possessed wealth enough to enjoy such splendours had they known them. David had risen from the people, and to his death remained a simple man of his race. Solomon, born in the purple, determined to bring his kingdom into line with the great powers of the world. He accordingly consummated a marriage with the daughter of Pharaoh, probably one of the Pharaohs of the Tanite branch of the 21st dynasty. This marriage brought him into touch with the old civilization of Egypt. In order to equip his capital with public buildings suitable to the estate of such an empire, Solomon hired Phœnician architects, and constructed a palace for himself, one for the daughter of Pharaoh, and a Temple of such magnificence as the rustic Israelites had never seen. Later generations have overlaid the accounts of these, especially of the Temple, with many glosses, increasing the impression of their grandeur (cf. TEMPLE), but there is no doubt that in the way of luxury they far surpassed anything previously known in Israel. The whole pile was approached through a hypostyle hall built on Egyptian models, called the 'house of the forest of Lebanon,' while into the Temple brazen work and brazen instruments were introduced, in flagrant violation of Israelitish traditions. Even a brazen altar of burnt-offering was substituted for the traditional altar of stone. Ornaments of palm trees and cherubim such as adorned the temple of Melkart at Tyre decorated not only the interior of the Temple, but the brazen instruments as well. These religious innovations were looked upon with disfavour by many of Solomon's contemporaries (cf. 1 K 12^{28b}), and the buildings, although the boast of a later age, were regarded with mingled feelings by those who were compelled to pay the taxes by which they were erected.

Not only in buildings but also in his whole establishment did Solomon depart from the simple ways of his father. He not only married the daughters of many of the petty Palestinian kings who were his tributaries, but filled his harem with numerous other beauties besides. Probably the statement that he had 700 wives and 300 concubines (1 K 11^{3}) is the exaggeration of a later writer, but, allowing for this, his harem must have been very numerous. His method of living was of course in accord with the magnificent buildings which he had erected. To support this splendour the old system of taxation was inadequate, and a new method had to be devised. The whole country was divided into twelve districts, each of which was placed under the charge of a tax-gatherer, and compelled to furnish for the king's house the provision for one month in each year (1 K 4$^{7-18}$). It is noteworthy that in this division economic conditions rather than tribal territories were followed. Not only were the tribes unequal in numbers, but the territory of certain sections was much more productive than that of others. Solomon's tax-collectors were placed in the most fertile sections of the land. Solomon is also said to have departed from the simple ways of his father by introducing horses and chariots for his use. The ass is the animal of the simple Palestinian. The ancient Hebrew always looked askance at a horse. It was an emblem of pride and luxury. In his eyes it was the instrument of war, not of peace. The introduction of this luxury further estranged many of Solomon's non-Judæan subjects. His wealth was increased by his commerce with South Arabia. He established a fleet of trading vessels on the Red Sea, manned with Phœnician sailors (1 K 9$^{26ff.}$).

Early in his reign Solomon obtained a reputation for wisdom. 'Wisdom' to the early Hebrew did not mean philosophy, but practical insight into human nature and skill in the management of people (cf. 1 K 3$^{16-28}$). It was this skill that enabled him to hold his kingdom intact in spite of his many innovations. It was this skill that in the later traditions made Solomon, for the Israelite, the typical wise man. Although we cannot

longer ascribe to him either the Book of Proverbs or the Book of Ecclesiastes, his reputation for wisdom was no doubt deserved.

Solomon's reign is said to have continued forty years (1 K 11^{42}). If this be so, B.C. 977–937 is probably the period covered. Towards the close of Solomon's reign the tribe of Ephraim, which in the time of the Judges could hardly bear to allow another tribe to take precedence of it, became restless. Its leader was Jeroboam, a young Ephraimite officer to whom Solomon had entrusted the administration of the affairs of the Joseph tribes (1 K 11^{28}). His plans for rebelling involved the fortification of his native city Zeredah, which called Solomon's attention to his plot, and he fled accordingly to Egypt, where he found refuge. In the latter country the 21st dynasty, with which Solomon had intermarried, had passed away, and the Libyan Shishak (Sheshonk), the founder of the 22nd dynasty, had ascended the throne in B.C. 945. He ruled a united Egypt, and entertained ambitions to renew Egypt's Asiatic empire. Shishak accordingly welcomed Jeroboam and offered him asylum, but was not prepared while Solomon lived to give him an army with which to attack his master.

15. Division of the kingdom.—Upon the death of Solomon, his son Rehoboam seems to have been proclaimed king in Judah without opposition, but as some doubt concerning the loyalty of the other tribes, of which Ephraim was leader, seems to have existed, Rehoboam went to Shechem to be anointed as king at their ancient shrine (1 K $12^{1ff.}$). Jeroboam, having been informed in his Egyptian retreat of the progress of affairs, returned to Shechem and prompted the elders of the tribes assembled there to exact from Rehoboam a promise that in case they accepted him as monarch he would relieve them of the heavy taxation which his father had imposed upon them. After considering the matter three days, Rehoboam rejected the advice of the older and wiser counsellers, and gave such an answer as one bred to the doctrine of the Divine right of kings would naturally give. The substance of his reply was: 'My little finger shall be thicker than my father's loins.' As the result of this answer all the tribes except Judah and a portion of Benjamin refused to acknowledge the descendant of David, and made Jeroboam their king. Judah remained faithful to the heir of her old hero, and, because Jerusalem was on the border of Benjamin, the Judæan kings were able to retain a strip of the land of that tribe varying from time to time in width from four to eight miles. All else was lost to the Davidic dynasty.

The chief forces which produced this disruption were economic, but they were not the only forces. Religious conservatism also did its share. Solomon had in many ways contravened the religious customs of his nation. His brazen altar and brazen utensils for the Temple were not orthodox. Although he made no attempt to centralize the worship at his Temple (which was in reality his royal chapel), his disregard of sacred ritual had its effect, and Jeroboam made an appeal to religious conservatism when he said, 'Behold thy gods, O Israel, which brought thee up out of the land of Egypt.' Since we know the history only through the work of a propagandist of a later type of religion, the attitude of Jeroboam has long been misunderstood. He was not a religious innovator, but a religious conservative.

When the kingdom was divided, the tributary States of course gained their independence, and Israel's empire was at an end. The days of her political glory had been less than a century, and her empire passed away never to return. The nation, divided and its parts often warring with one another, could not easily become again a power of importance.

16. From Jeroboam to Ahab (937–875).—After the division of the kingdom, the southern portion, consisting chiefly of the tribe of Judah, was known as the kingdom of Judah, while the northern division was known as the kingdom of Israel. Judah remained loyal to the Davidic dynasty as long as she maintained her independence, but in Israel frequent changes of dynasty occurred. Only one family furnished more than four monarchs, some only two, while several failed to transmit the throne at all. The kings during the first period were:

Israel.		Judah.	
Jeroboam I.	937–915.	Rehoboam	937–920.
Nadab	915–913.	Abijam	920–917.
Baasha	913–889.	Asa	917–876.
Elah	889–887.	Jehoshaphat	876–
Zimri	days.		
Omri	887–875.		

Few of the details of the reign of Jeroboam have come down to us. He fortified Shechem (1 K 12^{25}), but Tirzah (which Klostermann regards as the same as Zeredah) was also a residence (1 K 14^{17}). Jeroboam extended his royal patronage to two sanctuaries, Dan and Bethel, the one at the northern and the other at the southern extremity of his territory. Naturally there were hostile relations between him and Judah as long as Jeroboam lived. No details of this hostility have come down to us. If we had only the Biblical records before us, we should suppose that Jeroboam was aided in this war by Shishak of Egypt, for we are told how he invaded Judah (1 K 14^{25}) and compelled Rehoboam to pay a tribute which stripped the Temple of much of its golden treasure and ornamentation. It appears from the Egyptian inscriptions, however, that Shishak's campaign was directed against both the Hebrew kingdoms alike. His army marched northward to the latitude of the Sea of Galilee, captured the towns of Megiddo, Taanach, and Shunem in the plain of Jezreel, the town of Bethshean at the junction of Jezreel with the Jordan valley, and invaded the East-Jordanic country as far as Mahanaim. Many towns in Judah were captured also. (Cf. Breasted's *Hist. of Egypt*, 530.) How deep the enmity between Israel and Judah had become may be inferred from the fact that this attack of the Egyptian monarch did not drive them to peace.

Shishak's campaign seems to have been a mere plundering raid. It established no permanent Asiatic empire for Egypt. After this attack, Rehoboam, according to the Chronicler, strengthened the fortifications of his kingdom (2 Ch 11^{5-11}). According to this passage, his territory extended to Mareshah (*Tell Sandehannah*) and Gath (*Tell es-Safi*?) in the Shephēlah, and southward as far as Hebron. No mention is made of any town north of Jerusalem or in the Jordan valley.

The hostile relations between the two kingdoms were perpetuated after the death of Rehoboam, during the short reign of Abijam. In the early part of the reign of Asa, while Nadab was on the throne of Israel, active hostilities ceased sufficiently to allow the king of Israel to besiege the Philistine city of Gibbethon, a town in the northern part of the Maritime Plain opposite the middle portion of the Israelitish territory. The Israelitish monarch felt strong enough to endeavour to extend his dominions by compelling these ancient enemies of his race to submit once more. During the siege of this town, Baasha, an ambitious man of the tribe of Issachar, conspired against Nadab, accomplished his assassination, and had himself proclaimed king in his stead (1 K 15^{27-29}). Thus the dynasty of Jeroboam came to an end in the second generation.

Baasha upon his accession determined to push more vigorously the war with Judah. Entering into an alliance with Benhadad I. of Damascus, he proceeded to fortify Ramah, five miles north of Jerusalem, as a base of operations against Judah. Asa in this crisis collected all the treasure that he could, sent it to Benhadad, and bought him off, persuading him to break his alliance with Israel and to enter into one with Judah. Benhadad thereupon attacked some of the towns in

north-eastern Galilee, and Baasha was compelled to desist from his Judæan campaign and defend his own borders. Asa took this opportunity to fortify Geba, about eight miles north-east of Jerusalem, and Mizpeh, five miles to the north-west of it (1 K 15[16-22]). The only other important event of Asa's reign known to us consisted of the erection by Asa's mother of an *ashērah* made in a disgustingly realistic form, which so shocked the sense of the time that Asa was compelled to remove it (15[13]). Cf., for fuller discussion, below, II. § 1 (3).

During the reign of Elah an attempt was made once more to capture Gibbethon. The siege was being prosecuted by an able general named Omri, while the weak king was enjoying himself at Tirzah, which had been the royal residence since the days of Jeroboam. While the king was in a drunken brawl he was killed by Zimri, the commander of his chariots, who was then himself proclaimed king. Omri, however, upon hearing of this, hastened from Gibbethon to Tirzah, overthrew and slew Zimri, and himself became king. Thus once more did the dynasty change. Omri proved one of the ablest rulers the Northern Kingdom ever had. The Bible tells us little of him, but the information we derive from outside sources enables us to place him in proper perspective. His fame spread to Assyria, where, even after his dynasty had been overthrown, he was thought to be the ancestor of Israelitish kings (cf. *KIB* i. 151). Omri, perceiving the splendid military possibilities of the hill of Samaria, chose that for his capital, fortified it, and made it one of his residences, thus introducing to history a name destined in succeeding generations to play an important part. He appears to have made a peaceful alliance with Damascus, so that war between the two kingdoms ceased. He also formed an alliance with the king of Tyre, taking Jezebel, the daughter of the Tyrian king Ethbaal, as a wife for his son Ahab. We also learn from the Moabite Stone that Omri conquered Moab, compelling the Moabites to pay tribute. According to the Bible, this tribute was paid in wool (2 K 3[4]). Scanty as our information is, it furnishes evidence that both in military and in civil affairs Omri must be counted as the ablest ruler of the Northern Kingdom. Of the nature of the relations between Israel and Judah during his reign we have no hint. Probably, however, peace prevailed, since we find the next two kings of these kingdoms in alliance.

17. From Ahab to Jeroboam II. (875–781).—The monarchs of this period were as follows:—

Israel.		Judah.	
Ahab	875–853.	Jehoshaphat	876–851.
Ahaziah	853–851.	Jehoram	851–843.
Joram	851–842.	Ahaziah	843–842.
Jehu	842–814.	Athaliah	842–836.
Jehoahaz	814–797.	Joash	836–796.
Jehoash	797–781.	Amaziah	796–782.
		Azariah (Uzziah)	782– .

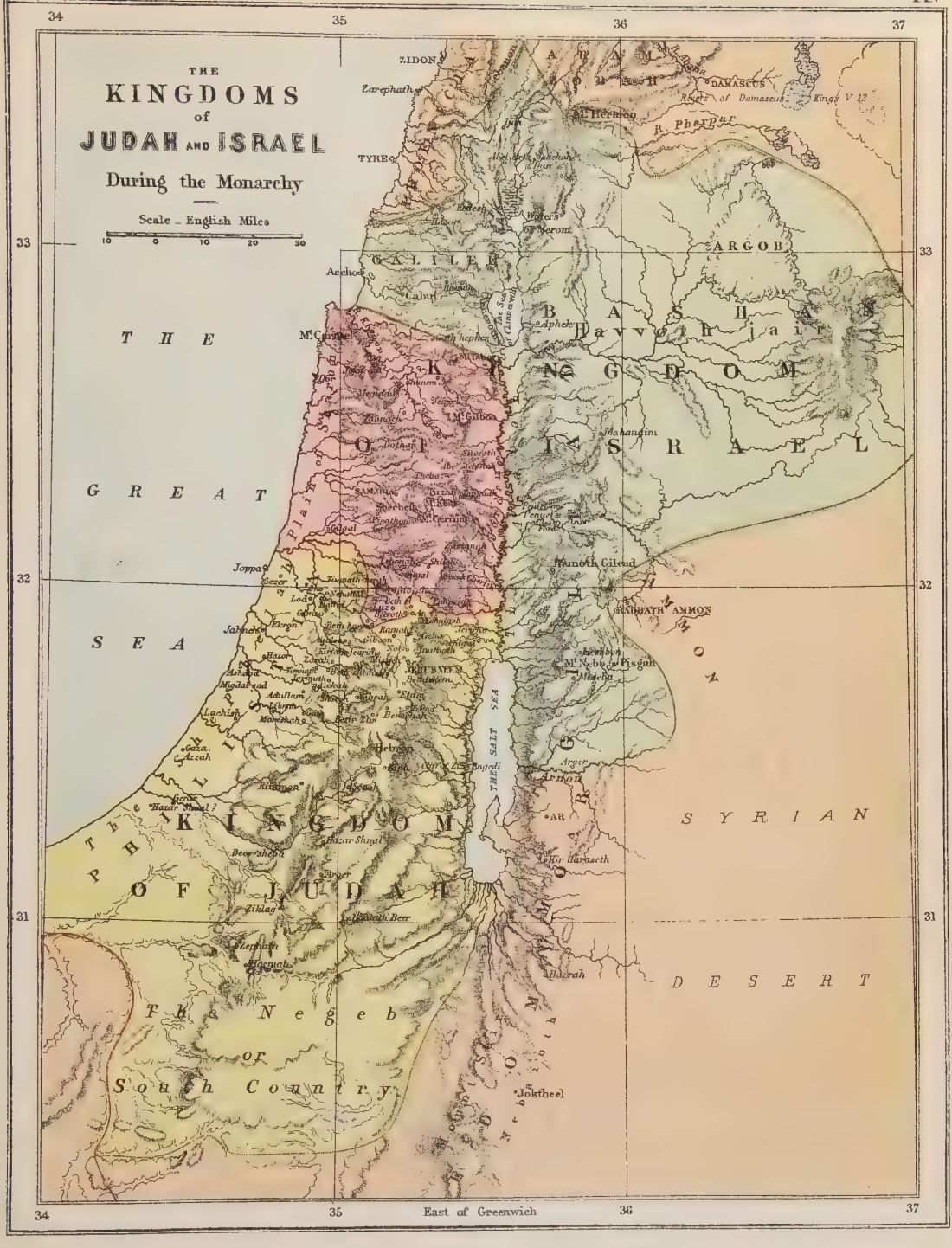
With the reign of Ahab we come upon a new period in Israel's history. Economic and religious forces which had been slowly developing for centuries now matured for action and made the period one of remarkable activity. Movements began which were destined in their far-off consummation to differentiate the religion of Israel from the other religions of the world.

The new queen Jezebel was a Tyrian princess. According to the custom of the time, she was permitted to raise shrines for her native deities, Melkart and Ashtart of Tyre. These gods were kindred to Jahweh and the Canaanite Baals in that all had sprung from the same antique Semitic conceptions of divinity; but they differed in that Tyre had become through commerce one of the wealthiest cities of the world, and its wealth had made its cult more ornate than the simpler cults of rural Canaan, and much more ornate than the Jahweh cult of the desert. The idleness which wealth creates, too, had tended to heighten in a disgusting way the sexual aspects of the Semitic cult as practised at Tyre. These aspects were in primitive times comparatively innocent, and in the Jahweh cult were still so (cf. Barton, *Semitic Origins*, 300). Jezebel seems to have persuaded her husband also to disregard what the Israelites, in whom the spirit of individual and tribal feeling still survived, considered to be their rights. There was a royal residence in the city of Jezreel. Near this a certain Naboth owned a vineyard, which the royal pair desired. As he refused to part with it on any terms, the only way for them to obtain it was to have him put to death on the false charge of having cursed God and the king. This Jezebel did, and then Ahab seized his property. Hebrew polity made no provision for the forcible taking of property by the Government even if the equivalent in money were paid, and this high-handed procedure brought from the wilds of Gilead a champion of Jahweh and of popular rights against the king and the foreign gods—in the person of Elijah the Tishbite. It was not that Naboth had been put to death on false testimony, but that his property had been taken, that was in the eyes of Elijah the greater sin. This infringement of old Hebrew privilege he connected with the worship of the foreign deity, and in his long contest with Ahab and Jezebel he began that prophetic movement which centuries after for economic, religious, and, later, for ethical reasons produced Judaism.

On the political side we know that Ahab made an alliance with Jehoshaphat of Judah, which secured peace between the two kingdoms for a considerable time. Jehoram, the son of Jehoshaphat, married Athaliah, the daughter of Ahab and Jezebel (1 K 22[44], 2 K 8[26]). Ahab rebuilt and fortified Jericho (1 K 16[34]). The first part of his reign seems to have been prosperous, but about the middle of it the Moabites, according to the Moabite Stone, gained their independence. In B.C. 854 Ahab was one of a confederacy of twelve kings, who were headed by Benhadad II. of Damascus, and who fought Shalmaneser II. at Karkar on the Orontes (*KIB* i. 173 ff.). Although Shalmaneser claims a victory, it is clear that the allies practically defeated him. He may have taken some spoil as he claims, but he made no further progress into Palestine at that time. In the next year we find that Benhadad had invaded the trans-Jordanic territory and had seized Ramoth-gilead. Ahab, in endeavouring to regain it, had the assistance of the Judæan king, but was wounded in battle and lost his life. When Ahab died, therefore, the Moabites and Aramæans had divided his East-Jordanic lands between them. Of the brief reign of his son Ahaziah we know nothing.

Meantime, in Judah, Jehoshaphat had had a prosperous reign, although the Biblical writers tell us little of it. He had made Edom tributary to him (1 K 22[47]), and had re-established a Hebrew fleet upon the Red Sea (22[48]). Jehoram (or Joram), who succeeded to the throne of Israel in Jehoshaphat's last year, leaving the Aramæans in possession of Ramoth-gilead for a time, endeavoured, with the aid of Jehoshaphat and his tributary king of Edom, to re-subjugate Moab (2 K 3). They made the attack from the south, marching to it around the Dead Sea. The armies were accompanied by the prophet Elisha, who had succeeded to the work of Elijah, although he was not a man of Elijah's sturdy mould. After a march on which they nearly died of thirst, they overran Moab, besieged and nearly captured its capital. In his distress the king of Moab sacrificed his eldest son to Chemosh, the Moabite god. The sacrifice was performed on the city wall in sight of both armies, and produced such opposite effects on the superstitious minds of the besieged and the besiegers that the siege was raised and the conquest of Moab abandoned.

The chief event of the reign of Jehoram of Judah, Jehoshaphat's successor, was the loss of Edom, which regained its independence (2 K 8[20ff.]). His son Ahaziah, the son of Athaliah, and a nephew of Jehoram, the reigning king of Israel, went to aid his uncle in the siege


THE
KINGDOMS
of
JUDAH AND ISRAEL
During the Monarchy
Scale – English Miles
10 0 10 20 30
34
35
36
37
33
32
31
ZIDON
Zarephath
TYRE
DAMASCUS
Mt. Hermon
R. Pharpar
ARGOB
GALILEE
Accho
Cabul
BASHAN
Aphek
Bavvoth-jair
THE
GREAT
SEA
Mt. Carmel
KINGDOM
OF
ISRAEL
Mahanaim
Joppa
Gezer
Ramoth Gilead
RABBATH AMMON
Jabneel
Elon
Ramoth
Hazor
Mt. Nebo
Pisgah
Medeba
Lachish
Hebron
THE SALT SEA
Engedi
Arnon
Arad
SYRIAN
DESERT
Beer-sheba
KINGDOM
OF JUDAH
Ziklag
Eltolad
Hormah
The Negeb
or
South Country
Jokthеel
East of Greenwich

of Ramoth-gilead, which was still in possession of the king of Damascus. Joram was wounded in battle, and the two monarchs returned to the royal residence at Jezreel while the wound was healing. Meantime the prophetic circles, in which the traditions of the simple worship of Jahweh were cherished, determined to overthrow the hated house of Ahab. Elisha encouraged Jehu, a military officer employed in the siege of Ramoth-gilead, to return to Jezreel and slay the king. This he did, killing not only the king of Israel, but also the king of Judah, and exterminating Jezebel and all her offspring. This done, Jehu started for Samaria. On the way he was joined by Jonadab, son of Rechab, who had founded a kind of order of zealots for the preservation of the simpler forms of Jahweh worship. Accompanied by Jonadab, he went to Samaria, called a solemn feast in honour of Baal, and when the worshippers were assembled, massacred them all. Thus barbarous and unethical were the Jahweh reformers of this period (cf. 2 K 9. 10). In the very year that Jehu thus gained the throne, Shalmaneser II. again marched into the West. This time apparently no powerful alliance was formed against him. Damascus and Israel were at war; resistance to the Assyrian seemed hopeless, and Jehu hastened to render submission and pay a tribute. In consequence of this Jehu is pictured on the black obelisk of Shalmaneser in the British Museum in the undignified attitude of kissing the Assyrian monarch's foot. Beyond this not too glorious revolution and this inglorious submission, the reign of Jehu, though long, accomplished nothing.

In Judah, when Ahaziah was put to death, Athaliah, the daughter of Jezebel, saw that her opportunity was slipping away. A queen-mother counted for something; she had held that position but for a year, and now it was gone. Athaliah inherited the spirit and the ruthlessness of Jezebel. Accordingly she seized the reins of government and put to death, as she thought, all the royal seed that could in any way dispute her sway. Thus it happened that a daughter of Jezebel sat on the throne of David. Here no doubt she exercised her preferences for the richer and more repulsive cult of Melkart, but in Judah there had developed as yet no strong opposition to such innovations. In this early period the religious interest is in the Northern Kingdom. What there was no prophet to do, priests, however, accomplished. One little prince, Joash, had been rescued when the slaughter of the princes occurred, and after he had been concealed six years, under the guidance of Jehoiada, the priest, he was proclaimed king, and Athaliah was assassinated (2 K 11). Joash enjoyed a long reign of forty years, during the early part of which he was under the guidance of the priests. During his reign money for the repair of the Temple was raised in a very natural way, but in a way not sanctioned by the later Levitical Code (cf. 2 K $12^{4\text{-}16}$).

Meantime, in Israel, Jehu had passed away, and his son Jehoahaz had succeeded him. At the beginning of his reign Jehoahaz, like his predecessors, was unsuccessful in his efforts against Damascus, but Hazael, who now occupied the Aramæan throne, was a less able man than his predecessors, and Jehoahaz ultimately defeated him (2 K $13^{2\text{-}5}$). This was the beginning of an era of prosperity for Israel which was continued over into the next period.

Hazael, as he was losing strength in the East, sought to increase his prestige in the West. After a successful campaign in the Maritime Plain, he moved against Jerusalem. Joash was no warrior, and hastened to buy off the Aramæan with a heavy tribute (2 K $12^{17\text{ff.}}$). Whether it was this that disaffected the subjects of Joash we do not know, but he was assassinated by a conspiracy (2 K 12^{20}), which placed his son Amaziah on the throne.

Meantime Jehoahaz of Israel had been succeeded by his son Jehoash, who followed up his father's victory over the Aramæans, defeating them three separate times, and regaining all Israel's East-Jordanic territory (2 K 13^{25}). Amaziah, the Judæan king, when once established in power, executed the assassins of his father, and then set out to build up his kingdom. Edom seemed the natural direction in which Judah could expand; he accordingly attacked, defeated, and occupied a part at least of that country. He then sent a challenge to Jehoash of Israel, which that king at first treated with contempt. The challenge, however, produced war, Israel seems to have been the invader after all, for the battle was fought at Beth-shemesh. Judah was defeated so completely that Jehoash went up and took Jerusalem without serious opposition, and broke down four hundred cubits of its wall, from the corner gate to the gate of Ephraim. Later, Amaziah, learning that a conspiracy had formed against him, fled to Lachish, which seems to have belonged to Judah. The conspirators pursued him thither, slew him, and made his young son Azariah, or Uzziah, king.

18. From Jeroboam II. to the fall of Samaria (781 722). —The chronology of this period is as follows:—

Israel.		Judah.	
Jeroboam II.	781–740.	Azariah (Uzziah)	782–737.
Zechariah	6 months.	Jotham	737–735.
Shallum	740–737.	Ahaz	735–725.
Menahem	737–735.	Hezekiah	725–696.
Pekahiah	2 months.		
Pekah	735–733.		
Hoshea	733–722.		

Towards the end of the period treated in the preceding paragraph, Israel's enemies on every side had grown weaker. An Assyrian king, Adadnirari III., had made an expedition into the West in 797, on which he claims to have received tribute not only from Tyre and Sidon, but also from the 'land of Omri' as the Assyrians still called the kingdom of Israel, but after this for more than half a century Assyria was too weak to disturb the Hebrews. The Aramæans under Hazael had also lost their power to disturb the Israelites. Egypt under the 22nd dynasty became unable, after the one expedition of Shishak, to interfere in Asiatic affairs. Accordingly the kingdoms of Israel and Judah under the two able kings, Jeroboam and Uzziah, entered upon an era of unprecedented prosperity. Between them these monarchs restored the territory over which they ruled, almost to the limits of the Davidic boundaries. Jeroboam in his long reign extended the boundaries of Israel northward to Hamath and Damascus, perhaps including in his empire Damascus itself (2 K 14^{28}), while Uzziah, if the Chronicler is to be followed (2 Ch 26), extended his boundaries southward to the Red Sea, and reduced the Philistine cities once more to the position of tributaries. With outposts in all these directions, and the Red Sea open to commerce, a vigorous and profitable trade sprang up in this long era of peace. Freed from the necessity of continual warfare, the spirit of the nation gave itself with tremendous enthusiasm to the acquisition of material advantages. Neither earthquake nor tempest could dampen their ardour by misfortune. Wealth increased greatly, and palaces which to the simple Israelites seemed vast were reared on every hand. Every document of the time speaks of the erection of buildings or palaces. Wealth and leisure created a literary epoch, as a result of which, about 750, the E document was composed. Wealth, however, was not evenly distributed. The palaces were for a comparatively small minority. The poor, while they saw prosperity increasing around them, were daily becoming poorer. The economic conditions of the reign of Ahab, which had called forth the denunciations of Elijah, not only existed now in an exaggerated form, but were daily becoming worse. A moneyed class, distinct from the old shepherd and agricultural class, had been evolved. Capitalists then, as now, desired interest for their money. Lending it to the poor husbandman, they naturally felt justified in

seizing his land if he was unable to repay. This social condition appeared to the conservative worshippers of Jahweh as in the highest degree obnoxious. Jahweh had never been the God of a commercial people. For one of His worshippers to exact usury from another was regarded as an offence against Him; to take from one of His faithful ones land given him by Jahweh in payment for debt, however just the debt, was in Jahweh's eyes unpardonable oppression of the poor.

These social conditions, thus viewed, called forth a new set of prophets,—men of a higher moral and spiritual order than any known before in Semitic history. Two of these, Amos and Hosea, belong altogether to this period, while Isaiah began his prophetic work when two-thirds of it had passed. Amos (wh. see), the earliest of them, came forward about 755 to denounce the social injustices of the Northern Kingdom and to pronounce Jahweh's doom on the whole circle of sinful nations which surrounded Israel. One-sided as his economic point of view was, his ethical standard was the loftiest and purest, and his conception of Jahweh as the God who ruled all nations carried men's thoughts into a clearer atmosphere. Amos simply denounced, but Hosea (wh. see), who came a little later, and put forward a view of Jahweh no less ethical, proclaimed Jahweh as a God of redeeming love. It is clear from the work of these prophets that the cults of Jahweh and Baal had in the lapse of time become mingled. Jahweh had long been conceived as a Baal. Hosea proclaims again the nomadic Jahweh, austere, simple, and moral, as compared with the deteriorated cults now practised by His followers.

It is clear, therefore, that the same forces were at work that appeared in the time of Ahab and Elijah, only now the foreign religious element was not so clearly foreign in the eyes of the people at large, and the economic conditions were more aggravated.

Amos and Hosea were country prophets, whose sympathies were naturally with the poorer classes of the people, but Isaiah, the city prophet, is no less strenuous than they in his denunciations of man's inhumanity to man. Towards the end of this long period of outward prosperity and social and religious ferment, a change occurred in Assyria. Pul, or Tiglath-pileser III., as he now called himself, seized the throne (B.C. 745), subsequently proving himself, both as a general and as a statesman, one of the world's great men. This monarch was, however, occupied until the year 742 in reducing the East to his sceptre. When he turned his attention to the West, the siege of Arpad occupied him for two years, so that before he interfered in Palestinian affairs Jeroboam II. had passed away.

The chronology of the Northern Kingdom after the death of Jeroboam II. is very confused. Many of the statements of the present Biblical text are manifestly incorrect. The statement of it given above is a conjectural reconstruction resting partly on the Assyrian evidence.

After Zechariah, the son of Jeroboam, had reigned but six months, a conspiracy removed him and placed Shallum on the throne. With Zechariah the house of Jehu disappeared.

Uzziah, who in his old age had become a leper, and had associated his son Jotham with him on the throne, appears to have taken a leading part in the organization of a coalition of nineteen States, including Carchemish, Hamath, and Damascus, to oppose the westward progress of Tiglath-pileser. Before the Assyrian monarch made his appearance again in the West, another revolution in Samaria had removed Shallum and placed Menahem on Israel's throne. The Assyrian, who apparently came in 737 (Esarhaddon mutilated the inscriptions of Tiglath-pileser so that our data are incomplete), seems to have marched southward along the Maritime Plain as though to attack Uzziah himself. Upon his approach Menahem deserted the confederacy and hastened to pay his tribute to Assyria. Whether it was this defection or whether it was a battle that compelled Uzziah to pay tribute we do not know, but Tiglath-pileser records him among his tribute payers (*KIB* ii. 20). Uzziah died in that year. The short, independent reign of Jotham seems to have been uneventful. Menahem died about 735; his son Pekahiah was soon removed by a revolution, and Pekah became king in Samaria (2 K 15^{22-27}). In Judah, Jotham was succeeded in the same year by his youthful son Ahaz. Pekah and Rezin, who now sat on the throne of Damascus, desired to form a new confederacy to throw off Assyria's yoke. Into this they attempted to draw Ahaz, and when he declined to engage in the hopeless enterprise they threatened to make war jointly on Judah, depose Ahaz, and place a certain Tabeel on the throne of Judah. Upon the receipt of this news, consternation reigned in Jerusalem, but both king and people were reassured by the prophet Isaiah (Is 7). Isaiah's hopes were well founded, for in the next year (734) Tiglath-pileser returned to the West, took Damascus after a considerable siege (a town which his predecessors had at various times for more than a hundred years tried in vain to capture), made it an Assyrian colony, put Pekah the king of Israel to death (*KIB* ii. 33), carried captive to Assyria the principal inhabitants of the territory north of the Plain of Jezreel (2 K $15^{29ff.}$), made Hoshea king of a reduced territory, and imposed upon him a heavy tribute. Ahaz, upon the approach of Tiglath-pileser, had renewed his allegiance; and after the capture of Damascus he went thither to do obeisance in person to the Assyrian monarch. Thus the whole of Israel passed irrevocably into Assyria's power. At Damascus, Ahaz saw an altar the form of which pleased him. He accordingly had a pattern of it brought to Jerusalem, and one like it constructed there. The brazen altar which Solomon had erected before the Temple was removed to one side and reserved for the king's own use. The new altar, established in its place, became the altar of ordinary priestly services.

One would suppose that the Northern Kingdom had now received such a chastisement that further revolt would not be thought of, and apparently it was not, so long as Tiglath-pileser lived. That monarch passed away, however, in 727; and soon afterwards Hoshea, encouraged by the king of a country to the south, withheld his tribute. The Biblical text calls this king 'So, king of Egypt' (2 K 17^4), and it has been customary to identify him with Shabaka, the first king of the 25th dynasty. It now appears, however, that either he was a king of the Musri to the south of Palestine, or was some petty ruler of the Egyptian Delta, otherwise unknown, for Shabaka did not gain the throne of Egypt till B.C. 712 (cf. Breasted, *Hist. of Egypt*, 549 and 601). The folly of Hoshea's course was soon apparent. Shalmaneser IV., who had succeeded Tiglath-pileser, sent an army which overran all the territory left to Hoshea, cut off his supplies, and then shut him up in Samaria in a memorable siege. The military genius of Omri had selected the site wisely, but with the country in ruins it is a marvel that Samaria resisted for three years. While the siege dragged on its weary length, Shalmaneser died, and Sargon II. gained the Assyrian throne. Perhaps the generals who were prosecuting the siege did not know of the change till Samaria had fallen, but Sargon counts the reduction of Samaria as one of the achievements of his first year. When Samaria fell, Sargon deported 27,290 (cf. *KIB* ii. 55) of the inhabitants of the region, including no doubt the more wealthy and influential citizens, princes, priests, etc., to cities which he had recently captured in the far East, and brought to Samaria people from Cuthah and Sippar in Babylonia, and from Hamath in Syria, to mingle with the mass of Hebrew population which he had left behind (2 K 17^{24}). The Israelitish monarchy he abolished.

The foreigners who were introduced into Samaria at this time worshipped at first their own gods, but when lions attacked them, they petitioned to have a priest

of Jahweh to teach them the worship of the God of the land. Sargon granted their request, and sent back a captive priest. In due time these foreigners intermarried with the Israelites who had been left, the cults of their gods were merged in the Jahweh cult, and they became the Samaritans. Those who seek for the 'ten lost tribes' should remember that they were never lost by captivity. Only the merest percentage of them were wrenched from their land. They were lost by becoming the substratum of later populations, and a handful still survives in the Samaritans (wh. see).

19. Hezekiah and Isaiah.—The fall of Samaria made doleful reverberations in Jerusalem. The date of the accession of Hezekiah is not quite certain, but it probably occurred before the fall of Samaria. Throughout his reign the prophet Isaiah was one of his chief advisers, and for the most part he ruled in accord with the prophetic ideals. About the time of his accession, and apparently before the fall of Samaria, another prophet, Micah, began to prophesy in the town of Moresheth (Maresha) in the Shephēlah on the Philistine border. His burden was consonant with that of the three great literary prophets who had preceded him.

Judah escaped when Samaria fell, because she maintained that submissive attitude to Assyria which she had assumed when Uzziah paid tribute to Tiglath-pileser. This attitude secured her peace for some years to come, though it was not an easy attitude to maintain. On Judah's western border the petty kingdoms of Philistia were always plotting to throw off the Assyrian yoke, and endeavouring to secure the co-operation of Hezekiah. Such co-operation, however, Isaiah steadily opposed. In the year 711 Ashdod succeeded in heading a coalition which she hoped would gain her freedom, but Sargon sent an army which soon brought her to terms (Is 20^{1}). The course of political events went on smoothly therefore until after the death of Sargon in 705; then, as so often happened in Oriental countries, many subject lands endeavoured to gain their independence before the new monarch could consolidate his power. Hezekiah was tempted now, not by the Philistines only, but also by Merodach-baladan (Marduk-apal-iddin), a Babylonian king whom Sargon had early in his reign driven from Babylon and who now sought the opportunity to return (2 K $20^{12ff.}$, Is $39^{1ff.}$). In this new coalition the Egyptians also, now under the stronger control of the 25th dynasty, had a part. Although Isaiah still consistently opposed the move, Hezekiah nevertheless yielded. In the city of Ekron there was one petty king faithful to Sennacherib. Him his subjects deposed, threw into fetters, and delivered to Hezekiah, who cast him into a dungeon (cf. *KIB* ii. 93). This was a direct act of rebellion, which Sennacherib was sure to avenge. Affairs in the East delayed the blow, but in 701 it finally fell. Sennacherib marched into the West, defeated the allies at Eltekeh, besieged and took Ekron, impaled many of the rebellious inhabitants, and invaded Judah. Forty-six of the smaller towns were captured, and Jerusalem itself was invested. Its inhabitants were of course panic-stricken, but Isaiah came forward, declaring Jerusalem to be the home of Jahweh, and, as such, inviolable in His eyes (Is 31^{4}). Hezekiah, meantime recognizing that his rebellion had been a grievous error, sent to Lachish, Sennacherib's headquarters, and offered to pay indemnity and tribute. Meantime Sennacherib had sent his main army on to inflict punishment upon Egypt, the strongest member of the alliance against him. On the border of Egypt his army was attacked with bubonic plague (such seems to be the meaning of 2 K 19^{35} combined with Herod. ii. 141), which rendered further operations impossible; he accordingly accepted Hezekiah's terms, raised the siege of Jerusalem, and withdrew to Assyria.

This event had a profound influence on Israel's religious history. In the time of David and Solomon, Jerusalem was a new town to the Israelites, and a town without religious associations. The real home of Jahweh was on Mount Sinai, but the land contained scores of shrines more dear to Him than Jerusalem, because He had longer dwelt in them. Solomon's innovations had tended to increase this feeling, and although the lapse of three hundred years had given Jerusalem an important place among the shrines, especially as the capital of the kingdom of Judah, nothing had occurred until now to make men think that it was the home of Jahweh *par excellence*. Now He had palpably abandoned the shrines of the Northern Kingdom, and by this victory, vindicating as it did the word of His prophet, He had shown that He had chosen Jerusalem as His permanent abode. Thus this event introduced Jerusalem to that place in the reverence and affection of the Hebrews which has made it the Holy City of three great religions.

According to 2 K 18^{4} (R^{D}), Hezekiah attempted to abolish the country shrines and centralize the worship in Jerusalem. Some have doubted this statement, and others have thought that it is confirmed by an older document quoted in 2 K 18^{22}. It seems in accord with historical probability that, prompted by Isaiah, Hezekiah should in his closing years have made such an effort. Hosea had seen, a generation before, that the worship of Jahweh could never be socially pure till separated from the elements which he believed had been introduced from the cult of Baal, and now that Isaiah had become convinced that Jerusalem had been Divinely proved to be Jahweh's special abode, it is certainly within the realm of probability that he prompted the king to do away with all other demoralizing shrines. If Jahweh could have only one temple and that under prophetic control, His cult would be for ever differentiated from that of the Baals. What time could be more opportune for such a movement than the beginning of the 7th cent., when first the captivity of the Northern Kingdom, and then the reduction of the territory of Judah to narrow limits by Sennacherib, left at a minimum the number of shrines to be destroyed?

20. Manasseh and Amon.—From the time of Amos to the accession of Manasseh the prophetic vision had made steady progress, and the elevation of the religion of Jahweh and of the recognized standard of morals had gone steadily forward, but in the long reign of Manasseh (696–641) a strong reaction occurred. It is difficult to account for this reaction unless some attempt to destroy the village shrines had been made by Hezekiah, but if this be presupposed, all that occurred is natural. The superstitious prejudices of the village people had been outraged. They clamoured for liberty to worship at the village shrines consecrated by the usage of unknown antiquity, and the king, when Isaiah was gone, had no real motive for resisting them. Then, too, the period seems to have been a time of distress, Manasseh seems to have quietly remained in vassalage to Assyria, so that the armies of Esarhaddon and Ashurbanipal, which four times marched along the coast and accomplished the reduction of Egypt during his reign, did not disturb Judah, though she may have been compelled to contribute to their support. Perhaps there was civil war in Jerusalem, for we are told that Manasseh shed much innocent blood (2 K 21^{16}). At all events, whether on account of war, or famine, or unjust rule, his reign was a time of distress, and Judah sought escape from her trouble, not through prophetic reform, but by the revival of half-heathenish, outworn forms of worship. Jahweh was worshipped as *Melek*, or king, and to Him in this capacity child sacrifice, which had been prevalent among the Semites in early days, was revived. The Ammonites called their god *Melek* (Molech [wh. see]), and human sacrifice was still practised at times by Judah's heathen neighbours, especially by the Phœnicians. The prophets accordingly combated this form of worship as displeasing to Jahweh, and tried

to persuade their countrymen that it was a foreign cult.

This turn of affairs drove those who cherished the ideals of Isaiah into retirement, where, being able to do nothing else for the cause they loved, one of them, about 650, drew up the legal code of Deuteronomy as the expression of the conditions which the prophetic experience had found to be necessary to the realization of their ideal.

The brief reign of Amon was but a continuation of the reign of his father.

21. Josiah and the Deuteronomic Reform.—Of the early part of the reign of Josiah, who ascended the throne as a boy of eight, we know little. Probably the customs which the previous reign had established were continued. In his thirteenth year, Jeremiah, a young priest from Anathoth, came forward as a prophet. In the next year the great Assyrian king Ashurbanipal died, and Assyria, whose power had been shattered by a great rebellion twenty years before, rapidly sank to her end. In Josiah's eighteenth year repairs on the Temple were undertaken at the king's command. During the progress of these, it was reported to him that in making the repairs they had found the copy of a code purporting to be the Law of Moses. When this was read to the king he was filled with consternation, since the current cult violated it in almost every particular. To test the genuineness of the Law it was submitted to an old prophetess, Huldah, who, since it agreed with her conceptions of the ideal religion of Jahweh, declared it to be the genuine Law of Moses (2 K 22). Upon this Josiah set himself to adjust the religious worship and institutions of his kingdom to this standard, and to a great reform, which swept away from Judah all shrines except the Temple in Jerusalem, all pillars as representatives of deity, and all *ashērahs*, together with all immorality practised under the guise of religion (2 K 23). Modern criticism has clearly demonstrated that the Law which came into operation at this time was the Law of Deuteronomy.

This reform cost a long struggle. People who had all their lives regarded certain spots as places where Jahweh revealed Himself, and who knew that their ancestors for centuries had done the same, did not tamely yield to the new order. All the authority of the king and all the strength of the prophetic order were needed to carry it through, and the struggle continued for a generation. It was this reform, however, that began the creation of the Jew. But for it, he would not still be a distinct figure in the world.

This struggle for a better religion went on successfully for some years, when the little Judæan State was overtaken by a sad misfortune.

Assyria was tottering to its fall. Babylon, which had regained its independence upon the death of Ashurbanipal, in 625, was rapidly growing in power. Egypt, which under the 26th dynasty now possessed once more a line of native kings, had a monarch, Necho II., ambitious to re-establish for her an Asiatic empire. In 609 or 608 Necho marched an army into Asia and moved northward along the Maritime Plain. Josiah, probably because he determined to claim sovereignty over all the territory formerly occupied by Israel, marched northward with an army, fought Necho at the ancient battlefield of Megiddo, and met with defeat and death (2 K $23^{29ff.}$). A greater calamity could scarcely have befallen the party of religious reform. Not only was their king fallen, but their hope of a prosperous Judæan kingdom, faithful to Jahweh's new Law, was rudely dashed to the ground.

22. Last Days of the Kingdom.—When the news of the defeat at Megiddo reached Jerusalem, the leaders of the people there placed Jehoahaz, a son of Josiah, on the throne. Necho meantime proceeded northward, taking possession of the country, and established his headquarters at Riblah in the territory of Hamath. Thither he summoned Jehoahaz, threw him into bonds, sent him to Egypt as a prisoner, and made his brother Eliakim king, imposing a heavy tribute upon the country (2 K 23^{31-34}). Eliakim upon his accession took the name of Jehoiakim (2 K 23^{34}). Judah thus became tributary to Egypt. Jehoiakim proved to be a man of quite different religious interests from his father, as the Book of Jeremiah makes clear.

Events in Western Asia were changing rapidly, and within a few years they gave Jehoiakim a new master. The new Babylonian power was pushing westward to secure as much of the Euphrates valley and of the West as possible. Assyria had fallen at the hands of Indo-European hordes in the year 606. Necho was ambitious to follow up his previous success and to check the growth of the Babylonian power. Accordingly in 604 he entered Asia again and marched to the Euphrates. Here he was met by Nebuchadnezzar, the Babylonian crown prince, and so crushingly defeated that he fled rapidly homeward, Nebuchadnezzar following closely upon his heels (Jer 46). Thus perished Necho's dreams of Asiatic empire, and thus Judah passed into vassalage to Babylon. Nebuchadnezzar, on the border of Egypt, ready to invade and conquer it, was informed of the death of his father in Babylon, and hastened home to secure his crown.

So important in the history of his people did Jeremiah consider this crisis, that at this time he first began to put the substance of his prophecies in writing, that they might have wider and more permanent influence (Jer 36). Nebuchadnezzar appears not to have been able to establish order in Western Asia all at once, so distracted was the country. He established his headquarters at Riblah, and for several years sent out bands of soldiers whither they were most needed. Jehoiakim, thinking to take advantage of the unsettled state, withheld his tribute, and some of these bands, composed of men of neighbouring tribes, were sent against him (2 K $24^{1ff.}$). Jehoiakim continued obstinate, however, and Nebuchadnezzar finally, in 598, sent a large army. Before it arrived Jehoiakim was no more, and his young son Jehoiachin was occupying his throne. Nebuchadnezzar laid siege to Jerusalem, which after three months was compelled to capitulate, whereupon the Babylonian took ten thousand of the most prominent men, princes, warriors, priests, and craftsmen, and transported them to Babylonia. Another son of Josiah, who now took the name of Zedekiah, was placed upon the throne, subject of course to a heavy Babylonian tribute. Jehoiachin, a youth of twenty, was taken prisoner to Babylon, to languish in prison for many years.

It was now to be seen whether Judah would repeat the history of the Northern Kingdom or whether her king would have wisdom to remain faithful to Babylon. Jeremiah, as he had done for years, steadily proclaimed that Judah's sole safety lay in fidelity to Babylon; such was the will of Jahweh. There was in Jerusalem, however, a strong party who advocated an alliance with Egypt as a means of securing freedom from Babylon. The king himself was weak and unwise. Finally, in 588, when Hophra, filled with ambitions for an Asiatic empire, ascended the Egyptian throne, he made such promises of aid to Judah that the standard of revolt was raised. Jeremiah, one of the greatest religious teachers that ever lived, did not, like Isaiah a century before, proclaim Jerusalem inviolate. He had seen further into the heart of religion, and now declared that Jahweh would abandon Jerusalem, and establish an inner covenant of the heart with all who were faithful. His younger contemporary, Ezekiel, a young priest who had been carried to Babylonia in 598, and had in 593 become a prophet there, was also teaching a similarly high conception of religion, and, with Jeremiah, preparing the faith of the people to survive the approaching shock. In 587 the Babylonian army appeared and the siege of Jerusalem began. The tedious suffering of its weary months may be traced in the Book of Jeremiah.

Early in 586, Hophra marched an army into Palestine, and Nebuchadnezzar was obliged to raise the siege to send his full force against the Egyptian. Jerusalem was then wild with joy, thinking deliverance had come. Jeremiah and his party were laughed to scorn. But Hophra was soon defeated, the siege of Jerusalem renewed and pressed to completion. In August the city surrendered, its wall was broken down, its glorious Temple destroyed, another large body of captives transported to Babylonia, and Zedekiah after being blinded was taken there too (2 K 25). Thus Jerusalem suffered the fate of Samaria. Providentially, however, before Jerusalem fell, the work of the prophets had so taken root, and such reforms had been instituted, that the future of spiritual religion was assured. Those who had been deported were again the more prominent citizens. The poorer people and the peasantry were not disturbed. Gedaliah was made governor of Judæa, and, because Jerusalem was desolate, Mizpeh, five miles to the northwest, was made the capital. Gedaliah had been in office but two months when he was assassinated, and this event so terrified some friends of Jeremiah, who had been permitted with the prophet to remain in Palestine, that they took Jeremiah, contrary to his advice, and fled to Egypt (2 K $25^{25ff.}$ and Jer 41–43).

23. The Exile.—Counting women and children, perhaps fifty thousand Jews had been transported to Babylonia in the two deportations of Nebuchadnezzar. These, with the exception of a few political leaders, were settled in colonies, in which they were permitted to have houses of their own, visit one another freely, and engage in business (Jer $29^{5ff.}$). Ezekiel gives us the picture of one of these at Tel-abîb (Ezk 3^{15} 8^{1} $20^{1ff.}$ 24^{18} etc.), by the river Chebar (a canal near Nippur; cf. *Bab. Ex. of Univ. of Pa., Cun. Texts*, ix. 28), in which the Palestinian organization of 'elders' was perpetuated. In such communities the Jews settled down in Babylonia. The poorer ones in Palestine kept up as best they could the old religion, in an ignorant and superstitious way (cf. Jer $41^{5ff.}$), while the priests and the more intelligent of the religious devotees transported to Babylon cherished the laws of the past, and fondly framed ideals for a future which they were confident would come. Such an one was Ezekiel, who lived and wrote among the captives till about B.C. 570. After the destruction of the city he elaborated a new religious polity for the nation, hoping that it would form the basis of Israel's organization when the time for the re-construction of the State came. Some years later another writer (P) wrote the 'Holiness Code' gathering up the traditions of the past, and shaping them with a view to a future religious ideal. Meantime many of the practically minded Jews had engaged in business in Babylonia and were acquiring wealth.

Thus time passed on, Nebuchadnezzar died, and his weak successors were rapidly following one another, when in the East a new political figure appeared. Cyrus, a petty king of Anshan, a small district of Elam, had conquered Persia, then Media and the Indo-Europæan hordes called in the inscriptions 'Manda,' and was pushing his arms westward to the subjugation of Crœsus of Lydia. At this juncture one of the world's great poets and prophets appeared among the captives, and in most eloquent and poetic strain taught them that Cyrus was the instrument of Jahweh, the God of heaven, that he was conquering for Jahweh and for them, and that it was Jahweh's will that they should return to rebuild Jerusalem and the desolations of Judah. The name of this prophet is lost, but his work now forms chs. 40–45 of the Book of Isaiah. The hope of this poet in Cyrus was justified, for in 538 Cyrus captured Babylon, overturning the Chaldæan empire, and reversed the policy of transportation which Assyrians and Babylonians alike had pursued from the time of Tiglath-pileser III. Cyrus himself tells in a cuneiform inscription (*KIB* iii². 121ff.) that he permitted captive peoples to return to their lands and rebuild their temples. This gave the Jews the opportunity for which the Second Isaiah (so-called) had hoped. The prophet's faith in his own people was not so well justified. It was years before any considerable number of the captives made use of their newly acquired liberty (see § 24). They were interested in their religion, but they had learned to practise it outside of Palestine without sacrificial ritual, and the opportunities in Babylonia for wealth and trade were too good to be abandoned for the sterile soil of the land of their fathers. Here, accordingly, they continued to live for fifteen hundred years. They frequently sent money contributions to their brethren in Jerusalem; and occasionally a few of them returned thither. After a time they chose Exiliarchs, or 'Princes of the Captivity.' Schools of Jewish learning developed here. In due time the Babylonian Talmud was compiled in these schools. These communities thus survived the vicissitudes of Persian, Macedonian, Parthian, Sassanian, and Arabian rule, continuing to have their Exiliarchs till the 11th cent. A.D., when the oppressions to which they were subjected led them gradually to migrate (cf. *JE* v. 288–291).

24. Reconstruction of the Jewish State.—We have been accustomed to suppose, on the authority of the Book of Ezra, that when Cyrus issued his permission to exiled peoples to return and rehabilitate their shrines and their States, a large number at once went back. Recent investigation has, however, discredited this view. Haggai and Zechariah twenty years later know of no such return, and probably it did not take place. Twenty years later we find Zerubbabel, a grandson of the unfortunate king Jehoiachin, present in Jerusalem as governor, and a high priest named Joshua in charge of the worship. The altar of Jahweh had been rebuilt on the old site, but Jerusalem and the Temple were still in ruins. The tolerance of the Persians is shown in allowing the Jews a governor of their own royal family. He, with a small retinue, had no doubt returned from Babylonia, but we have no evidence that others had come back.

The Jewish population which had been left behind in Palestine, equally with those in Babylonia, expected at some time the re-construction of the Jewish institutions. A prolonged famine led Haggai in the second year of Darius I. (B.C. 519) to persuade the people that Jahweh withheld rain because He was displeased that the Temple was not yet rebuilt. Another prophet, Zechariah, took up the same burden, and under their leadership and inspiration the Temple was rebuilt by B.C. 516 on the lines of the old wall. Contributions to aid this enterprise had been received from their brethren in Babylonia. The first six years of the reign of Darius were troublous times. The reign of the false Bardiya had made nations suspect that the government of Persia was weak, and it became necessary for Darius to reconquer his empire, as many of the subject nations took the opportunity to rebel. It is probable that Zerubbabel represents such a movement. Scholars now have no doubt that Zechariah regarded Zerubbabel as the Messiah, and expected him to be crowned and to reign jointly with the high priest Joshua. Such is the meaning which underlies the text of Zec 3 (cf. H. P. Smith, *OT Hist.* 357 ff.). How these expectations were thwarted we can only guess. We know with what a strong arm the great Darius put down revolutions elsewhere, and certain it is that Jewish hopes for independence were not at this time realized.

Our knowledge of the next eighty years, till the arrival of Nehemiah, is derived from Is 56–66, large parts of which appear to come from this period, and from the anonymous prophet called Malachi, who, perhaps, wrote shortly before Nehemiah's return. The tone of these writings is one of depression and anarchy, both in civil and in religious affairs. Zerubbabel had been succeeded by a foreign governor (Mal 1^{8}), who probably

had little sympathy with Jewish ideals. The Nabatæans had pushed the Edomites out of their old territory, and the latter had occupied southern Judæa almost as far as Hebron. These migrations caused unrest and suffering in Judah. The Samaritans, who had apparently spread to the valley of Aijalon, held many of the approaches to the city. The Jewish colony occupied but a small territory about Jerusalem, and in their distress some, as in the days of Manasseh, were seeking relief in the revival of long-discarded superstitious rites (Is 65^{11}). There were nevertheless some souls of noble faith whose utterances we still cherish among the treasures of our Scriptures. Thus passed the reigns of Darius and Xerxes. Somewhere, whether in Babylonia or Palestine we cannot tell, the priestly *Grundschrift*—the main body of the Priestly document—was compiled by P^2 during this period, about B.C. 450.

Such was the state of affairs when in B.C. 444, Nehemiah, the noble young Jewish cup-bearer of Artaxerxes I., arrived in Jerusalem with a commission from the king to rebuild the walls. The energy with which Nehemiah devoted himself to the erection of the walls, the opposition which he encountered from the surrounding tribes, especially from the Samaritans, who wished to share in the religious privileges of the Temple, but whom his narrow conceptions excluded, and the success which attended his labours, are forcibly depicted in Neh 1–7. Before the summer of 444 was over, Jerusalem had a wall as well as a Temple. Nehemiah remained for some years as governor, and then returned to Persia. He came back a second time to the governorship in B.C. 432, and continued in the office for a length of time which we cannot now trace. Perhaps it was until his death, but we do not know when this occurred. During Nehemiah's administration he persuaded the Jews to do away with all foreign marriages; with, it is stated, the aid of Ezra the scribe, he introduced the Pentateuch, so constructed that the Levitical law was its heart and core, and bound the people to observe its provisions (Neh 8. 9); and he completely separated the true Jews from the Samaritans (Neh $13^{28ff.}$), thus thoroughly organizing the Jewish community in civil and religious affairs. Nehemiah completed what Ezekiel had begun. The whole Levitical ritual was at this time established. The menial offices of the Temple were assigned to Levites, to whom also was committed the singing. This organization a hundred years later was so thoroughly fixed that the Chronicler could attribute it to David. Probably it was at the time of Nehemiah that the first book of the Psalter (Pss 3–41) was compiled. When Nehemiah died, the Jewish State was not only reconstructed, but was transformed into the Jewish Church.

25. Late Persian and Early Greek Periods.—After the time of Nehemiah our sources fail us for a considerable period. Only one other glimpse of the Jewish colony do they afford us before the fall of the Persian empire, and this glimpse is a somewhat confused one. Josephus (*Ant.* XI. vii. 1) tells us that the Persian general Bagoas, whom he calls Bagoses, entered the Temple, and oppressed the Jews seven years, because the high priest John murdered his brother Joshua, a friend of Bagoas, for whom the latter had promised to obtain the high priesthood. Perhaps there was more underlying this than appears upon the surface. Many have supposed, at least, that the action of Bagoas was the result of an attempt on the part of the Jews to regain their independence.

Josephus (*Ant.* XI. viii. 3 f.) also tells a tale of the fidelity of the high priest Jaddua to Darius III., while Alexander the Great was besieging Tyre. Alexander summoned the Jews to aid him, so the story runs, but on the ground of loyalty they refused. Alexander, after the surrender of Gaza, marched personally to Jerusalem to take vengeance upon it. At his approach the Jews, clad in white, marched out to Scopus. The high priest, wearing his glorious robes of office, led the assemblage, and Alexander seeing them forgot his wrath and saluted the high priest graciously. This story is no doubt mere legend. Arrian, for example, declares that the rest of Palestine had submitted before the siege of Gaza. Jerusalem was to Alexander simply one Syrian town. It was out of his route, and probably was never visited by him. The one element of truth in the tale is that the high priest was the head of the Jewish community.

During the wars that followed the death of Alexander, Judæa must often have suffered. In the struggles between the generals, the armies of Antigonus and Demetrius were at various times in this region. In 312 a great battle was fought near Gaza, and the Jews must have had their share of the hardship and uncertainty which in the shock of empires during those years tried men's souls. Palestine finally fell however, to the lot of Ptolemy Lagi, who had secured Egypt, and for a century was subject to the Ptolemaic line. Seleucus regarded it as rightfully his, but on account of the help Ptolemy had given him when his fortunes were at a low ebb, he did nothing more than enter a verbal protest, though Sulpicius Severus says (*Sacr. Hist.* II. 17) that he exacted 300 talents in tribute from him. The age was a period of migration, and the Jews felt the impulse along with others. During this century large settlements were made by them in Egypt, and probably elsewhere (see DISPERSION). In 220 Antiochus the Great gained Palestine for Syria, but in 219 it reverted to Egypt again. Finally, in B.C. 199, he permanently attached it to Syria, and its fortunes were never subject to the Ptolemys again.

The chief connexion with the suzerain power during this period was through the payment of taxes. At one period the Egyptian king became dissatisfied with the high priest's management of the finances and committed them to the care of one Joseph, son of Tobias, who with his sons led for a generation or two spectacular careers (cf. *Ant.* XII. iv.). At times tribute had to be paid both to Syria and to Egypt.

During this period the head of the Jewish community was the high priest, assisted by a Sanhedrin or council. The religious life of the community can only be inferred from the literature. An intense devotion to the Law was begotten in the minds of the Jewish people, as is shown by such psalms as the 119th. But the life of the community was a varied one. The 'Wisdom' literature was cultivated, and many a passionate psalm attests that a deep religious life superior to all formalism was springing up (cf. *e.g.* Ps 51).

26. The Maccabæan Revolt.—For many years the Hellenic civilization, radiating from the many cities founded by the Macedonians, found no welcome among the little Jewish community in Jerusalem. Gradually, however, it penetrated even there, and under the Syrians certain high priests adopted Greek names, and, to court the favour of the Syrian kings, cultivated Hellenic practices. In Jerusalem, where there was a Syrian garrison, Greek culture became popular, gymnasia were established, and men went so far as to attempt to remove artificially the signs of circumcision. The country towns were more conservative, but possibly even here the movement would have made its way had not Antiochus IV. determined to force upon the Jews both Greek culture and religion. One curious feature of this period consists in the fact that a high priest, Onias III., deposed by Syrian intervention, went to Egypt and established at Leontopolis in the nome of Heliopolis a temple to Jahweh, which existed there for a hundred years.

In B.C. 168, Antiochus commanded altars to Zeus to be erected throughout the land, and especially in the Temple at Jerusalem. He also directed swine to be offered in sacrifice upon them. The fear of Syrian arms secured wide-spread obedience to this decree. In the little town of Modin, however, an old priest, Mattathias, struck down the officiating priest and raised the standard of revolt. The faithful soon rallied to

his standard, and he made his son Judas captain over them. Unexpected victories speedily followed, and the successful Judas was surnamed *Makkab*, 'the hammer.' Mattathias died before the end of the first year, but the struggle was continued by his sons. At the end of three years the Syrians had been driven from the Temple, though they still held the fortress which overlooked it. Accordingly, in December 165, three years after the Temple had been defiled, a great feast was held for its dedication. Up to this time Judas had been aided by the *Chasīdīm*, or pious—a set of religious devotees whose ideal was ceremonial puritanism. This party would have been satisfied to rest in what had already been achieved, but Judas and his brethren aimed at political independence. Although it estranged the *Chasīdīm*, Judas, with varying fortunes, maintained the struggle till B.C. 161. Antiochus IV. died, the forces of the young Antiochus V. were defeated, a great victory was won over Nicanor, whom Demetrius I., the next king of Syria, sent to Judæa. This victory was long celebrated in a yearly festival. Judas himself fell before the end of the year 161 in a battle with the force which Demetrius sent to avenge the death of Nicanor.

The direction of the Jewish cause then fell to Jonathan, one of the brothers of Judas, who for nearly twenty years was the leader (161–143). At the beginning of this period the Maccabæan fortunes were at their lowest ebb. At first Jonathan thought of taking refuge with the Nabatæans, but here he was treacherously treated and his brother John was slain. He himself, with a considerable force, was caught near the Jordan by the Syrians, and escaped only by swimming the river to the western side. Here Jonathan maintained himself for some years as an outlaw in the wilderness of Judæa. After many unsuccessful efforts to capture him, the Syrians finally (B.C. 153) entered into a treaty with him whereby he was permitted to live at Michmash as a kind of licensed free-booter. Here, like David in his outlaw days, he ruled over such as came to him. A little later Alexander Balas appeared in the field as a contestant for the Syrian crown. This proved a great help to the Maccabæan cause, as both parties were willing to bid high for the support of Jonathan. Jonathan for a time adhered to the cause of Alexander, who killed Demetrius I. and secured the crown. But although Alexander had driven Demetrius I. from the field, he was left but a short time in undisputed possession of the Syrian throne. Demetrius II. appeared, and bid high for Jewish favour. He recognized Jonathan as high priest, and exempted the Jews from various taxes. This angered the adherents of Alexander, one of whom lured Jonathan to Ptolemais for a conference and treacherously put him to death. Another brother, Simon (143–135), then assumed the leadership. The star of Alexander Balas went down, and Demetrius II. made a treaty which once more recognized the independence of the Jews. This event created the wildest joy. Never since Uzziah had paid tribute to Tiglath-pileser III. in B.C. 737, unless it was for a few years in the reign of Josiah, had the Jews been politically free. It seemed like a new birth of the nation, and it stimulated the national genius and devotion in all directions. Many psalms were written at this period, and the whole civil and religious polity of the nation were reorganized. Simon was made both political head of the nation and high priest, and it was ordained that these offices should continue in his house for ever, or until a faithful prophet should arise (1 Mac $14^{41ff.}$). Simon spent his energies in the following years in organizing his government and consolidating his territory. He was successful in taking possession of Gezer, where he built a large castle, recently excavated; also Joppa, which he made his port, and on the other side of the country, Jericho. At the latter place he was assassinated in B.C. 135 by his son-in-law, who hoped to seize the government.

27. The Hasmonæan Dynasty.—The chronology follows:—

John Hyrcanus I.	135–105
Aristobulus I.	105–104
Alexander Jannæus	104–79
Alexandra	79–69
John Hyrcanus II. / Aristobulus II.	69–63

During the early years of Hyrcanus I. the vigorous Antiochus VII. (Sidetes), who had gained the Syrian crown, pressed him so hard that the struggle for independence not only had to be renewed, but seemed for a time to waver in the balance. Weaker hands, however, soon came into possession of the Syrian sceptre; and Hyrcanus, his independence secure, set about consolidating the power of Judæa. He conquered the Edomites, who had centuries before been pushed up into southern Judah, and compelled them to accept Judaism. Later he conquered Samaria and lower Galilee, treating the latter country as he had treated Idumæa (cf. Jos. *Ant.* XIII. X. 2). During the reign of Hyrcanus the Pharisees and Sadducees began to emerge into well-defined and opposing parties. The former were developed out of the *Chasīdīm* of the earlier time. They desired separation and exclusion from foreigners in order that they might devote themselves to the keeping of the Law. The Sadducees, on the other hand, consisted largely of the old priestly families, whose wealth and position prevented them from either the narrowness or the devotion of the Pharisees. Hyrcanus threw in his lot with the latter.

Aristobulus I., upon his accession, assumed the title of king (*Ant.* XIII. XI. 1)—a step which still further estranged the Pharisees. He was a man of cruel and suspicious disposition, who imprisoned his brother and treated his subjects roughly. He conquered and Judaized in the one year of his reign 'upper Galilee,' by which it is supposed Ituræa is meant.

Upon his death his widow, Alexandra, released her brother-in-law, Alexander Jannæus, from prison and offered him her hand and the throne, both of which he accepted. In his long and chequered reign he not only put down rebellion on the part of his turbulent subjects, but conquered and Judaized the old Israelitish territory across the Jordan, so that under him the little Jewish community had spread, by conquest and forcible conversion, from the narrow limits of the days of Nehemiah to practically the limits of the territory of ancient Israel. Thus the foundations of the NT distribution of Palestinian Jews were laid by the Hasmonæans. During the whole of the reign of Alexander the opposition of the Pharisees to the dynasty and its policy was exceedingly bitter. As his end approached, Alexander committed the government to Alexandra, advising her to make her peace with the Pharisees (*Ant.* XIII. XV. 5). This she did, and for the next ten years the internal affairs of the kingdom were more pacific. Alexandra made her son, John Hyrcanus II., high priest. Upon her death she left the civil authority to Aristobulus II., the younger of her two sons (*Ant.* XIII. XVI. 1). This division of the two offices, which had been united from Simon to Alexandra, proved a fatal mistake. Each brother desired the office of the other, and a civil war followed. This dragged itself on for several years. Aristobulus was more popular with the soldiery, and in a short time had defeated Hyrcanus and assumed the high priesthood. The contemplative Hyrcanus would probably have been quietly relegated to private life had not an extraordinary man, Antipater, an Idumæan, appeared. He attached himself to Hyrcanus, and persuaded the latter to flee to Haretath III. (Aretas), king of the Nabatæans, who upon the promise that the cities which Alexander Jannæus had taken should be restored to him, furnished an army for the prosecution of the civil war. The advantage seems to have been with Hyrcanus, when in the year 65, Scaurus, the representative of the Roman

general Pompey, appeared in Damascus, and both brothers appealed to him. The interference of Scaurus gave Aristobulus some advantage, but settled nothing, so that when, in 64–63, Pompey himself appeared, both brothers sent him rich gifts and appealed to him. Pompey postponed decision until he should reach Jerusalem. Meantime he set out upon an expedition against the Nabatæans, taking both Aristobulus and Hyrcanus with him.

In the progress of this expedition Aristobulus deserted and fled, first to Alexandrium and then to Jerusalem. Pompey, hearing of this, proceeded at once to Jerusalem. When he approached it, Aristobulus first promised to capitulate, and then, at the instigation of his soldiers, shut the gates against him. Pompey invested the city, which, after a terrible siege of three months, capitulated (*Ant.* xiv. iv. 1–4). With the fall of Jerusalem, in Oct. 63, the Jews for ever lost their independence, and the dream of empire which had been awakened by the success of Simon eighty years before was dispelled.

28. Roman Rule before Herod.—The history of the Jews for the next few years reflects the vicissitudes of the tangled politics of the city of Rome. From B.C. 63–48 Palestine was under the personal power of Pompey. That general had re-established Hyrcanus II. in power as high priest, hut stripped him of most of the territory won since the days of Simon, and made him subject to his personal representative, Scaurus. In the years that followed, Hyrcanus came more and more under the influence of Antipater, his self-appointed adviser. Antipater was found to be a man of such ability that the Romans committed to him the finances of Judæa, and on more than one occasion entrusted delicate missions to him, but Hyrcanus was in name the ruler of the land. How the Pharisees felt during this period we learn from the poems called 'The Psalter of Solomon.' The loss of independence had led them to cherish with renewed fervour the hopes of a Messianic kingdom.

After the defeat and death of Pompey in 48, Antipater and Hyrcanus were able to render Julius Cæsar material aid at Alexandria, thus winning his favour. Antipater, who had of course been the chief instrument in this, was made a Roman citizen by Cæsar, and also procurator of Judæa. Many privileges of which Pompey had deprived them were restored to the Jews. The old powers of the Sanhedrin were revived; the religious customs of the Jews were guaranteed, not only in Judæa, but in Alexandria and elsewhere, and their taxes were remitted in the Sabbatical years (*Ant.* xiv. ix. 3–5). Antipater proceeded to build up the fortunes of his family, making his son Phasaelus governor of Jerusalem, and Herod governor of Galilee. Herod proved an able administrator, but narrowly escaped condemnation by the Sanhedrin for presuming to exercise the power of life and death without its consent.

In B.C. 44 Lucius Cassius went to Syria to raise funds for the conspirators. Antipater made no resistance, but sought to show how useful his family could be. He set his sons to raise the 700 talents imposed on the Jews, and Herod was so successful in raising the part assigned to him that he was made general of the forces, both land and maritime, of Cœle-Syria.

The withdrawal of Cassius from Syria was followed by the murder of Antipater, after which Hyrcanus came under the power of Herod and Phasaelus. When Cassius and Brutus were defeated at Philippi (B.C. 42), Antony moved on to the eastward to secure Syria. Although many Jews complained bitterly of the sons of Antipater, he made them tetrarchs with full political power, leaving to Hyrcanus only the high priesthood.

While Antony was in Egypt, Antigonus, a son of Aristobulus II., gained the aid of the Parthians, who sent a force which captured Jerusalem (B.C. 40), and made Antigonus both king and high priest. In the progress of events which thus culminated Phasaelus had committed suicide. Hyrcanus was taken to Babylon and had his ears cut off, that he might never be high priest again. Herod, in view of these events, made a most remarkable winter journey to Rome, where he besought Augustus and Antony to make Aristobulus, a grandson of Hyrcanus II., king. These Roman statesmen, however, preferred to commit the government to one whose ability had already been proved; they accordingly made Herod king and he returned to win his kingdom. Naturally Herod could do little until Antony, who was leading an expedition against the Parthians, could allow him troops with which to fight, but with aid so furnished he finally expelled Antigonus and became king of the Jews in fact as well as in name in B.C. 37.

29. Herod and his successors.—The reign of Herod (wh. see) was marked at first by a period of difficulty. His master, Antony, was the slave of the Egyptian Cleopatra, and Herod had not only the ordinary difficulty of a ruler of the Jews to contend with, but the caprices of Cleopatra as well. After the battle of Actium he won the favour of Augustus, who became the master of the whole Roman world, and a period of prosperity set in. Herod had a passion for building, and knew how to squeeze money out of his subjects for his purposes. He therefore built many cities, adorning them with the beauties of Greek architecture. He also built many temples. His rebuilding of the Temple in Jerusalem is, perhaps, the best known of these undertakings, but it is only one of many. The taxes necessary for his various enterprises fell heavily upon his subjects, and rendered them wretched and restless. His domestic life was tragic, though his own disposition was the cause of this. During his reign Hellenism made new inroads into Judæa, and Pharisaism became consolidated in the celebrated schools of Hillel and Shammai.

When Herod died (B.C. 4), Augustus divided his dominions among his sons, Archelaus receiving Judæa and Samaria; Antipas, Galilee and Peræa; and Philip, Ituræa and Trachonitis. Antipas held his territory till A.D. 39, and was the ruler of Galilee in the time of Christ, but Archelaus proved such a bad ruler that in A.D. 6 Augustus removed him, banishing him to Gaul (Jos. *BJ* II. vii. 3). Judæa was then placed under procurators as a part of the province of Syria. The fifth of these procurators was Pontius Pilate, under whom Christ was crucified.

Once more (A.D. 41–44) all the dominions of Herod were united under Herod Agrippa I., a grandson of Herod the Great. Agrippa was a friend of the Emperor Caligula, who gave him this position, but his rule was brief. Upon his death the country passed once more under direct Roman rule through procurators.

30. Last political struggles.—From the time that Pompey conquered Jerusalem many Jews had entertained hopes of national independence. Some thought that the tables might be turned, and Jerusalem might replace Rome as the mistress of the world. Gradually these feelings pervaded most of the population, and became more intense. Finally, in A.D. 66, they took shape in open rebellion. The Roman general Vespasian was sent to put down the revolution, and had reduced Galilee and the outlying cities of Judæa when he heard of the death of Nero, and withdrew to Egypt to await events. During 69 Vespasian was fighting for the empire, which he finally won; but the Jews, instead of strengthening themselves for the coming conflict, were consuming one another by civil war. Finally, in A.D. 70, Titus appeared before Jerusalem with a Roman army, and after one of the most terrible sieges in its history, which Josephus fully describes (*BJ* v. ii. ff.), it was once more devastated. The Temple was ruined, its sacred furniture taken to Rome, where the candlestick may still be seen carved on the Arch of Titus, the wall of the city broken down, and the whole site laid waste. The services of the Jewish Temple then ceased for ever.

The tenth Roman legion was left in charge of the spot, and camped here for many years. A small garrison of

the Jews who had captured the fortress of Masada, on the shore of the Dead Sea, held out for three years longer, but was finally captured (Jos. *BJ* VII. viii.).

After this terrible calamity the Jews were politically quiet for many years. The Sanhedrin removed from Jerusalem to Jabneh (Jamnia), a town in the Philistine plain south of Joppa, where in later years its sessions became famous for the discussions of Rabbi Akiba and others concerning Ecclesiastes and the Song of Songs and other interesting questions.

In A.D. 116, under the Emperor Trajan, Jews in Cyprus and the East-Mediterranean lands raised a revolt, but it accomplished nothing. Hadrian, a ruler of just and tolerant spirit, is said to have granted permission for the rebuilding of the Temple, when the slanders of the Samaritans led him to revoke it. Such an event tended to foster national resentment. In 132 a new Jewish leader, called Bar Cochba, or 'Son of the Star,' appeared and led a new and stubborn revolution. This precipitated a bloody war. After the defeat of the main force a body of troops fortified themselves at Bether (mod. *Bittîr*), where they held out till 133. Hadrian was so exasperated that he determined to erase the name of Jerusalem from the map. A Roman colony, called Ælia Capitolina, was accordingly founded on the site of Jerusalem, from which all Jews were banished, and a temple to Jupiter was erected on the site of the Temple of Jahweh.

This revolt was the last expression of Israel's national aspirations. In the centuries which have elapsed since, the Jew has been scattered in many countries. Often persecuted, he has in persecution cherished Messianic expectations. He has maintained his national identity without land or national government, content to stand as the representative of a religious idea once embodied in a glorious national life.

II. RELIGION.—**1. The pre-Jahwistic religion of Israel.**—The history of the religion of Israel is the history of the religion of Jahweh. The religion of Jahweh was, however, introduced at a definite time in Israel's history, and His religion as practised by the Hebrews contains many features which are identical with those of other Semitic religions. Several of these can be proved to have had their origin in very primitive conditions common to all the Semites, from which the Israelites had in a good degree emerged before the worship of Jahweh was introduced. It will aid to clearness of thought to note at the beginning what those features were which the Hebrews brought to the religion of Jahweh from their common Semitic inheritance.

(1) In this early religion *totemism* prevailed. In Comparative Religion the term 'totemism' denotes the idea that a natural object—usually an animal—is kindred in blood to the worshipper. Such animals are held in great veneration; often they are regarded as specially related to the god of the tribe, and are then worshipped as the representatives of the deity. Traces of such a conception among the ancestors of the Israelites are found in the fact that the name *Leah* means 'wild cow'; *Rachel*, 'ewe'; *Simeon*, a kind of 'wolf' or 'hyæna'; *Caleb*, 'a dog.' Confirmation of this view is found in the food taboos of the Israelites. Certain animals were 'clean,' and others 'unclean.' The latter class was in early times indistinguishable from 'holy' animals (Smith, *RS* 425 ff.). For further proof of totemism, see Barton, *Semitic Origins*, 34 ff., and the references there given.

(2) Another conception common to the primitive Hamite and Semite was the idea that deity manifests itself especially in the processes of reproduction, and that therefore the *organs of reproduction* are especially sacred. That this was true of these people generally is abundantly proved (cf. Barton. ch. iii.). One direct evidence that it survived in Israel is the fact that when in early times one swore by Jahweh he put his hand under the thigh (Gn 24^{2}), as one now puts it on the Bible.

(3) The 'pillar' (*mazzēbah*) was a sacred symbol in the worship of Jahweh down to the reform of Josiah (cf. Gn 28^{22}, Hos 3^{4}, Dt 7^{5}, 2 K 23^{14}). This object was not peculiar to the Israelites, but is found in all Semitic countries. The 'pillar' was at first a representation of a phallus (cf. Barton, 102), and no doubt, as such, came to be the symbol of deity. The Egyptian obelisks are but more conventionally fashioned 'pillars.'

With the 'pillar' must be placed the *ashērah*. This object was among the Hebrews at times a wooden post, but usually consisted of more than one. There is some reason for supposing that the *ashērah* was not complete until there was carved in it a rude doorway, symbolic of the physical doorway of life, in which a figure of a goddess stood (cf. Ohnefalsch-Richter, *Kypros*, p. 165 ff., Plates 17, 18, 29, 80, 83; also 1 K 15^{13}). If this be true, the pillar and the *ashērah* together represented at every sanctuary the male and female organs of reproduction (cf. Whatham, *Amer. Jour. of Rel. Psychology*, i. 25 ff.). *Ashērahs* stood by the altar of Jahweh down to the Deuteronomic reform (2 K 23^{6}). These symbols, then, were survivals from the pre-Jahwistic religion of Israel, and their existence proves that the conception of deity of which they are the expression formed a part of that early religion also. Cf. artt. ASHERAH, PILLAR.

(4) *Circumcision* also is an institution which the Hebrews had inherited from their Semitic ancestry. It can no longer be regarded as a peculiarly Hebrew institution, for it was practised by both Hamites and Semites (Barton, 98–117), and is pictured on an Egyptian monument earlier than the 1st dynasty (*Bull. de cor. hellénique*, 1892, p. 307 ff., and pl. 1). Circumcision, like many other religious institutions, underwent different interpretations at different periods; but its origin is clearly connected with that naïve conception of the close connexion of the reproductive organs with the Divine which characterized all the people of the Hamito-Semitic race (cf. Whatham, 'Origin of Circumcision,' *l.c.* i. 301 ff.). The practice of circumcision among the Israelites is another proof that their conception of deity was in early times closely connected with animal fertility.

(5) From the pre-Jahwistic period came also the idea that spirits or *numina* dwelt in certain natural objects, such as *trees*, *stones*, and *springs*. This conception belonged to the primitive Semites, by whom it was held in common with primitive peoples generally (cf. *RS*^{2} 132, 167–183, 185–195; *Sem. Or.* 82 ff., 87–97). Sacred trees existed in many parts of Palestine. There was Abraham's oak of Mamre near Hebron (Gn 13^{18} 18^{1}), at Shechem stood another (Jos 24^{26}), at Ophrah another (Jg $6^{11.\ 19}$), and at many other places they were found, and indeed they are still found in Palestine at the present day (cf. Curtiss, *Prim. Sem. Rel. To-day*, 91 ff.; Barton, *A Year's Wanderings in Bible Lands*, 162, 163, and *Biblical World*, xxiv. 170, 174).

Wells were also sacred. The fountain at Kadesh was called En-mishpat (Gn 14^{7}), or the 'spring of judgment,' no doubt because oracular decisions were obtained there. The well of Lahai-roi (Gn 16^{14}) had a story to account for its sacredness, as had also the wells at Beersheba (Gn 21^{29}), which were evidently sacred. En-rogel (modern Job's Well) was so sacred that Adonijah held a sacrifice by it (1 K $1^{9ff.}$), while Solomon was anointed at Gihon (modern Virgin's Fountain) for the same reason.

A sacred circle of stones called *Gilgal* existed on the west of the Jordan (Jos $4^{19ff.}$). This sacred stone-circle, like many which exist still on the east of the Jordan (cf. Barton, *A Year's Wanderings*, 143, and *Biblical World*, xxiv. 177), was no doubt of pre-historic origin. In the pre-Jahwistic religion, then, such *numina* were worshipped by the Hebrews.

(6) Another feature of this early religion was *sacrifice*. In later times sacrifice was regarded mainly as a gift of food to the deity (cf. Ps 50), and probably in early times this idea entered into it. The late W. R. Smith thought that the chief feature of primitive sacrifice was communion,

i.e. that a commensal feast, in which the god and the worshipper partook of the same food, and their kinship was consequently renewed, was its chief feature (*RS*², vi.-xi.). Whether this was its sole feature or not, there can be no doubt that the sacrificial feast formed an important part of primitive sacrifice, and of sacrifice among the early Hebrews (cf. Ex 24¹¹). Curtiss believes that the originally significant element in sacrifice was the bursting forth of the blood,—that this rather than the feast constituted it a sacrifice (*Prim. Sem. Rel. To-day*, 216–228), while Whatham (*l.c.* ii. 38) holds that human sacrifice, at least, originated in impersonating the death of the earth-goddess's son, *i.e.* the death of vegetation. Whatever the meanings attached to it (and in the long developments of pre-historic time they may have been many), sacrifice both of human beings and of animals was practised by the primitive Semites, and was perpetuated by the Hebrews into the OT period. Traces of human sacrifice were found by Mr. Macalister during the excavation at Gezer (cf. *PEFSt*, 1903, pp. 33 ff., 121, 306 ff.). The story of the sacrifice of Isaac (Gn 22) is in reality an attempt to justify the discontinuance of the sacrifice of the human firstborn, and to substitute a ram for it. It is really the story of Isaac's deliverance, not of his sacrifice. Its presence in the OT proves that in early times the Israelites, in common with other Semites, practised human sacrifice.

(7) Probably the 'ban' (*chērem*), by which even before a battle all the population of the enemies' country and their effects were devoted to destruction as a solemn obligation to Jahweh, is another survival from primitive times. Many examples of it are found in the OT (cf. Nu 21², Jos 6¹⁷, 1 S 15³ff.). It seems to have been the custom of the Moabites, for Mesha says (Moabite Stone, l. 11 f.): 'I killed all the people of the city—a pleasing spectacle to Chemosh.' So barbarous a custom was no doubt primitive.

(8) Another custom perpetuated by the Israelites from pre-Jahwistic times was the law of *blood revenge*, by which it became a religious duty, when one was injured, to inflict a like injury, and if the blood of one's kinsman was shed, to shed the blood of those who had committed the deed. This idea not only meets us frequently in the OT (Gn 4¹⁴ff. ²³ff., Ex 21 ²³ff.), but is also found often in the Code of Hammurabi, B.C. 2100 (§§ 127, 195–197, 200, 202, 210, 219, 229, 230, 231), and among the Arabs to-day (cf. *e.g.* Zwemer, *Arabia*. 155, 265). It is clearly one of the religious points of view which have come out of the primitive Semitic past.

(9) The *Passover*, or spring leaping festival, so called, perhaps, because the young were then gambolling about, is another institution which, as is now generally recognized, the Israelites brought with them from their remote Semitic past (cf. *RS*² 406ff., 464; *Sem. Or.* 108 ff.: Kautzsch, in Hastings' *DB*, Ext. Vol. 621 ff.; Schmidt, *Prophet of Nazareth*, 62). It is one of the survivals of the early Semitic worship of deity as the giver of animal life, and, like the 'pillar' and *ashērah*, is an evidence of the sacred nature of reproduction among the ancestors of the Hebrews. It underwent in later times a different interpretation at their hands (cf. Ex 12), but it is certain that that explanation does not account for its origin.

(10) It is probable that an *autumn festival*, which in primitive Semitic times was connected with the date harvest, and in the OT period was known as the Feast of Tabernacles, was brought by the Israelites into Jahweh-worship from their primitive life. This is not so universally recognized as in the case of the Passover, but has been practically proved by Barton (*Sem. Or.* 111–115). In connexion with this festival probably in primitive times the wailing for Tammuz occurred, and all those ceremonies which celebrated the death and resurrection of vegetation. This wailing was in the late Hebrew ritual interpreted as mourning for sin on the Day of Atonement (cf. *RS*² 411: *Sem. Or.* 289 ff.). Similarly after the settlement in Canaan it was regarded as the feast of the grape harvest instead of the date harvest.

(11) We can hardly say that the Hebrews were believers in *polytheism* before the covenant with Jahweh, but certainly they were not monotheists. Probably each tribe had its god. One of these, the god of the tribe Gad, has survived in the OT with a specialized function (cf. Is 65¹¹). These tribal deities received the special homage of their respective clans, but no doubt when men wandered into the region of other local *numina* they propitiated these also. Such a condition, where tribes worship one deity but recognize the reality of other deities, is called by some scholars 'henotheism.'

2. The covenant with Jahweh.—The historical circumstances under which Jahweh became the God of Israel have been sketched above (I. § 6).

(1) Those circumstances certainly suggest that Jahweh was the god of the Kenites before He was the God of Israel.

This view, first suggested by Ghillany also independently by Tiele, more fully urged by Stade, fully worked out by Budde, is now accepted by Guthe, Wildeboer, H. P. Smith, Barton, and W. R. Harper. The reasons for it are: (*a*) Of the three documents which narrate the Exodus, E and P tell of the introduction of the name Jahweh as a new name. In early religion a new name usually means a new deity. E, on whom P is dependent in this part of the narrative, was an Ephraimite and preserved the traditions current among the Joseph tribes. (*b*) The account of the institution of the covenant (Ex 18¹²ff.) makes it clear that Jethro, the Kenite priest, offers the sacrifice. He really initiates the Hebrews into the worship of Jahweh. This is confirmed by the underlying thought of all the documents that it was in this Midianite or Kenite country (the Kenites were a branch of the Midianites) that Moses first learned of Jahweh. (*c*) For centuries after this Sinai was regarded as the home of Jahweh. From here He marched forth to give victory to His people (Jg 5⁴ff., Dt 33², Hab 3³, Ps 68⁸). Elijah also made a pilgrimage to Sinai to seek Jahweh in His home (1 K 19). (*d*) The Kenites during several succeeding centuries were the champions of the pure worship of Jahweh. Jael killed Sisera (Jg 5²⁴ff.). The Rechabites, who from Jehu to Jeremiah (2 K 10¹⁵, Jer 35) championed Jahweh, were Kenites (1 Ch 2⁵⁵). (*e*) Some of the Kenites joined Israel in her migrations (Nu 10²⁹ff.), mingling with Israel both in the north (Jg 5²⁴) and in the south (Jg 1¹⁶); some of them remained on the southern border of Judah, where they maintained a separate existence till the time of Saul (1 S 15⁶), and were finally, in the days of David, incorporated into the tribe of Judah (1 S 30²⁶ff. ²⁹ff.). (*f*) It is this absorption of the Kenites by Judah, which, if Jahweh were a Kenite deity, explains why the J document, written in Judah, regards the knowledge of the name Jahweh as immemorial (Gn 4²⁶). The perpetual separateness of Judah from the other tribes tended to perpetuate this in spite of contrary currents from other quarters. We are therefore justified in holding that Jahweh was the god of the Kenites, that some of the Hebrew tribes entangled in Egypt were ready to abandon their old gods for one that could deliver them, and thus He became their God. The objections to this view urged by Kautzsch (*loc.cit.* 626ff.) really do not touch the nerve of the argument. The words 'God of thy fathers' on which he lays so much stress are written from a later point of view, and that point of view is quite as well justified by the Kenite hypothesis (for the Kenites were absorbed by Judah) as by the supposition that Jahweh was the god of one of the Israelitish clans.

(2) What conception the Hebrews of the time of Moses held of Jahweh we can in broad outline define. Evidently they conceived Him to be a god of war. The needs of the oppressed tribes demanded a warrior. The people are said to have sung, after their deliverance, 'Jahweh is a man of war.' A book of old poems was called 'The Book of the Wars of Jahweh' (Nu 21¹⁴), and 'Jahweh of hosts' (or armies) was afterwards one of His most constant names. There can be little doubt that this conception of Jahweh as a war-god had developed among the Kenites, and that it had large influence in drawing the Hebrews into His worship.

There is reason also to believe that, as Jahweh had long been worshipped around Mount Sinai, where severe thunder-storms occur (cf. Agnes Smith Lewis, *Expos.*

Times, June 1906, p. 394), He had come to be regarded as a god who manifested Himself especially in the phenomena of storms. He is usually represented as coming in a thunder-storm (Ps 18, Ezk 1, Hab 3, Is 19[1], Job 38), and the regular name for thunder was 'the voice of Jahweh' (Ps 29[3ff.], Job 37[4]). He is also said to have led His people in a cloud (Ex 13. 14), to have appeared on Mount Sinai and in the Temple in a cloud (Ex 19, 1 K 8[10. 11]); and in the middle books of the Pentateuch the cloud is used more than forty times as the symbol of Jahweh's presence. Probably, then, the Israelites received Him from the Kenites as a god of war who manifested Himself in the storm-cloud and uttered His terrible voice in thunder.

These conceptions, however, did not exhaust their thought of Him. The Israelites were Semites, and they thought of Him as a god of life. Had this not been so, circumcision would not have been His sign, the 'pillar' and *ashērah* would not have been symbolic instruments in His worship, the firstborn would not have been offered to Him in sacrifice, and the genitals would not have been the part of the body specially sacred to Him. Barton has shown that Jahweh is an evolution out of that primitive Semitic conception which made plant and animal fertility especially reveal deity (*op. cit.* ch. vii.). These conceptions, too, the Hebrews in the time of Moses held of Jahweh.

(3) The name *Jahweh*, explained in Ex 3[14] as 'I am that I am' or 'I will be that which I will be,' was long thought to justify the view that at the time of Moses the Israelites regarded Jahweh as the self-existent or uncreated One. It has now been generally recognized, however, that this is only a later Hebrew explanation of a name the original meaning of which had been forgotten.

In an attempt to recover the lost original, many and various theories have been put forward. For a *resumé* of these, see Barton (*op. cit.* 283, 284). Scholars are by no means agreed as to the meaning of the name. There are almost as many theories of its etymology as there are different scholars. Barton has correctly seen that the name probably had some reference to Jahweh as the God of life,—the God whose 'reward' is 'the fruit of the womb' (Ps 127[3]), but he failed, then, to see that the etymology should be sought not in Hebrew but in Arabic. The Kenites were an Arabian tribe, and *Jahweh* was no doubt an Arabian epithet. Probably it is connected with the root *hawa*, 'to love passionately' used in some forms especially of sexual desire. If this meaning were understood by Hebrews at the time of Moses, it was lost as soon as the Israelites began to speak a Canaanitish dialect.

(4) It is probable that the covenant between Jahweh and Israel involved at the time no more than that they would become His worshippers in return for deliverance, victory, and protection. In becoming His worshippers, however, it was necessary to have a knowledge of His ritual, *i.e.* how to worship Him. Our oldest document J gives a list of ten commands or 'words' (Ex 34), which its author regarded as the basis of the covenant. As this Decalogue of J stands, it would form a convenient summary of ritual law for a nomadic people to carry in the memory.

Some features of it cannot, however, be as old as Moses, for the feast of 'unleavened bread' is, as Wellhausen and others have demonstrated, an agricultural festival, which grew up after the settlement in Canaan. It was, however, merged with the Passover, and its name has probably been substituted for the Passover by some editor. The Feasts of Weeks and of Ingathering were also agricultural festivals, but, as pointed out in the preceding section, the latter goes back to a nomadic date festival. The observance of the Sabbath probably goes back, as Toy has shown (*JBL* xviii. 190 ff.), to an old taboo. With very little alteration, therefore, the Decalogue of J suits all the wilderness conditions.

We may suppose that the summary of ritual which Moses taught the Israelites as the basis of the covenant with Jahweh was somewhat as follows:—

1. Thou shalt worship no other god.
2. Thou shalt make thee no molten gods.
3. The feast of the Passover thou shalt keep.
4. The firstling of an ass thou shalt redeem with a lamb.
5. None shall appear before me empty.
6. On the seventh day thou shalt rest.
7. Thou shalt observe the feast [of the date harvest].
8. Thou shalt not offer the blood of my sacrifice with leavened bread, neither shall the sacrifice of the Passover be left until the morning.
9. The firstlings of thy flocks thou shalt bring unto Jahweh thy god.
10. Thou shalt not seethe a kid in its mother's milk.

These commands are in part conjectural, but as they are obtained from J by omitting the agricultural and later elements, they are probably approximately right.

(5) It will be noticed that the second command is not a prohibition of idols, but only of expensive idols. Kautzsch (*loc. cit.* 629) thinks that the number of references to the bodily presence of Jahweh (cf. *e.g.* Ex 33[23]) may indicate that some idol of Him existed in Sinai. This is quite possible, since the Decalogue, as J understood it in the 9th cent., did not prohibit such images.

(6) Jahweh's symbol at this time was the sacred ark. As the Egyptians and Babylonians had similar structures for carrying their gods (cf. Wilkinson, *Ancient Egyptians*, iii. 289; 'Isaiah' in *SBOT*, 78), it is probable that the ark was a kind of movable sanctuary for a nomadic people. A late tradition (1 K 8[9. 21]) says that it contained the Ten Commandments written on stone. The later versions of the Commandments differ so radically that it is not probable that an authoritative copy from such early date was preserved. Scholars suppose therefore that the ark contained an aerolite or some such symbol of Jahweh. Centuries afterwards, when it was carried into the camp of the Philistines, it was thought that Jahweh Himself had come into the camp (1 S 4).

In the J document the ark plays a small part, while in the E document it is much more prominent. J apparently thought much more of Sinai as the home of Jahweh. This probably came about from the fact that after the settlement the ark was in the possession of the Joseph tribes and became their shrine.

(7) According to the oldest sources, there seems to have been no priesthood at this time except that of Moses himself. J tells us that when the covenant was ratified, Moses, Aaron, Nadab, Abihu and seventy elders of Israel went up into Jahweh's mountain, but only Moses was permitted to come before Him (Ex 24[1. 2. 9-11]), while E tells us of a 'tent of meeting' which Moses used to pitch at a distance from the camp, and to which he would go to consult Jahweh (Ex 33[7-11]), and then return. In this tent Joshua, Moses' minister, abode all the time (Ex 33[11]). It is clear that neither of these writers had any conception of the choice of the tribe of Levi for the priesthood. Indeed E makes no mention of the tribe of Levi anywhere. Moses was in his view apparently of one of the Joseph tribes, and how the term 'Levite' for priest originated he does not tell us. In Jg 17[7] he tells us of a Levite who belonged to the tribe of Judah (cf. *SBOT*, *ad loc.*), so that here 'Levite' cannot have a tribal signification. J tells us of a tribe of Levi to which a calamity happened (Gn 34. 49[5-7]), and he tells us also (Ex 32[26-28]) of a number of men who in a crisis attached (*lewied*) themselves to Moses for the preservation of the religion of Jahweh, and were, perhaps, accordingly called 'Levites.' Many scholars think that the later priesthood was developed out of this band, and that its identification with the unfortunate clan of Levi is due to a later confusion of the names. In the present state of our knowledge, this is, perhaps, the most probable view. (For the great variety of opinion among scholars, cf. art. 'Levi' in *JE* vii. 21.) The priesthood is probably a development later than Moses.

3. The pre-Prophetic religion in Canaan.—(1) The conquest of Canaan strengthened the faith of the Israelitish tribes in Jahweh as the god of war. Their success strengthened the hold of Jahweh upon them. A Semitic people upon entering a new land always felt it

necessary to propitiate the god of the land. As this was the case as late as the 8th cent. (2 K 17^{24-34}), it would be all the more true at the beginning of the 12th. At first, therefore, they must have mingled the worship of the Baals with the worship of Jahweh. As we have seen, the conquest did not occur all at once; there must have been many conflicts, which kept the tribes in constant dependence upon Jahweh (cf. Jg 5^{23}). These conflicts continued to the time of Saul and David, and constituted a life and death struggle. When, under David, Israel emerged victorious, Jahweh was more than ever the god of armies. These vicissitudes tended to eliminate the worship of the tribal deities. Little by little Jahweh came to be regarded as the god of the land,—as a Baal,—and as such took possession in their thought of the principal Canaanitish shrines.

(2) Gradually the Canaanitish conceptions connected with these shrines were transferred to Jahweh. This fusion was easily possible because of the kinship of Jahweh and the Baals. Both had sprung from the same primitive conceptions. Both were regarded as gods of animal fertility. To both the same symbols of fertility were sacred. The main difference was that the Baals were the gods of clans which had longer resided in a fertile land (cf. *Sem. Or.* 297 ff.). By this fusion the somewhat meagre and simple ritual of Jahweh was enriched. By the time of Gideon the term *Baal* ('lord') was applied to Jahweh, as *Jerub-baal*, Gideon's real name, proves. Ish-baal and Meri-baal, sons of Saul, and *Beeliada*, a son of David, bear names which prove the same thing.

(3) During this period it was not thought wrong to make images of Jahweh. Gideon made an ephod-idol at Ophrah (Jg 8^{27}). Micah made an image to Jahweh (Jg $17^{3ff.}$), and it is probable that similar images existed elsewhere. Sometimes these were in the form of bullocks as were those which Jeroboam set up at Bethel and Dan. These latter symbolized Jahweh as the generator of life, and the god of pastoral wealth. Household *numina* called *teraphim* were also worshipped. Images of these were also made, sometimes large enough to be passed off for a man (1 S $19^{13ff.}$).

(4) In the whole of this period it was thought that Jahweh existed in the form of a man. He might appear and talk with a person, indistinguishable from a human being, until the moment of His departure (cf. Gn $18^{2ff.}$, Jg $6^{11ff.}$ $13^{3ff.}$). Sometimes, as in the last two passages cited, it was the angel of Jahweh that appeared, but at the period when these narratives were written, the conception of the difference between Jahweh and His angel was not fully developed. So the 'face' (presence) of Jahweh (Ex 33) is a reference to the 'person' of Jahweh. It indicates that He was conceived as having a bodily form When the J document was written, the Prophetic period was already dawning. As we are indebted to that document for most of these anthropomorphic representations of Jahweh, we may be sure that this conception prevailed throughout the pre-Prophetic period.

(5) The only literature which has come to us from this pre-Prophetic time consists of a few poems—the Song of Deborah (Jg 5), David's Lament over Saul and Jonathan (2 S 1), and a few fragments elsewhere (*e.g.* Nu 21 and Jos 10^{12}). No one now thinks of attributing the Psalms in the form in which we have them to David, or the books of Proverbs and Ecclesiastes to Solomon. The literature of this period, then, is, so far as we know it, secular in character. The people were religious, but the religion existed as a help to secular life. It consisted largely of inherited customs, of half-superstitious beliefs, while the main interest of all was centred in physical prosperity. Certain practices were regarded as wrong,—as offences against Jahweh (*e.g.* the crime of Jg 19 and David's sin [2 S 11]), but the ethical content of the religion was of a very rudimentary character. Stealing (cf. Jg 18), deceit (Gn 27), and treachery (Jg $3^{15ff.}$ $5^{24.\ 27}$) were not only condoned but at times even glorified.

(6) Before the time of Solomon a traveller in Palestine would have found no elaborate temple or structure devoted to religion. Instead, in every village he would have found an open-air 'high place,' marked by 'pillars' and *ashĕrahs*,—high places such as have recently been excavated at Gezer and Megiddo and found at Petra. In connexion with these there were often sacred caves and other accessories of primitive worship. In some, as at Gezer and Jerusalem, serpent-worship was practised, and brazen serpents as well as the living animal were kept (cf. *PEFSt*, 1903, p. 222; 2 K 18^{4}). Probably at most of them, as at Gezer, some form of Ashtart, the mother-goddess, was also worshipped (cf. *PEFSt*, 1903, p. 228). As time went on, an occasional shrine had a building. The first of these which we can trace was at Shiloh (1 S 1–3); it had at least two rooms and doors. Solomon then erected the splendid Temple at Jerusalem on Phœnician models, departing, as has been pointed out (I. § **14**), from older Hebrew practice in many ways. Perhaps Jeroboam erected temples at Bethel and at Dan (cf. 1 K 12^{31}, Am 7^{13}), but for the most part these shrines were of the simplest nature and without buildings. A wealthy citizen might in this period have a private temple in connexion with his residence (Jg 17).

(7) The priesthood in this period was not confined to any tribe. There seems to have been a feeling that it was better to have a *levi* for priest (whatever that may have meant; cf. Jg 17^{10}), but Micah, an Ephraimite, made his son a priest (Jg 17^{5}); Samuel, a member of one of the Joseph tribes, acted as priest (1 S $9^{12ff.}$); and David made his sons priests (2 S 8^{18} RVm). According to J (cf. Jg 18^{30}), Jonathan, a grandson of Moses, started life as an impecunious resident of Bethlehem in Judah; in seeking his fortune he became a priest in the private shrine of Micah, the Ephraimite; then at the instigation of the Danites he robbed that shrine and fled with them to the north, becoming the founder of a line of priests in the temple of Dan. Even if his descent from Moses should not be credited, the story gives evidence of the kind of irregularity in the priesthood which was still conceivable when the J document was composed. So far as Jerusalem was concerned, David improved this chaotic condition by regulating the priesthood.

(8) The festivals at this period were of a simple, joyous character. They were held in the interest of the worshipper. A picture of one has been preserved in 1 S 1. 2. The priests killed the sacrifice, pouring out the blood no doubt to Jahweh, and then the flesh was cooked. While it was cooking, the priest obtained his portion by a kind of chance (cf. 1 S $2^{13ff.}$), after which the victim was consumed by the worshippers in a joyous festival. This festival was the appropriate time to pray for children, and it is probable that considerable licence accompanied it (cf. *Sem. Or.* 287 ff.). The feast described occurred annually, but there were lesser feasts at the time of the new moons and on other occasions, which were probably observed in the same simple way (cf. 1 S $20^{5ff.}$). In addition to the sacrifices at such feasts (cf. 1 S $9^{22ff.}$), it is clear that on extraordinary occasions human sacrifice was in this period still practised. The story of Jephthah's daughter, whether historical in all its features or not, proves that such sacrifices were regarded as possible. It is probable that 1 K 16^{34} is proof that children were still sacrificed when important structures were set up. The language of this passage has been greatly illuminated by the discoveries at Gezer (cf. above, § **1** (6)).

(9) A glimpse into the household worship of the time we obtain from the **teraphim**. These seem to have been household deities, similar to those found in Babylonia (Ezk 21^{21}) and among the Aramæans (Gn 31^{19}). Of their use we know little. They seem to have been employed for divination (Zec 10^{2}), and they were sometimes made in human form (1 S 19^{16}). Throughout this period they were a recognized element in the worship (cf. Jg 18^{20}, Hos 3^{4}). Whether these gods formed the centre of the

home worship or not we cannot tell. They were evidently a crude survival from an earlier time, and with religious progress they disappeared.

In addition to the features of the religion of the pre-Prophetic period which have been enumerated, it must be remembered that the fundamental institutions of the pre-Jahwistic religion of Israel, enumerated in § 1, continued through this period also.

(10) Another religious phenomenon of the pre-Prophetic period consisted in the development of a class of **seers** or prophets, who are to be carefully distinguished from the great moral and literary prophets of the next period. The prophets of this period were closely akin to the seers and fortune-tellers who are common the world over. They had their parallel in other Semitic countries, *e.g.* Phœnicia and Assyria. In the time of Saul there was a class of ecstatic prophets in Israel who used music to aid their prophetic excitement, who uttered themselves when possessed by an uncontrollable frenzy, and who went about in bands (cf. 1 S 10^{5-13} $19^{23.\ 24}$).

These prophets have their analogue in a youth at Gebal in Phœnicia, of whom the Egyptian Wenamon makes report about B.C. 1100. This youth was seized by the spirit of the gods and thrown into a frenzy, and then uttered prophecies which moved a king (cf. *AJSL* xxi. 105). This type of prophecy was therefore in this period widely spread over the country even beyond the bounds of Israel. The 'sons of the prophets' referred to so often in the OT were simply guilds of these men organized for mutual help. Music helped to bring on the frenzy, and it was more contagious when a number were together.

Samuel was not sharply distinguished from the 'sons of the prophets,' although he was evidently a man of a higher order, believed by the people to possess superior gifts. He was called a 'seer' (1 S 9^{9}), and was believed to be able to direct people in finding lost property, and not to be above taking a fee for it (1 S 9^{7}). Somewhat parallel to such a seer is the one mentioned by Ashurbanipal (G. Smith, *Assurbanipal*, 119 ff.).

These men were held in high esteem, and obtained their living by telling people what they wished to know. Their oracles were mostly about the future, but often no doubt they told a man whether this or that action was in accord with the will of Jahweh, or of the god whom they represented. Baal as well as Jahweh had his prophets (1 K 18^{19}). Such men were necessary adjuncts of a court, for a king had often to engage in hazardous enterprises of State. We find accordingly that Ahab kept four hundred of them about him (1 K 22^{6}). David and other kings had probably done the same. No doubt Nathan and Gad, whom later writers mention in connexion with David, were really men of this character, who are in the narratives pictured like the nobler prophets of later time.

These prophets by profession possessed no higher ethical tendencies than the other men of their time. Their sustenance was dependent on the pleasure of their royal master, if they were connected with the court, and usually they gave such oracles as were desired. (For fuller account, see Batten, *The Hebrew Prophet*, 27–72.) The institution was held in high regard. When the ecstatic frenzy came upon a man and his higher nerve centres were by the excitement inhibited from action, he was, as such men usually are among savage and primitive people (cf. Davenport, *Primitive Traits in Religious Revivals*, ch. I. vi.), thought to be under the possession of a supernatural spirit. He was accordingly listened to most carefully, and his utterances were supposed to reveal the Divine will. It is significant that the Hebrews used the same word for 'prophet' and for 'lunatic.' The institution was capable nevertheless of high possibilities. If those came forward exercising its gifts who were animated by high ethical purpose and possessed a great spiritual message, the regard in which this institution was held assured them of a hearing.

4. Religion in the Prophetic period.—The period which we call Prophetic extends from Elijah to the great prophet of the Exile, the so-called Second Isaiah. It was in this period that, thanks to the labours of the great school of prophetic reformers, the religion of Israel became ethical and spiritual. They gave it this content, and by the new interpretation which they put on the covenant with Jahweh which Moses and Jethro had mediated, forced it upon the nation. In this they were aided by the misfortunes and sufferings incident to the interference of Assyria and Babylon in Hebrew affairs. In one important respect the prophets in this noble succession changed the method of prophetic utterance. With one exception, they discarded the method of ecstatic utterance, and spoke as the result of prophetic vision. Just what they mean by 'vision' we may not say, but we may be sure that intelligence and imagination had their part in it. It led to the perception of a noble ideal, and gave the beholder a holy passion to realize it.

(1) *Elijah.* The prophetic work began with Elijah. The main points of his career (1 K 17–19) have already been touched upon above (I. § **17**). His significance lies in the 'act that in the name of Jahweh he championed the poor against the rich. That his conception of Jahweh was narrow,—that he regarded Him as a god of the nomadic type,—that he opposed a foreign cult, are all incidental. Any enthusiastic member of a prophetic guild might have done any one of these three things. The significance of the work of Elijah lies in the fact that it marks the dawn of ethical purity and social justice in Jahweh's religion. The method of Elijah, too, was an ethical method. He delivered his message, and relied upon its weight for the results.

(2) *The Jahwist* (J writer). In the same century, perhaps contemporary with Elijah, the first of the J writers was composing his matchless prose narratives in Judah. He was pervaded by the prophetic spirit in its incipient form. He traces the creation of man to Jahweh, and is interested in the descent of the nations from a primitive pair. He tells the stories of the patriarchs to illustrate the power of Jahweh, but the purely religious motive is not often present. He represents the patriarchs as on friendly terms with the Canaanites about them, which indicates that he is not conscious that the religion of Jahweh is hostile to other faiths. His conception of the basis of Jahweh's covenant with Israel is, as pointed out above (§ **2** (4)), ten commands of a purely ritual nature. The tone of his stories is sombre. Clothing and child-bearing came in consequence of sin. The first agriculturist was the first murderer. The inventors of metal instruments and of music were especially wicked men. The civilization of Babylonia attempted such astounding structures, that, as Jahweh looked down from heaven, He found He could prevent men from reaching heaven only by confounding their language. To the Jahwist civilization meant sin, pain, and trouble. He had no hopeful outlook. His type of faith was nomadic indeed. He represents the starting-point from which the prophetic movement went forward.

(3) *Elisha* hardly deserves to be reckoned in this great succession. He was the very head of professional prophecy. When absent from the band of associates he found it necessary to call a minstrel to work up his ecstasy before he could prophesy (2 K 3^{15}). It was he, too, who prompted Jehu, one of the bloodiest of usurpers and reformers, to undertake the purification of Israel from the taint of foreign religion; and when it was accomplished Israel was not one whit more ethical or spiritual than before. Elisha is usually counted as Elijah's successor, but he belongs to a different class. The nobler religion of Israel owes him nothing.

(4) *Amos*, the first prophet to commit his message to writing, came, like Elijah, with a magnificent message—a message indeed which is to that of Elijah ike noon to dawn. Amos announces for the first time the farth of a practical monotheist. Such a faith had been implicit in the Jahwist, when he traced the existence of all mankind to Jahweh's act, but in Amos it is explicit. Jahweh brought not only the Israelites from Egypt, but the Philistines from Caphtor, and the Aramæans from Kir (Am 9^{7}), and He will likewise judge the Philistines, Damascus, Moab, Edom, and all nations (chs. 1. 2). Jahweh, too, Amos proclaims as an ethical God. Ethics, not ritual, was the basis of the covenant at Sinai (Am 5^{21-25}). Justice is to roll down as waters and righteousness as a perennial stream before Jahweh will be satisfied. In this spirit Amos championed in the name of Jahweh the cause of the oppressed poor, and rebuked the social impurities connected with religion, pronouncing upon the unethical the doom of Jahweh.

(5) *The Elohist.* Perhaps contemporary with Amos was the first E writer. He was a man of true prophetic spirit. Like J, he recorded many of the traditions of ancient times, but he tells them with a more hopeful outlook. He has a high regard for a prophet, and represents Abraham

as one (Gn 20^{7}). He represents a higher conception of God than J. J's anthropomorphism has disappeared. God is never seen in human form in E's narratives, but reveals Himself in dreams. The ethical character of E's conception of religion appears, however, in his conception of the basis of the covenant which Moses made between Israel and Jahweh. The basis of this is a Decalogue in which the ritualistic is reduced to a minimum (Ex 20 without the additions of R^{D}), and which contains the fundamental elements of morality, and a code of laws (Ex 20^{24}–23^{19}) embodying the principles of equity that were necessary for the life of a simple agricultural community. In giving expression to this conception, the Elohist placed himself in line with the great ethical prophets, and did much towards the differentiation of the religion of Israel from the nature cults about it. In his opening to the Decalogue (Ex 20^{3}) he shows that his monotheism was somewhat insecure, but his ethical conception of Jahweh's relation to Israel helped to put religion on a spiritual basis.

(6) *Hosea's* main contribution to religious theory was the thought that God is love—not the crass sexual love of the early Semite, but the self-sacrificing love of an affectionate father or a devoted husband, who would suffer to reclaim the fallen. Not less stern than Amos in his conception of ethical standards, Hosea is less occupied with proclaiming doom. He seeks by the love of Jahweh to allure Israel and win her back. Amos devoted himself mainly to checking the oppression of the poor, Hosea largely to the establishment of social purity. It became clear to him that this could not be accomplished so long as the primitive orgies of sexual freedom which were enacted in the name of religion in all the high places were permitted to continue. These he believed were no part of the real religion of Jahweh; they had come into it from the cult of Baal and Astarte. He accordingly denounced this impurity as the worship of another god,—as conjugal infidelity to Jahweh, and prohibited the application to Jahweh in the future of the appellation *Baal*, or 'lord' (Hos 2^{16}). Thus, as in the time of Elijah the struggle for justice linked itself with opposition to a foreign cult, so now the struggle for justice and purity led to opposition to Baal. The cult was not so foreign as the prophets supposed. It was native, as we have seen, to Jahweh as well as to the clans of Canaan which were now a part of Israel, but the idea that it was foreign helped the prophets to fight it. The fight was taken up by Hosea's successors and pushed to success. The recovery of the high place at Gezer, with all its crass and revolting symbolism, helps us to understand the weight of deadening sensualism against which the prophets contended.

Hosea, like Amos, was a monotheist. His conception of Jahweh was, however, not perfect. He thought of Him as caring especially for Israel. Though He ruled other nations, Hosea believed He controlled them mainly for the sake of Israel.

(7) *Isaiah* continued the work of Amos and Hosea. He proclaimed Jahweh as the All-powerful, who fills heaven and earth,—the Holy One, who proves His sanctity by His justice. For forty years, in many crises and under varying figures, Isaiah set forth this doctrine. Man is in Jahweh's hands as clay in the hands of the potter. The powerful Assyrian is but the rod by which Jahweh in His wrath is chastising Israel; when His will is accomplished, the rod will be broken and thrown away (Is $10^{5ff.}$). Isaiah's monotheism, though lofty, had the same defect as Hosea's. In upholding this conception of God, Isaiah denounced the social sins which had called out the opposition of Amos and Hosea. So great is Jahweh's desire for justice, that Isaiah believed that He would one day raise up a prince great in all the qualities of a princely conqueror, who should be a 'Wonderful-counsellor, a god of a warrior, a father of booty, but a prince of peace' (Is 9^{6}). At another time he saw a vision of a kingdom of complete justice which an offshoot of the Davidic dynasty should found (Is 11). These visions show how, in Isaiah's conception, the Holy One would organize human society. In addition to his work in keeping alive these lofty ideas, Isaiah, as was pointed out above (I. § 19), gave practical direction to the development of Israel's religion. His doctrine of the inviolability of Jerusalem took effect in later times, and had much to do with the development of Judaism. He is probably responsible also for that attempt to suppress the high places which afterwards found legal expression in Deuteronomy. The significance of this will, however, be pointed out in considering that law. In Micah, a younger contemporary of Isaiah, the spirit and message of Amos reappear.

(8) *The Deuteronomist*, in the development of the Prophetic period, follows Isaiah. Amos, Hosea, and Isaiah had proclaimed an ethical monotheism. They had denounced ritual as without place in the religion of Jahweh. The message had been enforced by the awful calamity which had overtaken the Northern Kingdom; it had, in consequence of Isaiah's friendship with Hezekiah, moulded policies of State. Under Manasseh, however, it became painfully evident that it was to take more than moral means to eliminate impure ritual from the religion of Jahweh. No part of the world, not even the Hebrews, was ready for a religion without ritual. Isaiah, probably, had seen this in his old age. The Deuteronomist at all events saw it. Ritual should be retained, but it should be brought within manageable limits. The high places should be eliminated, the cult centralized in Jerusalem—the place which Isaiah's teaching and the signal defeat of Sennacherib had so clearly proved to be Jahweh's special dwelling-place. From this all sodomites and sacred harlots were to be excluded, as well as all symbols, such as the 'pillar' and *ashērah*, which were specially significant of the odious social practices. To accomplish this, the code of the Elohist was rewritten in such a way that this conception of the sanctuary stood in the forefront, and other parts were made to conform to it. Into the whole code a more humanitarian tone towards the poor was introduced. It was thus made to express in legal form the burden of the best social teaching. Although the Deuteronomist did not advance the great ideas of spiritual religion to higher levels, he did by the compromise of this code help those ideas to influence practical life.

(9) *Jeremiah*, perhaps the greatest of the prophets, made great advances in the conception of spiritual religion. There was in all his work an undertone of passionate love,—a heart-throb,—like that of Hosea. The greatest significance of his teaching is not, however, his tenderness. He saw that Jahweh is independent of temple or place. An inviolable Jerusalem He did not need. What Jahweh desires is that man shall break up the fallow ground of his disposition, that he shall circumcise his heart (Jer $4^{3ff.}$). Religion is a matter not of a temple, but of a soul. Jeremiah, too, was the first to declare that the idols of the heathen are mere vanities. Others had ignored them, he exhibits them in their true nothingness (10^{8} 14^{22}). Another great truth which Jeremiah was the first to grasp was that the heathen as well as the Hebrew might come to Jahweh and be welcome (16^{16}). Not only did Jeremiah proclaim universality and ideality in religion, but he shook himself free from the old Semitic conception of solidarity which had prevailed before him. No lofty morality could prevail until every one was responsible for his own acts and for those only; and this is the standard proclaimed by Jeremiah ($31^{29.\ 30}$). No prophet reached a loftier flight.

(10) *Ezekiel* occupies a peculiar position in the Prophetic development. He stands, on one side in the succession of prophets, and, on the other, is the father of Judaism. As one of the prophetic succession, his chief work lay in the recognition and elaboration of the idea of individualism. No prophet is so impressed as he with the fact that God deals with each soul individually (Ezk 18). This thought leads Ezekiel to place a very great value upon the individual. The salvation of the individual becomes his special care. He even thinks of the Messiah as primarily a shepherd,—a pastor,—one whose chief care will be to accomplish the salvation of individuals. He addresses the rulers of Israel as shepherds. Cornill, who calls attention to this phase of his work (*Prophets of Israel*, 115 ff.), calls him the father of pastoral theology. Ezekiel was, however, more truly the successor of the Deuteronomist than of Jeremiah. Like the former, he endeavoured to adapt prophetic conceptions to Israelitish institutions. Isaiah's conception of Jerusalem as the home of Jahweh he fully shared, and in the closing chapters of his book he utters his ideal for the rehabilitation of Hebrew institutions about Jerusalem as a centre. Some of these conceptions were unpractical, but others took deep root, and made Ezekiel the father of Judaism.

(11) *The Second Isaiah* was the last of Israel's really great prophets. His conception of Jahweh as the creator of the universe, as the ruler of the world and the maker of history, is clearer than that of any of his predecessors. The great Cyrus, who was conquering so successfully as the Second Isaiah wrote was only Jahweh's creature. Cyrus might think otherwise, but Jahweh and His prophet knew the truth. Even Hosea never expressed the tenderness of Jahweh towards His people with greater beauty than

did this prophet. His conception of Jahweh, too, is more symmetrical than that of the 8th century prophets. If in him, as in them, Jahweh seems to care chiefly for Israel, it is so only in appearance. He has shown in his great poem on the Suffering Servant (Is 52^{13}–53^{12}) that in his view Israel was made the chosen people not through favouritism, or to puff up her self-esteem, but because Jahweh had for her a great mission. That mission was nothing less than to bring the nations of the world to Jahweh. The path of this service was the path of suffering, but it was to accomplish the salvation of the world. Jahweh, then, loved the world. He had chosen Israel and given her her tragic experience that she through this might become a missionary to the nations and bring them all to Jahweh. It does not detract from the prophet's great conception, that the mission which he conceived for his people was never fulfilled till the coming of the ideal Israelite, Jesus Christ.

This prophetic conception of God and religion, which thus developed from Elijah to the Second Isaiah, is unique in the world's history. Only once has this teaching been surpassed. Jesus of Nazareth, who perfected this conception of God and made it capable of being universally received, alone has gone beyond it. It was the teaching of these prophets that redeemed the religion of Israel from the level of other Semitic religions. It is this that has made the religion of Jahweh the inspiration of the world as the religion of the one true God. This prophetic teaching is quite unaccounted for by its environment. Nothing like it has been produced without its aid in any portion of the Semitic world, or among any other people. It is in the prophetic teaching and the influences which flowed from it that we find proof of the truth of the words: 'Men spake from God, being moved by the Holy Spirit' (2 P 1^{21}).

5. From the Exile to the Maccabees.—(1) It is clear from the sketch given above (I. § 24), that in the rehabilitation of the Jewish communities in Palestine the whole sentiment of the organizers centred in the ritual. If there were prophets, such as Haggai, Zechariah, and Malachi, they uttered their prophetic visions to persuade the people to make sacrifices to restore and maintain the sacred ceremonies. It thus happened that the whole movement in the early days after the Exile was pervaded more by the priestly than by the prophetic spirit. The Priestly document with its supplements (for the analysis cf. Carpenter and Harford-Battersby's *Hexateuch*) was the heart of the whole movement. The religious life of the Judæan community did not become consistent until it was organized upon this basis, and after this organization it went forward confidently. The author of the Priestly document (P^2) was the successor of Ezekiel, as Ezekiel had been the successor of the Deuteronomist. As Ezekiel took more interest in the organization of the ritual than did D, so P^2's interest greatly exceeded Ezekiel's. The prophetic movement had given P^2 his pure monotheism. From it he had received a faith in an All-powerful, Holy Creator and Ruler of the universe. The nearness and warmth of God, as the prophets had conceived Him, escaped P^2, but with such elements of the prophetic conception as he could grasp he set himself to the organization of the ritual.

The ritual which had come down to him from his priestly ancestry he had received as the will of God. We can see that it had its birth in Semitic heathenism, but he could not. In reality this ritual bound him to earth by the strands of many a half-superstitious custom, but in his thought it had all come from heaven. If this were so, the problem to his mind was to find the connexion of all this with the will of the God of the universe. To express the vital connexion which he thought he found, he re-wrote the history of the creation of the world and of the fortunes of the chosen people down to the settlement in Canaan, in such a way as to make it appear that circumcision had been enjoined on Abraham at the very beginning of revelation (Gn 17), and that the basis of the covenant at Sinai was neither the 'Book of the Covenant' (Ex 20^{24}–23^{19}), nor the code of Deuteronomy, but the whole Levitical ritual. This ritual, as he conceived it, had been profoundly influenced by Ezekiel. The menial work of the sanctuary was no longer to be performed, as in pre-exilic days, by foreign slaves. The descendants of those priests who had officiated in shrines other than Jerusalem were to be assigned to these services (cf. Ezk 44^{8-14}). Thus an order of Levites as a menial class was created. If this ritual was the basis of the covenant at Sinai, it could not have been ignored in the Wilderness Wandering. There must have been a movable sanctuary. Solomon's Temple was the model shrine to Ezekiel and the priests, but Solomon's Temple must (so suppose P^2 and his successors) have been patterned upon a previous nomadic shrine; hence the account of the Tabernacle was placed in their history. Among the newly created class of Levites there were many who had descended from men who had officiated as priests at Hebron, Gezer, Kadesh, Ashtaroth, and many other ancient shrines. P^2 and his followers accounted for this fact by supposing that Joshua had given the tribe of Levi cities in all parts of the land (Jos 21; cf. Barton, 'Levitical Cities of Israel in the Light of the Excavation at Gezer,' *Biblical World*, xxiv. 167 ff.).

This conception was accepted as the real account of the history only when the Priestly document had been skilfully combined with the older writings in our Pentateuch in such a way that these priestly institutions seemed to be the heart of the whole and to overshadow all else. Then apparently all opposition vanished, and priestly enthusiasm and prophetic fervour were joined by popular co-operation in establishing this ritual as the one right method of serving the Living God. This enthusiasm was in part the result of a distorted reading of history, but all uncritical readers so distort the history to the present hour. By the time of Nehemiah this view of the history was fully accepted, and by the time of the Chronicler, a century later, it had distorted the history of the Israelites in Canaan, to correspond with the priestly picture, as appears to this day in the Books of Chronicles.

This priestly triumph was in a way a retrogression from prophetic ideals. Some of the prophets, as Jeremiah, had taught a religion free and spiritual, capable of becoming universal. The priestly conception, however noble its monotheism, was so harnessed to outworn ritual that it could appeal only in a limited degree to men of other races. Nevertheless this ritual had its place. In the centuries which followed, when the soul of the Hebrew was tried almost beyond endurance, and no cheering voice of prophet was heard, it was due to this objective ritual, as something for which to live, and strive, and fight, that he survived to do his work in the world. With the adoption of the Priestly Code Judaism was born.

(2) The effects of the priestly ritual were not, however, so deadening as one might suppose. Various causes prevented it from stifling the deeper religious life. The teachings of the prophets were cherished, and many of them had taught that religion is a matter of the heart and not a ceremonial. During the long exile the devout Jew had learned how to live a really religious life without the help of Temple ritual. Many of the faithful were in Babylonia, and were still compelled to do without the Temple sacrifices and prayers. Then the Law itself did not contain sacrifices for many sins. The old customs adapted in Lv 4–6 and 16 provided sacrifices for only very few of the sins of life. The sincere heart was compelled still to live its life with God in large measure independently of the ritual. The Pentateuch also contains many noble and inspiring precepts on moral and spiritual matters. There were those, too, who paid little attention to the ceremonies of the Temple, although most supported it as a matter of duty. All these causes combined to prevent the Law from at once stereotyping the religious life. This period became accordingly the creative period in Judaism.

The first of these important creations was *the Psalter*, the hymn-book of the Second Temple. This greatest of the world's collections of sacred song was a gradual growth. Book I. (Pss 3–41) came into existence probably in the time of Nehemiah. The other collections were gradually made at different times, the whole not being completed till the Maccabæan age (cf. art. PSALMS). In compiling it some earlier hymns were probably utilized, but they were so re-edited that critics cannot clearly date them. Into this collection there went every variety of religious expression. The breathings of anger against enemies mingle with tender aspirations after communion with God. One psalm, the 50th, treats sacrifice sarcastically, while many express a devotion to the Law which is extremely touching. One (Ps 51) expresses the most advanced and psychologically correct conception of the nature of sin and forgiveness that is found anywhere in the OT. A Judaism capable of producing such a book was noble indeed. To live up to the highest expressions of this the first-fruits of creative Judaism is to be a pure Christian.

(3) There was, however, in this period a class of sages who lived apart from the life of the Temple, untouched by the ceremonies of the priest or the aspirations of the prophet. They treated religious problems from that practical common-sense point of view which the Hebrews called 'wisdom.' The books produced by this class had a profound religious influence. The attitude of these men left them free for the greatest play of individuality. Their books are, therefore, written from various standpoints, and present widely divergent points of view.

The oldest of these, the Book of *Job*, discusses, in some of the noblest poetry ever written, the problem of suffering, or the mystery of life. The author treats his theme with absolute freedom of thought, untrammelled by the priestly conceptions of the Law. In his conclusion, however, he is profoundly religious. He demonstrates at once the function and the limits of reason in the religious life,—its function to keep theology in touch with reality, and its inability to fathom life's mystery. Job does not find satisfaction till he receives the vision of God, and becomes willing, through appreciation of the Divine Personality, to trust even though his problems are unsolved (cf. Peake, *Problem of Suffering in OT*, 100 ff.).

The Book of *Proverbs* contains the sayings of sages of the practical, everyday sort. Their view of life is expediential. Wisdom is good because it pays, and the fear (worship) of Jahweh is the beginning of wisdom. Sometimes, as in ch. 8, they rise to noble poetry in the praise of wisdom, but for the most part they pursue the humdrum pathway of everyday expediency. Their point of view is the opposite of that of the impassioned Psalmists, but is not inconsistent with formal faithfulness in the observance of the Law.

Ecclesiastes is the work of a man who has almost lost faith, and who has quite lost that enthusiasm for life which the perception of a noble meaning in it gives. He is not altogether able to throw off completely his childhood's beliefs, but they have ceased to be for him a solution of life's mystery, and he has scant patience with those who, in like case with himself, continue to volubly profess their devotion because it is the orthodox thing to do. He insists upon bringing all things to the test of reality.

Sirach is a collection of aphorisms which continues the work of the Book of Proverbs.

(4) The religious life thus far described was that which flourished in Palestine. During this period, however, the Jews had been scattering over the world (cf. DISPERSION). These scattered communities had no idea of being anything but Jews. They had their synagogues in which the Law was read, and, like the Captivity in Babylonia, they maintained as much of their religious life as they could away from the Temple. As often as possible they went to Jerusalem at the time of some great feast, and took part in its sacrificial worship. Contact with the heathen world, however, broadened the vision of these Jews. They saw that many Gentiles were noble men. Probably too here and there one of the nobler Gentiles was attracted by the lofty religion of the Jew. At all events there sprang up among the Diaspora a desire to win the heathen world to Judaism. The translation of the Bible into Greek, which was begun in the 3rd cent., was demanded not only for the use of the Greek-speaking Jews, but as an instrument in the hands of those who would fulfil the missionary conception of the Second Isaiah and win the world to Jahweh. Towards the end of this period a missionary literature began to be written. One portion of this, the *Sibylline Oracles*, the oldest part of which dates perhaps from the Maccabæan age, represented the Sibyl, who was so popular in the Græco-Roman world, as recounting in Greek hexameters the history of the chosen people. The Book of *Jonah* dates from this period, and is a part of this literature, though probably written in Palestine. Its author satirizes the nation as a whole for her unwillingness, after all her chastisements, either to go on the mission to which Jahweh would send her, or to rejoice that He showed mercy to any but herself.

6. The reign of legalism.—With the beginning of the Hasmonæan dynasty (John Hyrcanus I.), the creative period of Judaism was over, and the leaders, gathering up the heritage of the past, were crystallizing it into permanent form. This did not come about all at once, and its beginnings go back into the preceding period. The writers of the Priestly Law were the real intellectual ancestors of those *Chasīdīm*, or enthusiasts for the Law, out of whom the Maccabees sprang. Until after the Maccabæan struggle, however, the religious life was too varied, and the genius of the nation too creative, for the priestly conceptions to master everybody. The struggle of the Maccabees for the life of the Jewish religion greatly strengthened the *Chasīdīm*, who early in the Hasmonæan rule developed into the Pharisees. More numerous than the Sadducees, and possessing among the country people a much greater reputation for piety, they soon became the dominant party in Palestine. Some, as the Essenes (wh. see), might split off from them, but they were too insignificant to shatter the Pharisees' influence. The aim of the Pharisees was to apply the Law to all the details of daily life. Some of its provisions were indefinite. It called on the Hebrew not to work on the Sabbath, but some work was necessary, if man would live. They endeavoured to define, therefore, what was and what was not work within the meaning of the Pentateuch. Similarly they dealt with other laws. These definitions were not for some centuries committed to writing. Thus there grew up an Oral Law side by side with the Written Law, and in due time the Pharisees regarded this as of Divine authority also. Thus their energies fastened the grip of external observance upon the religious life. The epoch was not creative. They dared not create anything. Everything was given out either as an interpretation of the Law, or as the interpretation of some predecessor. There was development and growth, of course, but this was accomplished, not by creating the new, but by interpreting the old. In the Rabbinic schools, which were developed in the reign of Herod, this system fully unfolded itself, and became the archetype of orthodox Judaism to the present day.

In the Rabbinic schools the method of teaching was by repetition. The sayings or interpretations of famous Rabbis were stated by the master and repeated again and again till they were remembered. Not originality but memory was the praiseworthy quality in a student. Thus when, centuries later, the Oral Law was committed to writing, it was called *Mishna*, or 'Repetition.'

In the synagogue (wh. see), where the people worshipped on the Sabbath, and where the children were taught, the inner religious life was fostered, but synagogues gradually became centres for the propagation of Pharisaism.

Beginning with the Maccabæan struggles, a new class of literature, the *Apocalyptic*, was called into existence. Prophecy was completely dead. No one had the creative genius to unfold in his own name the Divine purposes. For some centuries those who had a message for their

contemporaries in persecution presented it as a vision which some ancient worthy, Enoch, Daniel, Baruch, or Ezra, had seen. The apocalyptists were only in a secondary sense creative. They moulded the utterances of the prophets and traditional material borrowed from Babylonia, so as to make them express the hopes which they would teach. No fewer than seven of these works were attributed to Enoch, and six to Baruch; one was ascribed to Moses, one to Isaiah, while each of the twelve sons of Jacob had his 'Testament,' and Solomon a 'Psalter.'

In this literature the national consciousness of Judaism, in conflict first with Syria and then with Rome, finds expression. The hopes for the long-delayed kingdom of which the prophets had spoken are portrayed. As one sees that kingdom fade (or brighten) from the earthly empire of the early apocalypses to the heavenly kingdom of some of the later ones, one follows the eschatological conceptions which were at this time being born in Judaism. The apocalyptic hopes were quite consistent with the Law; they pointed forward to that time when the faithful should have ability to serve God completely, and to the reward for all that they had suffered here.

The great idea of God expressed by the Priestly document pervaded and still pervades Judaism. The Divine unity and majesty were and are its watchwords. These as well as its Pharisaic ritual have been embodied in Talmud and Midrash, and transmitted to modern times. Judaism during the Christian centuries has had its history, its development, and its heresies. It has produced independent thinkers like Maimonides and Spinoza. In modern life the Reformed Jew is casting off the forms of Pharisaism, but through the lapse of all the centuries Judaism, as shaped by the Pharisees and held by their successors, has been the orthodox religion of that race which traces its lineage to Israel.

GEORGE A. BARTON.

ISRAELITE (Jn 1^{47}).—This is the only instance of the use of the word 'Israelite' in the Gospels. It has the particular significance, suggested by the story of Jacob in Gn 32^{28} 35^{10}, of one belonging to the Jewish race, with special reference to the privileges conferred by God on His people: 'whose is the adoption, and the glory, and the covenants, and the giving of the law, and the temple service, and the promises' (Ro 9^{4}). Its use (as distinct from 'Jew' and 'Hebrew') became closely associated with belief in the Messianic hope (cf. Jn 1^{45}), and the expression 'Israelite indeed,' addressed to Nathanael, breathes that sense of tragedy so apparent in the Fourth Gospel, inasmuch as those who were specially 'His own' received Him not. We may compare the attitude of 'the Jews,' in ch. 6, who blindly claimed race privileges, and yet were enemies of Christ, and who cherished the very prejudice that Nathanael overcame (cf. Jn 1^{46} with 6^{42}, where the objection in both cases is to the commonplace origin of Jesus), when he readily responded to Philip's invitation, 'Come and see.' It is in this sense that Nathanael is 'without guile.' He does not allow his devout sense of privilege to destroy openness of heart towards the claim of Jesus of Nazareth. His action shows that he is sincere, frank, and without sinister aim (cf. 2 Co 12^{16}, 1 Th 2^{3}). To Jesus, therefore, he is an object of surprise.

R. H. STRACHAN.

ISSACHAR.—The fifth son of Leah, born after Gad and Asher, the sons of Zilpah, and the ninth of Jacob's sons (Gn 30^{18} [E], cf. $35^{22b\text{ff.}}$ [P]). The name (in Heb. *Yiss-askar*) is peculiar in form, and of uncertain signification; but it is quite probable that it has arisen from a corruption of *'ish-sakhar* as Wellhausen (*Sam.* 95) suggests, and further, that the latter element is the name of a deity. Ball (*SBOT, ad loc.*) suggests the Egyptian Memphite god *Sokar*. The name would then correspond to the name *'ish-Gad* by which the Moabites knew the Gadites. J and E, however, both connect it with the root *sākhar*, 'to hire': J, because Leah 'hired' Jacob from Rachel with Reuben's mandrakes; E, because she gave Zilpah to Jacob. The difference shows that the traditions are of little value as linguistic guides. Gn $49^{14.\ 15}$ also appears to play upon the root *sākhar* in its description of Issachar as 'a servant under task work.' This would harmonize with the interpretation 'hired man' or 'labourer.' It has, however, little to commend it.

P's census at Sinai gives the tribe 54,400 (Nu 1^{29}), and at Moab 64,300 (26^{25}); cf. 1 Ch 7^{5}. For the clans see Gn 46^{13} and 1 Ch $7^{1\text{ff.}}$.

The original seat of the tribe appears to have been S. of Naphtali and S.E. of Zebulun, 'probably in the hills between the two valleys which descend from the Great Plain to the Jordan (*Wady el-Bireh* and *Nahr Galud*)' (Moore, *Judges*, 151). On the N.W. it touched upon Mt. Tabor, on the S. upon Mt. Gilboa. Eastward it reached to the Jordan. P's lot (Jos $19^{17\text{-}23}$) assigns to the tribe sixteen cities and their villages, scattered throughout the eastern end of the rich Plain of Esdraelon and the Valley of Jezreel. The tribe participated in the war against Sisera (Jg 5^{15}), and Deborah perhaps belonged to it. The 'with' before Deborah might be read 'people of'; but the verse is evidently corrupt. Baasha, the son of Ahijah, who succeeded Nadab, was 'of the house of Issachar'; and, possibly, also Omri, who gave his name to the Northern Kingdom. The references in the Blessing of Jacob (Gn 49) would indicate that during the early monarchy Issachar lost both its martial valour and its independence. On the other hand, in the Blessing of Moses (Dt $33^{18.\ 19}$) great commercial prosperity is indicated, and the maintenance of a sanctuary to which 'the peoples' flock to the sacrificial worship. Tola the judge, the grandson of Dodo, was a man of Issachar (Jg 10^{1}). This name *Dodo*, occurring on the Mesha stele as that of a divinity, has led to the suggestion that he may have been worshipped in early times by the tribe. According to the Talmud, the Sanhedrin drew from Issachar its most intellectually prominent members. See also TRIBES OF ISRAEL.

JAMES A. CRAIG.

ISSHIAH.—**1.** One of the heads of the tribe of Issachar (1 Ch 7^{3}). **2.** A Korahite who joined David at Ziklag (1 Ch 12^{6}). **3.** The son of Uzziel (1 Ch 23^{20} 24^{25}). **4.** A Levite (1 Ch 24^{21}).

ISSHIJAH.—One of those who had married a foreign wife (Ezr 10^{31}); called in 1 Es 9^{32} **Aseas.**

ISSUE.—See MEDICINE, p. 600[a].

ISTALCURUS (1 Es 8^{40}).—'Uthi the son of Istalcurus' here stands for 'Uthai and Zabbud' in Ezr 8^{14}.

ITALIAN BAND.—See BAND.

ITALY.—This word varied in sense from time to time. It first signified only the Southern (the Greek) part of the peninsula; later it included all the country south of the Lombard plain; and finally, before the time of Christ, it had come to bear the meaning which it has now. Its central position in the Mediterranean, the conformation of its coast, and the capabilities of its soil under proper cultivation, fitted it to be the home and centre of a governing race. In the 1st cent. A.D. there was constant communication between the capital Rome and every part of the Empire, by well-recognized routes. Among the routes to the E., which mainly concern the NT student, was that from Rome along the W. coast of Italy to Campania, where it crossed the country and eventually reached Brundisium. From the harbour there the traveller either sailed across the Adriatic to Dyrrhachium, and went by the Egnatian road to Thessalonica and beyond, or sailed across to the Gulf of Corinth, transhipped from Lechæum to Cenchreæ (wh. see), and from there sailed to Ephesus or Antioch or Alexandria, as he desired.

The best account of a home journey is in Ac 27. The Jews poured into Italy, especially to Rome, and had been familiar to the Italians long before Christianity came. A. SOUTER.

ITCH.—See MEDICINE, p. 599b.

ITHAI.—See ITTAI, 2.

ITHAMAR.—The fourth and youngest son of Aaron and Elisheba (Ex 6^{23} etc.); consecrated priest (Ex $28^{1ff.}$); forbidden to mourn for Nadab and Abihu (Lv 10^{6}), or to leave the Tent of Meeting (v.^{7}); afterwards entrusted by Moses with priestly duties (Lv $10^{12ff.}$) and rebuked by him for neglect (v.$^{16ff.}$); set over the Gershonites and the Merarites in connexion with the service of the Tent of Meeting (Nu 4^{21-33} $7^{7f.}$; cf. also Ex 38^{21}); ancestor of Eli (cf. 1 K 2^{27} with 1 Ch 24^{3}; Jos. *Ant.* VIII. i. 3). The family in David's time was only half the size of Eleazar's (1 Ch 24^{4}). It was represented among the returned exiles (Ezr 8^{2}).
W. TAYLOR SMITH.

ITHIEL.—**1.** A Benjamite (Neh 11^{7}). **2.** One of two persons to whom Agur addressed his oracular sayings, the other being **Ucal** (Pr 30^{1}). Neither LXX nor Vulg. recognizes proper names here, and most modern commentators point differently and tr. 'I have wearied myself, O God, I have wearied myself, O God, and am consumed.' So RVm.

ITHLAH.—A town of Dan, near Aijalon (Jos 19^{42}). The site is unknown.

ITHMAH.—A Moabite, one of David's heroes (1 Ch 11^{46}).

ITHNAN.—A city in the Negeb of Judah (Jos 15^{23}); site uncertain.

ITHRA.—The father of Amasa, and husband of Abigail, David's sister. He is described as an Israelite in 2 S 17^{25}, but the better reading is '**Jether** the Ishmaelite' (1 Ch 2^{17}).

ITHRAN.—**1.** Eponym of a Horite clan (Gn 36^{26}, 1 Ch 1^{41}). **2.** An Asherite chief (1 Ch 7^{37}), probably identical with **Jether** of the following verse.

ITHREAM.—The sixth son of David, born to him at Hebron (2 S 3^{5}, 1 Ch 3^{3}).

ITHRITE, THE.—A gentilic adjective applied to the descendants of a family of Kiriath-jearim (1 Ch 2^{53}), amongst whom were two of David's guard (2 S 23^{38}, 1 Ch 11^{40} Ira and Gareb). Possibly, however, the text of 2 S 23 and 1 Ch 11 should be pointed 'the **Jattirite**,' *i.e.* an inhabitant of Jattir (mentioned in 1 S 30^{27} as one of David's haunts) in the hill-country of Judah (Jos 15^{48} 21^{14}). See JATTIR.

ITS.—It is well known that this word occurs but once in AV, Lv 25^{5}, and that even there it is due to subsequent printers, the word in 1611 being 'it'—'that which groweth of it owne accord.' The use of 'it' for 'its' is well seen in Shaks. *King John*, II. i. 160,

> 'Go to it grandam, child:
> Give grandam kingdom, and it grandam will
> Give it a plum, a cherry, and a fig.'

The form 'its' was only beginning to come into use about 1611. The usual substitutes in AV are 'his' and 'thereof.' Thus Mt 6^{33} 'But seek ye first the kingdom of God, and his righteousness,' where Tindale has 'the rightwisnes thereof' (RV takes the pronoun to be masculine, referring to God, not kingdom, and retains 'his').

ITTAI.—**1.** A Gittite leader who, with a following of six hundred Philistines, attached himself to David at the outbreak of Absalom's rebellion. In spite of being urged by David to return to his home, he determined to follow the king in his misfortune, affirming his faithfulness in the beautiful words: 'As the Lord liveth, and as my lord the king liveth, surely in what place my lord the king shall be, whether for death or for life, even there also will thy servant be' (2 S 15^{21}). He therefore remained in the service of David, and soon rose to a position of great trust, being placed in command of a third part of the people (2 S 18^{2}). **2.** A Benjamite, son of Ribai, who was one of David's mighty men (2 S 23^{29}, 1 Ch 11^{31} [in the latter **Ithai**]).
W. O. E. OESTERLEY.

ITURÆA [the name is probably derived from **Jetur**, who is mentioned in Gn 25^{15} and 1 Ch 1^{31} as a son of Ishmael], with Trachonitis, constituted the tetrarchy of Philip (Lk 3^{1}). But whether 'Ituræa' is employed by the Evangelist as a noun or an adjective is a disputed point. Ramsay contends (*Expositor*, Jan., Feb., Apr., 1894) that no Greek writer prior to Eusebius in the 4th cent. A.D. ever uses it as the name of a country. The Ituræans as a people were well known to classical writers. According to Cicero (*Philipp.* ii. 112), they were a 'predatory people'; according to Cæsar (*Bell. Afr.* 20), they were 'skilful archers'; according to Strabo (XVI. ii. 10 etc.), they were 'lawless.' They seem to have migrated originally from the desert to the vicinity of Southern Lebanon and Cœle-Syria. Both Strabo and Josephus (*Ant.* XIII. xi. 3) locate them in these parts. The Romans probably caused them to retreat towards the desert again shortly before the Christian era. Lysanias the son of Ptolemy is called by Dio Cassius (xlix. 32) 'king of the Ituræans.' He was put to death by Mark Antony in B.C. 34. Zenodorus his successor died in B.C. 20, whereupon a part of his territory fell into the hands of Herod the Great; and when Herod's kingdom was divided, it became the possession of Philip (Jos. *Ant.* XV. x. 3). Whether Ituræa and Trachonitis overlapped (as Ramsay thinks), or were two distinct districts (as Strabo), is uncertain; G. A. Smith in his art. 'Ituræa' in Hastings' *DB* is non-committal. The passage in Luke seems to favour a distinct and definite district, which was probably somewhere N.E. of the Sea of Galilee.
GEORGE L. ROBINSON.

IVORY (*shēn*, lit.'tooth'; and *shenhabbīm*,'elephants' teeth' [but reading doubtful], 1 K 10^{22}, 2 Ch 9^{21}).—Ivory has been valued from the earliest times. In Solomon's day the Israelites imported it from Ophir (1 K 10^{22}): it was used in the decorations of palaces (22^{39}). The 'tower of ivory' (Ca 7^{4}) may also have been a building decorated with ivory. Solomon had a throne of ivory (1 K 10^{18-20}). 'Beds of ivory,' such as are mentioned in Am 6^{4}, were, according to a cuneiform inscription, included in the tribute paid by Hezekiah to Sennacherib. E. W. G. MASTERMAN.

IVVAH.—A city named in 2 K 18^{34} 19^{13}, Is 37^{13}, along with Sepharvaim and Hena, as conquered by the Assyrians. Its real name and location are both uncertain. It is frequently identified with **Avva** of 2 K 17^{24}. Some would make it the name not of a city but of a god. See, further, art. HENA.

IVY.—This plant (*Hedera helix*) grows wild in Palestine and Syria. It is mentioned in 2 Mac 6^{7}. See DIONYSIA.

IYE-ABARIM ('Iyim of the regions beyond,' distinguishing this place from the Iim of Jos 15^{29}).—The station mentioned in Nu 21^{11} 33^{44} (in v.^{45} **Iyim** alone) and described (21^{11}) as 'in the wilderness which is before Moab toward the sun-rising,' and more briefly (33^{44}) as 'in the border of Moab.' Nothing is known as to its position beyond these indications.

IYIM ('heaps' or 'ruins').—**1.** Short form of **Iye-abarim** in Nu 33^{45}. **2.** Jos 15^{29} (AV and RV incorrectly **Iim**), a town in Judah, one of the 'uttermost cities toward the border of Edom.'

IYYAR.—See TIME.

IZHAR.—1. Son of Kohath the son of Levi (Ex 6[18. 21], Nu 3[19] 16[1], 1 Ch 6[2. 18. 38] 23[12. 18]); patron. **Izharites** (Nu 3[27], 1 Ch 24[22] 26[23. 29]). 2. A Judahite (1 Ch 4[7]).

IZLIAH.—A Benjamite chief (1 Ch 8[18]).

IZRAHIAH.—A chief of Issachar (1 Ch 7[3]).

IZRAHITES.—Gentilic name in 1 Ch 27[8], possibly another form of **Zerahites,** vv.[11. 13].

IZRI.—Chief of one of the Levitical choirs (1 Ch 25[11]); called in v.[3] **Zeri.**

IZZIAH.—One of those who had married a foreign wife (Ezr 10[25]); called in 1 Es 9[26] **Ieddias.**

J

JAAKAN.—See Beeroth-Bene-Jaakan.

JAAKOBAH.—A Simeonite prince (1 Ch 4[36]).

JAALA (Neh 7[58]) or **JAALAH** (Ezr 2[56]).—The name of a family of the 'sons of Solomon's servants' who returned with Zerubbabel; called in 1 Es 5[33] **Jeeli.**

JAAR.—A Heb. name for a wood, forest, thicket, occurring about fifty times in the OT. It occurs once as a proper name, namely in Ps 132[6], where, speaking of the ark, the Psalmist says that it was heard of at Ephrathah and found at Jaar. The parallelism of Hebrew poetry requires that Jaar shall be regarded here as set over against Ephrathah. The ark was brought from the region of Bethlehem (Ephrathah), yea, from the woody heights of Kiriath-jearim. W. F. Cobb.

JAARE-OREGIM.—According to 2 S 21[19], the name of the father of Elhanan, one of David's heroes; but according to 1 Ch 20[5] his name was plain **Jair.** Obviously *oregim* ('weavers') has crept in from the next line. See Elhanan. W. F. Cobb.

JAARESHIAH.—A Benjamite chief (1 Ch 8[27]).

JAASIEL.—The 'ruler' of Benjamin (1 Ch 27[21]), probably identical with 'the **Mezobaite**' of 11[47].

JAASU (Ezr 10[37] *Kethibh*) or **JAASAI** (*Qerē*, so RVm. —One of those who had married foreign wives.

JAAZANIAH.—1. A Judæan, one of the military commanders who came to Mizpah to give in their allegiance to Gedaliah (2 K 25[23] = Jer 40[8] **Jezaniah**). 2. A chieftain of the clan of the Rechabites (Jer 35[3]). 3. Son of Shaphan, who appeared in Ezekiel's vision as ringleader of seventy of the elders of Israel in the practice of secret idolatry at Jerusalem (Ezk 8[11]). 4. Son of Azzur, against whose counsels Ezekiel was commanded to prophesy (Ezk 11[1ff.]).

JAAZIAH.—A son of Merari (1 Ch 24[26. 27]).

JAAZIEL.—A Levite skilled in the use of the psaltery (1 Ch 15[18]); called in v.[20] **Aziel.**

JABAL.—Son of Lamech by Adah, and originator of the nomadic form of life, Gn 4[20] (J).

JABBOK.—A river now called *Nahr ez-Zerka* ('the Blue River'), which rises near *Ammān* the ancient Rabbath-ammon, and after running first N.E., then N., N.W., W., finally bends S.W. to enter the Jordan. On almost the whole of its curved course of 60 miles it runs through a deep valley, and forms a natural boundary. On its curved upper reaches it may be said practically to bound the desert, while the deep gorge of its lower, straighter course divides the land of Gilead into two halves. It is mentioned as a frontier in Nu 21[24], Dt 2[37] 3[16], Jos 12[2], Jg 11[13. 22]. The Jabbok is famous for all time on account of the striking incident of Jacob's wrestling there with the Angel (Gn 32[24f.]).

E. W. G. Masterman.

JABESH.—Father of Shallum, who usurped the kingdom of Israel by the assassination of king Zechariah (2 K 15[10. 13. 14]).

JABESH, JABESH-GILEAD.—A city which first appears in the story of the restoration of the Benjamites (Jg 21). Probably it had not fully recovered from this blow when it was almost forced to submit to the disgraceful terms of Nahash the Ammonite (1 S 11). In gratitude for Saul's relief of the city, the inhabitants rescued his body from maltreatment by the Philistines (1 S 31[11-13])—an act which earned them the commendation of David (2 S 2[4]).

According to the *Onomasticon*, the site is 6 Roman miles from Pella. The name seems to be preserved in *Yabis*, a wady tributary to the Jordan, which runs down at the south part of trans-Jordanic Manasseh. The site itself, however, is not yet identified with certainty.

R. A. S. Macalister.

JABEZ.—1. A city in Judah occupied by scribes, the descendants of Caleb (1 Ch 2[55]). 2. A man of the family of Judah, noted for his 'honourable' character (1 Ch 4[9ff.]); called *Ya'bēts*, which is rendered as if it stood for *Ya'tsēb*, 'he causes pain.' In his vow (v.[10]) there is again a play upon his name. W. Ewing.

JABIN ('[God] perceives').—A Canaanite king who reigned in Hazor, a place near the Waters of Merom, not far from Kedesh. In the account, in Jg 4, of the defeat of Jabin's host under Sisera, the former takes up quite a subordinate position. In another account (Jos 11[1-9]) of this episode the victory of the two tribes of Zebulun and Naphtali is represented as a conquest of the whole of northern Canaan by Joshua. Both accounts (Jos 11[1-9], Jg 4) are fragments taken from an earlier, and more elaborate, source; the Jabin in each passage is therefore one and the same person.

W. O. E. Oesterley.

JABNEEL.—1. A town on the N. border of Judah, near Mt. Baalah, and close to the sea (Jos 15[11]). In 2 Ch 26[6] it is mentioned under the name **Jabneh,** along with Gath and Ashdod, as one of the cities captured from the Philistines by Uzziah. Although these are the only OT references, it is frequently mentioned (under the name **Jamnia**) in the Books of Maccabees (1 Mac 4[15] 5[58] 10[69] 15[40], 2 Mac 12[8. 9. 40]) and in Josephus. Judas is said to have burned its harbour; it was captured by Simon from the Syrians. In Jth 2[28] it is called **Jemnaan.** After various vicissitudes it was captured in the war of the Jews by Vespasian. After the destruction of Jerusalem, Jabneel, now called Jamnia, became the home of the Sanhedrin. At the time of the Crusades the castle *Ibelin* stood on the site. To-day the village of *Yebna* stands on the ruined remains of these ancient occupations. It stands 170 feet above the sea on a prominent hill S. of the *Wady Rubin*. The ancient *Majumas* or harbour of Jamnia lies to the West. 'The port would seem to be naturally better than any along the coast of Palestine S. of Cæsarea' (Warren).

2. An unknown site on the N. boundary of Naphtali not far from the Jordan (Jos 19[33]).

E. W. G. Masterman.

JABNEH.—See Jabneel.

JACAN.—A Gadite chief (1 Ch 5[13]).

JACHIN.—1. Fourth son of Simeon (Gn 46[10], Ex 6[15]) called in 1 Ch 4[24] **Jarib**; in Nu 26[12] the patronymic

Jachinites occurs. **2.** Eponym of a priestly family (1 Ch 9^{10}, Neh 11^{10}).

JACHIN AND BOAZ.—These are the names borne by two brazen, or more probably bronze, pillars belonging to Solomon's Temple. They evidently represented the highest artistic achievement of their author, Hiram of Tyre, 'the half-Tyrian copper-worker, whom Solomon fetched from Tyre to do foundry work for him,' whose name, however, was more probably Huram-abi (2 Ch 2^{12}, Heb. text). The description of them now found in 1 K 7^{15-22} is exceedingly confused and corrupt, but with the help of the better preserved Gr. text, and of other OT. references (viz. $7^{41.\ 42}$, 2 Ch 3^{15-17} $4^{12.\ 13}$, and Jer 52^{21-23} = 2 K 25^{17}), recent scholars have restored the text of the primary passage somewhat as follows:—

'And he cast the two pillars of bronze for the porch of the temple; 18 cubits was the height of the one pillar, and a line of 12 cubits could compass it about, and its thickness was 4 finger-breadths (for it was) hollow [with this cf. Jer 52^{21}]. And the second pillar was similar. And he made two chapiters [*i. e.* capitals] of cast bronze for the tops of the pillars, etc. [as in RV]. And he made two sets of network to cover the chapiters which were upon the tops of the pillars, a network for the one chapiter and a network for the second chapiter. And he made the pomegranates; and two rows of pomegranates in bronze were upon the one network, and the pomegranates were 200, round about upon the one chapiter, and so he did for the second chapiter. And he set up the pillars at the porch of the temple,' etc. [as in v.^{21} RV].

The original description, thus freed from later glosses such as the difficult 'lily work' of v.^{19}, consists of three parts; the pillars, their capitals, and the ornamentation of the latter. The pillars themselves were hollow, with a thickness of metal equal to three inches of our measure; their height, on the basis of the larger cubit of 20⅔ inches (see Hastings' *DB* iv. 907^{a}), was about 31 feet, while their diameter works out at about 6½ feet. The capitals appear from 1 K 7^{41} to have been globular or spheroidal in form, each about 8½ feet in height, giving a total height for the complete pillars of roughly 40 feet. The ornamentation of the capitals was twofold: first they were covered with a specially cast **network** of bronze. Over this were hung festoon-wise two wreaths of bronze pomegranates, each row containing 100 pomegranates, of which it is probable that four were fixed to the network, while the remaining 96 hung free (see Jer 52^{23}).

As regards their position relative to the Temple, it may be regarded as certain that they were structurally independent of the Temple porch, and stood free in front of it—probably on plinths or bases—Jachin on the south and Boaz on the north (1 K 7^{21}), one on either side of the steps leading up to the entrance to the porch (cf. Ezk 40^{49}). Such free-standing pillars were a feature of Phœnician and other temples of Western Asia, the statements of Greek writers on this point being confirmed by representations on contemporary coins. A glass dish, discovered in Rome in 1882, even shows a representation of Solomon's Temple with the twin pillars flanking the porch, as above described (reproduced in Benzinger's *Heb. Arch.* [1907], 218).

The names 'Jachin' and 'Boaz' present an enigma which still awaits solution. The meanings suggested in the margins of EV—*Jachin*, 'he shall establish,' *Boaz*, 'in it is strength'—give no help, and are besides very problematical. The various forms of the names presented by the Greek texts—for which see *EBi* ii. 2304 f. and esp. Barnes in *JThSt* v. [1904], 447–551—point to a possible original nomenclature as *Baal* and *Jachun*—the latter a Phœnician verbal form of the same signification ('he will be') as the Heb. *Jahweh*.

The original significance and purpose of the pillars, finally, are almost as obscure as their names. The fact that they were the work of a Phœnician artist, however, makes it probable that their presence is to be explained on the analogy of the similar pillars of Phœnician temples. These, though viewed in more primitive times as the abode of the Deity (see PILLAR), had, as civilization and religion advanced, come to be regarded as mere symbols of His presence. To a Phœnician temple-builder, Jachin and Boaz would appear as the natural adjuncts of such a building, and are therefore, perhaps, best explained as conventional symbols of the God for whose worship the Temple of Solomon was designed.

For another, and entirely improbable, view of their original purpose, namely, that they were huge candelabra or cressets in which 'the suet of the sacrifices' was burned, see W. R. Smith's *RS*^{2}, 488; and for the latest attempts to explain the pillars in terms of the Babylonian 'astral mythology,' see A. Jeremias, *Das alte Test. im Lichte d. alt. Orients*^{2} [1906], 494, etc.; Benzinger, *op. cit.*, 2nd ed. [1907], 323. 331. A. R. S. KENNEDY.

JACINTH.—See JEWELS AND PRECIOUS STONES, p. 467^{a}.

JACKAL.—Although the word 'jackal' does not occur in the AV, there is no doubt that this animal is several times mentioned in OT: it occurs several times in RV where AV has 'fox.' (1) *shū'āl* is used in Heb. for both animals, but most of the references are most suitably tr. 'jackal.' The only OT passage in which the fox is probably intended is Neh 4^{3}. (2) *tannīm* (pl.), AV '**dragons,**' is in RV usually tr. 'jackals.' See Is 34^{13}, Jer 9^{11} 10^{22} etc. Post considers 'wolves' would be better. (3) *'iyyīm*, tr. AV 'wild beasts of the island' (Is 13^{22} 34^{14}, Jer 50^{39}), is in RV tr. 'wolves,' but Post thinks these 'howling creatures' (as word implies) were more probably jackals. (4) *'ōhīm*, '**doleful creatures**' (Is 13^{21}), may also have been jackals. The jackal (*Canis aureus*) is exceedingly common in Palestine; its mournful cries are heard every night. During the day jackals hide in deserted ruins, etc. (Is 13^{22} 34^{13} 35^{7}), but as soon as the sun sets they issue forth. They may at such times be frequently seen gliding backwards and forwards across the roads seeking for morsels of food. Their staple food is carrion of all sorts (Ps 63^{10}). At the present day the Bedouin threaten an enemy with death by saying they will 'throw his body to the jackals.' Though harmless to grown men when solitary, a whole pack may be dangerous. The writer knows of a case where a European was pursued for miles over the Philistine plain by a pack of jackals. It is because they go in packs that we take the *shu'ālim* of Jg 15^{4} to be jackals rather than foxes. Both animals have a weakness for grapes (Ca 2^{15}). Cf. art. Fox. E. W. G. MASTERMAN.

JACOB.—**1.** Son of Isaac and Rebekah. His name is probably an elliptical form of an original *Jakob'el*, 'God follows' (*i.e.* 'rewards'), which has been found both on Babylonian tablets and on the pylons of the temple of Karnak. By the time of Jacob this earlier history of the word was overlooked or forgotten, and the name was understood as meaning 'one who takes by the heel, and thus tries to trip up or supplant' (Gn 25^{26} 27^{36}, Hos 12^{3}). His history is recounted in Gn 25^{21}–50^{13}, the materials being unequally contributed from three sources. For the details of analysis see Dillmann, *Com.*, and Driver, *LOT*^{6}, p. 16. P supplies but a brief outline; J and E are closely interwoven, though a degree of original independence is shown by an occasional divergence in tradition, which adds to the credibility of the joint narrative.

Jacob was born in answer to prayer (25^{21}), near Beersheba; and the later rivalry between Israel and Edom was thought of as prefigured in the strife of the twins in the womb ($25^{22f.}$, 2 Es 3^{16} 6^{8-10}, Ro 9^{11-13}). The differences between the two brothers, each contrasting with the other in character and habit, were marked from the beginning. Jacob grew up a 'quiet man' (Gn 25^{27} RVm), a shepherd and herdsman. Whilst still at home, he succeeded in overreaching Esau in two ways. He took advantage of Esau's hunger and heedlessness to secure the birthright, which gave him precedence even during the father's lifetime (43^{33}), and

afterwards a double portion of the patrimony (Dt 21^{17}), with probably the domestic priesthood. At a later time, after careful consideration (Gn $27^{11ff.}$), he adopted the device suggested by his mother, and, allaying with ingenious falsehoods (27^{20}) his father's suspicion, intercepted also his blessing. Isaac was dismayed, but instead of revoking the blessing confirmed it ($27^{33\text{-}37}$), and was not able to remove Esau's bitterness. In both blessings later political and geographical conditions are reflected. To Jacob is promised Canaan, a well-watered land of fields and vineyards (Dt 11^{14} 33^{28}), with sovereignty over its peoples, even those who were 'brethren' or descended from the same ancestry as Israel (Gn $19^{37f.}$, 2 S $8^{12.\ 14}$). Esau is consigned to the dry and rocky districts of Idumæa, with a life of war and plunder; but his subjection to Jacob is limited in duration (2 K 8^{22}), if not also in completeness (Gn $27^{40f.}$, which points to the restlessness of Edom).

Of this successful craft on Jacob's part the natural result on Esau's was hatred and resentment, to avoid which Jacob left his home to spend a few days (27^{44}) with his uncle in Haran. Two different motives are assigned. JE represents Rebekah as pleading with her son his danger from Esau; but P represents her as suggesting to Isaac the danger that Jacob might marry a Hittite wife (27^{46}). The traditions appear on literary grounds to have come from different sources; but there is no real difficulty in the narrative as it stands. Not only are man's motives often complex; but a woman would be likely to use different pleas to a husband and to a son, and if a mother can counsel her son to yield to his fear, a father would be more alive to the possibility of an outbreak of folly. On his way to Haran, Jacob passed a night at Bethel (cf. $13^{3f.}$), and his sleep was, not unnaturally, disturbed by dreams; the cromlechs and stone terraces of the district seemed to arrange themselves into a ladder reaching from earth to heaven, with angels ascending and descending, whilst Jehovah Himself bent over him (28^{13} RVm) with loving assurances. Reminded thus of the watchful providence of God, Jacob's alarms were transmuted into religious awe. He marked the sanctity of the spot by setting up as a sacred pillar the boulder on which his head had rested, and undertook to dedicate a tithe of all his gains. Thenceforward Bethel became a famous sanctuary, and Jacob himself visited it again (35^{1}; cf. Hos 12^{4}).

Arrived at Haran, Jacob met in his uncle his superior for a time in the art of overreaching. By a ruse Laban secured fourteen years' service (29^{27}, Hos 12^{12}, Jth 8^{26}), to which six years more were added, under an ingenious arrangement in which the exacting uncle was at last outwitted ($30^{31ff.}$). At the end of the term Jacob was the head of a household conspicuous even in those days for its magnitude and prosperity. Quarrels with Laban and his sons ensued, but God is represented as intervening to turn their arbitrary actions ($31^{7ff.}$) to Jacob's advantage. At length he took flight whilst Laban was engaged in sheep-shearing, and, re-crossing the Euphrates on his way home, reached Gilead. There he was overtaken by Laban, whose exasperation was increased by the fact that his *teraphim*, or household gods, had been taken away by the fugitives, Rachel's hope in stealing them being to appropriate the good fortune of her fathers. The dispute that followed was closed by an alliance of friendship, the double covenant being sealed by setting up in commemoration a cairn with a solitary boulder by its side ($31^{45f.\ 52}$), and by sharing a sacrificial meal. Jacob promised to treat Laban's daughters with special kindness, and both Jacob and Laban undertook to respect the boundary they had agreed upon between the territories of Israel and of the Syrians. Thereupon Laban returned home; and Jacob continued his journey to Canaan, and was met by the angels of God (32^{1}), as if to congratulate and welcome him as he approached the Land of Promise.

Jacob's next problem was to conciliate his brother, who was reported to be advancing against him with a large body of men (32^{6}). Three measures were adopted. When a submissive message elicited no response, Jacob in dismay turned to God, though without any expression of regret for the deceit by which he had wronged his brother, and proceeded to divide his party into two companies, in the hope that one at least would escape, and to try to appease Esau with a great gift. The next night came the turning-point in Jacob's life. Hitherto he had been ambitious, steady of purpose, subject to genuine religious feeling, but given up almost wholly to the use of crooked methods. Now the higher elements in his nature gain the ascendency; and henceforth, though he is no less resourceful and politic, his fear of God ceases to be spoilt by intervening passions or a competing self-confidence. Alone on the banks of the Jabbok (*Wady Zerka*), full of doubt as to the fate that would overtake him, he recognizes at last that his real antagonist is not Esau but God. All his fraud and deceit had been pre-eminently sin against God; and what he needed supremely was not reconciliation with his brother, but the blessing of God. So vivid was the impression, that the entire night seemed to be spent in actual wrestling with a living man. His thigh was sprained in the contest; but since his will was so fixed that he simply would not be refused, the blessing came with the daybreak (32^{28}). His name was changed to *Israel*, which means etymologically 'God perseveres,' but was applied to Jacob in the sense of 'Perseverer with God' (Hos $12^{3f.}$). And as a name was to a Hebrew a symbol of nature (Is 1^{26} 61^{3}), its change was a symbol of a changed character; and the supplanter became the one who persevered in putting forth his strength in communion with God, and therefore prevailed. His brother received him cordially (33^{4}), and offered to escort him during the rest of the journey. The offer was courteously declined, ostensibly because of the difference of pace between the two companies, but probably also with a view to incur no obligation and to risk no rupture. Esau returned to Seir; and Jacob moved on to a suitable site for an encampment, which received the name of Succoth, from the booths that were erected on it (33^{17}). It was east of the Jordan, and probably not far from the junction with the Jabbok. The valley was suitable for the recuperation of the flocks and herds after so long a journey; and it is probable, from the character of the buildings erected, as well as from the fact that opportunity must be given for Dinah, one of the youngest of the children (30^{21}), to reach a marriageable age ($34^{2ff.}$), that Jacob stayed there for several years.

After a residence of uncertain length at Succoth, Jacob crossed the Jordan and advanced to **Shechem,** where he purchased a plot of ground which became afterwards of special interest. Joshua seems to have regarded it as the limit of his expedition, and there the Law was promulgated and Joseph's bones were buried (Jos $24^{25.\ 32}$; cf. Ac 7^{16}); and for a time it was the centre of the confederation of the northern tribes (1 K 12^{1}, 2 Ch 10^{1}). Again Jacob's stay must not be measured by days; for he erected an altar (33^{20}) and dug a well (Jn $4^{6.\ 12}$), and was detained by domestic troubles, if not of his own original intention. The troubles began with the seduction or outrage of Dinah; but the narrative that follows is evidently compacted of two traditions. According to the one, the transaction was personal, and involved a fulfilment by Shechem of a certain unspecified condition; according to the other, the entire clan was involved on either side, and the story is that of the danger of the absorption of Israel by the local Canaanites and its avoidance through the interposition of Simeon and Levi. But most of the difficulties disappear on the assumption that Shechem's marriage was, as was natural, expedited, a delight to himself and generally approved amongst his kindred (34^{19}). That pressing matter being settled, the question of an alliance between

the two clans, with the sinister motives that prevailed on either side, would be gradually, perhaps slowly, brought to an issue. There would be time to persuade the Shechemites to consent to be circumcised, and to arrange for the treacherous reprisal. Jacob's part in the proceedings was confined chiefly to a timid reproach of his sons for entangling his household in peril, to which they replied with the plea that the honour of the family was the first consideration.

The state of feeling aroused by the vengeance executed on Shechem made it desirable for Jacob to continue his journey. He was directed by God to proceed some twenty miles southwards to Bethel. Before starting, due preparations were made for a visit to so sacred a spot. The amulets and images of foreign gods in the possession of his retainers were collected and buried under a terebinth (35[4]; cf. Jos 24[26], Jg 9[6]). The people through whom he passed were smitten with such a panic by the news of what had happened at Shechem as not to interfere with him. Arrived at Bethel, he added an altar (35[7]) to the monolith he had erected on his previous visit, and received in a theophany, for which in mood he was well prepared, a renewal of the promise of regal prosperity. The additional pillar he set up (35[14]) was probably a sepulchral stele to the memory of Deborah (cf. 35[20]), dedicated with appropriate religious services; unless the verse is out of place in the narrative, and is really J's version of what E relates in 28[18]. From Bethel Jacob led his caravan to Ephrath, a few miles from which place Rachel died in childbirth. This Ephrath was evidently not far from Bethel, and well to the north of Jerusalem (1 S 10[2f.], Jer 31[15]), and therefore the gloss 'the same is Bethlehem' must be due to a confusion with the other Ephrath (Ru 4[11], Mic 5[2]), which was south of Jerusalem. The next stopping-place was the tower of Eder (35[21]) or 'the flock'—a generic name for the watch-towers erected to aid in the protection of the flocks from robbers and wild beasts. Mic 4[8] applies a similar term to the fortified southern spur of Zion. But it cannot be proved that the two allusions coalesce; and actually nothing is known of the site of Jacob's encampment, except that it was between Ephrath and Hebron. His journey was ended when he reached the last-named place (35[27]), the home of his fathers, where he met Esau again, and apparently for the last time, at the funeral of Isaac.

From the time of his return to Hebron, Jacob ceases to be the central figure of the Biblical narrative, which thenceforward revolves round Joseph. Among the leading incidents are Joseph's mission to inquire after his brethren's welfare, the inconsolable sorrow of the old man on the receipt of what seemed conclusive evidence of Joseph's death, the despatch of his surviving sons except Benjamin to buy corn in Egypt (cf. Ac 7[12f.]), the bitterness of the reproach with which he greeted them on their return, and his belated and despairing consent to another expedition as the only alternative to death from famine. The story turns next to Jacob's delight at the news that Joseph is alive, and to his own journey to Egypt through Beersheba, his early home, where he was encouraged by God in visions of the night (46[1-7]). In Egypt he was met by Joseph, and, after an interview with the Pharaoh, settled in the pastoral district of Goshen (47[6]), afterwards known as 'the land of Rameses' (from Rameses II. of the nineteenth dynasty), in the eastern part of the Delta (47[11]). This migration of Jacob to Egypt was an event of the first magnitude in the history of Israel (Dt 26[5f.], Ac 7[14f.]), as a stage in the great providential preparation for Redemption. Jacob lived in Egypt seventeen years (47[28]), at the close of which, feeling death to be nigh, he extracted a pledge from Joseph to bury him in Canaan, and adopted his two grandsons, placing the younger first in anticipation of the pre-eminence of the tribe that would descend from him (48[19], He 11[21]). To Joseph himself was promised, as a token of special affection, the conquered districts of Shechem on the lower slopes of Gerizim (48[22], Jn 4[5]). Finally, the old man gathered his sons about him, and pronounced upon each in turn a blessing, afterwards wrought up into the elaborate poetical form of 49[2-27]. The tribes are reviewed in order, and the character of each is sketched in a description of that of its founder. The atmosphere of the poem in regard alike to geography and to history is that of the period of the judges and early kings, when, therefore, the genuine tradition must have taken the form in which it has been preserved. After blessing his sons, Jacob gave them together the directions concerning his funeral which he had given previously to Joseph, and died (49[33]). His body was embalmed, convoyed to Canaan by a great procession according to the Egyptian custom, and buried in the cave of Machpelah near Hebron (50[13]).

Opinion is divided as to the degree to which Jacob has been idealized in the Biblical story. If it be remembered that the narrative is based upon popular oral tradition, and did not receive its present form until long after the time to which it relates, and that an interest in national origins is both natural and distinctly manifested in parts of Genesis, some idealization may readily be conceded. It may be sought in three directions—in the attempt to find explanations of existing institutions, in the anticipation of religious conceptions and sentiments that belonged to the narrator's times, and in the investment of the reputed ancestor with the characteristics of the tribe descended from him. All the conditions are best met by the view that Jacob was a real person, and that the incidents recorded of him are substantially historical. His character, as depicted, is a mixture of evil and good; and his career shows how, by discipline and grace, the better elements came to prevail, and God was enabled to use a faulty man for a great purpose.

2. Father of Joseph, the husband of Mary (Mt 1[15f.]).

R. W. Moss.

JACOB'S WELL.—See SYCHAR.

JACUBUS (1 Es 9[48]) = Neh 8[7] **Akkub.**

JADA.—A Jerahmeelite (1 Ch 2[28. 32]).

JADDUA.—1. One of those who sealed the covenant (Neh 10[21]). **2.** A high priest (Neh 12[11. 22]). He is doubtless the Jaddua who is named by Josephus in connexion with Alexander the Great (Jos. *Ant.* XI. viii. 5, cf. vii. 2, viii. 7).

JADDUS (AV **Addus**).—A priest whose descendants were unable to trace their genealogy at the return under Zerub., and were removed from the priesthood (1 Es 5[38]). He is there said to have married Augia, a daughter of Zorzelleus or Barzillai, and to have been called after his name. In Ezr 2[61] and Neh 7[63] he is called by his adopted name **Barzillai.**

JADON.—A Meronothite, who took part in rebuilding the wall of Jerusalem (Neh 3[7]). The title 'Meronothite' occurs again 1 Ch 27[30], but a place Meronoth is nowhere named. According to Jos. (*Ant.* VIII. viii. 5, ix. 1), Jadon was the name of the man of God sent from Judah to Jeroboam (1 K 13).

JAEL.—The wife of Heber, the Kenite (Jg 4[11. 17]). The Kenites were on friendly terms both with the Israelites (1[16]) and with the Canaanites, to whom Jabin and his general, Sisera, belonged. On his defeat by the Israelites, Sisera fled to the tent of Jael, a spot which was doubly secure to the fugitive, on account both of intertribal friendship and of the rules of Oriental hospitality. The act of treachery whereby Jael slew Sisera (Jg 4[21]) was therefore of the basest kind, according to the morals of her own time, and also to modern ideas. The praise, therefore, accorded to Jael and her deed in the Song of Deborah (Jg 5[24-27]) must be accounted for on the questionable moral principle that an evil deed, if productive of advantage,

may be rejoiced over and commended by those who have not taken part in it. The writer of the Song of Deborah records an act which, though base, resulted in putting the seal to the Israelite victory, and thus contributed to the recovery of Israel from a 'mighty oppression' (Jg 4^3); in the exultation over this result the woman who helped to bring it about by her act is extolled. Though the writer of the Song would probably have scorned to commit such a deed himself, he sees no incongruity in praising it for its beneficent consequences. This is one degree worse than 'doing evil that good may come,' for the evil itself is extolled; whereas, in the other case, it is deplored, and unwillingly acquiesced in because it is 'necessary.' The spirit which praises such an act as Jael's is, in some sense, akin to that of a Jewish custom (Corban) which grew up in later days, and which received the condemnation of Christ, Mk 7^{11}; in each case a contemptible act is condoned, and even extolled, because of the advantage (of one kind or another) which it brings.

In Jg 5^6 the words 'in the days of Jael' create a difficulty, which can be accounted for only by regarding them, with most scholars, as a gloss. See also Barak, Deborah, Sisera. W. O. E. Oesterley.

JAGUR.—A town in the extreme south of Judah (Jos 15^{21}). The site is unknown.

JAH.—See God, § 2 (*g*).

JAHATH.—**1.** A grandson of Judah (1 Ch 4^2). **2.** A great-grandson of Levi (1 Ch $6^{20.\ 43}$). **3.** A son of Shimei (1 Ch 23^{10}). **4.** One of the 'sons' of Shelomoth (1 Ch 24^{22}). **5.** A Merarite Levite in the time of Josiah (2 Ch 34^{12}).

JAHAZ (in 1 Ch 6^{78}, Jer 48^{21} **Jahzah**).—A town at which Sihon was defeated by Israel (Nu 21^{23}, Dt 2^{32}, Jg 11^{20}). After the crossing of the Arnon, messengers were sent to Sihon from the 'wilderness of Kedemoth' (Dt 2^{26}), and he 'went out against Israel into the wilderness and came to Jahaz' (Nu 21^{23}). Jahaz is mentioned in connexion with Kedemoth (Jos 13^{18} 21^{36}). These passages indicate a position for Jahaz in the S.E. portion of Sihon's territory. Jahaz was one of the Levite cities of Reuben belonging to the children of Merari (Jos 13^{18} 21^{36} [see note in RVm], 1 Ch 6^{78}). According to the Moabite Stone (ll. 18–20), the king of Israel dwelt at Jahaz while at war with king Mesha, but was driven out, and the town was taken and added to Moabite territory. Isaiah (15^4) and Jeremiah ($48^{21.\ 34}$) refer to it as in the possession of Moab. The site has not yet been identified.

JAHAZIEL.—**1.** A Benjamite who joined David at Ziklag (1 Ch 12^4). **2.** One of the two priests who blew trumpets before the ark when it was brought by David to Jerusalem (1 Ch 16^6). **3.** A Kohathite Levite (1 Ch 23^{19} 24^{23}). **4.** An Asaphite Levite who encouraged Jehoshaphat and his army against an invading host (2 Ch 20^{14}). **5.** The ancestor of a family of exiles who returned (Ezr 8^5); called in 1 Es 8^{32} **Jezelus.**

JAHDAI.—A Calebite (1 Ch 2^{47}).

JAHDIEL.—A Manassite chief (1 Ch 5^{24}).

JAHDO.—A Gadite (1 Ch 5^{14}).

JAHLEEL.—Third son of Zebulun (Gn 46^{14}, Nu 26^{26}); patron. **Jahleelites** (Nu 26^{26}).

JAHMAI.—A man of Issachar (1 Ch 7^2).

JAHWEH.—See God, § 2 (*f*).

JAHZAH.—The form of Jahaz (wh. see) in 1 Ch 6^{78} and Jer 48^{21}.

JAHZEEL.—Naphtali's firstborn (Gn 46^{24}, Nu 26^{48}); in 1 Ch 7^{13} **Jahziel**; patron. **Jahzeelites** (Nu 26^{48}).

JAHZEIAH.—One of four men who are mentioned as opposing (so RV) Ezra in the matter of the foreign wives (Ezr 10^{15}). The AV regarded Jahzeiah and his companions as supporters of Ezra, rendering 'were employed about this matter.' This view is supported by LXX, 1 Es 9^{14} RVm; but the Heb. phrase here found elsewhere (cf. 1 Ch 21^1, 2 Ch 20^{23}, Dn 11^{14}) expresses *opposition*.

JAHZERAH.—A priest (1 Ch 9^{12}); called in Neh 11^{13} **Ahzai.**

JAHZIEL.—See Jahzeel.

JAIR.—**1.** A clan of Jairites lived on the east of Jordan who were called after Jair. This Jair was of the children of Manasseh (Nu 32^{41}), and—if we may assume a traditional fusion—a 'judge' (Jg $10^{3ff.}$). The settlement of this clan marks a subsequent conquest to that of the west of Jordan. The gentilic **Jairite** is used for Ira (2 S 20^{26}). **2.** The father of Mordecai (Est 2^5). **3.** The father of Elhanan. See Elhanan, Jaare-Oregim). W. F. Cobb.

JAIRUS (=Jair).—This Greek form of the name is used in the Apocrypha (Ad. Est 11^2) for Mordecai's father **Jair** (Est 2^5); and (1 Es 5^{31}) for the head of a family of Temple servants. In NT it is the name of the ruler of the synagogue whose daughter Jesus raised from the dead (Mk 5^{22}, Lk 8^{41}). In ‖ Mt. (9^{18}) he is not named. The story of this raising comes from the 'Petrine tradition.' A. J. Maclean.

JAKEH.—Father of Agur, the author of the proverbs contained in Pr 30.

JAKIM.—**1.** A Benjamite (1 Ch 8^{19}). **2.** A priest, head of the 12th course (1 Ch 24^{12}).

JALAM.—A 'son' of Esau (Gn $36^{5.\ 14.\ 18}$, 1 Ch 1^{35}).

JALON.—A Calebite (1 Ch 4^{17}).

JAMBRES.—See Jannes and Jambres.

JAMBRI.—A robber tribe which attacked and captured a convoy under the charge of John the Maccabee. The outrage was avenged by Jonathan and Simon, who waylaid and slaughtered a large party of the 'sons of Jambri' (1 Mac 9^{35-42}).

JAMES.—**1. James, the son of Zebedee,** one of the Twelve, the elder brother of John. Their father was a Galilæan fisherman, evidently in a thriving way, since he employed 'hired servants' (Mk 1^{20}). Their mother was Salome, and, since she was apparently a sister of the Virgin Mary (cf. Mt 27^{56}=Mk 15^{40} with Jn 19^{25}), they were cousins of Jesus after the flesh. Like his brother, James worked with Zebedee in partnership with Simon and Andrew (Lk 5^{10}), and he was busy with boat and nets when Jesus called him to leave all and follow Him (Mt $4^{21.\ 22}$=Mk $1^{19.\ 20}$). His name is coupled with John's in the lists of the Apostles (Mt 10^2=Mk 3^{17}=Lk 6^{14}), which means that, when the Twelve were sent out two by two to preach the Kingdom of God (Mk 6^7), they went in company. And they seem to have been men of like spirit. They got from Jesus the same appellation, 'the Sons of Thunder' (see Boanerges), and they stood, with Simon Peter, on terms of special intimacy with Him. James attained less distinction than his brother, but the reason is not that he had less devotion or aptitude, but that his life came to an untimely end. He was martyred by Herod Agrippa (Ac 12^2).

2. James, the son of Alphæus (probably identical with **Clopas** of Jn 19^{25} RV), styled 'the Little' (not 'the Less'), probably on account of the shortness of his stature, to distinguish him from the other Apostle James, the son of Zebedee. His mother was Mary, one of the devoted women who stood by the Cross and visited the Sepulchre. He had a brother Joses, who was apparently a believer. See Mk 15^{40}, Jn 19^{25}, Mk 16^1.

Tradition says that he had been a tax-gatherer, and it is very possible that his father Alphæus was the same person as Alphæus the father of Levi the tax-gatherer (Mk 2^{14}), afterwards Matthew the Apostle and Evangelist. If these identifications be admitted, that family was indeed highly favoured. It gave to the Kingdom of heaven a father, a mother, and three sons, of whom two were Apostles.

3. James, the Lord's brother (see BRETHREN OF THE LORD). Like the rest of the Lord's brethren, James did not believe in Him while He lived, but acknowledged His claims after the Resurrection. He was won to faith by a special manifestation of the risen Lord (1 Co 15^{7}). Thereafter he rose to high eminence. He was the head of the Church at Jerusalem, and figures in that capacity on three occasions. (1) Three years after his conversion Paul went up to Jerusalem to interview Peter, and, though he stayed for fifteen days with him, he saw no one else except James (Gal $1^{18.\ 19}$). So soon did James's authority rival Peter's. (2) After an interval of fourteen years Paul went up again to Jerusalem (Gal 2^{1-10}). This was the occasion of the historic conference regarding the terms on which the Gentiles should be admitted into the Christian Church; and James acted as president, his decision being unanimously accepted (Ac 15^{4-34}). (3) James was the acknowledged head of the Church at Jerusalem, and when Paul returned from his third missionary journey he waited on him and made a report to him in presence of the elders (Ac $21^{18.\ 19}$).

According to extra-canonical tradition, James was surnamed 'the Just'; he was a Nazirite from his mother's womb, abstaining from strong drink and animal food, and wearing linen; he was always kneeling in intercession for the people, so that his knees were callous like a camel's; he was cruelly martyred by the Scribes and Pharisees: they cast him down from the pinnacle of the Temple (cf. Mt 4^{5}, Lk 4^{9}), and as the fall did not kill him, they stoned him, and he was finally despatched with a fuller's club.

This James was the author of the NT Epistle which bears his name; and it is an indication of his character that he styles himself there (1^{1}) not 'the *brother*,' but the '*servant* of the Lord Jesus Christ.' See next article.

4. James, the father of the Apostle Judas (Lk 6^{16} RV), otherwise unknown. The AV 'Judas the *brother* of James' is an impossible identification of the Apostle Judas with the author of the Epistle (Jude ^{1}).

DAVID SMITH.

JAMES, EPISTLE OF.—1. The author claims to be 'James, a servant of God, and of the Lord Jesus Christ' (1^{1}). He is usually identified with the Lord's brother the 'bishop' of Jerusalem, not a member of the Twelve, but an apostle in the wider sense (see JAMES, 3). The name is common, and the writer adds no further note of identification. This fact makes for the authenticity of the address. If the Epistle had been pseudonymous, the writer would have defined the position of the James whose authority he wished to claim, and the same objection holds good against any theory of interpolation. Or again, if it had been written by a later James under his own name, he must have distinguished himself from his better known namesakes. The absence of description supports the common view of the authorship of the letter; it is a mark of modesty, the brother of the Lord not wishing to insist on his relationship after the flesh; it also points to a consciousness of authority; the writer expected to be listened to, and knew that his mere name was a sufficient description of himself. So Jude writes merely as 'the brother of James.' It has indeed been doubted whether a Jew of his position could have written such good Greek as we find in this Epistle, but we know really very little of the scope of Jewish education; there was every opportunity for intercourse with Greeks in Galilee, and *a priori* arguments of this nature can at most be only subsidiary. If indeed the late date, suggested by some, be adopted, the possibility of the brother of the Lord being the author is excluded, since he probably died in 62; otherwise there is nothing against the ordinary view. If that be rejected, the author is entirely unknown. More will be said in the rest of the article on the subject; but attention must be called to the remarkable coincidence in language between this Epistle and the speech of James in Ac 15.

2. Date.—The only indications of date are derived from indirect internal evidence, the interpretation of which depends on the view taken of the main problems raised by the Epistle. It is variously put, either as one of the earliest of NT writings (so Mayor and most English writers), or among the very latest (the general German opinion). The chief problem is *the relationships to other writings of the NT*. The Epistle has striking resemblances to several books of the NT, and these resemblances admit of very various explanations.

(*a*) Most important is its *relation to St Paul*. It has points of contact with Romans: 1^{22} 4^{11} and Ro 2^{13} (hearers and doers of the law); 1^{2-4} and Ro 5^{3-5} (the gradual work of temptation or tribulation); 4^{11} and Ro 2^{1} 14^{4} (the critic self-condemned); 1^{21} 4^{1} and Ro 7^{23} 13^{12}; and the contrast between 2^{21} and Ro 4^{1} (the faith of Abraham). Putting the latter aside for the moment, it is hard to pronounce on the question of priority. Sanday-Headlam (*Romans*, p. lxxix.) see 'no resemblance in style sufficient to prove literary connexion'; there are no parallels in order, and similarities of language can mostly be explained from OT and LXX. Mayor, on the other hand, supposes that St. Paul is working up hints received from James.

The main question turns upon the apparent opposition between James and Paul with regard to '*faith and works*.' The chief passages are ch. 2, esp. vv.$^{17.\ 21ff.}$, and Ro 3^{28} 4, Gal 2^{16}. Both writers quote Gn 15^{6}, and deal with the case of Abraham as typical, but they draw from it apparently opposite conclusions—St. James that a man is justified, as Abraham was, by works and not by faith alone; St. Paul that justification is not by works but by faith. We may say at once with regard to the *doctrinal* question that it is generally recognized that there is here no real contradiction between the two. The writers mean different things by 'faith.' St. James means a certain belief, mainly intellectual, in the one God (2^{19}), the fundamental creed of the Jew, to which a belief in Christ has been added. To St. Paul 'faith' is essentially 'faith in Christ' (Ro $3^{22.\ 26}$ etc.). This faith has been in his own experience a tremendous overmastering force, bringing with it a convulsion of his whole nature; he has put on Christ, died with Him, and risen to a new life. Such an experience lies outside the experience of a St. James, a typically 'good' man, with a practical, matter of fact, and somewhat limited view of life. To him 'conduct is three-fourths of life,' and he claims rightly that men shall authenticate in practice their verbal professions. To a St. Paul, with an overwhelming experience working on a mystical temperament, such a demand is almost meaningless. To him faith *is* the new life in Christ, and of course it brings forth the fruits of the Spirit, if it exists at all; faith must always work by love (Gal 5^{6}). He indeed guards himself carefully against any idea that belief in the sense of verbal confession or intellectual assent is enough in itself (Ro 2^{6-20}), and defines 'the works' which he disparages as 'works of the law' ($3^{20.\ 28}$). Each writer, in fact, would agree with the doctrine of the other when he came to understand it, though St. James's would appear to St. Paul as insufficient, and St. Paul's to St. James as somewhat too profound and mystical (see Sanday-Headlam, *Romans*, pp. 102 ff.).

It is unfortunately not so easy to explain the *literary relation* between the two. At first sight the points of contact are so striking that we are inclined to say that one must have seen the words of the other. Lightfoot, however, has shown (*Galatians*^{3}, pp. 157 ff.) that the history of Abraham, and in particular Gn 15^{6}, figured frequently in Jewish theological discussions. The verse is quoted in 1 Mac 2^{52}, ten times by Philo, and in the Talmudic treatise *Mechilta*. But the antithesis between 'faith and works' seems to be essentially Christian; we cannot, therefore, on the ground of the Jewish use of Gn 15, deny any relationship between the writings of the two Apostles. This much, at least, seems clear; St. James was not writing with Romans before him, and

with the deliberate intention of contradicting St. Paul. His arguments, so regarded, are obviously inadequate, and make no attempt, even superficially, to meet St. Paul's real position. It is, however, quite possible that he may have written as he did to correct not St. Paul himself, but misunderstandings of his teaching, which no doubt easily arose (2 P 3^{16}). On the other hand, if with Mayor we adopt a very early date for the Epistle, St. Paul may equally well be combating exaggerations of his fellow-Apostle's position, which indeed in itself must have appeared insufficient to him; we are reminded of the Judaizers 'who came from James' before the Council (Ac 15^{24}). St. Paul, according to this view, preserves all that is valuable in St. James by his insistence on life and conduct, while he supplements it with a profounder teaching, and guards against misinterpretations by a more careful definition of terms; *e.g.* in Gal 2^{16} (cf. Ja 2^{24}) he defines 'works' as 'works of the law,' and 'faith' as 'faith in Jesus Christ.' We must also bear in mind the possibility that the resemblance in language on this and other subjects may have been due to personal intercourse between the two (Gal 1^{19}, Ac 15); in discussing these questions together they may well have come to use very similar terms and illustrations; and this possibility makes the question of priority in writing still more complicated. It is, then, very hard to pronounce with any certainty on the date of the Epistle from literary considerations. On the whole they make for an early date. Such a date is also suggested by the undeveloped theology (note the non-technical and unusual word for 'begat' in 1^{18}) and the general circumstances of the Epistle (see below); and the absence of any reference to the Gentile controversy may indicate a date before the Council of Ac 15, *i.e.* before 52 A.D.

(*b*) Again, the points of contact with 1 *Peter* (1^{10} 5^{19}; 1 P 1^{24} 4^{8}) and *Hebrews* (2^{25}; He 11^{31}), though striking, are inconclusive as to date. It is difficult to acquiesce in the view that James is 'secondary' throughout, and makes a general use of the Epp. of NT.

(*c*) It will be convenient to treat here *the relation to the Gospels and particularly to the Sermon on the Mount*, though this is still less decisive as to date. The variations are too strong to allow us to suppose a direct use of the Gospels; the sayings of Christ were long quoted in varying forms, and in 5^{12} St. James has a remarkable agreement with Justin (*Ap*, i. 16), as against Mt 5^{37}. The chief parallels are the condemnation of 'hearers only' ($1^{22.\ 25}$, Mt 7^{26}, Jn 13^{17}), of critics (4^{11}, Mt $7^{1\text{-}5}$), of worldliness (1^{10} $2^{5.\ 6}$ etc., Mt $6^{19.\ 24}$, Lk 6^{24}); the teaching about prayer (1^{5} etc., Mt 7^{7}, Mk 11^{23}), poverty (2^{5}, Lk 6^{20}), humility (4^{10}, Mt 23^{12}), the tree and its fruits (3^{11}, Mt 7^{16}; see Salmon, *Introd. to NT*[9] p. 455). This familiarity with our Lord's language agrees well with the hypothesis that the author was one who had been brought up in the same home, and had often listened to His teaching, though not originally a disciple; it can hardly, however, be said necessarily to imply such a close personal relationship.

3. The type of Christianity implied in the Epistle.—We are at once struck by the fact that the direct Christian references are very few. Christ is only twice mentioned by name (1^{1} 2^{21}); not a word is said of His death or resurrection, His example of patience ($5^{10.\ 11}$; contrast 1 P 2^{21}), or of prayer (5^{17}; contrast He 5^{7}). Hence the suggestion has been made by Spitta that we have really a Jewish document which has been adapted by a Christian writer, as happened, *e.g.*, with 2 Esdras and the *Didache*. The answer is obvious, that no editor would have been satisfied with so slight a revision. We find, indeed, on looking closer, that the Christian element is greater than appears at first, and also that it is of such a nature that it cannot be regarded as interpolated. The parallels with our Lord's teaching already noticed, could not be explained as due to independent borrowing from earlier Jewish sources, even on the very doubtful assumption that any such existed containing the substance of His teaching. Again, we find Christ mentioned (probably) in connexion with the Parousia ($5^{7.\ 8}$) [$5^{6.\ 11}$ are probably not references to the crucifixion, and 'the Lord' is not original in 1^{12}]; 'beloved brethren' ($1^{16.\ 19}$ 2^{5}), the new birth (1^{18}), the Kingdom (2^{5}), the name which is blasphemed (2^{7}), and the royal law of liberty (1^{25} 2^{8}) are all predominantly Christian ideas. It cannot, however, be denied that the general tone of the Epistle is Judaic. The type of organization implied is primitive, and is described mainly in Jewish phraseology: synagogue (2^{2}), elders of the Church (5^{14}), anointing with oil and the connexion of sin and sickness (*ib.*). Abraham is 'our father' (2^{21}), and God bears the OT title 'Lord of Sabaoth' (5^{4}) [only here in NT]. This tone, however, is in harmony with the traditional character of James (see JAMES, 3), and with the address 'to the twelve tribes which are of the Dispersion' (1^{1}), taken in its literal sense. St. James remained to the end of his life a strict Jew, noted for his devotion to the Law (Ac 15. 21^{20}), and in the Epistle the Law, though transformed, is to the writer almost a synonym for the Gospel. His argument as to the paramount importance of conduct is exactly suited to the atmosphere in which he lived, and of which he realized the dangers. The Rabbis could teach that 'they cool the flames of Gehinnom for him who reads the *Shema* [Dt 6^{4}],' and Justin (*Dial.* 141) bears witness to the claim of the Jews, 'that if they are sinners and know God, the Lord will not impute to them sin.' His protest is against a ceremonialism which neglects the weightier matters of the Law; cf. esp. 1^{27}, where 'religion' means religion on its outward side. His Epistle then is Judaic, because it shows us Christianity as it appeared to the ordinary Jewish Christian, to whom it was a something added to his old religion, not a revolutionary force altering its whole character, as it was to St. Paul. It seems to belong to the period described in the early chapters of the Acts, when the separation between Jews and Christians was not complete; we have already, on other grounds, seen that it seems to come before the Council. Salmon (*Introd. to NT* p. 456) points out that its attitude towards the rich agrees with what we know of Jewish society during this period, when the tyranny of the wealthy Sadducean party was at its height (cf. Jos. *Ant.* xx. viii. 8; ix. 2); there are still apparently local Jewish tribunals (2^{6}). The movement from city to city supposed in 4^{13} may point to the frequent Jewish migrations for purposes of trade, and the authority which the writer exercises over the Diaspora may be paralleled by that which the Sanhedrin claimed outside Palestine. We may note that there are indications that the Epistle has in mind the needs and circumstances of special communities ($2^{1ff.}$ 4^{1} 5^{13}); it reads, too, not like a formal treatise, but as words of advice given in view of particular cases.

On the other hand, many Continental critics see in these conditions the description of a later age, when Christianity had had time to become formal and secularized, and moral degeneracy was covered by intellectual orthodoxy. The address is supposed to be a literary device, the Church being the true Israel of God, or to have in view scattered Essene conventicles. It is said that the absence of Christian doctrine shows that the Epistle was not written when it was in the process of formation, but at an altogether later period. This argument is not altogether easy to follow, and, as we have seen, the indications, though separately indecisive, yet all combine to point to an early date. Perhaps more may be said for the view that the Epistle incorporates Jewish fragments, *e.g.* in $3^{1\text{-}18}$ 4^{11}–5^{6}; the apostrophe of the rich who are outside the brotherhood is rather startling. We may indeed believe that the Epistle has not yet yielded its full secret. It cannot be denied that it omits much that we should expect to find in a Christian document of however early a date, and that its close is

very abrupt. Of the theories, however, which have so far been advanced, the view that it is a primitive Christian writing at least presents the fewest difficulties, though it still leaves much unexplained.

4. Early quotations and canonicity.—The Epistle presents points of contact with Clement of Rome, Hermas, and probably with Irenæus, but is first quoted as Scripture by Origen. Eusebius, though he quotes it himself without reserve, mentions the fact that few 'old writers' have done so (*HE* ii. 23), and classes it among the 'disputed' books of the Canon (iii. 25). It is not mentioned in the Muratorian Fragment, but is included in the Peshitta (the Syriac version), together with 1 Peter and 1 John of the Catholic Epistles. The evidence shows that it was acknowledged in the East earlier than in the West, possibly as being addressed to the Eastern (?) Dispersion, though its apparent use by Clem. Rom. and Hermas suggests that it may have been written in Rome. The scarcity of quotations from it and its comparative neglect may be due to its Jewish and non-doctrinal tone, as well as to the facts that it did not claim to be Apostolic and seemed to contradict St. Paul. Others before Luther may well have found it 'an epistle of straw.'

5. Style and teaching.—As has been said, the tone of the Epistle is largely Judaic. In addition to the Jewish features already pointed out, we may note its insistence on righteousness, and its praise of wisdom and poverty, which are characteristic of Judaism at its best. Its illustrations are drawn from the OT, and its style frequently recalls that of Proverbs, and the Prophets, particularly on its sterner side. The worldly are 'adulteresses' (4^4; cf. the OT conception of Israel as the bride of Jehovah, whether faithful or unfaithful), and the whole Epistle is full of warnings and denunciations; 54 imperatives have been counted in twice as many verses. The quotations, however, are mainly from the LXX; 'greeting' (1^1) is the LXX formula for the Heb. 'peace,' and occurs again in NT only in the letter of Ac 15^{23}. The points of contact with our Lord's teaching have been already noticed; the Epistle follows Him also in its fondness for metaphors from nature (cf. the parables), and in the poetic element which appears continually; 1^{17} is actually a hexameter, but it has not been recognized as a quotation. The style is vivid and abrupt, sometimes obscure, with a great variety of vocabulary; there are 70 words not found elsewhere in NT. There is no close connexion of ideas, or logical development of the subject; a word seems to suggest the following paragraph (*e.g.* ch. 1). Accordingly it is useless to attempt a summary of the Epistle. Its main purpose was to encourage endurance under persecution and oppression, together with consistency of life; and its leading ideas are the dangers of speech, of riches, of strife, and of worldliness, and the value of true faith, prayer, and wisdom. The Epistle is essentially 'pragmatic'; *i.e.* it insists that the test of belief lies in 'value for conduct.' It does not, indeed, ignore the deeper side; it has its theology with its teaching about regeneration, faith, and prayer, but the writer's main interest lies in ethics. The condition of the heathen world around made it necessary to insist on the value of a consistent life. That was Christianity; and neither doctrinal nor moral problems, as of the origin of evil, trouble him. The Epistle does not reach the heights of a St. Paul or a St. John, but it has its value. It presents, sharply and in emphasis, a side of Christianity which is always in danger of being forgotten, and the practical mind in particular will always feel the force of its practical message.

C. W. Emmet.

JAMES, PROTEVANGELIUM OF.—See Gospels [Apocryphal], § 5.

JAMIN.—**1.** A son of Simeon (Gn 46^{10}, Ex 6^{15}, Nu 26^{12}, 1 Ch 4^{24}). The gentilic name **Jaminites** occurs in Nu 26^{12}. **2.** A Judahite (1 Ch 2^{27}). **3.** A priest (? or Levite) who took part in the promulgating of the Law (Neh 8^7; in 1 Es 9^{48} **Iadinus**).

JAMLECH.—A Simeonite chief (1 Ch 4^{34}).

JAMNIA (1 Mac 4^{15} 5^{58} 10^{69} 15^{40}, 2 Mac $12^{8.\ 9.\ 40}$).—The later name of **Jabneel** (wh. see). The gentilic name **Jamnites** occurs in 2 Mac 12^9.

JANAI.—A Gadite chief (1 Ch 5^{12}).

JANGLING.—'Jangling,' says Chaucer in the *Parson's Tale*, 'is whan man speketh to moche before folk, and clappeth as a mille, and taketh no kepe what he seith.' The word is used in 1 Ti 1^6 'vain jangling' (RV 'vain talking'); and in the heading of 1 Ti 6 'to avoid profane janglings,' where it stands for 'babblings' in the text (1 Ti 6^{20}).

JANIM.—A town in the mountains of Hebron, near Beth-tappuah (Jos 15^{53}). The site is uncertain.

JANNAI.—An ancestor of Jesus (Lk 3^{24}).

JANNES AND JAMBRES.—In 2 Ti 3^8 these names are given as those of Moses' opponents; the Egyptian magicians of Ex $7^{11.\ 22}$ are doubtless referred to, though their names are not given in OT. They are traditional, and we find them in the Targumic literature (which, however, is late). Both there and in 2 Ti 3^8 we find the various reading 'Mambres' (or 'Mamre'). 'Jannes' is probably a corruption of 'Johannes' (John); 'Jambres' is almost certainly derived from a Semitic root meaning 'to oppose' (imperfect tense), the participle of which would give 'Mambres.' The names were even known to the heathen. Pliny the Elder (A.D. 23–79) mentions 'Moses, Jamnes (or Jannes), and Jotapes (or Lotapes)' as *Jewish* magicians (*Hist. Nat.* xxx. 1 ff.); thus 'Jannes,' at least, must have been a traditional name before the Christian era. Apuleius (*c.* A.D. 130) in his *Apology* speaks of Moses and Jannes as magicians; the Pythagorean Numenius (2nd cent. A.D.), according to Origen (*c. Cels.* iv. 51), related 'the account respecting Moses and Jannes and Jambres,' and Eusebius gives the words of Numenius (*Præp. Ev.* ix. 8). In his Commentary on Mt 27^8 (known only in a Latin translation), Origen says that St. Paul is quoting from a *book* called 'Jannes and Mambres' (*sic*). But Theodoret (*Com. in loc.*) declares that he is merely using the unwritten teaching of the Jews. Jannes and Jambres are also referred to in the Apocryphal *Gospel of Nicodemus* § 5 (4th or 5th cent. in its present form?), and in the *Apostolic Constitutions*, viii. 1 (*c.* A.D. 375). Later Jewish fancy ran wild on these names; according to some they were Balaam's sons; according to others they were drowned in the Red Sea; or they were put to death, either for inciting Aaron to make the Golden Calf or at a later stage of the history.

A. J. Maclean.

JANOAH.—**1.** A town in the northern mountains of Naphtali, near Kedesh (2 K 15^{29}). It is probably the modern *Yanûh*. **2.** A place on the border of Ephraim (Jos $16^{6.\ 7}$); situated where the present *Yânûn* now stands, with the supposed tomb of Nun.

JAPHETH (Heb. *Yepheth*).—**1.** One of the sons of Noah. The meaning of the name is quite uncertain. In Gn 9^{27} there is a play on the name—'May God make wide (*yapht*) for *Yepheth* [*i.e.* make room for him], that he may dwell in the tents of Shem.' The peoples connected with Japheth (10^{1-4}) occupy the northern portion of the known world, and include the Madai (Medes) on the E. of Assyria, Javan (Ionians, *i.e.* Greeks) on the W. coast and islands of Asia Minor, and Tarshish (Tartessus) on the W. coast of Spain. On the two traditions respecting the sons of Noah see Ham. **2.** An unknown locality mentioned in Jth 2^{25}.

A. H. M'Neile.

JAPHIA.—**1.** King of Lachish, defeated and slain by Joshua (Jos $10^{3ff.}$). **2.** One of David's sons born at Jerusalem (2 S 5^{14b-16}, 1 Ch 3^{5-8} 14^{4-7}). **3.** A town on

the south border of Zebulun (Jos 19[12]); probably the modern *Yāfā*, near the foot of the Nazareth hills.

JAPHLET.—An Asherite family (1 Ch 7[32f.]).

JAPHLETITES.—The name of an unidentified tribe mentioned in stating the boundaries of the children of Joseph (Jos 16[3]).

JARAH.—A descendant of Saul, 1 Ch 9[42]. In 8[36] he is called **Jehoaddah.**

JAREB.—It is not safe to pronounce dogmatically on the text and meaning of Hos 5[13] 10[6]. But our choice lies between two alternatives. If we adhere to the current text, we must regard *Jareb* (or *Jarīb*) as a sobriquet coined by Hosea to indicate the love of conflict which characterized the Assyrian king. Thus 'King Jarib' = 'King Warrior,' 'King Striver,' 'King Combat,' or the like; and the events referred to are those of B.C. 738 (see 2 K 15[19]). Most of the ancient versions support this, as, *e.g.*, LXX 'King Jareim'; Symm. and Vulg. 'King Avenger.' If we divide the Hebrew consonants differently, We get 'the great king,' corresponding to the Assyr. *sharru rabbu* (cf. 2 K 18[19. 28], Is 36[4]). It has even been thought that this signification may be accepted without any textual change. In any case linguistic and historical evidence is against the idea that Jareb is the proper name of an Assyrian or an Egyptian monarch. Other, less probable, emendations are 'king of Arabia,' 'king of Jathrib *or* of Aribi' (both in N. Arabia). J. TAYLOR.

JARED.—The father of Enoch (Gn 5[15. 16. 18. 19. 20], 1 Ch 1[2], Lk 3[37]).

JARHA.—An Egyptian slave who married the daughter of his master Sheshan (1 Ch 2[34f.]).

JARIB.—**1.** The eponym of a Simeonite family (1 Ch 4[24] = **Jachin** of Gn 46[10], Ex 6[15], Nu 26[12]). **2.** One of the 'chief men' who were sent by Ezra to Casiphia in search of Levites (Ezr 8[16]); called in 1 Es 8[44] **Joribus.** **3.** A priest who had married a foreign wife (Ezr 10[18]); called in 1 Es 9[19] **Joribus.**

JARIMOTH (1 Es 9[28]) = Ezr 10[27] **Jeremoth.**

JARMUTH.—**1.** A royal city of the Canaanites (Jos 10[3] etc.), in the Shephēlah, assigned to Judah (Jos 15[35]). It is probably identical with 'Jermucha' of the *Onomasticon*, 10 Roman miles from Eleutheropolis, on the Jerusalem road. This is now *Khirbet Yarmūk*, between *Wādy es-Sarūr* and *Wādy es-Sant*, about 8 miles N. of *Beit Jibrīn*. **2.** A city in Issachar, allotted to the Gershonite Levites (Jos 21[29], LXX B *Remmath*). It corresponds to **Ramoth in** 1 Ch 6[73], and **Remeth** appears in Jos 19[21] among the cities of Issachar. Guthe suggests *er-Rāmeh*, about 11 miles S.W. of *Jenīn*, but this is uncertain. W. EWING.

JAROAH.—A Gadite chief (1 Ch 5[14]).

JASAELUS (1 Es 9[30]) = Ezr 10[29] **Sheal.**

JASHAR, BOOK OF (*sēpher ha-yāshār*, 'Book of the Righteous One').—An ancient book of national songs, which most likely contained both religious and secular songs describing great events in the history of the nation. In the OT there are two quotations from this book—(*a*) Jos 10[12. 13]; the original form must have been a poetical description of the battle of Gibeon, in which would have been included the old-world account of Jahweh casting down great stones from heaven upon Israel's enemies. (*b*) 2 S 1[19-27]; in this case the quotation is a much longer one, consisting of David's lamentation over Saul and Jonathan. In each case the Book of Jashar is referred to as well known; one might expect, therefore, that other quotations from it would be found in the OT, and perhaps this is actually the case with, *e.g.*, the Song of Deborah (Jg 5) and some other ancient pieces, which originally may have had a reference to their source in the title (*e.g.* 1 K 8[12f.]).
W. O. E. OESTERLEY.

JASHEN.—The sons of Jashen are mentioned in the list of David's heroes given in 2 S 23[32]. In the parallel list (1 Ch 11[34]) they appear as the sons of **Hashem,** who is further described as the **Gizonite** (wh. see).

JASHOBEAM.—One of David's mighty men (1 Ch 11[11] 12[6] 27[2]). There is reason to believe that his real name was **Ishbosheth,** *i.e.* Eshbaal ('man of Baal'). Cf. ADINO and JOSHEB-BASSHEBETH.

JASHUB.—**1.** Issachar's fourth son (Nu 26[24], 1 Ch 7[1]; called in Gn 46[13] **Iob**; patron. **Jashubites** (Nu 26[24]). **2.** A returned exile who married a foreigner (Ezr 10[29]); called in 1 Es 9[30] **Jasubus.**

JASHUBI-LEHEM.—The eponym of a Judahite family (1 Ch 4[22]). The text is manifestly corrupt.

JASON.—This Greek name was adopted by many Jews whose Hebrew designation was Joshua (Jesus). **1.** The son of Eleazar deputed to make a treaty with the Romans, and father of Antipater who was later sent on a similar errand, unless two different persons are meant (1 Mac 8[17] 12[16] 14[22]). **2.** Jason of Cyrene, an author, of whose history 2 Mac. (see 2[23. 26]) is an epitome (written after B.C. 160). **3.** Joshua the high priest, who ousted his brother Onias III. from the office in B.C. 174 (2 Mac 4[7ff.]), but was himself driven out three years later, and died among the Lacedæmonians at Sparta (2 Mac 5[9f.]). **4.** In Ac 17[6ff.] a Jason was St. Paul's host at Thessalonica, from whom the politarchs took bail for his good behaviour, thus (as it seems) preventing St. Paul's return to Macedonia for a long time (see art. PAUL THE APOSTLE, § 8). The Jason who sends greetings from Corinth in Ro 16[21], a 'kinsman' of St. Paul (*i.e.* a Jew), is probably the same man. A. J. MACLEAN.

JASPER.—See JEWELS AND PRECIOUS STONES, p. 467[a].

JASUBUS (1 Es 9[30]) = Ezr 10[29] **Jashub.**

JATHAN.—Son of Shemaiah 'the great,' and brother of Ananias the pretended father of Raphael (To 5[13]).

JATHNIEL.—A Levitical family (1 Ch 26[2]).

JATTIR.—A town of Judah in the southern mountains, a Levitical city (Jos 15[48] 21[14], 1 Ch 6[42]). It was one of the cities to whose elders David sent of the spoil from Ziklag (1 S 30[27]). Its site is the ruin *'Attīr*, N.E. of Beersheba, on a hill spur close to the southern desert.

JAVAN, the Heb. rendering of the Gr. *Iaōn*, 'Ionian, is a general term in the Bible for Ionians or Greeks; very similar forms of the name occur in the Assyrian and Egyptian inscriptions. In the genealogical table in Gn (10[2. 4]) and 1 Ch (1[5. 7]) Javan is described as a son of Japheth and the father of Elishah, Tarshish, Kittim, and Dodanim (or better, Rodanim, *i.e.* Rhodes); from the reference to **Kittim** (Kition) as his son, it is possible that the passage refers particularly to Cyprus. In Is 66[19] Javan is included among the distant countries that will hear of Jahweh's glory; in Jl 3[6] the sons of the Javanites are referred to as trading in Jewish captives with the Phœnicians and Philistines; in Ezk 27[13] Javan, with Tubal and Meshech, is described as trading with Tyre in slaves and vessels of brass. In all three passages the references are to the Ionian colonies on the coast of Asia Minor. In Ezk 27[19] Javan appears a second time among the nations that traded with Tyre; clearly the Ionians are not intended, and, unless the text is corrupt (as is very probable), the reference may be to an Arab tribe, or perhaps to a Greek colony in Arabia. In Dn 8[21] 10[20] 11[2], where 'the king,' 'the prince,' and 'the kingdom' of Javan are mentioned, the passages have reference to the Græco-Macedonian empire.
L. W. KING.

JAVELIN.—See ARMOUR, ARMS, § 1 (*b*).

JAZER.—An Amorite town N. of Heshbon, taken by Israel (Nu 21[32]), allotted to Gad (Jos 13[25] etc.), and fortified by it (Nu 32[35]). It lay in a district rich in vines (Is 16[8] etc., Jer 48[32]). It is probably represented

by *Khirbet Sār*, about 7 miles W. of '*Ammān*, a mile E. of *Wādy Sīr*. Judas Maccabæus took the city, which was then in the hands of the Ammonites (1 Mac 5^9; Jos. *Ant.* XII. viii. 1). W. EWING.

JAZIZ.—A Hagrite who was 'over the flocks' of king David (1 Ch 27^{31}).

JEALOUSY.—The law of the 'jealousy ordeal' (in which a wife suspected of unfaithfulness had to prove her innocence by drinking the **water of bitterness** ['holy water' mixed with dust from the floor of the Tabernacle]) is found in Nu 5^{11-31}. The conception of idolatry as adultery and of Jehovah as the Husband of Israel led the OT writers frequently to speak of Him as a jealous God (Ex 20^5, Dt 5^9, Jos 24^{19}, 1 K 14^{22}, Ps 78^{58}, Ezk 36^6, Nah 1^2). This jealousy is the indication of Jehovah's desire to maintain the purity of the spiritual relation between Himself and His people. Extraordinary zeal for this same end is characteristic of the servants of Jehovah, and is sometimes called jealousy with them (2 Co 11^2, Nu $25^{11.\ 13}$, 1 K 19^{10}). A few times the word is used in a bad sense (Ro 13^{13}, 1 Co 3^3, 2 Co 12^{20}, Gal 5^{20}, Ja $3^{14.\ 16}$). D. A. HAYES.

JEARIM, MOUNT.—Mentioned only in Jos 15^{10}, where it is identified with **Chesalon** (wh. see).

JEATHERAI.—An ancestor of Asaph (1 Ch 6^{21}); called in v.^{41} **Ethni.**

JEBERECHIAH.—The father of Zechariah, a friend of Isaiah (Is 8^2).

JEBUS, JEBUSITES.—The former is a name given to Jerusalem by J in Jg 19^{11} and imitated by the Chronicler (1 Ch 11^4); the latter is the tribe which inhabited Jerusalem from before the Israelitish conquest till the reign of David. It was formerly supposed that Jebus was the original name of Jerusalem, but the letters of Abdi-Khiba among the el-Amarna tablets prove that the city was called Jerusalem (*Uru-salim*) about B.C. 1400. No trace of Jebusites appears then. When they gained possession of it we do not know. J states that at the time of the Israelite conquest the king of Jerusalem was Adoni-zedek (Jos 10^3), and that the Israelites did not expel the Jebusites from the city (Jos 15^{63}, Jg 1^{21}). During the time of the Judges he tells us that it was in possession of the Jebusites (Jg 19^{11}), and gives a brief account of its capture by David (2 S 5^{6-8}). E mentions the Jebusites only once (Nu 13^{29}), and then only to say that, like the Hittite and Amorite, they inhabit the mountain. The favourite list of Palestinian nations which D and his followers insert so often usually ends with Jebusite, but adds nothing to their history. P mentions them once (Jos 15^8). They are mentioned in Neh 9^8 and Ezr 9^1 in lists based on D, while Zec 9^7 for archaic effect calls dwellers in Jerusalem 'Jebusite' (so Wellhausen, Nowack, and Marti). The name of the king, *Adoni-zedek*, would indicate that the Jebusites were Semitic,—probably related to the Canaanite tribes.

David captured their city and dwelt in it, and it was subsequently called the 'city of David.' From references to this (cf. JERUSALEM) it is clear that the Jebusite city was situated on the southern part of the eastern hill of present Jerusalem, and that that hill was called Zion. Its situation was supposed by the Jebusites to render the city impregnable (2 S 5^6).

One other Jebusite besides Adoni-zedek, namely, Araunah, is mentioned by name. The Temple is said to have been erected on a threshing-floor purchased from him (cf. 2 S 24^{16-24}, 2 Ch 3^1). It would seem from this narrative that the Jebusites were not exterminated or expelled, but remained in Jerusalem, and were gradually absorbed by the Israelites.

GEORGE A. BARTON.

JECHILIAH (in 2 K 15^2 **Jecoliah**).—The mother of king Uzziah (2 Ch 26^3).

JECHONIAH.—See JEHOIACHIN.

JECHONIAS.—**1.** The Gr. form of the name of king **Jeconiah**, employed by the English translators in the books rendered from the Greek (Ad. Est 11^4, Bar $1^{3.\ 9}$); called in Mt $1^{11f.}$ **Jechoniah.** **2.** 1 Es 8^{92} = Ezr 10^2 **Shecaniah.**

JECOLIAH.—See JECHILIAH.

JECONIAH.—See JEHOIACHIN.

JECONIAS.—**1.** One of the captains over thousands in the time of Josiah (1 Es 1^9); called in 2 Ch 35^9 **Conaniah.** **2.** See JEHOAHAZ, **2.**

JEDAIAH.—**1.** A priestly family (1 Ch 9^{10} 24^7, Ezr 2^{36} [in 1 Es 5^{24} **Jeddu**], Neh 7^{39} 11^{10} $12^{6.\ 7.\ 19.\ 21}$). **2.** One of the exiles sent with gifts of gold and silver for the sanctuary at Jerusalem (Zec $6^{10.\ 14}$). **3.** A Simeonite chief (1 Ch 4^{37}). **4.** One of those who repaired the wall of Jerusalem (Neh 3^{10}).

JEDDU (1 Es 5^{24}) = Ezr 2^{36} **Jedaiah.**

JEDEUS (1 Es 9^{30}) = Ezr 10^{29} **Adaiah.**

JEDIAEL.—**1.** The eponym of a Benjamite family (1 Ch $7^{6.\ 10.\ 11}$). **2.** One of David's heroes (1 Ch 11^{45}), probably identical with the Manassite of 12^{20}. **3.** The eponym of a family of Korahite porters (1 Ch 26^2).

JEDIDAH.—Mother of Josiah (2 K 22^1).

JEDIDIAH ('beloved of J"').—The name given to Solomon by the prophet Nathan (2 S 12^{25}) 'for the LORD'S sake.' See SOLOMON.

JEDUTHUN.—An unintelligible name having to do with the music or the musicians of the Temple. According to 1 Ch 25^1 etc., it was the name of one of the three musical guilds, and it appears in some passages to mask the name **Ethan.** *Jeduthun* (*Jedithun*) occurs in the headings of Pss 39. 62. 77, and appears to refer to an instrument or to a tune. But in our ignorance of Hebrew music it is impossible to do more than guess what Jeduthun really meant. W. F. COBB.

JEELI (1 Es 5^{33}) = Ezr 2^{56} **Jaalah,** Neh 7^{58} **Jaala.**

JEELUS (1 Es 8^{92}) = Ezr 10^2 **Jehiel.**

JEGAR-SAHADUTHA ('cairn of witness').—The name said to have been given by Laban to the cairn erected on the occasion of the compact between him and Jacob (Gn 31^{47}).

JEHALLELEL.—**1.** A Judahite (1 Ch 4^{16}). **2.** A Levite (2 Ch 29^{12}).

JEHDEIAH.—**1.** The eponym of a Levitical family (1 Ch 24^{20}). **2.** An officer of David (1 Ch 27^{30}).

JEHEZKEL ('God strengtheneth,' the same name as *Ezekiel*).—A priest, the head of the twentieth course, 1 Ch 24^{16}.

JEHIAH.—The name of a Levitical family (1 Ch 15^{24}).

JEHIEL.—**1.** One of David's chief musicians (1 Ch $15^{18.\ 20}$ 16^5). **2.** A chief of the Levites (1 Ch 23^8 29^8). **3.** One who was 'with (=tutor of ?) the king's sons' (1 Ch 27^{32}). **4.** One of Jehoshaphat's sons (2 Ch 21^2). **5.** One of Hezekiah's 'overseers' (2 Ch 31^{13}). **6.** A ruler of the house of God in Josiah's reign (2 Ch 35^8). **7.** The father of Obadiah, a returned exile (Ezr 8^9); called in 1 Es 8^{35} **Jezelus.** **8.** Father of Shecaniah (Ezr 10^2); called in 1 Es 8^{92} **Jeelus,** perhaps identical with **9.** One of those who had married foreign wives (Ezr 10^{26}); called in 1 Es 9^{27} **Jezrielus.** **10.** A priest of the sons of Harim who had married a foreign wife (Ezr 10^{21}); called in 1 Es 9^{21} **Hiereel.**

JEHIELI.—A patronymic from **Jehiel** No. **2** (1 Ch $26^{21.\ 22}$; cf. 23^8 29^8).

JEHIZKIAH.—An Ephraimite who supported the prophet Oded in opposing the bringing of Judæan captives to Samaria (2 Ch $28^{12ff.}$).

JEHOADDAH.—A descendant of Saul (1 Ch 8^{36}); called in 9^{42} **Jarah.**

JEHOADDAN (2 Ch 25[1] and, as vocalized, 2 K 14[2]. The consonants of the text in 2 K 14[2] give the form **Jehoaddin** [so RV]).—Mother of Amaziah king of Judah.

JEHOAHAZ.—1. Jehoahaz of Israel (in 2 K 14[1] and 2 Ch 34[8] 36[2. 4] **Joahaz**) succeeded his father Jehu. Our records tell us nothing of him except the length of his reign, which is given as seventeen years (2 K 13[1]), and the low estate of his kingdom, owing to the aggressions of Syria. A turn for the better seems to have come before his death, because the forces of Assyria pressing on the north of Damascus turned the attention of that country away from Israel (vv.[3-5]).

2. Jehoahaz of Judah (in 1 Es 1[34] **Joachaz** or **Jeconias**; in v.[38] **Zarakes**) was the popular choice for the throne after the death of Josiah (2 K 23[30]). But Pharaoh-necho, who had obtained possession of all Syria, regarded his coronation as an act of assumption, deposed him in favour of his brother Jehoiakim, and carried him away to Egypt, where he died (v.[34]). Jeremiah, who calls him **Shallum**, finds his fate sadder than that of his father who fell in battle (Jer 22[10-12]).

3. 2 Ch 21[17] 25[23] = **Ahaziah**, No. **2.** H. P. Smith.

JEHOASH, in the shorter form **JOASH**, is the name of a king in each of the two lines, Israel and Judah.

1. Jehoash of Judah was the son of Ahaziah. When an infant his brothers and cousins were massacred, some of them by Jehu and some by Athaliah. After being kept in concealment until he was seven years old, he was crowned by the bodyguard under the active leadership of Jehoiada, the chief priest. In his earlier years he was under the influence of the man to whom he owed the throne, but later he manifested his independence. Besides an arrangement which he made with the priests about certain moneys which came into their hands, the record tells us only that an invasion of the Syrians compelled him to pay a heavy tribute. This was drawn from the Temple treasury. Jehoash was assassinated by some of his officers (2 K 11 f.).

2. Jehoash of Israel was the third king of the line of Jehu. The turn of the tide in the affairs of Israel came about the time of his accession. The way in which the Biblical author indicates this is characteristic. He tells us that when Elisha was about to die Jehoash came to visit him, and wept over him as a great power about to be lost to Israel. Elisha bade him take bow and arrows and shoot the arrow of victory towards Damascus, then to strike the ground with the arrows. The three blows which he struck represent the three victories obtained by Jehoash, and the blame expressed by Elisha indicates that his contemporaries thought the king slack in following up his advantage. Jehoash also obtained a signal victory over Judah in a war wantonly provoked, it would seem, by Amaziah, king of Judah (2 K 13[10ff.]). H. P. Smith.

JEHOHANAN.—1. 1 Ch 26[3] a Korahite doorkeeper. **2.** 2 Ch 17[15] one of Jehoshaphat's five captains. **3.** Ezr 10[6] (**Jonas**, 1 Es 9[1]; **Johanan**, Neh 12[22. 23]; **Jonathan**, Neh 12[11]) high priest. He is called son of Eliashib in Ezr 10[6], Neh 12[23], but was probably his grandson, Joiada being his father (Neh 12[11. 22]). **4.** Ezr 10[28] (= **Joannes**, 1 Es 9[29]), one of those who had taken 'strange' wives. **5.** Neh 6[18] son of Tobiah the Ammonite. **6.** Neh 12[13] a priest in the days of Joiakim. **7.** Neh 12[42] a priest present at the dedication of the walls.

JEHOIACHIN, king of Judah, ascended the throne when Nebuchadrezzar was on the march to punish the rebellion of Jehoiakim. On the approach of the Chaldæan army, the young king surrendered and was carried away to Babylon (2 K 24[8ff.]). His reign had lasted only three months, but his confinement in Babylon extended until the death of Nebuchadrezzar—thirty-seven years. Ezekiel, who seems to have regarded him as the rightful king of Judah even in captivity, pronounced a dirge over him (19[1ff.]). At the accession of Evil-merodach he was freed from durance, and received a daily allowance from the palace (2 K 25[27f.]). Jeremiah gives his name in 24[1] 27[20] 28[4] 29[2] as **Jeconiah**, and in 22[24. 28] 37[1] as **Coniah**. In 1 Es 1[43] he is called **Joakim**, in Bar 1[3. 9] **Jechonias**, and in Mt 1[11. 12] **Jechoniah**.

H. P. Smith.

JEHOIADA.—1. Father of Benaiah, the successor of Joab, 2 S 8[18] 20[23] etc. It is probably the same man that is referred to in 1 Ch 12[27] 27[34], where we should probably read 'Benaiah the son of Jehoiada.' **2.** The chief priest of the Temple at the time of Ahaziah's death (2 K 11[4] etc.). The Book of Chronicles makes him the husband of the princess **Jehosheba** (or Jehoshabeath, 2 Ch 22[11]), by whose presence of mind the infant prince Jehoash escaped the massacre by which Athaliah secured the throne for herself. Jehoiada must have been privy to the concealment of the prince, and it was he who arranged the *coup d'état* which placed the rightful heir on the throne. In this he may have been moved by a desire to save Judah from vassalage to Israel, as much as by zeal for the legitimate worship.

H. P. Smith.

JEHOIAKIM, whose original name was **Eliakim**, was placed upon the throne of Judah by Pharaoh-necho, who deposed the more popular Jehoahaz. His reign of eleven years is not well spoken of by Jeremiah. The religious abuses which had been abolished by Josiah seem to have returned with greater strength than ever. At a time when the kingdom was impoverished by war and by the exactions of Egypt, Jehoiakim occupied himself in extravagant schemes of building to be carried out by forced labour (2 K 23[34]–24[7]). Things were so bad that in the fourth year of his reign Jeremiah dictated to Baruch a summary of all his earlier discourses, and bade him read it in public as though to indicate that there was no longer any hope. The king showed his contempt for the prophetic word by burning the roll. Active persecution of the prophetic party followed, in which one man at least was put to death. Jeremiah's escape was due to powerful friends at court (Jer 22[13-19] 36[1-26] 26[20-24]). It was about the time of the burning of the Book of Jeremiah that the Egyptian supremacy was ended by the decisive battle of Carchemish. The evacuation of Palestine followed, and Jehoiakim was obliged to submit to the Babylonians. His heart, however, was with the Pharaoh, to whom he owed his elevation. After three years he revolted from the Babylonian rule. Nebuchadrezzar thought to bring him into subjection by sending guerilla bands to harry the country, but as this did not succeed, he invaded Judah with an army of regulars. Before he reached Jerusalem, Jehoiakim died, and the surrender which was inevitable, was made by his son. Whether Jeremiah's prediction that the corpse of the king should be denied decent burial was fulfilled is not certain.

H. P. Smith.

JEHOIARIB (1 Ch 9[10] 24[7], elsewhere **Joiarib**; called in 1 Mac 2[1] **Joarib**).—The name of one of the twenty-four courses of priests; first in David's time (1 Ch 24[7]), but seventeenth in the time of Zerub. (Neh 12[6]) and of the high priest Joiakim (12[19]). The name is omitted, probably by accident, in the list of the priests that 'sealed to the covenant' (Neh 10). The clan is mentioned among those that dwelt in Jerusalem in the time of Nehemiah (11[10]).

JEHONADAB or **JONADAB.—1.** Son of Shimeah, David's brother, and the friend of Amnon the son of David. He is described as 'a very subtil man.' He aided Amnon to carry out his intrigue against his half-sister Tamar (2 S 13[3ff.]), and after the assassination of Amnon was the first to grasp the true state of affairs, and to allay the king's distress by his prompt report of the safety of the royal princes (2 S 13[30ff.]). **2.** Son of Rechab, of the clan of the Kenites (1 Ch 2[55]), and

formulator of the rules imposed upon descendants, the Rechabites (Jer 35; see RECHABITES). Jehonadab was thoroughly in sympathy with the measures adopted by Jehu for the vindication of the religion of J" (2 K $10^{15.\ 23}$).

JEHONATHAN.—A more exact rendering of the name usually represented in English as **Jonathan.** In RV this form occurs twice. **1.** 2 Ch 17^{8} one of the Levites sent out by Jehoshaphat with the Book of the Law to teach the people in the cities of Judah. **2.** Neh 12^{18} the head of the priestly family of Shemaiah in the days of Joiakim the son of Jeshua.

JEHORAM, in the shorter form **JORAM,** is the name of two kings in the OT.

1. Jehoram of Israel was a son of Ahab (2 K 3^{1}), and came to the throne after the brief reign of his brother Ahaziah. The first thing that claimed his attention was the revolt of Moab. This he endeavoured to suppress, and with the aid of Jehoshaphat of Judah he obtained some successes. But at the crisis of the conflict the king of Moab sacrificed his son to his god Chemosh. The result was that the invading army was discouraged, and the allies retreated without having accomplished their purpose (2 K $3^{4ff.}$). It is probable that the Moabites assumed the offensive, and took the Israelite cities of whose capture Mesha boasts. The prophet Elisha was active during the reign of Jehoram, and it is probable that the siege of Samaria, of which we have so graphic an account in 2 K 6 and 7, also belongs to this period. Jehoram engaged in the siege of Ramoth-gilead, and was wounded there. The sequel in the revolt of Jehu is well known. See JEHU.

2. Jehoram of Judah, son of Jehoshaphat, came to the throne during the reign of the other Jehoram in Israel. He was married to Athaliah, daughter of Ahab and Jezebel. All that the history tells us is that he walked in the ways of the kings of Israel, and that Edom revolted successfully from Judah in his time. In endeavouring to subdue this revolt Jehoram was in great danger, but with a few of his men he cut his way through the troops that surrounded him (2 K 8^{16-24}).

3. A priest sent by Jehoshaphat to teach the Law (2 Ch 17^{8}).

H. P. SMITH.

JEHOSHABEATH.—See JEHOSHEBA.

JEHOSHAPHAT.—1. The 'recorder' in the reigns of David and Solomon (2 S 8^{16} etc., 1 K 4^{3}). **2.** One of Solomon's commissariat officers (1 K 4^{17}). **3.** Father of king Jehu (2 K $9^{2.\ 14}$). **4.** The son of Asa, king of Judah. He receives a good name from the compiler of the Book of Kings (1 K 22^{43}). This is chiefly because he carried out the religious reforms of his father. The important thing in his reign was the alliance of Judah with Israel (v.^{44}), which put an end to their long hostility. Some suppose the smaller kingdom to have been tributary to the larger, but on this point our sources are silent. The alliance was cemented by the marriage of the crown prince Jehoram to Ahab's daughter Athaliah (2 K 8^{18}). Jehoshaphat appears as the ally of Ahab against Syria, and himself went into the battle of Ramoth-gilead (1 K 22). He also assisted Ahab's son against the Moabites (2 K 3). He seems to have had trouble with his own vassals in Edom, and his attempt to renew Solomon's commercial ventures on the Red Sea was unsuccessful (1 K 22^{48}).

H. P. SMITH.

JEHOSHAPHAT, VALLEY OF (Jl $3^{2.\ 12}$).—The deep valley to the E. of Jerusalem, between the city and the Mt. of Olives, has since the 4th cent. A.D. been identified by an unbroken Christian tradition with the Valley of Jehoshaphat. Moslems and Jews have also for centuries looked upon this valley as the scene of the Last Judgment. The Jews especially consider this of all places on earth the most suitable for burial, as it is taught that all bodies buried elsewhere must find their way thither at the last day. The valley was the ordinary place for graves in pre-exilic times (2 K 23^{6} etc.). In spite, however, of these traditions, it is quite probable that the name of this valley was at one time *Wady Sha'fāt,* from the neighbouring village of *Sha'fāt,* and that this suggested to early Christian pilgrims, in search of sites, the Biblical name *Jehoshaphat.* The so-called 'Tomb of Jehoshaphat,' which lies near the traditional 'Tomb of Absalom,' is an impossible site, for in 1 K 22^{50} and 2 Ch 21^{1} it is stated that he was buried in the city of David. The valley, moreover, does not suit the conditions, in that it is a *nachal* (wady)—the *nachal* Kidron (wh. see),—whereas the Valley of Jehoshaphat was in Heb. an *'ēmeq* (a wide, open valley). It has been suggested that the valley (*'ēmeq*) of Beracah, where Jehoshaphat returned thanks after his great victory (2 Ch 20^{26}), may be the place referred to by Joel. It is, however, at least as probable that the prophet did not refer to any special locality and gave the name *Jehoshaphat, i.e.* 'Jehovah judges,' to an ideal spot.

E. W. G. MASTERMAN.

JEHOSHEBA (2 K 11^{2}; **Jehoshabeath** in 2 Ch 22^{11}).—Daughter of Jehoram of Judah. On the death of her half-brother Ahaziah, she was instrumental in preserving the Davidic stock, by concealing the infant Jehoash in a lumber-room of the palace (RVm). According to the Chronicler, she was wife of Jehoiada.

JEHOVAH.—See GOD, § 2 (*f*).

JEHOVAH-JIREH.—The name given by Abraham (Gn 22^{14}) to the spot where he offered a ram in place of his son. The name means 'Jehovah sees,' and probably also (with reference to Gn 22^{8}) 'Jehovah provides.' The proverb connected in v.^{14} with the name clearly relates to the Temple hill, 'the mount of the Lord.' But it is not easy to see the exact connexion between the name and the proverb. The most obvious translation is 'in the mount of Jehovah one appears' (referring to the festal pilgrimages to Jerusalem), but in that case the connexion can be only verbal. Other possible translations are: (1) 'In the mount of Jehovah it is seen,' *i.e.* provided; this is a possible translation in the context; but it appears to be suggested that the proverb had an existence independently of the tradition of Abraham's sacrifice; in which case the meaning assigned to the verb is not a natural or obvious one. (2) 'In the mount of Jehovah, Jehovah is seen.' The significance of the phrase would then be that, as Jehovah sees the needs of those who come to worship Him, so as a practical result He is seen by them as a helper. Other translations have been suggested which do not, however, alter the general sense. Driver decides that, unless the connexion be regarded as purely verbal, the last suggestion quoted above seems the most satisfactory. In any case, the point lies in the relation between the name which Abraham gave to the place of his sacrifice and some popular proverb dealing with the Temple at Jerusalem.

A. W. F. BLUNT.

JEHOVAH-NISSI ('J" is my banner').—The name given by Moses to the altar he erected after the defeat of Amalek, Ex 17^{15} (E). God is considered the centre or rallying point of the army of Israel, and the name of God as their battle-cry (cf. Ps $20^{7f.}$). The interpretation of v.^{16} is somewhat doubtful. Many critics read *nēs* ('banner') for *kēs* (=*kisseh,* 'throne'), but this appears neither to be necessary nor to yield a suitable sense. The meaning is probably either 'J" hath sworn' (EV), or 'I (Moses) swear' (with hand uplifted to J"'s throne).

JEHOVAH-SHALOM.—The name given by Gideon to the altar he erected in Ophrah (Jg 6^{24}). The name means 'J" is peace' (*i.e.* well-disposed), in allusion to J"'s words in v.^{23} 'Peace be unto thee.'

JEHOVAH-SHAMMAH ('J" is there').—The name to be given to the restored and glorified Jerusalem (Ezk 48^{35}; cf. Is 60^{14-22} 62^{2}, Rev $21^{2f.}$). 'The prophet beheld the LORD forsake His temple (ch. 11), and he

beheld Him again enter it (ch. 43); now He abides in it among His people for ever.'

JEHOVAH-TSIDKENU ('J" is our righteousness,' or 'J" our righteousness,' Jer 23^6 33^{16}).—In both passages (which are in fact the same prophecy repeated) it is the title of the Branch, the perfectly Righteous King, who is to rule over the people on their return from the Captivity.

JEHOZABAD.—1. One of the servants of king Joash who conspired against his master and joined in his assassination (2 K 12^{21} = 2 Ch 24^{26}). **2.** A Benjamite chief (2 Ch 17^{18}). **3.** A Levitical family (1 Ch 26^4). A shortened form of the name is **Jozabad** (wh. see).

JEHOZADAK.—Father of Joshua the high priest (1 Ch $6^{14.\ 15}$, Hag $1^{1.\ 12.\ 14}$. $2^{2.\ 4}$, Zec 6^{11}). The name is shortened to **Jozadak** in Ezr $3^{2.\ 8}$ 5^2 10^{18}, Neh 12^{26}. It appears as **Josedek** in 1 Es $5^{5.\ 48.\ 56}$ 6^2 9^{19}, Sir 49^{12}.

JEHU.—1. A prophet, the son of Hanani (1 K 16^1 etc.). **2.** A Judahite (1 Ch 2^{38}). **3.** A Simeonite (1 Ch 4^{35}). **4.** One of David's heroes (1 Ch 12^3). **5.** A king of Israel. Like the other founders of dynasties in that country, he obtained the throne by the murder of his monarch. It is evident that a considerable party in Israel had long been dissatisfied with the house of Ahab. This was partly on account of its religious policy, but perhaps even more for its oppression of its subjects,—so emphatically illustrated by the story of Naboth. The leader of the opposition was Elijah, and after him Elisha. Jehu, when in attendance upon Ahab, had heard Elijah's denunciation of the murder of Naboth (2 K $9^{25f.}$). Later he was general of the army, and commanded in the operations at Ramoth-gilead in the absence of king Jehoram. The latter had gone to Jezreel on account of wounds he had received. Elisha saw this to be the favourable moment to start the long-planned revolt. His disciple anointed the general, and the assent of the army was easily obtained. The vivid narrative of Jehu's prompt action is familiar to every reader of the OT. The king was taken completely by surprise, and he and his mother were slain at once (2 K 9. 10).

The extermination of Ahab's house was a foregone conclusion. The skill of Jehu is seen in his making the chief men in the kingdom partners in the crime. The extermination of the royal house in Judah seems uncalled for, but was perhaps excused by the times on account of the close relationship with the family of Ahab. It has been suggested that Jehu purposed to put an end to the independence of Judah, and to incorporate it fully with his own kingdom. But we have no direct evidence on this head. Hosea saw that the blood of Jezreel rested upon the house of Jehu, and that it would be avenged (Hos 1^4).

Elisha's activity extended through the reign of Jehu, but the narrative of the prophet's life tells us little of the king. From another source—the Assyrian inscriptions—we learn that Jehu paid tribute to Shalmaneser in the year 842 B.C., which must have been the year of his accession. He probably hoped to secure the great king's protection against Damascus. But he was disappointed in this, for after a single expedition to the West in 839 the Assyrians were occupied in the East. The latter portion of Jehu's reign was therefore a time of misfortune for Israel. H. P. Smith.

JEHUBBAH.—An Asherite (1 Ch 7^{34}).

JEHUCAL.—A courtier sent by king Zedekiah to entreat for the prayers of Jeremiah (Jer $37^{3f.}$); called in Jer 38^1 **Jucal.**

JEHUD.—A town of Dan, named between Baalath and Bene-berak (Jos 19^{45}). It is probably the modern *el-Yehūdīyeh*, 8 miles E. of Joppa.

JEHUDI (generally = 'a Jew,' but appears to be a proper name in Jer $36^{14.\ 21.\ 23}$).—An officer of Jehoiakim, at whose summons Baruch read to the princes of Judah the roll of Jeremiah's prophecies, and who was afterwards himself employed to read the roll to the king.

JEHUDIJAH (1 Ch 4^{18} AV).—See Hajehudijah.

JEHUEL.—A Hemanite in Hezekiah's reign (2 Ch 29^{14}).

JEIEL.—1. A Reubenite (1 Ch 5^7). **2.** An ancestor of Saul (1 Ch 8^{29}, supplied in RV from 9^{35}). **3.** One of David's heroes (1 Ch 11^{44}). **4. 5.** The name of two Levite families: (*a*) 1 Ch $15^{18.\ 21}$ $16^{5.\ 5}$, 2 Ch 20^{14}; (*b*) 2 Ch 35^9 [1 Es 1^9 **Ochielus**]. **6.** A scribe in the reign of Uzziah (2 Ch 26^{11}). **7.** One of those who had married foreign wives (Ezr 10^{43}). In **2. 3. 6.** *Kethībh* has **Jeuel.**

JEKABZEEL (Neh 11^{25}).—See Kabzeel.

JEKAMEAM.—A Levite (1 Ch 23^{19} 24^{23}).

JEKAMIAH.—1. A Judahite (1 Ch 2^{41}). **2.** A son of king Jeconiah (1 Ch 3^{18}).

JEKUTHIEL.—A man of Judah (1 Ch 4^{18}).

JEMIMAH.—The eldest of Job's daughters born to him after his restoration to prosperity (Job 42^{14}).

JEMNAAN (Jth 2^{28}).—See Jabneel.

JEMUEL.—A son of Simeon (Gn 46^{10}, Ex 6^{15}) = **Nemuel** of Nu 26^{12}, 1 Ch 4^{24}.

JEPHTHAH.—Spoken of simply as 'the Gileadite,' and as being a 'mighty man of valour.' In Jg 11^1 it is said that he was 'the son of a harlot,' for which cause he was driven out from his home in Gilead by his brethren. Hereupon he gathers a band of followers, and leads the life of a freebooter in the land of Tob. Some time after this, Gilead is threatened with an attack by the Ammonites, and Jephthah is besought to return to his country in order to defend it; he promises to lead his countrymen against the Ammonites on condition of his being made chief (king?) if he returns victorious. Not only is this agreed to, but he is forthwith made head of his people (Jg 11^{4-11}).

In the long passage which follows, 11^{12-28}, Israel's claim to possess Gilead is urged by messengers who are sent by Jephthah to the Ammonite king; the passage, however, is concerned mostly with the Moabites (cf. Nu 20. 21), and is clearly out of place here.

The 'spirit of the Lord' comes upon Jephthah, and he marches out to attack the Ammonites. On his way he makes a vow that if he returns from the battle victorious, he will offer up, as a thanksgiving to Jahweh, whoever comes out of his house to welcome him. He defeats the Ammonites, and, on his return, his daughter, an only child, comes out to meet him. The father beholds his child, according to our present text, with horror and grief, but cannot go back upon his word. The daughter begs for two months' respite, in order to go into the mountains to 'bewail her virginity.' At the end of this period she returns, and Jephthah fulfils his vow (an archæological note is here appended, 11^{40}, concerning which see below). There follows then an episode which recalls Jg 8^{1-3}; the Ephraimites resent not having been called by Jephthah to fight against the Ammonites, just as they resented not being called by Gideon to fight against the Midianites; in the present case, however, the matter is not settled amicably; a battle follows, in which Jephthah is again victorious; the Ephraimites flee, but are intercepted at the fords of Jordan, and, being recognized by their inability to pronounce the 'sh' in the word *Shibboleth*, are slain. Jephthah, after continuing his leadership for six years, dies, and is buried in Gilead, but the precise locality is not indicated.

Whether the story of the sacrifice of Jephthah's daughter be historical or not, its mention is of considerable interest, inasmuch as it bears witness to the prevalence among the early Israelites of practices which were widely recognized among ancient peoples as belonging to the essentials of religion. In the story before us we obviously must not expect to see the original form; it is a compilation from more than

one source, and has been worked over in the interests of later religious conceptions; that two totally distinct practices have, therefore, got mixed up together need cause no surprise. The first of these practices was the sacrifice of a human being at times of special stress (the sacrifice of the firstborn belongs to a different category); the second is that known as the 'Weeping for Tammuz.' Among early peoples there were certain rites which represented the death and resurrection of vegetation, in connexion with which various myths arose. In their original form (in which human sacrifice played a part) these rites were intended, and believed, to be the means of assisting Nature to bring forth the fruits of the earth. Among such rites was that known as 'the Weeping for Tammuz' (=Adonis), cf. Ezk 8^{14}; the rite was based on the myth that Tammuz, a beautiful youth, was killed by a boar; Tammuz was the personification of the principle of vegetation, and represented the Summer, while the boar represented the Winter. This death of Tammuz was celebrated annually with bitter wailing, chiefly by women (Jg 11^{40}); often (though not always, for the rite differed in different localities) his resurrection was celebrated the next day, thus ensuring by means of imitative magic the re-appearance of fresh vegetation in its time.

The 'bewailing of virginity' (v.[37]), and the note, 'she had not known a man' (v.[39]), are inserted to lay stress on the fact that if Jephthah's daughter had had a husband, or had been a mother, her father would have had no power over her; since, in the one case, her husband would have been her possessor, and in the other, she could have claimed protection from the father of the child, whether the latter were alive or not.

W. O. E. Oesterley.

JEPHUNNEH.—1. The father of Caleb (Nu 13^{6}). **2.** A son of Jether an Asherite (1 Ch 7^{38}).

JERAH.—Mentioned in the genealogies of Gn 10^{26} and 1 Ch 1^{20} as a son of Joktan. Probably, in analogy with other names in this connexion, Jerah is to be taken as the designation of an Arabian tribe. The Arabic geographers refer to places named *Warākh*, *Yurākh*, and *Yarāch*, with any one of which it might be identified. On the other hand, in Hebrew the word signifies 'new moon'; it may therefore be the translation of a totemic clan-name. In fact, Bochart pointed out that 'sons of the moon' is a patronymic still found in Arabia.

W. M. Nesbit.

JERAHMEEL ('May El have compassion!') **1.** A non-Israelite clan in the extreme S. of Palestine, with which David cultivated friendly relations during his exile (1 S 27^{10} 30^{29}). After Saul's death the Jerahmeelites formed part of the little principality over which he reigned in Hebron. How indistinct the recollection of them was appears from the various forms assumed by their name in MSS of the LXX: *Jesmega*, *Isramelei*, *Aermon*, *Israel*, *Jeramelei*. Subsequently they were considered to have been a Judahite clan (1 Ch $2^{9.\ 25ff.\ 35-42}$; here Jerahmeel is Caleb's elder brother; the list of his descendants in vv.[35-42] is of later origin than vv.[9.\ 25-27] and brings them down to the Chronicler's day). We have no historical or other records connected with these names, save that Molid (v.[29]) is a town mentioned elsewhere (Jos 19^{2}, Neh 11^{26}). **2.** LXX and Old Lat. read 'Jerahmeel' at 1 S 1^{1} as the name of Samuel's grandfather. In all probability the **Jeroham** of MT is an abbreviated form, like *Jacob* for *Jacob-el*, or the *Yarkhamu* found in a Babylonian list of Hammurabi's time. **3.** One of the three men ordered by Jehoiakim to arrest Jeremiah and Baruch (Jer 36^{26}). AV follows Vulg. (*filio Amelech*), calling him 'son of Hammelech': RV, with LXX, 'the king's son.' He was a scion of the royal house, but not necessarily a child of Jehoiakim. **4.** In a list of Levites (1 Ch 24^{20-31}) drawn up considerably later than that in $23^{6ff.}$, Jerahmeel's name is added as son of Kish (MT 'sons': the text is in a confused state). There must at the time have been a division of Levites called after him, and not, as previously, after Kish. J. Taylor.

JERECHU (1 Es 5^{22}) =Ezr 2^{34} Neh 7^{36} **Jericho.**

JERED (the same name as **Jared** in Gn $5^{15.\ 16.\ 18.\ 20}$, 1 Ch 1^{2}).—A Judahite (1 Ch 4^{18}).

JEREMAI.—A Jew of the family of Hashum who had married a foreign wife (Ezr 10^{33} [1 Es 9^{34} **Jeremias**]).

JEREMIAH.—1. A warrior of the tribe of Gad, fifth in reputation (1 Ch 12^{10}). **2.** The tenth in reputation (1 Ch 12^{13}) of the same Gadite band. **3.** A bowman and slinger of the tribe of Benjamin (1 Ch 12^{4}). **4.** The head of a family in E. Manasseh (1 Ch 5^{24}). **5.** A Jew of Libnah, whose daughter, Hamutal or Hamital, was one of the wives of Josiah, and mother of Jehoahaz (2 K 23^{31}) and Zedekiah (2 K 24^{18}, Jer 52^{1}). **6.** The son of Habazziniah and father of Jaazaniah, the head of the Rechabites (Jer 35^{3}) in the time of the prophet Jeremiah. **7.** A priest who returned with Zerubbabel (Neh 12^{1}). His name was given to one of the twenty-two courses of priests (Ezr 2^{36-39}, Neh 7^{39-42} 12^{13}). **8.** A priest who sealed the covenant (Neh 10^{2}) and took part in the dedication of the wall of Jerusalem (12^{34}). **9.** The prophet. See next article.

JEREMIAH.—1. The times.—Jeremiah the prophet was born towards the close of Manasseh's long and evil reign (*c.* B.C. 696–641), the influence of which overshadowed his life (Jer 15^{4}, 2 K 23^{26}). He prophesied under Josiah and his sons from the year 626 to the fall of Jerusalem in B.C. 586 ($1^{2f.}$), and for some short time after this until he vanishes from sight amongst the fugitive Jews in Egypt (chs. 40–44).

Through Josiah's minority (see Josiah) the ethnicizing régime of Manasseh continued; Jeremiah's earliest preaching (chs. 2–6), and the prophecies of his contemporary Zephaniah (wh. see), reveal a medley of heathen worships in Jerusalem, gross oppression and profligacy, insolence and insensibility characterizing both court and people. Meanwhile an international crisis is approaching. The giant power of Asshur, which for a century had dominated Israel's world, is in rapid decline, and is threatened by the new Median State on its eastern border; Nahum (wh. see) had already celebrated Nineveh's downfall in his splendid verses. The Assyrian capital was saved for the time by the irruption of the Scythian nomads (Ezekiel's Gog and Magog), who were swarming southwards from the Oxus plains and over the Caucasus passes. These hordes of wild horsemen overran Western Asia for a generation, leaving a lasting horror behind them. Nineveh avoided capture by the Medes in 625 only at the expense of seeing her lands wasted and her dependencies stripped from her. The war-cloud of *the Scythian invasion* overhangs the sky of Zephaniah, and of Jeremiah at the outset of his ministry. The territory of Judah seems, after all, to have escaped the Scythian deluge, which swept to the borders of Egypt. The nomad cavalry would reach with difficulty the Judæan highlands; and if Josiah, coming of age about this time, showed a bold front against them and saved his country from their ravages, we can account for the prestige that he enjoyed and used to such good purpose. At the same date, or even earlier, the Assyrian over-lordship had been renounced; for we find Josiah exercising independent sovereignty. It was not as the vassal of Nineveh, but in the assertion of his hereditary rights and as guardian of the old territory of Israel, that he challenged Pharaoh-necho, who was attempting to seize the lost western provinces of Assyria, to the fatal encounter of Megiddo in the year 608 (2 K 22^{2} 23^{15-20}, 2 Ch 35^{20}). The Pharaoh pointedly calls him 'thou king of Judah,' as if bidding him keep within his bounds (2 Ch 35^{21}). Jeremiah praises Josiah, in contrast to his son, as an upright and prosperous king, good to the poor and commending his religion by his rule (Jer 22^{15-17}).

The great event of Josiah's reign was the reformation effected by him in its eighteenth year (B.C. 621), upon the discovery of 'the book of the law' in the Temple (2 K 22^{8}–23^{25}; see Deuteronomy). So far as con-

cerned outward religion, this was a drastic and enduring revolution. Not merely the later idolatries imported from the East under the Assyrian supremacy, but also the indigenous rites of Molech and the Baalim were abolished. Above all, an end was put to the immemorial cultus of the local 'high places,' at which the service of Jehovah had been corrupted by mixture with that of the Canaanite divinities. Worship was centralized at the royal Temple of Jerusalem; and the 'covenant' with Jehovah made by king and people there in the terms of Deuteronomy, followed by the memorable Passover feast, was designed to inaugurate a new order of things in the life of the people; this proved, in fact, a turning-point in Israel's history. However disappointing in its immediate spiritual effects, the work of Josiah and his band of reformers gave the people a written law-book and a definitely organized religious system, which they carried with them into the Exile to form the nucleus of the OT Scriptures and the basis of the later Judaism.

The fall of Josiah in battle concluded the interval of freedom and prosperity enjoyed by Judah under his vigorous rule. For three years the country was subject to the victorious Pharaoh, who deposed and deported Shallum-Jehoahaz, the national choice, replacing him on the throne of Judah by his brother Eliakim-Jehoiakim. The great battle of Carchemish (605), on the Euphrates, decided the fate of Syria and Palestine; the empire of Western Asia, quickly snatched from Egypt, passed into the strong hands of the Chaldæan king Nebuchadrezzar, the destined destroyer of Jerusalem. From this time 'Babylon' stands for the tyrannous and corrupting powers of the world; she becomes, for Scripture and the Church, the metropolis of the kingdom of Satan, as 'Jerusalem' of the kingdom of the saints. The Chaldæan empire was a revival of the Assyrian,—less brutal and destructive, more advanced in civilization, but just as sensual and sordid, and exploiting the subject races as thoroughly as its predecessor. The prophecies of Habakkuk (chs. 1 and 2) reveal the intense hatred and fear excited by the approach of the Chaldæans; the ferocity of Nebuchadrezzar's troops was probably aggravated by the incorporation with them of Scythian cavalry, large bodies of which still roamed south of the Caspian. The repeated and desperate revolts made by the Judæans are accounted for by the harshness of Nebuchadrezzar's yoke, to escape which Tyre endured successfully a thirteen years' siege. His enormous works of building (see Hab $2^{12.\ 13}$) must have involved crushing exactions from the tributaries.

Jehoiakim, after Carchemish, transferred his allegiance to Babylon. For three years he kept faith with Nebuchadrezzar, and then—apparently without allies or reasonable hope of support—rebelled (2 K 24^{1}). Jehoiakim was a typical Eastern despot, self-willed, luxurious, unprincipled, oppressive towards his own people, treacherous and incompetent in foreign policy. Jeremiah denounces him vehemently; the wonder is that he did not fall a victim to the king's anger, like his disciple Uriah (Jer 26^{20-24} 36^{26-30} 22^{13-19}). The revived national faith in Jehovah, which had rested on Josiah's political success, was shaken by his fall; the character of the new king, and the events of his reign, furthered the reaction. A popular Jehovist party existed; but this was the most dangerous factor in the situation. Its leaders —the prophet Hananiah amongst them (Jer 28)— preached out of season Isaiah's old doctrine of the inviolability of Zion; even after the capture of Jerusalem in 597 and the first exile, 'the prophets' promised in Jehovah's name a speedy re-instatement. The possession of the Temple and the observance of the Law, they held, bound Jehovah to His people's defence. The fanaticism thus excited, of which the Jewish race has given so many subsequent examples, brought about the second, and fatal, rupture with Babylon.

Nebuchadrezzar showed a certain forbearance towards Judah. On Jehoiakim's first revolt, in 601, he let loose bands of raiders on the Judæan territory (2 K 24^{2}; cf. Jer $12^{9.\ 14}$); four years later he marched on the capital. Jehoiakim died just before this; his youthful son Jehoiachin (called also *Jeconiah* and *Coniah*) surrendered the city, and was carried captive, with the queen-mother and the élite of the nobles and people, to Babylon, where he lived for many years, to be released upon Nebuchadrezzar's death in 561 (2 K 24^{8-17} 25^{27-30}, Jer 22^{24-30}).

The reign of Mattaniah-Zedekiah, raised to the throne by Nebuchadrezzar, was in effect a repetition of that of his elder brother. Zedekiah failed through weakness more than through wickedness; he sought Jeremiah's advice, but lacked decision to follow it. Early in his reign a conspiracy was on foot in Palestine against the Chaldæans, which he was tempted to join (Jer 27^{1-11}; see RVm on v.^{1}). The Judæans, instead of being cowed by the recent punishment, were eager for a rising; public opinion expressed itself in Hananiah's contradiction to Jeremiah's warnings (ch. 28). The same false hopes were exciting the exiles in Babylon (ch. 29). Nebuchadrezzar, aware of these movements, summoned Zedekiah to Babylon (Jer 51^{59}); the latter was able, however, to clear himself of complicity, and returned to Jerusalem. At last Zedekiah yielded to the tide; he broke his oaths of allegiance to Nebuchadrezzar—conduct sternly condemned by Ezekiel (17^{11-21}) as well as by Jeremiah—and the Jewish people were launched on a struggle almost as mad as that which it undertook with Rome 650 years later. The siege of Jerusalem was stubbornly prolonged for two years (588–586). The Egyptians under the new and ambitious Pharaoh-hophra (Apries, 588–569), effected a diversion of the Chaldæan troops (Jer 37^{5-10}, Ezk 17^{15}); but, as often before, Pharaoh proved 'a broken reed to those who trusted in him.' Reduced by famine, Jerusalem was stormed, Zedekiah being captured in his attempt to escape, and meeting a pitiable death (2 K 25^{1-7}). This time Nebuchadrezzar made an end of the rebels. Jerusalem was razed to the ground; the survivors of the siege, and of the executions that followed, were carried into exile. A remnant, of no political importance, was left to till the ground; the bulk of these, after the tragic incidents related in Jer 39–43, fled to Egypt. Jeremiah, who had in vain resisted this migration, was carried with the runaways; he had the distress of seeing his companions relapse into open idolatry, protesting that they had fared better when worshipping 'the queen of heaven' than under the national Jehovah. Jewish tradition relates that he died at the hands of his incensed fellow-exiles. The prophet's prediction that the sword of Nebuchadrezzar would follow the fugitives, was fulfilled by the Chaldæan invasion of Lower Egypt in the year 569, if not earlier than this. The Babylonian empire lasted from B.C. 605 to 538,—a little short of the '70 years' assigned to it, in round numbers, by Jeremiah (25^{11} 29^{10}).

2. The man.—The Book of Jeremiah is largely autobiographical. The author became, unconsciously, the hero of his work. This prophet's temperament and experience have coloured his deliverances in a manner peculiar amongst OT writers. His teaching, moreover, marks an evolution in the Israelite religion, which acquires a more personal stamp as its national framework is broken up. In Jeremiah's life we watch the spirit of revelation being *driven inwards*, taking refuge from the shipwreck of the State in the soul of the individual. Jeremiah is the prophet of that 'church within the nation,' traceable in its beginnings to Isaiah's time, to which the future of revealed religion is henceforth committed. This inner community of heart-believers survived the Exile; it gave birth to the Bible and the synagogue.

Jeremiah was a native of Anathoth, a little town some 3½ miles N.E. from Jerusalem, perched high on

the mountain-ridge and commanding an extensive view over the hills of Ephraim and the Jordan valley, towards which his memory often turned (4[15] 7[14. 15] 12[5] 31[4-6. 18] 49[19]). Jeremiah had no mere Judæan outlook; the larger Israel was constantly in his thoughts. His father was 'Hilkiah [not the Hilkiah of 2 K 22[4]], of the priests that were in Anathoth in the land of Benjamin' (1[1]); but he does not show, like the contemporary priest-prophet Ezekiel, the sacerdotal mind. Anathoth had been the settlement of Abiathar, the last high priest of Eli's house, who was banished thither by Solomon (1 K 2[26]); Jeremiah may have been a scion of this deposed line. His mission brought him, probably at an early period, into conflict with 'the men of Anathoth,' who sought his life (11[18-23]). His attempt to visit Anathoth during the last siege of Jerusalem, and the transaction between himself and his cousin over the field at Anathoth (32[6ff.] 37[11-14]), go to show that he was not entirely cut off from friendly relations with his kindred and native place.

Jeremiah's call (ch. 1) in B.C. 626 found him a diffident and reluctant young man,—not wanting in devotion, but shrinking from publicity, and with no natural drawing towards the prophetic career; yet he is 'set over the nations, to pluck up and to break down, and to build and to plant'! Already there begins the struggle between the implanted word of Jehovah and the nature of the man, on which turns Jeremiah's inner history and the development of his heroic character,—all things considered, the noblest in the OT. His ministry was to be a long martyrdom. He must stand as 'a fenced city and an iron pillar and brazen walls against the whole land,'—a solitary and impregnable fortress for Jehovah. The manner of his call imports an intimacy with God, an identification of the man with his mission, more close and complete than in the case of any previous prophet (see vv.[5] and [9]). No intermediary—not even 'the spirit of Jehovah,'—no special vehicle or means of prophetical incitement, is ever intimated in his case: simply 'the word of Jehovah came to' him. He conceives the true prophet as 'standing in Jehovah's council, to perceive and hear his word' (23[18]; cf. Is 50[4]). So that he may be in person, as well as in word, a prophet of the coming tribulation, marriage is forbidden him and all participation in domestic life (16[1-13]),—a sentence peculiarly bitter to his tender and affectionate nature. Jeremiah's imagination was haunted by his lost home happiness (7[34] 16[9] 25[10] 33[11]). Endowed with the finest sensibilities, in so evil a time he was bound to be a man of sorrows.

Behind the contest waged by Jeremiah with kings and people there lay an interior struggle, lasting more than twenty years. So long it took this great prophet to accept with full acquiescence the burden laid upon him. We may trace through a number of self-revealing passages, the general drift of which is plain notwithstanding the obscurity of some sentences and the chronological uncertainty, Jeremiah's progress from youthful consecration and ardour, through moods of doubt and passionate repugnance, to a complete self-conquest and settled trust (see, besides chs. 1. 11. 16 already cited, 8[18]–9[2] 15[10. 11] and [15-21] 17[14-18] 18[18-23] 20. 26 and 30–32). The discipline of Jeremiah may be divided into four stages, following on his supernatural call:—(*a*) the youthful period of fierce denunciation, B.C. 626–621; (*b*) the time of disillusion and silence, subsequent to Josiah's reforms, 621–608; (*c*) the critical epoch, 608–604, opened by the fall of Josiah at Megiddo and closing in the fourth year of Jehoiakim after the battle of Carchemish and the advent of Nebuchadrezzar, when the paroxysm of the prophet's soul was past and his vision of the future grew clear; (*d*) the stage of full illumination, attained during the calamities of the last days of Jerusalem.

To (*a*) belongs the teaching recorded in chs. 2–6, subject to the modifications inyolved in condensing from memory discourses uttered 20 years before. Here Jeremiah is on the same ground as Zephaniah. He strongly recalls Hosea, whose love for 'Ephraim' he shares, and whose similitude of the marriage-union between Jehovah and Israel supplies the basis of his appeals. Judah, he insists, has proved a more faithless bride than her northern sister; a divorce is inevitable. Ch. 5 reflects the shocking impression made by Jeremiah's first acquaintance with Jerusalem; in ch. 6 Jehovah's scourge—in the first instance the Scythians—is held over the city. With rebukes mingle calls to repentance and, more rarely, hopes of a relenting on the people's part (3[21-25]; in other hopeful passages critics detect interpolation). Jeremiah's powerful and pathetic preaching helped to prepare the reformation of 621. But as the danger from the northern hordes passed and Josiah's rule brought new prosperity, the prophet's vaticinations were discounted; his pessimism became an object of ridicule.

(*b*) Jeremiah's attitude towards Josiah's reformation is the enigma of his history. The collection of his prophecies made in 604 (see chs. 1–12), apart from the doubtful allusion in 11[1-8], ignores the subject; Josiah's name is but once mentioned, by way of contrast to Jehoiakim, in 22[13-19]. From this silence we must not infer condemnation; and such passages as 7[22. 23] and 8[8] do not signify that Jeremiah was radically opposed to the sacrificial system and to the use of a written law. We may fairly gather from 11[1-8], if not from 17[19-27] (the authenticity of which is contested), that Jeremiah commended the Deuteronomic code. His writings in many passages show a Deuteronomic stamp. But, from this point of view, the reformation soon showed itself a failure. It came from the will of the king, not from the conscience of the people. It effected no 'circumcision of the heart,' no inward turning to Jehovah, no such 'breaking up of the fallow ground' as Jeremiah had called for; the good seed of the Deuteronomic teaching was 'sown among thorns' (4[3. 4]), which sprang up and choked it. The cant of religion was in the mouths of ungodly men; apostasy had given place, in the popular temper, to hypocrisy. Convinced of this, Jeremiah appears to have early withdrawn, and stood aloof for the rest of Josiah's reign. Hence the years 621–608 are a blank in the record of his ministry. For the time the prophet was nonplussed; the evil he had foretold had not come; the good which had come was a doubtful good in his eyes. He could not support, he would not oppose, the work of the earnest and sanguine king. Those twelve years demonstrated the emptiness of a political religion. They burnt into the prophet's soul the lesson of *the worthlessness of everything without the law written on the heart.*

(*c*) Josiah's death at Megiddo pricked the bubble of the national religiousness; this calamity recalled Jeremiah to his work. Soon afterwards he delivered the great discourse of 7–8[3], which nearly cost him his life (see ch. 26). He denounces *the false reliance on the Temple* that replaced the idolatrous superstitions of 20 years before, thereby making 'the priests and the prophets,' to whose ears the threat of Shiloh's fate for Zion was rank treason, from this time his implacable enemies. The post-reformation conflict now opening was more deadly than the pre-reformation conflict shared with Zephaniah. A false Jehovism had entrenched itself within the forms of the Covenant, armed with the weapons of fanatical self-righteousness. To this phase of the struggle belong chs. 7–10 (subtracting the great interpolation of 9[23]–10[16], of which 10[1-16] is surely post-Jeremianic); so, probably, most of the matter of chs. 14–20, identified with the 'many like words' that were added to the volume of Jeremiah burnt by Jehoiakim in the winter of 604 (36[27-32]).

The personal passages of chs. 15. 17. 18. 20 belong to this decisive epoch (608–605, between Megiddo and Carchemish). The climax of Jeremiah's inward agony was brought about by the outrage inflicted on him by

Pashhur, the Temple overseer (ch. 20), when, to stop his mouth, the prophet was scourged and put in the stocks. He breaks out, 'O Jehovah, thou hast befooled me, and I have been befooled!' and ends by 'cursing the day of his birth' (vv.[7-18]). Jehovah has used His almighty power to play with a weak, simple man, and to make him a laughing-stock! Jehovah's word is 'a fire in his bones'; he is compelled to speak it, only to meet ridicule and insult! His warnings remain unfulfilled, and God leaves him in the lurch! He desires nothing but the people's good; yet they count him a traitor, and put down his terrifying visions to malignity! This last reproach cut Jeremiah to the heart; again and again he had repelled it (15^{10} 17^{16} 18^{20}). The scene of ch. 20 was Jeremiah's Gethsemane. It took place not long before the crisis of 'the fourth year of Jehoiakim,'—the occasion when the roll of doom was prepared (ch. 36) which was read to the people and the king, and when, after the battle of Carchemish, Nebuchadrezzar was hailed as Jehovah's servant and executioner (ch. 25). At this juncture the conclusive breach with Jehoiakim came about, when the faithless king, by running his knife through Jeremiah's book, severed the ties which had bound prophecy to the secular throne of David since Samuel's day. Recalling at this date his misgivings and inward fightings against God, the prophet virtually tells us that they are past. From the years 605–4 he marches with firm step to the goal; he sees the end of God's kingdom, and the way. Jeremiah is at last equal to his office, ready 'to pluck up and to break down the nations, and to build and to plant.' Master of himself, he is master of the world.

(*d*) Chs. 30–33 (33^{14-26} are wanting in the LXX; the remainder of 33, along with 32^{16-44}, lies under grave critical suspicion) contain a distinct 'word of Jehovah,' committed to a separate 'book.' This is 'the Book of the Future of Israel and Judah' (Duhm), and the crown of Jeremiah's life-work. Like the Christian prophet who wrote the Epistle to the Hebrews, Jeremiah fled to the ideal and eternal from the horrors of the national downfall; as the earthly Zion sinks, the image of God's true city rises on his soul. The long foreseen catastrophe has arrived; Jeremiah meets it bravely, for 'days are coming,' Jehovah tells him, 'when I will restore the captivity of my people Israel and Judah, and I will cause them to return to the land of their fathers' ($30^{3ff.}$). The prophet adds deeds to words: he takes the opportunity of buying, before witnesses, a field at Anathoth offered during the siege by his cousin Hanameel, in token that 'houses and fields and vineyards shall yet again be bought in this land' (32^{15}). But the restoration means something far better than recovery of the land; it will be a spiritual renovation, a change *of heart* going deeper than Josiah's renewal of the old covenant. 'They shall be my people,' Jehovah promises, 'and I will be their God; and I will give them one heart and one way, that they may fear me for ever. . . . And I will make *an everlasting covenant* with them, and *I will put my fear in their hearts*' ($32^{38.\ 39}$; vv.[31-44] of this disputed chapter are full of Jeremianic traits). The announcement of the 'new covenant' in ch. 31^{31-34} is the kernel of the 'Book of the Future'; this is Jeremiah's greatest contribution to the progress of the Kingdom of God. This passage touches the high-water mark of OT prophecy; it was appropriated by the Lord Jesus at the Last Supper, and supplied the basis of the NT doctrine of salvation (see He 10^{14-18}). To deprive Jeremiah of the New-Covenant oracle (as B. Duhm, *e.g.*, would do) is to remove the top-stone of his life's edifice; it is to make his rôle one of 'plucking up and breaking down,' with no commensurate 'building and planting' (1^{10}) upon the desolated site. Jeremiah had read first in his own heart the secret thus conveyed to Israel. The mission which he had borne for long as a painful yoke, he learnt to rest in with entire contentment. He is able to say, 'I delight to do thy will, O my God; yea, thy law is within my heart'; and he prophesies that, under the new covenant, every man shall say this.

Jeremiah's style and powers as a writer have been underestimated; better justice is done to them by recent scholars. The gloom overshadowing many of his pages has been repellent; and the mistaken attachment of his name to 'Lamentations' has brought on him the disparaging epithet of 'the weeping prophet.' Much of the book comes to us from other pens; in its narrative parts we recognize the hand of Baruch; and allowance should be made for editorial glosses and additions, here and there interrupting the flow and impairing the force of the original. Jeremiah's language is touched with occasional Aramaisms, and shows some falling off from the perfection of the classical Hebrew of the 8th century. Jeremiah has neither the sublimity and sustained oratorical power of Isaiah, nor the pungency of Amos, nor the poignancy of Hosea, nor the fire and verve of Nahum, nor the subtlety of Habakkuk; but in richness of imagery, in fulness of human interest, in lucidity and naturalness, in his command of the various resources of poetry, eloquence, pathos, and practical appeal, by virtue of the combination of excellences he presents and the value of his total output, Jeremiah is the greatest of the writing prophets.

3. The Book.—We owe the Book of Jeremiah to his collaborator **Baruch** (ch. 36). In fairness, this should be entitled 'The Book of Jeremiah the prophet and Baruch the scribe.' With Baruch's help Jeremiah issued in 604 'a roll of a book,' containing the sum of his public teaching up to that date. This volume was not too large to be read to the assembled people, and read aloud twice more in the course of the same day. In size and contents it corresponded to chs. 2–12 of the existing book (the two fragments of 9^{23-26} seem to be a later Jeremianic, and 10^{1-16} a post-Jeremianic insertion; some would also refer 12^{7-17} to a subsequent date). The destruction of the first roll by Jehoiakim called for a new edition, containing 'many like words,' which added to the bulk of the first publication: chs. 1 and 14–20, with (possibly) 25, may be taken to contain the supplementary matter referred to in 36^{32}, extending and illustrating chs. 2–12 (ch. 13 is out of place, since it bears in the allusion of vv.[18. 19] manifest reference to the captivity of 597). With the exceptions named, and some others of less moment, chs. 1–20 may be read as the re-written roll of Jer 36^{32}, which dated from the winter of B.C. 604.

In chs. 21^{11}–23^{40} we find a distinct collection of oracles, relating to the kings (down to Jehoiachin) and prophets, associated under the designation of 'shepherds'; it is prefaced by a story (in 3rd person: 21^{1-10}) about king Zedekiah, germane to the later collection of chs. 37–39. Chs. 13 and 24 and 27–29 are reminiscences of Jeremiah relative to the early years of Zedekiah's reign, subsequent to the First Captivity (597)—surely ch. 35, the story of the Rechabites (in 1st person), relating to Jehoiakim's closing years, should come in here. This added matter may have gone to make up a *third edition* of Jeremiah-Baruch's work, published about this date, extending over chs. 1–29, with the deductions and addition previously noted (ch. 26 is mentioned below).

Chs. 30–33 form a totally distinct work from the Book of Doom thus far analyzed; this is Jeremiah's *book of promise* or *consolation*, recording the revelation of his people's future given to him during the last siege of Jerusalem. Chs. 37–39, to which 21^{1-10} should be attached, and 40–44, are two distinct memoirs, bearing on Jeremiah's history (*a*) in the final siege, and (*b*) after the capture of Jerusalem; the authorship of his secretary is indicated by the fact that the short oracle concerning *Baruch* (ch. 45) is set at the end of these narratives, though the event related took place

earlier, in 604. It is to be noted that the data of 1^{1-3} do not cover the matter of chs. 40–44. It looks as though that superscription was drawn up when the book extended only from ch. 1–39, and as though we ought to recognize a *fourth* stage in the growth of Jeremiah's book—a redaction made soon after the fall of Jerusalem, which was supplemented afterwards when Baruch added chs. 40–45, making the *fifth* (enlarged) edition. To (*a*) is prefixed the supremely important Baruch story (ch. 36), of the same date as the above-mentioned (ch. 45) which concludes (*b*). Ch. 26 is a detached narrative piece, out of place where it stands; this appears to be Baruch's account of the crisis in Jeremiah's work to which 7^{1}–8^{3} relates (B.C. 608). Altogether, we may credit to Baruch's memoirs of Jeremiah chs. 26. 36. 37–39 and 40–45; to some extent he probably worked over and edited the matter received by dictation from his master.

This leaves remaining only the collection of Foreign Oracles, which have been separately placed at the end of Jeremiah's works, in chs. 46–51; and the Historical Appendix, ch. 52, borrowed by his editors from the Book of Kings (or by the compilers of Kings from this place). The great *doom of the Chaldæans and Babylon* in chs. 50^{1}–51^{58}, judged by internal evidence, was certainly a postscript to Jeremiah's work and a product of the Exile; critical doubts, of less gravity, attach to other parts of the Foreign Oracles. In 38^{28b}–39^{10} we find already inserted, in shorter form, the first part of the narrative incorporated in ch. 52. Ch. 52^{28-30} supplies a valuable bit of tradition about the Captivity wanting in Kings, missing also in the LXX text of Jeremiah. The final redaction of the canonical 'Jeremiah' (the *sixth* edition?) dates considerably posterior to the Exile; for 50^{2}–51^{58}, if written by an exilic prophet, could hardly have been ascribed to Jeremiah until a late age. On the other hand, chs. 50–52 are found in the LXX, which dated *c.* B.C. 200, and must therefore have been incorporated in the book before this time.

The LXX departs from the Massoretic text in two main respects: (1) *in arrangement*,—the Foreign Oracles (chs. 46–51) being let in between vv.[13] and [14] of ch. 25, and running in a different order. It is not unlikely that the Dooms of the Nations were originally associated with ch. 25; but their Greek position cannot possibly be sustained. (2) Again, the LXX text differs from the MT *in quantity*, being shorter by some 2700 words, or one-eighth of the whole. The subtracted matter consists partly of *omissions* of paragraphs and sentences—amongst the chief of these being $11^{7.\ 8}$ 17^{1-4} 29^{16-20} 33^{14-26} 48^{45-47} 51^{45-48} $52^{2.\ 3.\ 28-30}$; partly of *abbreviations*,—titles shortened, proper names dispensed with, synonyms dropped and descriptions curtailed. The former phenomena point, in a number of instances, to accretions gathered by the MT subsequently to the date of translation; the abbreviations betray in the translator a studied attempt at conciseness. It has been supposed that the LXX rested on an older and purer recension of the Hebrew text, preserved in Egypt; but this theory is abandoned. 'Both texts' of Jeremiah 'have the same archetype; but this archetype underwent a gradual process of expansion, and the process is represented at an earlier stage in the MS or MSS underlying the LXX, and at a more advanced stage in those at the basis of the MT. . . . Speaking generally, the MT is qualitatively greatly superior to the Greek; but, on the other hand, quantitatively, the Greek is nearer the original text. This judgment is general, admitting many exceptions,—that is, cases where the quality of the Greek text is better, and its readings more original than the Hebrew; and also cases where, in regard to quantity, the Hebrew is to be preferred, the omissions in the LXX being due to faults in the translator's MS, to his own oversight, or to his tendency to scamp and abridge' (A. B. Davidson).

SYNOPSIS OF THE BOOK.

I. **The great Book of Doom,** dictated by Jeremiah in B.C. 604: chs. 1–20. 25, with parts (probably) of 46–51, corresponding to the original volume read by Baruch ($36^{2.\ 10}$) and the 'many like words' added on re-writing (36^{32}).
   (*a*) The book burnt by Jehoiakim: chs. 2–12 (*minus* 9^{23}–10^{16} etc.). This included—
      1. *The Judgment upon Judah's treachery towards Jehovah*: chs. 2–6, embodying Jeremiah's pre-reformation teaching [3^{6-18} has slipped out of its place; this oracle should come either before (Cornill), or after (Bruston), the rest of chs. 2. 3].
      2. *The Judgment upon Judah's hypocrisy*. chs. 7–12 (? 12^{7-17}; *minus* 9^{23}–10^{16}); belonging to the post-reformation preaching of 608 and onwards.
   (*b*) The 'many like words,' illustrating (*a*): chs. 1. 14–20, and probably 25, etc.; consisting of *scenes and reminiscences from Jeremiah's earlier ministry*, up to B.C. 604 [ch. 13 was later; it has been displaced; see § V.].

II. **The Judgment on the Shepherds** (kings, priests, and prophets): chs. 21–23 [21^{1-10} has been transferred from § V.: the remainder of this section need not have been later than *c.* B.C. 597].

III. **Later memoranda of Jeremiah,** extending from *c.* 600 to 593: chs. 12^{7-17} (?) 13. 24. 27–29 and 35. §§ II. and III. may have been added to § I. to form a *third* (enlarged) edition of the great Book of Doom, issued in the middle of Zedekiah's reign and before the final struggle with Nebuchadrezzar.

IV. **The little Book of Consolation:** chs. 30–33, dating from the second siege.

V. **Baruch's Memoirs of Jeremiah:**
   (*a*) Before the Fall of Jerusalem (covered by the title in 1^{1-3}): chs. 26. 36. 34. 37–39, with 21^{1-10}.
   (*b*) After the Fall of Jerusalem: chs. 40–44.
   (*c*) Baruch's personal note: ch. 45.
   Whether the above memoirs were introduced by Baruch or extracted later by other editors from a separate work of his, cannot be determined with certainty. The position of ch. 45 speaks for his editing up to this point; but if so, some later hand has disturbed his arrangement of the matter. In some instances the displacements we have noted may be due to accidents of transcription.

VI. **The Collection of Foreign Oracles:** chs. 46–49 [50^{2}–51^{58}] 51^{59-64}—against Egypt (2), Philistia, Moab, Ammon, Edom, Damascus, Kedar and Hazor, Elam [Babylon]. In the LXX the Dooms are differently arranged, attached to 25^{13}, and slightly shorter. The *Babylon* Doom admittedly betrays the hand of a late compiler; additions to Jeremiah's work are suspected in other parts of the section, particularly in the Dooms of *Egypt* and *Moab*.

VII. **The Historical Appendix:** ch. 52, nearly identical, by general admission, with 2 K 24^{18}–25^{30}.

The above must be taken as a *general* outline and sketch of the growth of the work. There are a number of detached fragments, such as $9^{23.\ 24}$ and $^{25.\ 26}$, the true connexion of which is lost. And post-Jeremianic interpolations and annotations, relatively numerous, must be recognized; the most conspicuous of these, besides the last three chapters, are 10^{1-16} and 33^{14-26}.

G. G. FINDLAY.

JEREMIAS (1 Es 9^{34}) = **Jeremai** in Ezr 10^{33}.

JEREMIEL.—The archangel who in 2 Es 4^{36} answers the questions of the righteous dead. AV has *Uriel*, the angel sent to instruct Esdras (2 Es 4^{1} 5^{20} 10^{28}).

JEREMOTH.—**1. 2.** Two Benjamites (1 Ch 7^{8} 8^{14}). **3. 4.** Two Levites (1 Ch 23^{23} 25^{22}); the latter called in 24^{30} **Jerimoth. 5.** A Naphtalite (1 Ch 27^{19}). **6. 7. 8.** Three of those who had married foreign wives (Ezr $10^{26.\ 27.\ 29}$). In the last instance *Qerē* has 'and Ramoth' (so AV). For Nos. **6** and **8** 1 Es. ($9^{27.\ 30}$) has **Hieremoth**; for No. **7** it has (v.[28]) **Jerimoth.**

JEREMY.—The form in which the name of the prophet *Jeremiah* appears in both AV and RV of 1 Es $1^{28.\ 32.\ 47.\ 57}$ 2^{1}, 2 Es 2^{18}, as well as in AV of 2 Mac $2^{1.\ 5.\ 7}$, Mt 2^{17} 27^{9}. In the last three passages RV has *Jeremiah*. The form *Jeremy* is used also in both AV and RV in the title of the Epistle ascribed to the prophet in Bar 6^{1}. See art. APOCRYPHA, § **10.**

JERIAH.—The chief of one of the Levitical courses (1 Ch 23^{19} 24^{23} 26^{31} [in this last AV and RV **Jerijah**]).

JERIBAI.—One of David's heroes (1 Ch 11^{46}).

JERICHO.—A city situated in the Jordan valley about 5 miles from the north end of the Dead Sea, now represented by the miserable village of *er-Rîha*. It was the first city conquered by the Israelites after their passage of the Jordan. The course of events, from the sending of the spies to the destruction of Achan for infraction of the *tabu* on the spoil, is too well known to need repetition here (see Jos 1–7). A small hamlet remained on the site, belonging to Benjamin (Jos 18^{21}), which was insignificant enough for David's ambassadors to retire to, to recover from their insulting treatment by Hanun (2 S 10^{5}, 1 Ch 19^{5}). The city was re-founded by Hiel, a Bethelite, who apparently endeavoured to avert the curse pronounced by Joshua over the site by sacrificing his sons (1 K 16^{34}). A college of prophets was shortly afterwards founded here (2 K 2^{4}), for whose benefit Elisha healed its bitter waters (v.^{18}). Hither the Israelites who had raided Judah, in the time of Ahaz, restored their captives on the advice of the prophet Oded (2 Ch 28^{15}). Here the Babylonians finally defeated Zedekiah, the last king of Judah, and so destroyed the Judahite kingdom (2 K 25^{5}, Jer 39^{5} 52^{8}). Bacchides, the general of the Syrians in the Maccabæan period, captured and fortified Jericho (1 Mac 9^{50}); Aristobulus also took it (Jos. *Ant.* XIV. i. 2). Pompey encamped here on his way to Jerusalem (*ib.* XIV. iv. 1). Its inhabitants, whom the great heat of the Ghōr had deprived of fighting strength, fled before Herod (*ib.* XIV. XV. 3) and Vespasian (*BJ* IV. viii. 2). In the Gospels Jericho figures in the stories of Bartimæus (Mt 20^{29}, Mk 10^{46}, Lk 18^{35}), Zacchæus (Lk 19^{1}), and the Good Samaritan (Lk 10^{30}).

The modern *er-Rîha* is not exactly on the site of ancient Jericho, which is a collection of mounds beside the spring traditionally associated with Elisha. The Roman and Byzantine towns are represented by other sites in the neighbourhood. Ancient aqueducts, mills, and other antiquities are numerous, as are also remains of early monasticism.

The site, though unhealthy for man, is noted for its fertility. Josephus (*BJ* IV. viii. 3) speaks of it with enthusiasm. Even yet it is an important source of fruit supply. The district round Jericho is the personal property of the Sultan. R. A. S. Macalister.

JERIEL.—A chief of Issachar (1 Ch 7^{2}).

JERIJAH (1 Ch 26^{31}).—See Jeriah.

JERIMOTH.—**1. 2.** Two Benjamites (1 Ch 7^{7} 12^{5}). **3. 4. 5.** Three Levites (1 Ch 24^{30} [called in 25^{22} **Jeremoth**] 25^{4}, 2 Ch 31^{13}). **6.** A son of David and father of Rehoboam's wife (2 Ch 11^{18}).

JERIOTH.—One of Caleb's wives (1 Ch 2^{18}), but almost certainly the MT is corrupt.

JEROBOAM is the name of two kings of Israel.

1. Jeroboam I. was the first king of the northern tribes after the division. His first appearance in history is as head of the forced labourers levied by Solomon. This was perhaps because he was hereditary chief in Ephraim, but we must also suppose that he attracted the attention of Solomon by his ability and energy. At the same time he resented the tyranny of the prince whom he served, and plotted to overthrow it. The design came to the knowledge of Solomon, and Jeroboam fled to Egypt. On the king's death he returned, and although he did not appear on the scene when the northern tribes made their demand of Rehoboam, he was probably actively enlisted in the movement. When the refusal of Rehoboam threw the tribes into revolt, Jeroboam appeared as leader, and was made king (1 K 11^{26}ff. 12–14^{20}). Jeroboam was a warlike prince, and hostilities with Judah continued throughout his reign. His country was plundered by the Egyptians at the time of their invasion of Judah. It is not clearly made out whether his fortification of Shechem and Penuel was suggested by the experiences of this campaign or not. His religious measures have received the reprobation of the Biblical writers, but they were intended by Jeroboam to please the God of Israel. He embellished the ancestral sanctuaries of Bethel and Dan with golden bulls, in continuance of early Israelite custom. It is fair to assume also that he had precedent for celebrating the autumn festival in the eighth instead of the seventh month.

2. Jeroboam II. was the grandson of Jehu. In his time Israel was able to assert its ancient vigour against its hereditary enemy Syria, and recover its lost territory. This was due to the attacks of the Assyrians upon the northern border of Damascus (2 K $14^{23\text{-}29}$). The temporary prosperity of Israel was accompanied by social and moral degeneracy, as is set forth distinctly by Amos and Hosea. H. P. Smith.

JEROHAM.—**1.** The father of Elkanah and grandfather of Samuel (1 S 1^{1}). **2.** A Benjamite family name (1 Ch 8^{27} 9^{8}). **3.** A priestly family (1 Ch 9^{12}, Neh 11^{12}). **4.** 'Sons of Jeroham' were amongst David's heroes (1 Ch 12^{7}). **5.** A Danite chief (1 Ch 27^{22}). **6.** The father of Azariah, who helped Jehoiada in the overthrow of Athaliah (2 Ch 23^{1}).

JERUBBAAL.—A name given to Gideon (Jg 6^{32} 7^{1} $8^{29.\ 35}$ $9^{1.\ 2.\ 5.\ 16.\ 19.\ 24.\ 28.\ 57}$). It is='Baal strives,' Baal being a name for J″, as in *Ishbaal*, *Meribbaal*; it cannot='one who strives with Baal,' as Jg 6^{32} would suggest. This name was altered to **Jerubbesheth** (*besheth*='shame') when Baal could no longer be used of J″ without offence (2 S 11^{21}); cf. *Ishbosheth*, *Mephibosheth*.

JERUBBESHETH.—See Jerubbaal.

JERUEL.—The part of the wilderness of Judæa that faces the W. shore of the Dead Sea below En-gedi. It was here that Jehoshaphat encountered a great host of the children of Moab, Ammon, and other trans-Jordanic tribes (2 Ch 20^{16}).

JERUSALEM.—I. Situation.—Jerusalem is the chief town of Palestine, situated in 31° 46′ 45″ N. lat. and 35° 13′ 25″ E. long. It stands on the summit of the ridge of the Judæan mountains, at an elevation of 2500 feet above the sea-level. The elevated plateau on which the city is built is intersected by deep valleys, defining and subdividing it.

1. The *defining* valleys are: (1) the *Wady en-Nār*, the Biblical Valley of the **Kidron** or of **Jehoshaphat,** which, starting some distance north of the city, runs at first (under the name of *Wady el-Jōz*) in a S.E. direction; it then turns southward and deepens rapidly, separating the Jerusalem plateau from the ridge of the Mount of Olives on the east; finally, it meanders through the wild mountains of the Judæan desert, and finds its exit on the W. side of the Dead Sea. (2) A deep cleft now known as the *Wady er-Rabābi*, and popularly identified with the **Valley of the son of Hinnom,** which commences on the west side of the city and runs down to and joins the *Wady en-Nār* about half a mile south of the wall of the present city. In the fork of the great irregular **Y** which these two valleys form, the city is built.

2. The chief *intersecting* valley is one identified with the **Tyropœon** of Josephus, which commences in some olive gardens north of the city (between the forks of the **Y**), runs, ever deepening, right through the modern city, and finally enters the *Wady en-Nār*, about ½ mile above the mouth of the *Wady er-Rabābi*. There is also a smaller depression running axially across the city from West to East, intersecting the Tyropœon at right angles. These intersecting valleys are now almost completely filled up with the accumulated rubbish of about four thousand years, and betray themselves only by slight depressions in the surface of the ground.

3. By these valleys the site of Jerusalem is divided into four quarters, each on its own hill. These hills are

traditionally named **Acra, Bezetha, Zion,** and **Ophel,** in the N.W., N.E., S.W., and S.E. respectively; and Ophel is further subdivided (but without any natural line of division) into Ophel proper and **Moriah,** the latter being the northern and higher end. But it must be noticed carefully at the outset that around these names the fiercest discussions have raged, many of which are as yet not within sight of settlement.

4. The site of Jerusalem is not well provided with *water*. The only natural source is an intermittent spring in the Kidron Valley, which is insufficient to supply the city's needs. Cisterns have been excavated for rain-storage from the earliest times, and water has been led to the city by **conduits** from external sources, some of them far distant. Probably the oldest known conduit is a channel hewn in the rock, entering Jerusalem from the north. Another (the 'low-level aqueduct') is traditionally ascribed to Solomon: it brings water from reservoirs beyond Bethlehem; and a third (the 'high-level aqueduct') is of Roman date. Several conduits are mentioned in the OT: the 'conduit of the upper pool, in the highway of **the fuller's field**' (Is 7^{3}), which has not been identified; the conduit whereby Hezekiah 'brought the waters of Gihon straight down on the west side of the city of David,' also referred to as the 'conduit' whereby he 'brought water into the city' (2 K 20^{20}, 2 Ch 32^{30}), is probably to be identified with the **Siloam** tunnel, famous for its (unfortunately undated) Old Hebrew inscription.

II. History.—**1. Primitive period.**—The origin of the city of Jerusalem is lost in obscurity, and probably, owing to the difficulties in the way of excavation, must continue to be matter of speculation. The first reference that may possibly be connected with the city is the incident of the mysterious 'Melchizedek, king of Salem' (Gn 14^{18}), who has been the centre of much futile speculation, due to a large extent to misunderstanding of the symbolic use of his name by the authors of Ps 110 (v.^{4}) and Hebrews (chs. 5–7). It is not even certain that the '**Salem**' over which this contemporary of Hammurabi ruled is to be identified with Jerusalem (see Salem); there is no other *ancient* authority for this name being applied to the city. We do not touch solid ground till some eight or nine hundred years later, when, about 1450, we find 'Abd-khiba, king of *Urusalim*, sending letters to his Egyptian over-lord, which were discovered with the Tell el-Amarna correspondence. The contents of these letters are the usual meagre record of mutual squabbles between the different village communities of Palestine, and to some extent they raise questions rather than answer them. Some theories that have been based on expressions used by 'Abd-khiba, and supposed to illuminate the Melchizedek problem, are now regarded as of no value for that desirable end. The chief importance of the Tell el-Amarna correspondence, so far as Jerusalem is concerned, is the demonstration of the true antiquity of the name 'Jerusalem.'

Where was the Jerusalem of 'Abd-khiba situated? This question, which is bound up with the authenticity or otherwise of the traditional **Zion,** and affects such important topographical and archæological questions as the site of David's tomb, is one of the most hotly contested of all the many problems of the kind which have to be considered by students of Jerusalem. In an article like the present it is impossible to enter into the details of the controversy and to discuss at length the arguments on both sides. But the majority of modern scholars are now coming to an agreement that the pre-Davidic Jerusalem was situated on the hill known as *Ophel*, the south-eastern of the four hills above enumerated, in the space intercepted between the Tyropœon and Kidron valleys. This is the hill under which is the only natural source of water in the whole area of Jerusalem—the '**Virgin's Fountain,**' an intermittent spring of brackish water in the Kidron Valley—and upon which is the principal accumulation of ancient *dĕbris*, with ancient pottery fragments strewn over the surface. This hill was open for excavation till three or four years ago, though cumbered with vegetable gardens which would make digging expensive; but lately houses have commenced to be built on its surface. At the upper part of the hill, on this theory, we cannot doubt that the high place of the subjects of 'Abd-khiba would be situated; and the tradition of the sanctity of this section of the city has lasted unchanged through all the varying occupations of the city—Hebrew, Jewish, Byzantine, Arab, Crusader, and modern Mohammedan. Whether this be the 'land of **Moriah**' of Gn 22^{2} is doubtful: it has been suggested that the name is here a copyist's error for 'land of Midian,' which would be a more natural place for Jahweh worship in the days of Abraham than would the high place of the guardian *numen* of Jerusalem.

In certain Biblical passages (Jos 18^{28} [but see RV], Jg 19^{10}, 1 Ch 11^{4}) an alternative name, **Jebus,** is given for the city; and its inhabitants are named *Jebusites*, mentioned in many enumerations with the rest of the Amorites (Gn 10^{16}, Ex 23^{23}, Jos 3^{10} etc.), and specially assigned to this city in Jg 1^{21}. Until the discovery of the Tell el-Amarna correspondence it was supposed that Jebus was the primitive name of the city, changed on the Israelite conquest to Jerusalem; but this has been rendered untenable, and it now seems probable that the name of Jebus is a mere derivative, of no authority, from the ethnic *Jebusites*, the meaning and etymology of which are still to seek. Cf. art. Jebus.

At the Israelite immigration the king of Jerusalem was Adoni-zedek, who headed a coalition against Gibeon for having made terms with Joshua. This king is generally equated with the otherwise unknown Adoni-bezek, whose capture and mutilation are narrated in Jg 1^{5-7} (see Moore's *Judges, ad loc.*). The statement that Judah burnt Jerusalem (Jg 1^{8}) is generally rejected as an interpolation; it remained a Jebusite city (Jg 1^{21} 19^{11}) until its conquest by David. According to the cadastre of Joshua, it was theoretically just within the south border of the tribe of Benjamin (Jos 15^{8} $18^{16.\ 28}$).

2. David and Solomon.—The city remained foreign to the Israelites (Jg 19^{11}) until the end of the period of 7½ years which David reigned in Hebron, when he felt himself powerful enough to attack the Jebusite stronghold. The passage describing his capture of the city is 2 S 5^{4-10}, and few passages in the historical books of the Old Testament are more obscure, owing partly to textual corruption and partly to topographical allusions clear to the writer, but veiled in darkness for us. It appears that the Jebusites, trusting in the strength of their gates, threw taunts to the Israelite king that 'the blind and the lame would be enough to keep him out'; and that David retorted by applying the term to the defenders of the city: 'Go up the drain,' he said to his followers, 'and smite those blind and lame ones.' He evidently recognized the impregnability of the defences themselves; but discovered and utilized a convenient drain, which led underground into the middle of the city. A similar drain was found in the excavation at Gezer, with a device in the middle to prevent its being used for this purpose. During the revolt of the *fellaḥîn* against Ibrahim Pasha in 1834, Jerusalem, once more besieged, was entered through a drain in the same way. It need hardly be said that David's '**gutter**' has not yet been identified with certainty.

If the identification of the Jebusite city with Ophel be admitted, we cannot fail to identify it also with the '**city of David,**' in which he dwelt (2 S 5^{9}). But when we read further that David 'built round about from **Millo** and inward' we are perplexed by our total ignorance as to what Millo may have been, and where it may have been situated. The word is by the LXX rendered **Acra,** and the same word is used by Josephus. The position of the Acra is a question as much disputed as the position

of the Jebusite city, and it is one for which far less light can be obtained from an examination of the ground than in the case of the other problem mentioned. As soon as David had established himself in his new surroundings, his first care was to bring the ark of Jahweh into the city (2 S 6), but his desire to erect a permanent building for its reception was frustrated by Nathan the prophet (2 S 7). The site of the **Temple** was chosen, namely, the threshing-floor of Araunah (2 S 24[16]) or Ornan (1 Ch 21[15]), one of the original Jebusite inhabitants, and preparations were made for its erection.

As soon as Solomon had come to the throne and quelled the abortive attempts of rivals, he commenced the work of building the Temple in the second month of the fourth year of his reign, and finished it in the eighth month of his eleventh year (1 K 6). His royal palace occupied thirteen years (1 K 7[1]). These erections were not in the 'city of David' (1 K 9[24]), which occupied the lower slopes of Ophel to the south, but on the summit of the same hill, where their place is now taken by the Mohammedan 'Noble Sanctuary.' Besides these works, whereby Jerusalem received a glory it had never possessed before, Solomon built Millo, whatever that may have been (1 K 9[24]), and the wall of Jerusalem (9[15]), and 'closed up the breach of the city of David' (11[27]),—the latter probably referring to an extension of the area of the city which involved the pulling down and rebuilding elsewhere of a section of the city walls.

3. The Kings of Judah.—In the fifth year of Rehoboam, Jerusalem sustained the first siege it had suffered after David's conquest, being beleaguered by Shishak, king of Egypt (1 K 14[25]), who took away the treasures of the Temple and of the royal house. Rehoboam provided copper substitutes for the gold thus lost. The royal house was again pillaged by a coalition of Philistines and Arabs (2 Ch 21[16]) in the time of Jehoram. Shortly afterwards took place the stirring events of the usurpation of Athaliah and her subsequent execution (2 K 11). Her successor Joash or Jehoash distinguished himself by his repair of the Temple (2 K 12); but he was obliged to buy off Hazael, king of Syria, and persuaded him to abandon his projected attack on the capital by a gift of the gold of the Temple (2 K 12[18]). Soon afterwards, however, Jehoash of Israel came down upon Jerusalem, breached the wall, and looted the royal and sacred treasuries (2 K 14[14]). This event taught the lesson of the weakness of the city, by which the powerful king Uzziah profited. In 2 Ch 26[9. 15] is the record of his fortifying the city with additional towers and ballistas; the work of strengthening the fortifications was continued by Jotham (2 K 15[35], 2 Ch 27[3]). Thanks probably to these precautions, an attack on Jerusalem by the kings of Syria and of Israel, in the next reign (Ahaz's), proved abortive (2 K 16[5]). Hezekiah still further prepared Jerusalem for the struggle which he foresaw from the advancing power of Assyria, and to him, as is generally believed, is due the engineering work now famous as the **Siloam Tunnel**, whereby water was conducted from the spring in the Kidron Valley outside the walls to the reservoir at the bottom of the Tyropœon inside them. By another gift from the apparently inexhaustible royal and sacred treasures, Hezekiah endeavoured to keep Sennacherib from an attack on the capital (2 K 18[13]); but the attack, threatened by insulting words from the emissaries of Sennacherib, was finally averted by a mysterious calamity that befell the Assyrian army (2 K 19[35]). By alliances with Egypt (Is 36[6]) and Babylon (ch. 39) Hezekiah attempted to strengthen his position. Manasseh built an outer wall to the 'city of David,' and made other fortifications (2 Ch 33[14]). In the reign of Josiah the Book of the Law was discovered, and the king devoted himself to the repairs of the Temple and the moral reformation which that discovery involved (2 K 22). The death of Josiah at Megiddo was disastrous for the kingdom of Judah, and he was succeeded by a series of petty kinglings, all of them puppets in the hands of the Egyptian or Babylonian monarchs. The fall of Jerusalem could not be long delayed. Nebuchadnezzar of Babylon captured and looted it, and carried away captive first Jehoiachin (2 K 24[12]), and finally Zedekiah, the last king of Judah (ch. 25).

The aspect and area of the Jerusalem captured by Nebuchadnezzar must have been very different from that conquered about 420 years before by David. There is no direct evidence that David found houses at all on the hill now known as Zion; but the city must rapidly have grown under him and his wealthy successor; and in the time of the later Hebrew kings included no doubt the so-called Zion hill as well. That it also included the modern *Acra* is problematical, as we have no information as to the position of the north wall in pre-exilic times; and it is certain that the quite modern quarter commonly called Bezetha was not occupied. To the south a much larger area was built on than is included in modern Jerusalem: the ancient wall has been traced to the verge of the *Wady er-Rabābi*. The destruction by Nebuchadnezzar and the deportation of the people were complete: the city was left in ruins, and only the poorest of the people were left to carry on the work of agriculture.

4. The Return.—When the last Semitic king of Babylon, Nabonidus, yielded to Cyrus, the representatives of the ancient kingdom of Judah were, through the favour of Cyrus, permitted to re-establish themselves in their old home and to rebuild the Temple. The Books of Ezra and Nehemiah are the record of the works then undertaken, the former being specially concerned with the restoration of the Temple and the religious observances, the latter with the reconstruction of the fortifications of the city.

The Book of Nehemiah contains the fullest account that we have of the *fortifications of Jerusalem*, and it has been the most carefully studied of any source of information on the subject. A paper by Prof. H. G. Mitchell on the 'Wall of Jerusalem according to Nehemiah' (in the *JBL* for 1903, p. 85) is a model of exhaustive treatment. Careful comparison is made therein between the statements of Nehemiah and the results of excavation. We cannot here go into all the arguments brought forward for the identifications, but they seem conclusive. Starting at the head of the Wady er-Rabābi (Valley of Hinnom so-called), we find at the S.W. corner of the wall a rock-scarp which seems to have been prepared for a strong tower, identified with the **tower of the furnaces** (Neh 3[11]). Then comes the **Valley-gate**, which has been found half-way down the valley (Neh 3[13]). At the bottom of the valley, where it joined the Kidron, was the **Dung-gate** (Neh 3[13]), outside of which was found what appears to have been a cess-pit. Turning northward, we find the **Fountain-gate** (Neh 3[15]) in close proximity to the 'made pool,' *i.e.* the pool of Siloam at the foot of the Tyropœon Valley; and the **Water-gate** on Ophel, over the 'Virgin's Fountain.' The gates on the north-east and north sides of the wall cannot be identified, as the course of that part has not been definitely determined. They seem to have been, in order, the **Horse-gate** the **East-gate**, the gate **Hammiphkad** ('the appointed'?), after which came the corner of the wall. Then on the north side followed the **Sheep-gate**, the **Fish-gate**, and, somewhere on the north or north-west side, the **Old-gate**. Probably the **Ephraim-** and **Corner-gates** (2 K 14[13]) were somewhere in this neighbourhood. Besides these gates, the Temple was provided with entrances, some of whose names are preserved; but their identification is an even more complex problem than that of the city-gates. Such were the gate **Sur** and the **Gate of the guard** (2 K 11[6]), the **Shallecheth-gate** at the west (1 Ch 26[16]), **Parbar** (26[18]), and the **East-gate** (Ezk 11[1]). The **Beautiful-gate**, of Ac 3[10] was probably the same as the Nicanor-gate, between the Women's and the Priests' Court: it is

alluded to in the epitaph of the donor, Nicanor, recently discovered at Jerusalem.

5. From Alexander the Great to the Maccabees.—By the battle of Issus (B.C. 333) Alexander the Great became master of Palestine; and the Persian suzerainty, under which the Jews had enjoyed protection and freedom to follow their own rites, came to an end. Alexander's death was the signal for the long and complicated struggle between the Seleucids and the Ptolemys, between whom Jerusalem passed more than once. One result of the foreign influences thus brought to bear on the city was the establishment of institutions hitherto unknown, such as a gymnasium. This leaven of Greek customs, and, we cannot doubt, of Greek religion also, was disquieting to those concerned for the maintenance of Deuteronomic purity, and the unrest was fanned into revolt in 168, when Antiochus Epiphanes set himself to destroy the Jewish religion. The desecration of the Temple, and the attempt to force the Jews to sacrifice to pagan deities (1 Mac 1. 2), led to the rebellion headed by the Maccabæan family, wherein, after many vicissitudes, the short-lived Hasmonæan dynasty was established at Jerusalem. Internal dissensions wrecked the family. To settle a squabble as to the successor of Alexander Jannæus, the Roman power was called in. Pompey besieged Jerusalem, and profaned the Temple, which was later pillaged by Crassus; and in B.C. 47 the Hasmonæans were superseded by the Idumæan dynasty of the Herods, their founder Antipater being established as ruler of Palestine in recognition of his services to Julius Cæsar.

6. Herod the Great.—Herod the Great and his brother Phasael succeeded their father in B.C. 43, and in 40 Herod became governor of Judæa. After a brief exile, owing to the usurpation of the Hasmonæan Antigonus, he returned, and commenced to rebuild Jerusalem on a scale of grandeur such as had never been known since Solomon. Among his works, which we can only catalogue here, were the royal palace; the three towers—Hippicus, Phasaelus (named after his brother), and Antonia; a theatre; and, above all, the Temple. Of these structures nothing remains, so far as is known, of the palace or the theatre, or the Hippicus tower: the base of Phasaelus, commonly called David's tower, is incorporated with the citadel; large fragments of the tower **Antonia** remain incorporated in the barracks and other buildings of the so-called Via Dolorosa, the street which leads through the city from the St. Stephen's gate, north of the Temple enclosure: while of the Temple itself much remains in the substructures, and probably much more would be found were excavation possible. See TEMPLE.

7. From the time of Christ to the destruction of Jerusalem.—The events in the life of Christ, in so far as they affect Jerusalem, are the only details of interest known to us for the years succeeding the death of Herod in B.C. 4. These we need not dwell upon here, but a word may fitly be spoken regarding the central problem of Jerusalem topography, the site of the **Holy Sepulchre.** The authenticity of the traditional site falls at once, if it lie inside the north wall of Jerusalem as it was in Christ's time, for Christ suffered and was buried without the walls. But this is precisely what cannot be determined, as the line of the wall, wherever it may have been, is densely covered with houses; and it is very doubtful whether such fragments of wall as have from time to time been found in digging foundations have anything to do with each other, or with the city rampart. *A priori* it does not seem probable that the traditional site of the Holy Sepulchre should have been without the walls, for it assumes that these made a deep re-entrant angle for which the nature of the ground offers no justification, and which would be singularly foolish strategically. The identification of the site cannot with certainty be traced back earlier than Helena; and, though she visited Jerusalem as early as 326, yet it must not be forgotten that in endeavouring then to find the tomb of Christ, without documents to guide her, she was in as hopeless a position as a man who under similiar circumstances should at the present year endeavour to find the tomb of Shakespeare, if that happened to be unknown. Indeed, Helena was even worse off than the hypothetical investigator, for the population, and presumably the tradition, have been continuous in Stratford-on-Avon, which certainly was not the case with Jerusalem from A.D. 30 to 326. *A fortiori* these remarks apply to the rival sites that in more recent years have been suggested. The so-called 'Gordon's Calvary' and similar fantastic identifications we can dismiss at once with the remark that the arguments in their favour are fatuous; that powerful arguments can be adduced against them; that they cannot even claim the minor distinction of having been hallowed by the devotion of sixteen centuries; and that, in short, they are entirely unworthy of the smallest consideration. The only documents nearly contemporary with the crucifixion and entombment are the Gospels, which supply no data sufficient for the identification of the scenes of these events. Except in the highly improbable event of an inscription being at some time found which shall identify them, we may rest in the certainty that the exact sites never have been, and never will be, identified.

In A.D. 35, Pontius Pilate was recalled; Agrippa (41–44 A.D.) built an outer wall, the line of which is not known with certainty, on the north side of the city, and under his rule Jerusalem grew and prospered. His son Agrippa built a palace, and in A.D. 64 finished the Temple courts. In 66 the Jews endeavoured to revolt against the Roman yoke, and brought on themselves the final destruction which was involved in the great siege and fall of Jerusalem in A.D. 70.

8. From the destruction of Jerusalem to the Arab conquest.—The events following must be more briefly enumerated. In 134 the rebellion of the Jews under Bar Cochba was crushed by Hadrian, and the last traces of Judaism extinguished from the city, which was rebuilt as a pagan Roman town under the name of Ælia Capitolina. By 333 the Jews had acquired the right of visiting annually and lamenting over the pierced stone on which their altar had been erected. Under Constantine, Christianity was established, and the great flood of pilgrimage began. Julian in 362 attempted to rebuild the Temple; some natural phenomenon—ingeniously explained as the explosion of a forgotten store of naphtha, such as was found some years ago in another part of the city—prevented him. In 450 the Empress Eudocia retired to Jerusalem and repaired the walls; she built a church over the Pool of Siloam, which was discovered by excavation some years ago. In 532 Justinian erected important buildings, fragments of which remain incorporated with the mosque; but these and other Christian buildings were ruined in 614 by the destroying king Chosroës II. A short breathing space was allowed the Christians after this storm, and then the young strength of Islam swept over them. In 637 Omar conquered Jerusalem after a four months' siege.

9. From the Arab conquest to the present day.—Under the comparatively easy rule of the Omeyyad Califs, Christians did not suffer severely; though excluded from the Temple area (where 'Abd el-Melek built his beautiful dome in 688), they were free to use the Basilica of the Holy Sepulchre. This, however, could not last under the fanatical Fatimites, or the Seljuks who succeeded them; and the sufferings of the Christians led to that extraordinary series of piratical invasions, commonly called the Crusades, by which Palestine was harried for about a hundred years, and the undying tradition of which will retard indefinitely the final triumph of Christianity over the Arab race. The country was happily rid of the degraded and degrading Latin

kingdom in 1187, when Jerusalem fell to Saladin. For a brief interval, from 1229 to 1244, the German Christians held the city by treaty; but in 1244 the Kharezmian massacre swallowed up the last relics of Christian occupation. In 1517 it was conquered by Sultan Selim I., and since then it has been a Turkish city. The present walls were erected by Suleiman the Magnificent (1542). In recent years the population has enormously increased, owing to the establishment of Jewish refugee colonies and various communities of European settlers; there has also been an extraordinary development of monastic life within and around the city. R. A. S. Macalister.

JERUSHA (2 K 15^{33} = **JERUSHAH** 2 Ch 27^{1}).—Mother of Jotham king of Judah.

JESAIAS.—See Jeshaiah, **4.**

JESHAIAH.—**1.** A grandson of Zerubbabel (1 Ch 3^{21}). **2.** One of the sons of Jeduthun (1 Ch $25^{3.\ 15}$). **3.** A Levite (1 Ch 26^{25}). **4.** The chief of the Benē-Elam who returned (Ezr 8^{7} [1 Es 8^{33} **Jesaias**]). **5.** Chief of the Merarites (Ezr 8^{19} [1 Es 8^{48} **Osaias**]). **6.** A Benjamite (Neh 11^{7}).

JESHANAH.—A town taken from Jeroboam by Abijah (2 Ch 13^{19}). It is the modern *'Ain Sīnia*, about 3¼ miles north of Bethel.

JESHARELAH.—See Asharelah.

JESHEBEAB.—A Levite, the head of the fourteenth course (1 Ch 24^{13}).

JESHER.—A son of Caleb (1 Ch 2^{18}).

JESHIMON.—This word, derived from a Heb. root meaning 'to be waste *or* desolate,' is used either as a common noun (='desert,' 'wilderness') or (with the art., '*the* Jeshimon') as a proper name (Nu 21^{20} 23^{28}, 1 S $23^{19.\ 24}$ $26^{1.\ 3}$). In the latter usage the reference is either to the waste country in the Jordan valley N. of the Dead Sea and *east* of the river (so apparently in Numbers), or to the eastern part of the hill-country of Judah on the *western* shore of the Dead Sea (so 1 Sam.).

JESHISHAI.—A Gadite family (1 Ch 5^{14}).

JESHOHAIAH.—A Simeonite family (1 Ch 4^{36}).

JESHUA (another form of **Joshua**).—**1.** Joshua the son of Nun (Neh 8^{17}). **2.** The head of the ninth course of priests (1 Ch 24^{11}). **3.** A Levite in the time of Hezekiah (2 Ch 31^{15}). **4.** A man of the house of Pahath-moab whose descendants returned with Zerub. (Ezr 2^{6}, Neh 7^{11} [1 Es 5^{11} **Jesus**]); perhaps identical with No. **2** above. **5.** A Levitical house or its successive heads in the times of Zerub., Ezra, and Nehemiah; mentioned in connexion with the building of the Temple (Ezr 3^{9}), the explanation of the Law (Neh 8^{7}, cf. $9^{4f.}$), and the sealing of the covenant (10^{9}). Cf. also Ezr 2^{40} [1 Es 5^{26} **Jesus**] 8^{33} [1 Es 8^{63} **Jesus**], Neh 7^{43} $12^{8.\ 24}$. **6.** The high priest who along with Zerub. headed the first band of exiles. In Ezr. and Neh. he is called Jeshua, in Hag. and Zec. **Joshua.** He took a leading part in the erection of the altar of burnt-offering and the laying of the foundations of the Temple (Ezr $3^{2ff.}$). In Hag. and Zec. he is frequently coupled with Zerub., after these prophets had begun to stimulate the people to undertake building operations in earnest (Hag $1^{1.\ 12.\ 14}$, Zec $3^{1ff.}$ $6^{10.\ 11}$). He is eulogized in Sir 49^{12} [**Jesus**]. **7.** A priestly family, Ezr 2^{36} = Neh 7^{39} = 1 Es 5^{24} [**Jesus**]. **8.** A town in the south of Judah (Neh 11^{26}). The site is possibly at the ruin *Sa'wi* west of *Tell 'Arad* and south of *'Attīr*.

JESHURUN.—A poetic or a pet-name for Israel which occurs four times in the OT (Dt 32^{15} $33^{5.\ 26}$, Is 44^{2}). It is found in the later writings, and represents a patriotic feeling that Israel was = *yashar-El*, 'the upright of God.' If this be so, then we may accept the rendering of *Jeshurun* as the 'righteous little people.' In Balaam's elegy, 'Let me die the death of the righteous' seems to refer to the Israel of the preceding clause, and in Ps 83^{1} the thought which underlies *Jeshurun* appears, if we adopt the tempting reading: 'Truly God is good to the upright.' W. F. Cobb.

JESIAS (1 Es 8^{33}) = Ezr 8^{7} **Jeshaiah.**

JESIMIEL.—The eponym of a Simeonite family (1 Ch 4^{36}).

JESSE (more correctly *Jishai*, cf., as regards formation, *Ittai*; perhaps an abbreviated form; the meaning of the name is quite uncertain).—A Bethlehemite, best known as the father of David. The earliest historical mention of him (1 S 17^{12}; see David, § **1**) represents him as already an old man. On this occasion he sends David to the Israelite camp with provisions for his brothers; this was destined to be a long separation between Jesse and his son, for after David's victory over the Philistine giant he entered definitely into Saul's service. There are two other accounts, each of which purports to mention Jesse for the first time: 1 S $16^{1ff.}$, in which Samuel is sent to Bethlehem to anoint David; and 1 S 16^{18}, in which Jesse's son is sent for to play the harp before Saul. Nothing further is heard of Jesse until we read of him and his 'house' coming to David in the 'cave' of Adullam; David then brings his father and mother to Mizpeh of Moab, and entrusts them to the care of the king of Moab (1 S $22^{3.\ 4}$). This is the last we hear of him. In Is 11^{1} the 'stock of Jesse' is mentioned as that from which the Messiah is to issue; the thought probably being that of the humble descent of the Messiah as contrasted with His glorious Kingdom which is to be.

W. O. E. Oesterley.

JESUS, the Gr. form of the name Joshua or Jeshua, is employed as a designation of—**1.** Joshua the son of Nun (AV of 1 Mac 2^{55}, 2 Es 7^{37}, Sir 46^{1}, Ac 7^{45}, He 4^{8}, in all of which passages RV has **Joshua**). **2.** 1 Es 5^{11} = **Jeshua** of Ezr 2^{6} and Neh 7^{11}. **3.** 1 Es 5^{24} = **Jeshua** of Ezr 2^{36} and Neh 7^{39}. **4. Jeshua** (Joshua), the high priest (1 Es $5^{5.\ 8.\ 48.\ 56.\ 68.\ 70}$ 6^{2} 9^{19}, Sir 49^{12}). **5.** A Levite (1 Es $5^{26.\ 58}$ 8^{63} 9^{48}) who in Ezr 2^{40} 3^{9} is called **Jeshua.** **6.** An ancestor of our Lord (Lk 3^{29} RV, where AV has **Jose**). **7.** Jesus, son of Sirach. **8.** Jesus called **Justus,** a Jewish Christian residing in Rome, saluted by St. Paul in Col 4^{11}. **9.** See next article.

JESUS CHRIST.—There is no historical task which is more important than to set forth the life and teaching of Jesus Christ, and none to which it is so difficult to do justice. The importance of the theme is sufficiently attested by the fact that it is felt to be His due to reckon a new era from the date of His birth. From the point of view of Christian faith there is nothing in time worthy to be set beside the deeds and the words of One who is adored as God manifest in the flesh, and the Saviour of the world. In the perspective of universal history, His influence ranks with Greek culture and Roman law as one of the three most valuable elements in the heritage from the ancient world, while it surpasses these other factors in the spiritual quality of its effects. On the other hand, the superlative task has its peculiar difficulties. It is quite certain that a modern European makes many mistakes when trying to reproduce the conditions of the distant province of Oriental antiquity in which Jesus lived. The literary documents, moreover, are of no great compass, and are reticent or obscure in regard to many matters which are of capital interest to the modern biographer. And when erudition has done its best with the primary and auxiliary sources, the historian has still to put the heart-searching question whether he possesses the qualifications that would enable him to understand the character, the experience, and the purpose of Jesus. 'He who would worthily write the Life of Jesus Christ must have a pen dipped in the imaginative sympathy of a poet, in the prophet's fire, in the artist's charm and grace, and in the reverence and purity of the saint' (Stewart, *The Life of Christ*, 1906, p. vi.).

1. The Literary Sources.—(A) Canonical: (1) *The*

Gospels and their purpose.—It is now generally agreed that the **Gospel according to Mk.** is the oldest of the four. Beginning with the Baptism of Jesus, it gives a sketch of His Public Ministry, with specimens of His teaching, and carries the narrative to the morning of the Resurrection. The original conclusion has been lost, but there can be no doubt that it went on to relate at least certain Galilæan appearances of the risen Lord. This Gospel supplies most of our knowledge of the life of Jesus, but its main concern is to bring out the inner meaning and the religious value of the story. It is, in short, a history written with the purpose of demonstrating that Jesus was the expected Messiah. In proof of this it is sufficient to point out that it describes itself at the outset as setting forth the gospel of Jesus Christ, the Son of God (Mk 1^{1}), that the faith of the disciples culminates in Peter's confession that He is the Christ (8^{29}), that the ground of His condemnation is that He claims to be 'the Christ, the Son of the Blessed' ($14^{61.\ 62}$), and that the accusation written over His cross is 'The King of the Jews' (15^{26}).

The **Gospel according to Mt.** is now usually regarded as a second and enlarged edition of an Apostolic original. The earlier version, known as the *Logia* on the ground of a note of Papias (Euseb. *HE* iii. 39), was a collection of the Memorabilia of Jesus. As the Logia consisted mainly of the sayings of our Lord, the later editor combined it with the narrative of Mk. in order to supply a more complete picture of the Ministry, and at the same time added fresh material from independent sources. Its didactic purpose, like that of Mk., is to exhibit Jesus as the Messiah, and it supports the argument by citing numerous instances of the fulfilment in the life of Jesus of OT prediction. It is sometimes described as the Gospel of the Jewish Christians; and it appears to have addressed itself specially to the difficulties which they felt in view of the destruction of Jerusalem. Could Jesus, they may well have asked, be the Messiah, seeing that His mission had issued, not in the deliverance of Israel, but in its ruin? In answer to this the Gospel makes it plain that the overthrow of the Jewish State was a punishment which was foreseen by Jesus, and also that He had become the head of a vaster and more glorious kingdom than that of which, as Jewish patriots, they had ever dreamed (28^{18-20}).

The **Gospel according to Luke** is also dependent on Mk. for the general framework, and derives from the original Mt. a large body of the teaching. It follows a different authority from Mt. for the Nativity, and to some extent goes its own way in the history of the Passion; while 'the great interpolation' (9^{51}–18^{14}), made in part from its special source, forms a priceless addition to the Synoptic material. Lk. approached his task in a more consciously scientific spirit than his predecessors, and recognized an obligation to supply dates, and to sketch in the political background of the biography (2^{2} $3^{1.\ 23}$). But for him also the main business of the historian was to emphasize the religious significance of the events, and that by exhibiting Jesus as the Saviour of the world, the Friend of sinners. He is specially interested, as the companion and disciple of St. Paul, in incidents and sayings which illustrate the graciousness and the universality of the gospel. Prominence is given to the rejection of Jesus by Nazareth and Jerusalem (4^{16-30} 19^{41-44}), and to His discovery among the Gentiles of the faith for which He sought ($17^{18.\ 19}$). It is also characteristic that Lk. gives a full account of the beginnings of the missionary activity of the Church (10^{1-20}).

The author of the **Fourth Gospel** makes considerable use of the narratives of the Synoptists, but also suggests that their account is in important respects defective, and in certain particulars erroneous. The serious defect, from the Johannine point of view, is that they represent Galilee as the exclusive scene of the Ministry until shortly before the end, and that they know nothing of a series of visits, extending over two years, which Jesus made to Jerusalem and Judæa in fulfilment of His mission. That there was a design to correct as well as to supplement appears from the displacement of the Cleansing of the Temple from the close to the beginning of the Ministry, and from the emphatic way in which attention is drawn to the accurate information as to the day and the hour of the Crucifixion. And still more designedly than in the earlier Gospels is the history used as the vehicle for the disclosure of the secret and the glory of the Person of Jesus. The predicate of the Messiah is reaffirmed, and as the Saviour He appears in the most sublime and tender characters, but the Prologue furnishes the key to the interpretation of His Person in a title which imports the highest conceivable dignity of origin, being, and prerogative: 'In the beginning was the Word, and the Word was with God, and the Word was God. And the Word became flesh, and dwelt among us (and we beheld his glory, glory as of the only-begotten from the Father), full of grace and truth' ($1^{1.\ 14}$).

Trustworthiness of the Gospels.—It is impossible to proceed on the view that we possess four biographies of Jesus which, being given by inspiration, are absolutely immune from error. The means by which they were brought into shape was very different from the method of Divine dictation. The Evangelists were severely limited to the historical data which reached them by ordinary channels. They copied, abridged, and amplified earlier documents, and one document which was freely handled in this fashion by Mt. and Lk. was canonical Mk. That mistakes have been made as to matters of fact is proved by the occurrence of conflicting accounts of the same events, and by the uncertainty as to the order of events which is often palpable in Mt. and Mk., and which to some extent baffled Lk. in his attempt 'to trace the course of all things accurately.' There is also considerable diversity in the report of many of our Lord's sayings, which compels us to conclude that the report is more or less inaccurate. Whether giving effect to their own convictions, or reproducing changes which had been made by the mind of the Church on the oral tradition, writers coloured and altered to some extent the sayings of our Lord. At the same time the Synoptics, when tested by ordinary canons, must be pronounced to be excellent authorities. They may be dated within a period of forty to fifty years after the death of Christ—Mk. about A.D. 69, Mt. and (probably) Lk. not later than A.D. 80. 'The great mass of the Synoptic Gospels had assumed its permanent shape not later than the decade A.D. 60–70, and the changes which it underwent after the great catastrophe of the fall of Jerusalem were but small, and can without difficulty be recognized' (Sanday, *Outlines*). Further, that Gospels composed in the second generation can be trusted to have reproduced the original testimony with general accuracy may be held on two grounds. There is every reason to believe the ecclesiastical traditions that the contents of original Mt. were compiled by one of the Twelve, and that the reminiscences of Peter formed the staple of Mk. (Euseb. *HE* iii. 39). It is also certain that the Synoptic material was used throughout the intervening period in the Christian meetings for worship, and the memory of witnesses must thus have been in a position to ensure the continuity of the report, and to check any serious deviations from the oldest testimony. The general trustworthiness is further supported by the consideration of the originality of the Synoptic picture of Jesus and His teaching. The character of Jesus, and the acts in which it is revealed, form a whole which has the unmistakable stamp of historical reality, and forbids us to think that to any great extent it can have been the product of the collective Christian mind. Jesus, in short, is needed to explain the Church and cannot be Himself explained as the product of His own creation. It is also to be noticed that the Synoptic teaching has a clear-cut individuality of its own which shows that it has sturdily refused to blend with the Apostolic type of theology.

With the Fourth Gospel the case stands somewhat differently. If it be indeed the work of John the beloved disciple, its authority stands higher than all the rest. In that case the duty of the historian is to employ it as his fundamental document, and to utilize the Synoptics as auxiliary sources. In the view of the present writer the question is one of great difficulty. It is true that there is a powerful body of Patristic testimony in support of the tradition that the Fourth Gospel was composed by the Apostle John in Ephesus

in his old age—about A.D. 95. It is also true that the Gospel solemnly stakes its credit on its right to be accepted as the narrative of an eye-witness (Jn 19^{35} 21^{24}). And its claim is strengthened by the fact that, in the judgment even of many unsympathetic witnesses, it embodies a larger or smaller amount of independent and valuable information. On the other hand, it is a serious matter that a Gospel, appearing at the close of the century, should practically recast the story of Jesus which had circulated in the Church for sixty years, and should put forward a view of the course of the Ministry which is not even suspected in the other Apostolic sources. Passing to the teaching, we find that the process which was indiscoverable in the Synoptic report has here actually taken place, and that the discourses of Jesus are assimilated to a well-marked type of Apostolic doctrine. There is reason to believe that for both history and doctrine the author had at his disposal Memorabilia of Jesus, but in both cases also it would seem that he has handled his data with great freedom. The treatment of the historical matter, it may be permitted to think, is more largely topical, and the chronological framework which it provides is less reliable, than is commonly supposed. The discourses, again, have been expanded by the reporter, and cast in the moulds of his own thought, so that in them we really possess a combination of the words of Jesus of Nazareth with those of the glorified Christ speaking in the experience of a disciple. The hypothesis which seems to do justice to both sets of phenomena is that John was only the author in a similar sense to that in which Peter was the author of Mk., and Matthew of canonical Mt., and that the actual composer of the Fourth Gospel was a disciple of the second generation who was served heir to the knowledge and faith of the Apostle, and who claimed considerable powers as an executor. In view of these considerations, it is held that a sketch of the life of Jesus is properly based on the Synoptic record, and that in utilizing the Johannine additions it is desirable to take up a critical attitude in regard to the form and the chronology. There is also much to be said for expounding the teaching of Jesus on the basis of the Synoptics, and for treating the Johannine discourses as primarily a source for Apostolic doctrine. It is a different question whether the interpretation of Christ which the Fourth Gospel supplies is trustworthy, and on the value of this, its main message, two remarks may be made. It is, in the first place, substantially the same valuation of Christ which pervades the Pauline Epistles, and which has been endorsed by the saintly experience of the Christian centuries as answering to the knowledge of Christ that is given in intimate communion with the risen Lord. Moreover, the doctrine of Providence comes to the succour of a faith which may be distressed by the breakdown of the hypothesis of inerrancy. For it is a reasonable belief that God, in whose plan with the race the work of Christ was to be a decisive factor, took order that there should be given to the after world a record which should sufficiently instruct men in reply to the question, 'What think ye of Christ?'

(2) *The Epistles.*—From the Epistles it is possible to collect the outstanding facts as to the earthly condition, the death, and the resurrection of Christ. Incidentally St. Paul shows that he could cite His teaching on a point of ethics (1 Co 7^{11}), and give a detailed account of the institution of the Lord's Supper ($11^{23ff.}$). It is also significant that in allusions to the Temptation (He 4^{15}), the Agony (5^{7}), and the Transfiguration (2 P 1^{17}), the writers can reckon on a ready understanding.

(B) Extra-Canonical Sources: (1) *Christian*; (*a*) *Patristic references.*—The Fathers make very trifling additions to our knowledge of the facts of the life of Jesus. There is nothing more important than the statement of Justin, that as a carpenter Jesus made ploughs and yokes (*Dial.* 88). More valuable are the additions to the canonical sayings of Jesus (Westcott, *Introd. to the Gospels*[8], 1895; Resch, *Agrapha*[2], 1907). Of the 70 Logia which have been claimed, Ropes pronounces 43 worthless, 13 of possible value, and 14 valuable (*Die Sprüche Jesu*, 1896). The following are deemed by Huck to be noteworthy (*Synopse der drei ersten Evangelien*[3], 1906):—

(1) 'Ask great things, and the small shall be added to you; and ask heavenly things, and the earthly shall be added to you' (Origen, *de Orat.* § 2).

(2) 'If ye exalt not your low things, and transfer to your right hand the things on your left, ye shall not enter into my kingdom' (*Acta Philippi*, ch. 34).

(3) 'He who is near me is near the fire, he who is far from me is far from the kingdom' (Origen, *Hom. in Jer.* xx. 3).

(4) 'If ye kept not that which is small, who will give you that which is great?' (Clem. Rom. ii. 8).

(5) 'Be thou saved and thy soul' (Exc. e. Theod. *ap.* Clem. Alex. § 2).

(6) 'Show yourselves tried bankers' (Clem. Alex. *Strom.* i. 28).

(7) 'Thou hast seen thy brother, thou hast seen God' (*ib.* i. 19).

More recent additions to the material are to be found in Grenfell and Hunt, *Sayings of our Lord* (1897) and *New Sayings of Jesus* (1904).

(*b*) *Apocryphal Gospels.*—These fall into three groups according as they deal with the history of Joseph and Mary (*Protevangelium of James*), the Infancy (*Gospel of Thomas*), and Pilate (*Acts of Pilate*). They are worthless elaborations, with the addition of grotesque and sometimes beautiful fancies ('Apocryphal Gospels, Acts and Revelations,' vol. xvi. of the *Ante-Nicene Library*, 1870). Of more value are the fragments of the Gospels of the *Hebrews*, the *Egyptians*, and *Peter* (Hilgenfeld, *NT extra canonem receptum*[2], 1876–84; Swete, *The Akhmim Fragment of the Gospel of Peter*, 1903).

(2) *Jewish sources.*—Josephus mentions Jesus (*Ant.* xx. ix. 1), but the most famous passage (xviii. iii. 3) is mainly, if not entirely, a Christian interpolation. The Jews remembered Him as charged with deceiving the people, practising magic and speaking blasphemy, and as having been crucified; but the calumnies of the Talmud as to the circumstances of His birth appear to have been comparatively late inventions (Huldricus, *Sepher Toledot Jeschua*, 1705; Laible, *Jesus Christus im Talmud*, 1900).

(3) *Classical sources.*—There is evidence in the classical writers for the historical existence, approximate date, and death of Jesus, but otherwise their attitude was ignorant and contemptuous (Tac. *Ann.* xv. 44; Suetonius, *Lives of Claudius and Nero*; the younger Pliny, *Epp.* x. 97, 98; Lucian, *de Morte Peregrini*; Celsus in Origen; cf. Keim, *Jesus of Nazara* [Eng. tr.], 1876, i. pp. 24–33).

2. Presuppositions.—It is impossible to write about Christ without giving effect to a philosophical and religious creed. The claim to be free from presuppositions commonly means that a writer assumes that the facts can be accommodated to a purely naturalistic view of history. As a fact, there is less reason to construe Christ in naturalistic terms than to revise a naturalistic philosophy in the light of 'the fact of Christ.' A recent review of the whole literature of the subject (Schweitzer, *Von Reimarus zu Wrede*, 1906) shows how profoundly the treatment has always been influenced by a writer's attitude towards ultimate questions, and how far the purely historical evidence is from being able to compel a *consensus sapientium*. There are, in fact, as many types of the Life of Christ as there are points of view in theology, and it may be convenient at this stage to indicate the basis from which the work has been done in the principal monographs.

Types of the Life of Christ.—

I. Elimination of the supernatural, from the standpoint of (1) Eighteenth Century Deism—Paulus, *Das Leben Jesu*, 1828; (2) Modern Pantheism—D. F. Strauss, *Leben Jesu*, 1835–36 (Eng. tr. 1846); (3) Philosophical Scepticism—Renan, *La Vie de Jésus*, 1863 (Eng. tr. 1864).

II. Reduction of the supernatural, with eclectic reservation, from the standpoint of Theism—Seeley, *Ecce Homo*, 1866; Hase, *Die Gesch. Jesu*, 1876; Keim, *Die Gesch. Jesu von Nazara*, 1867–72 (Eng. tr. 1873–77); O. Holtzmann, *Das Leben Jesu*, 1901 (Eng. tr. 1904).

Within the rationalistic school there have emerged somewhat radical differences in the conception formed of Jesus and His message. One group conceives of Him as a man who is essentially modern because the value of His ideas and of His message is perennial (Harnack, *Das Wesen des Christenthums*, Eng. tr. 1901); another regards Him as, above all, the spokesman of unfulfilled apocalyptic dreams (J. Weiss, *Die Predigt Jesu vom Reiche Gottes*, 1892). Bousset mediates between the two views (*Jesus*, 1906).

III. Reproduction of the Biblical account in general agreement with the faith of the Church—Neander, *Das Leben Jesu Christi*, 1837 (Eng. tr. 1848); B. Weiss, *Das Leben Jesu*, 1882 (Eng. tr. 1883); Edersheim, *The Life and Times of Jesus the Messiah*, 1884; Didon, *Jésus Christ*, 1891; Sanday, *Outlines of the Life of Christ*, 1906.

The books of this group have a second common feature in their acceptance of the Fourth Gospel as a valuable history. The works of Weiss and Sanday dispose of the arrogant assumption of Schweitzer (*op. cit.*) that competent scholarship now regards the cardinal questions as settled in a negative sense. (For a full bibliography see Schweitzer, *op. cit.*; art. 'Jesus Christ' in *PRE*[3]).

3. The Conditions in Palestine (Schürer, *GJ V*[3] [*HJP* II. i. 1 ff.]).—The condition of the Jews at the birth of Christ may be summarily described as marked by political impotence and religious decadence.

(1) *The political situation.*—From the age of the Exile, the Jews in Palestine were subject to a foreign domination—Persian, Greek, Egyptian, Syrian, in rapid succession. Following upon a century of independence under the Maccabees, the country was incorporated in the Roman Empire as a division of the province of Syria. In certain circumstances, which have a parallel in British India, the Romans recognized a feudatory king, and it was with this status that Herod the Great reigned over Palestine. At his death in B.C. 4, his dominions were divided among his three sons; but on the deposition of Archelaus in 6 A.D., Judæa and Samaria were placed under a Roman procurator. Herod Antipas and Philip continued to rule as vassal princes, with the title of tetrarchs, over Galilee and Ituræa respectively. The pressure of the Roman rule was felt in the stern measures which were taken to suppress any dangerous expressions of national feeling, and also in the exactions of the publicans to whom the taxes were farmed. Internal administration was largely an affair of the Jewish Church. To a highly spirited people like the Jews, with memories of former freedom and power, the loss of national independence was galling; and their natural restlessness under the foreign yoke, combined as it was with the Messianic hopes that formed a most vital element of their religion, was a source of anxiety not only to the Roman authorities but to their own leaders.

(2) *The religious situation.*—From the religious point of view it was a decadent age. No doubt there is a tendency to exaggerate the degradation of the world at our Lord's coming, on the principle that the darkest hour must have preceded the dawn; and in fairness the indictment should be restricted to the statement that the age marked a serious declension from the highest level of OT religion. It had, in fact, many of the features which have re-appeared in the degenerate periods of the Christian Church. (*a*) One such feature was the disappearance of the prophetic man, and his replacement as a religious authority by representatives of sacred learning. As the normal condition of things in the Christian Church has been similar, it cannot in itself be judged to be symptomatic of anything worse than a silver age that the exponents of the Scriptures and of the tradition were now the chief religious guides of the people (see SCRIBES). Moreover, a very genuine religious originality and fervour had continued to find expression in the Apocalyptic literature of later Judaism (see APOCALYPTIC LITERATURE). (*b*) A more decisive proof of degradation is the exaltation of the ceremonial and formal side of religion as a substitute for personal piety and righteousness of life. This tendency had its classic representatives in the Pharisees. The best of their number must have exhibited, as Josephus shows, a zeal for God and a self-denial like that of Roman Catholic saints—otherwise the veneration of the people, which Josephus shared, would be inexplicable (*Ant.* XVII. ii. 4); but as a class our Lord charges them with sins of covetousness and inhumanity, which gave the colour of hypocrisy to their ritualistic scruples (Mt 24; see PHARISEES). (*c*) A further characteristic of decadence is that the religious organization tends to come in the place of God, as the object of devotion, and there appears the powerful ecclesiastic who, though he may be worldly and even sceptical, is indispensable as the symbol and protector of the sacred institution. This type was represented by the Sadducees—in their general outlook men of the world, in their doctrine sceptics with an ostensible basis of conservatism,—who filled the priestly offices, controlled the Sanhedrin, and endeavoured to maintain correct relations with their Roman masters. It can also well be believed that, as Josephus tells us, they professed an aristocratic dislike to public business, which they nevertheless dominated; and that they humoured the multitude by an occasional show of religious zeal (see SADDUCEES).

In this world presided over by pedants, formalists, and political ecclesiastics, the common people receive a fairly good character. Their religion was the best that then had a footing among men, and they were in earnest about it. They had been purified by the providential discipline of centuries from the last vestiges of idolatry. It is noteworthy that Jesus brings against them no such sweeping accusations of immorality and cruelty as are met with in Amos and Hosea. Their chief fault was that they were disposed to look on their religion as a means of procuring them worldly good, and that they were blind and unreceptive in regard to purely spiritual blessings. The influence which the Pharisees had over them shows that they were capable of reverencing, and eager to obey, those who seemed to them to speak for God; and their response to the preaching of John the Baptist was still more to their honour. There is evidence of a contemporary strain of self-renouncing idealism in the existence of communities which sought deliverance from the evil of the world in the austerities of an ascetic life (Jos. *Ant.* XVIII. i. 5; see ESSENES). The Gospels introduce us to not a few men and women who impress us as exemplifying a simple and noble type of piety—nourished as they were on the religion of the OT, and waiting patiently for the salvation of God. Into a circle pervaded by this atmosphere Jesus was born.

4. Date of Christ's Birth (cf. art. CHRONOLOGY, p. 135[b], and in Hastings' *DB*).—If John began to baptize in the fifteenth year of Tiberius Cæsar (Lk 3[1])—being A.D. 29—and if Jesus was thirty years of age when He was baptized (v.[23]), the traditional date fixed by Dionysius Exiguus would be approximately correct. But it is probable that the reign of Tiberius was reckoned by Lk. from his admission to joint-authority with Augustus in A.D. 11–12, so that Jesus would be thirty in A.D. 25–6, and would be born about B.C. 5. This agrees with the representation of Mt. that He was born under Herod, since Herod died B.C. 4, and a number of events of the Infancy are mentioned as occurring before his death. A reference in Jn 2[20] to the forty-six years during which the Temple had been in course of construction leads to a similar result—viz. A.D. 26 for the second year of the Ministry, and B.C. 5 for the Birth of Jesus.

5. Birth and Infancy (cf. Sweet, *The Birth and Infancy of Jesus Christ*, 1907).—Mt. and Lk. have a narrative of the Infancy, and agree in the following points—that Jesus was of David's line, that He was miraculously conceived, that He was born in Bethlehem, and that the Holy Family permanently settled in Nazareth. The additional incidents related by Mt. are the appearance of the angel to Joseph (1[18-24]), the adoration of the Magi (2[1-12]), the flight into Egypt (vv.[13-15]), the massacre at Bethlehem (vv.[16-18]). Lk.'s supplementary matter includes the promise of the birth of John the Baptist (1[5-23]), the Annunciation to Mary (vv.[26-38]), the visit of Mary to Elisabeth (vv.[39-56]), the birth of the Baptist (vv.[57-80]), the census (2[1ff.]), the vision

of angels (2[8-14]), the adoration of the shepherds (vv. [15-20]), the circumcision (v.[21]), the presentation in the Temple (vv.[22-39]).

The narratives embody two ideas which are singly impressive, and in conjunction make a profound appeal to the feelings and the imagination. The humiliation of the Saviour is emphasized by one set of events—the lowly parentage, the birth in a stable, the rage of Herod, the flight of His parents to a distant land. The other series shows Him as honoured and accredited by heaven, while earth also agrees, in the representatives of its wealth and its poverty, its wisdom and its ignorance, to do Him honour at His coming. 'A halo of miracles is formed around the central miracle, comparable to the rays of the rising sun' (Lange, *Life of Christ*, Eng. tr. i. 257, 258).

At this point the influence of theological standpoint makes itself acutely felt. In the 'Lives' written from the naturalistic and Unitarian standpoints, the mass of the material is described as mythical or legendary, and the only points left over for discussion are the sources of invention, and the date at which the stories were incorporated with the genuine tradition. The residuum of historical fact, according to O. Holtzmann, is that 'Jesus was born at Nazareth in Galilee, the son of Joseph and Mary, being the eldest of five brothers and several sisters, and there He grew up' (*Life of Jesus*, Eng. tr. p. 89). The chief grounds on which the negative case is rested may be briefly considered.

(1) The narratives of the Infancy are not a part of the original tradition, since they are known to only two of the Evangelists, and have no Biblical support outside these Gospels. To this it seems a sufficient reply that additions may have been made later from a good source, and that there were obvious reasons why some at least of the incidents should have been treated for a time with reserve.

(2) The two Gospels which deal with the Infancy discredit one another by the incompatibility of their statements. Mt., it is often said, supposes that Bethlehem was Joseph's home from the beginning; Lk. says that he made a visit to Bethlehem on the occasion of a census. According to Mt., the birth in Bethlehem was followed by a flight into Egypt; according to Lk., they visited Jerusalem and then returned to Nazareth. But the difficulties have been exaggerated. Though it is quite possible that Mt. did not know of an original residence in Nazareth, he does not actually deny it. And although neither Evangelist may have known of the other's history, it is quite possible, without excessive harmonistic zeal, to work the episodes of Mt. into Lk.'s scheme. 'The accounts may be combined with considerable plausibility if we suppose that Joseph and Mary remained a full year in Bethlehem, during which the presentation in the Temple took place, and that the visit of the Magi was much later than the adoration of the shepherds' (Gloag, *Introd. to the Synoptic Gospels*, pp. 136, 137).

(3) The events narrated are said to be inconsistent with the indirect evidence of other portions of the Gospels. If they really occurred, why was Mary not prepared for all that followed? and why did Jesus' brethren not believe in Him? (Mk 3[21, 31ff.], Mt 12[46-50]). In particular, the body of the Gospels contains, it is said, evidence which is inconsistent with the Virgin-birth. The difficulty is a real one, but hardly greater than the difficulty presented in the fact that the mighty works of the Ministry did not overbear doubt and disbelief in those who witnessed them.

(4) The narratives in question are also said to have had their origin in man's illusory ideas as to the proper manner of the coming of a Divine messenger. The history of the founders of other religions—*e.g.* Confucius and Gautama—shows a fond predisposition to invest the birth of a Saviour or a mighty prophet with a miraculous halo; and it is suggested that similar stories were invented about Christ, with the effect of obscuring the distinctive thought and purpose of God. They are 'deforming investitures, misplaced, like court dresses on the spirits of the just' (Martineau, *Loss and Gain*). There is undeniable force in this, but it will be noticed that it is an observation which would make an end, as indeed those who use it intend, of the whole miraculous element in the life. If, on the other hand, we believe that the life of Christ was supernatural, it is easily credible that the rising of the Sun was heralded, in Lange's image, by rays of glory.

Of the events of the glorious cycle which have the joint support of Mt. and Lk. there are three which have been felt to have religious significance.

(1) *The Davidic descent.*—It was an article of common belief in the primitive Church that Jesus was descended from David (Ro 1[3]). Mt. and Lk. supply genealogies which have the purpose of supporting the belief, but do not strengthen it *prima facie*, as one traces the descent through Solomon (Mt 1[6]), the other through a son of David called Nathan (Lk 3[31]). The favourite way of harmonizing them is to suppose that Mt. gives the descent through Joseph, Lk. through Mary, while others think that Mt. gives the list of heirs to the Davidic throne, Lk. the actual family-tree of Jesus. It may well be believed that descendants of the royal house treasured the record of their origin; and on the other hand it seems unlikely that Jesus could have been accepted as Messiah without good evidence of Davidic origin, or that a late fabrication would have been regarded as such.

(2) *The Virgin-birth* (cf. Gore, *Dissertations on the Incarnation*, 1895; Lobstein, *The Virgin-Birth of Christ*, Eng. tr. 1903).—The student is referred for a full statement on both sides to the works above cited, but a remark may be made on the two branches of the evidence. (*a*) The objections based on historical and literary grounds, as distinct from anti-dogmatic prejudice, are of considerable weight. No account of Mk.'s purpose satisfactorily explains his omission if he knew of it, and it seems incredible that, if known, it would not have been utilized in the Pauline theology. Upon this it can only be said that it may have been a fact, although it had not yet come to the knowledge of Mk. and Paul. Further, Mt. and Lk. themselves raise a grave difficulty, since the whole point of the genealogies seems to be that Jesus was descended from David through Joseph. The usual, though not quite convincing, answer is, that Jesus was legally the son of Joseph, and therefore David's heir. It must probably be admitted that the original compilers of the genealogies shared the ignorance of the earliest Gospel, but ignorance or silence is not decisive as to a fact. (*b*) It has been common to exaggerate the doctrinal necessity of the tenet. It is usually held to have been necessary to preserve Jesus from the taint of original sin; but as Mary was truly His mother, an additional miracle must have been necessary to prevent the transmission of the taint through her, and this subsidiary miracle could have safeguarded the sinlessness of Jesus without the miraculous conception. Nor can it be said that it is a necessary corollary of the Eternal Sonship of Christ, since it is found in the Gospels which say nothing of His pre-existence, and is absent from the Gospel which places this in the forefront. And yet it would be rash to say that it has no value for Christian faith. The unique character of Christ, with its note of sinless perfection, cannot be explained by purely natural factors; and the doctrine of the Virgin-birth at least renders the service of affirming the operation of a supernatural causality in the constitution of that character. It must also be said that the negation is generally felt to be a phase of an anti-supernatural campaign to which the overthrow of this position means the capture of an outwork, and a point of departure for a more critical attack. It is also difficult for a Christian thinker to abandon the dogma without feeling puzzled and distressed by the alternative explanations which open up.

(3) *The Birth at Bethlehem* (cf. Ramsay, *Was Christ born at Bethlehem?* 1902).—For the birth at Bethlehem we have the statement of the Gospels. Lk. seems to have investigated the point with special care, and explains the presence of Joseph and Mary at Bethlehem as due to a census which had been ordered by Augustus (Lk 2[1]). It has frequently been assumed that Lk. has blundered, as **Quirinius** was not governor of Syria until A.D. 6, when he made an enrolment; and the impossible date to which we are thus led seems to discredit the whole combination. In defence of Lk. it is pointed out that Quirinius held a military appoint-

ment in Syria about B.C. 6 which may have been loosely described as a governorship, and that there is evidence for a twelve years' cycle in Imperial statistics which would give a first enrolment about the same date.

6. Years of Preparation (cf. Keim, vol. ii. pt. 2).—The silence of the Gospels as to the boyhood and early manhood of Jesus is broken only by the mention of a pilgrimage to Jerusalem (Lk $2^{41ff.}$). Even if it be true that none of His townsfolk believed on Him, it might have been expected that the piety of His disciples would have recovered some facts from the public memory, and that in any case the tradition would have been enriched at a later date by members of the family circle. The only possible explanation of the silence is that during the years in Nazareth Jesus did and said nothing which challenged notice. It is also evident that the silence is an indirect testimony to the credibility of the great events of the later years, as there was every reason why the tradition, had it not been bound by facts, should have invested the earlier period with supernatural surprises and glories.

(1) *Education of Jesus.*—Earliest in time, and probably chief in importance, was the education in the home. The Jewish Law earnestly impressed upon parents, especially upon fathers, the duty of instructing their children in the knowledge of God, His mighty acts and His laws, and also of disciplining them in religion and morality. 'We take most pains of all,' says Josephus, 'with the instruction of children, and esteem the observation of the laws, and the piety corresponding with them, the most important affairs of our whole life' (*c. Apion*, i. 12). 'We know the laws,' he adds, 'as well as our own name.' It was the home in Nazareth that opened to Jesus the avenues of knowledge, and first put Him in possession of the treasures of the OT. It also seems certain that in His home there was a type of family life which made fatherhood stand to Him henceforward as the highest manifestation of a love beneficent, disinterested, and all-forgiving. It is probable that Jesus had other teachers. We hear in the course of the same century of a resolution to provide teachers in every province and in every town; and before the attempt was made to secure a universal system, it was natural that tuition should be given in connexion with the synagogue to boys likely to 'profit above their equals.' Of the officers connected with the synagogue, the ruler and the elders may sometimes have done their work as a labour of love, and there is evidence that it could be laid on the *chazzan* as an official duty. The stated services of the synagogue, in which the chief part was the expounding of the Scriptures by any person possessed of learning or a message, must have been an event of the deepest interest to the awakening mind of Jesus. From early childhood He accompanied His parents to Jerusalem to keep the Feast—the utmost stress being laid by the Rabbis upon this as a means for the instilment of piety. It has also been well pointed out that the land of Palestine was itself a wonderful educational instrument. It was a little country, in size less than the Scottish Highlands, of which a great part could be seen from a mountain-top, and every district visited in a few days' journey; and its valleys and towns, and, above all, Jerusalem, were filled with memories which compelled the citizen to live in the story of the past, and to reflect at every stage and prospect on the mission of his people and the ways of God (Ramsay, *The Education of Christ*, 1902). To these has to be added the discipline of work. Jesus learned the trade of a carpenter, and appears to have practised this trade in Nazareth until He reached the threshold of middle age (Mk 6^{3}). It is perhaps remarkable that none of His imagery is borrowed from His handicraft. One has the feeling that the work of the husbandman and the vine-dresser had more attraction for Him, and that His self-sacrifice may have begun in the workshop. The deeper preparation is suggested in the one incident which is chronicled. The point of it is that even in His boyhood Jesus thought of God as His Father, and of His house as His true sphere of work (Lk 2^{49}). The holy of holies in the silent years was the life of communion with God in which He knew the Divine Fatherhood to be a fact, and became conscious of standing to Him in the intimate relationship of a Son.

(2) *Knowledge of Jesus.*—There is no reason to suppose that Jesus studied in the Rabbinical schools. Nor is there more ground for the belief, which has been made the motive of certain 'Lives of Christ' (Venturini, *Natürliche Gesch. des grossen Propheten von Nazareth*, 1800–2), that He had acquired esoteric wisdom among the Essenes. It has also become difficult for those who take their impressions from the historical records to believe that, while in virtue of His human nature His knowledge was progressive and limited, in virtue of His Divine nature He was simultaneously omniscient. All we can say is that He possessed perfect knowledge within the sphere in which His vocation lay. The one book which He studied was the OT, and He used it continually in temptation, conflict, and suffering. He knew human nature in its littleness and greatness—the littleness that spoils the noblest characters, the greatness that survives the worst pollution and degradation. He read individual character with a swift and unerring glance. But what must chiefly have impressed the listeners were the intimacy and the certainty with which He spoke of God. In the world of nature He pointed out the tokens of His bounty and the suggestions of His care. The realm of human affairs was to Him instinct with principles which illustrated the relations of God and man. He spoke as One who saw into the very heart of God, and who knew at first hand His purpose with the world, and His love for sinful and sorrow-laden men.

7. Jesus and the Baptist.—The religious commonplaceness of the age, which has been described above, was at length broken by the appearance of John the Baptist, who recalled the ancient prophets. He proclaimed the approach of the Day of the Lord, when the Messiah would take to Himself His power and reign. He rejected the idea that the Jews could claim special privileges on the ground of birth (Mt 3^{9}), and proclaimed that the judgment, with which His work would begin, would be searching and pitiless. Along with other Galilæans Jesus repaired to the scene of the ministry in the lower Jordan valley, and received baptism (Mk 1^{9}), not, indeed, as though He needed repentance, but as a symbol and means of consecration to the work which lay before Him. The Gospels are more deeply interested in the impression made by Jesus on John, modern writers in the influence exerted by John upon Jesus. According to all the Synoptics, John proclaimed the near advent of the Messiah; according to Mt., he may have implied that Jesus was the Messiah (3^{14}); while the Fourth Gospel states that he explicitly pointed Him out as the Messiah to his disciples ($1^{29.\ 36}$). If we suppose that Jesus held intercourse for a time with the Baptist, it is easy to believe that the stainlessness and commanding greatness of His character at least evoked from the Baptist an avowal of his own inferiority. That he went so far as to declare Him the Messiah whom he preached is a statement which it is difficult to accept literally, or as meaning more than that the school of the Baptist pointed to its consummation in the school of Christ. On the other hand, contact with the Baptist's ministry evidently precipitated the crisis in the life of Christ. The man who re-discovered the need and the power of a prophetic mission was an instrument in bringing Jesus face to face with His prophetic task; while his proclamation of the impending advent of the Messiah must have had the character for Jesus of a call to the work for which, as the unique Son, He knew Himself to be

furnished. It is evident that the act of baptism was accompanied by something decisive. According to Mk., Jesus then had a vision of the Spirit descending upon Him like a dove, and heard a voice from heaven, 'Thou art my beloved Son, in whom I am well pleased' (1[10. 11]). This is more probable than the statement that it was a public revelation (Lk 3[21. 22]), or that it was the Baptist to whom the vision was vouchsafed (Jn 1[32]). We shall hardly err if we suppose that Jesus spoke to the disciples of His baptism as the time when His Messianic consciousness became clear, and He received an endowment of strength for the task to which He was called.

8. The Temptation.—The view taken of the significance of the Baptism is confirmed by the narrative of the Temptation, which would naturally follow closely upon the acceptance of the Messianic vocation (Mk 1[12-13], Mt 4[1-11], Lk 4[1-13]). Like the scene at the Baptism, the temptations probably came to Jesus in the form of a vision, which He afterwards described to His disciples. It has generally been agreed that the temptations must be understood as growing out of the Messianic commission, but there is wide difference of opinion as to their precise significance. The view which seems most probable to the present writer may be briefly set forth, it being premised that Luke's order seems to answer best to the logic of the situation. Assuming that in the Baptism Jesus accepted the Messianic call, the possibilities of the ensuing ordeal of temptation were three—that He should recoil from the task, that He should misconceive it, or that, rightly apprehending it, He should adopt wrong methods. The first temptation, accordingly, may very naturally be supposed to have consisted in the suggestion that He should choose comfort rather than hardship—that He should turn back, while there was yet time, from the arduous and perilous path, and live out His days in the sheltered life of Nazareth. This He rejected on the ground that there are higher goods than comfort and security; 'man shall not live by bread alone' (Mt 4[4]). The heroic course resolved on, the great question to be next faced was if He was to aim at establishing a kingdom of the political kind which the people generally expected, or a kingdom of a spiritual order. To found and maintain an earthly kingdom, He knew, meant the use of violence, craft, and other Satanic instruments; and of such means, even if the end had approved itself to Him as His vocation, He refused to make use (Mt 4[8ff.]). This decision taken, the question remained as to the way in which He was to win belief for Himself and His cause. For one with perfect trust in God it was a natural suggestion to challenge God to own Him by facing risks in which His life could be saved only through the interposition of a stupendous miracle (4[5ff.]). But this He put aside as impious, and cast upon the Father the care of making His path plain, while He awaited, prudently as well as bravely, the gradual disclosure of His call to work and danger.

9. Duration of the Ministry (cf. art. CHRONOLOGY above and in *DB*).—The Synoptics give no certain indication of the length of the period. It is argued that the incident of plucking the ears of corn (Mk 2[23]) points to April or June of one year, and that at the feeding of the five thousand we are in the spring ('green grass,' Mk 6[39]) of the year following; while at least another twelve months would be required for the journeys which are subsequently recorded. The chronological scheme usually adopted is based on the Fourth Gospel, which has the following notes of time:—a Passover (2[13]), four months to harvest (4[35]), a feast of the Jews (5[1]), another Passover (6[4]), the feast of Tabernacles (7[2]), the feast of Dedication (10[22]), the last Passover (11[55]). The first four 'can be combined in more than one way to fit into a single year—*e.g.* (*a*) Passover—May—any lesser feast—Passover; or (*b*) Passover—January—Purim (February)—Passover.' 'From 6[4] to 11[55] the space covered is exactly a year, the autumn Feast of Tabernacles (7[2]), and the winter Feast of Dedication (10[22]), being signalized in the course of it' (art. 'Chronology' in *DB* i. 409[a], 408[a]).

It was a wide-spread opinion in Patristic times, supported by the phrase 'the acceptable year of the Lord' (Lk 4[19]), that the ministry lasted only one year; and in the opinion of some modern scholars it can be maintained that even the Fourth Gospel includes its material between two Passovers (Westcott and Hort, *Greek Test.*; Briggs, *New Light on the Life of Jesus*). On the other hand, it was asserted by Irenæus (*adv. Hær.* ii. 22) on the ground of Jn 8[57], and of an alleged Johannine tradition, that from ten to twenty years elapsed between the Baptism and the Crucifixion. Jn 8[57] is quite inconclusive, and the best authority for the Johannine tradition must be the Gospel, the evidence of which may be summed up by saying that 'while two years *must*, not more than two years *can*, be allowed for the interval from Jn 2[13. 23] to Jn 11[55]' (art. 'Chronology' in *DB*).

10. Periods of the Life of Christ.—The divisions are necessarily affected by the view which is taken of the value of the chronological scheme of the Fourth Gospel.

Keim, who generally follows the guidance of the Synoptics, divides as follows:—

Preliminary period of self-recognition and decision.

1. The Galilæan spring-time, beginning in the spring of A.D. 34 [certainly much too late], and lasting for a few months. Characteristics: the optimism of Jesus, and the responsiveness of the people.

2. The Galilæan storms, extending over the summer and autumn of A.D. 34 and the spring of the following year. Scene: Galilee and the neighbouring regions. Characteristics: increasing opposition, and intensification of the polemical note in the teaching of Jesus.

3. The Messianic progress to Jerusalem, and the Messianic death at the Passover of A.D. 35. Scene: Peræa and Jerusalem (*Jesus of Nazara*).

The Johannine material can be combined with the Synoptic in two periods, each of which lasted about a year. The following is the scheme of Hase:—

Preliminary history.

1. The 'acceptable year of the Lord,' marked by hopefulness, active labour, and much outward success. Scene: Judæa and Galilee. Time: from the Baptism to the Feeding of the Multitude (some months before Passover of the year A.D. 30 or 31 to shortly before Passover of the following year).

2. The year of conflict. Scene: Galilee, Peræa, Judæa. Time: from the second to the last Passover.

3. The Passion and Resurrection. Scene: Jerusalem. Time: Passover (*Gesch. Jesu*).

The months between the Baptism and the first Passover may be regarded as a period with distinct characteristics, and we may distinguish (1) the year of obscurity, (2) the year of public favour, (3) the year of opposition (Stalker, *Life of Jesus Christ*, 1879).

The division into sub-periods has been most elaborately carried out by Dr. Sanday (*Outlines of the Life of Jesus Christ*).—

A. Preliminary period—from the Baptism to the call of the leading Apostles. Sources: Mt 3[1]–4[11], Mk 1[1-13], Lk 3[1]–4[13], Jn 1[6]–4[54]. Scene: mainly in Judæa, but in part also in Galilee. Time: winter A.D. 26 to a few weeks before Passover, A.D. 27.

B. First active or constructive period. Sources: Mt 4[13]–13[53], Mk 1[14]–6[13], Lk 4[14]–9[6], Jn 5. Scene: mainly in Galilee, but also partly in Jerusalem. Time: from about Pentecost, A.D. 27, to shortly before Passover, A.D. 28.

C. Middle or culminating period of the active ministry. Sources: Mt 14[1]–18[35], Mk 6[14]–9[50], Lk 9[7-50], Jn 6. Scene: Galilee. Time: Passover to shortly before Tabernacles, A.D. 28.

D. Close of the active period—the Messianic crisis in view. Sources: Mt 19[1]–20[34], Mk 10[1-52], Lk 9[51]–19[28], Jn 7[1]–11[57]. Scene: Judæa and Peræa. Time: Tabernacles, A.D. 28, to Passover, A.D. 29.

E. The Messianic crisis—the last week, passion, resurrection, ascension. Sources: Mt 21[1]–28[20], Mk 11[1]–16[8] [16[9-20]], Lk 19[29]–24[52], Jn 12[1]–21[23]. Scene: mainly in Jerusalem. Time: six days before Passover to ten days before Pentecost, A.D. 29.

Weiss's scheme agrees with the above so far as regards the duration of the ministry (from 2 to 3 years), and the date of the Crucifixion (Passover, A.D. 29). His periods are:

(1) the preparation, corresponding to Dr. Sanday's 'preliminary period' down to the wedding in Cana of Galilee; (2) the seed-time, including the remainder of 'the preliminary period,' and the first active or constructive period; (3) the period of first conflicts, and (4) the period of crisis, corresponding to the 'middle or culminating period'; (5) the Jerusalem period, corresponding to the close of the active period; (6) the Passion and the subsequent events.

Useful as the above schemes of Weiss and Sanday are for arranging the subject-matter, and deserving as they are of respect for their scholarly grounding, the writer doubts if we can pretend to such exact knowledge of the course of events. Even if we assume that the Fourth Gospel gives a reliable chronological framework, it is a very precarious assumption that the Synoptic material, which is largely put together from a topical point of view, can be assigned its proper place in the scheme. Further, it is by no means clear that we are right in supposing that there was a Judæan ministry which ran parallel with the Galilæan ministry. There is much to be said for the view that the narratives of the Fourth Gospel presuppose a situation towards the close of them inistry, and that in interweaving them with the Synoptic narratives of the Galilæan period, we anticipate the actual march of the history. The view here taken is that there was a Galilæan ministry, for which the Synoptics are almost the sole source; that this was followed for some months before the end by a Judæan ministry, the materials of which are supplied mainly by the Fourth Gospel; and that finally the sources unite to give a picture of the Last Week, the Passion, and the Resurrection.

(A) The Galilæan Ministry.—Jesus seems to have remained with the Baptist until the latter was put in prison (Mk 1^{14}), when He returned to Galilee. The change of scene, which in any case was natural in view of the blow that had been struck, served to mark the distinctness of His mission from that of John. He may also have been influenced by His knowledge of the greater receptiveness of the Northern stock. The centre of His activity was the populous district, studded with prosperous towns, which lay around the Sea of Galilee. From Capernaum, in which He lived for a time (Mt 4^{13}, Mk 9^{33}), He had easy access to the other cities on the Lake, and He also appears to have made wider circuits throughout Galilee, in the course of which He preached in the synagogue at Nazareth (Lk $4^{16ff.}$). At the close of the period He penetrated to the regions beyond—being found on the 'borders' of Tyre and Sidon (Mk 7^{24}), then in the heathen district of Decapolis to the east of Jordan (v.^{31}), afterwards in the towns of Cæsarea Philippi in the dominions of the tetrarch Philip (8^{27}). Except for the incidental references above referred to, there is nothing to fix the duration of the Galilæan ministry; but though crowded with labours and incidents, it seems to have been comparatively short. Its importance is measured by the fact that it set the Christian gospel in circulation in the world, and laid the foundation of the Christian Church.

(1) *Treatment of the materials.*—In dealing with this period, the characteristic task of the historian may almost be said to begin where that of the Evangelists ends. The modern student is not only interested in chronology and in the details of the environment, but he tries to bring the course of events under the point of view of development, and to penetrate to the causes which explain the movement and the issue of the history. The Gospels, on the other hand, contribute a picture rather than a history—a picture, moreover, in which the setting is presupposed rather than described, while they leave us in ignorance of much that we should like to know about hidden forces and springs of action. It seems advisable to begin by reproducing in its salient aspects the Synoptic picture of the Galilæan ministry, based primarily on Mk., and thereafter to advert to some contributions which have been made to the better elucidation of the course of events.

(2) *The picture of the Galilæan Ministry.*—The principal source is the sketch in Mk., which sets forth the Ministry from the point of view of one who regarded it as the manifestation of the Messiah. The chronological order of events is necessarily mirrored to some extent, as the narrative describes a mission and its outcome; but the arrangement as well as the selection of the material is largely governed by topical considerations. The topics of Mk. may be summarized as follows:—(*a*) the preliminary attestation of Jesus as the Messiah; (*b*) the Messianic activities; (*c*) the opposition to Jesus, and His self-vindication; (*d*) the attitude of Jesus Himself to the question of His Messiahship; (*e*) the results of the Galilæan Ministry.

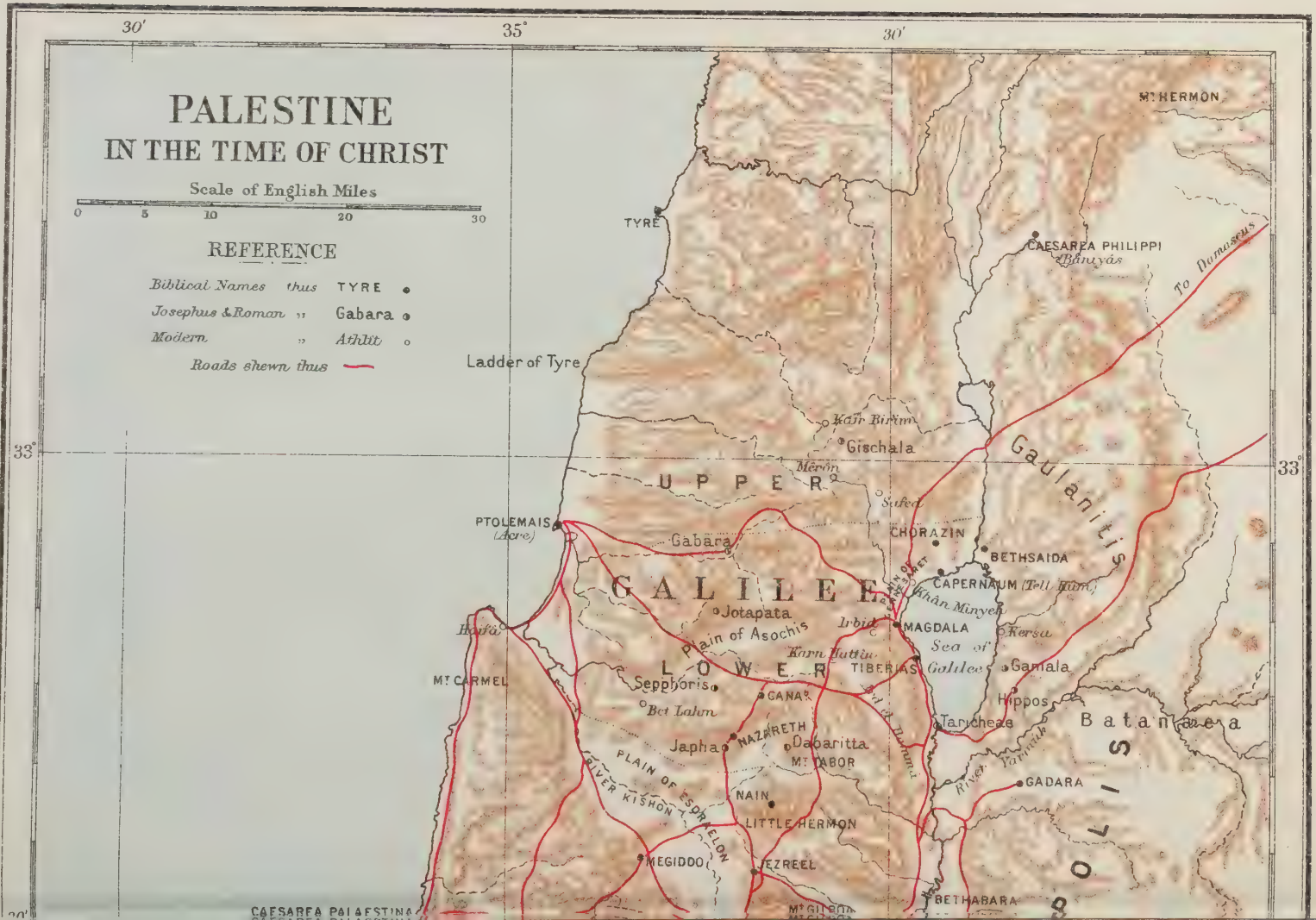
The above argument is taken over by Mt., with some change in the order of the sections, while he supplements from the older Apostolic source the meagre account given by Mk. of the contents of the teaching of Jesus. Lk. follows Mk. more closely in the sections dealing with the Galilæan ministry, but incidentally shows the uncertainty of the chronological scheme by transferring to the beginning the visit to Nazareth (4^{16-30}; cf. Mk 6^{1-6}, Mt 13^{53-58}), on the apparent ground that it could be regarded as in some respects a typical incident.

(*a*) *The preliminary attestation.*—The Synoptic tradition puts in the forefront certain credentials of Jesus. John the Baptist predicted His coming (Mk 1^{7-8}), a voice from heaven proclaimed Him to be the Son (v.^{11}), the demons knew Him (vv.$^{23.\ 24}$; cf. 5^{7}); while the chosen few, though as yet not knowing Him for what He is, instinctively obeyed His call (1^{18}), and the multitude recognized in Him an extraordinary man (1^{22}). Apart from the references to the Baptist and the vision at the Baptism, the facts which underlay this apologetic argument were that demoniacs were peculiarly susceptible to His influence, and that upon the uncorrupted and unprejudiced heart Jesus made the impression of a commanding authority which was entitled to be obeyed.

(*b*) *The Messianic activities.*—Upon the credentials follows a description of the labours by which Jesus proceeded to carry out His plan, and which revealed Him as the Messiah. The means employed were three—to teach the nature, the blessings, and the laws of the Kingdom, to exemplify its power and its spirit in mighty works, and to call and train men who should exemplify the new righteousness, and also share and continue His labours.

(i) *The ministry of teaching* (cf. Wendt, *Teaching of Jesus*, Eng. tr. 1892).—The work which lay nearest to the hand of Jesus, as the Messiah, was to preach. He needed to preach repentance, as the condition of the reception of the Kingdom; He needed to gain entrance for a true conception of its nature; and He had to legislate for the society which was to own Him as its King. It is accordingly as the Messiah prophet that He is introduced: 'Jesus came into Galilee, preaching the gospel of God, and saying, The time is fulfilled, and the kingdom of God is at hand: repent ye, and believe in the gospel' (Mk $1^{14.\ 15}$). Following upon a similar notice (4^{23}), Mt. interpolates the Sermon on the Mount, in which the principles of the gospel of the Kingdom are set forth, on the one hand as a revision of the OT moral code, on the other as an antithesis to the maxims and the practice of contemporary Judaism. The meagre specimens of our Lord's teaching which Mk. thought it sufficient for his purpose to give, are further supplemented by Mt. in his collection of the parables of the Kingdom, and by Lk. in the peculiar section which includes the parables of the Lost Coin, the Lost Sheep, and the Lost Son.

The synagogues were open, at least in the first period, to Jesus. He also taught wherever opportunity offered —in the house, on the mountain-side, from a boat moored by the shore of the Lake. To a large extent His teaching was unsystematic, being drawn forth by


PALESTINE
IN THE TIME OF CHRIST
Scale of English Miles
0 5 10 20 30
REFERENCE
Biblical Names thus TYRE
Josephus & Roman " Gabara
Modern " Athlit
Roads shewn thus
30'
35°
30'
33°
33°
Mt HERMON
TYRE
CAESAREA PHILIPPI
Bânyás
To Damascus
Ladder of Tyre
Kâfr Birim
Gischala
Merôn
UPPER
Safed
GALILEE
Gaulanitis
PTOLEMAIS
(Acre)
Gabara
CHORAZIN
BETHSAIDA
CAPERNAUM (Tell Hûm)
Khân Minyeh
Jotapata
Irbid
MAGDALA
Kersa
Haifa
Plain of Asochis
Sea of
Galilee
Mt CARMEL
LOWER
Sepphoris
TIBERIAS
Gamala
Hippos
Bet Lahm
CANA
Taricheae
Batanaea
Japhia
NAZARETH
Dabaritta
Mt TABOR
PLAIN OF ESDRAELON
RIVER KISHON
NAIN
GADARA
LITTLE HERMON
MEGIDDO
JEZREEL
BETHABARA
CAESAREA PALAESTINA

SAMARIA
PEREA
DE
Aenon
SAMARIA
Mt. EBAL
SICHEM
SYCHAR
Sâlim
Mt. GERIZIM
JACOBS WELL
Wâdy Nâblus
RIVER JORDAN
RIVER JABBOK
Gerasa
Apollonia
ANTIPATRIS
Kurn Sartabeh
JOPPA
SHILOH
Jebel Osha
Es Salt
ARIMATHEA
Phasaelis
Batanaea
32°
LYDDA
MODIN
EPHRAIM?
RABBAH AMMON
(Philadelphia)
BETHEL
BEEROTH
(LOWER)
BETHHORON
(UPPER)
Mt. Quarantana
Jamnia
GEZER
el-Kubêbeh
Wâdy el-Kelt
JERICHO
FORDS OF JORDAN
EMMAUS
(Nicopolis)
Amwâs
EMMAUS?
(Kâloniyeh)
Ain Kârim
Nebi Samwil
JERUSALEM
BETHANY
Heshbân
AZOTUS
VALLEY OF SOREK
Bether
KIDRON VALLEY
BETHLEHEM
Mar Sâbâ
ASCALON
VALLEY OF ELAH
Eleutheropolis
Dead Sea
Machaerus
GAZA
HEBRON
30'
35'
Longitude East of Greenwich
30'
32°

III

way of comment on some casual incident, or of a rejoinder made to a question or an objection. On other occasions, *e.g.* when preaching in the synagogue, we must suppose Him to have treated of some large subject in a set discourse, but it is unlikely that any one contained more than an exposition of an OT passage (Lk $4^{16ff.}$), or the message of one of the parables (Mt $13^{1ff.}$). The grand characteristic of His manner of teaching has been described as the combination of the utmost degree of popular intelligibility with memorable pregnancy of expression (Wendt, § 2). (*a*) The means by which *intelligibility* was attained was the copious use of the concrete example, and of the comparison of ideas. The comparison is used in three forms—the simile, the metaphor, and the parable. The parables, again, obviously fall into three classes. In one class we have a story which illustrates by a concrete example an attitude which Jesus desired to commend or to condemn (the Good Samaritan, Lk $10^{30ff.}$; the Pharisee and the Publican, $18^{10ff.}$). Those of a second class draw attention to a law operating in the natural world which has its counterpart in the Kingdom of God (the Seed Growing Secretly, Mk 4^{26-29}; the Mustard Seed, 4^{30-32}). In a third class there is a description of an event which has occurred in special circumstances, whether in nature or in the dealings of man with man, and the particular event is employed to illustrate some aspect of the Divine message (the Sower, Mt $13^{1ff.}$; the Prodigal Son, Lk $15^{11ff.}$). (*b*) The second note of the teaching of Jesus, which might perhaps be called *incisiveness*, is illustrated in the numerous short sayings, or aphorisms, into which He condenses a body of doctrine or precept (Mk $4^{22.\ 24}$ 10^{31}). It is also seen in the naked, often paradoxical, fashion, in which He states a principle. The doctrine of non-resistance, *e.g.*, He teaches in uncompromising form by means of the special instance (Mt 5^{38-41}), and leaves it to the disciple to discover the other considerations which cross and limit its application. The latter observation is of importance as a preservative against the errors of an excessive literalism in the interpretation of the teaching of Jesus. It is also desirable to bear in mind the rule, which is one of the gains of modern exegesis, that each of the parables of Jesus is to be regarded as the vehicle of one great lesson, and that it is illegitimate to treat it as an allegory every detail of which has been consciously filled with didactic meaning. As regards the aim of Jesus in His teaching, it might be thought self-evident that it could be nothing else than to make His message clear to His hearers. It is therefore surprising to read that the parables are spoken by Jesus with the purpose of obscuring to them that are without the truths which they reveal to the disciples—'that seeing they may see, and not perceive; and hearing they may hear, and not understand' (Mk 4^{10-12}, Mt 13^{10-15}, Lk $8^{9.\ 10}$). That the teaching of Jesus was largely misapprehended is, of course, true, and also that it had the effect of making those worse who rejected it, but this would appear to be an instance in which the Church has misreported a tragic consequence as an original and deliberate intention.

(ii) *The mighty works* (cf. Bruce, *The Miraculous Element in the Gospels*, 1886).—The teaching ministry was accompanied from the first by acts of healing, and these were followed later by other acts involving superhuman power. The Synoptic account of the mighty works may be briefly summarized.—(1) They were very numerous, and were of different kinds. In addition to the miracles which are described in detail, there are references of a general sort which imply that Jesus' work was cast to a large extent in the form of a healing ministry (Mk $1^{33.\ 34}$). Some of the miracles might be understood as faith-cures wrought upon persons suffering from nervous disorders or mental derangement, but those are inextricably bound up with others which are not explained by moral therapeutics, while a third group not explained imply a supernatural control of the forces of external nature. The healing miracles may be divided as follows:—(*a*) cure of organic defects (the blind, Mk 10^{46-52}; the deaf and dumb, 7^{31-37}); (*b*) disease (leprosy, Mk 1^{40-45}, Lk 17^{11-16}; fever, Mk 1^{29-31}; dropsy, Lk 14^{1-6}; paralysis, Mk 2^{1-12}, Mt 8^{5-13}); (*c*) death (Mk $5^{22ff.}$, Lk 8^{41}). As a special group, conceived as miracles in the spirit world, are the cures of epilepsy and lunacy (Mk 1^{21-28} 5^{1-20} 7^{24-30} $9^{14ff.}$). The Nature-miracles have been classified as (*a*) miracles of creative power (feeding of the multitude, Mk 6^{35-44} 8^{1-10}; walking on the water, $6^{48.\ 51}$); (*β*) Miracles of Providence, including (i.) miracles of blessing (the miraculous draught of fishes, Lk 5^{1-11}; the stilling of the tempest, Mk 4^{35-41}); and (ii.) a miracle of judgment (the cursing of the fig-tree, Mk $11^{12-14.\ 20}$; cf. Westcott, *Introd. to the Gospels*[8], 1895, App. E).—(2) The working of miracles was conditioned in various ways. The general condition on the side of the patients was the presence of faith (the woman with the issue, Mk 5^{25-34}; Bartimæus, Mk 10^{46-52}). In the absence of faith Jesus could do nothing or little (Mk 6^{4-6}, Mt 13^{58}). It was not, however, necessary that this faith should be personal: in some cases it was the vicarious faith of a parent or of a friend that had power and prevailed (the centurion's servant, Mt 8^{5-13}; the daughter of the Syrophœnician woman, Mk 7^{24-30}). In some instances the miracle is represented as having its spring in sympathy, apart from any reference to the spiritual condition of the sufferer (the fever, Mk 1^{29-34}; dropsy, Lk 14^{1-6}); while in cases of possession it could take place in the face of reluctance and antagonism (the unclean spirit, Mk $1^{21ff.}$; the man in the tombs, 5^{1-17}). As regards the powers of Jesus, the impression is not given that He was in possession of an omnipotence which He was able to wield at will. For what He is able to accomplish He is dependent on the Father, who supplies Him with power in the measure in which it is needed for the discharge of His mission. In the background of the miracles was the life of communion with God which Jesus lived. 'This kind,' He significantly says, 'can come out by nothing, save by prayer' (Mk 9^{29}). It would also appear that the cures made a demand upon His energies which gave rise to a feeling of physical exhaustion (Mk 5^{30}).—(3) The significance of the miracles. The leading point of view in which they are regarded in the Gospels is undeniably the evidential. In the fundamental narrative the argument advances from the testimonies as the first link, to the mighty works as the second link, in the chain of Messianic proof. It would be impossible to state the evidential aspect more strongly than is done in the reply to the question of John the Baptist (Mt $11^{2ff.}$).

(iii) *The calling and teaching of disciples* (cf. Bruce, *The Training of the Twelve*, 1877).—The effect of the Ministry was that Jesus, like the prophets of old, John the Baptist, and the Rabbis, gathered around Him a group of disciples. The great body of those who regarded Him as a Divinely sent teacher must have remained in their homes, and been content to hear Him when they had a convenient opportunity; and there is no reason to think that they were organized in any way into societies, except in so far as a natural instinct would prompt them to meet and speak one to another of the things which they had seen and heard. There was a second body of disciples, sometimes large but fluctuating in size, which accompanied Jesus on His journeys. Some He invited to join this company, others He sternly invited to count the cost (Mt $8^{19ff.}$). Within this company He formed an inner circle of twelve, who left all for His sake, and with a few breaks were found constantly at His side. The call of Simon and Andrew, James and John (Mk $1^{16ff.}$), is related to have occurred in the first days of the Galilæan ministry. An early Christian tradition (Ep. Barn. 5)

JESUS CHRIST

speaks of the Apostles as reclaimed sinners of the worst type, but this is manifestly an exaggeration designed to illustrate the regenerative power of the gospel. The leading members of the band were fishermen—of a craft which is pursued under a sense of dependence on Providence, and therefore tends to foster the spirit of piety. The sons of Zebedee seem to have been in better circumstances than the rest, and Matthew the tax-gatherer doubtless wielded a competent pen; but they were ignorant men as tested by the standard of the schools, whether ancient or modern. Humility, sincerity, and prudence, coupled with trust in God and devotion to Himself, were the qualifications which chiefly guided Jesus in selecting them (Mt $10^{5ff.}$ 16^{17}). In calling the Apostles, Jesus was satisfying a need of His own inner life. It was a maxim of the Rabbis that it was a sin to have no friend with whom to discourse of the Divine Law, and for Jesus this opportunity was provided by their intimate converse. It is also evident that He was wont to feel strengthened by their sympathy (Mk 14^{37}). On the other hand, He needed them for the work of the Kingdom. It was necessary that in them the righteousness of the Kingdom should be personally manifested, so that men might see their good works and glorify the Father (Mt 5^{16}). For this reason we find that it becomes increasingly the peculiar care of Jesus to perfect their training in knowledge and in character. He also looked to them as instruments to aid Him in His work.

'To the disciples were left the details of the daily provision of food; they furnished the boat, they rowed Him across the lake; sometimes one and sometimes another of them executed His commissions; they were His channels of communication with the people, with the sick, with the Pharisees' (Keim, iii. p. 280).

They were to Jesus 'arms and eyes,' and even in a sense 'an extended personality.' He assigned to them powers and duties similar to His own. He appointed 'twelve that they might be with him, and that he might send them forth to preach and to have authority to cast out devils' (Mk $3^{14f.}$). 'And they went out and preached that men should repent. And they cast out many devils, and anointed with oil many that were sick and healed them' ($6^{12.\ 13}$).

(*c*) *The opposition and self-vindication.*—Two sections in Mk., with parallels in Mt. and Lk., are devoted to explaining why certain classes refused to believe in Jesus, and to showing how He replied to their objections. The charges may be reduced to three heads—blasphemy, irreligious conduct, and insanity.

(i) The charge of *blasphemy* was early brought against Jesus by certain of the scribes, on the ground that He professed to forgive sins (Mk 2^{7}). The reply of Jesus is that in healing the paralytic He gives evidence that He has received this authority from God. The same general charge is implied in the request of the Pharisees, 'seeking of Him a sign from heaven, tempting him' (8^{11})—the ground taken being that it was impious to teach as He did, unless He could produce satisfying evidence of a Divine sanction. Had the Evangelist edited his material with inventive licence, we should have expected to this question the same reply as was sent to John the Baptist. Instead, we have the startlingly authentic word, 'Why doth this generation seek a sign? There shall no sign be given' (v.^{12}). It is incredible that this should mean that Jesus disc'aimed to work miracles; but it certainly implies that He did not, and probably that He could not, when He was challenged to perform them out of connexion with moral conditions, and as a mere contribution to a controversy.

(ii) *Irreligious conduct.*—There are charges of sins of omission and of sins of commission. Among the sins of omission charged against Jesus is His neglect of fasting—a recognized exercise of the holy life, which had been enforced by John the Baptist (Mk 2^{18}). The reply is that there is a time to fast, and that the time will come for His disciples when their Master is taken away (vv.$^{19.\ 20}$). To the same category belongs the accusation which was preferred by the Pharisees and certain of the scribes, that some of His disciples neglected the laws of ceremonial purity and ate with unwashed hands ($7^{1ff.}$). Jesus replies that defilement consists in the impure heart, which is the source of all evil (v.^{20}). Of the sins of commission the chief transgression charged was that He and His disciples did not keep the Sabbath (2^{23-28}), and He defended Himself by appealing to OT precedent, and by laying down the principle that the Sabbath law could not be broken by doing good to man on that day. It was also a common ground of accusation that His manner of life, especially His consorting with disreputable persons, stamped Him as wanting in the character of sanctity (2^{16}). He replied that He visited them as a physician (v.^{17}).

(iii) The charge of *insanity* was also made. The Evangelist does not shrink from recording that some of His friends thought that He was beside Himself (Mk 3^{21}). Scribes from Jerusalem repeated this in the form that He was the tool of diabolical influences (v.^{22}). 'How can Satan,' He asked, 'cast out Satan?' (v.^{23}).

(*d*) *The attitude of Jesus Himself to the Messiahship.*—While the Synoptics labour to show by accumulated proofs that Jesus was the Messiah, they do not represent Him as obtruding the claim. On the contrary, He enjoins silence upon those who know. He forbids the spirits to testify (1^{25}), He even takes steps to keep secret the notable miracles—such as the healing of the leper (1^{44}), and the raising of the daughter of Jairus (5^{43}), which would have been likely to carry conviction to the general mind. The impression which is conveyed is that Jesus desired that His disciples, without being prompted, and as the result of their knowledge of Him, should draw the right inference as to His dignity and mission. Even when the grand discovery was made and proclaimed by Peter at Cæsarea Philippi—and in all the Gospels this confession is recognized as momentous—Jesus enjoined reserve (Mk 8^{27-30}, Mt $16^{13ff.}$). Henceforward, He spoke of it freely to the Twelve with the purpose of preparing them for the unexpected issue of His Messiahship in suffering and death. Following upon Peter's confession, 'He began to teach them that he must suffer many things, and be killed, and on the third day rise again' (Mk 8^{31}). The same was the burden of His teaching on the last journey through Galilee (9^{30-32}). These predictions of His Passion, it may be added, were manifestly precious to the Primitive Church as removing a stumbling-block in the way of believing the Messiahship. The Crucifixion was a very real difficulty to faith, but it would have been much greater had not the Apostolic witnesses testified that He who claimed to be the Messiah had also foretold His own death.

(*e*) *The results of the Galilæan ministry.*—The Synoptic tradition, while not concealing the darker side of the picture, is most concerned with the achievements and the gains of the Galilæan period. It is well known that, as Jesus foretold, much of the seed fell on bad soil or came to nothing. We read of a Woe pronounced by Jesus on Chorazin and Bethsaida which expresses a sense that He had failed to produce a general change for the better in the cities by the Lake (Mt $11^{20ff.}$). Luke, in particular, puts in the forefront His rejection by the people of His own town (Lk 4^{28-30}). But as the Primitive Christians looked back on it, it might well seem, in the light of later confidence and optimism, that the success was more conspicuous than the failure. The people reverenced in Him One of superlative greatness—either the Baptist, or Elijah, or 'the prophet' (Mk 8^{28}). He had gathered round Him a body of disciples, who were the germ of the future Church (Mt 16^{18}). Above all, they had risen, in spite of prejudice and opposition, to a heroic avowal of the faith in His Person and in His mission which was to move and to transform the world (Mk 8^{29}).

The epic treatment of the Galilæan ministry.—In the treatment of this period many modern 'Lives' proceed on the footing that the Galilæan ministry has the tragic interest of a splendid failure following on the brightest hopes. It has been common enough in public life for great men to sink from popularity through conflict, to neglect and impotence; and there is not a little to suggest that it was so with Jesus in Galilee. The usual representation is that, after being borne along on a tide of popular enthusiasm, the opposition grew more persistent and envenomed, He was forsaken by the multitude, and was forced to move from place to place with a handful of faithful followers. The dramatic effect is sedulously laboured by Keim, who represents Him as becoming a homeless fugitive, seeking safety from His enemies in distant journeys or in obscure places. Graphic pictures are drawn of the change in the popular attitude. 'Formerly the multitude of hearers thronged Jesus, so that He could not eat in the house in peace, and had to betake Himself from the shore to the lake. Now He sits alone in the house with the disciples, and the collectors of the Temple-tax know not whether they are to assess Him as still a member of their community' (O. Holtzmann, *Christus*, 1907, p. 71). In explanation of His desertion by the multitude, use is made of the incident recorded in Mk $7^{1ff.}$, which, it is thought, was popularly regarded as meaning that He had been definitely repudiated by the highest religious tribunal. The latter, it is supposed, moved the Galilæan 'authorities' to action which menaced the liberty of Jesus, and even His life.

This dramatic treatment is not wholly justified by the records, and is to some extent dependent on inherent probability. In the idyllic early days, when we are told that only the first murmurs of opposition were heard, Mk. says that the cry of blasphemy and of Sabbath-breaking was already raised against Jesus, and that there was a conspiracy to murder Him (3^6). At the close of the period, again, when He is pictured as a discredited popular hero, the verdict of Galilee still is that He is a Divine messenger (8^{28}), while at the Transfiguration, which falls in the darkest days, a great multitude still attends upon His steps (9^{4}). The truth would seem to be that the Synoptics, especially Mk., have given insufficient expression to the element of movement and to the proportion of failure, and that modern biographers have striven too much after strong effects. At the same time the modern work has certainly brought into clearer relief certain points. It seems certain that there was a growing bitterness and violence on the part of the religious authorities, as seen in the fact that Jesus ceased to preach in the synagogues. There was also a measure of popular disappointment, which was the inevitable result of the absence of the patriotic note from the teaching of Jesus, and of the high-pitched spirituality of His demands. Jesus, moreover, regarded the response of Galilee to His preaching as having been representatively given, and as tantamount to a refusal to repent and believe the gospel. As to the motive of the journeys of the last months, there are various considerations to be taken into account. That one motive was to avoid the machinations of His enemies is quite possible, as this would have been in accordance with a counsel given by Him to His disciples (Mt 10^{23}). But this was quite consonant with a purpose to proclaim the gospel in regions hitherto unevangelized. And if, as is true, there is little evidence that these journeys had a missionary aim, it may well be that for Jesus the most pressing necessity now was to devote Himself to the training of the disciples, and in their society to prepare them, along with Himself, for the trials and the tasks that awaited them at Jerusalem.

Theories of development.—It is characteristic of the modern writing of history to postulate a process of evolution and to try to explain its causes; and reference may here be made to the treatment from this point of view of the central theme of the period—the Messianic consciousness of Jesus. The Gospels know of development only in the form of a growth in the faith of the disciples, and of a modification of the educative method of Jesus; but the question is raised whether the original plan of Jesus, and the means by which He proposed to accomplish it, were not also altered during its course. The theories which may be noticed are those of (1) a modification of His earlier ideas under the influence of John the Baptist; (2) the substitution of the idea of a purely spiritual Kingdom for that of a theocratic State, under the impression which had been made upon Him by the providential course of events; (3) His more complete adoption, also as the outcome of experience, of the Apocalyptic conception of a heavenly Kingdom to be founded on the ruins of the earthly world.

(1) The Galilæan ministry which has been described is supposed by Renan to represent a declension from an earlier stage. He supposes that for some months, perhaps a year, previously, Jesus had laboured in Galilee as the teacher of a simple gospel of Divine and human love. On joining John the Baptist He absorbed his ideas and his spirit, and after the arrest of the latter began to publish a new message 'Jesus is no longer simply a delightful moralist, aspiring to express simple lessons in short and lively aphorisms, He is the transcendent revolutionary who essays to revolutionize the world from its very basis, and to establish on earth an ideal which He had conceived' (*Life of Jesus*, Eng tr p 106). It is clear, as already said, that a time came when Jesus became certain of His Messianic vocation; but that He was already engaged in teaching before He came into contact with the Baptist, there is no evidence whatever. And 'the Galilæan spring-tide,' as Keim calls it, certainly does not bear out the idea that the influence of the Baptist had tinged the spirit of Jesus with gloom.

(2) According to Hase, the experiences of the Galilæan ministry led to a modification of the hopes and plans of Jesus. At the outset He expected to found a Kingdom such as the OT prophets had foretold, viz. a Kingdom which, while distinguished by piety and righteousness, would be in form a glorious revival of the Kingdom of David. He also hoped that the people as a whole would repent and believe the gospel, and accept Him as the great emancipator. 'Down to the time when His earthly career was approaching the catastrophe, we never hear a rebuke of the worldly hopes which the Messianic idea everywhere called forth; and, on the other hand, He spoke of the Apostles as sitting on thrones, judging the twelve tribes of Israel, and answered questions of the disciples about places of supreme honour and power.' 'But when, in view of the falling away of the people, His earthly destruction seemed impending, He recognized it to be the purpose of God, and made it His own purpose to establish only a spiritual Kingdom in loyal hearts, and left it to the wonder-working energy of His Heavenly Father to make it grow into a world-power' (*Gesch. Jesu*[2], 517 ff.). This construction derives a certain plausibility from the fact that it seems to be a general law of Providence that God only gradually reveals His purpose to His chosen instruments, and that the founding and reformation of religions has seldom been carried out in accordance with a predetermined plan. But apart from the doctrinal difficulty of supposing that Jesus was ignorant of a matter so vital, the weight of the historical evidence is against the hypothesis. The story of the Temptation makes it clear that Jesus from the beginning rejected the idea of a Messiahship resting on a basis of political power. He was, moreover, too deeply versed in OT history not to know the usual fate of the prophets. An early saying is preserved, in which He compared the Galilæan spring-tide to a wedding which would be followed by bereavement and mourning (Mk $2^{19.\ 20}$).

(3) A more recent phase of the discussion was initiated by Baldensperger (*Das Selbstbewusstsein Jesu*, 1888), who made use of the ideas of the Jewish Apocalyptic literature to explain the later teaching of Jesus. He differs from Hase in that he holds that the political ideal was completely rejected in the wilderness, and that during the Galilæan period Jesus made prominent the spiritual nature of the Kingdom—although not knowing when and how it was to be realized. At the later date, when the fatal issue became probable, He would welcome the thought of His death as solving many difficulties, while He more fully appropriated the current Apocalyptic ideas of the Kingdom, and promised to return in the clouds to establish by supernatural means a Kingdom of a heavenly pattern. The interesting fact brought out by this line of investigation is that in His Messianic utterances Jesus applied to Himself, to a much greater extent than was formerly supposed, the contemporary Jewish conceptions about the Messiah, the manner of His advent, and the exercise of His power. But the attempt so to enter into His consciousness as to trace a development in His attitude towards these ideas is too speculative to be readily endorsed.

At the opposite pole is the theory of Wrede (*Das Messiasgeheimniss*, 1901), who denies that Jesus ever claimed to be the Messiah, and regards the relative passages, and also the injunctions to secrecy, as fiction. But even the Resurrection would not have created the belief in the Messiahship had Jesus not made the claim in life (Jülicher, *Neue Linien*, 1906, p. 23).

(B) The Judæan Ministry.—In seeking to follow the footsteps of Jesus after His departure from Galilee, we have to choose between the Synoptics and the Fourth Gospel. All that the former directly tell us is that He next entered upon a mission in Judæa and beyond Jordan, Mk 10^{1} ('Judæa beyond Jordan,' Mt 19^{1}), and that after an undefined interval He travelled by way of Jericho, with a company, to keep the last Passover in Jerusalem. According to the Fourth Gospel, the Peræan sojourn was only an episode in a Southern

ministry which extended over six months, and of which the scene was laid mainly in Jerusalem. There can be little doubt that at this point the Fourth Gospel is in possession of reliable information. Mk. and Mt. are very vague in their notices, and Lk. uses the journey to Jerusalem (9^{51}–18^{14}) as the framework of a mass of material which obviously belongs to a number of different places and times. It is to be noticed that there are incidental references in Mk. and Lk. which imply that there were visits to Jerusalem before the end—notably the incident at the inhospitable Samaritan village, which may well have occurred when Jesus went up on an earlier occasion from Galilee (Lk 9^{51-55}; cf. 17^{11-19}). We may hold, as Tatian held, that the Fourth Gospel misplaces important events, and even that events of the Judæan ministry are altogether ante-dated; but it seems certain that it is right in placing a mission to Jerusalem immediately after the closing scenes in Galilee. Apart from the confidence and circumstantiality of the report, there are various considerations which make it probable that He proceeded to Jerusalem. For Jesus Himself, with His knowledge of the destined end, felt the necessity of bringing things to a decisive issue. He was straitened till His baptism should be accomplished (12^{50}). From the point of view of the disciples, who could not believe in the tragic event, it was natural to expect Him to lay before the religious leaders and the people of the capital the evidence that had created their own faith. We also hear of a natural taunt of those who believed not. Why hesitate to submit the case to those who are really competent to judge? (Jn 7^{4}). On the other hand, there are facts which are difficult to explain on the supposition that Jesus only arrived in Jerusalem a few days before the Crucifixion. The knowledge and the hatred of His enemies disclosed in the last week, point to earlier collisions, and an earlier ministry of some duration seems clearly implied in the words, 'How often would I have gathered thy children together, even as a hen gathereth her chickens under her wings, and ye would not!' (Mt 23^{37}).

(1) *Sequence of events.*—At the Feast of Tabernacles, which fell in the third week of the month Tishri (Sept.–Oct.), Jesus appeared in Jerusalem, where He taught and disputed in the courts of the Temple, making many disciples (Jn 8^{30}). The healing of the man blind from his birth belongs to this time. After a brief retirement (8^{59}), He returned to the Feast of Dedication (10^{22}) on the last week of the ninth month (Nov.–Dec.), when His claims and rebukes led to a threat of stoning, and to plans for His arrest ($10^{31.\ 39}$). He next withdrew beyond Jordan, where His ministry met with much success (Jn 10^{40-42}, with which matter in Mk 10, Mt 19. 20, Lk 18^{15}–19^{27} may be parallel). Hence He returns to Bethany on hearing of the sickness of Lazarus, whom He raises from the dead (Jn 11^{1-46}). Next follows a sojourn with His disciples at Ephraim, a town supposed to be in the N.E. of Judæa (11^{54}). The narratives are combined by the hypothesis that from Ephraim He proceeded to join the train of Galilæan pilgrims—probably at Jericho (Mk 10^{46}, Mt 20^{29}, Lk 18^{35}); and that in their company He made His last journey to Jerusalem. He arrived on the Friday, before the beginning of the Jewish Sabbath, and lodged at Bethany (Jn 12^{1}).

(2) *The Johannine picture.*—In passing from the Synoptics to the Fourth Gospel we are conscious of many differences. In contrast to the free movement of act and speech, there is something stereotyped in the way in which events develop and arguments are sustained. In place of the vividness and the rich variety of the Synoptic discourses, we have the frequent recurrence of a few themes, and the iteration and exemplification of the fundamental ideas of the Gospel. But what is most noticeable is that, while with the Synoptics the Messiahship of Jesus is a secret which is spoken of only after a great venture of faith in the Apostolic circle, there is here no evidence whatever of reserve. The confession of Peter is mentioned (6^{69}), but many have known Him before,—Andrew as far back as the Baptism (1^{41}). Moreover, the point of most of the discourses delivered by Jesus is that He is the Messiah, and more than the Messiah, and that His claim rests upon the strongest authentication. That this was the burden of His teaching after Cæsarea Philippi, we may well believe, for it is quite in accordance with the situation disclosed by the Synoptics at the close of the Galilæan ministry, that Jesus, after being assured of the faith of the Apostles, should have proceeded to urge His claim in the boldest and most public way. But for the same reason it is difficult to believe that the discourses connected with earlier visits to Jerusalem, which contain the same message, are properly dated. The interview with Nicodemus, as well as the cleansing of the Temple, may well belong to the later phase of the ministry; and the story of the woman of Samaria may be an incident of the journey from Galilee to the Feast of Tabernacles. The supposition that the Fourth Gospel has interwoven with the Galilæan period events which all belong to the one Judæan ministry of the last six months seems to the writer to go far to lighten the difficulties of the harmonist, and to make it possible to profit, without being misled, by its history.

(*a*) *The self-witness of Jesus.*—He publicly claims to be the Messiah. 'If thou art the Christ, tell us plainly.' 'Jesus answered them, I told you, and ye believed not, ($10^{24.\ 25}$; cf. 9^{35-37}). There is also developed a high doctrine of His origin and primordial dignity. He is from God (7^{29}); He is before Abraham was (8^{58}); He and the Father are one (10^{30})—which last is interpreted to mean that being a man, He makes Himself God (v.^{33}). Proportional to His dignity are the blessings which He bestows—repose and refreshment of soul (7^{37}; cf. 4^{14}), true life (5^{40}), spiritual freedom (8^{32}), resurrection and life everlasting (11^{25}).

(*b*) *The proof of Christ's claim.*—To the repeated demand for corroboration Jesus appeals to God as His witness. The source of His doctrine, God also attests its truth (8^{18}). In this connexion the healing of the blind man (ch. 7) is thought of as decisive: 'When the Christ shall come,' the multitude ask, 'will he do more signs than those which this man hath done?' (v.^{31}). His Divine mission, it is further declared, is accredited by His disinterested zeal for God's glory ($8^{49.\ 50}$). On the other hand, great stress is laid on the fact that the attitude to Christ is determined by the spirit and the life of those who come in contact with Him. Those who are of the truth instinctively recognize Him for what He is, as the sheep know the voice of their shepherd (10^{4}, cf. 18^{37}). To a good man Christ is self-evidencing. 'If any man willeth to do his will, he shall know of the teaching whether it be of God' (7^{17}).

(*c*) *The explanation of the Passion.*—He speaks of His sufferings and death not merely to His disciples, but to the half-believing (3^{14}), and before the multitude (10^{1-20}). The points of view under which the Passion is presented are that it is not an evidence of God's rejection, but an act of self-surrender which calls forth the Father's love (10^{17}), that death comes in the line of the vocation of a good shepherd ($10^{11ff.}$), that it is His own voluntary act (10^{18}), and that it is at once the ground of salvation ($3^{14f.}$) and the secret of the gospel's spell (12^{32}).

(*d*) *The response of the hearers.*—The Fourth Gospel shows us Jesus surrounded by three classes—a band of believers, the multitude which, though divided and wavering, is deeply impressed, and the religious leaders who regard Him with hatred or contempt. The charges, as in Galilee, are mainly Sabbath-breaking (7^{23}) and blasphemous utterances (10^{33}); and the attempt is made further to discredit Him as unlearned (7^{15}) and a Galilæan (v.^{41}). Finally, a definite resolution is formed to destroy Him. What brought matters to a head, according to this Gospel, was the raising of

Lazarus, which produced a popular excitement that portended the acceptance of Jesus as the Messiah, and gave reason to fear the infliction of the most severe retribution by the Romans (11[48]).

11. The week of the Passion.—A view may be given of the probable order of events between the arrival of Jesus in Bethany on the eve of the Sabbath and the Crucifixion.

Saturday: the supper in the house of Simon the leper (Jn 12[1ff.], Mk 14[3ff.]).

Sunday: the triumphal entry into Jerusalem (Mk 11[1-10]||), visit to the Temple, return to Bethany (Mk 11[11]).

Monday: visit to Jerusalem, the cursing of the fig-tree (Mk 11[12-14]), the cleansing of the Temple (Mk 11[15-18]||), return to Bethany (v.[19]).

Tuesday: visit to Jerusalem, teaching in the Temple, interrogation by members of the Sanhedrin (Mk 11[27-33]||), Pharisees (12[13-17]||), and Sadducees (12[18-27]||), and others; parables (Mk 12[1-12]||); return to Bethany.

Wednesday: visit to Jerusalem, denunciation of the Pharisees (Mk 12[38-40]||), discourse on the last things (Mk 13[5-37]||), deliberations of the Sanhedrin (14[1]), the overtures of Judas (14[10]), return to Bethany.

Thursday: preparation for the Passover (Mk 14[12-16]), the Last Supper (14[17-26]||) the Agony (14[32-42]||), the betrayal and the arrest (14[43ff.]||).

The chief difficulties presented by the narratives may be briefly noticed. (α) The Synoptists make the triumphal entry take place on the arrival of Jesus with the pilgrims from Galilee (Mk 11[1ff.]), while according to John it was arranged while Jesus was staying at Bethany (12[1. 12]). (β) The anointing in Bethany, which is seemingly placed by Mk. (14[1]) two days before the Passover, is expressly dated by Jn. (12[1]) six days before the Passover. (γ) The day of our Lord's death, according to all accounts, was on the Friday; but while the Synoptics make this to have been the Passover day, or the 15th Nisan (Mk 14[12. 17]), the Fourth Gospel represents it as the day before the Feast of the Passover (13[1]), or the 14th Nisan. In each of these cases there is reason to believe that the Fourth Gospel is accurate. As regards the day of our Lord's death, it is unlikely that the Passover day, which had the sanctity of a Sabbath, would have been profaned by the Jewish authorities engaging in business, while the evidence of haste in carrying out the crucifixion points to the same conclusion.

(1) *The activity of Jesus.*—In agreement with the general view of the Judæan ministry given in the Fourth Gospel, the work of Jesus during the last week falls mainly under the point of view of an affirmation of His Messiahship in deed and word. Naturally, also, His mind is turned to the future, and His discourses set forth the power and glory reserved for the crucified Messiah in the counsels of God. The explanation and vindication of His mission have their counterpart in an attack upon the principles of those who had rejected Him and who were plotting His destruction.

(i) *The Messianic acts.*—The triumphal entry, in which Jesus was offered and accepted the homage of the multitude (Mk 11[1ff.]), is decisive evidence that He made the claim to be the Messiah. Evidently, also, there is a natural connexion between the public assumption of His dignity and the cleansing of the Temple. According to one account, Jesus proceeded immediately after His triumphal entry to carry out the reform of the Temple of God (Mt 21[12. 13]).

(ii) *The Messianic discourses.*—The burden of the discourses in which the Messianic claim is prominent is that there awaits Him the same fate as the prophets—that He will be rejected by His people and put to death (parables of the Vineyard, Mk 12[1-12]; and the Marriage Feast, Mt 22[1-14]). But beyond this seeming failure, two vistas open up into the future. The death is the prelude to a glorious future, when Christ will return a second time, accompanied by the angels, and will have at His command all power needed for the establishment and defence of His Kingdom. For this type of teaching the main source is the so-called 'Synoptic Apocalypse' (Mk 13[5-37], Mt 24[4-36], Lk 21[8-36]), with the topics of the Day of the Son of Man, the Passover, and the Last Judgment. The other leading thought is that the guilt of the rejection of their Messiah will be terribly avenged upon the Jews in the horrors of the last days, and especially in the destruction of Jerusalem and of the Temple (Mk 13[1. 2], Mt 24[1. 2. 15ff.]).

(iii) *The polemics.*—The self-vindication of Jesus naturally involved an examination of the position of those who rejected His claim. We have already seen the nature of His replies to the detailed objections which were made to His teaching. As the crisis approaches, He advances, in the manner represented by the Fourth Gospel to be characteristic of the whole Judæan ministry, to an attack upon the religious position of His adversaries—especially of the professed saints and religious guides. Their hypocrisy, their spiritual pride, their blindness, the cupidity and cruelty which their pretended sanctity cannot wholly mask, are exposed in the most merciless invective (the Woes of Mt 23[1-36]).

(2) *Reasons for the hatred of Jesus.*—We are accustomed to think of the opposition to Jesus as due to a temporary ascendency of a diabolic element in human nature, but as a fact the hatred of the principal parties, and the murderous conspiracy in which it issued, are too easily intelligible from the point of view of average political action. The chief responsibility rests with the Sadducees, who dominated the Sanhedrin, and who set in motion the machinery of the law. As we saw, they were statesmen and ecclesiastics, and it is the recognized business of the statesman to maintain social order, of the ecclesiastic to defend the interests of an institution, by such measures as the exigencies of the case seem to demand. And if they were convinced that the popular excitement aroused by Jesus was likely to be made a pretext by the Romans for depriving them of the last vestiges of national existence (Jn 11[48]); and if, on the other hand, His reforming zeal in the Temple was an attack on one of the sources of the revenues of the priesthood (Mk 11[15-18]), they could claim that what they did was to perform an administrative act under the compulsion of higher expediency. The Pharisees, while less able to strike, exhibited a more venomous hatred. They represented the standpoint of religious conservatism; and it has been no uncommon thing, or universally censured, for men to believe that what is essential in religion is old and unchangeable, and that it is a duty to God to suppress, if necessary by violence, the intrusion of new and revolutionary ideas. And though it is true that the old, to which they clung, itself contained the promise of the new, the new approached them in such unexpected shape that the conservative spirit could feel justified in attempting to crush it. Again, political and ecclesiastical leaders depend greatly on public respect and confidence, and are moved by the instinct of self-preservation to protect themselves against those who humiliate them or threaten to supplant them. It is therefore no surprising conjunction that soon after the exposure of the religion of the scribes and Pharisees, we read of a consultation to 'take him and kill him' (Mk 14[1], Mt 26[3], Lk 20[19]). On the whole, therefore, it would appear, not indeed that the enemies of Jesus were excusable, but that they were so closely representative of normal ways of judging and acting in public life as to involve mankind, as such, in the guilt of the plot which issued in the death of Jesus.

(3) *The preparation of a case.*—Unless resort was to be had to assassination, it was necessary to frame a capital charge which could be substantiated before a legal tribunal, and a series of attempts were made at this time to extract from Jesus statements which could be used for this purpose. To convict Him of blasphemy might be sufficient, but as the consent of the Roman authorities had to be procured to the death penalty, it was an obvious advantage to have the charge of sedition in reserve. The first question, evidently

framed by the Sanhedrin, was as to His authority (Mk 11^{27-33}‖). If we may believe the Fourth Gospel, He had often enough claimed to be from God, and to speak the things which the Father had showed Him; but He refuses to fall in with their design, and puts a question about John the Baptist which reduces them to confusion. It is quite probable that the incident of the woman taken in adultery (Jn 7^{53}–8^{11}) occurred at the same time—the intention being to compromise Jesus by eliciting a merciful judgment which would have the character of the repudiation of a Mosaic commandment. Jesus avoided the snare—inasmuch as He did not challenge the law which visited adultery with death, but at the same time made an appeal to the consciences of the accusers which constrained them to fall away from the charge. The question about the lawfulness of paying tribute to Cæsar (Mk 12^{13-17}‖) was designed to procure a deliverance which would support the charge of treason. The answer of Jesus clearly meant that He regarded the Roman rule as part of the providential order which He did not propose to disturb, while yet it implied that there was a region into which the authority of Rome did not extend. While this answer baulked the immediate purpose of His questioners, it may be that it so far served their end as to damp the popular enthusiasm with which He had been welcomed to Jerusalem. The question of the Sadducees about re-marriage and immortality (Mk 12^{18-27}) does not seem to have had any more serious purpose than to make a sceptical point; while the question of the scribe touching the first commandment of all likewise appears to have lain outside of the plot ($12^{28ff.}$‖).

(4) *The maturing of the plan.*—On the Wednesday a meeting of the Sanhedrin was held in the house of Caiaphas (Mt 26^{3}; cf. Mk 14^{1}), at which it was resolved to apprehend Jesus. It was of importance to avoid a tumult, and they found a welcome instrument in Judas, who could undertake to guide them to His place of retirement (Mk $14^{10.\ 11}$). It is suggested in all accounts that the motive was mercenary (Mk 14^{11}; cf. Jn 12^{6}), but it is also implied that Judas was beside himself when he lent himself to such an act of treachery (Lk 22^{3}, Jn 13^{27}). Many moderns, following De Quincey, have thought that the action of Judas was intended to force Jesus to put forth His power. It would thus be of a kind with the policy of Themistocles when he knew that the Greek fleet could conquer if driven into a corner, and sent a seemingly treacherous message to the Persians urging them to advance to the attack. It is more probable that Judas was a patriotic fanatic who could not reconcile himself to the new conception of the Messiah, and now judged it to be a lost cause.

12. The Last Supper.—The Wednesday night, as before, was passed at Bethany. On the forenoon of the Thursday Jesus sent two of His disciples into the city, to bespeak a room from one of His friends, and to make the necessary preparation for the Paschal meal. The chronological difficulty already referred to is best surmounted by supposing that Jesus in partaking of the Passover with His disciples anticipated by a day the regular celebration. The matters recorded are the feet-washing (Jn $13^{1ff.}$), the announcement of the betrayal (Mk 14^{18-21}‖), the institution of the sacrament of the Lord's Supper (Mk 14^{22-25}, Mt 26^{26-29}, Lk 22^{15-20}, 1 Co $11^{23ff.}$), and the farewell discourses (Jn 14–17).

13. The Institution of the Lord's Supper.—It was in accordance with a deeply human instinct that Jesus, knowing the hour of separation to be at hand, desired to celebrate in the company of His disciples, whom He sometimes called His children, the most solemn domestic observance of OT religion (Lk 22^{15}). It was further in agreement with His method of teaching that, in distributing to them bread and wine, He should have given to the act the significance of a parable and made it to testify of spiritual things (Mk $14^{22ff.}$).

In the older period of controversy the questions agitated were of a kind which could be settled only by high doctrinal considerations, but there has been a recent discussion of the whole subject, conducted on literary and historical grounds, in which the following questions have been raised. (1) Did Jesus intend to institute a rite which should be repeated among His followers as the sacrament of the Lord's Supper? The main reason for denying it is that there is no injunction to repeat it in Mk. or Mt., or in the oldest text of Lk., and that we are thus thrown back on St. Paul as the sole authority. Some have therefore thought of the Apostle, who was familiar with the power of mysteries, as the founder of the institution (P. Gardner, *The Origin of the Lord's Supper*, 1893). But the recollection of its repetition as a sacrament goes back to the earliest days of the Church (Ac $2^{42.\ 46}$); and, besides, it is incredible that 'a usage which was practically the invention of St. Paul could have spread from an outlying Gentile Church over the whole of Christendom' (Sanday, *Outlines*).

(2) Are the elements of bread and wine an essential part of the observance? It has been contended by Harnack (*TU* vii. 2) that in the primitive usage the only constant element was bread, and that water was frequently, if not commonly, used in place of wine. If a liberty is to be allowed with the original institution, there is less to be said in favour of unfermented wine, which destroys the symbolism, than of water, which was expressly used by our Lord as an emblem of the highest blessings which He bestows (Jn 4^{14} 7^{37}).

(3) How was the sacrament intended to be observed? Was it intended to become an element in a purely religious service, or to be grafted as an actual meal upon the social life of a community? It was certainly instituted in connexion with a common meal; in Apostolic times it followed on, if it was not identical with, the Agape; and this mode of observance continued to be popular, as Augustine attests, down to the fifth century. But, while there may be reason to regret that a mode of observance ceased which was calculated to have a hallowing influence in the sphere of social intercourse, now almost entirely secularized, we must believe with St. Paul that the primitive association of it with a common supper entailed the greater danger of secularizing, and even profaning, the sacrament (1 Co $11^{21.\ 22}$).

(4) What meaning did Jesus intend the sacrament to convey? In recent discussion it has been conceived as essentially predictive in character—*i.e.* as a foretaste of the communion which the disciples would enjoy with their Master in the future Kingdom of Heaven. Its central lesson has also been declared to be that food and drink when rightly used are a means of grace—that they become 'the food of the soul when partaken of with thanksgiving, in memory of Christ's death' (Harnack). Without denying to these suggestions an element of truth, it may be firmly held that the average thought of the Church has more nearly divined the meaning of Jesus in interpreting it as a parable of salvation through His sacrifice. The bread and wine were symbols of the strength and joy which Christ bestowed through His life-giving gospel, and He desired His death to be remembered as the sacrifice which in some way ratified and ushered in the new dispensation (Mk 14^{24}).

The attitude of the Fourth Gospel to the Lord's Supper is enigmatical. It relates the incident of the feet-washing ($13^{2ff.}$), and furnishes in another context a discourse which has the aspect of containing the sacramental teaching of the Gospel ($6^{5ff.}$). It is incredible that there was a purpose of denying the institution of the ordinance by Christ, but it may well be that the Fourth Gospel intended to emphasize the truth that 'eating of the flesh and drinking of the blood' of Christ is a spiritual act which is not tied exclusively to the rite of the Lord's Supper.

14. The inner life of Jesus during the period.—The soul of Jesus was agitated by a succession of deep and conflicting emotions. Amid the hosannas of the triumphal entry He wept over Jerusalem (Lk 19^{41}). In pain and wrath He contended with His enemies, and in the intervals of conflict He spoke of a peace which the world could not take away, and uttered words of thanksgiving and joy. He was gladdened by tokens of faith and devotion from His followers (Jn 12^{3}), and He was also wounded in the house of His friends, when one of the Twelve became the tool of His enemies, and even Peter's faith failed. More and more exclusively He felt Himself thrown for sympathy on the unseen

presence of the Father (16[32]). 'Every night he went out, and lodged in the mount that is called the mount of Olives' (Lk 21[37]). He probably spent the night in the open air and gave hours of vigil to the duty, which He now so earnestly enforced, of watching and praying. It was to look around and before, and to look upward to the Father, that He left the supper-room and 'went unto a place called Gethsemane' (Mk 14[32-42]). It may well be that there were many thoughts that burdened His mind in the Agony, but the plain sense of the narrative is that He prayed that He might be enabled, in some other way than through shame and death, to accomplish the work which had been given Him. Being truly man, He could shrink from the impending ordeal of humiliation and suffering, and ask to be spared; being the perfect Son, He added, 'howbeit not what I will, but what thou wilt' (v.[36]). 'To such a prayer the only possible answer was that He received from the Father the assurance that according to His holy and loving counsel there was no other possible way' (Weiss, ii. 500). Then He arose and went forward to meet the armed band which Judas had guided through the darkness to His retreat.

15. The Passion.—*The order of events.*—

The arrest, in Gethsemane on the Thursday, some time before midnight (Mk 14[43-52] Mt 26[47-56] Lk 22[47-53], Jn 18[1-12]).

Removal to the palace of the high priest, private examination by Annas (Jn 18[13ff.]).

Trial in the early morning before the Sanhedrin, meeting in the high priest's palace, and presided over by Caiaphas, condemnation and buffeting (Mk 14[53-65], Mt 26[57-68], Lk 22[66-71]), Peter's denial (Mk 14[66-72]‖).

Trial before Pilate at daybreak, probably in the Fort of Antonia (Mk 15[2-5], Mt 27[11-14], Lk 23[2-5], Jn 18[33-38]).

Jesus before Herod (Lk 23[6-12]).

The Roman trial resumed, the sentence, the mocking, and the scourging (Mk 15[6-20], Mt 27[15-30], Lk 23[13-25], Jn 18[39] 19[16]).

The journey to the Cross (Mk 15[20-23], Mt 27[31-34], Lk 23[26-32], Jn 19[16b. 17]).

The Crucifixion, beginning at 9 A.M. (Mk 15[25]), or after noon-day (Jn 19[14]); death and burial (Mk 15[34-47], Mt 27[46-61], Lk 23[44-56], Jn 19[28-42]).

The primary source is the narrative in Mk., which, however, becomes meagre and somewhat external in its report of the events subsequent to Peter's fall. The author of the Fourth Gospel claims to have had opportunities for a more intimate view of things (Jn 18[15]), and as a fact gives illuminating information about the more secret proceedings of the authorities. Lk. adds some incidents, notably the appearance before Herod.

(1) *The trials.*—In the Jewish trial there are usually distinguished two stages—a private examination before Annas (Jn 18[13ff.]), and the prosecution before the Sanhedrin under the presidency of Caiaphas (Mk 14[53]). There is, moreover, reason to suppose that the second of these was a meeting of a committee of the Sanhedrin held during the night, or of the Sanhedrin meeting as a committee, and that it was followed by a regular session of the Council at daybreak, at which the provisional finding was formally ratified (Mk 15[1]).

(i) *The examination before Annas.*—Annas, who had been deposed from the high priesthood twenty years before, continued to be the *de facto* leader of the Council, and it was natural for him to wish to see Jesus, with a view to putting matters in train. In reply to his question about His disciples and His teaching, Jesus asked him to call his witnesses—the point being that according to Jewish law a man was held to be innocent, and even unaccused, until hostile witnesses had stated their case.

(ii) *The trial before the Sanhedrin.*—At the subsequent meeting of the Council the ordinary procedure was followed, and the indictment was made by witnesses. The charge which they brought forward was a constructive charge of blasphemy, founded on the statement that He had attacked sacred institutions in threatening to destroy the Temple (Mk 14[58]). The evidence not being consistent (v.[59]), the high priest appealed directly to Jesus to say if He claimed to be the Christ (v.[61]). Though this question was contrary to law, which forbade any one to be condemned to death on his own confession, Jesus answered 'I am.' The supernatural claim was forthwith declared, with signs of horror and indignation, to amount to blasphemy, and He was 'condemned to be worthy of death' (v.[64]). That a formal meeting of the Sanhedrin was thereafter held to ratify the judgment is implied in Mk 15[1], and was probably necessary to regularize the proceedings, as capital trials might be begun only in the daytime. (On this and cognate points, see Taylor Innes, *The Trial of Jesus Christ*, 1905.)

(iii) *The Roman trial.*—It is not quite certain whether the Sanhedrin had the right of trying a person on a capital charge; in any case, a death-sentence required to be endorsed by the Roman governor. The Jews obviously took the position that in a case of the kind it was the duty of the governor to give effect to their judgment without going into its merits; but Pilate insisted on his right to make a full review of the charge and its grounds. In this situation, against which they protested, they felt the difficulty of securing sentence on the religious charge of blasphemy, and accordingly fell back on the political charge of treason. 'They began to accuse him, saying, We found this man perverting our nation, and forbidding to give tribute to Cæsar, and saying that he himself is Christ a king' (Lk 23[2]). In reply to Pilate's question, Jesus claimed to be a king, but doubtless disarmed the governor's suspicion by some such addition as that He was a king in the realm of the truth (Jn 18[36]). Then follow three devices of Pilate to evade responsibility—the remand to the tribunal of the vassal-prince of Galilee, Herod Antipas (Lk 23[8ff.]); the proposal to scourge Him and release Him (v.[16]); and the reference to the multitude (Mk 15[6ff.]). Foiled in each attempt, he still hesitated, when the accusers put the matter in a light which overwhelmed his scruples. They threatened to complain that he had not supported them in stamping out treason (Jn 19[12]). Tiberius was known to be peculiarly sensitive on the point of *laesa majestas*, while Pilate's hands were not so clean that he could welcome any investigation; and he therefore pronounced Him guilty of sedition as the pretended king of the Jews, and delivered Him to be crucified (v.[16]). He was then scourged, dressed with mock emblems of royalty, treated with derision and insult, and led forth to the place of execution (Mk 15[16ff.]).

The action of the judges.—There has been considerable discussion of the action of the judges of Jesus from the point of view of Jewish and Roman law. That the procedure and verdict of the Jewish authorities were according to the law which they were set to administer has been ably argued by Salvador (*Hist. des Institutions de Moïse*[3], 1862), but it seems to have been shown that in the proceedings the most sacred principles of Jewish jurisprudence were violated, and that 'the process had neither the form nor the fairness of a judicial trial' (Taylor Innes, *op. cit.*). It has also been argued that, in view of the requirements of the Roman law, and of the duties of his position, Pilate was right in passing sentence of death (Fitzjames Stephen, *Liberty, Equality, Fraternity*). On this it must be said that as Pilate did not believe Jesus to be guilty of the crime imputed to Him, he must be held to have transgressed the spirit of Roman justice. On the other hand, it is true that 'the claim of Jesus was truly inconsistent with the claim of the State which Cæsar represented,' and that in sentencing Jesus to death Pilate faithfully, if unconsciously, interpreted the antagonism of the Roman Empire and the Christian religion (Taylor Innes, *op. cit.* p. 122).

(2) *The disciples in the crisis.*—The disciples made no heroic figure in the catastrophe. They took to flight at the arrest (Mk 14[50]), and Peter, who followed afar off, denied his Master with curses (v.[66ff.]). It is also significant that no attempt was made to capture the Apostles; apart from Jesus it was evidently thought that they were quite negligible. In fairness it should, however, be remembered that the two opportunities which they might have had of showing their courage were denied

them—they were forbidden by Jesus to resist when He was arrested (Mt 26[52]), and no witnesses were allowed to come forward in His defence at the trial. The beloved disciple, along with Mary, the mother of Jesus, and two other women, was present at the crucifixion (Jn 19[25]).

(3) *The bearing of Jesus.*—The words of Jesus during the last day were few. For the most part He listened to the accusations, and bore the indignities, in silence. The oldest report, while making Him testify that He suffered and died as the Messiah, represents Him as deliberately refusing to answer the false witnesses, or to plead before Pilate. The other accounts relate that He condescended, as is probable enough, to point out the iniquity of the procedure (Mt 26[55], Jn 18[21]), and to explain to Pilate the true nature of His claim (Jn 18[36]). The decision in Gethsemane gave Him the insight and the resolution that bore Him unshaken through the ordeal of the trials. He expressed the assurance that, had He asked, the Father would have delivered Him by His angels (Mt 26[53]); but He knew the Father's will, to which He had bowed, to be that, according to the Scriptures (v.[54]), He should be led as a lamb to the slaughter. What He felt towards His enemies can only be gathered from His silence—which may have had in it an element of holy scorn, but certainly also involved compassion for the blinded men who were now fixedly committed to their murderous purpose. Whether actually heard by witnesses or not, the first word on the cross (Lk 23[34]) assuredly expresses an authentic thought of Him who had taught, 'Love your enemies, and pray for them that persecute you' (Mt 5[44]). Only less striking is the self-forgetting sympathy that came to expression in the journey of Jesus to the cross, when the women bewailed and lamented Him: 'Daughters of Jerusalem, weep not for me, but weep for yourselves, and for your children' (Lk 23[28]).

(4) *The Crucifixion.*—The scene of the execution was Golgotha (Mk 15[22]), possibly so named from the skull-like contour of the eminence. Crucifixion was a form of death by torture which was reserved by the Romans for slaves and rebels, and that combined the height of ignominy with the extremity of suffering. 'Terrible were the sufferings caused by the piercing of the hands and the feet in the most sensitive parts, the extension of the limbs with their burning wounds, the impeding of the circulation of the blood, the growing oppression and exhaustion, the increasing thirst under the long-drawn mortal agonies' (Weiss, ii. 536). The indignity of such a death was heightened by the spectacle of the soldiers casting lots for His garments (Mk 15[24]), and by the taunts of His fellow-sufferers, of the multitude, and of the priests (vv.[29-32]). The narcotic draught which was usually offered to the victim, was refused by Jesus (v.[23]). For six hours, according to vv.[25. 34], His torments endured; and late in the afternoon, with a loud cry, He expired (v.[37]). The accompanying signs, according to Mk., were a darkness lasting for three hours (v.[33]), and the rending of the veil of the Temple (v.[38]), to which Mt. adds the portent—'many bodies of the saints that had fallen asleep were raised' (27[52]). Both, along with Lk. (23[47]), record a confession of faith by the Roman centurion. Jn. relates, with a solemn affirmation of the authority of an eye-witness, that a soldier 'pierced his side with a spear, and straightway there came out blood and water' (19[34]).

The Seven Words on the cross are commonly supposed to have been spoken in the following order:—

(1) 'Father, forgive them, for they know not what they do' (Lk 23[34])—assigned to the time when He was being nailed to the cross.
(2) 'To-day shalt thou be with me in Paradise' (v.[43])—spoken to the penitent robber.
(3) 'Woman, behold thy son'; 'Behold thy mother' (Jn 19[26. 27])—spoken to Mary, and to the beloved disciple.
(4) 'I thirst' (v.[28]).
(5) 'My God, my God, why hast thou forsaken me?' (Mk 15[34], Mt 27[46]).
(6) 'It is finished' (Jn 19[30]).
(7) 'Father, into thy hands I commend my spirit' (Lk 23[46]).

The 'words' are not all equally certain. On textual grounds (1) is placed by WH in double brackets, and is regarded by Weiss as unquestionably a second-century gloss. The incident of the penitent robber was unknown to the oldest tradition. Evidently there was also uncertainty as to the last utterance of Jesus. That reported by Mk.–Mt. is certainly authentic; none could have invented a saying which ascribed to Jesus a sense of desertion by the Father in the hour of death. On the other hand, the character of Jesus requires us to believe that upon the agony there supervened the filial trust and resignation which find expression in the Lukan and Johannine words.

(5) *The burial.*—There were friends of Jesus who, though powerless to resist the general will, were at least able to secure the seemly burial of the body. With Pilate's permission, Joseph of Arimathæa, with whom Nicodemus is associated (Jn 19[39]), had the corpse removed from the cross, wrapped in a linen cloth, and laid in a rock-hewn tomb—the entrance to which was closed by a great stone (Mk 15[43f.]||). Mt. adds that, at the request of the Jewish authorities, the stone was sealed, and a guard set over the tomb (27[62-66]).

16. The Resurrection.—Nothing in history is more certain than that the disciples of Jesus believed that, after being crucified, dead and buried, He rose again from the dead on the third day, and that at intervals thereafter He met and conversed with them in different places. The proof that they believed this is the existence of the Christian Church. It is simply inconceivable that the scattered and disheartened remnant could have found a rallying-point and a gospel in the memory of one who had been put to death as a criminal, if they had not believed that God had owned Him and accredited His mission in raising Him up from the dead. There are many difficulties connected with the subject, and the narratives, which are disappointingly meagre, also contain irreconcilable discrepancies; but those who approach it under the impression of the uniqueness of Christ's Person and of His claim on God, find the historical testimony sufficient to guarantee the credibility of the central fact.

(1) *The rising on the third day.*—There is a consensus of testimony in the Gospels to the following facts—that on the morning of the first day of the week certain women went to the sepulchre, that they found the stone rolled away and the grave empty, that they were informed by an angel that Jesus was risen, and that they were bidden to convey the news to the other disciples. Whether the discovery was first made by Mary Magdalene alone (Jn 20[1]), or in company with other women (Mk 16[1]); whether there was one angel (Mt 28[2]), or two (Jn 20[12]); whether fear or joy preponderated (Mk 16[8], Mt 28[8]), were points on which the report varied. A more serious discrepancy is that, according to the oldest source, the message to the disciples was that they would meet the risen Lord in Galilee (Mk 16[7], Mt 28[7]); while as a fact all the Gospels, except the mutilated Mk., proceed to narrate appearances in Jerusalem, and Lk. knows of no other. It cannot, however, be said that the inconsistency is insuperable, as Mt. has consciously combined the Galilæan promise with a reference to a preliminary appearance in Jerusalem (Mt 28[8-10]).

(2) *The places and number of the appearances.*—Subject to the possibility of confusion arising from the slightness of the allusions, the Biblical list is as follows:—

(1) To certain women as they returned from the sepulchre (Mt 28[8-10]).
(2) To Mary Magdalene on the same day (Jn 20[11-18]).
(3) To Peter, on the day of the Resurrection, in Jerusalem (Lk 24[34], 1 Co 15[5]).
(4) To two disciples on the same day on the way to Emmaus (Lk 24[13-32]; cf. Mk 16[12. 13]).

(5) To the ten Apostles on the same day in Jerusalem (Mk 16^{14-18}, Lk 24^{36-49}, Jn 20^{19-23}, 1 Co 15^{5}).
(6) To the eleven Apostles a week later in Jerusalem (Jn $20^{26.\ 29}$).
(7) To several disciples, including at least four Apostles, at the Sea of Galilee (Jn 21^{1-23}).
(8) To five hundred brethren (1 Co 15^{6}; cf. perhaps Mt 28^{16-20}).
(9) To James (1 Co 15^{7}).
(10) To the Apostles at Jerusalem before the Ascension (Lk 24^{50-52}, Ac $1^{3.\ 8}$; cf. Mk 16^{19}). St. Paul adds the appearance to himself on the way to Damascus (1 Co $15^{8\ 9}$). (Milligan, *Resurrection of our Lord*, 259–261).

The accounts present many difficulties. Why does Mt. relate the appearance in Jerusalem to the women only, and ignore the all-important manifestations to the Twelve? If, according to the message of the angel, the scene of the intercourse of the risen Lord with His disciples was to be in Galilee, why does Lk. record only appearances in Jerusalem and in the neighbourhood? Further, as the disciples are in Jerusalem eight days after the Resurrection, and again at the Ascension, it seems difficult to interpolate a return to Galilee in which the Apostles resumed their former avocations (Jn 21^{3}). It has been supposed by some that after the Crucifixion the disciples returned to Galilee, that it was among the haunts which were instinct with memories of Him that Jesus returned to them in vision, and that this older recollection, though not altogether eradicated, has been blurred in the Gospels by later manipulation. But the most certain of all the facts is that belief in the Resurrection began on the third day—which points to Jerusalem; while the difficulty about fitting the Galilæan appearances into the chronological scheme is reduced by consideration of the rapidity with which the little country could be traversed.

(3) *The mode of existence of the risen Christ.*—There are two sets of notices which are not easily combined in an intelligible conception. On the one hand, there are several statements which create the impression that Jesus resumed the same mode of bodily existence which was interrupted at His death upon the cross. The story of the empty tomb (Mk 16^{1-8}‖) meant that the body which had hung upon the cross was revivified. That it was a body of flesh and blood, capable of being handled, and sustained by food and drink—not an apparition of a spiritualistic kind,—is a point which is specially emphasized in details of the narratives (Jn 20^{27}, Lk 24^{30}). On the other hand, it is far from being a normal life in the body. His face and form have a strange aspect. He appears suddenly in the midst, the doors being shut (Jn 20^{26}), and as suddenly vanishes out of their sight (Lk 24^{31}). To this series belong the references of St. Paul, who places the appearance to himself on a level with the others, and speaks of Christ as possessing a body which is not of flesh and blood, but has been transfigured and glorified (1 Co 15^{50}, Ph 3^{21}). The explanation of the phenomena, according to Schleiermacher, is that in the one set of statements we have the matter described from the side of the risen Christ, in the other an account of the impression which He made on the disciples (*Leben Jesu*). Others conceive that while after the Resurrection He existed as a spiritual being, He yet assumed material substance and form at special moments for special purposes (Rothe, *Theologische Ethik*). The primitive theory probably was that after the Resurrection His mode of existence was the same as during the ministry, with an augmentation of the power over His body which He even then possessed (Mk 6^{45-50}), and that only at the Ascension was the body transformed. Some modern theologians hold that the body was raised from the grave as a spiritual body, others that it was gradually spiritualized in the period between the Resurrection and the Ascension. The phenomena belong to a sphere about which we cannot dogmatize.

(4) *Denial of the Resurrection.*—The negative case has two branches: (1) a critical examination of the historical evidence; (2) a hypothesis which shall explain how the Church came to believe that Jesus had risen from the dead. On the first head it has already been suggested that it is unfair to magnify the discrepancies and ignore the important consensus.

The explanations began with (1) *the theory of imposture.* The disciples, it was said, were unwilling to return to work, and in order that they might still have a message, they stole the body, and pretended that Christ had risen (Reimarus, *Von dem Zwecke Jesu u. seiner Jünger*, 1892). No one now believes that any great religion, least of all Christianity, was founded on fraud. The disciples might indeed have been themselves deceived by finding the tomb empty. Joseph of Arimathæa might have removed the body to another grave without the knowledge of the disciples (O. Holtzmann, *Leben Jesu*, 1901). But it is difficult to believe that a misapprehension so easily corrected could have been allowed to develop into the universal belief that He had been seen alive.

(2) In the school of Eighteenth Century Rationalism the favourite explanation was that Jesus *did not really die on the cross*, but revived in the cool of the sepulchre, and again appeared among His disciples (most recently Hase, *Gesch. Jesu*², 727 ff.). It is true that to escape with His life after being nailed to the cross might have been described as a resurrection from the dead; but it is incredible that the Roman soldiers should have failed to carry out the execution of a condemned man, and equally incredible that a lacerated and emaciated man, who soon afterwards died of His wounds, should have made the impression of having come off as more than a conqueror.

(3) The usual explanation now given from the naturalistic standpoint is that the appearances were *purely visionary.* Visions are common phenomena of the religious life in times of excitement; they are, moreover, often contagious, and it is supposed that they began with the women, probably with Mary Magdalene (Renan, *Life of Jesus*, Eng. tr. p. 296), and were repeated for a time in the Apostolic circle. The most weighty objections to this hypothesis are, that while in other cases the visions have followed faith, in the case before us they created it out of sorrow and despair, and also that while other visions have led to nothing considerable, these brought the Church into existence and immeasurably enriched the higher life of the world.

(4) The hypothesis of Keim is to the effect that the appearances were *real in so far that Jesus, whose spirit had returned to God, produced upon the minds of believers impressions which they interpreted as bodily manifestations.* 'Christian faith oversteps these boundaries (of the natural order), not merely in the certain assurance that Jesus took His course to the higher world of spirits, but also in the conviction that it was He and no other who, as dead yet risen again, as celestially glorified even if not risen, vouchsafed visions to His disciples. It thus completes and illumines what to science remained an obscure point and a vexatious limitation of its knowledge' (*Jesus of Nazara*, Eng. tr. vi. p. 360). This theory deserves to be treated with more respect than it has commonly received from apologists. It at least rejects the idea that the visions were hallucinations; and we are not so well-informed as to the nature of existence as to be able to deny reality to what is given in experiences which are due to the power, and which are according to the purpose, of God. The most serious difficulty for those who follow the records is that it supposes that the grave was not left empty, and that the body underwent corruption.

(5) Another theory, which has recently had some currency (Martineau, *Seat of Authority in Religion*, pp. 363–7), finds the basis of the belief in a physical resurrection in *a misconception of the meaning of mystical utterances of the disciples about union and communion with Christ.* It is, however, clear that St. Paul distinguished very clearly between the experience that to him 'to live was Christ,' or that 'Christ lived in him,' and the appearance which he had witnessed on the way to Damascus. 'They said they had seen Jesus after His death, and their hearers understood them to mean they had seen Him in the body.' If they were not put right by the Apostles, it is fairly said that this somewhat compromised their character for candour (Bruce, *Apologetics*², 396 f.).

The impression conveyed by a review of the various theories is that the phenomena which generated the faith of the Church have not been explained on naturalistic principles. They are intelligible only as an intermingling of two universes of being ordinarily kept distinct. They have something in common with the phenomena of Spiritualism, and as a fact the Spiritualist claims

to understand elements in the story which Christians have humbly accepted in faith, and to find supremely credible what the ordinary rationalism dismisses as superstition. It is, however, only in a very indirect way, if at all, that Christian faith can derive support from Spiritualism. It seems to be proved that if communication is established at all with the spirit-world, it is merely with 'the dregs and lees of the unseen universe'—with spirits who either have not the power or else the will to communicate anything of importance to man; and, this being so, the Resurrection and appearances of Christ, with their unique and far-reaching spiritual result, come under a totally different Divine economy. In the risen Christ we have the one authentic glimpse of the world which otherwise can do no more than attest its existence to those who peep and mutter (Waite, *Studies in Mysticism*, 1906).

(5) *Significance of the Resurrection.*—(*a*) In the Primitive Church the Resurrection was regarded as at once the authentication of Christianity, and a vitally important element of doctrine. Its apologetic value was appraised equally highly in the appeal to Jews and to Gentiles (Ac 4^{10} 17^{31}). The argument was that God had accredited Jesus' mission and accepted His work in raising Him up from the dead. In recent apologetic, at least of the English school, there has been a tendency to stake the truth of Christianity on the evidence for the Resurrection (Row, *Christian Evidences*, 1887); but it is always to be remembered that the evidence for the miracle itself depends for its credibility on the anterior impression of the supernatural made by the Person of Christ. It is not so generally recognized that the Resurrection has the value of a vindication of the ways of God. Had the Ruler of the Universe given no sign when the spotless and loving Christ was made away with by His murderers, the problem of evil would have been well-nigh overwhelming, and faith in the supremacy of a moral order would have lacked one of its strongest supports. (*b*) Doctrinally the Resurrection was regarded as possessing a high significance for Christ Himself. It is, indeed, an exaggeration to say that for St. Paul the Resurrection had the importance which earlier thought claimed for the Baptism, and later thought for the Virgin Birth, viz. of constituting Jesus Son of God; but he at least regarded it as marking the transition from the foreshadowing to the full reality of the power and glory of the Son of God (Ro 1^4). It was also the source of the most characteristic and vital elements of his eschatological teaching. In the life of the risen Christ he saw the prototype of the life which awaits those that are His in the future state (Phil 3^{21}). He also used the resurrection of Christ, though assuredly without any suggestion that it was only a figure, as a parable of the beginning, the manifestations, and the goal of the new life (Ro 6^4).

16. The character of Jesus.—In this section it is not proposed to deal with the doctrine of the Person of Christ (see PERSON OF CHRIST), but only to gather up the main features of the character of the Man Christ Jesus as it is portrayed in the Gospels. The point of view is somewhat modern, but does not necessarily imply a naturalistic or Unitarian interpretation of Christ (Keim, *Jesus of Nazara*, Eng. tr. vol. ii.; Peabody, *Jesus Christ and the Christian Character*, 1906, ch. ii.).

The task of describing the character of Jesus is difficult. Jesus is one of the most real and life-like figures in history, and there is a way of observing, feeling, and judging which is unmistakably Christ-like; but when we try to describe Him we are in danger of setting forth 'a mere personified system of morals and psychology, consisting of a catalogue of all possible virtues and capabilities' (Hase). There is therefore something to be said for leaving the matter where it is left by the Gospels, which simply reveal the character in telling the story of the life. The general observation which is most convincing is that in Jesus there were combinations of qualities which are usually found in isolation, and regarded as mutually inconsistent. This holds good, first, in the region of temperament. It is easy to show that at least three of the recognized temperaments—the sanguine, the melancholic, and the choleric, were manifested by Jesus, and that what is good in the phlegmatic had its counterpart in His repose and purposefulness. From a similar point of view it has been said that 'there was in Him the woman-heart as well as the manly brain—all that was most manly and all that was most womanly' (F. W. Robertson, *Serm.* ii. 231; but contrariwise Hase: 'His character was thoroughly masculine,' §31). It has been held by some that He belonged to the class of ecstatic men, by others that He reasoned and acted with the serenity of the sage: the truth is that repose was the normal condition of His spirit, but that it was intermittently broken by prophetic experiences of vision and tumult. On the intellectual side we find the abstract power which unerringly seizes upon the vital principle, united with the poet's mind which delights to clothe the idea with form and colour and to find for it the most perfect artistic expression. Another and more impressive contrast is presented in the force and the gentleness of His character. From Him there went out an influence which either awed men into docile submission or roused them to a frenzy of opposition, while the same Jesus spoke words of tender solace to a penitent Magdalene, and called the little children to His side. He also combined with wide outlook and sublime purpose an active interest in small things and in inconsiderable persons. Recognizing it as His vocation to build the Kingdom of God, He did not consider a day lost in which He conversed with a woman of Samaria at a wayside well.

While these and similar traits help to give greater vividness to our conception of Jesus, the essential content of what is called His character lies in His attitude, on the one hand to the Father, on the other to the problems of duty which arise for a man among men.

(1) Beginning with the *God-ward side* of the character of Jesus, that which we describe as piety, we find that it combines familiar traits with others which are novel and unique. To a large extent it is a fulfilment of the Jewish ideal of piety, but it shows impressive omissions and deviations from the OT pattern. He fulfils it in that He has a constant sense of the presence of God, and regards all events as instinct with a Divine meaning of guidance, of blessing, or of judgment. He lives in habitual prayerfulness, giving thanks, supplicating, interceding for others. He shows a sensitive reverence for all that is called God—His name, His word, His house, and is full of prophetic zeal for His honour. It is His meat and His drink to labour in the tasks which are made known to Him as the will of God. When that will approaches Him as a call to suffer and die, He trusts implicitly in the wisdom and goodness of the Father, and prays that His will be done.

There are, however, two significant particulars in which the religion of Jesus, if we may so term it, differed from the piety of Hebrew saints, as well as of the saints of Christian times. (*a*) The penitential note is one of the most distinctive features of the OT. The depth of the sense of sin may almost be said to be the measure of sanctity, and the same may be said of those whom the Christian Church has chiefly venerated as its religious heroes. But of penitence the experience of Jesus shows no trace. While teaching His disciples to pray, 'Forgive us our debts,' He Himself never confessed sin. Neither in Gethsemane nor on the cross, when the near approach of death challenged Him to pass righteous judgment on His past life, was He conscious of any lapse from fidelity to the Father's commands.—(*b*) A second note of Hebrew piety is a sense of dependence upon God, accompanied by the knowledge that to Him belongs the glory, and that the human instrument counts for nothing in comparison. But Jesus, while confessing His dependence on the Father in teaching and healing, does not speak of Himself as a mere agent who delivers a message and

accomplishes a work—and is forthwith forgotten. Enjoying a filial intimacy with God which contrasts markedly with the aloofness of God in OT times, and the fear manifested in His presence even by prophets, He claimed prerogatives which they would have regarded as a usurpation of the sphere of God. For He forgave sins, claimed a faith and a devotion toward Himself which were indistinguishable from worship, and foretold that He would return to judge the world. What makes these utterances the more striking is that He simultaneously invited men to learn of Him as meek and lowly in heart (Mt 11^{29}). We therefore seem to be driven to the conclusion that Jesus was less than a saint, unless He was more than a man. Unless He was sinless, He was guilty of a self-righteousness which was more blinded than that of the Pharisees; and unless He had a unique dignity and commission, He was guilty of an overweening arrogance. The hypothesis of a unique experience and vocation, or the belief that He was in a unique sense Divine, is more credible than the charge of imperfect piety.

(2) In studying the character of Jesus on *the ethical side*, it is useful to observe the form in which He recognized and realized the fundamental virtues. Wisdom He would scarcely have described as a virtue. He did not Himself possess or value it in the range which it began to have with the Greeks, but He assuredly had wisdom in the grand way of thinking deep thoughts about God and man which have been worked up in philosophical systems, and also in the homely form of prudent dealing with tasks and dangers. Courage He certainly did not illustrate in the typical form that it assumes in a man of war; but there is abundant proof of physical as well as of moral courage in the heroism which led Him, while discarding force and foreseeing the issue, to go up to confront His powerful enemies in the name of God and truth. One glimpse of His bearing is unforgettable. 'And they were in the way going up to Jerusalem; and Jesus was going before them; and they were amazed; and they that followed were afraid' (Mk 10^{32}). The virtue of temperance or self-control might seem to lie on a plane on which He did not condescend to be tried. But in its essence, as the virtue which requires the surrender of the lower for the higher, of the temporary for the enduring good, it has its illustration, not merely in the victory of the Temptation, but in the mould of self-sacrifice in which His whole life was cast. Justice, as the virtue which renders to all their due, entered deeply into the thought and life of Jesus. The parable of the Unjust Steward, which on a superficial view makes light of dishonesty, is placed in a setting of words of Jesus from which it appears that He thought it useful to give His disciples the test of an honest man, and even made common honesty a condition of admission to life (Lk $16^{10\text{-}12}$). It is also noteworthy how often He commends the wise and faithful servant; while His own ideal might be summed up as the performance with fidelity of His appointed work. Not even the sympathy of Jesus is more distinctive than His conscientiousness in regard to the claims both of God and of man.

The character of Jesus also exemplified the fundamental quality of steadfastness. He praised it in others: John the Baptist, who was no reed shaken with the wind; Simon, whom He surnamed the rock-like man. His whole ministry, which began with victory in the Temptation, had behind it the force of steady and of resolute purpose. 'He steadfastly set his face to go to Jerusalem' (Lk 9^{51}) may serve for a description of the way in which He held straight on to His preconceived and predetermined goal.

On this general groundwork of character there emerges the love of Jesus, which was marked by extraordinary range and intensity. For man as man He had 'a prodigality of sympathy' and looked on Himself as a debtor to all who were burdened by suffering or sin. It may indeed be observed that His love, while all-embracing, had degrees. The centurion of Capernaum and the Syro-phœnician woman came within its scope, but He looked on the people of Israel as those who had the first claim on His affection and service. He shared the feelings for Jerusalem which are expressed in many of the Psalms, and yearned over the holy city more than over the cities of the Lake. Within the house of Israel there were three—perhaps four classes, whom He regarded with a peculiar tenderness. First in order came the disciples, next the common people and the social outcasts, and doubtless we may add the children. It is hard to believe that the family-circle at Nazareth was not also one of the nearer groups, but during the period of the Ministry the attitude of His kinsfolk, with the probable exception of Mary (Jn 19^{26}), diverted His strong natural affection to those who were His kinsfolk after the spirit. The ways in which His love expressed itself were on the one hand to seek to make those He loved truly His own by binding them to Himself by their faith and devotion; on the other, to bestow on them, and that at whatever cost to Himself, all benefits which it lay within his vocation to confer. The forms of service to which His sympathy prompted Him were as many as the forms of human distress. His mission, indeed, proceeded on the footing that the worst evils from which men suffer are spiritual, and that the benefactor whom they chiefly need is one who will lead them to repentance and show them the Father. But no small part of His ministry also was occupied with works of the philanthropic kind, which it would be altogether wrong to interpret on the analogy of some modern enterprises, as having the mere purpose of creating a favourable disposition for the gospel. His distinctive work was to comfort by saving, but He also acted as one who felt that the relief of pain had its own independent claim.

In seeming contrast with the gentleness of the sympathetic Christ was the sternness which marked many of His words and acts. It is of interest to note that the disciple whom Jesus loved is remembered in the Synoptics (Lk $9^{49\text{-}56}$) chiefly as a man with a capacity for fiery indignation; and this quality may well have been one that drew Jesus and John more closely together. If there were some sins that moved Jesus chiefly to compassion, there were others that roused Him to holy wrath. Those who, like prodigals and fallen women, could be described as their own worst enemy, He chiefly pitied, but sterner measure was never meted out than by Jesus to those whose guilt had the quality of profanity or of inhumanity. The profanity which irreverently dealt with the things of God—in swearing, in corrupting His word, in polluting His Temple, was unsparingly rebuked—on one memorable occasion by act; and the great offence of the Pharisees in His eyes was that, while making a parade of sanctity before men, they were insulting God by acting a lie. The second type of sin which provoked His burning invective was inhumanity towards the weak. An example is the sin of those who make one of the little ones to offend (Mt 18^{6}), which may perhaps be taken literally of those who pervert children; and the unpardonable aggravation of the guilt of the scribes was that, while making long prayers, they devoured widows' houses (Mk 12^{40}‖).

While the character of Jesus has commonly been regarded, even by non-Christians, as the noblest that the world has seen, it has not escaped criticism in ancient or modern times. Two forms of the indictment may be alluded to. Renan professes to find evidence of deterioration, and in this the real tragedy of the life of Jesus. Writing of the last days, he says: 'His natural gentleness seems to have abandoned Him: He was sometimes harsh and capricious, contact with the world pained and revolted Him. The fatal law which condemns an idea to decay as soon as it is applied to convert men applied to Him.' He is even said to have yielded to the wishes of His enthusiastic friends; and to have acquiesced in a pretended miracle by which they sought to revive His sinking cause. His death was a happy release 'from the fatal necessities of a position which each day became more

exacting and more difficult to maintain' (p. 252). To a pessimistically tinged scepticism there may be something congenial in this representation. As a fact the idea of degeneration is borrowed from the career of Mohammed, and has no support except in the assumption that Jesus was uncommissioned to represent the Divine wrath against sin. Very different was the insight of him who wrote that He 'learned obedience by the things which he suffered,' and was thus made perfect (He $5^{8.\ 9}$).

From the Hellenic point of view it is a common criticism that the character of Jesus is one-sided or fragmentary. There are, it is said, elements of human excellence which He either did not possess or which He deliberately undervalued and renounced. There were whole spheres of valuable human experience into which He did not enter—married life, political service, scientific labour, the realm of æsthetic interests. His attitude, also, to the economic side of human affairs was unsatisfactory: He taught men to despise wealth and distribute it among the poor, and thus struck at the very foundations of the social fabric. In reply to this indictment, it is sometimes urged that the character of Jesus actually included most elements which enter into the Hellenic ideal—notably the æsthetic sense as seen in His close observance and love of things beautiful, intellectual vitality and acquisitiveness, and the temperate enjoyment of the pleasures of the table in the society of His friends. It is also pointed out that His principles sanction a much wider range of activity than He Himself actually exemplified. In His love to man, which designed to bestow every form of real good, there lay the sanction of all the activities—scientific, economic, political, as well as religious and philanthropic, which fill out with helpful service the various spheres of duty in the modern world. At the same time it must be admitted that Jesus was not the universal man in the literal sense, but was limited in His equipment and aim by the special character of His mission. He was ascetic in the sense that in His scheme of values He severely subordinated all the goods of this world to spiritual blessings, and taught that the first were to be despised and renounced in the measure in which they imperilled the second. He exemplified self-limitation and self-sacrifice, not indeed as an end in itself, but as a necessary condition of accomplishing the highest for God and man.

17. The fundamental ideas of our Lord's teaching.—It is one of the gains of modern theology that Biblical Theology is separated from Dogmatics, and that the sacred writers are allowed to speak for themselves without being forced into consistency with a system of ecclesiastical doctrine. In pursuance of this historical task, interest has centred chiefly in the attempt to expound and systematize the teaching of Jesus. It was naturally felt that no Christian documents are so valuable for an understanding of the Christian religion as those which contain the teaching of the Founder, and that, indispensable as the Apostolic writings are, they are in a very real sense derivative and supplementary. Experience also showed that the teaching of Jesus, which in the oral tradition was for a time the main sustenance of the Primitive Church, has been able to quicken and refresh the religious life of not a few in the modern world who had ceased to feel the power of the stereotyped phrases of a traditional theology. An account of our Lord's teaching, it has to be added, is properly based on the Synoptics. The authentic matter of the Fourth Gospel is so inextricably blended with believing experience and reflexion that it can only be set forth as a supplement to the heads of doctrine collected from the Synoptists (Wendt), or utilized as a source for the Johannine Theology (Weiss).

In addition to the sketches in the great manuals of NT Theology (Weiss, *Bibl. Theol. des NT*, Eng. tr. 1882–3; Beyschlag, *NT Theol* Eng. tr 1891; Holtzmann, *Lehrbuch der NT Theol.*, 1897; Stevens, *Theol. of NT*, 1899), there are numerous monographs, of which the most important is Wendt, *Lehre Jesu* (Eng. tr. 1892), and the most interesting are Bruce, *The Kingdom of God*, 1890, and Harnack, *Das Wesen des Christenthums* (Eng. tr. 1901).

A. The Kingdom of God.—The Evangelists give as the summary description of the message of Jesus—'the gospel of the kingdom.' 'And Jesus went about in all Galilee, teaching in their synagogues, and preaching the gospel of the kingdom' (Mt 4^{23}; cf. Mk $1^{14.\ 15}$, Lk 8^{1}). As Jesus was conscious of being the promised Messiah, it was natural that His teaching ministry should be largely directed to setting forth the nature, the privileges, and the laws of the Messianic Kingdom. Most modern expositors, accordingly, have treated the idea of the Kingdom as central, and as supplying a scheme under which the whole body of the teaching may be systematically arranged. Thus, after determining the nature of the Kingdom in relation to the past of Israel, and to the ideas of contemporary Judaism, Weiss treats of the coming of the Kingdom in the Messiah and His work, of its realization in the righteousness and the privileges of its members, and of its predicted consummation in the future.

(1) *The nature of the Kingdom.*—In elucidating Christ's conception of the Kingdom, it is usual to begin by contrasting it with pre-existing ideas. In the first place, it is clear that, while Jesus claimed to fulfil OT prophecy, and to be the Messiah for whom the people waited, He broke with the general strain of Messianic prophecy and expectation in the important particular that He rejected the conception that the Kingdom would exist in the form of a political organization. It was a very natural aspiration for the Jews to desire to be free and powerful, and more than a respectable ambition, when it is remembered that the Empire of which they dreamed was to carry in its train the worship and service of the true God; but Jesus substituted for the political conception the idea of a Kingdom which was spiritual in its nature, and by consequence universal. Its essentially spiritual character is shown by the nature of its blessings—among which there is frequent mention of the forgiveness of sins, righteousness, and the like, but little of earthly good and nothing of political power. A Kingdom which 'cometh not with observation' (Lk 17^{20}) could not be of the same kind with the kingdom of the Maccabees or the Roman Empire. And if it was a spiritual Kingdom, in which membership was granted on terms of faith and love, it followed that it was in principle a universal Kingdom. It was no monopoly of those of Jewish birth, for not all Jews had faith, and of some who were Gentiles He said that He had not found so great faith in Israel (Mt 8^{10}). 'Many shall come from the east and the west . . . but the sons of the kingdom shall be cast forth into the outer darkness' (vv.$^{11.\ 12}$).

The further elucidation of its nature may be carried out by the help of an analysis of the idea of a kingdom. It involves authority and rule (doctrine of God and of the Messiah), blessings which are enjoyed by the citizens (the Kingdom as 'a good,' the privileges), laws which are enacted and enforced (the righteousness of the Kingdom), a title to citizenship (conditions of entrance), an organization of the subjects in community of life and service (the Kingdom as a community, doctrine of the Church), a future and a destiny (doctrine of the Last Things).

The Kingdom as present and as future.—One of the difficulties of the subject is that in some passages Jesus speaks of the Kingdom as present, while in many others He speaks of it as future; and there has been a wide difference of opinion as to the relation of the two sets of utterances, and the importance to be attributed to the eschatological series.

(i) *The Kingdom as a present reality.*—That the Kingdom had come, and was a present reality on earth when He taught and laboured, is stated in a number of passages. He speaks of His mighty works as proof. 'If I by the spirit of God cast out devils, then is the kingdom of God come upon you' (Mt 12^{28}; cf. Lk 10^{18}). In the same sense it is said 'the kingdom of God is among you,' (not 'within you,' which could not have been said to the Pharisees (Lk 17^{21})). It is also implied that there are those who are already in the Kingdom (Mt 11^{11}). The parables of the Mustard Seed and the Leaven (Mt 13^{31-33}), and also of the Seed Growing Secretly (Mk 4^{26-29}), seem clearly to teach that the Kingdom was then present in the world in small and lowly beginnings, which were to be succeeded by a process of wonderful growth and expansion.

(ii) *The Kingdom as a future event.*—In a larger number of cases He spoke of the Kingdom, and of entrance into

it, as future. 'Except your righteousness exceed the righteousness of the scribes and Pharisees, ye shall in no wise enter into the kingdom of heaven' (Mt 5^{20}). 'Come ye blessed of my Father, inherit the kingdom prepared for you from the foundation of the world' (Mt 25^{34}). Moreover, a very large portion of His teaching is concerned with the manner of the establishment of the Kingdom in the last days, and with the sublime events by which it is to be ushered in and established.

The time of the Consummation, Jesus declared, was unknown even to the Son (Mk 13^{32}), but it would be heralded by various signs—persecution, apostasy, the preaching of the gospel throughout the world (Mt 24). Upon this would follow the return of the Son of Man, who would come in the clouds of heaven with power and great glory (24^{30} 25^{31}; cf. Mk 14^{62}). The immediate purpose of the Return is to sift the righteous and the wicked, to execute judgment upon the enemies of God, and to gather together the elect from the four winds (Mt $24^{29ff.}$). Thereafter there is established a Kingdom which cannot be moved, in which the blessed enjoy all that is promised them in the love of God. The scene appears to be laid on earth (Mt 5^{4}). So far as the picture is elaborated, it is by utilizing the tones and the colours of earthly experience, as well as familiar forms of dignity, power, and enjoyment (Mk 10^{40} 14^{25}, Mt 8^{11}). At the same time the spiritual blessings are of course the chiefest (Mt 5^{8}), and the transfiguration of the natural is suggested in a significant particular (Mk 12^{25}).

(iii) *Relation of the two aspects of the Kingdom.*—There are three main views as to the relation of the two sets of utterances about the Kingdom; they may be distinguished as the traditional, the liberal, and the eschatological.

(*a*) According to the traditional view, both groups of sayings are authentic and are easily combined into a consistent whole. Jesus could say that the Kingdom was present in respect that it had come, and future in respect that it had not yet fully come in power and glory. Its history falls into two stages, one of which is now under the dispensation of the Spirit, the other to come in stupendous acts of judgment and mercy at the Second Advent.

(*b*) The liberal view of modern theology is that the eschatological outlook of Jesus was borrowed from, or accommodated to, temporary forms of Jewish thought, and that the valuable and enduring element is the conception of the Kingdom as entering into the life of mankind in this world, growing in range and power, and destined to permeate society and all its institutions with its Divine spirit. From this point of view the Second Coming, the central event of the history, is to be understood as a spiritual return which has been taking place in the events of history from Pentecost down to the present hour. Similarly the Last Judgment is interpreted as a continuous process which runs parallel with the history of nations and churches. That this view has some support in the Fourth Gospel must be admitted. The return of which Christ there speaks with much fulness is the mission of the Spirit, and the Judgment which is before the mind of the Evangelist is almost always the judgment which is simultaneous with character and conduct. There may even be claimed for it some support from the Synoptic teaching—as in the dating of the Return 'from now' (Mt 26^{64}), and the distinction of 'days of the Son of Man' (Lk 17^{22}), and also in the association of the Second Coming with the destruction of Jerusalem (Mt 24). But on the whole it must be said that the attempt to impute the purely spiritual conception to Jesus is unhistorical. It may be argued that His sayings are examples of prophecy, and that theology has a warrant to recast prophetic sayings in new forms. But it can hardly be gainsaid that Jesus thought of the Return as a definite event, visible and impressive, which would challenge the attention of all mankind, and involve acts that would revolutionize the order of our world.

(*c*) Some modern scholars hold that the distinctive teaching of Jesus was that the Kingdom was a supernatural Kingdom, to be established by Divine power at His Second Coming, and that the references in the Gospels to a present Kingdom with a gradual development are either illusory or unauthentic (J. Weiss, *Die Predigt Jesu vom Reiche Gottes*). On this view Jesus claimed to be the Messiah only in the sense that He looked forward to becoming the Messiah. He was, like John the Baptist, a forerunner, but with the difference that the future Messiah to whom He bore witness was the Jesus of the Second Advent. The textual evidence which supports the view that Jesus founded a present Kingdom of God on earth before His death is discounted on the ground that an event which is imminent may be intelligibly said to be present. Thus the confession at Cæsarea Philippi is to be taken proleptically: it merely meant that Peter believed that He was the Messiah designate, or the heir to the office. 'Jesus departed this life with the consciousness that the Kingdom was not yet established' (J. Weiss). The parables which speak of a gradual development of the Kingdom of God are explained either as having been interpolated or as teaching a different lesson. But this accentuation of the eschatological side of our Lord's teaching is hardly likely to be accepted, as Schweitzer claims, as an assured result of criticism. If even in the OT the Jewish State was sometimes conceived of as the present Kingdom of God, and if the Rabbinical theology sometimes spoke of the Kingdom of God as a power to be yielded to now, it is difficult to see why Jesus should not have entertained the similar conception which is contained or implied in the texts quoted. Above all, it is impossible to believe that Jesus, who taught that the highest blessings are enjoyed in communion with God, did not hold that the Kingdom was present among those who experienced His love and who obeyed His will.

B. The Heavenly Father and His Children.—It may be doubted if the teaching of Jesus is most satisfactorily set forth under the forms of the Kingdom. The difficulty even of the traditional conception, the doubts as to the correctness of this conception which have been referred to, and also the transitoriness of types of political constitution, suggest that the organizing idea may better be sought in another sphere. As a fact the central conceptions of His religious and ethical teaching are borrowed not from the political, but from the domestic sphere. When it is said that 'one is your Father,' and that 'all ye are brethren' (Mt $23^{8.\ 9}$), we have the description of a family. To the writer it therefore seems that the teaching is best expounded under the rubric of the Heavenly Father and His children, or the holy family, and in what follows we shall confine ourselves mainly to the elucidation of the heads of this gospel of Divine and human love.

(1) *The Heavenly Father.*—Christ could take for granted in His hearers the elements of the knowledge of God set forth in the OT, as one God, all-powerful, all-wise, all-holy, all-good. This splendid spiritual inheritance He enriched by the content of His doctrine of God as the Heavenly Father. The name, indeed, was not new. Even the Greeks spoke of Zeus as the father of gods and men; while in not a few OT passages God is likened to and even named a Father. For the Greeks, however, the Fatherhood of God hardly meant more than that He was the God of Creation and Providence, while in OT thought God, as Father was the protecting God of Israel, or the Father of the Messianic King. On the lips of Jesus the name meant that God was the Father of individual men, who lavished upon each the utmost resources of a Father's wise and tender care. It may, in fact, be said that if we study human fatherhood at its best, note every lovely and gracious feature which is realized or adumbrated in an earthly home, and then attribute these in perfected form to the heart and the will of the Almighty, we discover the heads of the teaching of Jesus concerning God.

The relation of an earthly father to his children involves at least seven points—to him they owe their existence, from him they borrow his nature and likeness, he provides for their wants, he educates and disciplines them, he holds intimate intercourse with them, he is graciously disposed to forgive their offences, and he makes them his heirs. All this, now, Jesus has affirmed of God in relation to men. The first two points—that it is He that made us, and not we ourselves, and that we are made in His image—were articles of OT doctrine which He did not need to emphasize; though it may be pointed out that His conception of the infinite value of the individual soul had its roots in His belief that man bears the image of the Heavenly Father. The other points mentioned are quite explicitly emphasized.

(*a*) God provides for the wants of His children. He is aware of their bodily wants (Mt 6^{32}): the God who feeds the fowls and clothes the lilies will not suffer His children to be in want. This, in fact, is deduced directly from the idea of fatherhood. 'If ye, being evil, know how to give good gifts unto your children, how much

more shall your Father which is in heaven give good things to them that ask him?' (7[11]). That the provision includes spiritual blessings as its chief part is made explicit in Lk 11[13].

(*b*) God educates and disciplines His children. Jesus does not say this expressly, but it may be noticed that there are two aspects of a child's earthly training which are reproduced in what He says about the Divine education of souls. A child's education, though arduous and painful, is designed for its good; and similarly, Jesus says, Blessed are the poor, the mourners, the persecuted, the reviled (Mt 5[3ff.]). The second aspect is that the children do not always appreciate the wisdom and kindness of the discipline, but must be asked to take it on trust. Similarly, the earthly child must often trust the Heavenly Father's love where he cannot comprehend His purpose, saying, 'Yea, Father, for so it was well-pleasing in thy sight' (Mt 11[26]).

(*c*) God holds intimate intercourse with His children. It does not lie in the idea of an earthly parent to hold aloof from his children, and God admits His to close communion with Himself. On their side it takes the form of prayer, on His of response. They are encouraged to seek both spiritual and material blessings, and that importunately (parables of the Importunate Widow, Lk 18[1ff.]; the Friend at Midnight, 11[5ff.]), and they are assured that 'whatsoever they shall ask in prayer, believing, they shall receive' (Mt 21[22]).

(*d*) God is graciously disposed to forgive His children's offences. His way with sinners is not the way of a man with his enemy, to whom he refuses on any terms to be reconciled, or of a creditor with his debtor, who insists on full payment, but that of a father, who meets a penitent son in a spirit of magnanimity, rejoices over his return, and receives him back to his home. The point of the three great parables in Lk 15 is that, while the respectable world was sceptical about the restoration of the erring, and frowned on those who attempted it, there is in heaven a charity that believeth all things, and joy unspeakable over one sinner that repenteth.

(*e*) God destines His children to an inheritance. This is itself, as has been indicated, a distinct and large topic of the teaching of Jesus, and it is sufficient here to refer to a text in which the logic of the relationship is clearly brought out: 'Fear not, little flock, for it is your Father's good pleasure to give you the kingdom' (Lk 12[32]).

In the light of the above analysis we are in a position to deal with the much-discussed question, Did Jesus conceive of God as the Father of all men, or only as the Father of those who are within the family-Kingdom? It may be that Jesus applies the name of Father to God only in relation to the children of the Kingdom, but the palpable meaning of His teaching is that God is the Father of all men, while yet it is not possible for Him to be the Father, in the full sense of the word, of those who are living in impenitence and in alienation from Him. He is the Father of all to the extent that they are created by Him, are made in His image, have their wants supplied by Him, and are disciplined by Him; but just as it is impossible for an earthly father to forgive a contumacious son, to hold intercourse with an absent son, and to make an heir of a son who has already squandered his portion, so is it impossible for God to be in the full sense a Father to those who shun His face and spurn His gifts.

(2) *The terms of sonship.*—The next great theme is the question how men become members of the family-Kingdom. Negatively Jesus teaches that we are not born into it, as one was born into the Jewish State, and also that membership is not an order of merit conferred in recognition of distinguished attainments in piety and virtue. The most important and comprehensive utterance of our Lord on the point is this—'Except ye turn and become as little children, ye shall in no wise enter into the kingdom of heaven' (Mt 18[3]). Here again we can trace the fidelity of the detail to the fundamental idea of the family-Kingdom: what should be so necessary in the son as childlikeness? On examination childlikeness proves to include a variety of qualities which are elsewhere declared by Jesus to be conditions of sonship: (*a*) *Trustfulness.*—When Jesus proposed the children as a model, there can be little doubt that He had prominently in mind the child's capacity of faith. He would have His followers trust in the wisdom and the love of the Father with the sublime confidence with which a child naturally trusts in an earthly parent. There are examples of the joy which He felt at unexpected cases of heroic faith, *e.g.* of the centurion of Capernaum and the Syrophœnician woman. The grand object of this faith was God. 'Have faith,' He says, 'in God' (Mk 11[22]). But this faith in God included also faith in Himself as the appointed instrument for the performance of God's great work with men. (*b*) *Sense of need.*—A child, being cast upon others for the supply of its wants, has a keen sense of need. And this sense, which from one point of view is humility, is also a prominent mark of the children of the Kingdom. We are asked to admire the publican, who, in contrast to the self-satisfied Pharisee, confessed his unworthiness and his need of mercy (Lk 18[13]). The self-complacency of the Rich Young Ruler showed that though not far from, he was still outside of, the Kingdom of God (Mk 10[17ff.]). The Beatitude is for those who hunger and thirst after righteousness (Mt 5[6]). (*c*) *The penitential spirit.*—With childlikeness may also be associated the grace of penitence, for childhood, when not spoiled by hardening influences, is the period of the sensitive conscience. In any case penitence is closely bound up with faith as the essential condition. 'He came into Galilee preaching and saying, Repent ye and believe the gospel' (Mk 1[15]). The stages of penitence are vividly illustrated in the parable of the Prodigal Son (Lk 15[11-32]). (*d*) *Resolution.*—A fourth parallel is that in the child there is, along with a sense of need, a resolute determination to secure what it values. There are some, it is true, who receive the heavenly blessings in response to an invitation, or almost under compulsion, but the rule is that they are like the merchantman seeking goodly pearls, and willing to make any sacrifice to secure what they seek. 'The kingdom of heaven suffereth violence, and men of violence take it by force' (Mt 11[12]).

(3) *The privileges of the children.*—The enumeration of these has already been anticipated in what has been said of the implications of the Divine Fatherhood. The children possess, in fact or in promise, the fulness of the blessings which God as the Heavenly Father, who is also all-powerful, is disposed to bestow. They include the forgiveness of sins, access to the Father in prayer, the provision needed for the supply of bodily and spiritual wants, guidance in perplexity, protection in danger, power of a supernatural kind, and the assurance that their names are written in heaven (Lk 10[20]). The privileges are summarily described as life (Mt 7[14], Mk 9[43]) and as salvation (Lk 19[9]). Their exceeding value is emphasized in particular maxims (Mt 16[26]), and in the parables of the Hid Treasure and of the Pearl of Price (Mt 13[44-46]). In spite of the hardships and perils of the life to which they are called, the habitual mood of the children is one of repose and even of joy (Mt 11[28-30], Lk 6[23]).

(4) *The filial and fraternal obligations.*—The observation that the teaching of Jesus is in substance a system built up out of the higher elements of family life is confirmed when we approach its practical ideal. This is made up of filial obligations towards God, and of fraternal obligations towards men. (i) *The duties towards God* are those which naturally devolve upon the children in consideration of the Father's greatness, wisdom, and goodness. Love being the great thing manifested by God towards them, their fundamental duty is to love Him in return with all their heart, and with all their soul, and with all their mind, and with all their strength

(Mk 12[30]). Their special duties towards God, which are also privileges, are these—to trust Him wholly, to make their desires known to Him in prayer, to perform with fidelity the work He gives them to do, and to submit in meekness and patience when He calls them to suffer.

(ii) *Duty towards man.*—The supreme fraternal obligation, like the filial, is love. 'Thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself' (Mk 12[31]). By our neighbour we are to understand all who are in need, and whom it is in our power to help (parable of the Good Samaritan, Lk 10[30ff.]). When we inquire how this principle manifests itself, it appears that the Christian ethic has three features which are commonly described as inwardness, self-sacrificing service, and the passive virtues. Without going into detail, it is sufficient to illustrate how these form an ethical ideal which has its prototype in the life of the family.

(*a*) *Inwardness.*—A distinctive feature of the ethical teaching of Jesus is the insistence that it is not sufficient to refrain from overt acts of wrong, and to perform the overt acts which duty requires. The heart must be pure and the motive right. From this point of view benefactions that are not accompanied by sympathy lose half their value. On the other hand, the evil purpose has the quality of an evil act; hatred is murder in the minor degree. Now, startling as is the demand for a perfect heart in an ethic of general obligation, it is familiar enough in family life. There a woman counts all benefactions as worthless if she do not possess her husband's love; or, again, the hatred of brothers and sisters is at once felt to have an enormity of guilt beyond that of most evil deeds.

(*b*) *Disinterested service.*—In what is said of the forms of service the ideal is manifestly suggested by brotherhood. Of the chief forms may be distinguished first beneficence, which is specially directed to the relief of the poor, the entertainment of the homeless, the tending of the sick, the visiting of captives (Mt 25[34ff.]), the comforting of the sorrowful, the reconciliation of those who are at feud (Mt 5[9]). Another is the ministry of teaching; without doubt Jesus intended His disciples, as one of their chief forms of service, to follow Him in the disseminating of the truths which He taught. A third is the spiritual ministry proper, which has the same end as His own pastoral work—to save souls from sin, and to help them to rise to higher ends of excellence and nobility. The ideal here, in short, is that the kind of things which the parent, the brother, and the sister do, or may be expected to do, in accordance with the spirit of family life, are made binding in their application to our fellowmen as such. We may also notice two accompanying rules. (*α*) The service is to be disinterested. This is enforced by the counsel that we are preferably to perform acts of kindness to those who are not in a position to make a return (Lk 6[34f.]). (*β*) They are also to be done unostentatiously—not as by the Pharisees, who blow a trumpet before them, but so that the left hand knoweth not what the right hand doeth (Mt 6[2-4]). In the first of these counsels we see a reflexion of the spirit which has its purest expression in maternal devotion. The second states the condition without which the best service in any sphere loses its grace.

(*c*) *The passive virtues.*—A third group of graces, specially known as the passive virtues, includes meekness and patience under adversity and wrong, and the forgiveness of injuries. Very great stress is laid on forgiving injuries, of which Jesus alludes to three kinds—injury to the person (Mt 5[39]), loss of property (v.[40]), and defamation of character (5[11]). Instructions are given as to the steps to be taken in securing reconciliation, beginning with private expostulation (Mt 18[15]). As motives to forgiveness we are reminded that we ought to forgive as we hope to be forgiven, and also that, as God sets the example of ready clemency, the child ought to imitate the Father (Mt 5[45]). These virtues, it will again be noticed, were not new on the soil of family life. From the beginning there have been women who within the sphere of the home have borne hardship meekly, endured wrong patiently, and been ready to forgive unto seventy times seven.

(5) *The unique Son and His work.*—It may be thought that the scheme which has been followed is inconsistent with the witness borne by Jesus to His Person and His work, inasmuch as His claims have no obvious counterpart in the life of the family. The whole subject is treated in a special article (Person of Christ), but must be glanced at here in the general context of Synoptic doctrine. In the first place, it is certainly true that Jesus asserted for Himself a peculiar dignity, and for His work a peculiar efficacy. He calls Himself not a Son, but *the* Son (Mt 11[27]), who stands in a unique relation to the Father, and who also makes upon the other children a demand for faith and obedience. If now we ask what it is that makes Christ unique, we find that the stress is laid upon three particulars—(*a*) He is in the Father's confidence, and from Him the other children obtain their knowledge of the Father (*ib.*). (*b*) He fully possesses the privileges and fulfils the obligations which are involved in sonship. (*c*) His death was the means of procuring for them the highest blessings (Mk 14[24]‖). Now, all these things, if not explained by, have at least parallels in, the life of the family. The son, who in all respects obeys his father's will, enjoys a position of peculiar intimacy and influence. The eldest son in many countries, and not least in the Jewish tradition, often occupies an intermediate position between the head and the subordinate members of the family. And if Jesus, as He certainly did, looked upon Himself as the eldest brother of the family-Kingdom—who first realized its privileges and its righteousness, and as the Son in whom the Father was well pleased, and whom consequently He took into His deepest confidence—we can see how He could teach that faith in Him was an element in the gospel. Nor are the references to the necessity of His death, as is sometimes said, inconsistent with the gospel of the Heavenly Father. Every death in a family tends to be a means of grace; the death in a noble cause of one who is revered and loved is an almost matchless source of inspiration; and there were reasons, apart from deeper theological explanations, why Jesus should teach that His death would do more even than His life to make effective the gospel of Divine and human love.

(6) *The brotherhood as a society.*—It followed from the nature of the teaching of Jesus that His followers should form themselves into a society. Community of faith and aim made it natural for them to do so, and those whose relations were of the nature of brotherhood were bound to realize it in a common life and common service as well as in common institutions. That the purpose of Jesus went in this direction from the first appears from the call and training of the twelve Apostles. In the later period of His Ministry we have references to a Christian society under the name of the Church (Mt 16[18] 18[15-20]). These references have indeed been thought by some critics to be of later ecclesiastical origin; but when the breach with the Jewish authorities became inevitable, He must, in thinking of the future, have conceived of His followers as a separate society. The omissions are as remarkable as the provisions. There is nothing said about forms of worship, nothing about ecclesiastical constitution. The few provisions may be gathered up under the following heads:—

(*a*) *General principles.*—The ruling spirit is the desire of each member to help all and each according to the measure of his ability. Titles which involve the assumption of personal authority are to be avoided (Mt 23[8]). Honour and influence are to be proportionate to service (Mk 10[43. 44]). It is to be a contrast to the natural society in two respects—that no one seeks his own but only the general good, and that there are no distinctions of rank and power resting upon accident, intrigue, or violence. In the light of these maxims the promise to Peter must

be interpreted (Mt 16[18]). It certainly meant that Peter was the chief instrument by which in the primitive period the Church was to be built up, but the promise was to Peter as confessing Christ, and by implication to all who make themselves his successors by sharing his faith.

(*b*) *The work of the Christian society.*—There can be no doubt that this is formulated by Jn. in accordance with the mind of Jesus in the words—'As thou didst send me into the world, even so sent I them into the world' (17[18]; cf. Mk 3[14ff.]). His instructions to the Twelve, and to the Seventy, in which He appoints and equips them for a ministry like His own, show that He conceived of the society as an instrument which should carry on His works of preaching and healing. The risen Lord lays on the conscience the duty of making disciples of all nations (Mt 28[19]). The work of the Church which is spoken of in most detail is discipline, the aim of which is declared to be the improvement of the erring brother, while the stages of the procedure are laid down (Mt 18[15ff.]). Importance is also attached to the function of binding and loosing (v.[18]), which is regarded as the prerogative of the Christian society as a whole, not of a particular class. The reference is to forbidding and permitting—*i.e.* framing maxims and rules of life which should be recognized as operative within the society.

(*c*) *The religious rites.*—There is every reason to believe that Jesus instituted two simple rites to be observed in the society. That baptism was appointed by Him has been denied, on the ground that it is vouched for only in the narrative of the post-resurrection life, and that it embodies a Trinitarian formula (Mt 28[19]). It is, however, antecedently probable, from the connexion of Jesus with the Baptist, that He took over the rite of baptism, while its use from the beginning of the Christian Church as the sacrament of initiation presupposes its appointment or sanction by Jesus. The institution of the Lord's Supper as a standing ordinance has already been referred to.

(7) *The future and the inheritance.*—The teaching of Jesus about the future, so far as it deals with the Return, has already been touched on, and it is sufficient now to note—(1) references to the growth of the Christian society on earth; (2) the glimpses of the final inheritance.

(*a*) *The development of the society.*—There are a number of passages, especially in the parables, which imply a history of the Church marked by three features—a gradual growth to a world-leavening and world-overshadowing influence, debasement through a large admixture of evil elements, and experiences of trial and persecution (Mt 13).

(*b*) *The final portion.*—It is in vain that we look in the teaching of Jesus for instruction upon many eschatological questions which have exercised the minds of theologians. His message may be summed up in the two articles, that there is a fearful punishment reserved for those who come to the Judgment in unbelief and impenitence, and that for those who are His there remains a great and an enduring inheritance. As to the conditions and the content of the blessedness of those who 'enter into life' there is a large measure of reserve. He has no doctrine of the intermediate state. He fixes our gaze on the final state in which there is no longer any human impediment to prevent the bestowal of all that is in the heart of the Father to give—peace, blessedness, glory, with opportunity of service. As to the ultimate fate of the wicked, we can only say that it is a problem for the solution of which the letter of certain sayings makes in one direction (Mt 25[46]), while His proclamation of the Father's unlimited and untiring love makes in the other.

18. The credibility of the teaching.—The teaching of Jesus contains two salient features (apart from the Christology), which are of such fundamental importance in a view of life that they may be briefly touched on from an apologetic point of view. The questions are—Is the Fatherhood of God, as Jesus proclaimed it, a fact? Is the Christian ethic, as expounded in the Sermon on the Mount, practicable?

(1) *The doctrine of the Divine Fatherhood*, on which virtually everything turns, is inexpressibly beautiful and consoling; but there is evidence that Jesus Himself was conscious of difficulties. Otherwise He would not have spoken of faith as making a demand on the will. His insistence on the need of importunity in prayer shows that He felt that events do not always, and at the first glance, fit into a scheme of things in which the hand of the Heavenly Father is manifest. In Gethsemane and on the cross, if words mean anything, He felt to the full the trial of faith. When we question human experience, there are numberless persons who say that they have been unable to trace the tender individualizing discipline of a Heavenly Father which Jesus assumed, and that things rather seem to have been governed, except in as far as they have themselves compelled results, by a blind and deaf fate. Modern views of the reign of law increase the difficulty. If the Universe is a vast mechanism, grinding on in accordance with inviolable laws to predetermined issues, where is the possibility of the intervention of a Father's hand to control the individual lot, and to mete out such blessings as we need or pray for? These are real difficulties which burden many a sincere mind and trouble many a sensitive heart. But it is to be considered that, apart from the authority which may be claimed for a revelation, there is good ground for believing in the title of man to interpret God, as Jesus did, in the light of the idea of Fatherhood. God is revealed in His works; among these works the greatest thing that has come into view on earth is the self-sacrificing love and the disinterested service which are associated with the sanctities of family life; and we may well be sceptical that God is less in goodness than a human parent, or His purpose with mankind less generous than that of an earthly father with his family. Theistic philosophy construes God in the light of man's rational and moral nature; Christ's method was similar, except that He took as His clue the moral nature as it is revealed at its best, namely, in the life of the home. Nor are the objections of the strength which is often supposed. The Universe is no doubt machine-like, but it does not therefore follow that it puts it out of the power of God to deal paternally and discriminatingly with His children. In the first place, God's greatest gifts consist of things with which the mechanism of nature has absolutely nothing to do—such as communion with God, forgiveness of sins, peace, joy, spiritual power. And as regards the outward circumstances of our lot, with which it has to do, it is quite possible to hold, as many profound thinkers have held, that God works in and through general laws, and yet is able by their instrumentality to accomplish particular providences and to vouchsafe answers to prayer. Nor does it seem that any bitter human experience can be such as to justify disbelief in the Divine Fatherhood, because the witnesses to the truth include those who have tasted the extremity of human sorrow. The paradox of it is that the belief in the Fatherhood of God comes to us attested by many who were beyond others sons and daughters of affliction; and owes its place in the world's heart above all to Him who, dying in unspeakable agony, said, 'Father, into thy hands I commend my spirit.'

(2) *The Christian ethic.*—The modern criticisms of the morality of the Sermon on the Mount are two—that it is imperfect, and that it is impracticable. The first objection has already been touched on in part, and we need refer now only to the line of criticism which finds fault with its exaltation of the passive virtues as a mark of weakness. What lends some colour to this is that, as a matter of fact, many weak characters naturally behave in a way that bears some resemblance to the

precepts of the Sermon on the Mount. They endure wrongs meekly, do not strike back, and are incapable of sustaining a feud. But it may still be, and actually is, a great thing for a strong man to do from principle what a weakling does from indolence or cowardice. The objection that the Christian ethic is impracticable is more frequently heard, at least in Great Britain. Even the Church finds it impracticable to act on our Lord's principle of secrecy in the matter of giving, while it would seem that the individual who carried out His precepts in business would be ruined, and that the nation which followed His programme of non-resistance would perish. The weight of the objection is so far reduced by the observation that our Lord's precepts are designed to be followed, not in the letter, but in the spirit—so that, *e.g.*, the really important thing is, not to give to a thief who may have stolen a coat a cloak in addition, but to cherish kindly feelings for him, and to act in his best interests, which may mean putting him in gaol. Similarly, our duty to the poor is to give wise expression to our love of them, which may very properly take account of the experience that indiscriminate charity increases the distress which it professes to relieve. The really essential thing is that brotherly love should prevail, that that which is to a large extent a fact in the sphere of the family should become truly operative in the class, the community, the nation, and among the peoples of the earth. It is to be remembered, too, that every ideal which has become practicable was once deemed impracticable—there have been states of society in which it seemed impossible to be honest, or temperate, or chaste; and though the Christian ideal towers high above the general practice of our generation, it may be that that practice will one day be looked back on as belonging to the half-savage practice of the world's youth. And in the present it has often been made sublimely practicable for those whom the Holy Spirit touched, and whose hearts were set aflame with a Christ-like love of man. W. P. Paterson.

JETHER.—**1.** Father-in-law of Moses (RVm of Ex 4^{18} E), prob. a mistake for **Jethro.** **2.** Eldest son of Gideon (Jg 8^{20}). **3.** An Ishmaelite, father of Amasa (1 K $2^{5.\ 32}$, 1 Ch 2^{17}. See Ithra). **4. 5.** Two men of Judah (1 Ch 2^{32} 4^{17}). **6.** A man of Asher (1 Ch 7^{38}); called in v.^{37} **Ithran,** the name of an Edomite clan (Gn 36^{26}).

JETHETH.—An Edomite clan (Gn 36^{40} = 1 Ch 1^{51}).

JETHRO (once, Ex 4^{18a} **Jether**).—An Arab sheik and priest of the Sinaitic Peninsula, the father-in-law of Moses; referred to by this name in Ex 3^{1} 4^{18} and $18^{1.\ 2ff.}$ (E), as **Reuel** in the present text of Ex 2^{18} (J), and as **Hobab** in Nu 10^{29} (also J). He welcomed Moses and received him into his family (Ex 2^{21}), and many years later visited him at Sinai (Ex $18^{1ff.}$), heard with wonder and delight of the doings of Jahweh on behalf of Israel (v.$^{9ff.}$), and gave advice about administration (vv.$^{17-26}$). Later still he probably acted as guide to the Israelites (Nu $10^{29ff.}$; cf. the AV of Jg 1^{16} and 4^{11}). As to the two or three names, it may be noted that Arabic inscriptions (Minæan) repeatedly give a priest two names. The name *Jethro* (Heb. *Yithrō*) may mean 'pre-eminence.' See art. Hobab. W. Taylor Smith.

JETUR.—See Ituræa.

JEUEL.—**1.** A Judahite (1 Ch 9^{6}). **2.** A Levitical family name (2 Ch 29^{13}). **3.** A contemporary of Ezra (Ezr 8^{13}). In **2** and **3** *Qerē* has **Jeiel.**

JEUSH.—**1.** A son of Esau by Oholibamah; also the eponym of a Horite clan (Gn $36^{5.\ 14.\ 18}$ = 1 Ch 1^{35}). **2.** A Benjamite chief (7^{10}). **3.** A descendant of Saul (1 Ch 8^{39}). **4.** The name of a Levitical family (1 Ch $23^{10f.}$). **5.** A son of Rehoboam (2 Ch 11^{19}).

JEUZ.—The eponym of a Benjamite family (1 Ch 8^{10}).

JEW.—The name by which the descendants of Israel have been known for many centuries. It is corrupted from *Judah*. After the division of the kingdom in B.C. 937, the southern portion was called by the name of the powerful tribe of Judah, which composed most of its inhabitants. It was in this kingdom that the Deuteronomic reform occurred, which was the first step in the creation of an organized religion sharply differentiated from the other religions of the world. This religion, developed during the Exile, bore the name of the kingdom of Judah. All Israelites who maintained their identity were its adherents, hence the name 'Jew' has absorbed the name 'Israel.' For their history, see Israel (I. 21-30) and Dispersion. For their religion, see Israel (II. 5. 6).

On the special meaning of 'the Jews' in Jn. see p. 481b f. George A. Barton.

JEWEL.—Gn 24^{53} 'the servant brought forth jewels of silver, and jewels of gold.' They were not jewels *set* in silver and in gold. Ornaments made of gold or silver were in older English called jewels. Now the word is confined to precious stones.

JEWELS AND PRECIOUS STONES.—The greater number of the precious stones in the Bible occur in three lists which it will be instructive to tabulate at the outset. These are: (A) the stones in the high priest's breastplate (Ex 28^{17-20} 39^{10-13}); (B) those in the 'covering' of the king of Tyre (Ezk 28^{13}); (C) those in the foundation of the New Jerusalem (Rev $21^{19.\ 20}$). The three lists are to some extent mutually connected. A contains 12 stones. B in Heb. has 9, all taken from A, with traces of A's order in their arrangement. In LXX the two lists are identical, and possibly the Heb. of B is corrupt. C also has 12 stones, and is evidently partly dependent on the LXX of A and B.

It seems likely that in List A as well as in List B the LXX *iaspis* corresponds to the Heb. *yashepheh*, and that the sixth and twelfth names in the Heb. of A have been interchanged.

Reference to these tables will simplify the use of the following notes, which include other precious stones of

A.—The High Priest's Breastplate.

Exodus	Hebrew	LXX	AV	RV
28^{17} 39^{10}	1. 'Odem	Sardion	Sardius (mg. Ruby)	Sardius (mg. Ruby)
	2. Pitdah	Topazion	Topaz	Topaz
	3. Bareqeth	Smaragdos	Carbuncle	Carbuncle (mg. Emerald)
28^{18} 39^{11}	4. Nophek	Anthrax	Emerald	Emerald (mg. Carbuncle)
	5. Sappir	Sappheiros	Sapphire	Sapphire
	6. Yahalom (Yashepheh?)	Iaspis	Diamond	Diamond (mg. Sardonyx)
28^{19} 39^{12}	7. Leshem	Ligurion	Ligure	Jacinth (mg. Amber)
	8. Shebo	Achates	Agate	Agate
	9. 'Achlamah	Amethystos	Amethyst	Amethyst
28^{20} 39^{13}	10. Tarshish	Chrysolithos	Beryl	Beryl (mg. Chalcedony)
	11. Shoham	Beryllion	Onyx	Onyx (mg. Beryl)
	12. Yashepheh (Yahalom?)	Onychion	Jasper	Jasper

the Bible besides those mentioned above. In endeavouring to identify the stones in List A, three things have to be kept in view. From the dimensions of the breastplate—a span (8 or 9 inches) each way (Ex 28^{16})—the 12 stones which composed it must, even after allowing space for their settings, have been of considerable size, and therefore of only moderate rarity. Further, as they were engraved with the names of the tribes, they can have been of only moderate hardness. Lastly, preference should be given to the stones which archæology shows to have been actually used for ornamental work in early Biblical times. In regard to this point, the article by Professor Flinders Petrie (Hastings' *DB* iv. 619–21) is of special value.

B.—The 'Covering' of the King of Tyre (Ezk 28^{13}).

Hebrew	LXX	AV	RV
1. 'Odem .	1. Sardion .	Sardius (mg. Ruby)	Sardius (mg. Ruby)
2. Pitdah .	2. Topazion .	Topaz	Topaz
9. Bareqeth	3. Smaragdos	Carbuncle	Carbuncle (mg. Emerald)
8. Nophek .	4. Anthrax .	Emerald (mg. Chrysoprase)	Emerald (mg. Carbuncle)
7. Sappir .	5. Sappheiros	Sapphire	Sapphire
6. Yashepheh	6. Iaspis . .	Jasper	Jasper
	7. Ligurion .		
	8. Achates .		
	9. Amethystos		
4. Tarshish .	10. Chrysolithos	Beryl (mg. Chrysolite)	Beryl
5. Shoham .	11. Beryllion .	Onyx	Onyx
3. Yahalom .	12. Onychion .	Diamond	Diamond

Adamant (Ezk 3^{9}, Zec 7^{12}).—See **Diamond** below.

Agate (List A 8 [Heb. *shebo*]). The Gr. equivalent *achates* (whence 'agate') was the name of a river in Sicily. The modern agate is a form of silica, occurring in nodules which when cut across show concentric bands of varying transparency and colour. The ancient *achates* (Pliny, *HN* xxxvii. 54) probably included the opaque coloured varieties of silica now distinguished as *jasper* (see **Jasper** below). Flinders Petrie suggests that *shebo* may be the **carnelian**—also a form of silica (see **Sardius** below). 'Agates' (RVm 'rubies') stands for Heb. *kadkod* in Is 54^{12} (LXX *iaspis*), Ezk 27^{16}. Red jasper is perhaps to be understood.

C.—The Foundations of the New Jerusalem.

Rev.	Greek	AV	RV
21^{19}	1. Iaspis . .	Jasper	Jasper
	2. Sappheiros .	Sapphire	Sapphire (mg. Lapis-lazuli)
	3. Chalkedon .	Chalcedony	Chalcedony
	4. Smaragdos .	Emerald	Emerald
	5. Sardonyx .	Sardonyx	Sardonyx
	6. Sardion .	Sardius	Sardius
	7. Chrysolithos .	Chrysolyte	Chrysolite
21^{20}	8. Beryllos . .	Beryl	Beryl
	9. Topazion .	Topaz	Topaz
	10. Chrysoprasos	Chrysoprasus	Chrysoprase
	11. Hyakinthos .	Jacinth	Jacinth (mg. Sapphire)
	12. Amethystos .	Amethyst	Amethyst

Amber.—Doubtful tr. in Ezk $1^{4.\ 27}$ 8^{2} of *chashmal* (AVm 'electrum,' Amer. RV 'glowing metal'); cf. also **Ligure** below.

Amethyst (List A 9 [Heb. *'achlamah*, LXX *amethystos*], C 12 [*amethystos*]). It is agreed that the common amethyst, properly called amethystine quartz, is meant. This is rock-crystal (transparent silica) coloured purple by manganese and iron. The Oriental amethyst is a much rarer gem, composed of violet corundum (oxide of aluminium),—in short, a purple sapphire. The name of the amethyst is derived from its supposed property, no doubt associated with its wine-like colour, of acting as a preventive of intoxication.

Beryl (List A 10, B 4; also Ca 5^{14}, Ezk 1^{16} 10^{9}, Dn 10^{6} [Heb. *tarshish*]). What the '**tarshish stone**' was is difficult to say. LXX renders it variously, but never by *beryllion* or *beryllos*. Topaz (RVm in Ca 5^{14}), yellow rock-crystal (false topaz), yellow serpentine, jacinth, and yellow jasper (Flinders Petrie) have been suggested as possible identifications. It is generally agreed that beryl is more likely to correspond to *shoham* (List A 11, B 5; Gn 2^{12}, Ex 25^{7} 28^{9} $35^{9.\ 27}$ 39^{6}, 1 Ch 29^{2}, Job 28^{16}), which LXX renders *beryllion* in A, EV always '**onyx**,' but RVm generally 'beryl.' Beryl is a silicate of aluminium and beryllium, with a wide range of tints from yellow, through green, to blue, according to the proportion of the colouring matter (oxide of chromium). The commonest form of the crystal is a six-sided prism. Now each of the two *shoham* stones in Ex $28^{9.\ 10}$ 39^{6} was engraved with the names of *six* of the tribes of Israel. A hexagonal prism such as beryl would best lend itself to this purpose. In NT *beryllos* occurs in List C 8.

Carbuncle (List A 3, B 9 [Heb. *bareqeth* or *-ath*, LXX *smaragdos*]). *Bareqeth* is simply a 'lightning' or 'flashing' stone.' But 'carbuncle' (from *carbunculus*, a small glowing coal) denotes a red or fiery stone, and cannot correspond to the *smaragdos*, which was green (Pliny, *HN* xxxvii. 16). It is rather the equivalent of Gr. *anthrax* (Heb. *nophek*, List A 4, B 8). Pliny names 12 varieties of *smaragdos*, the most important of which is doubtless our *emerald*. This stone should probably be substituted for 'carbuncle' in A and B; so RVm (see **Emerald** below). Flinders Petrie, however, thinks that the *smaragdos* was greenish rock-crystal (silica). 'Carbuncle' occurs more appropriately in Is 54^{12} for Heb. *'abhnē'eqdach* ('stones of burning,' RVm 'rubies'). Any red stone like the garnet may be meant.

Chalcedony (List C 3). The modern stone of this name is semi-opaque or milky silica, but the ancient one was probably the green *dioptase* (silicate of copper). This at least seems to have been the kind of *smaragdos* that was found in the copper mines of Chalcedon (Pliny, *HN* xxxvii. 18). There was some confusion, however, between the 'stone of Chalcedon' and the *carchedonia* (stone of Carthage), which was red (Pliny, *ib.* xxxvii. 25, 30). *Carchedon* occurs as a various reading for *chalcedon* in Rev 21^{19}.

Chrysolite (RV; AV 'chrysolyte'; List C 7). In modern mineralogy this is the *peridote* (see **Topaz** below). The ancient gem was some other golden-coloured stone. Yellow quartz, yellow corundum, jacinth, or some variety of beryl may possibly be understood.

Chrysoprase (RV; AV 'chrysoprasus,' List C 10). The *prasius* of Pliny (*HN* xxxvii. 34) was a leek-green chalcedony (from Gr. *prason*, a leek), of which there was a golden-tinted variety. The latter may be the NT chrysoprase. Possibly, however, both chrysoprase and chrysolite in List C refer to yellowish shades of beryl. The modern chrysoprase is a slightly translucent silica, coloured a beautiful apple-green by oxide of nickel.

Coral (Job 28^{18}, Ezk 27^{16}) is the calcareous 'skeleton' secreted by some of the compound actinozoa. Red coral (*corallium rubrum*) is common in the Mediterranean Sea and the Indian Ocean. In the living state the branching calcareous framework is covered by the 'cœnosarc' or common tissue of the organism, from which the individual polyps protrude. In the coral of commerce the living tissue has of course disappeared, and only the solid 'skeleton' remains. 'Coral' is also a possible rendering of *peninim* (so RVm in the passages under **Ruby** below).

Crystal.—In Job 28^{17}, AV thus renders Heb. *zekukith*, but RV understands 'glass.' In the next

verse, however, RV has 'crystal' for Heb. *gabish*, instead of AV 'pearls.' In Ezk 1^{22} 'crystal' stands for Heb. *qerach* (RVm 'ice'). In NT *krystallos* appears in Rev 4^6 21^{11} 22^1. In all these cases except the first the reference is probably to rock-crystal (colourless transparent quartz).

Diamond (List A 6, B 3). The Heb. *yahalom* probably stood in the twelfth place in List A, where LXX has *onychion*. Hence in this list RVm has 'sardonyx' for 'diamond.' The latter is in any case an impossible rendering. The diamond was unknown in ancient times. It would have been too hard to engrave, and a diamond large enough to have borne the name of a tribe and to have filled a space in the high priest's breastplate would have been of incredible value. The *yahalom* was most likely the *onyx*, a banded form of silica (see **Onyx** below). 'Diamond' also occurs in Jer 17^1 as the material of an engraving tool. The Heb. is *shamir*, which is rendered **'adamant'** in two other passages where it is found (Ezk 3^9, Zec 7^{12}). The reference is probably to *corundum* or *emery* (aluminium oxide), a very hard mineral.

Emerald (List A 4, B 8; also Ezk 27^{16} [Heb. *nophek*, LXX *anthrax*, RVm **'carbuncle'**]). Some red fiery stone is plainly intended, the red garnet being the most likely. 'Emerald' is more probably the equivalent of Heb. *bareqeth* in List A 3, B 9 (see **Carbuncle** above). The common emerald is identical in composition with the beryl, but differs from it in hardness and in its bright green colour. The Oriental emerald (green corundum) is very rare. In NT 'emerald' stands for *smaragdos*; in List C 4, and in Rev 4^3, where the rainbow is compared to it. The latter passage is among Flinders Petrie's grounds for supposing that *smaragdos* is rock-crystal, which produces by its refraction all the prismatic colours.

Jacinth (Gr. *hyakinthos*, List C 11). In Rev 9^{17} the breastplates of the visionary horsemen are compared to jacinth (RV **'hyacinth'**). There is no doubt that *hyakinthos* denoted the modern *sapphire* (blue corundum). So RVm in List C. The modern jacinth is a silicate of zircon. RV reads 'jacinth' for Heb. *leshem* in List A 7 (AV 'ligure').

Jasper (List A 12, B 6). The Heb. is *yashepheh*, and in B this corresponds to the LXX *iaspis*. Probably *yashepheh* should stand sixth in A also, in which case *iaspis* would again be the LXX equivalent. In NT *iaspis* occurs in List C 1, and also in Rev 4^3 $21^{11.\ 18}$. In 21^{11} the 'jasper stone' is luminous and clear as crystal. The *iaspis* of Pliny was primarily a green stone (*HN* xxxvii. 37), but he enumerates many other varieties. It was also often transparent, and we must apparently take it to mean the green and other shades of chalcedony or semi-transparent silica. In modern terminology jasper denotes rather the completely opaque forms of the same substance, which may be of various colours—black, brown, red, green, or yellow.

Ligure (List A 7). The Heb. *leshem* is rendered by LXX *ligurion*, an obscure word which is possibly the same as *lyngkurion*, the latter being a yellow stone which was supposed to be the congealed urine of the lynx (Pliny, *HN* xxxvii. 13). Some identify the *lyngkurion* with the modern *jacinth* or yellow jargoon (silicate of zircon). So RV. Others take the *ligurion* to be **amber**, which the Greeks obtained from Liguria (so RVm). Flinders Petrie identifies it with the *yellow agate*.

Onyx (List A 11, B 5; also Gn 2^{12}, Ex 25^7 28^9 $35^{9.\ 27}$ 39^6, 1 Ch 29^2, Job 28^{16}). The Heb. *shoham* is rendered variously in LXX, but in List A by *beryllion*, and it is probable that *shoham* is the beryl; so generally RVm (see **Beryl** above). Flinders Petrie suggests that *green felspar* may be intended. It would seem more correct to make 'onyx' the twelfth stone in List A, where LXX has *onychion*. If, as is probable, the Heb. *yahalom* (A 6) and *yashepheh* (A 12) should change places, *onychion* would thus stand for the former, which RVm renders 'sardonyx.' We should then substitute 'onyx' or 'sardonyx' for 'diamond' in List B 3 also. The onyx was a banded semi-transparent silica similar to the modern agate, the name being suggested by the contrast between the white and flesh-coloured zones of the finger-nail. In the special variety called the Roman onyx—the modern *nicolo* (oniculus)—the layers are opaque, and alternately whitish-blue and black.

Ruby (always in pl. 'rubies' [Heb. *peninim* or *peniyyim*], Job 28^{18}, Pr 3^{15} 8^{11} 20^{15} 31^{10} [in all which passages RVm has 'red coral' or 'pearls'], La 4^7 [RVm 'corals'; in this last passage the context shows that some red stone is meant]). The true or Oriental ruby is red corundum (aluminium oxide), a very precious stone. The spinel ruby is an aluminate of magnesium. Both would be included along with red garnets under the general name 'carbuncle.'

Sapphire (List A 5, B 7, also Ex 24^{10}, Job $28^{6.\ 16}$, Ca 5^{14}, Is 54^{11}, La 4^7, Ezk 1^{26} 10^1 [Heb. *sappir*, LXX *sappheiros*]). *Sappheiros* occurs in NT in List C 2. Pliny (*HN* xxxvii. 32) describes this stone as of an azure colour, opaque, refulgent, with spots of gold. This cannot apply to the transparent modern sapphire, which was the ancient *hyakinthos* (see **Jacinth** above). It exactly fits the *lapis lazuli* (mainly a silicate of calcium, aluminium, and sodium), which is of a bright blue colour and is often speckled with yellow iron pyrites (sulphide of iron). In powdered form it is known as 'ultramarine.'

Sardius (List A 1, B 1 [Heb. *'odem*, LXX *sardion*]). In NT *sardion* occurs in list C 6, and also in Rev 4^3 (AV 'sardine stone,' RV 'sardius'). The root meaning of *'odem* is 'red,' and *sardion*, though popularly derived from Sardis (Pliny, *HN* xxxvii. 31), is rather the Persian *sered* ('yellowish red'). AVm and RVm have **'ruby'** in Lists A and B, but it is most likely that the 'sardius' is **carnelian** (semi-transparent silica, coloured red by oxide of iron). Flinders Petrie suggests *red jasper*, which is much the same in composition, but opaque.

Sardonyx (List C 5; also RVm for 'diamond' in list A 6). A variety of onyx or banded silica in which red layers of sardius were present. The typical sardonyx was that in which the bands were alternately black, white, and red, for Pliny (*HN* xxxvii. 75) describes how the genuine stone was imitated by cementing layers of these colours together.

Topaz (List A 2, B 2; Job 28^{19} [Heb. *pitdah*, LXX *topazion*]). *Topazion* stands also in List C 9. The stone so named by the Greeks was not the modern topaz (silicate of aluminium in which some of the oxygen is replaced by fluorine), but the *peridote* (yellowish-green silicate of magnesium). Flinders Petrie thinks that the name may have been given still earlier to *green serpentine*, which was actually used in Egyptian work, and is a hydrated form of the same substance as peridote. The Oriental topaz is yellow corundum, and the so-called 'false topaz' is yellow quartz. RVm has 'topaz' for 'beryl' (*i.e.* the 'tarshish stone') in Ca 5^{14}.

If the stones above mentioned be classified according to their composition, it will appear that, in spite of the bewildering variety of names, the principal groups are comparatively few.

The largest number of stones come under *silica*, the crystallized form of which is distinguished as quartz. When colourless or nearly so, quartz is called 'rock-crystal.' Yellow quartz is the false topaz, violet or amethystine quartz the common amethyst. The amorphous semi-opaque varieties of silica are grouped under the modern term 'chalcedony.' This may be red (sardius, carnelian), leek-green (prasius, ancient jasper), or banded (onyx, sardonyx, modern agate). Opaque silica gives the modern jasper (ancient agate), which may be coloured red, green, yellow, etc.

A second group is formed by the *silicates* (silica in combination with metallic oxides). Thus we have modern jacinth (silicate of zircon), peridote or ancient topaz (silicate of magnesium), dioptase or ancient chalcedony (silicate of copper), modern topaz (mainly silicate

of aluminium), felspar (silicate of aluminium with sodium, potassium or calcium), beryl and common emerald (silicate of aluminium and beryllium), lapis lazuli or ancient sapphire (silicate of aluminium, calcium and sodium), garnet (silicate of aluminium and calcium, or a similar combination).

A third group consists of *aluminium oxide* (alumina), and includes the opaque corundum, of which emery is an impure form, and the transparent modern sapphire (blue), Oriental ruby (red), Oriental topaz (yellow), Oriental amethyst (violet), and Oriental emerald (green).

Lastly, we have an *aluminate* (alumina in combination with a metallic oxide) in the spinel ruby (aluminate of magnesium).

Alabaster in the modern sense is gypsum or sulphate of lime. The ancient or Oriental alabaster, however, was a form of carbonate of lime, and was largely used for vases, which were thought to be specially adapted for preserving unguents (Pliny, *HN* xiii. 3). The term 'alabaster' seems to have been applied in a general sense to vases even when not made of this material. There are two well-known instances in NT in which an alabaster '**box**' (AV) or '**cruse**' (RV) of ointment was used (Lk 7^{37}, Mt 26^{7}, Mk 14^{3}).

JAMES PATRICK.

JEWRY.—This old form occurs frequently in the older versions, but rarely in AV. In Dn 5^{13} it stands for *Judah*; in Lk 23^{5}, Jn 7^{1} and occasionally in the Apocr. for *Judæa*.

JEZANIAH.—A Judahite military officer who joined Gedaliah at Mizpah (Jer 40^{8}). He is called in 2 K 25^{23} **Jaazaniah**, and is apparently to be identified also with **Azariah** of Jer 43^{2}.

JEZEBEL (meaning uncertain).—Daughter of Ethbaal, king of Tyre and previously high priest of the Tyrian Baal; wife of Ahab, king of Israel, of the dynasty of Omri. Jezebel's evil influence in the land of Israel, especially in combating the religion of Jahweh in the interests of Baal-worship, was exercised not only during the twenty-two years of Ahab's reign, but also during the thirteen years of the rule of her two sons, Ahaziah and Joram; moreover, this influence extended, though in a less degree, to the Southern Kingdom of Judah, where Athaliah, the daughter of Jezebel, seems to have followed in the footsteps of her mother (2 K 8^{18}). In her strength of character, her lust for power, her unshrinking and resolute activity, her remorseless brushing aside of anything and everything that interfered with the carrying out of her designs, she was the veritable prototype of Catherine de Medicis.

In the OT the figure of Jezebel is presented in connexion with some dramatic episodes which are probably recorded as illustrations, rather than as exceptionally flagrant examples, of her normal mode of procedure. These are: the account of the trial of strength between the prophets of Baal and Elijah (1 K 18^{19}–19^{3}), the narrative about Naboth and his vineyard (1 K $21^{1\text{-}16}$), and, as illustrating her obstinate, unbending character to the very end—note especially her words to Jehu in 2 K 9^{31}—the story of her death (2 K $9^{30\text{-}37}$).

In Rev 2^{20} the name of Jezebel occurs; she calls herself a prophetess, and tempts men to wickedness. It is questionable whether the mention of the name here has any reference at all to the queen Jezebel.

W. O. E. OESTERLEY.

JEZELUS.—**1.** 1 Es 8^{32} = Ezr 8^{5} **Jahaziel.** **2.** 1 Es 8^{35} = Ezr 8^{9} **Jehiel.**

JEZER.—The head of the **Jezerites** (Nu 26^{49}, 1 Ch 7^{13}).

JEZIEL.—A Benjamite (1 Ch 12^{3}).

JEZRAHIAH.—The leader of the singers at the dedication of the walls of Jerus. (Neh 12^{42}). In 1 Ch $7^{3b\text{-}5}$ the same name is rendered **Izrahiah.**

JEZREEL.—The Hebrew name from which is derived the name of the Plain of Esdraelon (see ESDRAELON). The plain is called 'the Valley of Jezreel' in Jos 17^{16}, Jg 6^{33}, Hos 1^{5}.

1. Primarily, however, it denotes an important city overlooking the Plain on the south in the border of the tribe of Issachar. Here, by 'the fountain of Jezreel'—probably the powerful spring known as '*Ain Jalūd*—the Israelites encamped against the Philistines before the battle of Gilboa (1 S 29^{1}). It is named as an important town in the short-lived kingdom of Ishbosheth (2 S 2^{9}). Under Solomon it was in the administrative district of Baana (1 K 4^{12}). But the chief interest of the town's history centres in the time of the reign of Ahab, who established here a royal residence, to which he retired when the three years' drought came to an end (1 K 21^{1} 18^{45}), and whence he saw and coveted the vineyard of Naboth (21). It is probable, however, that the 'ivory palace' of 1 K 22^{39} was not at Jezreel, but at the capital, Samaria. To Jezreel came Joram to recover from the wounds received in battle with the Syrians (2 K 8^{29}); and here, on the revolt of Jehu, were that king and his mother Jezebel slain (ch. 9), as well as all that remained of the house of Ahab (ch. 10). This is the last we hear of Jezreel, which thereafter seems to have sunk into insignificance. The place is represented both in situation and in name by the modern village of *Zer'in*, a poor and dirty hamlet. Except a few ruined tombs and fragments of sarcophagi, there are no remains of antiquity to be seen in the neighbourhood.

2. There was a second Jezreel, of which nothing is known save that it was in the territory of Judah (Jos 15^{56}) and was the native place of one of David's wives, Abinoam (1 S 25^{43}). **3.** A Judahite (1 Ch 4^{3}). **4.** The symbolical name of Hosea's eldest son (Hos 1^{4}). **5.** *Jezreel* ('whom God soweth') is a title symbolically applied to Israel in Hos $2^{22f.}$.

R. A. S. MACALISTER.

JEZRIELUS (1 Es 9^{27}) = Ezr 10^{26} **Jehiel.**

JIDLAPH.—A son of Nahor (Gn 22^{22}).

JOAB ('Jahweh is father').—**1.** One of the sons of Zeruiah—the eldest according to 2 S 2^{18}, the second according to 1 Ch 2^{16}—and thus the nephew of David. It is perhaps not too much to say that, humanly speaking, the Davidic dynasty would not have been established had it not been for the military genius and the loyalty of Joab. So consistently loyal was Joab to the royal house (see ADONIJAH), that one is tempted to question whether the passage, 1 K $2^{5.\ 6}$, which describes David's ingratitude, is genuine; certain it is that if David really felt with regard to Abner and Amasa as he is described as feeling in this passage, it is surprising that he should have left to the wisdom of Solomon the duty of inflicting the punishment due; Joab's death would seem to have been due rather to his loyalty in supporting David's rightful heir, Adonijah.

Above all, Joab was *a skilled general*; this is seen by the number of victories he gained, namely, over the army of Ishbosheth under the leadership of Abner (2 S $2^{12\text{-}32}$); over the Jebusites (1 Ch $11^{6\text{-}9}$); over the Syrians and Ammonites (2 S $10^{1\text{-}19}$ 11^{1} $12^{26\text{-}29}$); over Absalom ($18^{5\text{-}17}$); over Sheba ($20^{4\text{-}22}$). These are specifically mentioned, but there must have been very many more, for those which are spoken of generally as David's victories were in all probability due to Joab, who is repeatedly spoken of as David's commander-in-chief (*e.g.* 2 S 8^{16} 20^{22} etc.).

Secondly, *his loyalty to the house of David* is illustrated by his whole life of devoted service, and especially by such conspicuous instances as his desire to make his victory over the Ammonites appear to have been gained by David (2 S $12^{26ff.}$); his slaying of Abner [though other motives undoubtedly played a part in this act, it is certain that Joab regarded Abner as a real danger to the State ($3^{24.\ 25}$)]; the reconciliation which he brought about between David and Absalom ($14^{1ff.}$); his slaying of Absalom when he realized his treachery to David ($18^{14ff.}$ 19^{6}); his words to David in 2 S $19^{6\text{-}7}$—one of the most striking instances of his attachment; and lastly, his championship of the rightful heir to the

throne, which cost him his life (1 K 1^{17} 2^{34}). How close was the tie between David and Joab may be seen, further, in the blind obedience of the latter, who was willing to be partaker in David's sin (2 S 11^{6-25}).

The darker side of Joab's character is to be seen in *his vindictiveness and ruthless cruelty*; for although it is only fair to plead the spirit of the age, the exigencies of the State's weal, and the demand of blood-revenge, yet the treacherous and bloodthirsty acts of which Joab was guilty constitute a dark blot upon his character (see 2 S 3^{22-27}, 1 K 11^{16}; cf. 2 S 18^{14} $20^{9.\ 10}$).

2. Son of Seraiah (1 Ch 4^{14}; cf. Neh 11^{35}). **3.** A family which returned with Zerubbabel (Ezr 2^{6} = Neh 7^{11} = 1 Es 5^{11}; cf. Ezr 8^{9} = 1 Es 8^{35}).

W. O. E. Oesterley.

JOACHAZ.—1 Es 1^{34} = **Jehoahaz,** the son of Josiah; cf. 2 Ch 36^{1}.

JOADANUS.—One of the sons of Jesus, the son of Josedek (1 Es 9^{19}); called in Ezr 10^{18} **Gedaliah.**

JOAH.—**1.** Son of Asaph, and 'recorder' at Hezekiah's court (2 K $18^{18.\ 26.\ 37}$ = Is $36^{3.\ 11.\ 22}$). **2.** A Levitical family name (1 Ch 6^{21} [apparently same as **Ethan** of v.^{42}], 2 Ch 29^{12}). **3.** A Levite (1 Ch 26^{4}). **4.** Son of Joahaz, and 'recorder' at Josiah's court (2 Ch 34^{8}).

JOAHAZ.—**1.** Father of Joah the 'recorder' (2 Ch 34^{8}). **2.** See **Jehoahaz, 1.**

JOAKIM.—The name is spelt **Jehoiakim** in canon. books, but **Joacim** or **Joachim** in Apocr. AV, and **Joakim** everywhere in Apocr. RV.

In Apocr. the name belongs to *six* persons. **1.** King Jehoiakim (1 Es 1^{37-42}, Bar 1^{3}). **2.** Jehoiachin, son of Jehoiakim, who is erroneously called Joakim in 1 Es 1^{43}. **3.** A priest, son of Hilkiah, to whom the captives are said to have sent money for the purchase of offerings and incense (Bar 1^{7}). **4.** A high priest in the days of Holofernes and Judith (Jth $4^{6.\ 14}$). **5.** A son of Zorobabel (1 Es 5^{5}). **6.** The husband of Susanna (Sus. $^{1.\ 4.\ 63}$).

JOANAN.—An ancestor of Jesus (Lk 3^{27}).

JOANNA.—The wife of Chuza, the steward of Herod Antipas, one of 'certain women which had been healed of evil spirits and infirmities,' She ministered to Jesus of her substance, and after the crucifixion helped to anoint His body (Lk 8^{3} 24^{10}).

JOANNES.—**1.** 1 Es 8^{38} = Ezr 8^{12} **Johanan. 2.** 1 Es 9^{29} = Ezr 10^{28} **Jehohanan.**

JOARIB.—The head of the priestly family from which the Maccabees were descended (1 Mac 2^{1} 14^{29}). Acc. to 1 Ch 24^{7} this family, there called that of **Jehoiarib,** was the first of the twenty-four courses of priests.

JOASH.—**1.** See Jehoash. **2.** The father of Gideon (Jg 6^{11} etc.). **3.** A son of Ahab (1 K 22^{26}). **4.** A son of Shelah (1 Ch 4^{22}). **5.** A Benjamite (1 Ch 12^{3}). **6.** A son of Becher (1 Ch 7^{8}). **7.** A servant of David (1 Ch 27^{28}).

JOB.—**1. The man Job.**—Job is referred to in the OT in the book bearing his name, and in Ezk 14^{12-20}, where he is mentioned as a conspicuous example of righteousness; in the Apocr. in Sir 49^{9} [Heb. after Smend and Ryssel], and the Vulg. of To 2^{12}; and in the NT in Ja 5^{11}, the last two passages alluding to his patience. The reference in Ezk. shows that righteous Job was a familiar figure in some Jewish circles in the 6th cent. B.C. On the assumption that the Job of the book is sketched, as to the main outlines, after ancient tradition, probably the same in substance as that known to Ezk., we have to think of him as a Gentile living in patriarchal times either in the Hauran or on the confines of Idumæa and Arabia (see Uz), and his friends also must be regarded as Gentiles.

This conclusion is supported by the names of God generally employed in the poem. The Tetragrammaton, which is used 31 times by the writer in the prose parts, occurs only once in the poetic portions (12^{9}), and is ascribed to Job only in one verse in the Prologue (1^{21}). *Adonai* is also met with once (28^{28}). God is usually referred to by Job and his associates by names not distinctively Jewish: *El*, 55 times; *Eloah*, 41 times out of 57 in the whole OT; and *Shaddai*, 31 times out of 48 in OT; *Elohim* is comparatively rare in the poem. The entire absence of distinct allusions to Israelitish history points to the same conclusion. The great word *torah*, 'law,' is used only once (22^{22}), and then in the general sense of 'instruction.' According to a lost work, 'Concerning the Jews,' by one Aristeas, cited by Euseb. (*Ev. Praep.* ix. 25), and the appendix in the LXX, said to be taken from a Syriac book but standing in some relation to Aristeas, Job is to be identified with Jobab, king of Edom (Gn 36^{33}). This identification, which appears also in the *Testament of Job*, a work probably containing an ancient Jewish nucleus, although critically worthless, is not without interest and value, as possibly preserving a fragment of old tradition. The name *Job*, which probably belongs to the traditional story, is in Heb. *'Iyyōb*. The apparently similar name *Job* (AV) of Gn 46^{13}, a son of Issachar, is differently spelt (in Heb. *Yōb*), and is therefore given in the RV as *Iob*. *Jobab*, which is met with in several connexions (Gn 10^{29} Joktanite; Gn 36^{33} Edomite; Jos 11^{1} Canaanite; 1 Ch 8^{9} Benjamite), seems to be quite distinct, although Cheyne remarks (in *EBi*) that the possibility of a connexion must be admitted. The meaning of *'Iyyōb* is extremely uncertain. If explained from the Heb., it means either 'attacked' or 'attacker' (Siegfried in *JE*). If explained with the help of the Arabic *'ayyūb*, it means 'returning,' 'penitent.' In all probability it was a foreign name taken over with the story, which seems in the first instance to have been of foreign origin. The name *Aiab*, which was current in the north of Palestine *c.* B.C. 1400 (Tell el-Amarna Letters, No. 237 Winckler [118 Petrie]), may be a Canaanitish equivalent, but no stress can be laid on the similarity. It has also been noticed that *aiabu* in Bab. meant 'enemy' (*ib.* 50 Winckler [147 Petrie]), but this cannot be regarded at present as more than a coincidence.

2. The Book of Job.—(1) *Place in the Canon.*—Except in the Syriac Bible, which locates it between the Pentateuch and Joshua, on account of its supposed great antiquity, the book is always reckoned as one of the *Kethubim* or *Hagiographa*, and is often given the third place. It is usually grouped with Ps. and Prov., with which it is associated by the use of a special system of accentuation (except in the Prologue and Epilogue), but the order of the three books varies.

In a *baraitha* in the Bab. Talm. (*Baba bathra* 14*b*), which probably gives the most ancient order (Ryle, *Canon of OT*, 232), it comes after Ruth and Ps.; in many Heb. MSS, especially Spanish, and in the Massorah, after Ch. and Ps.; in the German MSS, which have been followed in most printed editions, after Ps. and Proverbs. Of the LXX MSS Codex B has the remarkable order: Ps., Pr., Ec., Ca., Job, Wis., Sir.; A has Ps., Job, Proverbs. In printed editions of the LXX and Vulg. Job usually comes first, and this order is generally adopted in European versions, owing no doubt to the influence of the Latin Bible.

(2) *Text.*—The Heb. text of Job was long regarded as excellent, but has been much questioned in recent years, some critics resorting very largely to emendation with the help of the Versions and free conjecture. The reaction against the earlier view has probably led some scholars too far. When the difficulty of the theme, its bold treatment in many places, and the large number of words, forms, and uses not met with elsewhere (according to Friedrich Delitzsch, 259) are duly taken into account, the condition of the text is seen to be less corrupt than might have been expected. Much discussion has been occasioned by the peculiar character of the LXX as restored to its original form by means of the Sahidic translation first published in 1889. This version differs in extent from the Massoretic text more widely in Job than in any other book. There are two interesting additions: the expansion of 2^{9} and the appendix at the end of the book; but the chief characteristic is omission. A little less than one-fifth of the Heb. text is absent—about 400 lines out of, roundly speaking, 2200 for the whole book and 2075 for the poetic portions. A few have found in this shorter edition the original text of the book, but most ascribe the minus of the LXX to defective understanding of the Hebrew, imperfect

acquaintance with the structure of Heb. poetry, and the desire to conform to Hellenic standards, etc., rather than to variation of text. This version therefore, in the opinion of most competent judges, is of little use for the restoration of the text. Here and there it suggests a better reading, *e.g.* in 8^{13a} 'latter end' for 'paths,' but in the main the Massoretic text is greatly to be preferred. It is not improbable, however, that the arrangement of the latter is wrong in a few passages: *e.g.* in ch. 31, where vv.$^{35-37}$ form a more fitting close than vv.$^{38-40}$.

(3) *Analysis.*—The book, as we have it, is a poem framed in prose, with bits of prose interspersed. The prose portions are as follows: the introduction, often called the Prologue (ch. 1 f.), stating the problem, 'the undeserved suffering of a good man,' giving a partial solution, and bringing on the scene the hero's three friends; short headings (3^{1} 4^{1} etc.); a supplementary note ($31^{40c.}$); a brief introduction to the speeches of Elihu (32^{1-6}); and the sequel, often called the Epilogue (42^{7-17}). The poem opens with a monologue in which Job curses the day of his birth (ch. 3). This is followed by a series of three dialogues extending over chs. 4–28: (i.) 4–14; (ii.) 15–21; (iii.) 22–28.

The three friends in succession, probably in order of seniority, reason with Job, all from the generally accepted standpoint that suffering is a sure indication of sin. As the discussion proceeds they become more and more bitter, until the most moderate and dignified of them, Eliphaz, actually taxes Job with flagrant iniquity (22^{5-9}). In the third dialogue, as we have it, one of the speakers, Zophar, is silent. Job replies at length to each expostulation, sometimes sinking into depression on the verge of despair (14^{1-12} etc.), occasionally rising for a moment or two into confidence (16^{19} 19^{25-27}), but throughout maintaining his integrity, and, notwithstanding passionate utterances which seem near akin to blasphemy (10^{8-17} 16^{7-17}), never wholly losing his faith in God.

The dialogues are followed by a monologue spoken by Job (chs. 29–31), consisting of a vivid retrospect of the happy past (ch. 29), a dismal picture of the wretched present (ch. 30), and what Marshall calls 'Job's oath of self-vindication'—an emphatic disavowal of definite forms of transgression, in a series of sentences most of which begin with 'if,' sometimes followed by an imprecation (ch. 31). The succeeding six chapters (32–37) are ascribed to a new character, a young man, Elihu the Buzite, who is dissatisfied with both Job and his friends. The distinctive note of his argument is the stress laid on the thought that God teaches by means of affliction; in other words, that the purpose, or at least one main purpose, of trial is discipline (33^{19-28} $36^{10.\ 15}$). Elihu then drops out of the book, and the remainder of the poem (chs. 38–42^{6}) is devoted to Jahweh's answer to Job's complaint, calling attention to the Divine power, wisdom, and tenderness revealed in creation, in the control of natural forces and phenomena, in the life of birds and beasts, and in the working of Providence in human history, and suggesting that He who could do all this might surely be trusted to care for His servant; and Job's penitent retraction of his 'presumptuous utterances.'

(4) *Integrity.*—On the question whether the book, as we have it, is a single whole or a combination of two or more parts, there is a general agreement among scholars in favour of the latter alternative. There are clear indications of at least two hands. The speeches of **Elihu** (chs. 32–37) are ascribed by most (not by Budde, Cornill, Wildeboer, Briggs, and a few others) to a later writer, who desired to supplement, and to some extent correct, the work of his predecessor.

The chief reasons alleged for this conclusion are: (1) the silence about Elihu in the Epilogue. (2) The fact that the whole section can be removed without any break of continuity, $31^{40c.}$ linking on naturally to 38^{1}. (3) The Aramaic character of the diction, and the occurrence of words and phrases not found elsewhere in the poem. (4) Literary inferiority. (5) Theological diversity, the conception of God differing from what is met with in the rest of the book (Marshall, *Job and his Friends*, p. 82ff.).

The third of these reasons has been shown to be inconclusive. The language of Elihu is not inconsistent with the view that these chapters were written by the author of the dialogues. The fourth reason is not without weight, but it must be allowed that there are some very fine things in these chapters, and it must be remembered that they have probably been handed down less carefully than some other parts of the book, on account of the disfavour with which some of the ancient Jews regarded Elihu ('inspired by Satan'—*Test. of Job*, ch. 41). In any case, Friedrich Delitzsch has gone too far in describing the author as 'a fifth-rate poet.' The remaining three reasons, however, seem to be nearly decisive.

The fine poem in ch. 28, which contrasts the success of man in finding precious ore with his utter failure to find wisdom, does not fit in with the context, and is therefore regarded by many as an addition. The striking, but rather turgid, descriptions of the hippopotamus and the crocodile in chs. 40. 41 are also held by many to be an interpolation. Some question the verses about the ostrich (39^{13-18}). The Prologue and Epilogue are considered by some to be the relics of an earlier work in prose.

A few scholars go much further in critical analysis. Bickell, for instance, in his search after the original text, expunges not only the speeches of Elihu and the Prologue and Epilogue, but also the whole of the speeches of Jahweh, and many smaller portions. Cheyne (in *EBi*) seems to find four main elements in the book, as we have it, 'which has grown, not been made': (1) the Prologue and the Epilogue; (2) the dialogue; (3) the speeches of Jahweh; (4) the speeches of Elihu. Marshall (in *Com.*), on the ground that there are different strata of theological belief, also finds four elements, but only in part the same. (1) The dialogues up to 27^{23}, with the Epilogue, and part of the Prologue; (2) chs. 28–31, and the speeches of Jahweh; (3) the speeches of Elihu; (4) the references to the heavenly council in chs. 1 and 2.

(5) *Nature of the Book.*—The class of Heb. literature to which the Book of Job belongs is clearly the *Chokhmah* or Wisdom group, the other representatives of which are Pr., Ec., and Sir.—the group which deals with questions of practical ethics, religious philosophy, and speculation. The book is mainly—not entirely, as one of the Rabbis thought (*Baba bathra*, 15*a*)—a work of imagination, but, in the judgment of most, with a traditional nucleus, the extent of which, however, is uncertain, as there are features in both the Prologue and the Epilogue which suggest literary invention: *e.g.*, the recurrence of the words 'I only am escaped alone to tell thee' ($1^{15.\ 16.\ 17.\ 19}$), the use of the numbers 3 ($1^{2.\ 17}$ 2^{11} 42^{13}) and 7 ($1^{2f.}$ $42^{8.\ 13}$), and the doubling of Job's possessions (42^{12}). The poem, as handed down to us, can hardly be described in modern terms. It contains lyrical elements, but could not appropriately be designated lyrical. It has more than one dramatic feature, but is not really a drama. It reminds one of the epos, but is not an epic. It is didactic, but, as Baudissin has observed, soars high above a mere didactic poem. It is emphatically *sui generis*. It stands absolutely alone, not merely in the literature of Israel, but in the literature of the world.

(6) *Poetic Form.*—The Austrian scholar Bickell, who has been followed by Duhm, and in England by Dillon, has tried to show that the poem was written throughout in quatrains, but the textual havoc wrought in the attempt seems to prove clearly that he is, in part at least, on the wrong track. Very few critics accept the theory. The only thing that seems to be certain about the poetic method of the writer or writers is the use throughout of the parallelism of members, which has long been known as the leading feature of ancient Oriental poetry. A verse usually consists of two lines or members, but there are many instances where there are three ($3^{4ff.\ 9}$), and one at least where there is only one (14^{4}). More than eight hundred out of about a thousand verses, according to Ley, consist of two lines, each of which has three independent words. But here again

there are many exceptions, some no doubt due to textual corruption, but more in all probability to the poet's mastery of the forms which he employed.

(7) *Purpose and teaching.*—The chief object of the poet to whom we owe the dialogues, and probably the Prologue and the Epilogue, and the speeches of Jahweh, and we may add, of the compiler or editor of the whole book, is to give a better answer to the question, 'Why are exceptionally good men heavily afflicted?' than that generally current in Jewish circles down to the time of Christ. A subsidiary object is the delineation of spiritual experience under the conditions supposed, of the sufferer's changing moods, and yet indestructible longing for the God whom he cannot understand. The poet's answer, as stated in the speeches of Jahweh, seems at the first reading no answer at all, but when closely examined is seen to be profoundly suggestive. There is no specific reply to Job's bitter complaints and passionate outcries. Instead of reasoning with His servant, Jahweh reminds him of a few of the wonders of creation and providence, and leaves him to draw the inference. He draws it, and sees the God whom he seemed to have lost sight of for ever as he never saw Him before, even in the time of his prosperity; sees Him, indeed, in a very real sense for the first time (42^5). The book also contains other partial solutions of the problem. The speeches of Elihu lay stress, as already observed, on the educational value of suffering. God is a peerless teacher (36^{22b}), who 'delivereth the afflicted by his affliction, and openeth (uncovereth) their ear by adversity' (36^{15}). The Prologue lifts the curtain of the unseen world, and reveals a mysterious personality who is Divinely permitted to inflict suffering on the righteous, which results in manifestation of the Divine glory. The intellectual range of the book is amazingly wide. Marshall observes that 'every solution which the mind of man has ever framed [of the problem of the adversity of the righteous, and the prosperity of the wicked] is to be found in the Book of Job.' On the question of the hereafter the teaching of the book as a whole differs little from that of the OT in general. There is yearning for something better (14^{13-15}), and perhaps a momentary conviction (19^{25-27}), but the general conception of the life after death is that common to Hebrews, Assyrians, and Babylonians.

(8) *The characters.*—The interest of the Book of Job is concentrated mainly on the central figure, the hero. Of the other five leading characters by far the most interesting is the **Satan** of the Prologue, half-angel half-demon, by no means identical with the devil as usually conceived, and yet with a distinctly diabolical tendency. The friends are not very sharply differentiated in the book as we have it, but it is probable that the parts are wrongly distributed in the third dialogue, which is incomplete, no part being assigned to Zophar. Some ascribe $27^{7-10.\ 13-23}$ to Zophar, and add to Bildad's speech (which in the present arrangement consists only of ch. 25) vv.$^{5-14}$ of ch. 26, what is left of Job's reply being found in 26^{1-4} $27^{2-6.\ 11f.}$. Marshall finds Zophar's third speech in chs. 25 and 26^{5-14}, and Bildad's in 24^{18-21}. There seems to be considerable confusion in chs. 25–27, so that it is difficult to utilize them for the study of the characters of Bildad and Zophar. **Eliphaz** seems to be the oldest and most dignified of the three, with something of the seer or prophet about him (4^{12-21}). **Bildad** is 'the traditionalist.' **Zophar,** who is probably the youngest, is very differently estimated, one scholar designating him as a rough noisy fellow, another regarding him as a philosopher of the agnostic type. It must be allowed that the three characters are not as sharply distinguished as would be the case in a modern poem, the writer being concerned mainly with Job, and using the others to some extent as foils. **Elihu,** who has been shown to be almost certainly the creation of another writer, is not by any means a copy of one of the three. He is an ardent young man, not free from conceit, but with noble thoughts about God and insight into God's ways not attained by them.

(9) *Date.*—In the Heb. Sirach (49^{8-10}) Job is referred to after Ezekiel and before 'the Twelve.' which may possibly suggest that the writer regarded the book as comparatively late. The oldest Rabbinic opinion (*Baba bathra*, 14*b*) ascribed the book to Moses. Two Rabbis placed Job in the period of the return from the Exile (*ib.* 15*a*), one as late as the Persian period (*ib.* 15*b*). These opinions have no critical value, but the first has exercised considerable influence. Modern students are generally agreed on the following points:—(1) The book in all its parts implies a degree of reflexion on the problems of life which fits in better with a comparatively late than with a very early age. (2) The dialogue, which is unquestionably one of the oldest portions, indicates familiarity with national catastrophes, such as the destruction of the kingdom of Samaria, the overthrow of Damascus, and the leading away of large bodies of captives, including priests and nobles, from Jerusalem to Babylon (12^{17-25}), which again, on the assumption that the writer is an Israelite, points to an advanced stage of Israelitish history. Many take a further step. 'The prophet Jeremiah in his persecutions, Job who is called by Jahweh "my servant Job" (42^7), and the suffering Servant of Jahweh in the exilic prophet are figures which seem to stand in the connexion of a definite period' (Baudissin, *Einleitung*, 768), and so point at the earliest to the Exile and the decades immediately preceding it. These and other considerations have led most recent critics to date the main poem near, or during, or after the Exile.

Some earlier scholars (Luther, Franz Delitzsch, Cox, and Stanley) recommended the age of Solomon, others (Nöldeke, Hitzig, and Reuss) the age of Isaiah, and others (Ewald, Riehm, and apparently Bleek) the period between Isaiah and Jeremiah. Marshall thinks that the dialogue may have been written as early as the time of Tiglath-pileser III (B.C. 745–726), but not earlier. Dillmann, König, Davison (in Hastings' *DB*), and Driver favour the period of the Exile; Cheyne (in *EBi*) puts the earliest part after B.C. 519; G. Hoffmann, *c.* B.C. 500; Duhm, from 500 to 450; Budde, E. Kautzsch, and Peake, *c.* 400; the school of Kuenen, the 4th or 3rd cent.; O. Holtzmann the age of the Ptolemys; and Siegfried (in the *JE*), the time of the Maccabees.

At present the period from *c.* B.C. 600 to *c.* 400 seems to command most approval. The later portions of the book, especially the speeches of Elihu, may have been written a century or more after the main poem. Marshall thinks that the latest element may be as late as the age of Malachi, and Duhm confidently assigns 'Elihu' to the 2nd cent. B.C. A definite date is evidently unattainable either for the whole or for parts, but it seems to be tolerably certain that even the earlier portions are much later than used to be assumed.

(10) *Authorship.*—Besides the Talmudic guess cited above, very few attempts have been made to fix on an author. Calmet suggested *Solomon*, Bunsen *Baruch*, and Royer (in 1901) *Jeremiah*. None of these views needs to be discussed. Whoever was the author of the main poem, he was undoubtedly an Israelite, for a Gentile would not have used the Tetragrammaton so freely. Of familiarity with the Law there are, indeed, very few traces, but that is doubtless owing to the poet's wonderful skill, which has enabled him to maintain throughout a Gentile and patriarchal colouring. There is no reason for thinking that he wrote either in Babylonia or in Egypt. He must have lived in some region where he could study the life of the desert. It has been remarked that all the creatures he names (except the hippopotamus and the crocodile, which may have been introduced by a later hand) are desert creatures. He was intimately acquainted with the life of caravans (6^{15-20}). He knew something of the astronomy of his time (9^9, cf. $38^{31f.}$). He had some acquaintance with the myths and superstitions of Western Asia: cf. 9^{13} 25^2 26^{12}, where there may be allusions to the

Babylonian myth about the struggle between the dragon of Chaos and Marduk, the god of light; 3^{8} 26^{13}, where reference may be made to popular notions about eclipses and to the claims of magicians; and perhaps $29^{18b.}$, where some find an allusion to the fabulous phœnix. He was probably familiar with the Wisdom-lore of Israel, and possibly of Edom, and may safely be assumed to have known all that was worth knowing in other departments of Heb. literature (cf. Job $7^{17f.}$ with Ps $8^{4f.}$, and Job $3^{3.\ 10}$ with Jer 20^{14-18}, although the order of dependence is by no means certain in the latter case). The poetic execution reveals the hand of a master. It seems most natural to look for his home in the south or south-east of the Holy Land, not far from Edom, where he would come in frequent contact with Gentile sages, and could glean much from travellers.

(11) *Parallels to Job.*—Cheyne (in *EBi*) has endeavoured to connect the story of Job with the Babylonian legend of Eabani, but the similarity is too slight to need discussion. A far closer parallel is furnished by a partially preserved poem from the library of Ashurbanipal, which probably reproduces an ancient Babylonian text. It represents the musings of an old king, who has lived a blameless and devout life, but is nevertheless terribly afflicted in body and mind—pursued all day, and without rest at night—and is apparently forsaken of the gods. He cannot understand the ways of Deity towards either himself or others. 'What seems good to a man is bad with his god. . . . Who could understand the counsel of the gods in heaven?' The poem ends with a song of praise for deliverance from sin and disease (*Der Alte Orient*, VII. No. 3, pp. 27–30, and extra vol. ii. 134–139; and M. Jastrow in *JBL* XXV [1906], p. 135 ff.).

The Jesuit missionary, Père Bouchet, called attention in 1723 to the story of the ancient Indian king *Arichandiren* who, in consequence of a dispute in an assembly of gods and goddesses and holy men as to the existence of a perfect prince, was very severely tested by the leader of the sceptical party. He was deprived of his property, his kingdom, his only son, and his wife, but still trod the path of virtue, and received as rewards the restoration of wife and son, and other marks of Divine favour. These parallels, however, interesting as they are, do not in the least interfere with the originality and boldness of the Hebrew poem, which must ever be regarded as the boldest and grandest effort of the ancient world to 'justify the ways of God to men.'

W. Taylor Smith.

JOBAB.—**1.** A son of Joktan in the genealogies (Gn 10^{29}, 1 Ch 1^{23}), and therefore probably an Arabian geographical name. Glaser identifies Jobab with YHYBB (likely *Yuhaybab*), a tribe mentioned in the Sabæan inscriptions. Sprenger through the LXX form *Iobor* relates it to *Wabār*, a considerable region in S. Arabia. **2.** A king of Edom (Gn $36^{33f.}$, 1 Ch $1^{44f.}$), confused, in the apocryphal appendix to the LXX version of Job, with Job (see Job, § 1). **3.** A king of Madon, ally of Jabin of Hazor against Joshua (Jos 11^{1}). **4. 5.** Name of two Benjamites (1 Ch 8^{9} and ^{18}). W. M. Nesbit.

JOCHEBED.—A sister of Kohath, married to Amram her nephew, and mother of Aaron and Moses (Ex 6^{20}) and Miriam (Nu 26^{59}). An earlier writer, E, in narrating the birth of Moses, speaks of his mother as a daughter of Levi, but does not give her name (Ex 2^{1}).

JOD.—The tenth letter of the Hebrew alphabet, and as such used in the 119th Psalm to designate the 10th part, each verse of which begins with this letter.

JODA.—**1.** A Levite (1 Es 5^{58}); called in Ezr 3^{9} **Judah**; elsewhere **Hodaviah**, Ezr 2^{40}; **Hodevah**, Neh 7^{43}; **Sudias**, 1 Es 5^{26}. **2.** An ancestor of Jesus (Lk 3^{26}).

JOED.—A Benjamite (Neh 11^{7}).

JOEL.—**1.** The prophet (see next article). Regarding his personal history we know nothing. **2.** A son of Samuel (1 S 8^{2}, 1 Ch 6^{28} [RV] 6^{33}). **3.** An ancestor of Samuel (1 Ch 6^{36}, called in v.^{24} **Shaul**). **4.** A Simeonite prince (1 Ch 4^{35}). **5.** A Reubenite (1 Ch $5^{4.\ 8}$). **6.** A Gadite chief (1 Ch 5^{12}). **7.** A chief man of Issachar (1 Ch 7^{3}). **8.** One of David's heroes (1 Ch 11^{38}). **9. 10. 11.** Levites (1 Ch $15^{7.\ 11.\ 17}$ 23^{8} 26^{22}, 2 Ch 29^{12}). **12.** A Manassite chief (1 Ch 27^{20}). **13.** One of those who married a foreign wife (Ezr 10^{43} [1 Es 9^{35} **Juel**]). **14.** A Benjamite overseer after the Exile (Neh 11^{9}).

JOEL, BOOK OF.—**1. Analysis.**—The Book of Joel clearly falls into two parts: (1) a call to repentance in view of present judgment and the approaching Day of Jahweh, with a prayer for deliverance ($1–2^{17}$); (2) the Divine answer promising relief, and after that spiritual blessing, judgment on the Gentile world, and material prosperity for Judah and Jerusalem (2^{18}–3 [Heb. 4] ^{21}).

(1) The immediate occasion of the call to repentance is a plague of locusts of exceptional severity ($1^{2f.}$), extending, it would seem from the promise in the second part (2^{25}), over several years, and followed by drought and famine so severe as to necessitate the discontinuance of the meal- and drink-offering, *i.e.* probably the daily sacrifice (cf. Ex. 29^{41}, where the same Heb. words are used of the daily meal-offering and drink-offering). This fearful calamity, which is distinctly represented as present ('before our eyes' 1^{16}), heralds 'the great and very terrible day of Jahweh' (2^{11}), which will be ushered in by yet more fearful distress of the same kind (2^{1-11}). The reason of all this suffering actual and prospective is national sin, which, however, is not specified. Jahweh's people have turned away from Him (implied in 2^{12}). Let them turn back, giving expression to their penitent sorrow in tears, mourning garb, general fasting, and prayer offered by priests in the Temple (2^{12-17}).

(2) The second part opens with the declaration that the prayer for mercy was heard: 'Then . . . the Lord . . . had pity on his people' (2^{18} RV). It seems to be implied that the people had repented and fasted, and that the priests had prayed in their behalf. The rendering of this passage in the AV, 'Then will . . . the Lord pity his people,' is generally rejected by modern scholars as inaccurate, being, according to Driver, 'grammatically indefensible.' What we have in the original is not prediction, but historical statement. This Divine pity, proceeds the prophet, speaking in Jahweh's name, will express itself in the removal of the locusts (2^{20}), and in the cessation of the drought, which will restore to the land its normal fertility, and so replace famine by plenty (2^{22-26}). But higher blessings yet are in store for the people of Jahweh. His Spirit shall afterwards be poured out on all, inclusive even of slaves ($2^{28f.}$ [Heb. $3^{1f.}$]). And when the Day of Jahweh comes in all its terror, it will be terrible only to the Gentile world which has oppressed Israel. The gathered hosts of the former, among whom Phœnicians and Philistines are singled out for special condemnation (3 [Heb. 4] $^{4-8}$), shall be destroyed by Jahweh and His angels in the Valley of Jehoshaphat (3 [Heb. $4^{11b\ f.}$]), and then Jerusalem shall be a holy city, no longer haunted by unclean aliens (3 [Heb. 4] ^{17}), and Judah, unlike Egypt and Edom, will be a happy nation dwelling in a happy because well-watered land, and Jahweh will ever abide in its midst (3 [Heb. 4] $^{18-21}$).

2. Integrity.—The unity of the book was questioned by the French scholar Vernes (in 1881), who, however, admitted the weakness of his case, and by the German scholar Rothstein (in 1896), the latter finding a follower in Ryssel (in the *JE*). These critics assign the two parts to different writers in different ages. Baudissin (*Einleitung*) suggests extensive revision. These theories have found little acceptance. Recent criticism generally regards the book, with the exception of a gloss or two, as the work of one hand.

There are indeed two distinctly marked parts, as was shown in the analysis, but that is in no way incompatible with unity of authorship, for the following reasons: (*a*) The second part does not contradict but supplements the first. (*b*) The thought of 'the day of Jahweh' as a day of terror is common to both (1^{15} and 2^{31} [Heb. 3^{4}]). (*c*) The alleged lack of originality in the second part, in so far as it exists, can be reasonably accounted for by its apocalyptic character. (*d*) The distinctive features of the first part, which is mainly historic, are largely due to the special theme—the description of locusts and their ravages, which is unique in Heb. literature.

3. Date.—There is no external evidence. The place of the book in the Canon is not conclusive, for the Book of Jonah, which was manifestly written after the fall of Nineveh, is also found in the former part of the collection of the Twelve, and comes before Micah, the earliest portions of which are beyond doubt much older. Hence the question can be answered, in so far as an answer is possible, only from the book itself.

The facts bearing upon it may be briefly stated as follows: (1) The people addressed are the inhabitants of Judah (3 [Heb. 4] 1. 6. 8. 18ff.), and Jerusalem (2^{32} [Heb. 3^5] 3 [Heb. 4] 6. 16f. 20). Zion is mentioned in $2^{1.\ 15.\ 23.\ 32}$ [Heb. 3^5] 3 [Heb. 4] 16. 17. 21. There is no trace of the kingdom of Samaria. The name 'Israel' is indeed used (2^{27} 3 [Heb. 4] 2. 16), but, as the first and last of these passages clearly show, it is not the kingdom of Israel that is meant, but the people of God, dwelling mainly about Jerusalem. (2) There is no mention of royalty or aristocracy. (3) The Temple is repeatedly referred to ($1^{9.\ 13f.}$ 16 2^{17} 3 [Heb. 4] 5), and by implication in the phrase 'my holy mountain' (2^1 3 [Heb. 4] 17): its ritual is regarded as of high importance ($1^{9.\ 13}$ 2^{14}), and its ministers stand between the people and their God, giving expression to their penitence and prayer ($1^{9.\ 13}$ 2^{17}). (4) The people are called on to repent of sin ($2^{12f.}$), but in general terms. No mention is made of idolatry or formalism, or sensuality, or oppression—the sins so sternly denounced by Amos and Isaiah. (5) The foreign nations denounced as hostile to Israel are the Phœnicians (3 [Heb. 4] 4), the Philistines (*ib.*), Egypt and Edom (3 [Heb. 4] 19). Reference is also made to the Grecians ('sons of the Ionians,' 3 [Heb. 4] 6), and the Sabæans or S. Arabians (3 [Heb. 4] 8) as slave-dealers. Assyria, Babylonia, and Aram are neither named nor alluded to. (6) The history of Judah and Jerusalem includes a national catastrophe when the people of Jahweh were scattered among the nations and the land of Jahweh was divided amongst new settlers (3 [Heb. 4] 2). (7) This book of 73 verses contains 27 expressions or clauses to which parallels, more or less close, can be adduced from other OT writings, mainly prophetic. In 12 passages there is verbal or almost verbal correspondence: cf. 1^{15b} and Ezk $30^{2f.}$; 1^{15c} and Is 13^6; 2^2 and Zeph 1^{15}; 2^6 and Nah 2^{10} [Heb. 11]; 2^{13} and Ex 34^6; 2^{14} and 2 S 12^{22}; 2^{27b} and Ezk 36^{11} etc.; 2^{27c} and Is $45^{5f.\ 18}$; 2^{31b} [Heb. 3^4], and Mal 4^5 [Heb. 3^{23}]; 2^{32} [Heb. 3^5] and Ob 17; 3 [Heb. 4] 16 and Am 1^2; 3 [Heb. 4] 1 and Jer 33^{15} etc. In two other places there is contrast as well as parallelism, 2^{28} [Heb. 3^1] answers to Ezk 39^{29}, but the latter has 'on the house of Israel,' the former 'on all flesh,' and 3 [Heb. 4] 10 is the reverse of Is 2^4 and Mic 4^3. The last clause of 2^{13} is found also in Jon 4^2 in the same connexion and nowhere else. (8) The Heb. exhibits some features which are more common in late than in the earlier literature. There are a few Aramaisms: *'ălāh* 'lament' (1^8); *sōph* 'hinder part' (2^{20}) for *gēts*; the Hiphil of *nāchath* 3 [Heb. 4] 11), and *rōmach* (3 [Heb. 4] 10)—a word of Aramaic affinities; and several expressions often met with in late writers. Still, it is not advisable to lay much stress on this point.

With these facts before them critics have concluded that the book must be either very early or late. Many, led by Credner, found evidence of pre-exilic date, and most of these, after him, selected the minority of Joash of Judah (*c.* B.C. 737). König prefers the latter part of the reign of Josiah (B.C. 640–609). Recent critics with a few exceptions (Orelli, Kirkpatrick, Volck, and to some extent Baudissin) regard the book as post-exilic: *c.* B.C. 500 (Driver, but not without hesitation); after the reforms of Ezra and Nehemiah (E. Kautzsch, W. R. Smith, G. A. Smith on the whole, Marti, the school of Kuenen, Nowack, Cornill, and Horton). Positive decision between these widely divergent views is at present impossible. Much can be said, as Baudissin has recently shown, in favour of a pre-exilic date, which, if proved, would modify our conception of the growth of Israelitish religion; but several points seem to strongly favour post-exilic origin: the religious atmosphere, the political situation in so far as it can be discerned, reference to the Greeks, and the literary parallelisms, most of which are more intelligible on the assumption of borrowing by Joel than *vice versa*.

4. Interpretation.—The ancient Jews, as represented by the Targum, and the Fathers, who have been followed by Pusey, Hengstenberg, and others, to some extent even by Merx, regarded the locusts of the Book of Joel as not literal but symbolic. That view, however, is now generally abandoned. The seemingly extravagant descriptions of the locust-swarms, and the havoc wrought by them, have been confirmed in almost every point by modern observers. What is said about their number (1^6), the darkness they cause (2^{10}), their resemblance to horses (2^4), the noise they make in flight and when feeding (2^5), their irresistible advance ($2^{7ff.}$), their amazing destructiveness ($1^{7.\ 10ff.}$ 2^3), and the burnt appearance of a region which they have ravaged (2^{3ab})—can hardly be pronounced exaggerated in view of the evidence collected by Pusey, Driver, G. A. Smith, and other commentators. The colouring of the picture is no doubt Oriental and poetic, but when allowance is made for that, it is seen to be wonderfully true to life. The description of the locusts as 'the northern *army*' (2^{20}) is indeed still unexplained, but is insufficient of itself to overthrow the literal interpretation. On the apocalyptic character of the latter portion of the book there is general agreement.

5. Doctrine.—As compared with some of the other prophetic writings, say with Deutero-Isaiah and Jonah, the Book of Joel as a whole is particularistic. The writer's hopes of a glorious future seem limited to Judah and Jerusalem, and perhaps the Dispersion (2^{32} [Heb. 3^5]). On the other hand, it is remarkable that the outpouring of the Spirit is promised to 'all flesh,' not merely to 'the house of Israel'—a general way of stating the promise which made the NT application possible (Ac $2^{16ff.}$). So the book may be said to contain a germ of universalism. Its other most striking characteristic, from the doctrinal standpoint, is the importance attached to ritual and the priesthood, and the comparatively slight stress laid on conduct. Still, it is here that we find the caustic words: 'Rend your heart and not your garments' (2^{13}).

6. Style.—In style the Book of Joel takes a very high place in Hebrew literature. It is throughout clearly, elegantly, and forcefully written. Skilful use is made of parallelism—note the five short clauses in 1^{10}; of Oriental hyperbole ($2^{30f.}$ [Heb. $3^{3f.}$]); and of word-play, *e.g. shuddadh sadheh* 'the field is wasted' (1^{10}), *yābhēshu . . . hōbhīsh* 'are withered . . . is ashamed' (1^{12}), *shōd mish-shaddai* 'destruction from the Almighty' (1^{15}), and the play on the verb *shāphat* and the name *Jeho-shaphat* in 3 [Heb. 4] 2. 12). W. TAYLOR SMITH.

JOELAH.—A warrior who joined David at Ziklag (1 Ch 12^7).

JOEZER.—One of David's followers at Ziklag (1 Ch 12^6).

JOGBEHAH.—A town of Gad in Gilead (Nu 32^{35}), named also in connexion with Gideon's pursuit of the Midianites (Jg 8^{11}). It is the present ruin *el-Jubeihāt* (or *Ajbeihāt*), N.W. from Rabbath-ammon, and about midway between that place and es-Sault.

JOGLI.—The Danite chief who took part in the division of the land (Nu 34^{22}).

JOHA.—1. A Benjamite (1 Ch 8^{16}). **2.** One of David's heroes (1 Ch 11^{45}).

JOHANAN.—1. 2 K 25^{23}, Jer 40^8–43^5, the son of Kareah, chief of 'the captains of the forces,' who after the fall of Jerusalem joined Gedaliah at Mizpah. After the murder of Gedaliah he pursued Ishmael and the other conspirators, recovered the captives, and, in spite of the protest of Jeremiah, carried them to Egypt. **2.** A son of Josiah (1 Ch 3^{15}). **3.** 1 Ch 3^{24} a post-exilic prince of the line of David. **4.** 1 Ch $6^{9.\ 10}$ a high priest. **5.6.** 1 Ch $12^{4.\ 12}$ two warriors who came to David to Ziklag, a Benjamite and a Gadite respectively. **7.** Ezr 8^{12} (**Joannes**, 1 Es 8^{38}) one of those who returned with Ezra. **8.** 2 Ch 28^{12} an Ephraimite. **9.** See JONATHAN, No. 7, and JEHOHANAN, No. 3.

JOHN.—1. The father of Mattathias, and grandfather of the five Maccabæan brothers (1 Mac 2^1). **2.** The eldest son of Mattathias (1 Mac 2^2). In B.C. 161 he was slain by the 'sons of Jambri' (1 Mac 9^{35-42}). In 2 Mac 8^{22}, and perhaps again 10^{19}, he is by mistake called **Joseph.** **3.** The father of Eupolemus (1 Mac 8^{17}, 2 Mac 4^{11}), who was sent by Judas Maccabæus as an ambassador to Rome. **4.** An envoy sent by the Jews to treat with Lysias (2 Mac 11^{17}). **5.** One of the sons of

Simon the Maccabee (1 Mac 16^2), commonly known as John Hyrcanus, and described as 'a (valiant) man' (1 Mac 13^{53}). See MACCABEES, § 5. 6. The father of Simon Peter (Jn 1^{42} 21^{15-17} RV; AV **Jonas**), who is called in Mt 16^7 **Bar-Jona(h).** In the latter passage the form *Jōnās* may be a contraction for *Jōanēs*, or possibly Peter's father had two names, as in the case of *Saul—Paul*. 7. One of the high-priestly family (Ac 4^6). 8. John Mark (see MARK). 9. 10. For the Baptist and the Apostle see the following two articles.

JOHN THE BAPTIST.—The single narrative of John's birth and circumcision (Lk 1) states that, as the child of promise (v.^{13}), he was born in 'a city of Judah' (v.^{39}), when his parents were old (v.^{7}). They were both of priestly descent (v.^{5}), and his mother was a kinswoman of the mother of Jesus (v.^{36}). John was a Nazirite from his birth (v.^{15}); he developed self-reliance in his lonely home, and learnt the secret of spiritual strength as he communed with God in the solitudes of the desert (v.^{80}). In the Judæan wilderness—the wild waste which lies to the west of the Dead Sea—this Elijah-like prophet (v.^{17}) 'on rough food throve'; but, notwithstanding his ascetic affinities with the Essenes, he was not a vegetarian, his diet consisting of edible locusts (Lv 11^{22}) as well as the vegetable honey which exudes from fig-trees and palms (Mt 3^4). For this and for other reasons—as, *e.g.*, his zeal as a social reformer,—John cannot be called an Essene (Graetz). It was not from these 'Pharisees in the superlative degree' (Schürer) that the last of the prophets learnt his message. His familiarity with the OT is proved by his frequent use of its picturesque language (Lk 3^{17}, cf. Am 9^9, Is 66^{24}; Jn 1^{23}, cf. Is 40^3; Jn 1^{29}, cf. Is 53^7, Ex 29^{38} 12^3), but he heard God's voice in nature as well as in His word: as he brooded on the signs of the times, the barren trees of the desert, fit only for burning, and the vipers fleeing before the flaming scrub, became emblems of the nation's peril and lent colour to his warnings of impending wrath (cf. G. A. Smith, *HGHL* p. 495).

In the wilderness 'the word of God came unto John' (Lk 3^2). The phrase implies (1 S 15^{10} etc.) that, after more than three centuries of silence, the voice of a prophet was to be heard in the land, and the Synoptic Gospels (Mt 3^{1-12}, Mk 1^{1-8}, Lk 3^{1-20}) tell of the stirring effects of his preaching in ever-widening circles (Mt 3^5), and give a summary of his message. It is probable that, in the course of his successful six months' ministry, John moved northwards along the then more thickly populated valley of the Jordan, proclaiming the coming of the Kingdom to the crowds that flocked to hear him from 'the whole region circumjacent to Jordan' (Lk 3^3); once at least (Jn 10^{40}) he crossed the river (cf. Sanday, *Sacred Sites of the Gospel*, p. 35 f.; Warfield, *Expositor*, III. [1885] i. p. 267 ff.; and see BETHANY, SALIM). 'The kingdom of heaven is at hand' (Mt 3^2) was the Baptist's theme, but on his lips the proclamation became a warning that neither descent from Abraham nor Pharisaic legalism would constitute a title to the blessings of the Messianic age, and that it is vain for a nation to plead privilege when its sins have made it ripe for judgment. There is a Pauline ring in the stern reminder that Abraham's spiritual seed may spring from the stones of paganism (Lk 3^8, but also Mt 3^9, cf. Ro 4^{16} 9^7, Gal 4^{28}). On the universality of the coming judgment is based John's call to repentance addressed to all men without respect of persons. The axe already 'laid to the root of the trees' (Lk 3^9) will spare those bringing forth good fruit, and not those growing in favoured enclosures. Soldiers, publicans, and inquirers of different classes are taught how practical and how varied are the good works in which the 'fruits' of repentance are seen (Lk $3^{8ff.}$).

The baptism of John was the declaration unto all men, by means of a symbolic action, that the condition of entrance into God's Kingdom is the putting away of sin. It was a 'repentance-baptism,' and its purpose was 'remission of sins' (Mk 1^4) [Weiss regards this statement as a Christianized version of John's baptism, but Bruce (*EGT, in loc.*) agrees with Holtzmann that forgiveness is implied 'if men really repented']. John's baptism was no copying of Essene rites, and it had a deeper ethical significance than the 'divers washings' of the ceremonial law. It has close and suggestive affinities with the prophet's teaching in regard to spiritual cleansing (Is 1^{16}, Ezk 36^{25}, Zec 13^1), the truth expressed in their metaphorical language being translated by him into a striking symbolic act; but John's baptism has most definite connexion with the baptism of proselytes, which was the rule in Israel before his days (Schürer, *HJP* II. 322 f.). John sought 'to make men "proselytes of righteousness" in a new and higher order. He came, as Jesus once said, "in the way of righteousness"; and the righteousness he wished men to possess . . . did not consist in mere obedience to the law of a carnal commandment, but in repentance towards God and deliberate self-consecration to His kingdom' (Lambert, *The Sacraments in the NT*, p. 62). When Jesus was baptized of John (Mt $3^{13ff.}$, Mk $1^{9ff.}$, Lk $3^{21f.}$), He did not come confessing sin as did all other men (Mt 3^6); the act marked His consecration to His Messianic work, and His identification of Himself with sinners. It was part of His fulfilment of all righteousness (v.^{15}), and was followed by His anointing with the Holy Spirit. John knew that his baptism was to prepare the way for the coming of a 'mightier' than he, who would baptize with the Holy Spirit (Mk 1^8). But after Pentecost there were disciples who had not advanced beyond the Baptist's point of view, and were unaware that the Holy Spirit had been poured out (Ac 18^{25} $19^{3f.}$).

The narrative in Jn 1^{15-34} assumes as well known the Synoptic account of John's activity as evangelist and baptizer (v.$^{25f.}$). From what John heard and saw at the baptism of Jesus, and from intercourse with Jesus, he had learnt that his mission was not only to announce the Messiah's coming, and to prepare His way by calling men to repent, but also to point Him out to men.

Many critics regard the words, 'Behold the Lamb of God, which taketh away the sin of the world' (v.^{29}), as inconsistent with John's later question, 'Art thou he that cometh, or look we for another?' (Mt 11^3); but if John learnt from Jesus what was His ideal of the Messiah's work, it may well be, as Garvie says, 'that Jesus for a time at least raised John's mind to the height of His own insight; that when the influence of Jesus was withdrawn, John relapsed to his own familiar modes of thought; and that the answer of Jesus by the two disciples . . . was a kindly reminder' of an earlier conversation (*Expositor*, vi. [1902] v. 375).

This heightened sense of the glory of Jesus was accompanied by a deepening humility in John's estimate of his own function as the Messiah's forerunner. In his last testimony to Jesus (Jn 3^{29}) 'the friend of the bridegroom' is said to have rejoiced greatly as he heard the welcome tidings that men were coming to Jesus (v.^{26}). It was a high eulogy when Jesus said, 'John hath borne witness unto the truth' (Jn 5^{33}); but it also implied the high claim that the lowlier members of the Church, which is His bride, enjoy greater spiritual privileges than he who, in spite of his own disclaimer (Jn 1^{21}), was truly the Elijah foretold by Malachi (Mt 11^{14}; cf. Mal 4^5),—the herald of the day of which he saw only the dawn. It was not John's fault that in the early Church there were some who attached undue importance to his teaching and failed to recognize the unique glory of Jesus—the Light to whom he bore faithful witness (Jn $1^{7f.}$).

The Synoptic narrative of the imprisonment and murder of John yields incidental evidence of his greatness as a prophet. There were some who accounted

for the mighty works of Jesus by saying 'John the Baptist is risen from the dead' (Mk 6^{14}).

Josephus (*Ant.* XVIII. v. 2) makes the preaching of John the cause of his execution, and says nothing of his reproof of Antipas for his adultery with his brother's wife (Mk 6^{18}). Some historians (*e.g.* Ranke) arbitrarily use Josephus as their main source, to the disparagement of the Gospels. But Sollertinsky (*JThSt* i. 507) has shown that when the person of Antipas is concerned, 'we are bound to consider the historian's statements with the greatest care.' Schürer (*op. cit.*), who holds that the real occasion of John's imprisonment was Herod's fear of political trouble, nevertheless allows that there is no real inconsistency between the statement of Josephus and the further assertion of the Evangelists that John had roused the anger of Herod, and still more of **Herodias**, by his stern rebuke.

The last mention of John in the Gospels (Mt 21^{26}, Mk 11^{32}, Lk 20^{6}) shows that Herod had good cause to fear the popular temper. John's influence must have been permanent as well as wide-spread when the chief priests were afraid of being stoned if they slighted him. After the transfiguration our Lord alluded to the sufferings of John, as He endeavoured to teach His disciples the lesson of His cross: 'I say unto you that Elijah is come, and they have also done unto him whatsoever they listed' (Mk 9^{13}). J. G. TASKER.

JOHN THE APOSTLE.—The materials for a life of St. John may be divided into three parts: (1) The specific information given in the canonical Scriptures; (2) early and well-attested tradition concerning him; (3) later traditions of a legendary character, which cannot be accepted as history, but which possess an interest and significance of their own. But when all the evidence on the subject is gathered, it is impossible to give more than a bare outline of what was in all probability a long life and an unspeakably important ministry. The present article must be taken in conjunction with those that follow, in view of the controversies which have arisen concerning the authorship of the 'Johannine' writings.

1. The Scripture data.—John was a son of Zebedee, a master-fisherman in good position, plying his craft in one of the towns on the Lake of Galilee, possibly Bethsaida. It is probable that his mother was Salome, one of the women who 'ministered' to Christ in Galilee (Mk 15^{41}), a sister of Mary the mother of Jesus. This may be inferred from a comparison of Mt 27^{56} and Mk 15^{40} 16^{1} with Jn 19^{25}.

The last passage is best understood as naming *four* women who stood by the Cross of Jesus—His mother, His mother's sister Salome, Mary wife of Clopas who was also mother of James and Joses, and Mary Magdalene. The interpretation which would find only three persons in the list, and identify Mary 'of Clopas' with the sister of Jesus' mother, is open to the objection that two sisters would have the same name, and it involves other serious difficulties.

In Jn 1^{40} two disciples are mentioned as having heard the testimony of John the Baptist to Jesus and having accompanied the new Teacher to His home. One of these was Andrew, and it has been surmised that the other was John himself. If this was so, the incident must be understood as constituting the very beginning of John's discipleship.

In Mt 4^{18-22}, Mk 1^{16-20} an account is given in almost the same words of the call of four fishermen to follow Jesus. Two of these were John and his elder brother James, who were with their father in a boat on the Lake of Galilee, mending their nets. In Lk 5^{1-11} a different account of the call is given. Nothing is said of Andrew; Peter is the principal figure in the scene of the miraculous draught of fishes, while James and John are mentioned only incidentally as 'partners with Simon.' Directly or indirectly, however, we are told that to John, whilst engaged in his craft, the summons was given to leave his occupation and become a 'fisher of men.' The call was immediately obeyed, and constitutes an intermediate link between the initial stage of discipleship and the appointment to be one of twelve 'apostles.' In the lists of the Twelve (Mt 10^{2}, Mk 3^{14}, Lk 6^{13}), John is always named as one of the first four, and in the course of Christ's ministry he was one of an inner circle of three, who were honoured with special marks of confidence. These alone were permitted to be present on three occasions—the raising of Jairus' daughter, narrated in Mk 5^{37}, Lk 8^{51}; the Transfiguration, described in three accounts (Mt 17^{1}, Mk 9^{2}, Lk 9^{28}); and the Agony in the Garden of Gethsemane, mentioned by two of the Synoptists (Mt 26^{37} and Mk 14^{33}). On one or perhaps two occasions Andrew was associated with these three—possibly at the healing of Peter's wife's mother (Mk 1^{29}), and certainly at the interview described in Mk 13^{3}, when Jesus sat on the Mount of Olives and was 'asked privately' concerning His prophecy of the overthrow of the Temple.

On two notable occasions the brothers James and John were associated together. They appear to have been alike in natural temperament. It is in this light that the statement of Mk 3^{17} is generally understood—'he surnamed them **Boanerges**, which is Sons of thunder.' Some uncertainty attaches to the derivation of the word, and the note added by the Evangelist is not perfectly clear. But no better explanation has been given than that the title was bestowed, perhaps by anticipation, in allusion to the zeal and vehemence of character which both the Apostles markedly exhibited on the occasions when they appear together. In Lk 9^{54} they are represented as desirous to call down fire from heaven to consume the Samaritan village which had refused hospitality to their Master. In Mk 10^{35} they come to Christ with an eager request that to them might be allotted the two highest places in His Kingdom, and they profess their complete readiness to share with Him whatever suffering or trying experiences He may be called to pass through. According to Mt 20^{20}, their mother accompanied them and made the request, but v.^{24} shows that indignation was roused 'concerning the two brethren,' and that the desire and petition were really their own. Once in the Gospels John is described as associated with Peter, the two being sent by Christ to make ready the Passover (Lk 22^{8}). Once he figures by himself alone, as making inquiry concerning a man who cast out demons in the name of Jesus, though he did not belong to the company of the disciples (Mk 9^{38}, Lk 9^{49}). As an indication of character this is to be understood as evincing zealous, but mistaken, loyalty. Christ's reply was, 'Forbid him not'; evidently John was disposed to manifest on this occasion the fiery intolerant zeal which he and his brother together displayed in Samaria. Though the words 'ye know not what manner of spirit ye are of' do not form part of the best-attested text in Lk 9, they doubtless describe the kind of rebuke with which on both occasions the Master found it necessary to check the eagerness of a disciple who loved his Master well, but not wisely.

In the early part of the Acts, John is associated by name with Peter on three occasions. One was the healing of the lame man by the Temple gate (3^{4}). The next was their appearance before the Sanhedrin in ch. 4, when they were found to be men untrained in Rabbinical knowledge, mere private persons with no official standing, and were also recognized by some present as having been personal followers of Jesus, and seen in His immediate company. In 8^{15} we read that the two were sent by their brother-Apostles to Samaria, after Philip had exercised his evangelistic ministry there. Many had been admitted into the Church by baptism, and the two Apostles completed the reception by prayer and the laying on of hands, 'that they might receive the Holy Spirit.' These typical instances show that at the outset of the history of the Church Peter and John came together to the front and were recognized as co-leaders, though they were very different in personal character, and Peter appears always to have been the spokesman. This note of personal leadership is confirmed by the incidental reference of Paul in Gal 2^{9},

JOHN THE APOSTLE

where James (not the son of Zebedee), Cephas, and John are 'reputed to be pillars' in the Church at Jerusalem.

Our knowledge of John's history and character is largely increased, and the interest in his personality is greatly deepened, if he is identified with **'the disciple whom Jesus loved,'** the author of the Fourth Gospel, and the John of the Apocalypse. Both these points are strongly contested in modern times, though the identification is supported by an early, wide-spread, and steadily maintained tradition. An examination of these questions will be found on pp. 479, 483, 797[b]; but here it may be pointed out what additional light is shed on John's life and character if his authorship of the Fourth Gospel is admitted. In Jn 13[23] the disciple whom Jesus loved is spoken of as 'reclining in Jesus' bosom' at the Last Supper. The phrase implies that on the chief couch at the meal, holding three persons, Jesus was in the middle and John on His right hand, thus being brought more directly face to face with the Master than Peter, who occupied the left-hand place. This explains the expression of v.[25] 'he, leaning back, as he was, on Jesus' breast'; as well as Peter's 'beckoning' mentioned in v.[24]. John has been also identified with the 'other disciple' mentioned in Jn 18[15. 16] as known to the high priest and having a right of entrance into the court, which was denied to Peter. Again, the disciple whom Jesus loved is described in Jn 19[26] as standing by the cross of Jesus with His mother, as receiving the sacred charge implied by the words, 'Woman, behold thy son!' and 'Behold thy mother!' and as thenceforth providing a home for one who was of his near kindred. In 20[3] he accompanies Peter to the tomb of Jesus; and while he reached the sepulchre first, Peter was the first to enter in, but John was apparently the first to 'believe.' In ch. 21 the two sons of Zebedee are among the group of seven disciples to whom our Lord appeared at the Sea of Tiberias, and again the disciple whom Jesus loved and Peter are distinguished: the one as the first to discern the risen Lord upon the shore, the other as the first to plunge into the water to go to Him. The Gospel closes with an account of Peter's inquiry concerning the future of his friend and companion on so many occasions; and in 19[35] as well as in 21[24] it is noted that the disciple 'who wrote these things' bore witness of that which he himself had seen, and that his witness is true.

It is only necessary to add that the John mentioned in Rev 1[4. 9] as writing to the Seven Churches in Asia from the island of Patmos was identified by early tradition with the son of Zebedee. If this be correct, much additional light is cast upon the later life of the Apostle John (see REVELATION [BOOK OF]).

2. Early tradition.—Outside the NT only vague tradition enables us to fill up the gap left by Christ's answer to Peter's question, 'Lord, and what shall this man do?' We may gather that he spent several years in Jerusalem. After an indefinite interval he is understood to have settled in Ephesus. Eusebius states (*HE* iii. 18, 20) that during the persecution of Domitian 'the apostle and evangelist John' was banished to Patmos, and that on the accession of Nerva (A.D. 96) he returned from the island and took up his abode in Ephesus, according to 'an ancient Christian tradition' (lit. 'the word of the ancients among us'). Tertullian mentions a miraculous deliverance from a cauldron of boiling oil to which John had been condemned during a persecution in Rome, presumably under Domitian. Eusebius further states that John was living in Asia and governing the churches there as late as the reign of Trajan. He bases this assertion upon the evidence of Irenæus and Clement of Alexandria. The former says that 'all the elders associated with John the disciple of the Lord in Asia bear witness,' and that he remained in Ephesus until the time of Trajan. Clement recites at length the well-known touching incident concerning St. John and the young disciple who fell into evil ways and became the chief of a band of robbers, as having occurred when 'after the tyrant's death he returned from the isle of Patmos to Ephesus.' Tertullian confirms the tradition of a residence in Ephesus by quoting the evidence of the Church of Smyrna that their bishop Polycarp was appointed by John (*de Pr. Hær.* 32). Polycrates, bishop of Ephesus towards the end of the 2nd cent., in a letter to Victor, bishop of Rome, speaks of one among the 'great lights' in Asia—'John, who was both a witness and a teacher, who reclined upon the bosom of the Lord, and, being a priest, wore the sacerdotal plate,' as having fallen asleep at Ephesus. The Muratorian Fragment, which dates about A.D. 180, records an account of the origin of the Fourth Gospel, to the effect that John wrote it in obedience to a special revelation made to himself and Andrew. This story is somewhat mythical in character and is not elsewhere confirmed, but it proves the early prevalence of the belief in the Apostolic origin of the Gospel. Irenæus states that the Gospel was written specially to confute unbelievers like Cerinthus, and tells, on the authority of those who had heard it from Polycarp, the familiar story that St. John refused to remain under the same roof with the arch-heretic, lest the building should fall down upon him. Ephesus is said to have been the scene of this incident. All traditions agree that he lived to a great age, and it is Jerome (*in Gal.* vi. 10) who tells of his being carried into the church when unable to walk or preach, and simply repeating the words, 'Little children, love one another.' Christ's enigmatical answer to Peter, 'If I will that he tarry till I come, what is that to thee?' led, as Jn 21[23] indicates, to the belief that John would not die, but would be translated.

Still, in spite of the record, the legend lingered long in the Church, and is mentioned by Augustine, that though apparently dead, the beloved Apostle was only asleep, and that the dust upon his tomb rose and fell with his breathing. The poet Browning, in his *Death in the Desert*, adopts the ancient tradition concerning the Apostle's great age and lingering death, and imagines him recalled from a deep trance and the very borderland of the grave to deliver a last inspired message.

The universal belief of the early Church that St. John maintained a prolonged ministry in Ephesus has never been challenged till recent years. The arguments adduced against it, though quite inadequate to set aside positive evidence, have been accepted by critics of weight, and at least deserve mention. The chief fact of importance urged is the silence of writers who might well be expected to make some reference to it. Polycarp in his letter to the Philippians, and Ignatius in writing to the Ephesians, refer to Paul and his writings, but not to John or his ministry. Clement of Rome, writing about 93–95 concerning the Apostles and their successors, makes no reference to John as an eminent survivor, but speaks of the Apostolic age as if completely past. If John did labour in Asia for a generation, and was living in the reign of Trajan, it is not unnatural to expect that fuller reference to the fact would be found in the writings of the sub-Apostolic Fathers. But the reply is twofold. First, the argument from silence is always precarious. The literature of the early years of the 2nd cent. is very scanty, and little is known of the circumstances under which the fragmentary documents were written or of the precise objects of the writers. The silence of the Acts of the Apostles in the 1st cent., and of Eusebius in the 4th, is in many respects quite as remarkable as their speech and much more inexplicable. It is quite impossible for the most acute critic in the 20th cent. to reproduce the conditions of an obscure period, and to understand precisely why some subjects of little importance to us are discussed in its literature and others of apparently greater significance ignored.

It is the weight of positive evidence, however, on which the tradition really rests. Irenæus, in a letter to Florinus preserved for us by Eusebius, describes how

as a boy he had listened to 'the blessed Polycarp,' and had heard 'the accounts which he gave of his intercourse with John and with the others who had seen the Lord.' And lest his memory should be discredited, he tells his correspondent that he remembers the events of that early time more clearly than those of recent years; 'for what boys learn, growing with their mind, becomes joined with it.' It is incredible that a writer brought so near to the very person of John, and having heard his words through only one intermediary, should have been entirely in error concerning his ministry in Asia. Polycrates, again, a bishop of the city in which St. John had long resided and laboured, wrote of his ministry there after an interval not longer than that which separates our own time from (say) the passing of the Reform Bill of 1832 or the battle of Waterloo. His testimony obviously is not that of himself alone, it must represent that of the whole Ephesian Church; and what Irenæus remembered as a boy others of the same generation must have remembered according to their opportunities of knowledge. The explicit testimony of three writers like Polycrates, Irenæus, and Clement of Alexandria carries with it the implicit testimony of a whole generation of Christians extending over a very wide geographic area. The silence of others notwithstanding, it is hardly credible that these should have been mistaken on a matter of so much importance. The theory that confusion had arisen between John the Apostle and a certain 'John the Elder' is discussed in a subsequent article (see p. 483), but it would seem impossible that a mistake on such a subject could be made in the minds of those who were divided from the events themselves by so narrow an interval as that of two, or at most three, generations.

3. Later traditions.—It is only, however, as regards the main facts of history that the testimony of the 2nd cent. may be thus confidently relied on. Stories of doubtful authenticity would gather round an honoured name in a far shorter period than seventy or eighty years. Some of these legends may well be true, others probably contain an element of truth, whilst others are the result of mistake or the product of pious imagination. They are valuable chiefly as showing the directions in which tradition travelled, and we need not draw on any of the interesting myths of later days in order to form a judgment on the person and character of John the Apostle, especially if he was in addition, as the Church has so long believed, St. John the Evangelist.

A near kinsman of Jesus, a youth in his early discipleship, eager and vehement in his affection and at first full of ill-instructed ambitions and still undisciplined zeal, John the son of Zebedee was regarded by his Master with a peculiar personal tenderness, and was fashioned by that transforming affection into an Apostle of exceptional insight and spiritual power. Only the disciple whom Jesus loved could become the Apostle of love. Only a minute and delicate personal knowledge of Him who was Son of Man and Son of God, combined with a sensitive and ardent natural temperament and the spiritual maturity attained by long experience and patient brooding meditation on what he had seen and heard long before, could have produced such a picture of the Saviour of the world as is presented in the Fourth Gospel. The very silence of John the Apostle in the narratives of the Gospels and the Acts is significant. He moved in the innermost circle of the disciples, yet seldom opened his lips. His recorded utterances could all be compressed into a few lines. Yet he ardently loved and was beloved by his Master, and after He was gone it was given to the beloved disciple to 'tarry' rather than to speak, or toil, or suffer, so that at the last he might write that which should move a world and live in the hearts of untold generations. The most Christlike of the Apostles has left this legacy to the Church —that without him it could not have adequately known its Lord.

W. T. Davison.

JOHN, GOSPEL OF.—*Introductory.*—The Fourth Gospel is unique among the books of the NT. In its combination of minute historical detail with lofty spiritual teaching, in its testimony to the Person and work of the Lord Jesus Christ, and in the preparation it makes for the foundations of Christian doctrine, it stands alone. Its influence upon the thought and life of the Christian Church has been proportionately deep and far-reaching. It is no disparagement of other inspired Scriptures to say that no other book of the Bible has left such a mark at the same time upon the profoundest Christian thinkers, and upon simple-minded believers at large. A decision as to its character, authenticity, and trustworthiness is cardinal to the Christian religion. In many cases authorship is a matter of comparatively secondary importance in the interpretation of a document, and in the determination of its significance; in this instance it is vital. That statement is quite consistent with two other important considerations. (1) We are not dependent on the Fourth Gospel for the facts on which Christianity is based, or for the fundamental doctrines of the Person and work of Christ. The Synoptic Gospels and St. Paul's Epistles are more than sufficient to establish the basis of the Christian faith, which on any hypothesis must have spread over a large part of the Roman Empire before this book was written. (2) On any theory of authorship, the document in question is of great significance and value in the history of the Church. Those who do not accept it as a 'Gospel' have still to reckon with the fact of its composition, and to take account of its presence in and influence upon the Church of the 2nd century.

But when these allowances have been made, it is clearly a matter of the very first importance whether the Fourth Gospel is, on the one hand, the work of an eye-witness, belonging to the innermost circle of Jesus' disciples, who after a long interval wrote a trustworthy record of what he had heard and seen, interpreted through the mellowing medium of half a century of Christian experience and service; or, on the other, a treatise of speculative theology cast into the form of an imaginative biography of Jesus, dating from the second or third decade of the 2nd cent., and testifying only to the form which the new religion was taking under the widely altered circumstances of a rapidly developing Church. Such a question as this is not of secondary but of primary importance at any time, and the critical controversies of recent years make a decision upon it to be crucial.

It is impossible here to survey the history of criticism, but it is desirable to say a few words upon it. According to a universally accepted tradition, extending from the third quarter of the 2nd cent. to the beginning of the 19th, John the Apostle, the son of Zebedee, was held to be the author of the Gospel, the three Epistles that went by his name, and the Apocalypse. This tradition, so far as the Gospel was concerned, was unbroken and almost unchallenged, the one exception being formed by an obscure and doubtful sect, or class of unbelievers, called Alogi by Epiphanius, who attributed the Gospel and the Apocalypse to Cerinthus! From the beginning of the 19th cent., however, and especially after the publication of Bretschneider's *Probabilia* in 1820, an almost incessant conflict has been waged between the traditional belief and hypotheses which in more or less modified form attribute the Gospel to an Ephesian elder or an Alexandrian Christian philosopher belonging to the first half of the 2nd century. Baur of Tübingen, in whose theories of doctrinal development this document held an important place, fixed its date about A.D. 170, but this view has long been given up as untenable. Keim, who argued strongly against the Johannine authorship, at first adopted the date A.D. 100–115, but afterwards regarded A.D. 130 as more probable. During the last fifty years the

conflict has been waged with great ability on both sides, with the effect of modifying extreme views, and more than once it has seemed as if an agreement between the more moderate critics on either side had become possible. Among the conservatives, Zahn and Weiss in Germany, and Westcott, Sanday, Reynolds, and Drummond in this country, have been conspicuous; whilst, on the other hand, Holtzmann, Jülicher, and Schmiedel have been uncompromising opponents of the historicity of the Gospel on any terms. Schürer, Harnack, and others have taken up a middle position, ascribing the book to a disciple of John the Apostle, who embodied in it his master's teaching; whilst Wendt and some others have advocated partition theories, implying the existence of a genuine Johannine document as the basis of the Gospel, blended with later and less trustworthy matter.

The position taken in this article is that the traditional view which ascribes the authorship of the Gospel to John the Apostle is still by far the most probable account of its origin, the undeniable difficulties attaching to this view being explicable by a reasonable consideration of the circumstances of its composition. Fuller light, however, has been cast upon the whole subject by the discussions of recent years, and much is to be learned from the investigations of eminent scholars and their arguments against the Johannine authorship, especially when these do not rest upon a denial of the supernatural element in Scripture. In the present treatment of the subject, controversy will be avoided as far as possible, and stress will be laid upon the positive and constructive elements in the examination. The method adopted will be to inquire into (1) the External Evidence in favour of St. John's authorship; (2) the Internal Evidence; (3) the scope of the Gospel and its relation to the Synoptics; (4) Objections and suggested alternative Theories; (5) Summary of the Conclusions reached.

1. External Evidence.—It is not questioned that considerably before the close of the 2nd cent. the four Gospels, substantially as we have them, were accepted as authoritative in the Christian Church. This is proved by the testimony of Irenæus, bishop of Lyons, in Gaul, writing about A.D. 180; Theophilus, bishop of Antioch, about A.D. 170; Clement, head of the catechetical school in Alexandria, about 190; and Tertullian, the eloquent African Father, who wrote at the end of the century, and who quotes freely from all the Gospels by name. The full and explicit evidence of the Muratorian Canon may also be dated about A.D. 180. Irenæus assumes the Johannine authorship of the Fourth Gospel as generally accepted and unquestioned. He expressly states that after the publication of the other three Gospels, 'John the disciple of the Lord, who also leaned upon His breast, himself also published the Gospel, while he was dwelling at Ephesus in Asia.' He tells us that he himself when a boy had heard from the lips of Polycarp his reminiscences of 'his familiar intercourse with John and the rest of those that had seen the Lord.' He dwells in mystical fashion upon the significance of the number four, and characterizes the Fourth Gospel as corresponding to the 'flying eagle' among the living creatures of Ezk 1^{10} and 10^{14}. Theophilus of Antioch quotes it as follows: 'John says, In the beginning was the Word, and the Word was with God' (*Aut.* 22). The Muratorian Fragment, which gives a list of the canonical books recognized in the Western Church of the period, ascribes the Fourth Gospel to 'John, one of the disciples,' and whilst recognizing that 'in the single books of the Gospels different principles are taught,' the writer adds that they all alike confirm the faith of believers by their agreement in their teaching about Christ's birth, passion, death, resurrection, and twofold advent. Clement of Alexandria, in handing down 'the tradition of the elders from the first,' says that 'John, last of all, having observed that the bodily things had been exhibited in the Gospels, exhorted by his friends and inspired by the Spirit, produced a spiritual gospel' (Eus. *HE* vi. 14). Tertullian, among other testimonies, shows his opinion of the authorship and his discrimination of the character of the Gospels by saying, 'Among the Apostles, John and Matthew form the faith within us; among the companions of the Apostles, Luke and Mark renovate it' (*adv. Marc.* iv. 2).

Was this clearly expressed and wide-spread belief of the Church well based? First of all it must be said that the personal link supplied by Irenæus is of itself so important as to be almost conclusive, unless very strong counter-reasons can be alleged. It was impossible that he should be mistaken as to the general drift of Polycarp's teaching, and Polycarp had learned directly from John himself. On the broad issue of John's ministry in Asia and his composition of a Gospel, this testimony is of the first importance. The suggestion that confusion had arisen in his mind between the Apostle and a certain 'Presbyter John' of Asia will be considered later, but it is exceedingly unlikely that on such a matter either Polycarp or his youthful auditor could have made a mistake. The testimony of churches and of a whole generation of Christians, inheritors of the same tradition at only one remove, corroborates the emphatic and repeated statements of Irenæus.

It is quite true that in the first half of the 2nd cent. the references to the Gospel are neither so direct nor so abundant as might have been expected. The question whether Justin Martyr knew, and recognized, our Gospels as such has been much debated. His references to the Gospel narrative are very numerous, and the coincidences between the form of the records which he quotes and our Gospels are often close and striking, but he mentions no authors' names. In his first *Apol.* ch. 61 (about A.D. 160), however, we read, 'For Christ also said, Except ye be born again, ye shall in no wise enter into the kingdom of heaven,' which would appear to imply, though it does not prove, an acquaintance with the Fourth Gospel. Other references to Christ as 'only begotten Son' and the 'Word' are suggestive. The recent discovery of Tatian's *Diatessaron* (c. A.D. 160) makes it certain that that 'harmony' of the Gospels began with the words, 'In the beginning was the Word,' and that the whole of the Fourth Gospel was interwoven into its substance. The Epistle of Polycarp to the Philippians (before A.D. 120) apparently quotes 1 Jn. in the words, 'For every one who does not acknowledge that Jesus Christ is come in the flesh is antichrist,' but no express citation is made. The Epistles of Ignatius (about A.D. 110) apparently show traces of the Fourth Gospel in their references to 'living water,' 'children of light,' Christ as 'the Word' and as 'the door,' but these are not conclusive. Papias may have known and used this Gospel, as Irenæus seems to imply (*adv. Hær.* 36); and Eusebius distinctly says that he 'used testimonies from the First Epistle of John' (*HE* iii. 39).

Some of the most noteworthy testimonies to the use of the Gospel in the former part of the 2nd cent. are drawn from heretical writings. It is certain that Heracleon of the Valentinian school of Gnostics knew and quoted the Gospel as a recognized authority, and it would even appear that he wrote an elaborate commentary on the whole Gospel. Origen quotes him as misapprehending the text, 'No one has seen God at any time.' Hippolytus in his *Refutation of all Heresies* (vi. 30) proves that Valentinus (about A.D. 130) quoted Jn 10^{8}, 'The Saviour says, All that came before me are thieves and robbers,' and that Basilides a little earlier made distinct reference to Jn 1^{9}: 'As it is said in the Gospels, the true light that enlighteneth every man was coming into the world.' Slighter and more doubtful references are found in the *Clementine Homilies* and other heretical writings, and these go at least some way to show that the peculiar phraseology of the Fourth

JOHN, GOSPEL OF

Gospel was known and appealed to as authoritative in the middle of the 2nd century.

It is not, however, by explicit references to 'texts' that a question of this kind can be best settled. The chief weight of external evidence lies in the fact that between A.D. 150 and 180 four Gospels were recognized in the Church as authentic records, read in the assemblies, and accepted as authoritative. Also, that the fourth of these was with practical unanimity ascribed to St. John, as written by him in Asia at the very end of the 1st century. This acceptance included districts as far apart as Syria and Gaul, Alexandria, Carthage and Rome. Can the whole Church of A.D. 180 have been utterly mistaken on such a point? True, the early Christians were 'uncritical' in the modern sense of the word criticism. But they were not disposed lightly to accept alleged Apostolic writings as genuine. On the other hand, the inquiry into their authenticity was usually close and careful. A period of fifty years is short when we remember how generations overlap one another, and how carefully traditions on the most sacred subjects are guarded. It is hardly possible to suppose that on such salient questions as the residence of the Apostle John for twenty years in Asia, and the composition of one of the four authoritative Gospels, any serious error or confusion could have arisen so early. At least the *prima facie* external evidence is so far in favour of Johannine authorship that it must stand accepted, unless very serious objections to it can be sustained, or some more satisfactory account of the origin of the Gospel can be suggested.

2. Internal Evidence.—The first point to be noted under this head is that the book makes a direct claim to have been written by an eye-witness, and indirectly it points to the Apostle John as its author. The phrase 'We beheld his glory' (1^{14}) is not decisive, though, taken in connexion with 1 Jn 1^{1-4}, if the Epistle be genuine, the claim of first-hand knowledge is certainly made. There can be no question concerning the general meaning of 19^{35}, though its detailed exegesis presents difficulties. The verse might be paraphrased, 'He that hath seen hath borne witness, and his witness is genuine and real; and he knoweth that he speaketh things that are true, so that ye also may believe.' No one reading this can question that the writer of the narrative of the Crucifixion claims to have been present and to be recording what he had seen with his own eyes. A peculiar pronoun is used in '*he* knoweth,' and Sanday, E. A. Abbott, and others would interpret the word emphatically, of Christ; but its use is probably due to the fact that the writer is speaking of himself in the third person, and emphasizes his own personal testimony. Parallel instances from classical and modern writers have been adduced. In 21^{24} further corroboration is given of the accuracy of the disciple who was at the same time an eye-witness of the events and the author of the narrative. It appears, however, to have been added to the Gospel by others. 'We know that his witness is true' is probably intended as an endorsement on the part of certain Ephesian elders, whilst the 'I suppose' of v.^{25} may indicate yet another hand. In addition to these more or less explicit testimonies, notes are freely introduced throughout the Gospel which could proceed only from a member of the innermost circle of Christ's disciples, though the writer never mentions his own name. Instead, he alludes to **'the disciple whom Jesus loved'** in such a way that by a process of exhaustion it may be proved from chs. 20 and 21 that John was intended. It can hardly be questioned that the writer delicately but unmistakably claims to be that disciple himself. An ordinary pseudonymous writer does not proceed in this fashion. The authority of an honoured name is sometimes claimed by an unknown author, as in the *Ascension of Isaiah* and the *Apocalypse of Baruch*, not fraudulently, but as a literary device to give character to his theme. In this case, however, the indirect suggestion of authorship either must indicate that the Apostle wrote the book, modestly veiling his own identity, or else it points to an unwarrantable pretence on the part of a later writer, who threw his own ideas into the form of a (largely imaginary) narrative. Some modern critics do not shrink from this last hypothesis; but it surely implies a misleading misrepresentation of facts incredible under the circumstances. A third theory, which would imply collaboration on the part of one of John's own disciples, will be discussed later.

Does the Gospel, then, as a whole bear out this claim, directly or indirectly made? Is it such a book as may well have proceeded from one who ranked amongst the foremost figures in the sacred drama of which Jesus of Nazareth was the august centre? The answer cannot be given in a word. Many features of the Gospel strongly support such a claim. Putting aside for the moment its spiritual teaching, we may say that it displays a minute knowledge of details which could have come only from an eye-witness who was intimately acquainted not only with the places and scenes, but with the persons concerned, their characters and motives. No artistic imagination could have enabled an Ephesian Christian of the 2nd cent. either to insert the minute topographical and other touches which bespeak the eye-witness, or to invent incidents like those recorded in chs. 4 and 9, bearing a verisimilitude which commends them at once to the reader. On the other hand, there is so much in the Gospel which implies a point of view entirely different from that of Christ's immediate contemporaries, and there are so many divergences from the Synoptics in the description of our Lord's ministry—as regards time, place, the manner of Christ's teaching, and particular incidents recorded—as to make it impossible to ascribe it to the son of Zebedee without a full explanation of serious difficulties and discrepancies. But for these two diverse aspects of the same document, there would be no 'Johannine problem.' It will be well to take the two in order, and see if they can be reconciled.

It has been usual to arrange the evidence in narrowing circles; to show that the author must have been a Jew, a Palestinian, an eye-witness, one of the Twelve, and lastly the Apostle John. It is impossible, however, to array here all the proofs available. It must suffice to say that a close familiarity with Jewish customs and observances, such as could not have been possessed by an Ephesian in A.D. 120, is shown in the account of the Feast of Tabernacles (ch. 7), the Dedication (10^{22}), Jews and Samaritans ($4^{19.\ 20}$), conversation with women in public (4^{27}), ceremonial pollution (18^{28}), and other minute touches, each slight in itself, but taken together of great weight. The numerous references to the Messianic hope in chs. 1. 4. 7. 8. and indeed throughout the Gospel, indicate one who was thoroughly acquainted with Jewish views and expectations from within. Familiarity with the Jewish Scriptures and a free but reverent use of them are apparent throughout. The places mentioned are not such as a stranger would or could have introduced into an imaginary narrative. As examples we may mention Bethany beyond Jordan (1^{28}), Ænon (3^{23}), Ephraim (11^{54}), the treasury (8^{20}), the pool of Siloam (9^{7}), Solomon's porch (10^{23}), the Kidron (18^{1}). It is true that difficulties have been raised with regard to some of these, *e.g.* Sychar (4^{5}); but recent exploration has in several instances confirmed the writer's accuracy. Again, the habit of the writer is to specify details of time, place, and number which must either indicate exceptional first-hand knowledge, or have been gratuitously inserted by one who wished to convey an impression of 'local colour.' The very hour of the day at which events happened is noted in 1^{39} $4^{6.\ 52}$ 19^{14}; or 'the early morning' is mentioned, as in 18^{28} 20^{1} 21^{4}; or the night, as in 3^{2} 13^{30}. The specification of six water-pots (2^{6}), five and twenty furlongs (6^{19}), two hundred cubits (21^{8}), and the hundred and fifty-three fishes (21^{11}), is a further illustration

either of an old man's exact reminiscences of events long past or of a late writer's pretended acquaintance with precise details.

The portraiture of persons and incidents characteristic of the Gospel is noteworthy. The picture is so graphic, and the effect is produced by so few strokes, often unexpected, that it must be ascribed either to an eye-witness or to a writer of altogether exceptional genius. The conversations recorded, the scene of the feet-washing, the representation of the Samaritan woman, of the man born blind, the portraiture of Peter, of Pilate, of the priests and the multitude, the questionings of the disciples, the revelation of secret motives and fears, the interpretations of Christ's hidden meanings and difficult sayings—*may*, as an abstract possibility, have been invented. But if they were not—and it is hard to understand how a writer who lays so much stress upon truth could bring himself to such a perversion of it—then the author of the Gospel must have moved close to the very centre of the sacred events he describes. In many cases it is not fair to present such a dilemma as this. The use of the imagination in literature is often not only permissible, but laudable. It is quite conceivable that a Jew of the 2nd cent. before Christ might use the name of Solomon, or the author of the *Clementine Homilies* in the 2nd cent. A.D. might write a romance, without any idea of deception in his own mind or in that of his readers. But the kind of narrative contained in the Fourth Gospel, if it be not genuinely and substantially historical, implies such an attempt to produce a false impression of first-hand knowledge as becomes seriously misleading. The impossibility of conceiving a writer possessed of both the power and the will thus deliberately to colour and alter the facts, forms an important link in the chain of argument. Fabulous additions to the canonical Gospels are extant, and their character is well known. They present a marked contrast in almost all respects to the characteristic features of the document before us. The name of John is never once mentioned in the Gospel, though the writer claims to be intimately acquainted with all the chief figures of the Gospel history. As deliberate self-suppression this can be understood, but as an attempt on the part of a writer a century afterwards to pose as 'the beloved disciple,' a prominent figure in elaborate descriptions of entirely imaginary scenes, it is unparalleled in literature and incredible in a religious historian.

A volume might well be filled with an examination of the special features of the Gospel in its portrayal of Christ Himself. Even the most superficial reader must have noticed the remarkable combination of lowliness with sublimity, of superhuman dignity with human infirmities and limitations, which characterizes the Fourth Gospel. It is in it that we read of the Saviour's weariness by the well and His thirst upon the Cross, of the personal affection of Jesus for the family at Bethany, and His tender care of His mother in the very hour of His last agony. But it is in the same record that the characteristic 'glory' of His miracles is most fully brought out; in it the loftiest claims are made not only for the Master by a disciple, but by the Lord for Himself—as the Light of the World, the Bread from Heaven, the only true Shepherd of men, Himself the Resurrection and the Life. He is saluted not only by Mary as Rabboni, but by Thomas as 'my Lord and my God.' The writer claims an exceptional and intimate knowledge of Christ. He tells us what He felt, as in 11^{33} and 13^{21}; the reasons for His actions, as in 6^{6}; and he is bold to describe the Lord's secret thoughts and purposes ($6^{61.\ 64}$ 18^{4} 19^{28}). More than this, in the Prologue of a Gospel which describes the humanity of the Son of Man, He is set forth as the 'only' Son of God, the Word made flesh, the Word who in the beginning was with God and was God, Creator and Sustainer of all that is. This marked characteristic of the Gospel has indeed been made a ground of objection to it. We cannot conceive, it is said, that one who had moved in the circle of the immediate companions of Jesus of Nazareth could have spoken of Him in this fashion. The reply is obvious. What kind of a portrait is actually presented? If it be an entirely incredible picture, an extravagant attempt to portray a moral and spiritual prodigy or monstrosity, an impossible combination of the human and the Divine, then we may well suppose that human imagination has been at work. But if a uniquely impressive Image is set forth in these pages, which has commanded the homage of saints and scholars for centuries, and won the hearts of millions of those simple souls to whom the highest spiritual truths are so often revealed, then it may be surmised that the Fourth Gospel is not due to the fancy of an unknown artist of genius in the 2nd cent., but it is due to one who reflected, as in a mirror, from a living reality the splendour of Him who was 'the only begotten of the Father, full of grace and truth.'

3. Scope of the Gospel and its relation to the Synoptics.—It cannot be denied that there are grave difficulties in the way of our accepting the conclusion to which we are irresistibly led by the above arguments. Some of these were felt as early as the 2nd and 3rd cents., and have always been more or less present to the minds of Christians. Others have been more clearly brought out by the controversy concerning the genuineness of the Gospel which has been waged through the last half-century. In this section it will be convenient to try to answer the questions, How does this Gospel, if written by the Apostle John, stand related to the other three?, how can the obvious discrepancies be reconciled?, and how far do the writer's object and method and point of view account for the unique character of the narrative he has presented?

It is clear, to begin with, that the plan of the Fourth Gospel differs essentially from that of the Synoptics. The writer himself makes this plain in his own account of his book ($20^{30.\ 31}$). He did not undertake to write a biography of Christ, even in the limited sense in which that may be said of Matthew, Mark, and Luke; he selected certain significant parts and aspects of Christ's work, for the purpose of winning or conserving faith in Him, presumably under special difficulties or dangers. We are therefore prepared for a difference in the very framework and structure of the book, and this we assuredly find.

The Fourth Gospel opens with an introduction to which there is no parallel in the NT. The circumstances of Christ's birth and childhood, His baptism and temptation, are entirely passed by. His relation to John the Baptist is dealt with from a later, doctrinal point of view, rather than from that of the chronicler describing events in their historical development. Only typical incidents from the ministry are selected, and only such aspects of these as lend themselves to didactic treatment. It will be convenient here to give a brief outline of the plan and contents of the Gospel.

THE PROLOGUE: $1^{1\text{-}18}$. The Word—in Eternity, in Creation, in History and Incarnate.

PART i.: 1^{19}–12^{50}. Christ's manifestation of Himself in a Ministry of Life and Love.

1. The proclamation of His message, the testimony of the Baptist, of His works, and of His disciples. The beginnings of faith and unbelief, 1^{19}–4^{54}.
2. The period of Controversy and Conflict; Christ's vindication of Himself against adversaries, partly in discourse, partly in mighty works, 5^{1}–12^{50}.

PART ii.: 13^{1}–20^{31}. Christ's manifestation of Himself in Suffering, in Death, and in Victory over Death.

1. His last acts, discourses, and prayer, 13^{1}–17^{26}.
2. His betrayal, trial, death, and burial, 18^{1}–19^{42}.
3. His Resurrection and Appearances to His disciples, ch. 20.

THE EPILOGUE: $21^{1\text{-}23}$. Further Appearances and Last Words.

Notes appended by other hands: $21^{24.\ 25}$.

The following are some detailed differences of importance. The exact duration of Christ's ministry cannot be determined either by the Synoptic narratives or by St. John's; but it would appear that in the former it might be compressed within the compass of one year, whilst the latter in its mention of Passovers and Festivals would require more than three. Again, the Synoptic Gospels describe a ministry exercised almost entirely in Galilee up to the closing scenes in Jerusalem; St. John has little to say of Galilee, but he does mention an important visit to Samaria, and narrates at length events and controversies in Jerusalem of which the other Evangelists say nothing. On these points, however, it may be remarked that none of the Gospels professes to be complete; that an exact chronological outline can with difficulty be constructed from any of them; and that each gives passing hints of events of which the writer had cognisance, though it does not come within his purpose to describe them.

Minute difficulties of detail cannot be discussed here. But the difference between the Synoptists and St. John with regard to the date of the Last Supper and Christ's death has a special importance of its own. The first three Gospels represent Jesus as partaking of the regular Passover with His disciples, and as being crucified on the 15th of Nisan; St. John describes the Last Supper as on the day of 'preparation,' and the crucifixion as taking place on the 14th Nisan, the great day of the Passover. Various modes of reconciliation have been proposed, turning upon the meaning of the phrase 'eating the Passover' and on the Jewish mode of reckoning days from sunset to sunset. It has been further suggested that the term 'Passover' was applied to the eating of the sacrifice called Chagigah, which was offered on the first Paschal day immediately after the morning service. The explanations offered of the discrepancy are ingenious, and one or other of them may be correct. But it can hardly be said that any has commanded general acceptance among critics, and meanwhile the difference remains. It must not be supposed, however, that this necessarily implies an error on the part of the Fourth Gospel. Many critics contend earnestly that St. John gives the more consistent and intelligible account of the Last Supper, the trial and the death of Jesus in relation to the Jewish festival, and that the phraseology of the Synoptists may be more easily and satisfactorily explained in terms of St. John's narrative than *vice versa*. The objection that the writer of the Fourth Gospel had a dogmatic reason for changing the day and representing Christ as the true Passover Sacrifice offered for the sins of the world, is not borne out by facts. The writer nowhere speaks of Christ as the Paschal Lamb (not even in 19^{36}), and his allusion to the date is too slight and casual to warrant the supposition that he wishes to press home the teaching of 1 Co 5^{7}. Further, if the Synoptic tradition of the date had been established, it is most unlikely that an anonymous writer of the 2nd cent. would have set himself in opposition to it. If St. John wrote of his own superior knowledge, a discrepancy is intelligible, and the correction of a previous misapprehension may have been intentional. It may be said in passing that the argument drawn from the Quartodeciman controversy—whether Christians ought to keep the Passover at the same time as the Jews, *i.e.* always on 14th Nisan, whatever day of the week it might be, or always on Sunday as the first day of the week, on whatever day of the month it might fall —cannot legitimately be made to tell against the historicity of the Fourth Gospel. The controversy concerned the relation between Christians and Jews as such, rather than the exact date of Christ's death and its meaning as a Passover sacrifice.

We reach the centre of difficulty, however, when we try to understand the marked difference between the body of the Synoptic narrative on the one hand and St. John's on the other. St. John's omissions are so striking. He never refers to the miraculous birth of Christ; he gives no account of the Transfiguration, the institution of the Eucharist, or the Agony in the Garden; a large number of miracles are not described, nor is their occurrence hinted at; no parables are recorded, though the Synoptics make them a chief feature of Christ's teaching, and the very word for 'parable' in its strict sense does not occur in the book. On the other hand, his additions are notable. How is it that the Synoptists have nothing to say of the changing of Water into Wine, of the Feet-washing, and especially of the Raising of Lazarus? Is it conceivable that if such a miracle was actually worked it could have had no place in any of the great traditional accounts of His ministry? Are we to understand that the Synoptists are correct when they place the Cleansing of the Temple at the end of Christ's ministry, or St. John when he describes it at the beginning? Other apparent discrepancies are of less importance. They concern the Anointing of Jn 12 as compared with the narratives of Mt 26, Mk 14, and Lk 7; the accounts of the trial of Jesus given in the Synoptics in their relation to that of Jn.; and the appearances of the Lord after His Resurrection as recorded by St. John in the 20th and 21st chapters.

Further, the most superficial reader cannot but be struck by the different representations of Christ's ministry in its main features. The Synoptic Gospels do not contain the long discourses which are reported in St. John, always couched in a peculiar and characteristic diction, nor do they mention the frequent controversies with **'the Jews,'** who are represented in the Fourth Gospel as frequently interrupting Christ's addresses with questions and objections to which the Synoptists present no parallel. The very mention of 'the Jews,' so often and so unfavourably referred to, is, it is said, a sign of a later hand. The writer of the Fourth Gospel uses the same somewhat peculiar style, whether he is reporting Christ's words or adding his own comments, and it is sometimes difficult to distinguish between the two. In doctrine also, it is contended, there are irreconcilable differences between the Three Evangelists and the Fourth. Judgment is viewed by the Synoptists as a great eschatological event in the future, but by St. John as a present spiritual fact accomplished even whilst Christ was on earth. It is said, further, that Gnostic and other heresies of various kinds belonging to the 2nd cent. are alluded to in the Gospel, and that the Johannine authorship is therefore untenable. Last, but by no means least, the use of the word *Logos* to describe the Eternal Word, and the doctrines associated with the name that are found in the Prologue, point, it is said, conclusively to an Alexandrian origin, and are practically irreconcilable with the authorship of the son of Zebedee.

An adequate solution of these acknowledged difficulties can be found only in a full consideration of the circumstances under which, and the objects for which, the Gospel was written. It is an essential part of the hypothesis of Johannine authorship that the book was not composed till a generation after the death of St. Paul, in a community where Christianity had been established for nearly half a century. Such an interval, at such a rapidly advancing period of Christian history, implied changes of a deep and far-reaching kind. An 'advanced Christology'—that is to say, a fuller development of the doctrines implied in the fundamental Christian belief that 'God was in Christ,' and that Christ was 'the Son of the living God'—was to be expected. The bearing of this truth upon current religious ideas among both Jews and Gentiles became more clearly seen in every succeeding decade. No writer, be he aged Apostle or Ephesian elder, could write in A.D. 100 as he would have written fifty years before. The very point of view from which the wonderful Life of lives was considered and estimated had changed. With it had changed also the proportionate significance of the details of that life and work. The central figure was the same. His words and deeds remained, indelibly imprinted upon the mind of one who had lived 'when there was mid-sea and the mighty things.' But if an artist at the same time knows his work and is true to the realities he paints, his perspective changes, the lights and shadows of his picture alter, and the relative size of objects depicted is altered, when a new point of view is taken up.

JOHN, GOSPEL OF

If the Apostle John wrote the Fourth Gospel at all, it must have been composed under these conditions, as early tradition asserts that it was. The same tradition declares that it was written under pressure from without, that it presupposed the first three Gospels, and was not intended to cover the ground occupied by them, that it was 'a spiritual Gospel'—which is only another way of saying what the author himself has told us, that he recorded some among the many signs that Jesus did, viewed from the side of a Divine mission and purpose, 'that ye may believe that Jesus is the Christ, the Son of God, and that believing ye may have life through his name' (Jn 20^{31}). Omissions and additions, therefore, such as are obvious in a comparison between the Synoptics and the Fourth Gospel, cannot count as arguments against the authenticity of the latter. Neither can a more completely developed doctrine of the Person of Christ, nor a somewhat altered representation of His ministry and utterances. We have rather to ask whether the modifications observable in the latest narrative of all, written after a long time, under altered conditions, and from a different point of view, imply an incompatibility so marked that it cannot be ascribed to an eye-witness and an Apostle. All the Gospels are confessedly fragmentary, and if one of the Twelve was induced after the lapse of nearly two generations to supplement the records of Christ's life already in existence, and to present a selection of his own reminiscences for the purpose of inducing and maintaining Christian faith, quite as large a measure of difference in the narrative as that sketched in a previous paragraph may justly be expected. Some of those discrepancies have been exaggerated. For example, the mode of speaking of **'the Jews'** in the Fourth Gospel is prepared for by the expressions found in Mt 28^{15}, Mk 7^{3}, Lk 7^{3} and 23^{51}. Indeed, such a habit of estimating and describing the members of a nation which had so steadily set itself against Christ and His followers as to have become the very embodiment of virulent opposition to Christianity, was inevitable. Again, it is undeniable that, as St. John from his later point of view discerned not only the glory that should come *after* the shame and the death of the Saviour, but the glory that was implied *in* His suffering and death on behalf of the world, so he described not only the final judgment that was to come at the end of all things, but the present judging, searching, sifting power of Christ's words and presence in the earth, as the Synoptists do not. His point of view in this and in other respects is confessedly more 'spiritual.' But he is not unmindful of that aspect of judgment which predominates in the Synoptics. In 5^{21-29} the two points of view are harmonized, and a very definite reference is made to a final judgment as an eschatological event. If it is true, as we read in 12^{31}, that 'now is the judgment of this world,' the same chapter reminds us (v.^{48}) that Christ's word will judge men 'in the last day.' There is no contradiction, except for shallow interpreters, between the statements that the Kingdom of God is already come, and that its coming must be waited for with patience, perhaps during a long period. A believer in 'judgment' already accomplished is so far prepared for the confident expectation of a final judgment at the end of the ages.

But the examination of details necessarily lies outside the scope of the present article. The only further point which can be noticed here concerns the style and diction of the Fourth Gospel, and the contrast observable between the discourses of Jesus as reported in it and in the three Synoptics. So marked a difference in this respect does obtain, that an upholder of the Johannine authorship of the Fourth Gospel must be prepared to admit that the aged Apostle sees all the objects he describes through a medium of his own, and casts his record into a shape moulded by the habit and working of his own mind. The personal stamp of the writer is very strongly impressed upon his material. Inspiration is quite consistent with marked individuality in the prophet's character and writings, and the highest kind of inspiration is inseparable from this. The accuracy of the chronicler who regards himself as a mere recording pen is one thing, the truth of the artist or historian who passes all that he knows through the alembic of his own vigorous and active mind is another. As regards the form of the narrative, St. John, if he be the writer, must have allowed himself freedom to present his record in a mould determined by the later working of his own mind and the conditions of the times in which he lived. He presents us not with an exact photograph —though traces of the photography of memory are fairly abundant—but with a free and true picture of the life of Him who was and is the Life indeed.

Differences in the mode of presentation do indeed exist, but they need not be exaggerated. For example, as regards the number and length of Christ's discourses recorded, the Fourth Gospel is not separated from the rest by some impassable gulf. Dr. Drummond has calculated that whilst in Mt. Christ speaks 139 times, in Jn. He speaks only 122 times; and that as regards length of speeches, Mt. records 111 utterances not exceeding 3 verses and Jn. 96; of speeches exceeding 3 and not exceeding 10 verses, Mt. gives 16 and Jn. 20; whilst of discourses exceeding 20 verses, Mt. records 4 and Jn. 3 only. Then as regards the character of the sayings of Jesus, it is often represented that those recorded in the Synoptics are pithy, incisive, and telling, whereas in Jn. the style is prolix and monotonous. Dr. Drummond, however, enumerates sixty detached *logia* taken from the Fourth Gospel quite as aphoristic and memorable as any contained in the other three, whilst it has often been pointed out that in Mt 11^{25-27} is found in germ the substance, both in matter and in form, of teaching which is fully developed by St. John. At the same time it is not denied that the Fourth Evangelist allows himself the liberty of blending text and comment in one narrative marked by the same characteristic diction, so that, as in ch. 3, it is not altogether easy to determine whether Jesus or John the Baptist or the Evangelist is speaking; or, as in 17^{3}, whether the Evangelist has not expressed in his own words the substance of what fell from the Master's lips. Such freedom, however, is not really misleading. A measure of translation, of re-statement and reproduction, was necessary from the very nature of the case. Harnack says of the NT generally, 'The Greek language lies upon these writings only like a diaphanous veil, and it requires hardly any effort to retranslate their contents into Hebrew or Aramaic.' Such slight, but easily penetrable veils, partly of language, partly of representation, necessarily rest over the four narratives of our Lord's life and ministry which have been handed down through different media and under different conditions. The argument here briefly sketched out goes to show that the Fourth Gospel contains no representation of the Person, words, or works of Christ incompatible or seriously inconsistent with those of the Synoptics, whilst at the same time it bears the indubitable marks of a sacred individuality of its own.

4. Alternative theories.—A considerable number of eminent scholars of the last two generations have not been satisfied by the line of argument indicated above, and they decline to accept not only the Johannine authorship of the Fourth Gospel, but also its historical trustworthiness. It is easy to understand that considerations which would strongly appeal to Christian believers might have small weight with those who reject the supernatural, and cannot admit the evidence of an alleged eye-witness of the raising of Lazarus, and who profess to be able to trace the growth of the legend which transformed the prophet of Nazareth into the Word of God Incarnate. For them the document we are examining is an ideal composition of the 2nd cent., of no greater historical value than the Gospel of Nico-

demus or the *Clementine Recognitions*. Others, who are convinced that the book embodies early and perhaps Apostolical traditions, have adopted mediating theories of different types, pointing to the use by a 2nd cent. writer of earlier 'sources,' much as the *Logia* document is supposed to have been used by the author of 'Matthew' or the Markan document by St. Luke. The late date assigned by Baur to the composition of the Gospel has long been given up as impossible, and a theory of 'forgery' is no longer advocated by any one whose judgment is worth considering. Few responsible critics now would place the document later than A.D. 110–120, and the good faith of the writer is hardly questioned even among those who most strenuously deny that his facts have any historical basis.

Among partition-theories may be classed that of Renan, who considers that the history of the Fourth Gospel is more accurate than that of the Synoptics, and that it was probably derived from the Apostle John by one of his disciples; but he slights the discourses as tedious and almost entirely fictitious. Wendt, on the other hand, holds that a 'third main original source' of the Gospels—in addition to the *Logia* of Matthew and the original Mark—is to be found in the groundwork of the discourses of the Fourth Gospel, whilst the historical framework came from another hand and is less trustworthy. Ewald held that St. John composed the Gospel with the aid of friends and disciples whose pens are discernible in the body of the work, whilst the 21st chapter is entirely theirs, though written with the Apostle's sanction and before his death. Dr. E. A. Abbott holds that John the son of Zebedee was the author of the Gospel, but not in its present shape. He says that viewed as history the document must be analyzed so as to 'separate fact from not-fact,' but that it has considerable value in correcting impressions derived from the Synoptic Gospels, whilst the spiritual significance of the Gospel is exceedingly high. Harnack attributes the authorship to 'John the Elder' of Ephesus, a disciple of the Apostle, who has incorporated in his work some of his teacher's reminiscences, so that it might be styled 'Gospel of John the Elder according to John the Son of Zebedee.' He holds that the Gospel, the three Epistles and the Apocalypse in its latest, *i.e.* its Christian, form, were all written by John the Elder in Asia about A.D. 100. Bousset ascribes the Gospel to a disciple of this John, who had access to traditional knowledge concerning Christ's Judæan ministry which enabled him in some respects to correct and to supplement the Synoptic accounts. Schmiedel, on the other hand, considers that the Gospel cannot be the work of any eye-witness, Apostolic or non-Apostolic, and that it was not meant to record actual history. The author is 'a great and eminent soul,' in whom the tendencies of his time (about A.D. 120) are brought to focus; and he finds in the Gospel 'the ripest fruit of primitive Christianity—at the same time the furthest removed from the original form.'

The mention of **'John the Elder'** brings to view the only definite alternative theory of authorship that has gained much support. It is based upon a much discussed passage from Papias, preserved for us by Eusebius (*HE* iii. 39), of which the following sentence is the most important: 'If, then, any one came who had been a follower of the elders, I questioned him in regard to the words of the elders—what Andrew or what Peter said, or what was said by Philip, or by Thomas, or by John, or by Matthew, or by any other of the disciples of the Lord, and what things Aristion and the presbyter John, the disciples of the Lord, say.' Upon this foundation the hypothesis has been set up that the John who at the end of the 1st cent. gained such a position of influence in Ephesus was not the Apostle, but a presbyter of the same name. It follows that Irenæus totally misunderstood Polycarp when he claimed to have heard 'John,' imagining that he meant the Apostle; and moreover, that Polycrates was mistaken in his reference to the Apostle's residence in Ephesus; and further, that Clement of Alexandria and the whole Church of the 2nd cent. were similarly misled. 'John the Elder' is at best a shadowy personage. Dr. Salmon contended that he had no real existence, but that Papias in the extract names the Apostle John twice over, though through his 'slovenliness of composition' it might seem as if two distinct persons were intended. It would appear, however, to be fairly established that a second John, known as 'the Presbyter,' was recognized by Papias, and perhaps by Eusebius, but he is an obscure figure; history is almost entirely silent about him, and there is no proof that he was ever in Asia at all. It is hard to believe that such a person was really the author of a book which so boldly challenged and so seriously modified evangelical tradition, and that, by an inexplicable mistake which arose within the living memory of persons actually concerned, his personality was confused with that of one of the inner circle of the twelve Apostles of the Lord.

5. Summary and Conclusion.—It will be seen that some approximation has taken place between the views of those who have defended and those who have assailed the traditional view of the authorship of the Gospel, since the middle of the last century. It is fairly agreed that the date of its composition must be fixed somewhere between A.D. 90 and 110. It is further agreed by a large majority of moderate critics that the Gospel contains historical elements of great value, which must have come from an eye-witness. These are independent of all the sources upon which the Synoptists had drawn, and they enable us in many important particulars to supplement the earlier narratives. It is admitted, further, that the discourses at least contain valuable original material which may have come from John the Apostle, though many contend that this has been so 'worked over' by a later hand that its general complexion has been altered. On the other hand, it is admitted by many who maintain the Johannine authorship, that the Apostle must have written the Gospel in advanced age, that he may have been aided by others, that he has cast his reminiscences into a characteristic form determined by the working of a mind saturated with the teaching of Christ but retaining its own individuality, and that he was of necessity largely influenced by the conditions of the time in which he wrote.

It is not pretended that the measure of approximation thus reached amounts to agreement. The difference in time between A.D. 90 and 110 may appear slight, but the earlier date admits the possibility of Apostolic authorship, and the later does not. The agreement to recognize elements of value in the historical portion of the Gospel is important, but it does not extend to the admission of the possibility that one who had himself witnessed with his own eyes the signs and mighty works that Jesus wrought, did also at the close of his life record with substantial accuracy what he had heard and seen, so that readers of to-day may be assured that they are studying history and not a work of pious imagination. The deep chasm remains practically unbridged which separates those, on the one hand, who hold that the view of the Person and work of Christ taken in the Fourth Gospel can claim the authority of an eye-witness, one of 'the men who companied with us all the time that the Lord Jesus went in and went out among us,' and, on the other, those who hold that the document contains a 'developed' and practically unhistorical representation of facts, devised to support a doctrinal position which belongs essentially not to the first, but to the fourth generation of primitive Christians.

This distinction is deep and vital. It need not be exaggerated, as if such representative scholars as Harnack and Schürer on one side, and Sanday and Drummond on the other, are fundamentally antagonistic in their views of Christianity. But the distinction should not be minimized, for a deep doctrinal difference is often tacitly implied by it. John the Presbyter may seem to be removed by but a hair's breadth from John the Apostle at whose feet he sat, but it is a question of vital importance to the Christian faith of to-day whether, when we read the first and the eighth and the fourteenth chapters of the Fourth Gospel, we are listening to the voice of an Apostle recalling the memories of years long

past and recording them in a form suited to strengthen the belief of his own and succeeding times, or to a developed doctrinal manifesto of the early 2nd cent., in which are included a few reminiscences derived from the lips of an aged Apostle before he passed away from earth. The difference thus indicated can with difficulty be removed, because it depends upon a still deeper difference in the mode of viewing Christian origins. The point really at issue between two classes of scholars and critics is this—Did the facts and events, a selected record of which is contained in the Fourth Gospel, take place substantially as described, or has a reconstruction of the original tradition been effected, in all good faith, for dogmatic purposes? Is the picture of the unique Person here described a faithful reflexion of a Divine Reality, or has the comparatively distant remembrance of a true prophet been sublimated into the portrayal of such a Being as never actually lived and spoke on earth?

A spiritual Gospel must be spiritually discerned. External evidence is most important in its place, and in this instance the testimony which assigns the Gospel to the Apostle John is early, wide-spread, explicit, and practically unchallenged in the early Church. Internal evidences, again, are most valuable, and the claims directly and indirectly made by the writer have been briefly described in this article, and the lines along which a vindication of those claims may be established have been indicated. Also, in determining a disputed question of authorship, alternative theories should be compared and their relative probability estimated. Accordingly, it has here been contended that the balance of probability is decidedly in favour of Johannine authorship, though some difficulties involved in that hypothesis have not been denied, and the possibility of co-operation on the part of John's disciples in Ephesus has not been excluded. But 'evidences' cannot prove spiritual truth, and the ultimate criterion between different views of this Gospel is practically furnished by the writer's own words, 'These are written, that ye may believe that Jesus is the Christ, the Son of God.' Those who hold such views of God, of Jesus Christ, of history, and of the Christian religion, as to be able to accept the view that Jesus of Nazareth was indeed the Son of God, the Word of God Incarnate, who wrought works that never man wrought and spoke words such as mere man never spake, who died for our sins and rose again from the dead and lives now to impart the gift of that Spirit whom He promised—will find little difficulty in accepting the statement that John the Apostle who saw the things recorded in the Gospel 'hath borne witness, and his witness is true.' Those to whom such statements are on other grounds quite incredible, and who ascribe them not to the religion of Jesus and His first disciples, but to the dogma of a period which had advanced beyond the teaching of Paul to a point which is characteristic of the 2nd cent., will naturally adopt any theory of authorship that the case allows rather than admit that the Fourth Gospel was written by the son of Zebedee. Absolute demonstration is from the nature of the case impossible, but it may fairly be said that the external and internal evidences combined are such as would in any ordinary case, and apart from all doctrinal prepossessions, be considered strong, if not conclusive, in favour of the Johannine authorship of the Gospel. It may be said in closing that the conditions of current opinion have made it necessary to devote this article almost entirely to the discussion of the question of authorship. But the contents and nature of the Gospel have incidentally been brought somewhat fully into view, and an outline of its theological teaching will be found in a subsequent article.—JOHN [THEOLOGY OF].

W. T. DAVISON.

JOHN, EPISTLES OF.—The three Epistles known by this name have from the beginning been attributed to the Apostle John, and were admitted as canonical in the 3rd century. Some points of obvious similarity in style and diction indicate a connexion between them, but their internal character and the external evidence in their favour are so different that it will be convenient to deal with them separately.

I. FIRST EPISTLE.—**1. Authorship, Genuineness, etc.**—The Epistle ranked from the first among the *Homologoumena*, and the testimony in favour of its authenticity is early, varied, and explicit. Its great similarity to the Fourth Gospel in phraseology and general characteristics made it natural to attribute the two documents to the same author; and few questions, or none, were raised upon the subject till comparatively recent years. A very small number of eminent critics at present dispute the identity of authorship.

(1) So far as *external evidence* is concerned, Polycarp, writing about A.D. 115 to the Philippians, quotes the words, 'For whosoever does not confess that Jesus Christ is come in the flesh is antichrist,' with evident allusion to 1 Jn 4^3, though the author is not named. Polycarp was a disciple of John, as his own disciple Irenæus informs us. Eusebius several times refers to this Epistle, saying (*HE* v. 20) that Papias used it and (v. 8) that Irenæus made free use of it. The passages 1 Jn 2^{18} and 5^1 are expressly attributed by Irenæus to the Apostle. According to the Muratorian Canon, Epistle and Gospel were closely associated: 'What wonder that John makes so many references to the Fourth Gospel in his Epistle, saying of himself'—and then follows a quotation of 1 Jn 1^1. Clement of Alexandria at the close of the 2nd cent. quotes 5^{16} as the words of 'John in his larger Epistle.' Tertullian quotes the language of 1^1 as that of the Apostle John, and Origen definitely refers the words of 3^8 to 'John in his catholic Epistle.' All the ancient versions include the Epistle among those canonically recognized, including the Peshitta and the Old Latin. The only exceptions to this practically universal recognition of its genuineness and authenticity are the unbelievers vaguely called *Alogi*, because they rejected the doctrine of the Logos, and Marcion, who accepted no books of NT except St. Luke's Gospel and St. Paul's Epistles. So far as external testimony is concerned, the early recognition of the Epistle as written by St. John is conclusively established.

(2) The *similarity of diction* between Gospel and Epistle is so close that it cannot be accidental, and it cannot escape the notice of the most superficial reader. The repeated use, in a characteristic way, of such cardinal words as Life, Love, Truth, Light, and Darkness; the recurrence of phrases which in both documents figure as watchwords,—'to be of the truth,' 'of the devil,' 'of the world'; 'the only begotten Son,' 'the Word,' 'knowing God,' 'walking in the light,' 'overcoming the world,' and the special use of the word 'believe,' speak for themselves. The use of literary parallels always requires care; but in this case the similarity is so close as incontestably to establish a connexion between the two documents, whilst the handling of the same vocabulary is so free as irresistibly to suggest, not that the writer of the Gospel borrowed from the Epistle, or *vice versa*, but that the two writings proceed from the same hand. If this is so, the genuineness of each is doubly attested.

Jos. Scaliger in the 16th cent. was practically the first to challenge the genuineness of all three Epistles, but not until the time of Baur and the Tübingen school of critics in the last century was a sustained attack made upon them. Since that time there have never been wanting critics who have denied the Johannine authorship of the First Epistle. Some contend that Gospel and Epistle proceed from the same author, who, however, was not the Apostle John, but John the Presbyter or some later writer. The view taken by Holtzmann, Schmiedel, and some others is that the two documents come from different writers who belong to the same general school of thought.

JOHN, EPISTLES OF

The chief ground of the objections raised against the Johannine authorship of the First Epistle is the alleged presence of references to heretical modes of thought which belong to a later age. Docetism, Gnosticism, and even Montanism are, it is said, directly or indirectly rebuked, and these forms of error do not belong to the Apostolic period. The reply is threefold. (*a*) Those who ascribe the Epistle to John the Apostle do not date it before the last decade of the 1st cent., when the Apostolic age was passing into the sub-Apostolic. (*b*) No references to full-grown Gnosticism and other errors as they were known in the middle of the 2nd cent. can here be found. But (*c*) it can be shown from other sources that the germs of these heresies, the general tendencies which resulted afterwards in fully developed systems, existed in the Church for at least a generation before the period in question, and at the time named were both rife and mischievous.

The points chiefly insisted on are: the doctrine of the Logos; the form of the rebuke given to the antichrists; the references to 'knowledge' and 'anointing'; the insistence upon the coming of Christ in the flesh, in condemnation of Docetic error; the distinction between mortal and venial sins; and some minor objections. In reply, it may be said that none of these is definite or explicit enough to require a later date than A.D. 100. The Epistle is indeed indirectly polemic in its character. While constructive in thought, the passing references made in it to opponents of the truth are strong enough to make it clear that the opposition was active and dangerous. But there is nothing to show that any of those condemned as enemies of Christ had more fully developed tendencies than, for example, Cerinthus is known to have manifested in his Christology at the end of the 1st century. Judaizing Gnosticism had appeared much earlier than this, as is evidenced by the Epistles to the Colossians and the Pastoral Epistles. The use of the words 'Paraclete' (2^{1}) and 'propitiation' (2^{2}), and the way in which the coming of Christ is mentioned in 2^{28}, have also been brought forward as proofs of divergence from the teaching of the Gospel, on very slender and unconvincing grounds.

2. Place and Date.—Whilst very little evidence is forthcoming to enable us to fix exactly either of these, the general consensus of testimony points very decidedly to Ephesus during the last few years of the 1st century. Irenæus (*adv. Hær.* iii. 1) testifies to the production of the Gospel by St. John during his residence in Asia, and the probability is that the Epistle was written after the Gospel, and is, chronologically perhaps the very latest of the books of the NT. If, as some maintain, it was written before the Gospel, it cannot be placed much earlier. The determination of this question is bound up with the authorship and date of the Apocalypse,—a subject which is discussed elsewhere. (See REVELATION [BOOK OF]).

3. Form and Destination.—This document has some of the characteristics of a letter, and in some respects it is more like a theological treatise or homiletical essay. It may best be described as an Encyclical or Pastoral Epistle. It was addressed to a circle of readers, as is shown by the words, 'I write unto you,' 'beloved,' and 'little children,' but it was not restricted to any particular church, nor does it contain any specific personal messages. The term 'catholic epistle' was used from very early times to indicate this form of composition, but in all probability the churches of Asia Minor were kept more especially in view by the writer when he penned words which were in many respects suitable for the Church of Christ at large. A reference in Augustine to 3^{2} as taken from John's 'Epistle to the Parthians' has given rise to much conjecture, but the title has seldom been taken seriously in its literal meaning. It is quite possible that there is some mistake in the text of the passage (*Quæst. Evang.* ii. 39).

4. Outline and Contents.—Whether Gospel or Epistle was written first, the relation between the two is perfectly clear. In both the Apostle writes for edification, but in the Gospel the foundations of Christian faith and doctrine are shown to lie in history; in the Epistle the effects of belief are traced out in practice. In both the same great central truths are exhibited, in the same form and almost in the same words; but in the Gospel they are traced to their fount and origin; in the Epistle they are followed out to their only legitimate issues in the spirit and conduct of Christians in the world. So far as there is a difference in the presentation of truth, it may perhaps be expressed in Bishop Westcott's words: 'The theme of the Epistle is, the Christ is Jesus; the theme of the Gospel is, Jesus is the Christ.' Or, as he says in another place: 'The substance of the Gospel is a commentary on the Epistle: the Epistle is (so to speak) the condensed moral and practical application of the Gospel.'

The style is simple, but baffling in its very simplicity. The sentences are easy for a child to read, their meaning is difficult for a wise man fully to analyze. So with the sequence of thought. Each statement follows very naturally upon the preceding, but when the relation of paragraphs is to be explained, and the plan or structure of the whole composition is to be described, systematization becomes difficult, if not impossible. Logical analysis is not, however, always the best mode of exposition, and if the writer has not consciously mapped out into exact subdivisions the ground he covers, he follows out to their issues two or three leading thoughts which he keeps consistently in view throughout. The theme is fellowship with the Father and the Son, realized in love of the brethren. Farrar divides the whole into three sections, with the headings, 'God is light,' 'God is righteous,' 'God is love.' Plummer reduces these to two, omitting the second. With some such general clue to guide him, the reader will not go far astray in interpreting the thought of the Epistle, and its outline might be arranged as follows:—

Introduction: The life of fellowship that issues from knowledge of the gospel (1^{1-4}).

i. GOD IS LIGHT. The believer's walk with God in light (1^{5-10}); sin and its remedy (2^{1-6}); the life of obedience (2^{7-17}); fidelity amidst defection (2^{18-29}).

ii. GOD IS RIGHTEOUS LOVE. True sonship of God manifested in brotherly love (3^{1-12}). Brotherhood in Christ a test of allegiance and a ground of assurance (3^{13-24}). The spirits of Truth and Error (4^{1-6}). The manifestation of God as Love the source and inspiration of all loving service (4^{7-21}). The victory of faith in Love Incarnate (5^{1-12}).

Conclusion: The assured enjoyment of Life Eternal (5^{13-21}).

Such an outline is not, however, a sufficient guide to the contents of the Epistle, and a very different arrangement might be justified. The writer does not, however, as has been asserted, 'ramble without method,' nor is the Epistle a 'shapeless mass.' The progress discernible in it is not the straightforward march of the logician who proceeds by ordered steps from premises to a foreseen conclusion: it is rather the ascent by spiral curves of the meditative thinker. St. John is here no dreamer; more practical instruction is not to be found in St. Paul or St. James. But his exhortations do not enter into details: he is concerned with principles of conduct, the minute application of which he leaves to the individual conscience. The enunciation of principles, however, is uncompromising and very searching. His standpoint is that of the ideal Christian life, not of the effort to attain it. One who is born of God 'cannot sin'; the 'love of God is perfected' in the believer, and perfect love casts out fear. The assured tone of the Epistle allows no room for doubt or hesitation or conflict, one who is guided by its teaching has no need to pray, 'Help thou my unbelief.' The spirit of truth and the spirit of error are in sharp antagonism, and the touchstone which distinguishes them must be resolutely applied. The 'world,' the 'evil one,' and 'antichrist' are to be repelled absolutely and to the uttermost; the writer and those whom he represents can say, 'We know that we are of God, and the whole world lieth in the evil one.' Bright light casts deep shadows, and the true Christian of this Epistle walks

in the blaze of gospel day. One who knows the true God and has eternal life cannot but 'guard himself from idols.'

The writer of such an Epistle is appropriately called the Apostle of love. Yet the title taken by itself is misleading. He is the Apostle equally of righteousness and of faith. He 'loved well because he hated—hated the wickedness which hinders loving.' There is a stern ring, implying however no harshness, about the very exhortations to love, which shows how indissolubly it is to be identified with immutable and inviolable righteousness. If to this Epistle we owe the great utterance, 'God is Love'—here twice repeated, but found nowhere else in Scripture—to it we owe also the sublime declaration, 'God is Light, and in him is no darkness at all.' And the Epistle, as well as the Gospel, makes it abundantly clear that the spring of Christian love and the secret of Christian victory over evil are alike to be found in 'believing': in the immovable and ineradicable faith that Jesus Christ, the Son of God, is come in the flesh, and that in Him the love of God to man is so manifested and assured that those who trust Him already possess eternal life, together with all that it implies of strength and joy, and all that flows from it of obedience and loving service.

Textual questions can hardly be touched upon in this article. But it is perhaps worth pointing out that whilst the corrected text restores the latter half of 2^{23}, which in AV is printed in italics as doubtful, there can now be no question that the passage ($5^{7.\ 8}$) referring to the three witnesses in heaven, as read in AV, does not form part of the Epistle. The words are wanting in all Greek MSS except a few of exceedingly late date; nor are they found in the majority of the Greek Fathers, or in any ancient version except the Latin. They undoubtedly form a gloss which found its way into the text from Latin sources; and the insertion really breaks the connexion of thought in the paragraph.

II. The Second Epistle.—The Second and Third Epistles of St. John are distinguished from the First by their brevity, the absence of dogmatic teaching, and their private and personal character. They are found among the *Antilegomena* of the early Church in their relation to the Canon: apparently not because they were unknown, or because their authorship was questioned, but because their nature made them unsuitable for use in the public worship of the Church. The Muratorian Canon (A.D. 180) refers to two Epistles of John as received in the Catholic Church, and Irenæus about the same date specifically quotes 2 Jn $^{10f.}$ as coming from 'John the disciple of the Lord.' He also quotes v.^{7} apparently as occurring in the First Epistle. Clement of Alexandria by a mention of John's 'larger Epistle' shows that he was acquainted with at least one other shorter letter. Origen states that the two shorter letters were not accepted by all as genuine, but he adds that 'both together do not contain a hundred lines.' Dionysius of Alexandria appeals to them, adding that John's name was not affixed to them, but that they were signed 'the presbyter.' They are omitted from the Peshitta Version, and Eusebius describes them as disputed by some but in the later 4th cent. they were fully acknowledged and received into the Canon. The Second Epistle, therefore, though not universally accepted from the first, was widely recognized as Apostolic, and so short a letter of so distinctly personal a character could never have been ranked by the Church among her sacred writings except upon the understanding that it bore with it the authority of the Apostle John. The title 'the Elder' does not militate against this, but rather supports it. No ordinary presbyter would assume the style of *the* elder and write in such a tone of absolute command, whilst an anonymous writer, wishing to claim the sanction of the Apostle, would have inserted his name. But no motive for anything like forgery can in this case be alleged. The similarity in style to the First Epistle is very marked. Jerome among the Fathers, Erasmus at the time of the Reformation, and many modern critics have ascribed the Epistle to 'John the Presbyter' of Ephesus, but there is no early reference to such a person except the statement of Papias quoted by Eusebius and referred to in a previous article.

Much discussion has arisen concerning the person addressed. The two leading opinions are (1) that the words 'elect lady and her children' are to be understood literally of a Christian matron in Ephesus and her family; and (2) that a church personified, with its constituent members, was intended. Jerome in ancient times took the latter view, and in our own day it has been supported by scholars so different from one another as Lightfoot, Wordsworth, Hilgenfeld, and Schmiedel. It is claimed on this side that the exhortations given are more suited to a community, that 'the children of thine elect sister' can be understood only of a sister church, and that this mode of describing a church personified is not unusual, as in 1 P 5^{13}, 'She that is in Babylon, elect together with you, saluteth you.' On the other hand, it is urged that this mystical interpretation destroys the simplicity and natural meaning of the letter (see especially vv.$^{5.\ 10}$), that the church being constituted of members, the distinction between the 'lady' and her 'children' would disappear, and that if the lady be a private person of influence the parallel with the form of salutation to another private person in the Third Epistle is complete. This hypothesis still leaves difficulty in the exact interpretation of the words *Eklektē Kyria*. Some would take both these as the proper names of the person addressed; others take the former as her name, so that she would be 'the lady Eklektē,' others would render 'to the elect Kyria,' whilst the majority accept, in spite of its indefiniteness, the translation of AV and RV. On the whole, this course is to be preferred, though the view that a church is intended not only is tenable but has much in its favour. The fact that the early churches so often gathered in a house, and that there was so strong a personal and individual element in their community-life, makes the analogy between a primitive church and a large and influential family to be very close. Thus an ambiguity may arise which would not be possible to-day.

It remains only to say that, as in style, so in spirit, the similarity to 1 Jn. is very noticeable. The same emphasis is laid on love, on obedience, on fellowship with the Father and the Son, and the inestimable importance of maintaining and abiding in the truth. The same strong resentment is manifested against deceivers and the antichrist, and the same intensity of feeling against unbelievers or false teachers, who are not to be received into the house of a believer, or to have any kindly greeting accorded them. Whether the Epistle was actually addressed to a private person or to a Christian community, it furnishes a most interesting picture of the life, the faith, and the dangers and temptations of the primitive Christians in Asia Minor, and it contains wholesome and uncompromising, not harsh and intolerant, exhortation, such as Christian Churches in all ages may not unprofitably lay to heart.

III. Third Epistle.—The two shorter Epistles of St. John were called by Jerome 'twin sisters.' They appear to have been recognized together at least from the time of Dionysius of Alexandria, and they are mentioned together by Eusebius (*HE* iii. 25), who refers to the Epistles 'called the second and third of John, whether they belong to the Evangelist or to another person of the same name.' They are found together in the Old Latin Version, are both omitted from the Pesh., and they were included together in the lists of canonical books at the end of the 4th cent. by the Council of Laodicea and the Third Council of Carthage. References to the Third Epistle and quotations from it are naturally very few. It is short, it was written to a private person, it does not discuss doctrine, and its counsels and messages are almost entirely personal. But its close relationship to the Second Epistle is very obvious, and the two form companion pictures of value from the point of view of history; and St. John's Third Epistle, like St. Paul's personal letter to Philemon, is not without use for general edification.

The person to whom it is addressed is quite unknown. The name **Gaius** (Lat. *Caius*) is very common, and three other persons so called are mentioned in NT, viz., Gaius of Corinth (1 Co 1^{14}; cf. Ro 16^{23}); Gaius of Derbe (Ac 20^{4}); and Gaius of Macedonia (Ac 19^{29}). A bishop of Pergamos, appointed by the Apostle John and mentioned in the *Apostolic Constitutions*, was also called Gaius, and some critics are disposed to identify him with St. John's correspondent. This is, however, a mere conjecture, and the letter is addressed, not to a church official, but to a private layman, apparently of some wealth and influence. It is written in a free and natural style, and deals with the case of some of those travelling evangelists who figured so prominently in the primitive Church, and to whom reference is made in the *Didache* and elsewhere. Some of these, perhaps commissioned by John himself, had visited the Church to which Gaius belonged, had been hospitably entertained by him, and helped forward on their journey, probably with material assistance. But **Diotrephes**—an official of the church, perhaps its 'bishop' or a leading elder—who loved power, asserted himself arrogantly, and was disposed to resist the Apostle's authority. He declined to receive these worthy men who at their own charges were preaching the gospel in the district. He also stirred up feeling against them, and at least threatened to excommunicate any members of the church who entertained them. The evil example of Diotrephes is held up for condemnation, whilst in contrast to him, a certain **Demetrius** is praised, whose reputation in the Church was excellent, who had won the confidence of the Apostle, and—higher commendation still—had 'the witness of the truth itself.' Tried by the strictest and most searching test of all, the sterling metal of Demetrius' character rang true. Full information is not given us as to all the circumstances of the case. Probably Diotrephes was not wholly to be blamed. It was quite necessary, as the *Didache* shows us, to inquire carefully into the character of these itinerant preachers. Some of them were mercenary in their aims, and the conflict of opinion in this instance may have had some connexion with the current controversies between Jewish and Gentile Christians. But it is the spirit of Diotrephes that is blameworthy, and the little picture here drawn of primitive ecclesiastical communities with their flaws and their excellences, their worthy members and ambitious officers, their generous hosts and kindly helpers, and the absent Apostle who bears the care of all the churches and is about to pay to this one a visit of fatherly and friendly inspection, is full of interest and instruction.

We have no information as to the time at which, or the places from and to which, these brief letters were written. They rank, with the Gospel and the First Epistle of St. John, as among the latest documents in the NT.

W. T. Davison.

JOHN, THEOLOGY OF.—It is the object of this article to give a brief account of St. John's teaching as contained in his Gospel and Epistles. Without prejudging in any way the authorship of the Apocalypse, it will be more convenient that the doctrine of that book should be considered separately. Enough if it be said here that, despite the obvious and very striking difference in the form and style of the book, the underlying similarities between it and those to be now considered are no less remarkable. Careful students, not blinded by the symbolism and other peculiarities of the Revelation, who have concentrated attention upon its main ideas and principles, have come to the conclusion that if it did not proceed from the same pen that wrote the Gospel and Epistles, it belongs to the same school of Christian thought. See Revelation [Book of].

1. Some general characteristics of the teaching of St. John.—(1) It was not in vain that the designation 'the theologian' was given to him, as in the title of the Apocalypse and elsewhere. The word means in this connexion that *it was St. John's habit to consider every subject from the point of view of the Divine.* Not only is God to him the most real of all beings—that should be true of every religious man—but all the details of his very practical teaching are traced up to their origin in the nature and will of God. The opening of his Gospel is characteristic. History is viewed from the standpoint of eternity, the life of Jesus is to be narrated not from the point of view of mere human observation, but as a temporal manifestation of eternal realities.—(2) But *it must not for a moment be understood that the treatment of human affairs is vague, abstract, unreal.* St. John has a firm hold upon the concrete, and his insight into the actual life and needs of men is penetrating and profound. He is not analytical as St. Paul is, nor does he deal with individual virtues and vices as does St. James. But in the unity and simplicity of a few great principles he reaches to the very heart of things. His method is often described as intuitive, contemplative, mystical. The use of these epithets may be justified, but it would be misleading to suppose that a teacher who views life from so high a vantage-ground sees less than others. The higher you climb up the mountain the farther you can see. Those who contrast the spiritual with the practical create a false antithesis. The spiritual teacher, and he alone, can perceive and deal with human nature, not according to its superficial appearances, but as it really is at its very core.—(3) Only it must not be forgotten that *the view thus taken of nature and conduct is ideal, absolute, uncompromising.* The moral dualism which is characteristic of St. John is in accordance with the sentence from the great Judgment-seat. Light and darkness—good and evil—truth and falsehood—life and death—these are brought into sharp and relentless contrast. Half-tones, delicate distinctions, the subtle and gradual fining down of principles in the complex working of motives in human life, disappear in the blaze of light which St. John causes to stream in from another world. 'He that is begotten of God cannot sin' (1 Jn 3^{9}); he that 'denieth the Son hath not the Father' (2^{23}); 'we are of God, the whole world lieth in the evil one' (5^{19}). Such a mode of regarding life is not unreal, if only its point of view be borne in mind. In the drama of human society the sudden introduction of these absolute and irreconcilable principles of judgment would be destructive of distinctions which have an importance of their own, but the forces, as St. John describes them, are actually at work, and one day their fundamental and inalienable character will be made plain.—(4) Another feature of St. John's style and method which arrests attention at once is *his characteristic use of certain words and phrases*—'witness' (47 times), 'truth,' 'signs,' 'world' (78 times), 'eternal life,' 'know' (55), 'believe' (98), 'glory,' 'judgment,' are but specimens of many. They indicate a unity of thought and system in the writer which finds no precise parallel elsewhere in Scripture, the nearest approach, perhaps, being in the characteristic phraseology of Deuteronomy in the OT. St. John is not systematic in the sense of presenting his readers with carefully ordered reasoning—a progressive argument compacted by links of logical demonstration. He sees life whole, and presents it as a whole. But all that belongs to human life falls within categories which, from the outset, are very clear and definite to his own mind. The Gospel is carefully constructed as an artistic whole, the First Epistle is not. But all the thoughts in both are presented in a setting prepared by the definite ideas of the writer. The molten metal of Christian thought and feeling has taken shape in the mould of a strikingly individual mind: the crystallization of the ideas is his work, and there is consequently a unity and system about his presentation of them which may be described as distinctly Johannine. The

truth he taught was gained direct from the Master, and its form largely so. But in describing the teaching we shall use the name of the disciple.

2. The doctrine of God which underlies these books is as sublime in its lofty monotheism as it is distinctively 'Christian' in its manifestation and unfolding. No writer of Scripture insists more strongly upon the unity and absoluteness of the only God (Jn 5^{44}), 'the only true God' (17^{3}), whom 'no man hath seen at any time' (1^{18}); yet none more completely recognizes the eternal Sonship of the Son, the fulness of the Godhead seen in Christ, the personality and Divine offices of the Holy Spirit. It is to St. John that we owe the three great utterances, 'God is Spirit' (Jn 4^{24}), 'God is Light' (1 Jn 1^{5}), 'God is Love' (1 Jn $4^{8.\ 16}$).

The deductions drawn from the doctrine of the spirituality of God show the importance of its practical aspects. God as Spirit is not remote from men, but this conception of His essence brings Him, though invisible, nearer to men than ever. God as Light exhibits Himself to us as truth, holiness, and righteousness. Some interpreters understand the phrase as designating the metaphysical being of God, others His self-revelation and self-impartation. The context, however, points rather to the ineffable purity of His nature and the need of holiness in those who profess to hold fellowship with Him. That God is loving unto every man, or at least to Israel, was no new doctrine when John taught; but up to that time none had ever pronounced the words in their profound simplicity—'God is Love.' John himself could never have conceived the thought; he learned it from his Master. But if the form in which he expressed it is accurate—and what Christian can question it?—, it 'makes one thing of all theology.' Love is not so much an attribute of God as a name for Himself in the intimate and changeless essence of His being. That there is the slightest inconsistency between the Divine love and the Divine righteousness is incredible; but if God *is* love, no manifestation of God's justice can ever contradict this quintessential principle of His inmost nature. Again, the words that follow the statement show that in the Apostle's mind the practical aspects of the doctrine were prominent. Contemplation with him does not mean speculation. Abstract *a priori* deductions from a theologoumenon are not in St. John's thought: his conclusions are, 'He that loveth not knoweth not God' (1 Jn 4^{8}), 'We also ought to love one another' (v.^{11}). Nor does this high teaching exclude careful discrimination. The love of the Father to the Son, His love to the world as the basis of all salvation, the closer sympathy and fellowship which He grants to believers as His own children, are not confused with one another. But the statement that God is love goes behind all these for the moment, and teaches that the principle of self-impartation is essential, energetic, and ever operating in the Divine nature, and that it is in itself the source of all life, all purifying energy, and all that love which constitutes at the same time the binding and the motive power of the whole universe.

3. The Logos.—The object for which the Gospel was written, we are told, was that men might believe that Jesus was not only the Christ, but also the Son of God. The former belief would not necessarily change their views of the Godhead; the latter, if intelligently held and interpreted in the light of Thomas' confession (for instance), would undoubtedly affect in some direction the intense monotheism of one who was born and bred a Jew. Was it possible to believe that in Jesus God Himself was incarnate, and at the same time to believe completely and ardently in the unity of God? The answer of the writer is given substantially in the Prologue, in the doctrine of the Eternal Word. It is unnecessary to discuss in detail whence John derived the word *Logos*: the doctrine was practically his own. There can be little question that the *Memra* of the Targums, based on the usage of such passages as Ps 33^{6} 147^{15}, and Is 55^{11}, formed the foundation of the idea, and it is tolerably certain that the connotation attaching to the word had been modified by Philo's use of it. It does not follow, however, that St. John uses the word either as the Psalmist did, or as the paraphrast or the Alexandrian philosopher employed it. Taking a word which his hearers and readers understood, he put his own stamp upon it. Philo and St. John both drew from Hebrew sources. Philo employed an expression which suited his philosophy because of its meaning 'reason,' and it was employed by him mainly in a metaphysical sense. St. John, however, availed himself of another meaning of the Greek word *Logos*, and he emphasizes the Divine 'utterance,' which reveals the mind and will of God Himself, giving a personal and historical interpretation to the phrase. The Word, according to the teaching of the Prologue, is Eternal, Divine, the Mediator of creation, the Light of mankind throughout history; and in the latter days the Word made flesh, tabernacling amongst men, is the Only-begotten from the Father full of grace and truth. This cardinal doctrine once laid down, there is no further reference to it in the Gospel, and in the only other places in NT where a similar expression is used (1 Jn 1^{1} and Rev 19^{13}) it is employed with a difference. Even in the Prologue the conception of the Word is not abstract and philosophical, but when the introduction to the Gospel is finished, the idea never appears again; the narrative of the only Son, revealing for the first time the Father in all His fulness, proceeds as if no account of the Logos had been given. When the basis of the Gospel story has been laid in a deep doctrine of the Eternal Godhead, the idea has done its work, and in the actual narrative it is discarded accordingly. The Christology of St. John would be quite incomplete without his doctrine of the Logos, but it is not dependent on this. Christ's unique Personality as Son of God may be fully known from His life on earth, but the Prologue gives to the narrative of His ministry in the flesh a background of history and of eternity. In all ages the Logos was the medium of Divine revelation, as He had been of creation itself, and of the Godhead before the world was. Pre-temporal existence and pre-incarnate operation having been described with sublime brevity, the Evangelist proceeds calmly with the story to which this forms an august introduction. See also art. Logos.

4. The Fatherhood of God, and the doctrine of the Holy Spirit.—It is unnecessary to point out how influential the Prologue has been in the history of Christian thought, but it is well to remember also that to St. John more than to any other writer we owe the development of the Christian doctrine of the Godhead, as modified by the above cardinal conceptions. The doctrines of the Fatherhood of God and of the Holy Spirit as a Divine Person do not indeed depend upon the witness of St. John. The Synoptists and St. Paul, not to speak of other NT writers, would furnish a perfectly adequate basis for these vital truths of Christian faith. But neither would have influenced Christian thought so profoundly, and neither would have been so clearly understood, without St. John's teaching and Christ's words as reported by him. The meaning of the term 'Son of God' as applied to Jesus is brought to light by the Fourth Gospel. Without it we might well have failed to gain an adequate conception of Fatherhood and Sonship as eternal elements in the Divine nature, and the unique relationship between the Father and the Son Incarnate is brought out in the fifth and other chapters of the Gospel as nowhere else. So with the Christian doctrine of the Holy Spirit. The whole of Scripture bears its testimony. Even in the OT more is said of the Spirit of God than is often recognized, and the teaching of St. Paul and St. Luke is full of instruction. But without the farewell discourses of Christ to His Apostles as recorded in Jn 14–16, our ideas of His Person and office would be comparatively meagre. The very term 'Paraclete,' not found outside the Gospel and 1 Ep., is itself a revelation. The personality of the Spirit and His distinctness from the Father and the Son, whilst Himself one with them, are elucidated with great clearness in these chapters. On the other hand, in his Epistle, St. John has much less to say

than St. Paul of the Spirit in relation to the life of the believer.

5. On the subjects of **sin and salvation,** St. John's teaching harmonizes fully with that of the NT generally, whilst he maintains an individual note of his own, and brings out certain aspects of Christ's teaching as none of the Synoptists does. To him we owe the definition, 'sin is lawlessness' (1 Jn 3^4). He describes sin in the singular as a principle, rather than actual sins in the concrete. No dark lists enumerating the Protean forms of sin, such as are found in St. Paul, occur in St. John, but he emphasizes with tremendous power the contrast between flesh and spirit, between light and darkness. The perennial conflict between these is hinted at in the Prologue, and it is terribly manifest alike in the ministry of the Saviour and in the life of the Christian in the world. To St. John's writings chiefly we owe the idea of 'the world as a dark and dire enemy,' vague and shadowy in outline, but most formidable in its opposition to the love of the Father and the light of the life of sonship. The shades of meaning in which 'world' is employed vary (see 8^{23} 12^{31} $17^{14.\ 25}$ 18^{36} and 1 Jn $2^{15.\ 16}$). The existence of evil spirits and their connexion with the sin of man are dwelt on by St. John in his own way. He does not dwell on the phenomena of demoniacal possession, but he has much to say of 'the devil' or 'the evil one' as a personal embodiment of the principle and power of evil. Upon his doctrine of Antichrist and 'the sin unto death' we cannot now dwell.

Potent as are the forces of evil, perfect conquest over them may be gained. The victory has already been virtually won by Christ as the all-sufficient Saviour, who as Son of God was manifested that He might undo or annul the works of the devil (1 Jn 3^8). His object was not to condemn the world, but to save it (3^{17}). That the Cross of Christ was the centre of His work, and His death the means through which eternal life was obtained for men, is made abundantly clear from several different points of view. John the Baptist points to the Lamb of God, who takes away the sin of the world (1^{29}). The Son of Man is to be 'lifted up' like the serpent in the wilderness (3^{14}), and will draw all men unto Himself (12^{32}). He gives His flesh for the life of the world (6^{51}). Only those who 'eat his flesh' and 'drink his blood' have eternal life ($6^{53\text{-}56}$). He is the propitiation for the sins of the world (1 Jn 2^2 4^{10}), and it is His blood that cleanses from all sin those who walk in the light and have fellowship with the Father and the Son (1 Jn 1^7). St. John dwells but little on the legal aspects of sin and atonement; his doctrine on these matters is characteristic, confirming, whilst in supplements, the doctrines of St. Paul concerning justification and sanctification. What Paul describes as entire sanctification John eulogizes as perfect love—two names for the same full salvation, two paths to the same consummate goal.

It is most instructive to compare St. Paul and St. John in their references to faith and love. No student of these two great twin brethren in Christ could decide which of them deserves to be called the Apostle of faith, or which the Apostle of love. St. John uses the word 'faith' only once (1 Jn 5^4), but the verb 'believe' occurs nearly 200 times in his writings, and his usage of it is more plastic and versatile than that of St. Paul or the writer of Hebrews. Again, if the word 'love' occurs much more frequently in St. John, he has composed no such hymn in its honour as is found in 1 Co 13. The light he exhibits as a simple white ray St. Paul disperses into all the colours of the rainbow. The shades of meaning in St. John's use of the word 'believe' and his delicate distinction between two Greek words for 'love' deserve careful study.

6. The true believer in Christ enters upon **a new life.** The nature of this life is fully unfolded in St. John's writings, in terms which show an essential agreement with other parts of NT, but which are at the same time distinctively his own. The doctrine of the New Birth is one example of this. The Gospel gives a full account of the discourse of Christ with Nicodemus on this subject, but both Gospel and Epistle contain many of the Apostle's own statements, which show no slavish imitation on his part either of the words of the Master or of Paul, but present his own views as a Christian teacher consistently worked out. In the Prologue the contrast between natural birth 'of blood, of the will of the flesh, of the will of man,' and the being spiritually 'born of God,' is very marked. Those whose life has been thus renewed are described as 'having the right to become children of God,' and the condition is the 'receiving' or 'believing on the name' of Him who, as Word of God, had come into the world. The phrase used for the most part in Jn 3 and in 1 Jn. is 'begotten again' or 'anew' or 'from above.' The word 'begotten,' not employed thus by other NT writers, lays stress on the primary origin of the new life, not so much on its changed character. Two participles are employed in Greek, one of which emphasizes the initial act, the other the resulting state. But all the passages, including especially 1 Jn 2^{29} 3^9 $5^{1.\ 18}$, draw a very sharp contrast between the new life which the believer in Christ enjoys and the natural life of the ordinary man. He to whom the new life has been imparted is a new being. He 'doeth righteousness,' he 'does not commit sin,' he 'cannot sin,' because he has been begotten of God and 'his seed abideth in him.' Love and knowledge are marks of this new begetting, and the new life is given to 'whosoever believeth that Jesus is the Christ.' Some difficulty attaches to the interpretation of one clause in 1 Jn 5^{18}, but it is clear from that verse that he who enjoys the new life 'doth not sin,' and that 'the evil one toucheth him not.' The change is mysterious, but very real, and the term used by St. John to indicate this relation—'children,' instead of 'sons' as is usual with St. Paul—lays stress upon the close and intimate personal bond thus created, rather than upon the status and privileges of sonship. St. John, as we might expect, emphasizes the vital, not the legal, element; believers are not merely *called* children, 'such we are' (1 Jn $3^{1.\ 2}$) and cannot be otherwise. When new life has actually been infused, it must manifest its characteristic qualities.

The nature of the Christian's vital union with God in Christ is illustrated from different points of view. Our Lord's allegory—not parable—of the Vine and the Branches is full of instruction, but no analogy drawn from vegetable life suffices adequately to describe the fellowship between Christ and His disciples; this is rather to be moulded after the pattern of the spiritual fellowship between the Father and the Son (Jn 15^9 $17^{21\text{-}23}$); and the terms 'communion' and 'abiding' are strongly characteristic of the First Epistle (1 Jn 1^3 $2^{6.\ 27.\ 28}$ 3^{24} 4^{12} etc.). The strong phrases of Jn 6, 'eating the flesh' and 'drinking the blood' of Christ, are employed, partly to express the extreme closeness of the appropriation of Christ Himself by the believer, partly to emphasize the benefits of His sacrificial work, as the faithful receive in the Lord's Supper the symbols of His broken body and blood poured out for men.

Lest, however, what might be called the mystical element in John's theology should be exaggerated, it is well to note that the balance is redressed by the stress laid upon *love* in its most practical forms. Love of the world—that is, the bestowal of supreme regard upon the passing attractions of things outward and visible—is absolutely inconsistent with real love to the Father and real life in Christ (1 Jn $2^{15\text{-}17}$). Similarly strong language is used as regards social relationships and the love of others; for the word 'brother' must not be narrowed down to mean exclusively those who belong to the Christian communion. No man whose life in relation to men is not actuated by love can be said to walk in the light (1 Jn $2^{9.\ 10}$); hatred is murder ($3^{12.\ 15}$); willingness to help another in need is a test of true love, nominal and professed affection will not suffice ($3^{17.\ 18}$); a man who professes to love God and does not

manifest a spirit of loving helpfulness adds falsehood to his other sins—'he is a liar' (4[20]). The frequent repetition of some of these phrases and their interchange with others, such as 'doing righteousness,' 'walking in the truth,' 'being in the light,' 'abiding in him,' 'God abiding in us,' and the like, show that St. John is dealing with the very central core of spiritual life, and that for him, as for St. Paul, it is true that 'he that loveth his neighbour hath fulfilled the law . . . for love is the fulfilment of the law.'

No more comprehensive phrase, however, to describe in brief the blessings of the gospel is to be found in St. John's theology than **'eternal life.'** It occurs 17 times in the Gospel and 6 times in the First Epistle, while 'life' with substantially the same meaning is found much more frequently. 'Life' means for St. John that fulness of possession and enjoyment which alone realizes the great ends for which existence has been given to men, and it is to be realized only in the fulfilment of the highest human ideals through union with God in Christ. Eternal 'life' means this rich existence in perpetuity; sometimes it includes immortality, sometimes it distinctly refers to that which may be enjoyed here and now. In the latter case it is not unlike what is called in 1 Ti 6[19] 'the life which is life indeed.' It is defined in Jn 17[3] as consisting in the knowledge of God and Christ, where knowledge must certainly imply not a mere intellectual acquaintance, but a practical attainment in experience, including a state of heart and will as well as of mind, which makes God in Christ to be a true possession of the soul—that fellowship with God which constitutes the supreme possession for man upon the earth. But a contrast is drawn, *e.g.* in 3[16] and 10[28], between 'eternal life' and 'perishing' or 'moral ruin'; and in one of St. John's sharp and startling contrasts, the choice open to man is described as including only these two solemn alternatives—'He that believeth on the Son hath eternal life; but he that believeth not the Son shall not see life, but the wrath of God abideth on him' (3[36]). The idea thus broached carries us beyond the boundaries of earthly existence; according to Christ's teaching, whoever keeps His word 'shall never taste of death' (8[52]), and 'though he die, yet shall he live' (11[25]). Knowledge of God and union with Christ impart to the believer a type of being which is not subject to the chances and changes of temporal existence, but is in itself unending, imperishable, so that in comparison with it no other kind of life deserves the name.

7. This opens up naturally the question of **St. John's Eschatology.** It has already been said (see p. 482[a]) that some critics find an inherent contradiction between St. John's view of judgment and that set forth by the Synoptists, and it has been pointed out in reply that he recognizes 'judgment' not merely as here and now present in history, but as still to be anticipated in its final form in the life beyond the grave. Similar statements have been made in reference to Christ's 'coming' and the 'resurrection.' That each of these three events is recognized as still in the future, to be anticipated as coming to pass at the end of the world, or at 'the last day,' is clear from such passages as the following: 'judgment' in Jn 12[48] and 1 Jn 4[17]; 'coming' in Jn 14[3] and 1 Jn 2[18. 28]; 'resurrection' in Jn 5[28. 29] 6[39. 40] 11[24] etc. But it cannot be questioned that St. John, much more than St. Paul or the Synoptists, uses these words in a spiritual sense to indicate a coming to earth in the course of history, a spiritual visitation which may be called a 'coming' of Christ (see Jn 14[18. 23. 28] and perhaps 21[22]), as well as a judgment which was virtually pronounced in Christ's lifetime (12[31] etc.). Similarly, in 5[21] it is said that 'the Son quickeneth whom he will,' where the reference cannot be to life beyond the grave—a view which is confirmed by vv.[22. 23], where we are told that he who hears Christ's word has passed from death to life, does not come into judgment, and that 'the hour now is' in which the dead shall hear His voice and live. There is nothing in these descriptions of present spiritual blessing to interfere with the explicit statement that after death there shall be a resurrection of life and a resurrection of judgment (5[29]), any more than our Saviour intended to deny Martha's statement concerning the resurrection at the last day, when He said to her, 'I am the resurrection and the life' (11[25]).

It may perhaps be fairly said that St. John in the Gospel and Epistles lays emphasis upon the present spiritual blessings of salvation rather than upon future eschatological events described by means of the sensuous and material symbolism characteristic of the Apocalypse. But the two ideas, so far from being inconsistent, confirm one another. The man who believes in the present moral government of God in the world is assured that there must be a great day of consummation hereafter; while he who is assured that God will vindicate Himself by some Great Assize in the future life cannot surely imagine that meantime He has left the history of the world in moral confusion. The spiritual man knows that the future lies hid in the hints and suggestions of the present; he is certain also that such hints and suggestions must find their perfect realization and issue in a consummation yet to come. No Christian teacher has understood the deep-lying unity between the material and the spiritual, the present and the future, the temporal and the eternal, more completely than St. John 'the divine.'

W. T. Davison.

JOIADA.—1. One of the two who repaired the 'old gate' (Neh 3[6]). **2.** High priest, son of Eliashib (Neh 12[10. 11. 22]). One of his sons married the daughter of Sanballat the Horonite (Neh 13[28f.]).

JOIAKIM.—A high priest, son of Jeshua (Neh 12[10. 12. 26]).

JOIARIB.—1. Ezr 8[16], one of the two teachers sent by Ezra to Iddo to ask for ministers for the Temple. **2.** Neh 11[5], one of 'the chiefs of the province that dwelt in Jerusalem' in Nehemiah's time. See also Jehoiarib.

JOKDEAM.—A city of Judah (Jos 15[56]), whose site has not been identified. See Jorkeam.

JOKIM.—A Judahite (1 Ch 4[22]).

JOKMEAM.—A town in Ephraim given to the Levites, near Beth-horon (1 Ch 6[68]). In Jos 21[22] it is called **Kibzaim.** No site answering to either of these names is known. Jokmeam is mentioned also in 1 K 4[12], where AV has incorrectly 'Jokneam.'

JOKNEAM.—A royal Canaanite city 'in Carmel' (Jos 13[22]), on the boundary of Zebulun (19[11]), 'the brook' before it being the Kishon. It was assigned to the Merarite Levites (Jos 21[34]). It is probably identical with **Cyamon** of Jth 7[6]. The *Onomasticon* places 'Cimona' 6 Roman miles N. of Legio, on the road to Ptolemais. This points definitely to *Tell Kaimūn*, a striking mound about 7 miles N.W. of *el-Lejjūn*, with remains of ancient buildings.

W. Ewing.

JOKSHAN.—Son of Abraham and Keturah, and father of Sheba (Saba) and Dedan (Gn 25[2], 1 Ch 1[32]). The name seems quite unknown, and the suggestion that it is identical with **Joktan** seems the most plausible.

JOKTAN, according to the genealogical tables in Genesis and 1 Chron., was one of the two sons of Eber, and the father of thirteen sons or races (Gn 10[25-30], 1 Ch 1[19-23]); in the first table it is added that his descendants dwelt from Mesha to Sephar. Though the names of the majority of his sons have not been satisfactorily identified, it is clear that he is represented as the ancestor of the older Arabian tribes. The list of his sons is probably not to be taken as a scientific or geographical classification of the tribes or districts of Arabia, but rather as an attempt on the part of the writer to incorporate in the tables such names of Arabian races as were familiar to him and to his readers. It will be noted that Seba and Havilah occur also as the sons of Cush

(Gn 10^{7}), the peculiar interest attaching to them having doubtless given rise to a variety of traditions with regard to their origin and racial affinities. The name of Joktan himself, like the names of many of his sons, has not yet been identified or explained. Its identification by the native Arab genealogists with *Kahtān*, the name of an Arabian tribe or district, is without foundation; there appears to have been no real connexion between the names, their slight similarity in sound having probably suggested their identification. The supposition that Joktan was a purely artificial name devised for the younger son of Eber, in order to serve as a link between the Hebrew and Arab stocks, amounts to little more than a confession that the origin of the name is unknown. L. W. King.

JOKTHEEL.—**1.** A city described (Jos $15^{33.\ 38}$) as lying in 'the Shephēlah.' It came into possession of the tribe of Judah. Its site has not been recovered. **2.** The name (which some have sought to explain from the Arab., 'protection of God') given (2 K 14^{7}) to **Sela,** the ancient capital of the Edomites, after its capture by Amaziah king of Judah.

JONADAB.—See Jehonadab.

JONAH.—1. The man Jonah.—*Jonah* ('dove') is found in the Bible as the name of only one person, the Israelitish prophet of 2 K 14^{25} and the Book of Jonah. All that is really known about him is found in those two sources. According to both, he was the son of Amittai (LXX and Vulg. *Amathi*), and the former connects him with **Gath-hepher,** a place named in Jos 19^{13}, in the territory of Zebulun, now probably represented by *el-Meshhed*, 2½ miles to the E. of Sepphoris, and not far from Kefr Kennā and Nazareth, in the neighbourhood of which is a grave of *Nebi Yūnus* or *Yūnis*. If this identification is right, Jonah was not only Israelitish in the narrower sense, but Galiæan. He seems to have lived and worked in the latter part of the 9th cent. B.C. or in the earlier part of the 8th. His one prediction, recorded in Kings, of the extension of the kingdom of Samaria from the Orontes to the Dead Sea, is said to have been fulfilled in the reign of Jeroboam II. (B.C. 790 to 749 or 782–741). It has generally been inferred that the prediction was also uttered in that reign, but the inference is uncertain. It may have been delivered under Jehoash (B.C. 802–790 or 798–782), or even under Jehoahaz (815–802 or 798). Still, Jonah may be reasonably regarded as to some extent a contemporary of Jeroboam II. There is no mention in Kings of any connexion of Jonah with Assyria, but it is quite possible that the memory of a visit to Nineveh was preserved by tradition or in some lost historical work. From B.C. 782–745, Assyria was comparatively weak, and was governed by relatively insignificant kings.

That the Jonah of Kings is identical with the Jonah of the book was questioned by Winckler in 1900, but the objection was withdrawn in 1903. The identification of Jonah with the son of the widow of Zarephath, which is mentioned by Jerome, and other assertions of Jewish origin, have no historical value.

2. Book of Jonah.—(1) *Analysis.*

Jonah, the son of Amittai, is commanded by Jahweh to go to Nineveh and announce there impending judgment ($1^{1f.}$). For a reason not mentioned until near the end of the book ($4^{2f.}$)—the fear that Jahweh will repent of His purpose, and spare the Ninevites—he refuses to obey, and in order to escape from Jahweh's immediate jurisdiction goes down to Joppa, and books himself in a ship manned by heathen, almost certainly Phœnicians, for *Tarshish*, probably the Phœnician colony in the S. W. of Spain, called by the Greeks *Tartessus*, and now represented by Cadiz and the country round ($1^{3f.}$). When a violent storm comes on, and the prayers of the mariners to their gods are of no avail, they conclude that there is some one on board who has offended some deity, and cast lots to discover the culprit. The lot falls on Jonah (1^{4-7}), who acknowledges his guilt and advises them to cast him overboard (1^{8-12}). After making futile efforts to bring the vessel to land (1^{13}), the sailors reluctantly cast him into the sea, with the result that the storm at once subsides and the wondering heathen adore the God of the Hebrews (1^{14-16}). Jonah is swallowed by a fish appointed for the purpose by J", and remains in its belly 3 days and 3 nights (1^{17}), during which time he prays (2^{1}). His prayer, which fills the greater part of the chapter, is rather a psalm of praise (2^{2-9}). He is then cast by the fish on the land at a place not specified (2^{10}), is commanded to discharge the neglected duty, goes to Nineveh and delivers his message over a third of the city (3^{1-4}). King and people repent, and show their repentance in a public fast (which includes even the domestic animals), and pray (3^{5-9}). Their penitence and prayer are accepted, to the prophet's disgust (3^{10}-4^{4}). As he sulks in a booth outside the city, waiting to see the issue, a remarkable series of experiences is arranged for his instruction (4^{5-8}): the shooting up of a castor-oil plant (or, as some think, a bottle-gourd) appointed by Jahweh, which delights him by its welcome shade; the killing of the plant by a worm, also appointed by Jahweh; and the springing up of a hot wind which also blows by Divine appointment, so that the now unshaded prophet is so tormented by the heat, that, like Elijah (1 K 19^{4}), he longs for death. When he still sulks, it is pointed out to him that if he, a man, cares for the plant which sprang up and perished so quickly, and which was in no way the product of his toil, how much more must God care for the great city, which has in it so many thousands of little children and much cattle (4^{9-11}).

(2) *Integrity.*—Most recent critics ascribe 1. $2^{1.\ 10}$ 3 and 4, with the exception of a few glosses, to one writer. About the hymn or psalm in 2^{2-9} there is diversity of opinion. There are three views: (1) that it is by the same writer (G. A. Smith); (2) that it was used by him but not written by him (Baudissin); (3) that it was inserted by an editor who missed the prayer referred to in 2^{1} (Nowack, Marti, Cheyne, Kautzsch, and perhaps Horton). The last view is on the whole the most probable, for the following among other reasons. (*a*) The psalm fits in with the experience of a shipwrecked mariner who has reached the shore, rather than with the situation ascribed to Jonah (2^{3-6}); (*b*) it has been aptly described as 'a cento of passages from the psalms' (there are echoes of passages in Ps 3. 18. 30. 31. 42. 50. 116. 120. 142), which implies that the writer had a considerable part of our present Psalter before him, and so points to the study rather than the belly of a fish.

(3) *Date and Authorship.*—The book used to be regarded as Jonah's composition, but that belief is now generally abandoned except in the Roman Catholic Church. Since Nineveh is clearly referred to as no longer standing: 'Now Nineveh *was* an exceeding great city' (3^{3}), the *terminus a quo* cannot be placed earlier than about B.C. 600 (fall of Nineveh B.C. 606). The *terminus ad quem* is fixed by the mention of the Twelve Prophets in Sirach (49^{10}), *c.* B.C. 200. The date therefore lies between 600 and 200. For closer definition the following facts are helpful. The anonymous reference to the Assyrian king, and perhaps the description of him as 'the king of Nineveh' (3^{6}), suggests a considerable interval between Assyrian times and the composition of the book. The Heb. is distinctly late. There are several indications of Aramaic influence: *sephīnāh* 'ship'—a word common to Aramaic and Arabic, found here only in the OT; *shāthaq* 'be calm'; *ta'am* 'decree'; *hith'ashshēth* in the sense of 'think'; *minnāh* 'prepare,' 'appoint,' etc. Had it been possible to assign the book to the 8th or the 9th cent. B.C., these phenomena might have been accounted for on the assumption of Aramaic influence on a Galilæan dialect, but as that date is out of the question, they point to a much later period, the 4th or 5th cent. (König, Driver, E. Kautzsch, Budde, Cheyne), *c.* B.C. 300 (Marti). Cheyne puts the psalm as late as the prayer in the appendix to Sirach. It has been suggested that the book is an extract from a larger work, *e.g.* the 'commentary of the book of the kings' referred to in 2 Ch 24^{27}, as it begins: 'Now (Heb. *wa-*) the word of the Lord came to Jonah'; but other historical Heb. writings begin in the same abrupt manner.

(4) *Interpretation.*—The ancient Jews seem to have

regarded the book as historical (3 Mac 6^8, To $14^{4.\ 8}$; Jos. *Ant.* IX. x. 2), and were followed by Christian interpreters. Modern scholars are greatly divided. Archdeacon Perowne, J. Kennedy, and Clay Trumbull have defended the old view. Kleinert, König, C. H. H. Wright, G. A. Smith, and Cheyne treat the book as an allegory of the fortunes of the people. Jonah, 'the dove,' represents Israel. Jonah the prophet stands for Israel, which was to prophesy amongst the nations. The sea figures the destruction which repeatedly fell on Israel. Cheyne supplements the symbolical key by the mythological. The fish (that is the dragon, the subterranean sea) refers to Babylon, which swallowed Israel, not to destroy it but to give room for repentance; and the link between Jonah and the original myth is found in Jer $51^{34.\ 44}$. E. Kautzsch, Driver, Nowack, and Marti see in the story a didactic narrative founded on an ancient tradition.

(5) *Teaching.*—The prominence given by Christian expositors to the incident of the fish has tended to obscure the chief aim of the writing—to protest against the narrowness of thought and sympathy which prevailed among the Jews of the time, and was daily growing in intensity. Whoever the author was, he had higher thoughts about God than most of his contemporaries, perhaps it may even be said than any other of the writers of the OT, and entertained more charitable feelings towards the Gentile world than most of his people. The God of Israel, he believed, cared for all men. Penitent Gentiles, and many in Gentile circles, were ready to repent if only they were taught; could obtain pardon as readily as penitent Jews. Nay, Jahweh sought their repentance. Nowhere in pre-Christian literature can be found a broader, purer, loftier, tenderer conception of God than in this little anonymous Heb. tract. Cornill describes it as 'one of the deepest and grandest things ever written.' 'I should like,' he adds, 'to exclaim to any one who approaches it: "Put thy shoes from off thy feet, for the place whereon thou standest is holy ground."' How high the teaching of the book rose above later Judaism, say the Judaism of the time of Christ, and the following generation, is strikingly shown by the way in which it is summarized by Josephus (*Ant.* IX. x. 2). There is not a word there about the penitence of the Ninevites, or God's remonstrance with Jonah. The main lesson of the book is absolutely ignored by the proud Pharisaic priest. Another leading thought of the book is the duty of Israel to make its God known to the Gentiles.

(6) *The book in the Synagogue and the Church.*—It is said in the Mishna (*Ta'anith*, ii. 1) that the ritual of a public fast in time of drought included reference by the leader of the congregation to the Book of Jonah, and it has been used from ancient times to the present day in the ceremonial of the Day of Atonement. Christians were early attracted to it by the remarkable allusions in the Gospels: Mt $12^{39ff.}$ 16^4, Lk $11^{29f.\ 32}$. The reference to the entombment in the fish is in Mt. only. The allusion to the repentance of the Ninevites is in both Mt. and Lk. The significance of the former has been much debated, and some have regarded it as a proof of the historicity of the OT narrative. That in no way follows. Our Lord found the story in the Scriptures, and appealed to it as something generally known to His hearers. His use of it fastened on the imagination of the early Christians, and led them to take great interest in the whole Book of Jonah. The remains of early Christian art in catacomb paintings, on sarcophagi, lamps, glasses, etc., include a very large number of pictures which have some part of the story of Jonah for their theme. Dr. Otto Mitius, who published a monograph on the subject in 1897, has noted 177 examples. The oldest, in the Catacomb of S. Callisto, may date from the 1st century.

(7) *Parallels to Jonah.*—Attention has often been called to the classical myths of Andromeda and Hesione, the scene of the former of which is laid in the neighbourhood of Joppa, but reference to them, even indirectly, is improbable. Nor is it likely that the Heb. writer had in mind a dragon myth of Babylonia. A really striking parallel to part of the first chapter (1^{7-15}) was noted by a German scholar in 1896 in Buddhistic literature. A young man of Benares named Mittavindaka, the son of a merchant, went to sea in defiance of his mother's objection. When after a time the vessel was unable to proceed on its course, owing to some mysterious impediment, the sailors concluded that it must be through the sin of some one on board, and therefore cast lots to discover the offender. The lots were cast three times, and each time the lot fell to Mittavindaka. As he was clearly the culprit, they turned him out of the ship, and placed him on a raft. Their ship was then able to continue the voyage. The close correspondence of this Indian story with the part of the Biblical story referred to is very remarkable, but need not point to any connexion between the two beyond community of feeling and action, under similar circumstances, of Indian and Phœnician mariners.

W. Taylor Smith.

JONAM.—An ancestor of Jesus (Lk 3^{30}).

JONAS.—**1.** 1 Es 9^1 = Ezr 10^6 **Jehohanan,** Neh 12^{23} **Johanan.** **2.** 1 Es 9^{23} = Ezr 10^{23} **Eliezer.** **3.** 2 Es 1^{39} the prophet Jonah. **4.** See John, No. 6.

JONATHAN ('J" hath given').—**1.** A Levite, the 'son' of Gershom (wh. see); according to Jg 18^{30} he and his sons were priests to the tribe of Dan up to the Captivity. Jonathan was taken into the service of Micah as 'father and priest' (Jg 17^{10}); but, not long after he had taken up his abode there, six hundred Danites came that way and induced Jonathan to leave Micah and join them as their priest (18^{11-31}). **2.** The eldest son of Saul; he appears, in the first instance, as a brave and successful leader in battle. 1 S 13. 14 contain a graphic account of the way in which the Israelites threw off the Philistine yoke; in this campaign Jonathan took a leading part. He first of all, at the head of a thousand men, smote the Philistine garrison in Geba; this was the signal for the outbreak of war. The Philistine army gathered together and encamped in Michmash. Jonathan, accompanied only by his armour-bearer, at great risk surprised an advanced post of the Philistines, and slew about twenty men; the suddenness and success of this *coup* so terrified the Philistines that the whole host of them fled in panic. The popularity of Jonathan is well illustrated by the fact that the people prevented Saul from carrying out a vow which would have cost Jonathan his life (1 S 14^{24-46}). The implicit trust which Saul placed in Jonathan is seen in the words of the latter in 1 S 20^2: 'Behold my father doeth nothing either great or small, but that he discloseth it unto me.' The faithfulness and trustworthiness of Jonathan as here shown gives an insight into what must have been that friendship for David which has become proverbial. All the characteristics of truest friendship are seen in Jonathan in their full beauty—love (1 S 18^1), faithfulness ($20^{2ff.}$), disinterestedness (20^{42}), and self-sacrifice (20^{24-34}). The last we hear of Jonathan is his death upon the battlefield, fighting the foes of his country. In David's lament the spirit of the departed hero speaks in unison with his friend: 'Thy love to me was wonderful, passing the love of women' (2 S 1^{26}).

3. The son of the priest Mattathias; the youngest of the four Maccabæan brothers (2 Mac 8^{22}), who played an important part during the Maccabæan revolt (see Maccabees). **4.** A nephew of David (2 S 21^{21}; cf. prob. 1 Ch 27^{32}). **5.** A son of Abiathar the priest (2 S $15^{27ff.}$ $17^{17.\ 20}$, 1 K 1^{42}). **6.** A scribe in whose house Jeremiah was imprisoned (Jer $37^{15.\ 20}$ 38^{26}). **7.** A high priest (Neh 12^{11}); called in v.$^{22f.}$ **Johanan.** **8.** One of David's heroes (2 S 23^{32}, 1 Ch 11^{34}). **9.** A Levite (Neh 12^{35}). **10.** The son of Kareah (Jer 40^8). **11.** The father of Peleth and Zaza (1 Ch $2^{32f.}$). **12.** One of David's treasurers (1 Ch 27^{25}). **13.** Father of Ebed (Ezr 8^6). **14.** One of those who opposed (RV) or assisted (AV) Ezra in the matter of the foreign marriages (Ezr 10^{15}). **15.** A priest (Neh 12^{14}). **16.** Son of Absalom, in the

time of Simon the Maccabee (1 Mac 13[11]). **17.** A priest who led the prayer at the first sacrifice after the Return (2 Mac 1[23]). W. O. E. Oesterley.

JONATH ELEM REHOKIM.—See Psalms, p. 772[a].

JOPPA.—The principal seaport of S. Palestine; a place of high antiquity, being mentioned in the tribute lists of Thothmes III., but never before the Exile in Israelite hands, being in Philistine territory. It was theoretically assigned to the tribe of Dan (Jos 19[46]), and is spoken of as a seaport in 2 Ch 2[16] and Ezr 3[7] [where RV reads 'to the sea, unto Joppa' in place of AV 'to the **sea of Joppa**']: these, and its well-known connexion with the story of Jonah (1[3]), are the only references to the city to be found in the OT. The Maccabees wrested it more than once from the hands of their Syrian oppressors (1 Mac 10[75] 12[33] 13[11]); it was restored to the latter by Pompey (Jos. *Ant.* XIV. iv. 4), but again given back to the Jews (*ib.* XIV. x. 6) some years later. Here St. Peter for a while lodged, restored Tabitha to life, and had his famous vision of the sheet (Ac 9. 10). The traditional sites of Tabitha's tomb and Simon the tanner's house are shown to tourists and to pilgrims, but are of course without authority. The city was destroyed by Vespasian (A.D. 68). In the Crusader period the city passed from the Saracens to the Franks and back more than once: it was captured first in 1126, retaken by Saladin 1187, again conquered by Richard Cœur de Lion in 1191, and lost finally in 1196. In recent years it is remarkable for Napoleon's successful storming of its walls in 1799. It is now a flourishing seaport, though its harbour—little more than a breakwater of reefs—is notoriously bad and dangerous. A railway connects it with Jerusalem. It is also one of the chief centres of the fruit-growing industry in Palestine, and its orange gardens are world-famed. Tradition places here the story of Andromeda and the sea-monster.

R. A. S. Macalister.

JORAH.—The name of a family which returned with Zerubbabel (Ezr 2[18]); called in Neh 7[24] **Hariph,** which is probably the true form. 1 Es 5[16] reads **Arsiphurith.**

JORAI.—A Gadite chief (1 Ch 5[13]).

JORAM.—**1. 2.** See Jehoram (**1** and **2**). **3.** Son of Toi (2 S 8[10]) (in 1 Ch 18[10] called **Hadoram**). **4.** A Levite (1 Ch 26[25]). **5.** 1 Es 1[9] = 2 Ch 35[9] **Jozabad.**

JORDAN.—The longest and most important river in Palestine. **1. Name.**—The name 'Jordan' is best derived from Heb. *yārad* 'to descend,' the noun *Yardēn* formed from it signifying 'the descender'; it is used almost invariably with the article. In Arabic the name is *esh-Sheri'ah*, or 'the watering-place,' though Arabic writers before the Crusades called it *el-Urdun*. Quite fanciful is Jerome's derivation of the name from *Jor* and *Dan*, the two main sources of the river, as no source by the name of Jor is known.

2. Geology.—The geology of the Jordan is unique. Rising high up among the foothills of Mt. Hermon, it flows almost due south by a most tortuous course, through the two lakes of Huleh and Galilee, following the bottom of a rapidly descending and most remarkable geological fissure, and finally emptying itself into the Dead Sea, which is 1292 feet below the level of the Mediterranean. In its short course of a little more than 100 miles it falls about 3000 feet, and for the greater portion of the journey runs below the level of the ocean. No other part of the earth's surface, uncovered by water, sinks to a depth of even 300 feet below sea-level, except the great Sahara. Professor Hull, the eminent Irish geologist, accounts for this great natural cleft by supposing that towards the end of the Eocene period a great 'fault' or fracture was caused by the contraction from east to west of the limestone crust of the earth. Later, during the Pliocene period, the whole Jordan valley probably formed an inland lake more than 200 miles long, but at the close of the Glacial period the waters decreased until they reached their present state. Traces of water, at heights 1180 feet above the Dead Sea's present level, are found on the lateral slopes of the Jordan valley.

3. Sources.—The principal sources of the Jordan are three: (1) the river *Hasbani*, which rises in a large fountain on the western slopes of Mt. Hermon, near *Hasbeiya*, at an altitude of 1700 feet; (2) the *Leddan*, which gushes forth from the celebrated fountain under Tell el-Qadi, or Dan, at an altitude of 500 feet—the most copious source of the Jordan; and (3) the river *Banias*, which issues from an immense cavern below Banias or Cæsarea Philippi, having an altitude of 1200 feet. These last two meet about five miles below their fountain-heads at an altitude of 148 feet, and are joined about a half-mile farther on by the Hasbani. Their commingled waters flow on across a dismal marsh of papyrus, and, after seven miles, empty into Lake Huleh, which is identified by some with 'the waters of Merom' (Jos 11[5. 7]). The lake is four miles long, its surface being but 7 feet above sea-level.

4. The **Upper Jordan** is a convenient designation for that portion of the river between Lake Huleh and the Sea of Galilee. Emerging from Lake Huleh, the river flows placidly for a space of two miles, and then dashes down over a rocky and tortuous bed until it enters the Sea of Galilee, whose altitude is 682 feet below the level of the Mediterranean. It falls, in this short stretch of 10½ miles, 689 feet. At certain seasons its turbid waters can be traced for quite a considerable distance into the sea, which is 12½ miles long.

5. The **Lower Jordan** is an appropriate designation for that portion of the river between the Sea of Galilee and the Dead Sea. The distance in a straight line between these two seas is but 65 miles, yet it is estimated that the river's actual course covers not less than 200, due to its sinuosity. In this stretch it falls 610 feet, the rate at first being 40 feet per mile. Its width varies from 90 to 200 feet. Along its banks grow thickets of tamarisks, poplars, oleanders, and bushes of different varieties, which are described by the prophets of the OT as 'the pride of Jordan' (Jer 12[5] 49[19] 50[44], Zec 11[3]). Numerous rapids, whirlpools, and islets characterize this portion of the Jordan. The river's entire length from Banias to the Dead Sea is 104 miles, measured in a straight line.

6. Tributaries.—Its most important tributaries flow into the Lower Jordan and from the East. The largest is the *Yarmuk* of the Rabbis, the *Hieromax* of the Greeks, and the *Sheri'at el-Manadireh* of the Arabs, which drains Gilead and Bashan in part. It enters the Jordan 5 miles south of the Sea of Galilee. The Bible never mentions it. The only other tributary of considerable importance is the Jabbok of the OT, called by the natives *Nahr ez-Zerka* or *Wady el-'Arab*. It rises near 'Ammān (Philadelphia), describes a semicircle, and flows into the Jordan at a point about equidistant from the two seas. On the west are the *Nahr el-Jalūd*, which rises in the spring of Harod at the base of Mt. Gilboa and drains the valley of Jezreel; *Wady Fārah*, which rises near Mt. Ebal and drains the district east of Shechem; and the *Wady el-Kelt*, by Jericho, which is sometimes identified with the brook Cherith.

7. Fords.—The fords of the Jordan are numerous. The most celebrated is that opposite Jericho known as *Makhadet el-Hajlah*, where modern pilgrims are accustomed to bathe. There is another called *el-Ghōrantyeh* near the mouth of *Wady Nimrin*. North of the Jabbok there are at least a score. In ancient times the Jordan seems to have been crossed almost exclusively by fords (1 S 13[7], 2 S 10[17]); but David and his household were possibly conveyed across in a 'ferry-boat' (2 S 19[18]; the rendering is doubtful).

8. Bridges are not mentioned in the Bible. Those which once spanned the Jordan were built by the Romans, or by their successors. The ruins of one,

with a single arch, may be seen at *Jisr ed-Damieh* near the mouth of the Jabbok. Since its construction the river bed has changed so that it no longer spans the real channel. This bridge is on the direct route from Shechem to Ramoth-gilead. There is another called *Jisr el-Mujamīyeh*, close by that of the new railroad from Haifa to Damascus, or about 7 miles south of the Sea of Galilee. A third, built of black basalt and having three arches, is known as the *Jisr Benat-Yā'qub*, or 'bridge of the daughters of Jacob,' situated about two miles south of Lake Huleh on the direct caravan route from Acre to Damascus. A temporary wooden bridge, erected by the Arabs, stands opposite Jericho.

9. The Jordan valley.—The broad and ever-descending valley through which the Jordan flows is called by the Arabs the *Ghōr* or 'bottom'; to the Hebrews it was known as the **'Arabah**. It is a long plain, sloping uniformly at the rate of 9 feet to the mile, being at the northern end 3, and at the southern end 12 miles broad. For the most part the valley is fertile, especially in the vicinity of Beisan, where the grass and grain grow freely. Near the Dead Sea, however, the soil is saline and barren. The ruins of ancient aqueducts here and there all over the plain give evidence of its having been at one time highly cultivated. By irrigation the entire region could easily be brought under cultivation once more and converted into a veritable garden. In the vicinity of Jericho, once the 'city of palms,' a large variety of fruits, vegetables, and other products is grown. The most fertile portion under cultivation at the present time is the comparatively narrow floor-bed of the river known as the *Zōr*, varying from a quarter to two miles in width, and from 20 to 200 feet in depth below the *Ghōr* proper. This is the area which was overflowed every year 'all the time of harvest' (Jos 3^{15}). It has been formed, doubtless, by the changing of the river bed from one side of the valley to the other.

10. The **climate** of the Jordan valley is hot. The Lower Jordan in particular, being shut in by two great walls of mountain, the one on the east, and the other on the west, is decidedly tropical. Even in winter the days are uncomfortably warm, though the nights are cool; in summer both days and nights are torrid, especially at Jericho, where the thermometer has been known to register 130 Fahr. by day, and 110 after sunset. This accounts largely for the unpeopled condition of the Lower Jordan valley both to-day and in former times.

11. Flora and fauna.—The trees and shrubs of the Jordan valley are both numerous and varied. The *retem* or broom plant, thorns, oleanders, flowering bamboos, castor-oil plants, tamarisks, poplars, acacias, Dead Sea 'apples of Sodom,' and many other species of bush, all grow in the valley. The papyrus is especially luxuriant about Lake Huleh.

Animals such as the leopard, jackal, boar, hyæna, ibex, porcupine, and fox live in the thickets which border the banks. The lion has completely disappeared. The river abounds in fish of numerous species, many of them resembling those found in the Nile and the lakes of tropical Africa. Of the 35 species, however, known to exist, 16 are peculiar to the Jordan.

12. The Jordan as a boundary.—In view of what has been said, it is obvious that the Jordan forms a natural boundary to Palestine proper. In the earlier books of the OT we frequently meet with the expressions 'on this side Jordan,' and 'on the other side of the Jordan,' which suggest that the Jordan was a dividing line and a natural boundary. In Nu 34^{12}, indeed, it is treated as the original eastern boundary of the Promised Land (cf. Jos 22^{25}). Yet, as Lucien Gautier suggests (art. 'Jordan' in Hastings' *DCG*), it was not so much the Jordan that constituted the boundary as the depressed *Ghōr* valley as a whole.

13. Scripture references.—The Jordan is frequently mentioned in both the OT and the NT. Lot, for example, is said to have chosen 'all the circle of the Jordan' because 'it was well watered everywhere' (Gn 13^{10}); Joshua and all Israel crossed over the Jordan on dry ground (Jos 3^{17}); Ehud seized the fords of the Jordan against the Moabites, cutting off their retreat (Jg 3^{28}); Gideon, Jephthah, David, Elijah, and Elisha were all well acquainted with the Jordan; Naaman the Syrian was directed to go wash in the Jordan seven times, that his leprosy might depart from him (2 K 5^{10}). And it was at the Jordan that John the Baptist preached and baptized, our Lord being among those who were here sacramentally consecrated (Mt 3 and parallels). To-day thousands of pilgrims from all parts of the civilized world visit the Jordan; so that, as G. A. Smith (*HGHL*, p. 496) reminds us, 'what was never a great Jewish river has become a very great Christian one.'

GEORGE L. ROBINSON.

JORIBUS.—**1.** (AV Joribas) 1 Es 8^{44} = **Jarib,** Ezr 8^{16}. **2.** 1 Es 9^{19} = **Jarib,** Ezr 10^{18}.

JORIM.—An ancestor of Jesus (Lk 3^{29}).

JORKEAM.—A Judahite family name (1 Ch 2^{44}). We should perhaps read **Jokdeam,** the name of an unidentified place in the Negeb of Judah (Jos 15^{56}).

JOSABDUS (1 Es 8^{63}) = **Jozabad,** No. 6.

JOSAPHIAS (1 Es 8^{36}) = Ezr 8^{10} **Josiphiah.**

JOSECH (AV **Joseph**).—An ancestor of Jesus (Lk 3^{26}).

JOSEDEK.—See JEHOZADAK.

JOSEPH (in OT and Apocr.).—**1.** The patriarch. See next article. **2.** A man of Issachar (Nu 13^{7}). **3.** A son of Asaph (1 Ch $25^{2.9}$). **4.** One of the sons of Bani who had married a foreign wife (Ezr 10^{42}); called in 1 Es 9^{34} **Josephus.** **5.** A priest (Neh 12^{14}). **6.** An ancestor of Judith (Jth 8^{1}). **7.** An officer of Judas Maccabæus (1 Mac $5^{18.\ 56.\ 60}$). **8.** In 2 Mac. 8^{22}, and probably also 10^{19}, Joseph is read by mistake for **John,** one of the brothers of Judas Maccabæus.

JOSEPH.—Jacob's eleventh son, the elder of the two sons of Rachel; born in Haran. The name is probably contracted from *Jehoseph* (Ps 81^{5}), 'May God add' (cf. Gn $30^{23f.}$, where etymologies from two sources are given). Joseph is the principal hero of the later chapters of Genesis, which are composed mainly of extracts from three documents. J and E supply the bulk of the narrative, and as a rule are cited alternately, the compiler often modifying a quotation from one document with notes derived from the other. From P some six or seven short excerpts are made, the longest being Gn 46^{6-27}, where the object and the parenthetic quality are evident. For the details of analysis, see Driver *LOT*[6], 17 ff. The occasional differences of tradition are an evidence of original independence, and their imperfect harmonization in the joint narrative is favourable to its substantial historicity.

At present the date of Joseph can be only provisionally fixed, as the account of his life neither mentions the name of the ruling Pharaoh nor refers to distinctive Egyptian manners or customs in such a way as to yield a clue to the exact period. The Pharaoh of the oppression is now generally taken to be Rameses II. of the 19th dynasty (*c.* B.C. 1275–1208); and if this be correct, the addition of the years of residence in Egypt (Ex 12^{41}) would bring Joseph's term of office into the reign of the later Hyksos kings (*c.* B.C. 2098–1587; for dates and particulars, see Petrie, *History of Egypt*).

With the return of Jacob to Hebron (Gn 35^{27}) he ceases to be the central figure of the story, and Joseph takes his place. Of his life to the age of 17 (Gn 37^{2}) nothing is told, except that he was his father's favourite, and rather too free in carrying complaints of his brothers and telling them of his boyish dreams. Sent to Shechem, he found that his brothers had taken their flocks northwards fifteen miles, to the richer pasturage of Dothan. As soon as he came within sight, their resentment perceived its opportunity, and they arranged to get rid of him and his dreams; but the two traditions are not

completely harmonized. J represents Judah as inducing his brothers to sell Joseph to a company of Ishmaelites; but E makes Reuben a mediator, whose plans were frustrated by a band of Midianites, who had in the interval kidnapped Joseph and stolen him away (40^{15}). The phraseology is against the identification of the two companies; and the divergent traditions point to a natural absence of real agreement among the brothers, with a frustration of their purposes by means of which they were ignorant. What became of Joseph they did not really know; and to protect themselves they manufactured the evidence of the blood-stained coat.

In Egypt, Joseph was bought by Potiphar, a court official, whose title makes him chief of the royal butchers and hence of the body-guard; and the alertness and trustworthiness of the slave led quickly to his appointment as *major domo* (Egyp. *mer-per*), a functionary often mentioned on the monuments (Erman, *Life in Anc. Egypt*, 187 f.). Everything prospered under Joseph's management; but his comeliness and courtesy attracted the notice of his master's wife, whose advances, being repelled, were transformed into a resentment that knew no scruples. By means of an entirely false charge she secured the removal of Joseph to the State prison, which was under the control of Potiphar (40^{3}), and where again he was soon raised to the position of overseer or underkeeper. Under his charge were placed in due course the chief of the Pharaoh's butlers and the chief of his bakers, who had for some unstated reason incurred the royal displeasure. Both were perplexed with dreams, which Joseph interpreted to them correctly. Two years later the Pharaoh himself had his duplicated dream of the fat and lean kine and of the full and thin ears; and as much significance was attached in Egypt to dreams, the king was distressed by his inability to find an interpreter, and 'his spirit was troubled.' Thereupon the chief butler recalled Joseph's skill and his own indebtedness to him, and mentioned him to the Pharaoh, who sent for him, and was so impressed by his sagacity and foresight that exaltation to the rank of keeper of the royal seal followed, with a degree of authority that was second only to that of the throne. The Egyptian name of **Zaphenath-paneah** (of which the meaning is perhaps 'The God spake and he came into life,' suggesting that the bearer of the name owed his promotion to the Divine use of him as revealer of the Divine will) was conferred upon him, and he married **Asenath,** daughter of one of the most important dignitaries in the realm, the priest of the great national temple of the sun at On or Heliopolis, seven miles north-east of the modern Cairo.

So far as Egypt was concerned, Joseph's policy was to store the surplus corn of the years of plenty in granaries, and afterwards so to dispose of it as to change the system of land-tenure. Famines in that country are due generally to failure or deficiency in the annual inundation of the Nile, and several of long endurance have been recorded. Brugsch (*Hist.*^{2} i. 304) reports an inscription, coinciding in age approximately with that of Joseph, and referring to a famine lasting 'many years,' during which a distribution of corn was made. This has been doubtfully identified with Joseph's famine. Other inscriptions of the kind occur, and are sufficient to authenticate the fact of prolonged famines, though not to yield further particulars of the one with which Joseph had to deal. His method was to sell corn first for money (rings of gold, whose weight was certified by special officials), and when all this was exhausted (47^{15}), corn was given in exchange for cattle of every kind, and finally for the land. The morality of appropriating the surplus produce and then compelling the people to buy it back, must not be judged by modern standards of justice, but is defensible, if at all, only in an economic condition where the central government was responsible for the control of a system of irrigation upon which the fertility of the soil and the produce of its cultivation directly depended, and where the private benefit of the individual had to be ignored in view of a peril threatening the community. Instead of regarding the arrangement as a precedent to be followed in different states of civilization, ground has been found in it for charging Joseph with turning the needs of the people into an occasion for oppressing them; and certainly the effect upon the character and subsequent condition of the people was not favourable. The system of tenure in existence before, by which large landed estates were held by private proprietors, was changed into one by which all the land became the property of the crown, the actual cultivators paying a rental of one-fifth of the produce (47^{24}). That some such change took place is clear from the monuments (cf. Erman, *Life in Anc. Egypt*, 102), though they have not yielded the name of the author or the exact date of the change. An exception was made in favour of the priests (47^{22}), who were supported by a fixed income in kind from the Pharaoh, and therefore had no need to part with their land. In later times (cf. Diodorus Siculus, i. 73 f.) the land was owned by the kings, the priests, and the members of a military caste; and it is not likely that the system introduced by Joseph lasted long after his death. The need of rewarding the services of successful generals or partisans would be a strong temptation to the expropriation of some of the royal lands.

The peculiarity of the famine was that it extended over the neighbouring countries (41$^{56f.}$); and that is the fact of significance in regard to the history of Israel, with which the narrative in consequence resumes contact. The severity of the famine in Canaan led Jacob to send all his sons except Benjamin (42^{4}) to buy corn in Egypt. On their arrival they secured an interview with Joseph, and prostrated themselves before him (37^{7} 42^{6}); but in the grown man, with his shaven face [on the monuments only foreigners and natives of inferior rank are represented as wearing beards] and Egyptian dress, they entirely failed to recognize their brother. The rough accusation that they were spies in search of undefended ways by which the country might be invaded from the east, on which side lines of posts and garrisons were maintained under two at least of the dynasties, aroused their fears, and an attempt was made to allay Joseph's suspicions by detailed information. Joseph catches at the opportunity of discovering the truth concerning Benjamin, and, after further confirming in several ways the apprehensions of his brothers, retains one as a hostage in ward and sends the others home. On their return (42^{35} E), or at the first lodging-place (42^{27} J) on the way, the discovery of their money in their sacks increased their anxiety, and for a time their father positively refused to consent to further dealings with Egypt. At length his resolution broke down under the pressure of the famine (43$^{11ff.}$). In Egypt the sons were received courteously, and invited to a feast in Joseph's house, where they were seated according to their age (43^{33}), and Benjamin was singled out for the honour of a special 'mess' (cf. 2 S 11^{8}) as a mark of distinction. They set out homewards in high spirits, unaware that Joseph had directed that each man's money should be placed in his sack, and his own divining-cup of silver (44^{5}; the method of divination was hydromancy—an article was thrown into a vessel of water, and the movements of the water were thought to reveal the unknown) in that of Benjamin. Overtaken at almost their first halting-place, they were charged with theft, and returned in a body to Joseph's house. His reproaches elicited a frank and pathetic speech from Judah, after which Joseph could no longer maintain his *incognito*. He allayed the fears of his conscience-stricken brothers by the assurance that they had been the agents of Providence 'to preserve life' (45^{5}; cf. Ps 105$^{17ff.}$); and in the name of the Pharaoh he invited them with their father to settle in Egypt, with the promise of support during the five years of famine that remained.

Goshen, a pastoral district in the Delta about forty

miles north-east of Cairo, was selected for the new home of Jacob. The district was long afterwards known as 'the land of Rameses' (47[11]) from the care spent upon it by the second king of that name, who often resided there, and founded several cities in the neighbourhood. In Egypt swine-herds and cow-herds were 'an abomination' to the people (46[34]; cf. Hdt. ii. 47, and Erman, *op. cit.* 439f.), but there is no independent evidence that shepherds were, and the contempt must be regarded as confined to those whose duties brought them into close contact with cattle, for the rearing of cattle received much attention, the superintendent of the royal herds being frequently mentioned in the inscriptions. Joseph's household and brothers flourished during the seventeen years (47[27f.]) Jacob lived in Egypt. Before his death he blessed Joseph's two sons, giving preference to the younger in view of the greatness of the tribe to be derived from him, and leaving to Joseph himself one portion above his brethren, viz. Shechem (48[22] RVm). After mourning for the royal period of seventy days (50[3]; cf. Diod. Sic. i. 72), Joseph buried his father with great pomp in the cave of Machpelah, and cheered his brothers by a renewed promise to nourish and help them. He is said to have survived to the age of 110 (50[22]), and to have left injunctions that his body should be conveyed to Canaan when Israel was restored. The body was carefully embalmed (50[26]), and enclosed in a mummy-case or sarcophagus. In due course it was taken charge of by Moses (Ex 13[19]), and eventually buried at Shechem (Jos 24[32]).

Of the general historicity of the story of Joseph there need be no doubt. Allowance may be made for the play of imagination in the long period that elapsed before the traditions were reduced to writing in their present form, and for the tendency to project the characteristics of a tribe backwards upon some legendary hero. But the incidents are too natural and too closely related to be entirely a product of fiction; and the Egyptian colouring, which is common to both of the principal documents, is fatal to any theory that resolves the account into a mere elaboration in a distant land of racial pride. Joseph's own character, as depicted, shows no traces of constructive art, but is consistent and singularly attractive. Dutifulness (1 Mac 2[53]) is perhaps its keynote, manifested alike in the resistance of temptation, in uncomplaining patience in misfortune, and in the modesty with which he bore his elevation to rank and power. Instead of using opportunities for the indulgence of resentment, he recognizes the action of Providence, and nourishes the brothers (Sir 49[15]) who had lost all brotherly affection for him. On the other hand, there are blemishes which should be neither exaggerated nor overlooked. In his youth there was a degree of vanity that made him rather unpleasant company. That his father was left so long in ignorance of his safety in Egypt may have been unavoidable, but leaves a suspicion of inconsiderateness. When invested with authority he treated the people in a way that would now be pronounced tyrannical and unjust, enriching and strengthening the throne at the expense of their woe; though, judged by the standards of his own day, the charge may not equally lie. On the whole, a very high place must be given him among the early founders of his race. In strength of right purpose he was second to none, whilst in the graces of reverence and kindness, of insight and assurance, he became the type of a faith that is at once personal and national (He 11[22]), and allows neither misery nor a career of triumph to eclipse the sense of Divine destiny.

R. W. Moss.

JOSEPH (in NT).—**1. 2.** Two ancestors of our Lord, Lk 3[24. 30].

3. The husband of Mary and 'father' of Jesus.—Every Jew kept a record of his lineage, and was very proud if he could claim royal or priestly descent; and Joseph could boast himself 'a son of David' (Mt 1[20]). His family belonged to Bethlehem, David's city, but he had migrated to Nazareth (Lk 2[4]), where he followed the trade of carpenter (Mt 13[55]). He was betrothed to Mary, a maiden of Nazareth, being probably much her senior, though the tradition of the apocryphal *History of Joseph* that he was in his ninety-third year and she in her fifteenth is a mere fable. The tradition that he was a widower and had children by his former wife probably arose in the interest of the dogma of Mary's perpetual virginity. The Evangelists tell us little about him, but what they do tell redounds to his credit. (1) He was a pious Israelite, faithful in his observance of the Jewish ordinances (Lk 2[21-24]) and feasts (Lk 2[41. 42]). (2) He was a kindly man. When he discovered the condition of his betrothed, he drew the natural inference and decided to disown her, but he would do it as quietly as possible, and, so far as he might, spare her disgrace. And, when he was apprised of the truth, he was very kind to Mary. On being summoned to Bethlehem by the requirements of the census, he would not leave her at home to suffer the slanders of misjudging neighbours, but took her with him and treated her very gently in her time of need (Lk 2[1-7]). (3) He exhibited this disposition also in his nurture of the Child so wondrously entrusted to his care, taking Him to his heart and well deserving to be called His 'father' (Lk 2[33. 41. 48], Mt 13[55], Jn 1[45] 6[42]). Joseph never appears in the Gospel story after the visit to Jerusalem when Jesus had attained the age of twelve years and become 'a son of the Law' (Lk 2[41-51]); and since Mary always appears alone in the narratives of the public ministry, it is a reasonable inference that he had died during the interval. Tradition says that he died at the age of one hundred and eleven years, when Jesus was eighteen.

4. One of the Lord's brethren, Mt 13[55], where AV reads **Joses**, the Greek form of the name. Cf. Mk 6[3].

5. Joseph of Arimathæa.—A wealthy and devout Israelite and a member of the Sanhedrin. He was a disciple of Jesus, but, dreading the hostility of his colleagues, he kept his faith secret. He took no part in the condemnation of Jesus, but neither did he protest against it; and the likelihood is that he prudently absented himself from the meeting. When all was over, he realized how cowardly a part he had played, and, stricken with shame and remorse, plucked up courage and 'went in unto Pilate and asked for the body of Jesus' (Mk 15[43]). It was common for friends of the crucified to purchase their bodies, which would else have been cast out as refuse, a prey to carrion birds and beasts, and give them decent burial; and Joseph would offer Pilate his price; in any case he obtained the body (Mk 15[45]). Joseph had a garden close to Calvary, where he had hewn a sepulchre in the rock for his own last resting-place; and there, aided by Nicodemus, he laid the body swathed in clean linen (Mt 27[57-61] = Mk 15[42-47] = Lk 23[50-56] = Jn 19[38-42]).

6. Joseph Barsabbas, the disciple who was nominated against Matthias as successor to Judas in the Apostolate. He was surnamed, like James the Lord's brother, *Justus* (Ac 1[23]). Tradition says that he was one of the Seventy (Lk 10[1]). **7.** See BARNABAS.

DAVID SMITH.

JOSEPHUS (1 Es 9[34]) = **Joseph,** Ezr 10[42].

JOSEPHUS, FLAVIUS.—Jewish historian and general, born about A.D. 37 or 38, and died in the first years of the 2nd century.

1. Life.—According to his *Life*, Josephus was descended from a Maccabæan house, and was thus of both royal and priestly lineage. He states that he showed great precocity, and that the learned men of his race used to consult him when he was fourteen years of age. He studied successively with the Essenes and the Pharisees, as well as with the Sadducees. For three years he was a student with a hermit named Banus—very probably one of the Essenes—although Josephus does not

seem to have been admitted to the higher grades of the order. At the age of 26 he went to Rome to bring about the acquittal of certain priests who had been arrested and sent to Rome for trial by Felix. In this he was successful, and even gained the favour of the Empress Poppæa.

Not long after his return from Rome the revolution of A.D. 66 broke out, and he was at once swept into its current. Of the events which follow he has given us two accounts, the earlier in the *Jewish War* [*BJ*], the later in his *Life*, written shortly before his death. These accounts are not always consistent, the latter showing more subservience to the Romans. In particular, he attempts to justify himself, and the Pharisees with whom he was associated, for participation in the revolt, by declaring that they judged it better for moderate men than for radicals to direct the course of events. The *BJ*, however, does not suggest this questionable proceeding on the part of the Jewish authorities.

The course of the war in Galilee, and particularly his own relations therewith, are minutely narrated by Josephus. His position was one of great difficulty. The Galilæans were grouped in various parties, ranging from those who opposed war with Rome to radicals like those who followed John of Giscala. The plans of Josephus and his fellow-commissioners from Jerusalem were further complicated by jealousies between the various cities, particularly Sepphoris, Tiberias, and Taricheæ. None the less, Josephus seems to have gone about the work of organizing the revolution energetically. He fortified the cities as well as he could, and attempted to introduce Roman military methods among the troops he was gathering. Whether he was, as he claims, too strict in the matter of booty, or, as his enemies claimed, too lukewarm in the cause of the revolution, complaints were lodged against him at Jerusalem, and an investigating committee was sent into Galilee. Various adventures then followed, but in the end Josephus seems to have been acquitted and to have gained a complete ascendency over his local enemies. John of Giscala, however, subsequently went to Jerusalem, and proved a persistent enemy, while the Zealot party as a whole seems never to have been satisfied with the attitude of Josephus.

The approach of Vespasian from the north at once showed how half-hearted had been the revolutionary sympathies of many of the Galilæan cities. Several of them surrendered without serious fighting, and Vespasian, after one or two desperate battles, was soon in possession of all Galilee excepting Jotapata on the east of the Sea of Galilee, where Josephus and his surviving troops were entrenched. Reinforcements the Sanhedrin could not send, and for forty-seven days the Romans besieged the city. During that time Josephus, if his own account is to be believed, performed marvellous deeds of strategy and valour. But all to no purpose. The city fell, and was razed to the ground. Josephus was taken prisoner, after having by a trick escaped being killed by his own soldiers. On being brought to Vespasian he claimed prophetic ability, and saluted the general as Emperor. For this and other reasons he won favour with Vespasian, was given his freedom, and took his benefactor's family name, *Flavius*.

When Titus undertook the siege of Jerusalem, Josephus accompanied him as interpreter or herald. By this time, however, he had become hateful to the Jews, and could accomplish nothing in the way of inducing them to make terms with the Romans. When the city was captured, he was able to render some service to the unfortunate Jews because of the favour in which he stood with Titus. He was subsequently given estates in Judæa, and was thus enabled to live during the remainder of his long life as a gentleman of leisure, devoted to the pursuit of literature. He enjoyed the friendship of Titus and of king Agrippa II. He was several times married, and left several children.

2. Writings.—The chief importance of Josephus lies not in his career as a leader of the Jewish revolution, but in the works which have come down to us. Generally speaking, his writings are intended to disabuse his Greek and Roman contemporaries of some of the misconceptions that then existed concerning the Jews. To that end he does not hesitate to employ various ingenious interpretations of historical events, as well as legends, and even to hint that the Jewish records which he quotes have certain allegorical meanings to be disclosed in a subsequent work, which, however, he never wrote.

(1) The earliest of these writings is that *Concerning the Jewish War*, a work in seven books. It covers briefly the period from the time of Antiochus Epiphanes to the outbreak of the war of A.D. 66–70, and then narrates the events of the war in detail. It was originally written in Aramaic, but was re-written by Josephus in Greek. It was probably issued before 79, as it was presented to Vespasian. Because of the reference to the Temple of Peace as finished (*BJ* VII. v. 7), it must have been written after 75. The work, while inaccurate at many points, and full of a tendency to present the actions of the Jews in as favourable a light as possible, is of inestimable value so far as its record of facts is concerned, and particularly for the light it throws on the state of society in the midst of which Jesus laboured. The book found favour with Vespasian and Titus and Agrippa II.

(2) *The Antiquities of the Jews.*—This great work in twenty books is one of the most important monuments which have come down to us from antiquity. It was published in the year 93. It covers the history of the Jews from the earliest Biblical times to the outbreak of the revolution of A.D. 66. It is particularly interesting as an illustration of the method by which the facts of Hebrew history could be re-written for the edification of the Greeks and Romans. It abounds in legends and curious interpretations. Josephus was by no means dependent upon the OT exclusively. He constantly refers to non-Biblical writers, mentioning by name most of the Greek and Roman historians. He used constantly the works of Alexander Polyhistor, Nicholas of Damascus, and Strabo. He probably also used Herodotus. The work abounds in collections of decrees and inscriptions which make it of great value to secular as well as to Biblical historians. The later books give very full accounts of the life of Herod I., for which Josephus is largely dependent upon Nicholas of Damascus, the historiographer of Herod. In his treatment of the Maccabees he is largely dependent upon First Maccabees. His account of the successors of Herod is hardly more than a sketch, but that of the events leading up to the revolution is more complete.
(3) The *Life.*—This work was written in reply to Justus of Tiberias, by whom Josephus was accused of causing the revolt. In his *Life* Josephus represents himself as a friend of the Romans, but many statements are disproved by his earlier work, the *BJ*. This *Life* appeared after the death of Agrippa II., that is, in the beginning of the 2nd century.

(4) *Against Apion.*—This is a defence of the Jewish people against the attacks of their enemies and calumniators, chief among whom was Apion, a grammarian of Alexandria, who wrote during the first half of the 1st cent. A.D. It was written probably about the same time as the *Life*, and is particularly valuable as a narrative of the charges brought against the Jewish religion by the Greeks. It also serves as an exposition of the customs and views of the Jews of the 1st century, not only in Judæa but throughout the Dispersion.

3. The importance of Josephus to the Biblical student.—As a contemporary of the NT writers, Josephus describes the Jewish background of Christian history as does no other writer of antiquity. The Book of Acts is particularly illuminated by his writings, while the

chronology of the Apostolic period is given its fixed dates by his references to Jewish and Roman rulers. Josephus, it is true, does not add to our knowledge of the life of Christ. While his reference to John the Baptist is possibly authentic, and while it is not impossible that he mentions Jesus, the entire passage (*Ant.* XVIII. iii. 3) can hardly have come from Josephus in its present form. At the same time, his narrative of the events of the Gospel period and his description of the character of the various rulers of Judæa serve to corroborate the accuracy of both the Gospels and Acts. As furnishing data for our knowledge of Jewish legends, parties, practices, and literature, his importance is exceptional. Even if we did not have the Mishna, it would be possible from his passages to reconstruct a satisfactory picture of the Jewish life of NT times. His few references to the current Messianic expectations of his day are particularly valuable. On the other hand, his comments upon and explanations of the OT are of comparatively small value. SHAILER MATHEWS.

JOSES.—1. One of the 'brethren of the Lord' (Mk 6^{3} $15^{40.\ 47}$, Mt 27^{56}). In Mt 13^{55} AV has **Joses**, but RV correctly **Joseph**. **2.** The natal name (Ac 4^{36} AV) of **Barnabas**; RV correctly has **Joseph**.

JOSHAH.—A Simeonite chief (1 Ch 4^{34}).

JOSHAPHAT.—1. One of David's heroes (1 Ch 11^{43}). **2.** A priest in David's time (1 Ch 15^{24}).

JOSHAVIAH.—One of David's heroes (1 Ch 11^{46}).

JOSHBEKASHAH.—A son of Heman (1 Ch $25^{4.\ 24}$). There is reason to believe that this and five of the names associated with it are really a fragment of a hymn or prayer.

JOSHEB-BASSHEBETH occurs in RV of 2 S 23^{8} as a proper name in place of the meaningless 'that sat in the seat' of the AV. But the text is corrupt, and the original name **Jashobeam** must be restored from the parallel passage, 2 Ch 11^{11}, just as the 'Hachmonite' must be substituted for the 'Tahchemonite.'

JOSHIBIAH.—A Simeonite chief (1 Ch 4^{35}).

JOSHUA (on forms and meaning of the name see next art.).—**1.** The successor of Moses. See next article. **2.** The Bethshemite in whose field was the stone on which the ark was set, on its return from the land of the Philistines (1 S $6^{14.\ 18}$). **3.** The governor of Jerusalem in the time of Josiah (2 K 23^{8}). **4.** The high priest who along with Zerub. directed affairs at Jerusalem after the restoration (Hag $1^{1.\ 12.\ 14}$ etc., Zec $3^{1.\ 3.\ 6}$ etc.). In the books of Hag. and Zec. he is called Joshua, in Ezr. and Neh **Jeshua** (wh. see). See also JESUS, **2.**

JOSHUA (cf. JESUS, **1**).—The successor of Moses as leader of Israel. He is called **Hoshea** in Dt 32^{44}, Nu 13^{8}; and in Nu 13^{16} this is represented as his original name. But Nu 13 is late, and the versions in Dt. show that 'Joshua' was probably the original reading. The most likely rendering of the name is 'Jahweh is salvation.' The son of Nun and of the tribe of Ephraim, he commanded the army in the battle with Amalek (Ex $17^{8\text{-}16}$), attended on Moses at Mt. Sinai ($32^{17\text{f.}}$), and at the Tent of Meeting (33^{11}; all these passages are from E); acted as one of the twelve spies (Nu 13^{8} $14^{6\text{-}9}$), was spared along with Caleb ($14^{30.\ 38}$; all P). His subsequent history belongs to the story of the conquest of Canaan (see following article). He was buried in Timnath-serah (Jos 19^{50} 24^{30}) or Timnath-heres (Jg 2^{9}), in the hill-country of Ephraim.

The view is widely held that Joshua has no historical reality as a person, that his name is merely the name of a clan in Ephraim, and that his leadership in Israel represents, and puts back into the period of the conquest, the commanding position which Ephraim had come to hold in the Israelite confederation. And the effort is made to show that he makes his appearance first in E, the N. Israelite or Ephraimite source. But the old poetic fragment Jos $10^{12\text{f.}}$ represents him as speaking in the name of united Israel, and Jos $17^{14\text{-}18}$ brings him into view in his dealings with his own tribe as having more than their interests in his mind, as being in some sense the arbiter of the confederacy. And while it is difficult on any reading of the history to understand why all our sources say nothing about the conquest of Central Palestine, this becomes doubly difficult if originally this was the scene of Joshua's first activity and influence. The historical foundation for making the hero of Ephraim into the conqueror of all Canaan is absent.

It seems more probable that Joshua led the nation in their first assault on Palestine, that under his leadership the entry by Jericho was won, and a wedge thrust into the land by the capture of Bethel and Ai. After this early and united victory, the tribes may have divided for their future settlements, and the separate conquests may have been carried out, as the traditions in Jg. represent them, in a more piecemeal and imperfect fashion. But this is not incompatible with the fact that Joshua may have retained such a position of arbiter as, *e.g.*, Jos 17 gives him. The loose confederacy, which still recognized its unity against its enemies, may have turned naturally for guidance to one who led its early efforts. In our later sources the conquest was conceived in a different fashion. It was represented as thorough, and as carried out by a united people. The writers naturally grouped all this round the name of one who had been able, though only for a short time, to give the tribes a sense of unity and to begin their assault on their new land. They idealized both his person and his work. But only on the supposition that there was something to idealize is it possible to understand why a man, who belongs to a clan in Ephraim which is otherwise unknown, came to be set up as the hero under whom they won their foothold among the nations, and passed from wandering tribes into a people.
A. C. WELCH.

JOSHUA.—1. Place in the Canon.—The book was placed by the Jews among the Early Prophets, *i.e.* Joshua, Judges, Samuel, Kings. The reason generally accepted for this is that Joshua, unlike Exodus or Leviticus, does not contain Torah or law. But Genesis, which recounts only the origins of the nation to which the Torah was delivered, was included in the Pentateuch; Joshua, which relates the conquest of the land where the Torah was to be practised, was excluded. Jewish tradition worked with criteria of which we are ignorant, but in separating Joshua from the Pentateuch it *may* have recognized the presence of different documents.

Modern criticism has insisted on connecting the book more closely with the Pentateuch, on the ground that, since all the Pentateuch documents look forward to the fulfilment of Jahweh's promise of Palestine, Joshua, which relates the conquest, is a necessary sequel. This, however, forgets (*a*) that all Hebrew history is a unity in which the conquest of Palestine is merely an incident; (*b*) that Deuteronomy looks forward beyond the conquest to the erection of a national sanctuary, for which Joshua provides no more than the foundation. And there are other evidences that Joshua formed part of a history which extended through the period of the Judges to the establishment of the kingdom in Jerusalem. It is possible that a wider recognition of this fact may help to clear up some of the difficult questions as to the composition of the book.

2. Structure and contents.—The book falls into three parts: (*a*) the conquest, chs. 1–12; (*b*) the division of the land, chs. 13–21; (*c*) a conclusion, chs. 22–24. It is convenient to discuss these separately.

(*a*) In chs. 1–12, an account, closely akin to JE, supplies the foundation. It relates the mission of the spies to Jericho ($2^{1\text{-}9.\ 12\text{-}24}$), and the consequent passage of Jordan ($3^{1.\ 5.\ 10\text{-}17}$ $4^{1\text{-}11a.\ 15\text{-}18.\ 20}$). In the latter story a difference in substance proves the presence of two accounts, but every effort to identify one of these with J, the other with E, fails from insufficient criteria. It recounts the circumcision at Gilgal, which it views as a novelty ('the second time' of 5^{2} is absent from the LXX), since by this means the reproach of the circumcised Egyptians is removed from the people ($5^{2\text{f.}\ 8\text{f.}}$). The story of the capture of Jericho and Ai (in both of which the presence of two accounts is clear) follows (5^{13}–6^{27} $7^{2\text{-}26}$ $8^{1\text{-}29}$), with the trespass of Achan. Joshua then makes a compact with the Gibeonites ($9^{3\text{-}9a.\ 11\text{-}15a.\ 16.\ 22\text{f.}\ 26.\ 27a}$), and advances to the victory at Beth-horon ($10^{1\text{-}7.\ 9\text{-}11.\ 12b\text{-}14a}$), to the execution at

Makkedah ($10^{15-24.\ 26f.}$), and to the victory at the Waters of Merom (11^{1-9} [in part]).

This account has been thoroughly revised by an editor who is closely akin in spirit and language to the author of the framework of Deuteronomy. He added an introduction into which he has fused earlier material (ch. 1). He brought out certain features in connexion with the passage of Jordan—the fear inspired in the Canaanites, the presence of the 2½ tribes, the exaltation of Joshua by Jahweh ($2^{10f.}$ $3^{2-4.\ 6-9}$ $4^{11b.\ 12.\ 14.\ 21-24}$ 5^{1}). He gave a different reason for the circumcision at Gilgal (5^{4-7}), and added some details to the fraud of the Gibeonites ($9^{1f.\ 9b.\ 10.\ 24f.\ 27b.}$), and to the story of Beth-horon ($9^{8.\ 12a.\ 14b.\ 25}$). He concluded the conquest of the South (10^{28-43}) and the victory at Merom (11^{10-23}), with a summary of the result; and he added a review of the entire conquest in ch. 12. In his work he does not add independent material to his original, but by his arrangement and omissions gives a new aspect to the account. Thus several indications point to his having omitted much from his documents. It is sufficient to mention one—the absence of any account of the conquest of Central Palestine. This is the more remarkable since at 8^{30-35} we have a statement of how Joshua built an altar at Ebal, before the country between Gilgal and Mount Ephraim was subdued. Probably this formed the conclusion to JE's narrative of the conquest of Central Palestine; possibly it was derived from E, a source which was specially interested in North Israelite sanctuaries, and which (see DEUTERONOMY) was a favourite source with D. Further, the conquest of South Palestine in its present form does not agree with Jos 15^{14-19} = Jg 1^{10-15}. The latter passages represent South Palestine as conquered, not in one sweeping rush, but gradually; not by the action of the united tribes under one head, but by the effort of one tribe or of several in combination. Again, $11^{21f.}$ assigns to Joshua the victory over the Anakim, which in 14^{12} $15^{15ff.}$ and Jg 1^{10-15} is attributed to Judah, and especially to Caleb. Evidently the editor has sought to group round one representative figure, and assign to a specific period, the conquest which covered a considerable time and engaged many leaders. His chief interest in the details of history centres round their capacity to be used to point a moral. Thus it is noteworthy how few chronological data appear in the chapters in comparison with earlier books. He gives prominence to the motives which governed Joshua, and to the Divine support promised to and received by him. He magnifies the leader's successes, and considers him the representative of the nation and the successor of Moses.

A few verses in this section, $4^{13.\ 19}$ 5^{10-12} 7^{1} $9^{15b.\ 17-21}$, are generally assigned to P, but they are so isolated and so vague that nothing can be done with them except catalogue them, and express the doubt whether they ever belonged to a separate work.

(*b*) In chs. 13–21 the situation is different, and the critical results more uncertain. The same three sources can be traced as in the earlier section; but, on the one hand, the portions assigned to P take a character and range wholly unlike those which characterize this document throughout the Pentateuch; on the other, it is still a subject of debate whether the section owes its final form to a Deuteronomic or a Priestly editor, D or P. The present writer's view is that D edited this section also, using as his sources JE and what is called P. (The other view is held, *e.g.*, by Driver.)

(1) P (so called), as the more complete, is given first. It began with the assembly of the tribes at Shiloh for the division (18^{1}), and a statement as to the lot assigned to the 2½ tribes (13^{15-32}). It then proceeded to the division (14^{1-5}). The lot of Judah is first described ($15^{1-13.\ 20-44.\ 48-62}$). Then follows the lot of the children of Joseph (16^{4-8} $17^{1a.\ 3f.\ 7.\ 9a.\ 9c.\ 10a}$), who are counted as two, and of whom Manasseh, as firstborn, is named first. The lots of Benjamin (18^{11-28}), Simeon (19^{1-8}), Zebulun (vv.$^{10-16}$), Issachar (vv.$^{17-23}$), Asher (vv.$^{24-31}$), Naphtali (vv.$^{32-39}$), Dan (vv.$^{40-46.\ 48}$) are described, and then comes a conclusion (v.^{51}) corresponding with the opening (18^{1}). On this followed the law and list of the cities of refuge ($20^{1-3.\ 6a.\ 7-9}$), and a list of the Levitical cities (21^{1-42}).

(2) D incorporated with this, material drawn from JE. He introduced the division of the land with a review of the undivided land, and a statement of the lot assigned to the 2½ tribes (13^{1-14}). He therefore dislodged the introduction (18^{1}). Into the lot of Judah he inserted the account of Caleb's settlement there (14^{6-15} 15^{14-19}), and of Jerusalem (v.^{63}). [Vv.$^{45-47}$ may be a late addition, written, after the Philistines had disappeared, to conform Judah's boundary to the ideal of v.^{12}]. Into the lot of the children of Joseph he inserted material from the older source ($16^{1-3.\ 9f.}$ $17^{1b.\ 2.\ 5.\ 8.\ 9b.\ 10b-18}$), which represented the lot of the sons as one (17^{14-18}). Before the lot of Benjamin he placed the statement of a survey made for the seven remaining tribes ($18^{2-6.\ 8-10}$ [from JE; v.^{7} is from D]). This may represent the historical fact that the two strong clans of Judah and Ephraim were the first to be settled. But the break at this point in the original source gave occasion to insert 18^{1} here. In the description of the remaining seven lots only a few verses ($19^{9.\ 47.\ 49f.}$) come from JE, but the list of Naphtali's cities (vv.$^{32-39}$), which is entirely different in character from the description of the other lots, may be from JE, according to which (18^{9}) the country was distributed by cities. This is one of the facts which support those who hold that P edited JE.

It deserves notice that the account of Judah, Benjamin, and Simeon—the districts which were inhabited after the Exile—is more exhaustive than that of the others. The fact suggests that the editor, who gave the book its final form, wrote at a late date, or at least that late hands retouched the book.

In the account of the cities of refuge (ch. 20), vv.$^{4f.\ 6b}$, which have been added to the earlier source, are absent from the LXX. They must have been added at a late date to bring the section into agreement with the Deuteronomic law.

(3) D concluded the section on the division of the land with his formal close, 21^{43-45}.

(*c*) In chs. 22–24 D took the account of the dismissal of the 2½ tribes (22^{9-34}) from P, providing it with his own introduction (vv.$^{1-6}$). The account is late, since it views the conquest as simultaneous, complete, and national. He took ch. 24—the renewal of the covenant—from JE (probably E), and added only a few verses ($^{11b.\ 13.\ 31}$). To these he attached Joshua's parting counsels (ch. 23).

The source named P takes much the same position about the conquest as the final editor. The chief difference lies in the fact that it associates Eleazar with Joshua, but these two formally divide the conquered territory.

It seems probable that the Book of Joshua once formed part of a greater whole—a history written in the Deuteronomic spirit and based on earlier sources, which covered the period from the conquest to the kingdom. This view is tenable along with the opinion that P was the final editor, who, adding some sections on the division which he extracted from older sources, brought the book to its present form.

A. C. WELCH.

JOSIAH.—1. King of Judah, who succeeded his father Amon when only eight years old (2 K 22^{1}). The religious condition of the people, which was bad under Amon, continued without essential improvement, so far as we know, until the eighteenth year of Josiah. The sudden change then made resulted from the finding of the Book of Instruction in the Temple (v.$^{8ff.}$); but it is possible that the minds of king and people were prepared for it by the Scythian invasion. The demand of the book for a thorough reformation powerfully affected the king and his officers. The book was read

publicly, and king and people entered into a solemn covenant to act according to its injunctions. Its central demand was the removal of all altars in the country except the one at Jerusalem. This was henceforth to be the only sanctuary in Judah. The carrying out of this programme is related in detail, and we learn that the conclusion of the work was marked by the celebration of the Passover in a new manner and with unusual solemnity ($23^{21ff.}$).

Josiah's reign was characterized by justice, as we learn from Jeremiah, but we know no more of it until the end of the king's life. The Assyrian empire was tottering to its fall, and Pharaoh-necho thought to seize the provinces nearest him and attach them to Egypt. He therefore invaded Palestine with an army. Josiah was ill-advised enough to attempt resistance. In the battle which ensued he was slain (23^{29}). His motive in undertaking this expedition has been much discussed. Probably he hoped to restore the real independence of Judah. That he was beloved by his people is indicated by their deep and long-continued mourning.

2. Son of Zephaniah (Zec 6^{10}). H. P. Smith.

JOSIAS = **Josiah**, king of Judah (1 Es $1^{1.\ 7.\ 18.\ 21\text{-}23.\ 25.\ 28.\ 29.\ 32\text{-}34}$, Bar 1^{8}); in 1 Es 8^{36} **Josaphias.**

JOSIPHIAH.—The father of one of Ezra's companions (Ezr 8^{10}); in 1 Es 8^{36} **Josaphias.**

JOT AND TITTLE.—In Mt 5^{18} Jesus says, 'Till heaven and earth pass, one jot or one tittle shall in no wise pass from the law, till all be fulfilled' (‖Lk 16^{17}). The Greek words *iōta* and *keraia* (WH *kerea*) were translated by Tindale 'iott' and 'tytle,' and these forms were retained in all the versions. The 1611 ed. of AV has 'iote' (one syllable) and 'title,' but modern printers have turned iote into 'jot,' and 'title' into 'tittle.' The *iota* is the smallest letter of the Greek alphabet, as is the *yod* in the later Hebrew. The *keraia* (literally 'little horn') is any small mark distinguishing one letter from another, like the stroke of a *t*.

JOTBAH.—Named only in 2 K 21^{19}. It was probably in Judah, but the site is unknown.

JOTBATHAH.—A station in the journeyings of the Israelites (Nu $33^{33f.}$, Dt 10^{7}), described as 'a land of brooks of waters.' Its position is unknown.

JOTHAM (judge).—The youngest son of Jerubbaal, who, by hiding himself, escaped the massacre of his brethren by **Abimelech** (Jg 9^{5}). When Abimelech had been proclaimed king by the Shechemites, Jotham appeared, close to where they were assembled, on Mt. Gerizim, and addressed to them the 'Parable of the Trees' ($9^{8\text{-}20}$). The parable, which is somewhat incongruous in parts, is intended as an appeal to the conscience of the Shechemites; in case the appeal should turn out to be fruitless (which indeed proved to be the case), Jotham utters a curse (v.^{20}) against both Abimelech and the Shechemites; this curse is shortly afterwards fulfilled. After his address, Jotham flees to Beer, fearing the vengeance of Abimelech, and we hear of him no more. W. O. E. Oesterley.

JOTHAM.—**1.** A king of Judah in the time of Isaiah. His father was afflicted with leprosy, and Jotham had some sort of regency before becoming sole ruler (2 K 15^{5}). We know nothing of him except that he rebuilt or ornamented one of the gates of the Temple (v.^{35}), and that the hostilities which later culminated in the invasion of Judah began before his death (vv.$^{37.\ 38}$).

2. A Calebite (1 Ch 2^{47}). H. P. Smith.

JOY.—

The noun *joy* and its synonyms, *rejoicing*, *gladness*, *mirth*, the verb *joy*—more usually *rejoice*, also *be* (and *make*) *joyful*, *be* (and *make*) *glad* or *merry*—with the corresponding adjectives, represent in the OT a rich variety of Heb. synonyms not easily distinguishable. NT Greek expresses the emotion by three leading words: (*a*) the ordinary *chara* (vb. *chairō*; cf. *charis*, 'grace'); (*b*) a term signifying excited, demonstrative joy, *exultation*—as noun rendered 'gladness' (Lk 1^{14} Ac 2^{46}, He 1^{9}; 'exceeding joy' in Jude ^{24}), as vb. 'be exceeding glad' (Mt 5^{12}, Rev 19^{7}), or 'rejoice greatly' (Ac 16^{34}, 1 P $1^{6.\ 8}$ 4^{13})—never found in Paul; (*c*) almost peculiar to Paul (who uses noun and vb. 34 times in 1 and 2 Cor., 8 times in Ro., and 8 times elsewhere), denoting joy over some *personal distinction* or *possession*, and mostly rendered 'glorying' or 'boasting' by AV, by RV uniformly 'glorying,' except in Ro $5^{2f.}$ where it appears twice as 'rejoicing.' (*d*) In Lk 12^{19} 15^{23} etc., 2 Co 2^{2}, we find a familiar Gr. word for *festive, social* joy; (*e*) in Ac 27^{22} etc., Ja 5^{13}, a similar term signifying *cheerfulness* or *high spirits*. The Beatitudes of OT (under the formula 'Blessed,' or 'Happy, is the man,' etc., as in Ps 1^{1} 127^{5}) and of the NT (Mt $5^{3ff.}$ etc.) come under this head, as they set forth the objective conditions, spiritual or material, of religious happiness; while 'peace' designates the corresponding inward state forming the substratum of joy, which is happiness in its livelier but fluctuating emotional moods. Joy is to peace as the sunshine and bright colours are to the calm light and sweet air of a summer day: on the relations of the two, see Jn $14^{1.\ 27f.}$ 15^{11} $16^{19\text{-}33}$, Ro 14^{17} $15^{13.\ 32f.}$, Gal 5^{22}, Ph $4^{1\text{-}7}$ etc.).

Joy is more conspicuous in Christianity than in any other religion, and in the Bible than in any other literature. Psychologically, joy is the index of *health*, resulting from the adequate engagement of the affections and the vigorous and harmonious exercise of the powers; it is the sign that the soul has found its object. In the OT, as between J″ and Israel, joy is *mutual*. Its ascription to J″ indicates the realism of the Heb. conception of the Divine personality: J″ 'rejoices in his works (Gn 1^{31} etc., Ps 104^{31}), and 'rejoices over' His people 'for good' (Dt 30^{9}, Zeph 3^{17} etc.; cf. Lk $15^{7.\ 10}$). 'The righteous' in turn 'rejoice in J″' (Ps 97^{12} 149^{2} etc.), in the fact that they have such a God and know Him (Ps $46^{f.}$ $16^{11f.}$ 100 etc.)—this is the supreme happiness of life, it is 'life' in the full sense (Ps 36^{9} $63^{1\text{-}7}$ etc.)—particularly in His 'mercy' and 'faithfulness' and 'salvation' (Ps $21^{1\text{-}7}$ $51^{7\text{-}17}$ 85. $89^{1\text{-}3}$, Is 25^{9}, Hab $3^{17ff.}$), in His wise and holy 'statutes' (Dt $4^{7f.}$, Ps 119); they 'rejoice before J″,' expressing their joy by sacrifice and feast (Dt $12^{10\text{-}12}$ etc.), they rejoice in the natural boons of life, in the guidance of Providence (Ps 103. 116. 118 etc.), in national blessings and success (Ex 15, 1 K 8^{66}, Is 55, Neh 12^{43} etc.), in J″'s 'judgments' on wrong-doers (1 S $2^{1\text{-}10}$, Ps $48^{4ff.}$ $68^{1\text{-}6}$ etc.), and in His 'promises,' which bring hope and light into the darkest days (Ps $27^{1\text{-}6}$, Jer 15^{16}, Zec 2^{10} 9^{9} etc.).

The OT joy in God breaks out again in the Canticles of the NT (Lk $1^{46ff.}$ $68ff.$ $2^{28ff.}$), being all the while sustained on 'the hope of Israel,' and gathering in the hidden reservoir of pious Jewish hearts. This 'joy in God' was strong in Jesus; the intimations given by Mk $2^{18\text{-}22}$, Mt $5^{10\text{-}12}$ $6^{16ff.}$ $25\text{-}34$ $11^{16\text{-}19}$, Lk 10^{21} and 15 (the whole ch.), Jn $2^{1\text{-}11}$ 15^{11} 17^{13}, should correct the one-sided impression that in His ordinary temper our Lord was the 'man of sorrows'; the glow of happiness felt in His company formed an element in the charm of Jesus. Christian joy is associated with the 'finding' of life's 'treasure' in true religion (Mt 13^{44} etc.), with the receiving of salvation through Christ (Ac 2^{46} 16^{34}, 1 Th 1^{6}), with the influence of the Holy Spirit on the soul (Ro 14^{17}, Gal 5^{22}, Eph $5^{18\text{-}20}$), with success in work for God and man, and hope of heavenly reward (Lk $10^{20f.}$, Jn 4^{36}, Ro 12^{12}, Ph 1^{18}, 1 P 4^{13}; cf. Ps $17^{14f.}$ 126^{5}), and with spiritual fellowship and friendship (Ro 12^{15}, 2 Co $7^{7\text{-}16}$, Ph $2^{18f.}$, 2 Jn ^{4} etc.)—'the fruit of the Spirit is *love, joy*,' etc., an inseparable pair (see Jn $15^{9\text{-}14}$). The adversities which destroy earthly happiness, like obstructions crossing a stream that rises from some deep spring, go to swell the tide of joy in the breast of the children of God; see, *e.g.*, Mt $5^{10ff.}$, Jn 16^{33}, As 5^{41}, Ro $5^{3\text{-}11}$ $8^{31\text{-}39}$, 1 P $1^{6\text{-}12}$, Rev $7^{14\text{-}17}$, Is 35.

G. G. Findlay.

JOZABAD.—**1. 2. 3.** Three of David's heroes (1 Ch $12^{4.\ 20bis}$). **4.** The eponym of a Levitical family (2 Ch 31^{13} 35^{9} [1 Es 1^{9} **Joram**]). **5.** A priest who had married a foreign wife (Ezr 10^{22} [1 Es 9^{22} **Ocidelus**]). **6.** A Levite (Ezr 8^{33} [1 Es 8^{63} **Josabdus**] 10^{23} [1 Es 9^{23} **Jozabdus**]).

7. An expounder of the Law (Neh 8^{7} [1 Es 9^{48} **Jozabdus**]). **8.** An inhabitant of Jerusalem (Neh 11^{16}).

JOZABDUS.—1. 1 Es 9^{23} = Ezr 10^{23} **Jozabad.** **2.** 1 Es 9^{29} = Ezr 10^{28} **Zabbai.** **3.** 1 Es 9^{48} = Neh 8^{7} **Jozabad.**

JOZACAR.—In 2 K 12^{21} it is said that Jozacar ben-Shimeath and Jehozabad ben-Shomer murdered Joash. The parallel 2 Ch 24^{26} makes it clear that there was but one murderer named, and that his name has been duplicated. *Jozacar* and *Zechariah* have the same meaning, 'Jahweh remembers.' W. F. Cobb.

JOZADAK.—See Jehozadak.

JUBAL.—A son of Lamech by Adah, and inventor of musical instruments, Gn 4^{21} (J). The name prob. contains an allusion to *yōbēl*, 'ram's horn.'

JUBILEE.—See Sabbatical Year.

JUBILEES, BOOK OF.—See Apocalyptic Literature, § 2.

JUCAL.—See Jehucal.

JUDÆA.—A name first appearing in To 1^{18} as applied to the old kingdom of Judah (of which *Judæa* is merely the Græco-Roman equivalent),—as it was reoccupied after the Captivity by the returned descendants of subjects of the Southern Kingdom. Though sometimes (as in Lk 2^{3}, and more definitely in Ac 10^{37} 26^{10}) loosely employed to denote the whole of Western Palestine, the name was properly confined to the southernmost of the three districts into which the Roman province of Western Palestine was divided—the other two being Galilee and Samaria. It lay between Samaria on the north and the desert of Arabia Petræa on the south; but its exact boundaries cannot be stated more definitely. After the death of Herod, Archelaus became ethnarch of Judæa, and after his deposition it was added to the province of Syria, and governed by a procurator with his headquarters in Cæsarea.

It was in the **wilderness of Judæa** that John the Baptist came forward as the forerunner of Christ (Mt 3^{1}; cf. Mk 1^{4} and Lk 3^{2}, 'the wilderness'). It is probably the same as the 'wilderness of Judah' (Jg 1^{16}, Ps 63^{1} [title], the desert tract to the W. of the Dead Sea. R. A. S. Macalister.

JUDAH ('he is to be praised'; the popular etymologies seem to regard the name as an unabbreviated Hoph. impf. of *jādāh*, 'to praise').—Judah is represented as the fourth son of Leah by Jacob (Gn 29^{35} [J] 35^{23} [P]). Though he was of late birth, the Judæan document (J) nevertheless gives him precedence over Reuben, the firstborn, who is favoured by the later Ephraimite document E. According to J, it was Judah who proposed to sell Joseph in order to avert the danger which threatened him at the hands of his brethren (Gn $37^{26ff.}$). Similarly, when they return to Joseph's house with the silver cup, J gives the pre-eminence to Judah, and makes him spokesman for all in his pathetic appeal to Joseph (44^{14-34}). Reuben, because of his lust towards Bilhah (Gn 49^{4}, cf. 35^{22}), and Simeon and Levi, because of their barbarous conduct towards the Shechemites, fall before their enemies and into disfavour with their brethren, and Judah succeeds to the primogenitureship.

A tradition is preserved in Gn 38 which is generally supposed to be of great value as bearing upon the early development of the tribe. Judah is there said to have withdrawn himself from his brethren and to have gone down to a certain Adullamite whose name was Hirah. There he met with Bath-shua, a Canaanitess, whom he took to wife. She bore him three sons, Er, Onan, and Shelah. Er and Onan were slain by Jahweh for their wickedness. Er's widow, Tamar, a Canaanitess also, it seems, posing by the wayside as a hierodule, enticed Judah to intercourse with her, and of her the twin sons Perez and Zerah were born to Judah. This story is usually held to be based upon facts of tribal history, though cast in the form of personal narrative, and also to prove clearly that Judah, like other tribal names, is but the eponymous head of the tribe. It points to the settlement of Judah in the region of Adullam and its union with foreign stock. Hirah is a Canaanite clan; Er and Onan stand for two other clans which became united to Judah, but early disappeared; the other three continued to exist as constituents of Judah. Besides these it would appear that in the time of David the Calebite and Jerahmeelite tribes, mentioned in 1 Ch 2 as descendants of Perez, were incorporated into the tribe. In 1 S 27^{10} 30^{14} they still appear to be independent, though the Chronicler makes both Caleb and Jerahmeel descendants of Judah through Perez and Hezron, to whom also he traces David. In Nu 13 (P) Caleb, who is sent by Moses as one of the spies, belongs to Judah; but in Nu 32^{12}, Jos $14^{6.\ 14}$ (R), Jg 3 etc., he is a Kenizzite, the son of Kenaz. From the last passage we see that Othniel, whose chief centre was Kiriath-sepher (Debir), was another closely related tribe, and both appear from Gn $36^{16.\ 42}$ (P) to have been Edomites. Kenites, commonly supposed to be of Midianite origin, we are told in Jg 1^{16}, also went up from Jericho with Judah into the Wilderness.

Of all these foreign elements by which the tribe of Judah was increased, the Calebite was the most important. In fact the Chronicler makes the Judahite stock consist largely of the descendants of Hezron. It was the Calebite capital, Hebron, that under David (himself said to be Hezronite) became the capital of Judah. After this time the history of the tribe becomes the history of the Southern Kingdom.

P's Sinai census (Nu 1^{27}) gives 74,600, and that of the Wilderness 76,500 (Nu 26^{22}).

The territory of the tribe is described in Jos $15^{1ff.}$ (P); but this is late and an ideal apportionment. In the Song of Deborah Judah is not even mentioned, because 'it was not yet made up by the fusion of Israelite, Canaanite, Edomite, and Arabic elements,' as Stade (*GVI* 113) puts it. The Blessing of Jacob (Gn $49^{8ff.}$) and that of Moses (Dt 33^{7}) reflect conditions during the monarchy. How the tribe entered W. Canaan and obtained its early seat around Bethlehem it is impossible to say. See also Tribes of Israel.

James A. Craig.

JUDAH.—1. See preced. article. **2.** Ezr 3^{9} (cf. Neh 12^{8}) = 1 Es 5^{58} **Joda.** **3.** A Levite, Ezr 10^{23} = 1 Es 9^{23} **Judas.** **4.** An overseer, Neh 11^{9}. **5.** A priest's son, Neh 12^{36}. **6.** Lk 1^{39}; see **Jutah.** **7.** See next article.

JUDAH 'upon (AV) *or* at (RV) Jordan' (Jos 19^{34}) is a very doubtful site. It is the general opinion that the text of this passage must be corrupt, and that the name of some place near Jordan, perhaps Chinneroth, may have been lost. E. W. G. Masterman.

JUDAISM.—See Israel, II. §§ 5. 6.

JUDAS (in Apocr.), the Gr. equivalent of the Heb. name *Judah*. **1.** The third son of Mattathias, called Maccabæus (1 Mac 2^{4} etc.). See Maccabees, § 2. **2.** One of two captains who stood by Jonathan at Hazor (1 Mac 11^{70}). **3.** A Jew holding some important position at Jerusalem; he is named in the title of a letter sent from the Jews of Jerusalem and Judæa and the Jewish Senate to their brethren in Egypt, and to a certain Aristobulus (2 Mac 1^{10}). **4.** A son, probably the eldest, of Simon the Maccabee (1 Mac 16^{2}). In B.C. 135, he, with his father and another brother named Mattathias, was murdered at Dok by Ptolemy, the son of Abubus (16^{11-17}). **5.** 1 Es 9^{23} = **Judah** of Ezr 10^{23}.

JUDAS (in NT).—**1. Judas Iscariot.**—See following article.

2. Judas, the son of James (see James, 4), one of the twelve Apostles (Lk 6^{16}), called by Mt. (10^{3}) **Lebbæus** and by Mk. (3^{18}) **Thaddæus.** The only thing recorded of him is that, when Jesus promised in the Upper Room to

manifest Himself to the man that loved Him, he inquired: 'Lord, what is come to pass that thou wilt manifest thyself unto us, and not unto the world?' (Jn 14^{22} RV); showing that he shared the common ideal of the Messianic Kingdom. He pictured it as a worldly kingdom, and was expecting that Jesus would presently flash forth in majesty before an astonished world and ascend the throne of David; and he wondered what could have happened to prevent this consummation.

3. Judas, the Lord's brother (Mt 13^{55} = Mk 6^{3}).—See Brethren of the Lord. He was the author of the Short Epistle of Jude (*i.e.* Judas), where he styles himself 'the servant of Jesus Christ and brother of James' (v.[1]), and, like James, exhibits a stern zeal for morality.

4. Judas, the Galilæan.—He is so called both in the NT (Ac 5^{37}) and in Josephus, though he belonged to Gamala in Gaulanitis on the eastern side of the Lake of Galilee; perhaps because Galilee was the scene of his patriotic enterprise. At the enrolment or census under Quirinius in A.D. 7, Judas raised an insurrection. He perished, and his followers were scattered, but their spirit did not die. They banded themselves into a patriotic fraternity under the significant name of the **Zealots**, pledged to undying hostility against the Roman tyranny and ever eager for an opportunity to throw off its yoke.

5. Judas, a Jew of Damascus (Ac 9^{11}).—His house was in the Straight Street, and Saul of Tarsus lodged there after his conversion.

6. Judas Barsabbas, one of two deputies—Silas being the other—who were chosen by the rulers of the Church at Jerusalem to accompany Paul and Barnabas to Antioch, and report to the believers there the Council's decision on the question on what terms the Gentiles should be admitted into the Christian Church (Ac 15^{22-33}). Judas and Silas are described as 'chief men among the brethren' (v.[22]) and 'prophets' (v.[32]). Since they bore the same patronymic, Judas may have been a brother of Joseph Barsabbas (Ac 1^{23}). **7.** An ancestor of Jesus (Lk 3^{30}).

David Smith.

JUDAS ISCARIOT.—One of the Twelve, son of Simon Iscariot (Jn 6^{71} 13^{26} RV). **Iscariot** (more correctly *Iscarioth*) means 'the man of Kerioth.' Kerioth was a town in the south of Judæa, and Judas was the only one of the Twelve who was not a Galilæan. He had an aptitude for business, and acted as treasurer of the Apostle-band (Jn 12^{6} 13^{29}).

Judas turned traitor, and sold the Lord to the high priests for thirty pieces of silver, the price of a slave (Ex 21^{32}); and this dire treachery constitutes one of the hardest problems of the Gospel history. It seems to present an inevitable dilemma: either Jesus did not know what would happen, thus failing in foresight and discernment; or, as St. John expressly declares (6^{64}), He did know, and yet not only admitted Judas to the Apostolate, but appointed him to an office which, by exciting his cupidity, facilitated his crime. A solution of the problem has been sought by making out in various ways that Judas was not really a criminal.

(1) In early days it was held by the Cainites, a Gnostic sect, that Judas had attained a higher degree of spiritual enlightenment than his fellows, and compassed the death of Jesus because he knew that it would break the power of the evil spirits, the rulers of this world. (2) Another ancient theory is that he was indeed a covetous man and sold the Master for greed of the pieces of silver, but never thought that He would be slain. He anticipated that He would, as on previous occasions, extricate Himself from the hands of His enemies; and when he saw Him condemned, he was overwhelmed with remorse. He reckoned, thought Paulus in more recent times, on the multitude rising and rescuing their hero from the rulers. (3) He shared the general wonderment of the disciples at the Lord's procrastination in coming forward as the King of Israel and claiming the throne of David, and thought to force His hand and precipitate the desired consummation. 'His hope was,' says De Quincey, 'that Christ would no longer vacillate; he would be forced into giving the signal to the populace of Jerusalem, who would then rise unanimously.' Cf. Rosegger, *INRI*, Eng. tr. p. 263. (4) His faith in his Master's Messiahship, thought Neander, was wavering. If He were really the Messiah, nothing could harm Him; if He were not, He would perish, and it would be right that He should.

Such attempts to justify Judas must be dismissed. They are contrary to the Gospel narrative, which represents the Betrayal as a horrible, indeed diabolical, crime (cf. Jn 6^{70}, Lk $22^{3.\ 4}$). If the Lord chose Judas with clear foreknowledge of the issue, then, dark as the mystery may be, it accords with the providential ordering of human affairs, being in fact an instance of an ancient and abiding problem, the 'irreconcilable antinomy' of Divine foreknowledge and human free will. It is no whit a greater mystery that Jesus should have chosen Judas with clear prescience of the issue, than that God should have made Saul king, knowing what the end would be.

Of course Judas was not chosen because he would turn traitor, but because at the outset he had in him the possibility of better things; and this is the tragedy of his career, that he obeyed his baser impulses and surrendered to their domination. Covetousness was his besetting sin, and he attached himself to Jesus because, like the rest of the disciples, he expected a rich reward when his Master was seated on the throne of David. His discipleship was a process of disillusionment. He saw his worldly dream fading, and, when the toils closed about his Master, he decided to make the best of the situation. Since he could not have a place by the throne, he would at least have the thirty shekels.

His resolution lasted long enough to carry through the crime. He made his bargain with the high priests (Mt 26^{14-16} = Mk $14^{10.\ 11}$ = Lk 22^{3-6}) evidently on the Wednesday afternoon, when Jesus, after the Great Indictment (Mt 23), was occupied with the Greeks who had come craving an interview (Jn 12^{20-22}); and promised to watch for an opportunity to betray Him into their hands. He found it next evening when he was dismissed from the Upper Room (Jn 13^{27-30}). He knew that after the Supper Jesus would repair to Gethsemane, and thither he conducted the rulers with their band of soldiers. He thought, no doubt, that his work was now done, but he had yet to crown his ignominy. A difficulty arose. It lay with the soldiers to make the arrest, and, seeing not one man but twelve, they knew not which to take; and Judas had to come to their assistance. He gave them a token: 'The one whom I shall kiss is he'; and, advancing to Jesus, he greeted Him with customary reverence and kissed Him effusively (Mt 26^{47-50} = Mk 14^{43-46} = Lk 22^{47-49}).

It must have been a terrible ordeal for Judas, and in that hour his better nature reasserted itself. He realized the enormity of what he had done; and he followed his Master and, in an agony of remorse, watched the tragedy of His trial and condemnation by the Sanhedrin. It maddened him; and as the high priests were leaving the Hall of Hewn Stone, the Sanhedrin's meeting-place, he accosted them, clutching the accursed shekels in his wild hands. 'I have sinned,' he cried, 'in that I betrayed innocent blood.' He thought even now to annul the bargain, but they spurned him and passed to the Sanctuary. He followed, and, ere they could close the entrance, hurled the coins after them into the Holy Place; then rushed away and hanged himself (Mt 27^{3-5}).

Such is St. Matthew's account. The tragedy was so appalling that legends grew apace in the primitive Church, and St. Luke has preserved one of these in a parenthesis in St. Peter's speech at the election of Matthias (Ac $1^{18.\ 19}$). One is glad to think that St. Matthew's is the actual history. Judas sinned terribly, but he terribly repented, and one wishes that, instead of destroying his miserable life, he had rather fled to the Cross and sought mercy at the feet of his gracious Lord. There was mercy in the heart of Jesus even for Judas.

Was Judas present at the Eucharist in the Upper Room? St. John alone mentions his departure; and since he does not record the institution of the Supper, it is open to

question whether the traitor 'went out' after it or before it. From Lk 22[17-21] it has been argued that he was present, but St. Luke's arrangement is different from that of St. Matthew and St. Mark, who put the institution after the announcement of the Betrayal (Mt 26[21-29] = Mk 14[18-25]). According to St. John's account, Judas seems to have gone out immediately after the announcement, the institution following 13[38], and ch. 14 being the Communion Address. DAVID SMITH.

JUDE, EPISTLE OF.—This short epistle is an earnest warning and appeal, couched in vivid and picturesque language, addressed to a church or a circle of churches which have become suddenly exposed to a mischievous attack of false teaching.

1. Contents.—(1) *Text.*—For its length Jude offers an unusual number of textual problems, the two most important of which are in v.[5] and vv.[22.23]. Though the RV is probably right in translating 'Lord' in v.[5], many ancient authorities read 'Jesus.' Also, the position of 'once' is doubtful, some placing it in the following clause. In vv.[22. 23] editors differ as to whether there are two clauses or three. The RV, following the Sinaitic, has three; and Weymouth also, who, however, follows A in his 'resultant' text based on a consensus of editorial opinion. But there is much in favour of a two-claused sentence beginning with either 'have mercy' or 'refute.'

(2) *Outline.*—

(i.) Salutation, vv.[1. 2]. The letter opens most appropriately with the prayer that mercy, peace, and love may increase among the readers, who are guarded by the love of God unto the day when Jesus Christ will appear.

(ii.) Occasion of the Epistle, vv.[3. 4]. With affectionate greeting Jude informs his readers that he was engaged upon an epistle setting forth the salvation held by all Christians —Jews and Gentiles—when he was surprised by news which showed him that their primary need was warning and exhortation; for the one gospel which has been entrusted to the keeping of the 'saints' had been endangered in their case by a surreptitious invasion of false teachers, who turned the gospel of grace into a plea for lust, thereby practically denying the lordship of Jesus Christ. It had long been foretold that the Church would be faced by this crisis through these persons. (This was a common expectation in the Apostolic age; see 2 Th 2[3], 1 Ti 4[1], 2 Ti 3[1f. 4], 2 P 3[3], Mt 24[11. 12].)

(iii.) Warnings from history, vv.[5-7]. Versed as they are in Scripture, they should take warning from the judgments of God under the Old Covenant. His people were destroyed for apostasy, though they had lately been saved from Egypt. Even angels were visited with eternal punishment for breaking bounds, and for fornication like that for which afterwards the cities of the plain perished. These are all awful examples of the doom that awaits those guilty of apostasy and sensuality.

(iv.) Description of the invaders, vv.[8-16]. Boasting of their own knowledge through visions, these false teachers abandon themselves to sensuality, deny retribution, and scoff at the power of a spiritual world. Yet even Michael the archangel, when contending with Satan for the body of Moses, did not venture to dispute his function as Accuser, but left him and his blasphemies to a higher tribunal. But these persons, professing a knowledge of the spiritual realm of which they are really ignorant, have no other knowledge than that of sensual passion like the beasts, and are on their way to ruin. Sceptical like Cain, greedy inciters to lust like Balaam, rebellious like Korah, they are plunging into destruction. Would-be shepherds, they sacrilegiously pollute the love-feasts; delusive prophets, hopelessly dead in sin, shameless in their apostasy, theirs is the doom foretold by Enoch on the godless. They murmur against their fate, which they have brought upon themselves by lewdness, and they bluster, though on occasion they cringe for their own advantage.

(v.) The conduct of the Christian in this crisis, vv.[17-23]. The Church need not be surprised by this attack, since it was foretold by the Apostles as a sign of the end, but should resist the disintegrating influence of these essentially unspiritual persons. The unity of the Church is to be preserved by mutual edification in Divine truth, by prayer through the indwelling Spirit, by keeping within the range of Divine love, and by watching for the day when Christ will come in mercy as Judge. Waverers must be mercifully dealt with; even the sensual are not past hope, though the work of rescue is very dangerous.

(vi.) Doxology, vv.[24. 25]. God alone, who can guard the waverer from stumbling, and can remove the stains of sin and perfect our salvation through Jesus Christ, is worthy of all glory.

2. Situation of the readers.—The recipients of Jude may have belonged to one church or to a circle of churches in one district. They were evidently Gentiles, and of some standing (vv.[3. 5]). The Epistle affords very little evidence for the locality of the readers, but Syria or the Hellenistic cities of Palestine seem to suit the conditions. Syria would be a likely field for a distortion of the Pauline gospel of grace (v.[4]). Also, if Jude was the brother of James of Jerualem, whose influences extended throughout Palestine and probably Syria (Gal 2[9. 12]), the address in v.[1] is explained. Syria was a breeding-ground for those tendencies which developed into the Gnostic systems of the 2nd century. Even as early as 1 Cor. ideas similar to these were troubling the Church (1 Co 5[10] 11[17ff.]), and when the Apocalypse was written the churches of Asia were distressed by the Nicolaitans and those who, like Balaam, led the Israelites into idolatrous fornication (Rev 2[2. 6. 14. 15]). In 3 Jn. there is further evidence of insubordination to Apostolic authority. New esoteric doctrine, fornication, and the assumption of prophetic power within the Church for the sake of personal aggrandizement, are features common to all. Jude differs in not mentioning idolatry. Possibly magic played no inconsiderable part in the practice of these libertines. We know that it met the gospel early in its progress (Ac 8[9-24] 13[6-12] 19[18. 19]). There is, however, no trace in Jude of a highly elaborated speculative system like those of the 2nd cent. Gnosticism. These persons deny the gospel by their lives,—a practical rather than an intellectual revolt against the truth. The inference from vv.[5-7] is that these errorists would not refuse to acknowledge the OT as a source of instruction; being in this also unlike Gnostics of the 2nd century. The phenomenon, as it is found in Jude, is quite explicable in the last quarter of the 1st century.

3. Authorship.—The author of this Epistle is very susceptible to literary influence, especially that of Paul. Compare Jude [1] with 1 Th 1[1], 2 Th 2[13]; Jude [10. 19] with 1 Co 2[14]; Jude [20. 21] with Ro 5[5] 8[26], Col 2[7]; Jude [24. 25] with Ro 16[25-27], Col 1[22]; and with the Pastoral Epistles frequently, *e.g.*, 1 Ti 1[3. 17] 5[24] 6[5], 2 Ti 3[6. 8. 13] 4[3f.]. His relation to 2 Peter is so close that one probably borrowed from the other, though there is great diversity of opinion as to which. See PETER [SECOND EP. OF], 4. (*e*). Bigg suggests 'that the errors denounced in both Epistles took their origin from Corinth, that the disorder was spreading, that St. Peter took alarm and wrote his Second Epistle, sending a copy to St. Jude with a warning of the urgency of the danger, and that St. Jude at once issued a similar letter to the churches in which he was personally interested.' Jude is also unique in the NT in his use of apocryphal writings—the *Assumption of Moses* in v.[9], and the *Book of Enoch* in vv.[6. 14. 15]—almost in the same way as Scripture.

The Jude who writes cannot be the Apostle Judas (Lk 6[16], Ac 1[13]), nor does he ever assume Apostolic authority. James (v.[1]) must be the head of the Jerusalem Church, and the brother of our Lord. Jude probably called himself 'servant' and not 'brother' of Jesus Christ (Mt 13[55], Mk 6[3]), because he felt that his unbelief in Jesus in the days of His flesh did not make that term a title of honour, and he may have come to understand the truth that faith, not blood, constitutes true kinship with Christ. The difficulty of accounting for the choice of such a pseudonym, and the absence from the letter of any substantial improbability against the traditional view, make it reasonable to hold that Jude the brother of our Lord was the author. He may have written it between A.D. 75 and 80, probably before

81, for Hegesippus (170) states that Jude's grandsons were small farmers in Palestine, and were brought before Domitian (81–96) and contemptuously dismissed.

4. External testimony.—In the age of the Apostolic Fathers the only witness to Jude is the *Didache*, and that is so faint as to count for little. By the beginning of the 3rd cent. it was well known in the west, being included in the Muratorian Fragment (*c.* 200), commented upon by Clement of Alexandria, and accepted by Origen and by Tertullian. Eusebius places it among the 'disputed' books, saying that it had little early recognition. It is absent from the Peshitta version. The quotations from apocryphal writings hindered its acceptance, but the early silence, on the assumption of its genuineness, is to be accounted for chiefly by its brevity and its comparative unimportance. R. A. Falconer.

JUDGES.—An examination of Ex 18 shows that the Hebrew word for to 'judge' means originally to pronounce the oracle; thus, when we read of Moses sitting to 'judge the people' (v.[13]), a reference to vv.[15. 16] shows that what is meant is the giving of Divine decisions: '. . . the people come unto me to inquire of God: when they have a matter they come unto me; and I judge between a man and his neighbour, and I make them know the statutes of God, and his laws' (cf. vv.[19. 20]). In the next place, the same chapter shows the word in process of receiving a wider application; owing to the increasing number of those who come to seek counsel, only specially difficult cases are dealt with by Moses, while the ordinary ones are deputed to the heads of the families, etc., to settle (vv.[25.26]). A 'judge' was therefore originally a priest who pronounced oracles; then the elders of the people became judges. But at an early period the functions of the 'judges,' at any rate the more important of them, were exercised by a chief, chosen from among the elders probably on account of superior skill in warfare,—an hereditary succession would, however, naturally tend to arise—who was to all intents and purposes a king. So the probability is that those who are known as the 'judges' in popular *parlance* were in reality kings in the ordinary sense of the word. In connexion with this it is interesting to note that in somewhat later times than those of the 'judges' one of the main duties of the king was to judge, see *e.g.* 2 S 15[1-6], '. . . there is no man deputed of the king to hear thee. Absalom said moreover, Oh that I were made judge in the land. . . . And on this manner did Absalom to all Israel that came to the king for judgment' (cf., further, 1 K 3[9], 2 K 15[5]); moreover, 'judge' and 'king' seem to be used synonymously in Am 2[3], Hos 7[7], Ps 2[10]. The offer of the kingship (hereditary) to the 'judge' Gideon (Jg 8[22f.]) fully bears out what has been said. The fact probably is that the Deuteronomic legislators, on theocratic grounds, called those rulers 'judges' who were actually kings in the same sense as Saul was; fundamentally there was no difference between the two, but nominally a difference was implied.

W. O. E. Oesterley.

JUDGES (Book of).—1. Name.—The Heb. title *Shōphetīm* ('Judges') is parallel to *Melākhīm* ('Kings'); both are abbreviations, the full title requiring in each case the prefixing of 'the Book of'; this full title is found for *Judges* in the Syriac Version, for *Kings* in, *e.g.*, 2 Ch 20[34] (where 'of Israel' is added) 24[27]. Just as the title 'Kings' denotes that the book contains an account of the doings of the various kings who ruled over Israel and Judah, so the title 'Judges' is given to the book because it describes the exploits of the different champions who were the chieftains of various sections of Israelites from the time of the entry into Canaan up to the time of Samuel. It may well be questioned whether the title of this book was originally 'Judges,' for it is difficult to see where the difference lies, fundamentally, between the 'judges' on the one hand, and Joshua and Saul on the other; in the case of each the main and central duty is to act as leader against the foes of certain tribes. The title 'judge' is not applied to three of these chieftains, namely, Ehud, Barak, and Gideon, and 'seems not to have been found in the oldest of the author's sources' (Moore, *Judges*, p. xii.). In the three divisions of which the Hebrew Canon is made up, the Book of Judges comes in the first section of the second division, being reckoned among the 'Former Prophets' (Joshua, Judges, 1 and 2 Sam., 1 and 2 Kings), the second section of the division comprising the prophetical books proper. In the LXX the Book of *Ruth* is sometimes, in some MSS, included in that of *Judges*, other MSS treat the Pentateuch and Jos., Jg., Ruth as one whole. [For the meaning of the word 'judges' see preceding article.]

2. Contents.—The book opens with an account of the victories gained by Judah and Simeon; Caleb appears as the leader of the tribe of Judah, though he is not spoken of as one of the judges. There follows then an enumeration of the districts which the Israelites were unable to conquer; the reason for this is revealed by the messenger of Jahweh; it is because they had not obeyed the voice of Jahweh, but had made covenants with the people of the land, and had refrained from breaking down their altars. The people thereupon lift up their voices and weep (whence the name of the place, *Bochim*), and sacrifice to Jahweh. The narrative then abruptly breaks off. This section (1^1–2^5) serves as a kind of Introduction to the book, and certainly cannot have belonged originally to it; 'the whole character of Jg 1^1–2^5 gives evidence that it was not composed for the place, but is an extract from an older history of the Israelite occupation of Canaan' (Moore, p. 4). As this introduction must be cut away as not belonging to our book, a similar course must be followed with chs. 17–21; these form an appendix which does not belong to the book. It will be best to deal with the contents of these five chapters before coming to the book itself. The chapters contain two distinct narratives, and are, in their original form, very ancient; in each narrative there occurs twice the redactional note, 'In those days there was no king in Israel' (17^6 18^1 19^1 21^{25}), showing that the period of the Judges is implied. Chs. 17. 18 tell the story of the Ephraimite Micah, who made an ephod and teraphim for himself, and got a Levite to be a 'father and a priest' to him; but he is persuaded by 600 Danites to go with them and be their priest; they then conquer Laish and found a sanctuary there, in which a graven image (which had been taken from Micah) is set up. The narrative, therefore, purports to give an account of the origin of the sanctuary of Dan, and it seems more than probable that two traditions of this have been interwoven in these two chapters. In chs. 19–21 the story is told of how a concubine of a certain Levite left him and returned to her father; the Levite goes after her and brings her back. On their return they remain for a night in Gibeah, which belonged to the Benjamites; here the men of the city so maltreat the concubine that she is left dead on the threshold of the house in which her lord is staying; the Levite takes up the dead body, brings it home, and, after having cut it up, sends the pieces by the hands of messengers throughout the borders of Israel, as a call to avenge the outrage. Thereupon the Israelites assemble, and resolve to punish the Benjamites; as a result, the entire tribe, with the exception of six hundred men who manage to escape to the wilderness, is annihilated. Although six hundred men have survived, it appears inevitable that the tribe of Benjamin must die out, for the Israelites had sworn not to let their daughters marry Benjamites; this causes great distress in Israel. However, the threatened disaster of the loss of a tribe is averted through the Israelites procuring four hundred maidens from Jabesh in Gilead, the remaining two hundred

required being carried off by the Benjamites during the annual feast at Shiloh. The children of Israel then depart every man to his home. The narrative appropriately ends with the words, 'Every man did that which was right in his own eyes.' Although these chapters have been very considerably worked over by later hands, it is probable that they have some basis in fact; it is difficult to account for their existence at all on any other hypothesis, for in themselves they are quite purposeless; there cannot originally have been any object in writing such a gruesome tale, other than that of recording something that actually happened.

The Book of Judges itself is comprised in 2^6–16^{31}; and here it is to be noticed, first of all, that a certain artificiality is observable in the structure; the exploits of twelve men are recounted, and the idea seems to be that each represents one of the twelve tribes of Israel, thus: Judah is represented by Othniel, Benjamin by Ehud, the two halves of the tribe of Manasseh by Gideon (West) and Jair (East), Issachar by Tola, Zebulun by Elon, Naphtali by Barak, Ephraim by Abdon, Gad by Jephthah, and Dan by Samson; besides these ten there are Shamgar and Ibzan, two unimportant Judges, but against them there are the two tribes Reuben and Simeon, who, however, soon disappear; while the tribe of Levi, as always, occupies an exceptional position. This general correspondence of twelve judges to the twelve tribes strikes one the more as artificial in that some of the judges play a very humble part, and seem to have been brought in to make up the number twelve rather than for anything else. The following is an outline of the contents of these chapters:—

There is, first of all, an introduction (2^6–3^6) which contains a brief but comprehensive *résumé* of the period about to be dealt with; as long as Joshua was alive, it says, the children of Israel remained faithful to Jahweh; but after his death, and after the generation that knew him had passed away, the people forsook Jahweh, the God of their fathers, and served Baal and Ashtaroth; the consequence was that they were oppressed by the surrounding nations. $2^{15\text{-}19}$ sound what is the theme of the whole book: the nation distressed, a judge raised up who delivers them from their oppressors, relapse into idolatry. The introduction closes with a list of the nations which had been left in the Promised Land with the express purpose of 'proving' the Israelites. [For the historical value of this Introduction, see § **5.**] Of the twelve Judges dealt with, seven are of quite subordinate importance, little more than a bare mention of them being recorded; they are: *Othniel* ($3^{7\text{-}11}$), who delivers the children of Israel from Cushan-rishathaim, king of Mesopotamia; he is mentioned incidentally in 1^{13} as marrying the daughter of Caleb; *Shamgar* (3^{31}), of whom nothing more is said than that he killed six hundred Philistines; *Tola* ($10^{1\text{-}2}$); *Jair* ($10^{3\text{-}5}$); *Ibzan* ($12^{8\text{-}10}$); *Elon* ($12^{11.\ 12}$); and *Abdon* ($12^{13\text{-}15}$). Of real importance are the accounts which are given of the other five judges. (1) *Ehud*, who delivers Israel from Eglon, king of Moab ($3^{12\text{-}30}$). (2) *Barak*, who is, however, rather the instrument of Deborah; chs. 4. 5 give accounts, in prose and poetry respectively, of the Israelite victory over Sisera. (3) *Gideon*. Of the last there are likewise two accounts (6–8^3 and $8^{4\text{-}27}$), with a later addition ($8^{28\text{-}35}$); some introductory words ($6^{1\text{-}10}$) tell of the Midianite oppression; $6^{11\text{-}24}$ describe the call of Gideon, of which a second account is given in $6^{25\text{-}32}$; the invasion of the Midianites and Gideon's preparations to resist them ($6^{33\text{-}35}$) follows; and in $6^{36\text{-}40}$ the story of the sign of the fleece is told. Ch. 7 gives a detailed account of Gideon's victory over the Midianites, and $8^{1\text{-}3}$ contains an appendix which tells of Ephraim's dissatisfaction with Gideon for not summoning them to repel the Midianites, and the skilful way in which Gideon pacifies them. In Jg $8^{4\text{-}21}$ comes the second account of Gideon's victory, the result of which is the offer to him of the kingship and his refusal thereof ($8^{22\text{-}28}$); $8^{29\text{-}35}$ forms a transition to the story of Gideon's son, Abimelech (see below). (4) The history of *Jephthah* is prefaced by $10^{17.\ 18}$, which tells of the Ammonite oppression; Jephthah's exploits are recounted in 11^{1}–12^{7}; a biographical note ($11^{1\text{-}3}$) introduces the hero, and a long passage ($11^{4\text{-}29}$) follows, describing how the conflict with the Ammonites arose; it is a question concerning the ownership of the lands between the Jabbok and the Arnon, which are claimed by the Ammonites, but which the Israelites maintain have been in their possession for three hundred years. As no agreement is arrived at, war breaks out. A section, which is of great interest archæologically ($11^{30\text{-}40}$), tells then of a vow which Jephthah made to Jahweh, to the effect that if he returned victorious from the impending struggle with the Ammonites, he would offer up in sacrifice the first person whom he met on his return coming out of his dwelling. He is victorious, and the first to meet him was, as according to the custom of the times he must have expected (see Jg 5^{28}, 1 S $18^{6.\ 7}$, Ps 68^{11}), his daughter—the words in v.^{39}, 'and she had not known man,' are significant in this connexion;—his vow he then proceeds to fulfil. The next passage ($12^{1\text{-}8}$), which tells of a battle between Jephthah and the Ephraimites, in which the latter are worsted, reminds one forcibly of $8^{1\text{-}3}$, and the two passages are clearly related in some way. (5) Lastly, the history of *Samson* and his doings is recorded, chs. 13–16; these chapters contain three distinct stories, but they form a self-contained whole. The first story (ch. 13) tells of the wonderful experiences of the parents of the hero prior to his birth; how an angel foretold that he was to be born, and that he was to be a Nazirite; and how the angel ascended in a flame from the altar on which Manoah had offered a sacrifice to Jahweh; vv.$^{24.\ 25}$ record his birth and his growth to manhood, the spirit of Jahweh being upon him. The fourteenth chapter gives an account of Samson's courtship and marriage with the Philistine woman of Timnah: vv.$^{1\text{-}4}$ his first meeting with her, and his desire that his parents should go down to Timnah to secure her for him, they at first demur, but ultimately they accompany him thither. His exploit with the lion, his riddle during the wedding-feast, the craft of his wife in obtaining the answer to the riddle from him, and the way in which he paid the forfeit to the wedding guests for having found out the answer to the riddle,—all this is told in the remainder of the chapter (vv.$^{5\text{-}20}$). Further exploits are recounted in ch. 15: Samson's burning of the Philistines' fields by sending into them foxes with burning torches tied to their tails (vv.$^{1\text{-}8}$); the Philistines attack Judah in consequence, but the men of Judah bind Samson with the purpose of delivering him up; he, however, breaks his bonds, and kills a thousand Philistines with the jawbone of an ass (vv.$^{1\text{-}17}$); the remaining verses describe the miracle of the origin of the spring in En-hakkore (vv.$^{18\text{-}20}$). In ch. 16 there is a continuation of Samson's adventures: his carrying off the gates of Gaza (vv.$^{1\text{-}3}$); his relationship with Delilah and her treachery, resulting in his final capture by the Philistines (vv.$^{4\text{-}22}$); their rejoicing (vv.$^{23\text{-}25}$); the destruction of the house, and death of Samson (vv.$^{26\text{-}30}$); his burial (v.^{31}).

The section dealing with Abimelech (ch. 9), though certainly belonging to the Gideon chapters (6–8) stands on a somewhat different basis, inasmuch as Abimelech is not reckoned among the judges (see following section): Abimelech is made king of Shechem (vv.$^{1\text{-}6}$); Jotham his brother, delivers his parable from Mt Gerizim, and then flees (v.$^{7\text{-}21}$); the quarrel between Abimelech and the Shechemites (vv.$^{22\text{-}25}$); Gaal raises a revolt among the Shechemites (vv.$^{26\text{-}33}$); Abimelech quells the revolt (vv.$^{34\text{-}41}$); Shechem is captured and destroyed (vv.$^{42\text{-}45}$); its tower burned (vv.$^{46\text{-}49}$); Abimelech's attack on Thebez, and his death (vv.$^{50\text{-}57}$). Lastly, there is the short section $10^{6\text{-}16}$, which, like 1^{1}–2^{5}, partakes of the nature of Introduction, and is of late date.

3. Arrangement and Sources.—The question of the sources of our book is a difficult and complicated one; the different hypotheses put forward are sometimes of a very contradictory character, and proportionately bewildering. It seems, indeed, not possible to assign, with any approach to certainty, the exact source of *every* passage in the book; but there are certain indications which compel us to see that the book is compiled from sources of varying character and of different ages; so that, although we shall not attempt to specify a source for every passage—believing this to be impossible with the book as we now have it—yet it will be possible to point out, broadly, the *main* sources from which it is compiled.

(1) It may be taken for granted that the exploits of tribal heroes would be commemorated by their descendants, and that the narrative of these exploits would be composed very soon, probably immediately in some cases, after the occurrences. So ingrained is this custom, that even as late as the Middle Ages we find it still in vogue in Europe, the 'Troubadours' being the counterpart of the singers of far earlier ages. It is therefore clear that there must have existed among the various Israelite tribes a body of traditional matter

regarding the deeds of tribal heroes which originally floated about orally within the circumscribed area of each particular tribe. Moreover, it is also well known that these early traditions were mostly sung—or, to speak more correctly, recited—in a primitive form of poetry. The *earliest* sources, therefore, of our book must have been something of this character.

(2) It is, however, quite certain that some intermediate stages were gone through before the immediate antecedents of our present book became existent. In the first place, there must have taken place at some time or other a *collection* of these ancient records which belonged originally to different tribes; one may confidently assume that a collection of this kind would have been put together from *written* materials; these materials would naturally have been of varying value, so that the collector would have felt himself perfectly justified in discriminating between what he had before him; some records he would retain, others he would discard; and if he found two accounts of some tradition which he considered important, he would incorporate both. In this way there would have arisen the immediate antecedent to the Book of Judges *in its original form*. The 'Song of Deborah' may be taken as an illustration of what has been said. At some early period there was a confederacy among some of the tribes of Israel, formed for the purpose of combating the Canaanites; the confederates are victorious; the different tribes who took part in the battle return home, and (presumably) each tribe preserves its own account of what happened; for generations these different accounts are handed down orally; ultimately some are lost, others are written down; two are finally preserved and incorporated into a collection of tribal traditions, *i.e. in their original form* they were the immediate antecedents of our present accounts in Jg $4^{4ff.}$ and $5^{ff.}$.

(3) We may assume, then, as reasonably certain, the existence of a body of traditional matter which had been compiled from different sources; this compilation represents our Book of Judges in its original form; it is aptly termed by many scholars the *pre-Deuteronomic* collection of the histories of the Judges. This name is given because the book in its present form shows that an editor or redactor took the collection of narratives and fitted them into a framework, adding introductory and concluding remarks; and the additions of this editor 'exhibit a phraseology and colouring different from that of the rest of the book,' being imbued strongly with the spirit of the *Deuteronomist* (Driver). It is possible, lastly, that some still later redactional elements are to be discerned (Cornill). Speaking generally, then, the various parts of the book may be assigned as follows: 1^1–2^5, though added by a later compiler, contains fragments, probably themselves from different sources, of some early accounts of the first warlike encounters between Israelite tribes and Canaanites. In the introduction, 2^6–3^6, to the central part of the book, the hand of the Deuteronomic compiler is observable, but part of it belongs to the pre-Deuteronomic form of the book. The main portion, 3^7–16, is for the most part ancient; where the hand of the Deuteronomist is most obvious is at the beginning and end of each narrative; the words, 'And the children of Israel did that which was evil in the sight of the Lord . . . ,' at the beginning, and '. . . cried unto the Lord, . . . and the land had rest' so and so many years, at the end, occur with monotonous regularity. 'It is evident that in this part of the book a series of independent narratives has been taken by the compiler and arranged by him in a framework, designed for the purpose of stating the chronology of the period, and exhibiting a theory of the occasion and nature of the work which the Judges generally were called to undertake' (Driver). The third division of the book, chs. 17–21, is ancient; 'in the narratives themselves there is no trace of a Deuteronomic redaction' (Moore); but they come from different sources, chs. 17. 18 being the oldest portions.

4. Text.—A glance at the *apparatus criticus* of any good edition of the Massoretic text, such as Kittel's, shows at once that, generally speaking, the Hebrew text has come down to us in a good state; 'it is better preserved than that of any other of the historical books' (Moore). A number of errors there certainly are; but these can in a good many cases be rectified by the versions, and above all by the Greek version. The only part of the book which contains serious textual defects is the Song of Deborah, and here there are some passages which defy emendation. In the Greek there are two independent translations, one of which is a faithful reproduction of the Massoretic text, and is therefore not of much use to the textual critic.

5. Historical value.—There are few subjects in the Bible which offer to the student of history a more fascinating field of study than that of the historical value of the Book of Judges. It will be clear, from what has been said in § 3, that to gauge its historical value the component parts of the book must be dealt with separately; it is also necessary to differentiate, wherever necessary, between the historical kernel of a passage and the matter which has been superimposed by later editors; this is not always easy, and nothing would be more unwise than to claim infallibility in a proceeding of this kind. At the same time, it is impossible to go into very much detail here, and only *conclusions* can be given. 1^1–2^5 is, as a whole, a valuable source of information concerning the history of the conquest and settlement of some of the Israelite tribes west of the Jordan; for the period of which it treats it is one of the most valuable records we possess.

2^6–3^6, which forms the introduction to the main body of the book, is, with the exception of isolated notes such as 2^9 3^5, of very little historical value; when, every time the people are oppressed, the calamity is stated to be due to apostasy from Jahweh, one cannot help feeling that the statement is altogether out of harmony with the spirit of the book itself; this theory is too characteristic of the 'Deuteronomic' spirit to be reckoned as belonging to the period of the Judges.

3^{7-11}, the story of Othniel, shows too clearly the hand of the 'Deuteronomic' redactor for it to be regarded as authentic history; whether Othniel is an historical person or not, the mention of the king of Mesopotamia in the passage, as having so far conquered Canaan as to subjugate the Israelite tribes in the south, is sufficient justification for questioning the historicity of the section.

On the other hand, the story of Ehud, 3^{12-30}, is a piece of genuine old history; signs of redactional work are, indeed, not wanting at the beginning and end, but the central facts of the story, such as the Moabite oppression and the conquest of Jericho, the realistic description of the assassination of Eglon, and the defeat of the Moabites, all bear the stamp of genuineness. In the same way, the brief references to the 'minor' judges—Shamgar (3^{31}), Tola ($10^{1.\ 2}$), Jair (10^{3-5}), Ibzan (12^{8-10}), Elon ($12^{11.\ 12}$), and Abdon (12^{13-15})—are historical notes of value; their interpretation is another matter; it is possible that these names are the names of clans and not of individuals; some of them certainly occur as the names of clans in later books.

The 'judgeship' of Deborah and Barak is the most important historical section in the book; of the two accounts of the period, chs. 4 and 5, the latter ranks by far the higher; it is the most important source in existence for the history of Israel; 'by the vividness of every touch, and especially by the elevation and intensity of feeling which pervades it, it makes the impression of having been written by one who had witnessed the great events which it commemorates' (Moore); whether this was so or not, there can be no doubt of its high historical value; apart from the manifest overworking

of the Deuteronomic redactor, it gives a wonderful insight into the conditions of the times.

Chs. 6–8, which combine two accounts of the history of Gideon, have a strong historical basis; they contain much ancient matter, but even in their original forms there were assuredly some portions which cannot be regarded as historical, *e.g.* $6^{36ff.}$.

Ch. 9, the story of Abimelech, is one of the oldest portions of the book, and contains for the most part genuine history; it gives an instructive glimpse of the relations between Canaanites and Israelites now brought side by side; 'the Canaanite town Shechem, subject to Jerubbaal of Ophrah; his half-Canaanite son Abimelech, who naturally belongs to his mother's people; the successful appeal to blood, which is "thicker than water," by which he becomes king of Shechem, ruling over the neighbouring Israelites also; the interloper Gaal, and his kinsmen, who settle in Shechem and instigate insurrection against Abimelech by skilfully appealing to the pride of the Shechemite aristocracy—all help us better than anything else in the book to realize the situation in this period' (Moore).

The section 10^{6-18} contains a few historical notes, but is mostly Deuteronomic. The Jephthah story (11^{1}–12^{7}), again, contains a great deal that is of high value historically; the narrative does not all come from one source, and the Deuteronomist's hand is, as usual, to be discerned here and there, but that it contains 'genuine historical traits' (Kuenen) is universally acknowledged.

Chs. 13–16, which recount the adventures of Samson, must be regarded as having a character of their own: if these adventures have any basis in fact, they have been so overlaid with legendary matter that it would be precarious to pronounce with any degree of certainty any part of them in their present form to be historical.

Chs. 17. 18 are among the most valuable, historically, in the book; they give a most instructive picture of the social and religious state of the people during the period of the Judges, and bear every mark of truthfulness.

Chs. 19–21. Of these chapters, 19 is not unlike the rest of the book in character; it is distinctly 'old-world,' and must be pronounced as, in the main, genuinely historical; 21^{19-24} has likewise a truly antique ring, but the remainder of this section is devoid of historical reality.

W. O. E. Oesterley.

JUDGING (Ethical).—The subject of ethical judging meets us frequently in the NT. **1.** It is the right and duty of a moral being to judge of the goodness or badness of *actions and qualities*; and Christianity, by exalting the moral standard and quickening the conscience, makes ethical judgments more obligatory than before. In cases where our judgments are impersonal there is no difficulty as to the exercise of this right. As possessed of a conscience, a man is called upon to view the world in the discriminating light of the moral law (Ro $2^{14ff.}$, 2 Co 4^{2}). As possessed of a Christian conscience, a Christian man must test everything by the law of Christ (Ph 1^{10} RVm, 1 Th 5^{21}). 'He that is spiritual judgeth all things' (1 Co 2^{15}).

2. So far all is clear. But when we pass to the sphere of judgments regarding *persons*, the case is not so simple. It might seem at first almost as if in the NT all judgment of persons were forbidden. There is our Lord's emphatic 'Judge not' (Mt 7^{1}). There is St. Paul's demand, 'Why dost thou judge thy brother?' (Ro 14^{10}), his injunction, 'Let us not therefore judge one another' (v.^{13}), his bold claim that he that is spiritual is judged of no man (1 Co 2^{15}). There is the assertion of St. James that the man who judges his brother is making himself a judge of the law (Ja 4^{11}), *i.e.* the royal law of love (cf. 2^{8}). But it is impossible to judge of actions and qualities without passing on to judge the persons who perform them or in whom they inhere. If an action is sinful, the person who commits it is sinful; indeed, the moral quality of an action springs from its association with a moral personality. In condemning anything as wrong, we necessarily condemn the person who has been guilty of it. And when we look more closely at the teaching of the NT, we find that it is not judgment of others that is forbidden, but unfair judgment—a judgment that is biassed or superficial or narrow or censorious and untouched with charity. 'Judge not,' said Jesus, 'that ye be not judged'; and the context shows that His meaning was, 'Do not judge others without first judging yourself.' 'Let us not judge one another,' says St. Paul; but it is in the course of a plea for liberty in non-essentials and charity in all things. 'He that is spiritual,' he says again, 'is judged of no man'; but his meaning is that the natural man is incompetent to judge the spiritual man in regard to spiritual things. And when St. James couples judging our brother with speaking against him, and represents both as infringements of the royal law, it seems evident that he refers to a kind of judging that is not charitable or even just, but is inspired by malice or springs from a carping habit. Ethical judgment of personal worth was a function freely exercised by Jesus Christ (*e.g.* Mt 16^{23} $23^{13ff.}$ ||, Mk 10^{21}, Lk 13^{32}, Jn 1^{47} 6^{70}), and it is the privilege and duty of a Christian man. But if our judgments are to be pure reflexions of the mind of Christ, and not the verdicts of ignorance, prejudice, or selfishness, the following NT rules must be observed. We must (1) let our judgments begin with ourselves (Mt $7^{3ff.}$ ||, Ro 2^{1}); (2) not judge by appearances (Jn 7^{24}; cf. 8^{15}); (3) respect the liberty of our brother's conscience (Ro 14, 1 Co 10^{29}); (4) not seek to usurp the office of the final Judge (1 Co 4^{5}, Ro 14^{10}); (5) beware of the censorious spirit (Ja 4^{11}).

J. C. Lambert.

JUDGMENT.—Biblical eschatology centres about the Judgment to which all humanity is to be subjected at the end of this 'age.' As the introduction to the Messianic Age, it was expected to occur at a definite time in the future, and would take place in the heavens, to which all humanity, whether living or dead, would be raised from Sheol. The judge was sometimes said to be God (He 12^{23}), sometimes His representative, the Christ, assisted by the angels (Ro 2^{16}, Mt $13^{24-30\ 37-43\ 47-50}$ 24^{31-45}; cf. Eth. Enoch 48). In Lk 22^{30}, 1 Co 6^{2}, Christians are also said to be judges. At the Judgment, sentences would be pronounced determining the eternal states of individuals, both men and angels. Those who had done wrong would be doomed to punishment, and those who had accepted Jesus as Christ, either explicitly, as in the case of the Christians, or implicitly, as in the case of Abraham, would be acquitted and admitted to heaven. The question as to the basis of this acquittal gave rise to the great discussion between St. Paul and the Jewish Christians, and was developed in the doctrine of justification by faith.

By its very nature the thought of judgment is eschatological, and can be traced from the conception of the Day of Jehovah of the ancient Hebrews. While the Scripture writers sometimes conceived of disease and misery as the result of sin, such suffering was not identified by them with the penalties inflicted at the Judgment. These were strictly eschatological, and included non-participation in the resurrection of the body, and suffering in hell. (See Abyss, Day of the Lord, Book of Life, Gehenna.)

For 'judgment' in the sense of justice see art. Justice.

Shailer Mathews.

JUDGMENT-HALL.—See Prætorium.

JUDGMENT-SEAT.—The usual word employed for this in the NT is *bēma* (Mt 27^{19}, Jn 19^{13}, Ac $18^{12.\ 16f.}$ $25^{6.\ 10.\ 17}$, Ro 14^{10}, 2 Co 5^{10}), properly a 'tribune.' In the NT the word is used of the official seat (tribunal) of the Roman judge. The word *kritērion* used in Ja 2^{6} occurs also in 1 Co $6^{2.\ 4}$, where it is translated in RVm by 'tribunal.' See, further, art. Gabbatha.

JUDITH.—**1.** A wife of Esau, daughter of Beeri the Hittite (Gn 26[34]; cf. 36[2]). **2.** Daughter of Merari, of the tribe of Simeon (8[1] [cf. Nu 1[6]] 9[2]); widow of Manasses of the same tribe. For the book of which she is the heroine see art. APOCRYPHA, § 9.

JUEL.—**1.** Es 9[34] = **Uel**, Ezr 10[34]. **2.** 1 Es 9[35] = **Joel**, Ezr 10[43].

JULIA.—A Christian greeted by St. Paul in Ro 16[15], perhaps a 'dependent of the Court,' and wife or sister of Philologus (Lightfoot, *Philipp.* p. 177).

A. J. MACLEAN.

JULIUS.—For the voyage to Rome St. Paul was committed with other prisoners to the charge of a centurion named Julius, 'of the Augustan band' or cohort (Ac 27[1]). Julius showed much kindness to the Apostle, and evidently treated him as a man of importance, though he did not take his advice on a matter of navigation (27[3. 9. 11. 21. 31. 43] 28[16]). Sir Wm. Ramsay suggests (*St. Paul*, p. 323) that, as Julius rather than the captain or 'sailing master' (not 'owner') had supreme command (27[11]), the ship must have been a Government vessel. He and his soldiers were probably *frumentarii* or *peregrini*, having a camp at Rome and engaged in the commissariat of distant legions, and in bringing political prisoners. In 28[16] some MSS (not the best) say that the prisoners were delivered to the captain of the guard in Rome. This, if a gloss, is at least probably true; the captain of the *peregrini* would be meant. (See also art. BAND.)

A. J. MACLEAN.

JUNIAS or JUNIA.—A Christian greeted by St. Paul in Ro 16[7], but it is uncertain which form is to be taken, *i.e.* whether a man or a woman is intended. As Junias and **Andronicus** (wh. see) were 'of note among the apostles' (the last word being used in its widest sense), the former view is more probable. Junias (short for Junianus) was a 'kinsman' of St. Paul, *i.e.* a Jew.

A. J. MACLEAN.

JUNIPER (*rōthem*) is undoubtedly the Arab. *ratam*, a species of **broom** very common in desert places in Palestine and Sinai. This broom (*Retama retem*) is in many such places the only possible shade; it sometimes attains a height of 7 to 8 feet (1 K 19[5]). The root is still burned to furnish charcoal (Ps 120[4]). In Job 30[4] mention is made of the roots being cut up for food. As they are bitter and nauseous and contain very little nourishment, this vividly pictures the severity of the famine in the wilderness.

E. W. G. MASTERMAN.

JUPITER.—This god is not really referred to in the Bible. The Roman god Iuppiter ('Father of Light' or 'of the sky') was recognized by the Romans as corresponding in attributes to the Greek god **Zeus**, and hence in modern times the term 'Zeus' in the Bible (2 Mac 6[2]) has been loosely translated 'Jupiter.' The name *Zeus* is itself cognate with the first part of the word *Jupiter*, and suggests the ruler of the firmament, who gives light and sends rain, thunder, and other natural phenomena from the sky. He was conceived as having usurped the authority of his father Kronos and become the chief and ruler of all the other gods. As such he was worshipped all over the Greek world in the widest sense of that term. The case of Ac 14[12. 13] is further complicated, because there it is not even the Greek Zeus who is referred to, but the native supreme god of the Lycaonians, who was recognized by the author of Acts to correspond, as their chief god, to the Greek Zeus. All that we know of this god is that his temple at Lystra was without the city wall (Ac 14[13]), and that Barnabas, as the big silent man, was taken for him. In Ac 19[35] the phrase 'from Jupiter' simply means 'from the sky' (cf. what is said above).

A. SOUTER.

JUSHAB-HESED.—A son of Zerubbabel (1 Ch 3[20]).

JUSTICE (I.).—Justice, as an attribute of God, is referred to in AV in Job 37[23], Ps 89[14] (RV '**righteousness**'), and Jer 50[7]. In all cases the Heb. is *tsedeq* or *tscdāqāh*, the word generally represented by 'righteousness' (see art.). The Divine justice is that side of the Divine righteousness which exhibits it as absolute fairness. In one passage this justice, in operation, is represented by *mishpāt* (Job 36[17]). The thought of the Divine justice is sometimes expressed by the latter word, tr. in EV '**judgment**': Dt 32[4], Ps 89[14] 97[2], Is 30[18]. It is implied in Abraham's question (Gn 18[25]): 'Shall not the judge of all the earth do right,' rather 'do justice?' (Heb. *mishpāt*). In Dn 4[37] 'His ways are judgment,' the original is *dīn*. In Ac 28[4] RV has 'Justice' instead of 'vengeance.' As the capital J is intended to indicate, the writer must have had in his mind the goddess of justice of Greek poetry, *Dikē*, the virgin daughter of Zeus, who sat by his side. But the people of Malta were largely Semites, not Hellenes. What was their equivalent? A positive answer cannot be given, but it may be noted that Babylonian mythology represented 'justice and rectitude' as the children of Shamash the sun-god, 'the judge of heaven and earth,' and that the Phœnicians had in their pantheon a Divine being named *tsedeq*.

W. TAYLOR SMITH.

JUSTICE (II.).—**1. The administration of justice in early Israel.**—(*a*) The earliest form of the administration of justice was that exercised by the head of the family. He was not only the final authority to whom the members of a family appealed when questions of right and wrong had to be decided, and to whose sentence they had to submit, but he also had the power of pronouncing even the death penalty (see Gn 38[24]). On the other hand, the rights of each member of the family were jealously safeguarded by all the rest; if harm or injury of any kind were sustained by any member, all the members were bound to avenge him; in the case of death the law of blood-revenge laid upon all the duty of taking vengeance by slaying a member of the murderer's family, preferably, but not necessarily, the murderer himself.

(*b*) The next stage was that in which justice was administered by the 'elders' of a clan or tribe (see Nu 11[16]). A number of families, united by ties of kinship, became, by the formation of a clan, a unity as closely connected as the family itself. In this stage of the organization of society the procedure in deciding questions of right and wrong was doubtless much the same as that which obtains even up to the present day among the Bedouin Arabs. When a quarrel arises between two members of the tribe, the matter is brought before the acknowledged head, the sheik. He seeks to make peace between them; having heard both sides, he declares who is right and who is wrong, and settles the form of satisfaction which the latter should make; but his judgment has no binding force, no power other than that of moral suasion; influence is brought to bear by the members of the *family* of the one declared to be in the wrong, urging him to submit,—the earlier *régime* thus coming into play, in a modified way; but if he is not to be prevailed upon, the issue is decided by the sword. In Ex 18[13-27] we have what purports to be the original institution of the administration of justice by the elders of clans, Moses himself acting in the capacity of a kind of court of appeal (v.[26]); it is, of course, quite possible that, so far as Israel was concerned, this account is historically true, but the institution must have been much older than the time of Moses, and in following Jethro's guidance, Moses was probably only re-instituting a *régime* which had long existed among his nomad forefathers. It is a more developed form of tribal justice that we read of in Dt 21[18-21]; here the father of a rebellious son, finding his authority set at nought, appeals to the 'elders of the city'; in the case of being found guilty the death-sentence is pronounced against the son, and the sentence is carried out by representatives of the community. The passage is an important one, for it evidently contains echoes of very early usage, the mention of the mother *may* imply a distant rem-

iniscence of the matriarchate; and the fact that the head of the family exercises his power recalls the earlier *régime* already referred to, while the present institution of the administration of justice by elders is also borne witness to. See, further, JUDGES.

Another point of importance which must be briefly alluded to is the '**judgment of God.**' In the case of questions arising in which the difficulty of finding a solution appeared insuperable, recourse was had to the judgment of God (see Ex $22^{8.\ 9}$); the 'judges' referred to here (RV has 'God' in the text, but 'judges' in the mg.) were those who were qualified to seek a decision from God. See, in this connexion, Dt 21^{1-9}.

(c) In the monarchical period a further development takes place; the older system, whereby justice was administered by the elders of the cities, is indeed still seen to be in vogue (cf. 1 K 21^{8-13}); but two other powers had now arisen, and both tended to diminish the power and moral influence of the elders of the cities, so far as their judicial functions were concerned.

(i) *The king.*—It is probable that at first he decided appeals only, but in course of time all important matters —so far as this was possible—were apparently brought before him (see 1 S 8^{20}, 2 S $14^{4ff.}$ 15^{2-6}, 1 K 3^{9}, 2 K 15^{5}); according to 1 K 7^{7}, Solomon had a covered place constructed, which was called the '**porch of judgment,**' and which was in close proximity to his own palace. But though the king was supreme judge in the land, it would obviously soon have become impossible for him to attend to all the more important causes even; the number of these, as well as other calls upon his time, necessitated the appointment of representatives who should administer justice in the king's name. The appointment of these must have further curtailed the powers of the earlier representatives of justice, already referred to. One of the worst results, however, of this was that the *motives* of administering justice became different; in the old days, when the sheik, or the city elder, was called upon to decide an issue, he did it rather in the capacity of a friend who desired peace between two other friends than as a strictly legal official; his interest in the disputants, as being both of his own kin, or at all events both members of the same community to which he belonged, impelled him to do his utmost to make peace. It was otherwise when a stranger had to decide between two men of whom he knew nothing; he had no personal interest in them, nor would it have been his main endeavour to try to secure a lasting peace between the two, as had been the case in earlier days among the sheiks and city elders; the tie of kinship was absent. The result was that personal interest of another kind asserted itself, and, as there is abundant evidence to show, the administration of justice was guided rather by the prospect of gain than in the interests of equity. It is an ever-recurring burden in the Prophetical writings that justice is thwarted through bribery: 'Every one loveth gifts and followeth after rewards' (Is 1^{23}; see, further, $5^{7.\ 20.\ 23}$, Mic 3^{11} 7^{3}, Ezk 18^{8} 22^{12} etc., and cf. the picture of the ideal judge in Is $11^{3.\ 4}$). A very aggravated instance of the miscarriage of justice is recorded in 1 K 21; but such cases were undoubtedly rare exceptions; so far as Israel and Judah were concerned, it was not from the central authority that the perversion of justice proceeded, but rather from the king's representatives, the 'princes' (*sārim*), who misused their authority for nefarious ends.

(ii) *The priesthood.*—Even before the Exile the administration of justice was to a large extent centred in the hands of the Levitical priesthood; nothing could illustrate this more pointedly than Dt 19^{15-21}, where the outlines of a regular, formulated, judicial system seem to be referred to, in which the final authority is vested in the priesthood. What must have contributed to this more than anything else was the fact that from early times such matters as seemed to the elders of the city to defy a satisfactory solution were, as we have already seen, submitted to the judgment of God; the intermediaries between God and men were the priests, who carried the matter into the Divine presence, received the Divine answer, and announced that answer to those who came for judgment (see Ex $22^{8.\ 9}$, and esp. Dt $33^{8ff.}$ 'And of Levi he said, Thy Thummim and thy Urim are with thy godly one. . . .'). It is easy to see how, under these circumstances, the authority of the priesthood, in all matters, tended constantly to increase (see, further, Dt 17^{8-13} 19^{15-21}).

But in spite of the rise of these two new factors—the king and the priesthood—it must be borne in mind that the elders of the cities still continued to carry out their judicial functions.

Regarding what would correspond to the modern idea of a **law court,** we have no *data* to go upon so far as the earliest period is concerned; but it may be taken for granted that, among the nomads, those who had a quarrel would repair to the tent of the sheik, in which an informal court would be held. From the time of the settlement in Canaan, however, and onwards, when city life had developed, there is plenty of information on the subject. The open space in the immediate vicinity of the city gate was the usual place for assemblies of the people, and it was here that the more formal 'courts of law' were held (see Am $5^{12.\ 15}$, Dt 21^{19} 22^{15} 25^{7}, Zec 8^{16}; the 'porch of judgment' of king Solomon [1 K 7^{7}], already referred to, was of course exceptional).

2. Post-exilic period.—At the time of Ezra we find that the administration of justice by the elders of the city, which had continued throughout the period of the monarchy, is still in vogue (see Ezr 7^{25} 10^{14}); they presided over the local courts in the smaller provincial towns. These smaller courts consisted of seven members; in the larger towns the corresponding courts consisted of twenty-three members. In the event of these lower courts not being able to come to a decision regarding any matter brought before them, the case was carried to the superior court at Jerusalem, the Sanhedrin (wh. see). The procedure in these courts was of the simplest character: the injured person brought his complaint before the judges, previous notice having been given, and publicly gave his version of the matter; the accused then in his turn defended himself;—judging from Job 31^{35} a written statement was sometimes read out;—the testimony of two **witnesses** at least was required to substantiate an accusation; according to the Talmud, these witnesses had to be males and of age, but the testimony of a slave was not regarded as valid. Before witnesses gave their testimony they were adjured to speak the truth, and the *whole* truth. False witnesses—and these were evidently not unknown—had to suffer the same punishment as the victim of their false testimony would have had to undergo, or had undergone. If no witnesses were forthcoming, the truth of a matter had, so far as possible, to be obtained by the cross-questioning and acumen of the judges.

3. In the NT.—The administration of justice under the Roman *régime* comes before us in connexion with St. Paul (Ac 24 ff.). According to Roman law, when a Roman citizen was accused of anything, the magistrate could fix any time that suited him for the trial; however long the trial might be postponed, the accused was nevertheless imprisoned for the whole time. But there were different kinds of imprisonment recognized by Roman law, and it lay within the magistrate's power to decide which kind the prisoner should suffer. These different grades of custody were: the public gaol, where the prisoner was bound in chains (cf. Ac 12^{6} 21^{33}); in the custody of a soldier, who was responsible for the prisoner, and to whom the prisoner was chained; and an altogether milder form, according to which the accused was in custody only so far that he was under the supervision of a magistrate, who stood surety for him; it

JUSTIFICATION, JUSTIFY

was only those of high rank to whom this indulgence was accorded. In the case of St. Paul it was the second of these which was put in force.

As regards **appeals** to the Emperor (Ac 25[11. 12]), the following conditions applied when one claimed this right. In the Roman provinces the supreme criminal jurisdiction was exercised by the governor of the province, whether proconsul, proprætor, or procurator; no appeal was permitted to provincials from a governor's judgment; but Roman citizens had the right of appealing to the tribunes, who had the power of ordering the case to be transferred to the ordinary tribunals at Rome. But from the time of Augustus the power of the tribunes was centred in the person of the Emperor; and with him alone, therefore, lay the power of hearing appeals. The form of such an appeal was the simple pronunciation of the word 'Appello'; there was no need to make a written appeal, the mere utterance of the word in court suspended all further proceedings there.

W. O. E. Oesterley.

JUSTIFICATION, JUSTIFY.—Verb and noun originate in Christian Latin (the Vulgate); Lat. analogy affords some excuse for the Romanist reading of 'justify' as '*make* just,' by which sanctification is included under justification. Neither the Heb. nor the Greek original allows of any other definition of 'justify' than '*count* just'; it is a term of ethical relationship, not ethical quality, and signifies the footing on which one is set towards another, not the character imparted to one. The Heb. verb (abstract noun wanting) deviates from the above sense only in the late Heb. of Dn 12[3] (rendered in EV 'turn . . . to righteousness'). The Greek equivalent had a wide range of meaning—denoting (1) *to set right*, correct a wrong thing done; (2) *to deem right*, claim, approve, consent to anything; (3) *to do right by* any one, either in vindication or in punishment (so 'justify' in Scottish law = 'execute').

The usage of the LXX and NT, applying the word to persons, comes under (3) above, but only as taken *in bonam partem*; in other words, justification in Biblical speech imports the vindication or clearing from charge of the justified person, never his chastisement. Justification is essentially the act of a judge (whether in the official or the ethical sense), effected on just grounds and *in foro* (*Dei*, *conscientiæ*, or *reipublicæ*, as the case may be). It must be borne in mind that the character of Father and the office of Judge in God consist together in NT thought. We have to distinguish (1) *the general use* of the word as a term of moral judgment, in which there is no difference between OT and NT writers; (2) its *specific Pauline use*, esp. characteristic of Rom. and Galatians.

1. In common parlance, one is 'justified' when *pronounced just* on trial, when cleared of blame or aspersion. So *God* is 'justified,' where His character or doings have borne the appearance of injustice and have been, or might be, arraigned before the human conscience; see Job 8[3], Ps 51[4] (Ro 3[4]) 97[2], Mt 11[19], Lk 7[29. 35], also 1 Ti 3[16]. Similarly God's servants may be 'justified' against the misjudgments and wrongful accusations of the world (Ps 37[6]; cf. Ex 23[7], Job 23[3-11] and 42[7-9], Ps 7[8-10] 35[19-24] 43[1] 97[8-12] etc.; and in the NT, Mt 13[43], Ro 2[5-7], 1 P 2[23]; cf. 1 Ti 3[16], Rev 11[18]). Even the wicked may be, relatively, 'justified' by comparison with the more wicked (Jer 3[11], Ezk 16[51f.]; cf. Mt 12[41f.]).

But OT thought on this subject arrived at a moral *impasse*, a contradiction that seemingly admitted of no escape. In the days of judgment on the nation Israel felt that she was 'more righteous' than the heathen oppressors (Hab 1[13]) and that, at a certain point, she had 'received of J″'s hand double for all her sins' (Jer 10[24], Is 40[2]); and J″'s covenant pledged Him to her reinstatement (Is 54[5-10]). In this situation, towards the end of the Exile, the Second Isaiah writes, 'My justifier is at hand! . . . my lord J″ will help me . . . who is he that counts me wicked?' (Is 50[8f.]; cf. Ro 8[31-34]). For the people of J″ a grand vindication is coming: more than this, 'J″'s righteous servant'—either the ideal Israel collectively, or some single representative in whom its character and sufferings are ideally embodied—is to 'justify *many*' in 'bearing their iniquities,' this vicarious office accounting for the shameful death inflicted on him (Is 53); his meek obedience to J″'s will in the endurance of humiliation and anguish will redound to the benefit of sinful humanity (cf. 53[11f.] with 52[13f.]). While the spiritual Israel is thus represented as perfected through sufferings and made the instrument of J″'s grace towards mankind, the deepened consciousness of individual sin prompted such expressions as those of Jer 17[9], Ps 51[5] 130[3] 143[2] (Ro 3[23]), and raised the problem of Job 25[4], 'How can a man be righteous with God?' Mic 6[6-8] reveals with perfect clearness the way of justification by merit; Mic 7[1-6] shows how completely it was missed; and Mic 7[18-20] points to the one direction in which hope lay,—the covenant grace of J″. 'The seed of Israel' is to be 'justified in J″' and 'saved with an everlasting salvation' (Is 45[17. 22-25]); the actual Israel is radically vicious and stands self-condemned (59[12ff. 64[6f.] etc.). Such is the final verdict of prophecy.

Under the legal *régime* dominating 'Judaism' from the age of Ezra onwards, the principle of which was expressed by Paul in Gal 3[12] ('He that *doeth those things* shall live in them'), this problem took another and most acute form. The personal favour of God, and the attainment by Israel of the Messianic salvation for herself and the world, were staked on the exact fulfilment of the Mosaic Law, and circumcision was accepted as the seal, stamped upon the body of every male Jew, of the covenant based on this understanding (see Gal 5[3]). Ro 7[7-25] shows how utterly this theory had failed for the individual, and Ro 9[30]–10[3] asserts its national failure.

2. St. Paul's doctrine of Justification is explained negatively by his recoil from the Judaism just described. In the cross of Christ there had been revealed to him, after his abortive struggles, God's way of justifying men (Ro 7[24] 8[4]). This was in reality the old way, trodden by Abraham (Ro 4), 'witnessed to by the law and the prophets'—by the Mosaic sacrifices and the Isaianic promises. Paul takes up again the threads that dropped from the hands of the later Isaiah. He sees in 'Jesus Christ and him crucified' the mysterious figure of Is 53—an identification already made by John the Baptist and by the Lord Himself; cf. Ro 5[18-21] with Is 53[11]. Upon this view the death of the Messiah on Calvary, which so terribly affronted Saul the Pharisee, is perfectly explained; 'the scandal of the cross' is changed to glory (1 Co 1[23-31], Gal 2[20f.] 3[13] 6[14], 2 Co 5[21]). The 'sacrifice for sin' made in the death of Jesus vindicates and reinstates mankind before God. 'Justification' is, in Pauline language, synonymous with 'reconciliation' (atonement)—see Ro 3[23ff.] 5[11] and [15-21], esp. 2 Co 5[19], where God is said to be 'reconciling the world to himself' in 'not imputing to them their trespasses'; the same act which is a reconciliation as it concerns the disposition and attitude of the parties affected, is a justification as it concerns their ethical footing, their relations in the order of moral law. The *ground* of the Christian justification lies in the grace, concurrent with the righteousness, of God the Father, which offers a pardon wholly gratuitous as regards the offender's deserts (Ro 3[23f.] 4[4f.] 5[6. 8. 21] 6[23] etc., He 2[9]). The *means* is the vicarious expiatory death of Jesus Christ, ordained by God for this very end (Ro 3[24f.] 4[25] 5[6. 9], 2 Co 5[14. 18]; cf. Mt 20[28] 26[28], He 9[12. 23] 10[18], 1 P 2[24] 3[18], 1 Jn 1[7] 4[10. 14], Rev 1[5] etc.). The sole *condition* is faith, with baptism for its outward sign, repentance being of course implicit in both (Ro 6[3f.], Gal 3[26f.]; Ro 6[2. 21], 1 Co 6[11], Ac 20[21] 22[16] 26[18] etc.); *i.e.* the trustful acceptance by the sin-convicted man of God's grace meeting him in Christ (Ro 4[25] 5[1], Gal 2[20f.] etc.); the clause 'through faith in Jesus Christ' of Ro 3[22] is the subjective counterpart (man meeting God) of the objective expression 'through the redemption that is in Christ Jesus' (God meeting man) in v.[24].

There underlies this whole doctrine the assumption

of the solidarity of mankind with Jesus Christ: He did not interfere from the outside, to make Himself a *substitute* for man—the ethical objection to Paulinism based on this presumption is irrelevant—but 'offered himself unblemished to God' from within humanity, being 'the one man' willing and able to perform 'the one justificatory act,' to render 'the obedience' which availed 'for all men unto a life-giving justification' (Ro $5^{15.\ 21}$). Hence Paul is careful to refer the justification of mankind to the 'grace of *the one man* Jesus Christ,' in whom the race recognizes its highest self, side by side with the 'grace of *God*' conveyed by Him and lodged in Him, the Son of God (Ro 5^{15}). All great boons are won and achievements realized by individual leaders, 'captains of salvation' for their fellows. Moreover, the propitiatory 'offering' was not the mere negative satisfaction of *repentance*, a vicarious apology on Christ's part for the rest of us; it was rendered by His positive 'obedience unto death, yea the death of the cross,' by His meek acceptance of the penalties of transgression falling on Him the undeserving, by His voluntary submission to the law that binds death to sin and that 'numbered' Him 'with the transgressors,' since He had cast in His lot with them (Is 53^{12}, Lk 22^{37}; cf. Gal. 4^5, Ro 8^{2-4}); this is what was meant by saying that He 'became sin—became a curse—for us, that we might become a righteousness of God in him' (2 Co 5^{21}, Gal 3^{13}). Our Representative was 'delivered up' to the execution of Calvary 'because of our trespasses'; He 'was raised' from the dead, released from the prison-house, 'because of our justification' effected by His sacrifice (Ro 4^{25}) —or, as the latter clause is often understood, 'raised to effect our' individual 'justification.' Fundamentally then, justification is the sentence of acquittal passed by God upon the race of mankind in accepting Christ's expiation made on its behalf, the reinstatement of the world in the Divine grace which embraces 'all men' in its scope (Ro 5^{18}): experimentally, it takes effect in those who hear the good news and believe; by these the universal amnesty is personally enjoyed (Ro 1^{17} 3^{22} 5^1, 1 Co 6^{11} etc.).

Justification is realized in (*a*) 'the forgiveness of sins,' and (*b*) 'adoption' into the family of God, whereof 'the Spirit of God's Son,' poured into the heart, is the witness and seal (Ro $8^{15f.}$, 2 Co 1^{22}, Gal 4^6, Eph $1^{13f.}$). That personal justification, according to St. Paul's idea, embraces *sonship* along with *pardon* is evident from the comparison of Gal $3^{13f.}$ and 4^5 with 2 Co 5^{19-21} and Eph 1^7: on the one hand 'adoption' and 'the promise of the Spirit,' on the other hand 'forgiveness' or the 'non-imputation of trespasses,' are immediately derived from 'redemption in Christ's blood' and the 'reconciling of the world to God'; they are alike conditioned upon faith in Jesus. The two are the negative and positive parts of man's restoration to right relationship with God.

St. James' teaching on Justification in 2^{14-26} of his Ep., is concerned only with its condition—with *the nature of justifying faith*. He insists that this is a practical faith such as shows itself alive and genuine by its 'works,' and not the theroetical belief in God which a 'demon' may have as truly as a saint. On this point Paul and James were in substance agreed (see 1 Th 1^3, 2 Th 1^{11}, Gal 5^6); the 'works of faith' which James demands, and the 'works of the law' which Paul rejects, are quite different things. The opposition between the two writers is at the bottom merely verbal, and was probably unconscious on the part of both. G. G. Findlay.

JUSTUS.—This surname is given to three people in NT. **1. Joseph Barsabbas** (Ac 1^{23}). **2. Titus** or Titius, host of St. Paul at Corinth (Ac 18^7 RV; the MSS vary between these two forms, and some omit the first name altogether), apparently a Roman citizen who was a 'proselyte of the gate' (as he would later have been called), and converted to Christianity by the Apostle (Ramsay, *St. Paul the Trav.* p. 256). **3.** A Jew named **Jesus** or Joshua who was with St. Paul in his first Roman imprisonment (Col 4^{11}). A. J. Maclean.

JUTAH or **JUTTAH** (in Jos 15^{55} AV has Juttah, which is read in 21^{16} by both AV and RV).—A town of Judah (Jos 15^{55}) given to the priests as a city of refuge for the manslayer (Jos 21^{16}). It has been left out of the catalogue of cities of refuge in 1 Ch 6^{59}, but *QPB* adds note: 'Insert, Juttah with her pasture grounds.' It has been suggested that Jutah was the residence of Zacharias and Elisabeth, and the birthplace of John the Baptist (Lk 1^{39} 'a city of **Judah**'). Jutah is probably the modern village of *Yuttā*, standing high on a ridge 16 miles from *Beit Jibrīn* (Eleutheropolis).

K

KABZEEL.—A town in the extreme south of Judah, on the border of Edom (Jos 15^{21}, 2 S 23^{20}); called in Neh 11^{25} **Jekabzeel.** Its site has not been identified.

KADESH or **KADESH-BARNEA** was a place of note in olden time (Gn 14^7 16^{14}). This it could not have been without a supply of water. The Israelites may therefore have expected to find water here, and finding none—a peculiarly exasperating experience—were naturally embittered. The flow of the spring, by whatever means it had been obstructed, was restored by Moses, under Divine direction (Nu $20^{2ff.}$), and for a long time it was the centre of the tribal encampments (Nu 20^1, Dt 1^{46}). It was the scene of Korah's rebellion (Nu 16), and of Miriam's death (20^1). The spies were sent hence (Nu 32^8, Dt $1^{20ff.}$), and returned hither (Nu 13^{26}). Before moving from here, the embassy was despatched to the king of Edom (Nu $20^{14ff.}$, Jg 11^{16}).

Kadesh-barnea lay on the south boundary of the Amorite highlands (Dt 1^{19}), 'in the uttermost border' of Edom (Nu 20^6). The conquest of Joshua reached thus far (10^{41}): it was therefore on the line, running from the Ascent of Akrabbim to the Brook of Egypt, which marked the southern frontier of Canaan (Nu 34^4, Jos 15^3). In Gn 20^1 it is placed east of Gerar; and in Ezk 47^{19} 48^{28} between Tamar and the Brook of Egypt. All this points definitely to the place discovered by the Rev. J. Rowlands in 1842. The ancient name persists in the modern '*Aîn Qadīs*, 'holy spring.' An abundant stream rises at the foot of a limestone cliff. Caught by the wells and pools made for its reception, it creates in its brief course, ere it is absorbed by the desert, a stretch of greenery and beauty amid the waste. From the high grazing grounds far and near, the flocks and herds come hither for the watering. The place was visited again by Dr. H. Clay Trumbull, whose book, *Kadesh Barnea* (1884), contains a full account of the spring and its surroundings. It lies in the territory of the 'Azāzine Arabs, about 50 miles south of Beersheba, to the south-west of *Naqb es-Safāh*—a pass opening towards Palestine from *Wādy el-Fiqra*, which may be the Ascent of Akrabbim—and east of *Wādy Jerūr*. The name '**En-mishpat,** 'Fountain of Judgment' (Gn 14^7), was doubtless due to the custom of

coming here for the authoritative settlement of disputes (Driver, *Genesis, ad loc.*).

For Kadesh on the Orontes see TAHTIM-HODSHI.

W. EWING.

KADMIEL.—The name of a Levitical family which returned with Zerub. (Ezr 2^{40}=Neh 7^{43}; cf. 1 Es 5^{26}). In Ezr 3^{9} (cf. 1 Es 5^{58}), in connexion with the laying of the foundation of the Temple, as well as in Neh $9^{4f.}$ (the day of humiliation) and 10^{9} (the sealing of the covenant), Kadmiel appears to be an individual. The name occurs further in Neh $12^{8.\ 24}$.

KADMONITES.—One of the nations whose land was promised to Abram's seed (Gn 15^{19}). Their *habitat* was probably in the region of the Dead Sea. The fact that **Kedemah** is said to be a son of Ishmael (Gn 25^{15}) renders it likely that they were Ishmaelite Arabs. Ewald, however, regarded *Qadmoni* as equivalent to *Bᵉne Qedhem* ('Sons of the East')—which seems to have been a general name applied to the Keturahite tribes (see Gn 25^{1-6}).

W. M. NESBIT.

KAIN.—**1.** A city in the uplands of Judah (Jos 15^{57}), probably to be identified with the modern *Khirbet Yakīn*, on a hill S.W. of Hebron, with tombs, cisterns, and other traces of an ancient town. A neighbouring sanctuary is pointed out as the tomb of Cain. **2.** A clan name=the **Kenites** (wh. see), Nu 24^{22} (RV), Jg 4^{11} (RVm).

W. EWING.

KALLAI.—The head of a priestly family (Neh 12^{20}).

KAMON (AV **Camon**).—The burial-place of Jair (Jg 10^{5}). The site has not been recovered. It was probably east of the Jordan; possibly identical with the *Kamūn* of Polybius (v. lxx. 12).

KANAH.—**1.** A 'brook' or *wady* in the borders of Ephraim (Jos 16^{8} 17^{9}) which has been identified (doubtfully) with *Wady Kanah* near Shechem (*Nāblus*). **2.** A town in the northern boundary of Asher (Jos 19^{28}), possibly to be identified with the modern *Kana*, a short distance S.E. of Tyre.

R. A. S. MACALISTER.

KAPH.—See CAPH.

KAREAH ('bald').—Father of Johanan, No. **1**.

KARIATHIARIUS.—1 Es 5^{19} for **Kiriath-jearim** (wh. see).

KARKA.—An unknown place in the S. of Judah (Jos 15^{3}).

KARKOR.—A place apparently in Gilead (Jg 8^{10}). The site is unknown.

KARTAH.—A city of Zebulun (Jos 21^{34}); not mentioned in the parallel passage, 1 Ch 6^{77}. The site is unknown. It might be for **Kattath** by a clerical error.

KARTAN.—A city of Naphtali (Jos 21^{32}). The parallel passage, 1 Ch 6^{76}, has **Kiriathaim**.

KATTATH.—A city of Zebulun (Jos 19^{15}), perhaps to be identified with **Kartah** or with **Kitron** of Jg 1^{30}. The site is unknown.

KEDAR.—The name of a nomadic people, living to the east of Palestine, whom P (Gn 25^{13}) regards as a division of the Ishmaelites. Jeremiah (49^{28}) counts them among the 'sons of the East,' and in 2^{10} refers to them as symbolic of the East, as he does to Citium in Cyprus as symbolic of the West. In Isaiah (21^{17}) they are said to produce skilful archers, to live in villages (42^{11}), and (60^{7}) to be devoted to sheep-breeding. The latter passage also associates them with the **Nebaioth**. Jeremiah alludes also (49^{29}) to their nomadic life, to their sheep, camels, tents, and curtains. Ezekiel (27^{21}) couples them with 'Arab,' and speaks of their trade with Tyre in lambs, rams, and goats. In Ps 120^{5} Kedar is used as the type of barbarous unfeeling people, and in Ca 1^{5} their tents are used as a symbol of blackness. The Assyrian king Ashurbanipal (B.C. 668–626), in his account of his Arabian campaign (cf. *KIB* ii. 223), mentions the Kedarites in connexion with the *Aribi* (the 'Arab' of Ezekiel) and the Nebaioth, and speaks of the booty, in asses, camels, and sheep, which he took. It is evident that they were Bedouin, living in black tents such as one sees in the southern and eastern parts of Palestine to-day, who were rich in such possessions as pertain to nomads, and also skilful in war.

GEORGE A. BARTON.

KEDEMAH.—A son of Ishmael (Gn 25^{15}=1 Ch 1^{31}). The clan of which he is the eponymous head has not been identified. See also KADMONITES.

KEDEMOTH.—A place apparently on the upper course of the Arnon, assigned to Reuben (Jos 13^{18}), and a Levitical city (21^{37}=1 Ch 6^{79}). From the 'wilderness of Kedemoth' messengers were sent by Moses to Sihon (Dt 2^{26}). The site may be the ruin *Umm er-Rasās*, N.E. of Dibon.

KEDESH.—**1.** A city in the south of Judah (Jos 15^{23}) whose site is uncertain. It is probably to be distinguished from Kadesh-barnea. **2.** A city in Issachar (1 Ch 6^{72}), where, however, Kedesh is not improbably a textual error for **Kishion** of the parallel passage (Jos 21^{28}). **3.** See next article.

KEDESH-NAPHTALI (Jg 4^{6}; called also '**Kedesh**' Jos 12^{22} 19^{37}, Jg 4^{9-11}, 2 K 15^{29}; and '**Kedesh in Galilee**' in Jos 20^{7} 21^{32}, 1 Ch 6^{76}).—Evidently, from the name meaning 'holy,' a sacred site from ancient times; a city of refuge (Jos 20^{7}) and a Levitical city (21^{32}). It was the home of Barak (Jg 4^{6}). It was captured by Tiglath-pileser (2 K 15^{29}) in the reign of Pekah.

The site is the village of *Kedes*, one of the most picturesque spots in Galilee; to the E. of the village the ground is strewn with ancient remains. There are several fine sarcophagi and the ruins of a large building, possibly once a Roman temple.

E. W. G. MASTERMAN.

KEHELATHAH (Nu $33^{22.\ 23}$).—One of the 'stations' of the children of Israel (Nu $33^{22f.}$). Nothing is known about its position.

KEILAH.—A city of Judah in the Shephēlah, named with Nezib and Achzib (Jos 15^{44}). David delivered it from the marauding Philistines, and it became his residence for a time. Becoming aware of the treachery of its inhabitants, he left it (1 S $23^{13f.}$). It was re-occupied after the Exile (Neh $3^{17f.}$, 1 Ch 4^{19}). It is commonly identified with *Khirbet Kīlā*, about 7 miles E. of *Beit Jibrīn*. It lies very high, however, for a city in the Shephēlah, being over 1500 ft. above the level of the sea.

W. EWING.

KELAIAH.—A Levite who had married a foreign wife (Ezr 10^{23}), called in 1 Es 9^{23} **Colius**. In Ezr. the gloss is added 'which is **Kelita**' (in 1 Es. 'who was called **Calitas**'). Kelita appears in Neh 8^{7} as one of the Levites who assisted Ezra in expounding the Law (cf. 1 Es 9^{48} **Calitas**), and his name occurs amongst the signatories to the covenant (Neh 10^{10}). It does not follow, however, that because Kelaiah was also called Kelita he is to be identified with *this* Kelita.

KELITA.—See KELAIAH.

KEMUEL.—**1.** The son of Nahor and father of Aram, Gn 22^{21} (contrast 10^{22}, where Aram is son of Shem). **2.** The prince of the tribe of Ephraim, one of the twelve commissioners for the dividing of the land (Nu 34^{24}). **3.** The father of Hashabaiah, the ruler of the Levites (1 Ch 27^{17}).

KENAN.—Son of Enoch and father of Mahalalel (Gn $5^{9.12}$ [AV **Cainan**; but AVm, like RV, Kenan], 1 Ch 1^{2}). The name *Kenan* is simply a variation of *Cain*.

KENATH.—A city lying to the E. of the Jordan, taken by **Nobah**, whose name for a time it bore (Nu 32^{42}). Geshur and Aram re-conquered it (1 Ch 2^{23}). It is usually identified with *Kanawāt*, fully 16 miles N. of Bozrah, on the W. slope of *Jebel ed-Druze*. It occupies a commanding position on either bank of the *Wādy Qanawāt*, which here forms a picturesque waterfall

There are tall, graceful columns, and massive walls, together with other impressive remains of buildings from Græco-Roman times. The modern village, lower down the slope, is now occupied by Druzes. Baedeker (*Pal.*[3], 207), stating no reason, Moore (*Judges*, 222), for reasons that do not appear adequate, and others reject the identification. To speak of *Qanawāt* as 'in the remote north-east' (Moore), conveys a wrong impression. It is only some 50 miles N.E. of *Jerash*, which in turn is near the S. boundary of Gilead. No other identification seems possible. W. Ewing.

KENAZ.—See Kenizzites.

KENITES.—A nomadic tribe, closely connected with the **Amalekites** (wh. see), and probably indeed a branch of them, but having friendly relations with Israel, and ultimately, it seems, at least in the main, absorbed in Judah. **Hobab,** Moses' father-in-law (Jg 1[16] 4[11] RVm), who had been invited by Moses—and had doubtless accepted the invitation—to be a guide to Israel in the wilderness (Nu 10[29-32]), was a Kenite; and his descendants came up from Jericho with the tribe of Judah into the S. part of their territory (Arad is about 17 miles S. of Hebron), though afterwards, true to their Bedouin instincts, they roamed beyond the border and rejoined their kinsmen, the Amalekites, in the N. of the Sinaitic Peninsula (Jg 1[16]; read in this verse, with MSS of LXX, 'the Amalekite' for 'the people'—three letters have dropped out in the Heb.). When Saul, many years later, attacked the Amalekites, he bade the Kenites separate themselves from them, on the ground that they had shown kindness to Israel at the time of the Exodus (1 S 15[6],—alluding doubtless to Hobab's guidance, Nu 10[29-32]). In Jg 4[11] Heber the Kenite is mentioned as having separated himself from the main body of the tribe, and wandered northwards as far as the neighbourhood of Kedesh (near the Waters of Merom). From 1 S 27[10] 30[29] we learn that in the time of David there was a district in the S. of Judah inhabited by Kenites; it is possible also that **Kinah,** in the Negeb of Judah (Jos 15[22]), and **Kain** in the hill-country (v.[57]), were Kenite settlements. The **Rechabites,** with whom the nomadic life had become a religious institution (Jer 35), were Kenites (1 Ch 2[55]). In Gn 15[19] the Kenites are mentioned among the ten nations whose land was to be taken possession of by Israel; the reference is doubtless to the absorption of the Kenites in Judah. In Nu 24[21f.] Balaam, with a play on the resemblance of the name to the Heb. *kēn*, 'nest,' declares that though their 'nest' is among the rocky crags (namely, in the S. of Judah), they would in the end be carried away captive by the Assyrians (**'Kain'** in v.[22] is the proper name of the tribe of which 'Kenite' is the gentilic adj.; cf. Jg 4[11] RVm. Observe here that the oracle on the Kenites follows closely upon that on the Amalekites).

The word *kain* means in Heb. a 'spear' (2 S 21[16]), and in Arab. an 'iron-smith'; in Aram. also the word corresponding to 'Kenite' denotes a 'metal-worker'; it has hence been conjectured (Sayce) that the 'Kenites' were a nomad tribe of smiths. There is, however, no support for this conjecture beyond the resemblance in the words. S. R. Driver.

KENIZZITES.—A clan named from an eponymous ancestor, **Kenaz.** According to J (Jos 15[17], Jg 1[13]), **Caleb** and **Othniel** were descended from him. (The inference, sometimes made, that Kenaz was a brother of Caleb, arose from a misunderstanding of these passages.) R in Jos 14[6. 14] definitely calls Caleb a Kenizzite, as P does in Nu 32[12]. R also (Gn 15[19-21]) counts the Kenizzites among the pre-Israelitish inhabitants of Palestine. P in Gn 36[42] enrols Kenaz among the 'dukes' of Edom, while a Priestly supplementer counts him both as a 'duke' and as a grandson of Esau (Gn 36[11. 16]). The Chronicler names Kenaz as a grandson of Esau (1 Ch 1[36]), and also as a descendant of Judah (1 Ch 4[13-15]). The probable meaning of all these passages is that the Kenizzites overspread a part of Edom and southern Judah before the Israelitish conquest and continued to abide there, a part of them being absorbed by the Edomites, and a part by the tribe of Judah. This latter portion embraced the clans of Caleb and Othniel. George A. Barton.

KENOSIS.—This word means 'emptying,' and as a substantive it does not occur in the NT. But the corresponding verb 'he emptied himself' is found in Ph 2[7]. This passage is very important as a definite statement that the Incarnation implies limitations, and at the same time that these limitations were undertaken as a voluntary act of love. 2 Co 8[9] is a similar statement. The questions involved are not, however, to be solved by the interpretation of isolated texts, but, so far as they can be solved, by our knowledge of the Incarnate Life as a whole. The question which has been most discussed in recent years relates to the human consciousness and knowledge of Christ, and asks how it is possible for the limitations of human knowledge to coexist with Divine omniscience.

The word *kenosis*, and the ideas which it suggests, were not emphasized by early theologians, and the word was used as little more than a synonym for the Incarnation, regarded as a Divine act of voluntary condescension. The speculations which occupied the Church during the first five centuries were caused by questions as to the nature and Person of Christ, which arose inevitably when it had been realized that He was both human and Divine; but while they established the reality of His human consciousness, they did not deal, except incidentally, with the conditions under which it was exercised. The passages which speak of our Lord's human **knowledge** were discussed exegetically, and the general tendency of most early and almost all mediæval theology was to explain them in a more or less docetic sense. From the 16th cent. onwards there has been a greater tendency to revert to the facts of the Gospel narrative, consequently a greater insistence on the truth of our Lord's manhood, and more discussion as to the extent to which the Son, in becoming incarnate, ceased to exercise Divine power, especially in the sphere of human knowledge. The question is obviously one that should be treated with great reserve, and rather by an examination of the whole picture of the human life of Christ presented to us in the NT than by *a priori* reasoning. The language of the NT appears to warrant the conclusion that the Incarnation was not a mere addition of a manhood to the Godhead, but that 'the Son of God, in assuming human nature, really lived in it under properly human conditions, and ceased from the exercise of those Divine functions, including the Divine omniscience, which would have been incompatible with a truly human experience.' It has even been held that the Son in becoming incarnate ceased to live the life of the Godhead altogether, or to exercise His cosmic functions. But for this there is no support in the NT, and Col 1[17] and He 1[3] more than suggest the contrary.
J. H. Maude.

KERAS (1 Es 5[29]) = Ezr 2[44] and Neh 7[47] **Keros.**

KERCHIEFS (from the Fr. *couvrechef*, a covering for the head) are mentioned only in Ezk 13[18. 21], a somewhat obscure passage having reference to certain forms of divination or sorcery, which required the head to be covered. They evidently varied in length with the height of the wearer (v.[18]), and perhaps resembled the long veils worn by the female captives from Lachish represented on an Assyr. sculpture, see Dress, § 5 (*b*).
A. R. S. Kennedy.

KERE or **QERE.**—See Text of OT.

KEREN-HAPPUCH (lit. 'horn of antimony').—The youngest daughter born to Job in his second estate of prosperity (Job 42[14]). The name is indicative of

beautiful eyes, from the dye made of antimony, used to tinge the eyelashes (2 K 9^{30}, Jer 4^{30}).

KERIOTH.—A city of Moab, named in Jer $48^{24.\ 41}$, Am 2^2, and in line 13 of the Moabite Stone. It has been identified with Ar, the capital city of Moab, as that has been with Rabbah—both identifications being precarious. More is to be said for Kerioth being the same as Kir-heres of Is 16^{11} and of Jer $48^{31.\ 36}$. The latter is a stronghold to this day, and fits in with the suggestion of the passages above that Kerioth was a capital city of Moab, and the seat of the worship of Chemosh.

W. F. Cobb.

KERIOTH-HEZRON (Jos 15^{25}).—See Hazor, No. 3.

KEROS.—Name of a family of Nethinim who returned with Zerubbabel (Ezr 2^{44} = Neh 7^{47}); in 1 Es 5^{29} **Keras.**

KESITAH is given in RVm as the Heb. word rendered **'piece of money'** in the three passages Gn 33^{19}, Jos 24^{32}, and Job 42^{11}. No clue has yet been found to the weight, and therefore the value, of the *kesitah*; but that it was an ingot of precious metal of a recognized value is more probable than the tradition represented by several ancient versions, which render it by **'lamb.'**

A. R. S. Kennedy.

KETAB (1 Es 5^{30}).—Head of a family of Temple servants who returned with Zerubbabel. There is no corresponding name in the lists of Ezr. and Neh.

KETHIBH.—See Text of OT.

KETTLE.—1 S 2^{14} only. See House, § 9.

KETURAH.—Abraham's wife (Gn 25^{1-4}), or concubine (1 Ch $1^{32f.}$; cf. Gn 25^6), after the death of Sarah; named only by J and the Chronicler in the passages referred to; said to be the ancestress of sixteen tribes, several of which are distinctly Arabian—Midian, Sheba, Dedan. Some Arabic writers mention an Arabian tribe near Mecca called *Qatūrā*. The old Israelites evidently regarded some Arabs as distant relatives (see artt. Abraham, Esau, Hagar). The name *Qetūrāh* = 'incense,' is a perfume-name like *Keziah* (Job 42^{14}).

W. Taylor Smith.

KEY.—See House, § 6. Of the passages where this word is used in a figurative sense the most important are Is 22^{22} (cf. Rev 3^7), where the key is the symbol of authority and rule; Lk 11^{52} 'the key of knowledge'; and the *crux interpretum*, Mt 16^{19}, for which see Power of the Keys.

A. R. S. Kennedy.

KEZIAH ('cassia').—The name of the second daughter born to Job after his restoration to prosperity (Job 42^{14}).

KIBROTH-HATTAAVAH ('graves of lust,' Nu 11^{34} 33^{16}, Dt 9^{22}).—The march from Taberah (Nu 11^3) is not mentioned in Nu 23, but Kibroth-hattaavah was one day's journey from the wilderness of Sinai. It is placed by tradition to the N. of *Naqb el-Hawa* ('mountain path of the wind'), which leads to the plain below the traditional Sinai.

W. Ewing.

KIBZAIM.—See Jokmeam.

KID.—See Goat, and (for Ex 23^{19}) Magic, p. 569b.

KIDNAPPING.—See Crimes, etc. § 7.

KIDNEYS.—**1. Literal.**—(1) The choice portions of animals sacrificed to J" included the kidneys (Ex $29^{13.\ 22}$, Lv $3^{4.\ 10.\ 15}$ 4^9 7^4 $8^{16.\ 25}$ $9^{10.\ 19}$; cf. Is 34^6). The term is even transferred (if the text is correct) to **choice wheat** (Dt 32^{14}). (2) Limited to poetry is the use of this term in regard to human beings, and the rendering is always 'reins' (see below). They are 'possessed' (RVm 'formed') by J" (Ps 139^{13}), and are, metaphorically, wounded by J"'s arrows (Job 16^{13}; cf. 19^{27}, La 3^{13}). (3) AVm of Lv 15^2 22^4 is incorrect: there is no mention of reins; and in Is 11^5 the word so rendered means 'loins.'

2. Figurative.—Here the EV rendering is always **'reins'** (Lat. *renes*, pl.; the Gr. equivalent being *nephroi*, whence 'nephritis,' etc.). The avoidance of the word 'kidneys' is desirable, because we do not regard them as the seat of emotion. But the Biblical writers did so regard them. It was as natural for them to say 'This gladdens my reins' as it is natural—and incorrect—for us to say 'This gladdens my heart.' And, in fact, in the passages now cited the terms 'reins' and 'heart' are often parallel: Ps 7^9 16^7 26^2 73^{21}, Pr 23^{16}, Jer 11^{20} 12^2 17^{10} 20^{12}, Wis 1^6, 1 Mac 2^{24}, Rev 2^{23}.

H. F. B. Compston.

KIDRON.—A place fortified by Cendebæus (1 Mac $15^{39.\ 41}$), and the point to which he was pursued after his defeat by the sons of Simon the Maccabee (16^9). It may be the modern *Katrah* near *Yebna*, and is possibly identical with **'Gederoth** of Jos 15^{41}, 2 Ch 28^{18}.

KIDRON (AV **Cedron**), **THE BROOK** (*nachal*, 'torrent valley,' 'wady,' 2 S 15^{23}, 1 K 2^{37}, 2 Ch 33^{14}, Neh 2^{15} etc.; Gr. *cheimarrous*, Jn 18^1).—The name of a valley, nearly 3 miles in length, which bounds the plateau of Jerusalem on the East. It is always dry except during and immediately after heavy rain; it is the same valley that is referred to as the **Valley of Jehoshaphat** (wh. see). It commences about 1¼ miles N. of the N.W. corner of the city walls, as a wide, open, shallow valley. At first it runs S.E., receiving tributaries from the W. and N., but where it is now crossed by the modern carriage road to the Mt. of Olives, it turns South. Near this spot (as well as higher up) there are a number of ancient tombs; among them on the W. side of the valley are the so-called 'Tombs of the Kings,' and on the East the reputed tomb of 'Simon the Just,' much venerated by the Jews. The whole of this first open section of the valley is to-day known as *Wady el-Joz*; ('Valley of the Nuts'): it is full of fertile soil, and in a great part of its extent is sown with corn or planted with olives or almonds. As the valley approaches the East wall of the city it rapidly deepens, and rocky scarps appear on each side; it now receives the name *Wady Sitti Miriam*, *i.e.* 'Valley of the Lady Mary.' Opposite the Temple area the bottom of the valley, now 40 feet below the present surface, is about 400 feet below the Temple platform. S. of this it continues to narrow and deepen, running between the village of *Silwān* (see Siloam) on the E. and the hill Ophel on the West. Here lies the 'Virgin's Fount,' ancient Gihon (wh. see), whose waters to-day rise deep under the surface, though once they ran down the valley itself. A little farther on the valley again expands into a considerable open area, where vegetables are now cultivated, and which perhaps was once the **'King's Garden'** (wh. see). The Tyropæon Valley, known now as *el-Wād*, joins the Kidron Valley from the N., and farther on the *Wady er-Rabābi* traditionally Hinnom (wh. see), runs in from the West. The area again narrows at *Bīr Eyyūb*, the ancient *En-rogel* (wh. see), and the valley continues a long winding course under the name of *Wady en-Nār* ('Valley of Fire') till it reaches the Dead Sea.

There is no doubt whatever that this is the Kidron of the OT and NT. It is interesting that the custom of burying Israelites there, which is observed to-day (see Jehoshaphat [Valley of]), is referred to in 2 K $23^{4.\ 6.\ 12}$, and 2 Ch 34^5. It is probable that the place of the 'graves of the common people' (Jer 26^{23}) was also here, and it has been suggested, from a comparison with Jer 31^{40}, with less plausibility, that this may have been the scene of Ezekiel's vision of the dry bones (Ezk 37). The 'fields of Kidron' (2 K 23^4), though generally identified with the open part of the valley when it is joined by the Tyropœon Valley, are more likely to have been the open upper reaches of the valley referred to above as *Wady el-Joz*, which were on the way to Bethel.

The Valley of the Kidron is mentioned first and last in the Bible at two momentous historical crises,—when David crossed it (2 S 15^{23}) amid the lamentations of his people as he fled before Absalom, and when Jesus 'went

forth with His disciples over the brook Kidron' (Jn 18^{1}) for His great and terrible agony before His crucifixion.

E. W. G. Masterman.

KILAN.—Sixty-seven sons of Kilan and Azetas returned with Zerub. (1 Es 5^{15}); in the lists of Ezr 2 and Neh 7 the names are omitted.

KIN (NEXT OF), KINSMAN, AVENGER OF BLOOD, GOEL.—**1.** 'Next of kin' is the nearest equivalent in modern jurisprudence of the Heb. *gō'ēl*, itself the participle of a verb originally signifying to claim (*vindicare*), then to buy back. The duties devolving on the *goel* belonged to the domain both of civil and of criminal law. If a Hebrew, for example, were reduced to selling a part, or the whole, of his property, it was the duty of his next of kin to purchase the property, if it was in his power to do so. The classical instance of the exercise of this 'right of redemption' is the case of the prophet Jeremiah, who purchased the property of his cousin Hanamel in Anathoth, on being asked to do so in virtue of his relationship (Jer $32^{8ff.}$). Similarly, should a sale have actually taken place, the right of redemption fell to 'his kinsman that is next to him' (Lv 25^{25}). The case of Naomi and 'the parcel of land' belonging to her deceased husband was complicated by the presence of Ruth, who went with the property, for Ru 4^{5} must read 'thou must buy also Ruth the Moabitess, the wife of the dead. The true *goel* accordingly transferred his rights to Boaz, who came next to him in the degree of relationship. In all these cases the underlying idea is that the land is the inalienable property of the clan or 'family' (Ru 2^{1}) in the wider sense.

The duties of the *goel*, however, extended not merely to the property but also to the person of a relative. Should the latter have been compelled by misfortune to sell himself as a slave, it fell to his next of kin to redeem him. Hence arose an extensive use of the verb and its participle in a figurative sense, by which J″ is represented as a *goel* (EV **redeemer**), and Israel as His redeemed (so esp. in Is 41^{14} 43^{14} and oft.).

2. The most serious of all the duties incumbent on the *goel*, in earlier times more particularly, was that of avenging the murder of a relative. In this capacity he was known as the **avenger of blood** (*gō'ēl had-dām*). The practice of blood-revenge is one of the most widely spread customs of human society, and is by no means confined to the Semitic races, although it is still found in full vigour among the modern Arabs. By the Bedouin of the Sinaitic peninsula, for instance, the hereditary vendetta is kept up to the fifth generation (see the interesting details given in Lord Cromer's *Report* on Egypt, 1906, 13 ff.).

In primitive times, therefore, if a Hebrew was slain, it was the sacred duty of his next of kin to avenge his blood by procuring the death of his slayer. This, it must be emphasized, was in no sense a matter of private vengeance. It was the affair of the whole clan, and even tribe, of the murdered man (2 S 14^{7}), the former, as it were, delegating its rights to the nearest relatives. Hebrew legislation sought to limit the application, and generally to regulate the exercise, of this principle of a life for a life. Thus the Book of the Covenant removes from its application the case of accidental homicide (Ex 21^{13}; cf. Dt 19^{1-13}, Nu 35^{9-34}), while the legislation of Dt. further restricts the sphere of the vendetta to the actual criminal (Dt 24^{16}). In the older legislation the local high places appear as **asylums** for the manslayer, until his case should be proved to be one of wilful murder, when he was handed over to the relatives of the man he had slain (Ex $21^{13.\ 14}$). With the abolition of the local sanctuaries by the reforms of Josiah it was necessary to appoint certain special sanctuaries, which are known as cities of refuge (see Refuge [Cities of]).

An interesting feature of the regulations concerning blood-revenge among the Hebrews is the almost total absence (cf. Ex 21^{30}) of any legal provision for compounding with the relatives of the murdered man by means of a money payment, the *poinē* of the Greeks (see Butcher and Lang's tr. of the *Odyssey*, 408 ff.) and the *wergeld* of Saxon and Old English law.

A. R. S. Kennedy.

KINAH.—A town in the extreme south of Judah (Jos 15^{22}). The site is unknown. Cf. Kenites.

KINDNESS.—The pattern of all kindness is set before us in the Bible in the behaviour of God to our race. He gives the sunshine and the rain, and fruitful seasons and glad hearts, food and all the good they have to the just and the unjust alike (Mt 5^{45} 7^{11}, Ac 14^{17}). But the exceeding wealth of His grace is shown unto us in kindness toward us in Christ Jesus (Eph 2^{7}). God's glory no man can look upon and live. It is a light that no man can approach unto. It is inconceivably great, incomprehensibly grand, unimaginably exalted above the grasp of man's mind. But the kindness of God is God's glory stooping to man's need. It is God's power brought within man's reach. It is God's mercy and God's love and God's grace flowing through time and through eternity, as broad as the race, as deep as man's need, as long as man's immortality. The Bible reveals it. Jesus incarnated it. In His life the kindness of God found its supreme manifestation (Tit 3^{4-7}). All the children of God are to be like the Father in this regard (Mt 5^{48}, Ro 12^{10}, Col 3^{12-14}). The philanthropy of God (Tit 3^{4}) is to be reproduced in the philanthropy of men (2 P 1^{7}).

D. A. Hayes.

KING.—1. Etymology and use of the term.—The Heb. name for 'king' (*melek*) is connected with an Assyr. root meaning 'advise,' 'counsel,' 'rule,' and it seems to have first signified 'the wise man,' the 'counsellor,' and then 'the ruler.' The root occurs in the names of several Semitic deities, e.g. *Molech*, the tribal god of the Ammonites, and the Phœn. *Melkarth*. In the days of Abraham we find the title 'king' applied to the rulers of the city-States of Palestine, *e.g.* Sodom, Gomorrah, etc. (Gn 14^{2}). We also find references to kings in all the countries bordering on Canaan—Syria, Moab, Ammon, Egypt, etc., and in later times Assyria, Babylonia and Persia. In the NT the title 'king' is applied to the vassal-king Herod (Mt 2^{1}, Lk 1^{5}) and to Agrippa (Ac 25^{13}). In the Psalms and the Prophets God Himself is constantly designated 'King of Israel' or 'my King' (*e.g.* Is 43^{15} 44^{6}, Ps 10^{16} $24^{7.\ 9.\ 8.\ 10}$ 44^{4} 74^{12} 84^{3} etc.), and the Messianic advent of the true King of the Kingdom of God is predicted (Zec 9^{9}, Is 32^{1} etc.). In the NT Christ is represented as the fulfilment of this prophecy and as the true King of God's Kingdom (cf. Jn $18^{33.\ 37}$, 1 Ti 6^{15}, Rev 17^{14}).

2. The office of king in Israel.—(1) *Institution.* The settlement of the people of Israel in Canaan, and the change from a nomadic to an agricultural life, laid the incomers open to ever fresh attacks from new adventurers. Thus in the time of the judges we find Israel ever liable to hostile invasion. In order to preserve the nation from extermination, it became necessary that a closer connexion and a more intimate bond of union should exist between the different tribes. The judges in the period subsequent to the settlement seem, with the possible exception of Gideon (Jg 8^{22}), to have been little more than local or tribal heroes, carrying on guerilla warfare against their neighbours. The successes of the warlike Philistines made it clear to patriotic minds that the tribes must be more closely connected, and that a permanent leader in war was a necessity. Accordingly Saul the Benjamite was anointed by Samuel (1 S 10^{1}), and appointed by popular acclamation (10^{24} 11^{14}). The exploits of Saul and his sons against the Ammonites ($11^{11ff.}$), against the Amalekites (15^{7}), and against the Philistines ($14^{1ff.}$) showed the value of the kingly office; and when Saul and his sons fell on Mt. Gilboa, it was not long till David the outlaw chief of Judah was invited to fill his place.

(2) *The duties of the king* are partly indicated by the history of the rise of the kingship. The king was (*a*) leader in war. He acted as general, and in person led the troops to battle (cf. Saul on Mt. Gilboa, 1 S 31[2]; Ahab at Ramoth-gilead, 1 K 22[29ff.]). By and by a standing army grew up, and fortresses were placed on the frontiers (cf. 1 K 12[21f.], 2 Ch 17[2]). (*b*) Besides being leader of the army in war, the king was the supreme judge (cf. 2 S 14[5] 15[2], 1 K 3[16]). Before the institution of the monarchy judicial functions were exercised by the heads of the various houses—the elders. These elders were gradually replaced by officials appointed by the king (2 Ch 19[5-11]), and the final appeal was to the king himself, who in Am 2[3] is called 'the judge.' (*c*) Further, according to the usual Semitic conception, the king was also the chief person from a religious point of view. This idea has been lost sight of by later Jewish writers, but there is little doubt that in early times the king regarded himself as the supreme religious director, the chief priest. Thus Saul sacrifices in Samuel's absence (1 S 13[9-11] 14[33ff.]), so also David (2 S 6[13. 17] 24[25]); while both David and Solomon seem to appoint and dismiss the chief priest at pleasure (cf. 2 S 8[17], 1 K 2[26. 27. 35]), and both bless the people (2 S 6[18], 1 K 8[14]). Jeroboam sacrifices in person before the altar in Bethel (1 K 12[32. 33]), and Ahaz orders a special altar to be made, and offers in person on it (2 K 16[12]). In later times, however, the priestly functions of the kings were less frequently exercised, priests being appointed, who are usually regarded as royal officials and numbered among other civil servants (2 S 20[23ff.]).

(3) *The kingship hereditary.* It was a fixed idea in ancient Israel that the office of the kingship passed from father to son, as the judgeship passed from Gideon to his sons (Jg 9[2]), or from Samuel to his sons (1 S 8[1]). Although Saul was chosen by the people and David invited by the elders of Judah to be king, yet Saul himself regarded it as the natural thing that Jonathan should succeed him (1 S 20[30ff.]). Adonijah assumed that, as David's son, he had a right to the throne (1 K 2[15]), and even the succession of his younger half-brother Solomon was secured without any popular election. It is impossible to speak of an elective monarchy in Israel. The succession in Judah remained all along in the house of David, and in the kingdom of the Ten Tribes father always succeeded son, unless violence and revolution destroyed the royal house and brought a new adventurer to the throne.

(4) *Power of the king.* While the monarchy in Israel differed considerably from other Oriental despotisms, it could not be called a limited monarchy in our sense of the term. The king's power was limited by the fact that, to begin with, the royal house differed little from other chief houses of the nation. Saul, even after his election, resided on his ancestral estate, and came forth only as necessity called him (cf. 1 S 11[4ff.]). On the one hand, law and ancient custom exercised considerable restraint on the kings; while, on the other hand, acts of despotic violence were allowed to pass unquestioned. A powerful ruler like David or Solomon was able to do much that would have been impossible for a weakling like Rehoboam. Solomon was practically an Oriental despot, who ground down the people by taxation and forced labour. David had the power to compass the death of Uriah and take his wife, but public opinion, as expressed by the prophets, exerted a considerable influence on the kings (cf. Nathan and David, Elijah and Ahab). The idea was never lost sight of that the office was instituted for the good of the nation, and that it ought to be a help, not a burden, to the people at large. Law and ancient custom were, in the people's minds, placed before the kingly authority. Naboth can refuse to sell his vineyard to Ahab, and the king is unable to compel him, or to appropriate it till Naboth has been regularly condemned before a judicial tribunal (1 K 21[4ff.]). Thus the king himself was under law (cf. Dt. 17[14-20]), and he does not seem to have had the power to promulgate new enactments. Josiah bases his reform not on a new law, but on the newly found Book of the Law (2 K 23[1-3]), to which he and the elders swear allegiance.

(5) *Royal income.* The early kings, Saul and David, do not seem to have subjected the people to heavy taxation. Saul's primitive court would be supported by his ancestral estate and by the booty taken from the enemy, perhaps along with presents, more or less compulsory, from his friends or subjects (1 S 10[27] 16[20]). The census taken by David (2 S 24[1]) was probably intended as a basis for taxation, as was also Solomon's division of the land into twelve districts (1 K 4[7]). Ezekiel (45[7. 8] 48[21]) speaks of crown lands, and such seem to have been held by David (1 Ch 27[25ff.]). The kings in the days of Amos laid claim to the first cutting of grass for the royal horses (Am 7[1]). Caravans passing from Egypt to Damascus paid toll (1 K 10[15]), and in the days of Solomon foreign trade by sea seems to have been a royal monopoly (1 K 10[15]). It is not quite certain whether anything of the nature of a land tax or property tax existed, though something of this kind may be referred to in the reward promised by Saul to the slayer of Goliath (1 S 17[25]); and it may have been the tenth mentioned in 1 S 8[15. 17]. Special taxes seem to have been imposed to meet special emergencies (cf. 2 K 23[35]), and the kings of Judah made free use of the Temple treasures.

(6) *Royal officials* have the general title 'princes' (*sārīm*). These included (*a*) the commander-in-chief, 'the captain of the host,' who in the absence of the king commanded the army (*e.g.* Joab, 2 S 12[27]). (*b*) The prefect of the royal bodyguard, the leader of the 'mighty men of valour' of AV (in David's time the Cherethites and Pelethites, 2 S 8[18] 20[23]). (*c*) The **'recorder,'** lit. 'one who calls to remembrance.' His functions are nowhere defined, but he seems to have held an influential position, and was probably the chief minister, the Grand Vizier of modern times (cf. 2 S 8[16], 2 K 18[26]). (*d*) The **'scribe'** (*sōphēr*) frequently mentioned along with the 'recorder' seems to have attended to the royal correspondence, and to have been the Chancellor or rather Secretary of State (2 K 18[18. 37], 2 Ch 34[8]). (*e*) The officer who was 'over the tribute' (2 S 20[24]) seems to have superintended the forced labour and the collecting of the taxes. (*f*) The governor of the royal household, the royal steward or High Chamberlain, seems to have held an important position in the days of the later monarchy (Is 36[3. 22] 22[15]). Mention is also made of several minor officials, such as the 'king's servant' (2 K 22[12]), the 'king's friend' (1 K 4[5]), the 'king's counsellor' (1 Ch 27[33]), the 'head of the wardrobe' (2 K 22[14]), the head of the eunuchs (AV 'officers,' 1 S 8[15]), the 'governor of the city' (1 K 22[26]). We hear much from the prophets of the oppression and injustice practised by these officials on the poor of the land (cf. Am 2[6. 7], Is 5[8], Jer 5[28], Mic 3[11] etc.).

W. F. Boyd.

KINGDOM OF GOD (or HEAVEN).—The Biblical writers assume that the Creator of the heavens and the earth must needs be also the everlasting Ruler of the same. The universe is God's dominion, and every creature therein is subject to His power. And so the Hebrew poets conceive God as immanent in all natural phenomena. Wind and storm, fire and earthquake, lightnings and torrents of waters are but so many signs of the activity of the Almighty Ruler of the world (Ps 18[7-15] 68[7-18] 104). The same heavenly Power is also the supreme Sovereign of men and nations. 'The kingdom is Jehovah's, and he is the ruler over the nations' (Ps 22[28]). 'Jehovah is king over all the earth' (Zec 14[9]). 'He sitteth upon the circle of the earth, and the inhabitants thereof are as grasshoppers . . . He bringeth princes to nothing' (Is 40[22]). This general idea of God's dominion over all things receives various forms

of statement from the various Biblical writers, and the entire presentation constitutes a most important portion of the revelation of God and of Christ. But the Biblical doctrine has its OT and NT setting.

1. In the Old Testament.—Apart from that general concept of God as Maker and Governor of the whole world, the OT writers emphasize the Divine care for individuals, families, tribes, and nations of men. It is God's rule over those creatures who exist in His own image and likeness that calls for our special study, and this great truth is manifest from various points of view. (1) From Am 9^7 we learn that Jehovah is the supreme Ruler of all the peoples: Syrians, Philistines, Ethiopians, as well as the tribes of Israel, were led by Him and settled in their separate lands. So He gave all the nations their inheritance (Dt 32^8). But one most conspicuous feature of the OT revelation is God's selection of Abraham and his posterity to be made a blessing to all the families of the earth. When this peculiar family had become a numerous people in the land of Egypt, God led them marvellously out of that house of bondage and adopted them to be 'a people for his own possession above all peoples upon the face of the earth' (Dt 7^6), and 'a kingdom of priests and a holy nation' (Ex 19^6). The subsequent facts of the history of this chosen people reveal a noteworthy aspect of the Kingdom of God among men. (2) Along with this idea of the election and special guidance of this people there was gradually developed a lofty doctrine of the Person and power of the God of Israel. Out of the unique and sublime monolatry, which worshipped Jehovah as greatest of all the gods (Ex 15^{11} 18^{11}), there issued the still higher and broader monotheism of the great prophets, who denied the real existence of any other God or Saviour besides the Holy One of Israel. He was conceived as seated on a lofty throne, surrounded with holy seraphs and the innumerable hosts of heaven. For naturally the highest embodiment of personal power and glory and dominion known among men, namely, that of a splendid royalty, was employed as the best figure of the glory of the heavenly King; and so we have the impressive apocalyptic portraiture of Jehovah sitting upon His throne, high and lifted up (Is 6^{1-3}, Ezk 1^{26-28}, 1 K 22^{19}). The mighty Monarch of earth and heaven was enthroned in inexpressible majesty and glory, and no power above or below the heavens could compare with Him. (3) This concept of the heavenly King became also enlarged so as to include the idea of a righteous Judge of all the earth. This idea appears conspicuously in the vision of Dn 7^{9-12}, where the Eternal is seen upon His throne of fiery flames, with ten thousand times ten thousand ministering before Him. His execution of judgment is as a stream of fire which issues from His presence and devours His adversaries. Zeph 3^8 also represents Him as 'gathering the nations and assembling the kingdoms,' in order to pour out upon them the fire of His fierce anger. And so in prophecy, in psalm, and in historical narrative we find numerous declarations of Jehovah about His entering into judgment with the nations and also with His own people. The unmistakable doctrine of all these Scriptures is that God is the supreme Judge and Ruler of the world. His overthrow of mighty cities and kingdoms, like Nineveh and Babylon, is a way of His 'executing judgment in the earth,' and the prophets call such a national catastrophe a 'day of Jehovah.' (4) The Messianic prophecies throw further light on the OT doctrine of the Kingdom of God. From the times of David and Solomon onwards the highest ideal of 'the Anointed of Jehovah' was that of a powerful and righteous king of Israel. The name of David became a synonym of the ideal king and shepherd of the Chosen People (Hos 3^5, Jer 30^9, Ezk 34^{23} 37^{24}). These ideals became the growing Messianic hope of Israel. According to Is 9^{6-7}, the child of wonderful names is to sit 'upon the throne of David, and upon his kingdom, to order it, and to establish it in judgment and in righteousness for ever.' In Ps 2 we have a dramatic picture of Jehovah establishing His Son as King upon Zion, and in Ps 110 the conquering hero, to whom Jehovah says, 'Sit thou at my right hand until I make thy enemies thy footstool,' unites in Himself the threefold office of king, priest, and judge. (5) In all these and in other Messianic scriptures we shoud notice that the Anointed of Jehovah is an exalted associate of the Most High. He executes judgment in the earth, but he himself possesses no wisdom or power to act apart from Jehovah. We also note the fact that God's dominion over the earth is entirely compatible with divers forms of human administration. Ambitious potentates may usurp authority, and think to change times and seasons, but sooner or later they come to nought. Though Nebuchadrezzar, Cyrus, or Alexander wield for a time the sceptre of the world, it is still true 'that the Most High ruleth in the kingdom of men, and giveth it to whomsoever he will' (Dn 4^{32}). 'He removeth kings and setteth up kings' (Dn 2^{21}). When Israel desired a king like other nations, Samuel charged them with rejecting God as their King (1 S 8^7); but such rejection of God and the anointing of Saul for their king did not remove Jehovah from actual dominion over them; and the prophet himself admonished all Israel to fear and obey Jehovah lest He should consume both them and their king (1 S 12^{15-25}). And when, according to the apocalyptic imagery of Dn $7^{13, 14}$, the 'one like unto a son of man' receives the kingdom from 'the Ancient of days,' it is not to be supposed that the Most High Himself is for a moment to abdicate His throne in the heavens, or cease to rule over all the kingdoms of men. (6) It is not given us to determine how fully or how clearly any OT prophet or psalmist conceived the real nature of the future Messianic Kingdom. It is not usually given to the prophets of great oracles to know the time and manner of the fulfilment, and such ideals as those of Mic 4^{1-5} and Is 11^{1-10} may have been variously understood. The advent of the Messianic Son of David, expected among the seed of Abraham, would naturally be conceived as introducing a new era in the history of the people of God. He would not rule apart from Jehovah, or exercise a different authority; for the Kingdom of Messiah would also be the Kingdom of God. But it would naturally be expected that the Messiah would introduce new powers, new agencies, and new enlightenment for a blessing to all the families of the earth. According to Is 65^{17} 66^{22}, the new era was conceived as the creation of a new heavens and a new earth, but the prophetic language and its context do not justify the opinion that the dawn of the new era must needs be ushered in along with physical changes in the earth and the heavens, or involve any physical change in the natural constitution of man on the earth.

2. In the New Testament.—In presenting the NT doctrine of the Kingdom of God we should notice (1) *the prevalent expectation* of the Messiah at the time Jesus was born. There was no exact uniformity of belief or of expectation. Some enthusiasts looked for a warlike chieftain, gifted with an ability of leadership, to cast off the Roman yoke and restore the kingdom of Israel to some such splendour as it had in the days of Solomon. Others seem to have entertained a more spiritual view, as Zacharias, Simeon, and Anna (Lk 1^{67-79} 2^{25-38}), and to have united the general hope of the redemption of Jerusalem with the blessed thought of confirming the ancient covenants of promise, obtaining remission of sins, personal consolation, and a life of holiness. Between these two extremes there were probably various other forms of expectation, but the more popular one was that of a temporal prince. John the Baptist shared somewhat in this current belief, and seems to have been disappointed in the failure of Jesus to fulfil his concept of the Messianic hope (Mt 11^{2-6}). Nevertheless, John's ministry and preaching evinced

much spiritual penetration, and his baptism of repentance was a Divinely appointed preparation for the Kingdom of heaven which he declared was close at hand.

(2) The chief source of the NT doctrine is *the teaching of Jesus Christ Himself*. His preaching and that of His first disciples announced the Kingdom of heaven as at hand (Mt 4^{17}, Mk 1^{15}). Such a proclamation could have meant to the hearers only that the reign of the Messiah, of whom the prophets had spoken, was about to begin. The real nature of this Kingdom, however, is to be learned only by a careful study of the various sayings of Jesus upon the subject. (*a*) It should first be observed that our Lord gave no sanction to the current Jewish expectation of a temporal prince, who would fight for dominion and exercise worldly forms of power. He did not directly oppose the prevalent belief, so as to provoke opposition, but sought rather to inculcate a more spiritual and heavenly conception of the Kingdom. His views were evidently different from those of John, for while He extolled him as His immediate forerunner, 'much more than a prophet,' and 'greatest among them that are born of women,' He declared that any one who 'is but little in the kingdom of heaven is greater than he' (Mt 11^{11}). With all his greatness John was but a Jewish prophet, and never passed beyond the necessary limitations of the pre-Messianic age. (*b*) The spiritual and heavenly character of the Kingdom is indicated, and indeed emphasized, by the phrase 'kingdom of heaven.' This accords with the statement that the Kingdom is not of this world (Jn 18^{36}), and cometh not with observation (Lk 17^{20}). It belongs, therefore, to the unseen and the spiritual. It is the special boon of the 'poor in spirit,' 'persecuted for righteousness' sake,' and whose righteousness shall 'exceed that of the scribes and Pharisees' (Mt $5^{3.\ 10.\ 20}$). The great ones in this Kingdom are such as become like little children (Mt 18^{3}), and as to rulership and authority, the greatest is he who acts as the minister and bond-servant of all (Mk $10^{43.\ 44}$).

It may be noticed that the phrase 'kingdom of heaven' (or 'of the heavens') is peculiar to the Gospel of Matthew, in which it occurs about thirty times. In 2 Ti 4^{18} we read of 'his heavenly kingdom,' but elsewhere the term employed is 'kingdom of God.' There is no good reason to doubt that Jesus Himself made use of all these expressions, and we should not look to find any recondite or peculiar significance in any one of them. The phrase 'kingdom of God' occurs also four times in Mt., and often in the other Gospels and in the Acts and Epistles. We may also compare, for illustration and suggestion, 'my Father's kingdom' (Mt 26^{29}), 'my heavenly Father' (Mt 15^{13}), and observe in the parallel texts of Mt 26^{29}, Mk 14^{25}, Lk 22^{20}, the interchangeable use of 'my Father's kingdom,' 'my kingdom,' and 'the kingdom of God.' All these designations indicate that the Kingdom is heavenly in its origin and nature.

(*c*) The parables of Jesus are especially important for learning the nature and mysteries of the Kingdom of heaven. They show in many ways that the heavenly Kingdom has to do with the spiritual nature and possibilities of man, and is, in fact, the dominion of Jesus Christ over the hearts of men. They show also that the Kingdom has its necessary collective and communal relations, for the same ethical principles which are to govern an individual life have also their manifold application to the life of a community and of all organized societies of men. Several of our Lord's parables indicate a judicial transfer of the Kingdom of heaven from the Jews to the Gentiles (Mt 21^{43} 22^{1-14}, Lk 14^{16-24}). The parable of the Two Sons warned the Jewish priests and elders that publicans and harlots might go into the Kingdom of God before them (Mt 21^{28-32}). From all this it is evident that the Kingdom of heaven includes the dispensation of heavenly grace and redemption which was inaugurated and is now continuously carried forward by the Lord Jesus. It is essentially spiritual, and its holy mysteries of regeneration and the righteousness of faith can be only spiritually discerned. (*d*) The important petitions in the Lord's prayer, 'Thy kingdom come; Thy will be done, as in heaven, so on earth,' are of great value in determining the nature of the Kingdom. This prayer assumes by its very terms a moral and spiritual relationship and the ideal of a moral order in the universe of God. As the word 'kingdom' implies an organized community, so the will of God implies in those who do it a conformity to God in spiritual nature and action. The coming Kingdom is not a material worldly establishment, but it has its foundations in the unseen and eternal, and its power and growth will become manifest among men and nations according as the will of God is done on earth as it is in heaven. The performance of all that the will of God requires in moral beings may vary in degrees of perfect observance in heaven and in earth; we naturally predicate of heavenly things a measure of perfection far above that of earthly things. But the members of the Kingdom of God, whether on earth or in heaven, have this in common, that they all do the will of the heavenly Father. (*e*) So far as the Gospel of John supplies additional teachings of Jesus concerning the Kingdom of God, it is in essential harmony with what we find in the Synoptics, but it has its own peculiar methods of statement. We read in $3^{3.\ 5}$, 'Except a man be born from above, he cannot see the kingdom of God.' The Kingdom, then, is not a spectacle of worldly vision, but has to do first of all with the inner life of man. It accords with this, that in 8^{23} and $18^{36.\ 37}$ Jesus says, 'I am from above; I am not of this world: My kingdom is not of this world: if my kingdom were of this world, then would my servants fight, that I should not be delivered to the Jews.' To one of Pilate's questions Jesus answered, 'I am a king: to this end have I been born, and to this end am I come into the world, that I should bear witness to the truth. Every one that is of the truth heareth my voice' (18^{37}). So Christ's Kingdom comes not forth out of the world, but is of heavenly origin. It makes no display of military forces or carnal weapons for establishing its dominion in the world. It is especially remarkable in being a Kingdom of truth. This conception is peculiarly Johannine, for in the first Epistle also Jesus Christ is set forth as the embodiment and revelation of the truth of God (1 Jn $3^{18.\ 19}$ 5^{20}; cf. Jn 1^{17} 8^{32} 14^{6} 17^{17}). Jesus Christ is the heavenly King who witnesses to the truth, and whose servants know, love, and obey the truth of God.

(3) *In the Pauline Epistles* the Kingdom of God is represented as the blessed spiritual inheritance of all who enjoy life in God through faith in Jesus Christ. Its spiritual character is obvious from Ro 14^{17}, where, in discussing questions of conscience touching meats and drinks, it is said that 'the kingdom of God is not eating and drinking, but righteousness and peace and joy in the Holy Spirit.' So it is not a dominion that concerns itself about ceremonial pollutions; it grasps rather after the attainment of all spiritual blessings. It is impossible for the unrighteous and idolaters, and thieves and extortioners, and such like, to inherit this Kingdom (1 Co $6^{9.\ 10}$, Gal 5^{21}, Eph 5^{5}).

(4) Other portions of the NT add somewhat to this doctrine of the Kingdom, but offer no essentially different ideal. In He 12^{28} mention is made of our 'receiving a kingdom that cannot be shaken.' The context speaks of the removal of some things that were of a nature to be shaken, and the allusion is to the old fabric of defunct Judaism, which was a cult of burdensome ritual, and had become 'old and aged and nigh unto vanishing away' (8^{13}). These temporary things and their 'sanctuary of this world,' which were at the most only 'a copy and shadow of the heavenly things,' must needs be shaken down and pass away in order that the immovable Kingdom of heaven might be

revealed and abide as an 'eternal inheritance.' The old Jerusalem and its temporary cult must pass away and give place to 'the heavenly Jerusalem,' which affords personal communion and fellowship with God and Christ, and innumerable hosts of angels, and the spirits of just men made perfect (12$^{22-24}$).

(5) *Eschatological elements of the NT doctrine.*—Questions of the time and manner of the coming of the Kingdom arise from the various sayings of Jesus and of the NT writers, which have seemed difficult to harmonize. From the point of view both of Jesus and of the first Apostles, the Kingdom of heaven was nigh at hand, but not yet come. The coming of the Kingdom is also associated with the **Parousia,** or coming of the Son of Man in the clouds of heaven, the resurrection, and the final judgment of all men and nations. Jesus spoke of 'the regeneration, when the Son of man shall sit on the throne of his glory' (Mt 19^{28}). His great eschatological discourse, reported in all the Synoptics (Mt 24, Mk 13, Lk 21), represents His coming and the end of the age as in the near future, before that generation should pass. It also clearly makes the sublime Parousia follow immediately after the woes attending the ruin of the city and Temple of Jerusalem. Also in Mt 16^{28} and the parallels in Mk. and Lk. Jesus declares emphatically, 'There are some of them that stand here who shall in no wise taste of death till they see the Son of man coming in his kingdom.' The exegetical problem is to show how these statements may be adjusted to the idea of a gradually growing power and dominion which appears in Daniel's vision of the stone which 'became a great mountain and filled the whole earth' (2^{35}), and is also implied in Jesus' parables of the Mustard Seed, the Leaven, and the Seed Growing Secretly,—'first the blade, then the ear, then the full grain in the ear' (Mk 4$^{26-29}$). The problem is also complicated by the fact that nearly two thousand years have passed since these words of Jesus were spoken, and 'the end of the world' is not yet. Of the many attempts at the explanation of these difficulties we here mention only three.

(*a*) A considerable number of modern critics adopt the hypothesis that these various sayings of Jesus were misunderstood by those who heard Him, and have been reported in a confused and self-contradictory manner. The disciples confounded the fall of the Temple with the end of all things, but Jesus probably distinguished the two events in a way that does not now appear in the records. Some critics suppose that fragments of a small Jewish apocalypse have been incorporated in Mt 24. This hypothesis makes it the chief work of the expositor to analyze the different elements of the Evangelical tradition and reconstruct the sayings of Jesus which are supposed to be genuine. The result of such a process naturally includes a considerable amount of conjecture, and leaves the various eschatological sayings of Jesus in a very untrustworthy condition.

(*b*) According to another class of expositors, the prophecies of Mt 24 contain a double sense, the primary reference being to the fall of Jerusalem, whereas the ultimate fulfilment, of which the first is a sort of type, is to take place at the Second Coming of Christ and the end of the world. It is conceded that the two events are closely conjoined, but it is thought that vv.$^{4-28}$ deal mainly with the former event, and from v.^{29} onwards the lesser subject is swallowed up by the greater, and the statements made refer mainly to the still future coming of the Lord. But scarcely any two interpreters, who adopt the double-sense theory, agree in their exposition of the different parts of the chapter.

(*c*) Another method of explaining and adjusting the teaching of Jesus and of all the NT statements about the coming of Christ, the resurrection and the judgment, is to understand all these related events as part and parcel of an age-long process. 'The end of the age,' according to this view, is not the close of the Christian era, but the end or consummation of the pre-Messianic age. The coming of the Kingdom of God, according to Jesus (Lk 17^{20}), is not a matter of physical observation, so that one could point it out and say, 'Lo, it is here!' or, 'Lo, it is there!' Like the lightning it may appear in the east or in the west, or anywhere under the whole heaven, at one and the same moment of time. Nevertheless, no reported sayings of Christ are more positive or more notably reiterated than His declarations that some of His contemporaries would live to 'see the kingdom of God come with power,' and that 'this generation shall not pass away till all these things be fulfilled.' The decisive end of an era or dispensation or a particular cult may be seen to be near at hand, sure to come within a generation, for 'that which is becoming old and waxeth aged is nigh unto vanishing away' (He 8^{13}); but the coming of a kingdom and power and glory which belongs to the things unseen, heavenly and eternal, is not of a nature to be limited to a given day or hour. There need be, then, no contradiction or inconsistency in the sayings of Jesus as they now stand in the Gospels. No great and noteworthy event could more decisively have marked the end of the pre-Messianic age and the Jewish cult than the destruction of the Temple. But 'the powers of the age to come' were manifest before that historic crisis, and 'the times and the seasons' of such spiritual, unseen things are not matters for men or angels or even the Son of God to tell. But the fall of the Temple and the establishment of the New Covenant and the Kingdom of God were so coincident that the two events might well have been thought and spoken of as essentially simultaneous. Accordingly, 'the regeneration' (Mt 19^{28}) and 'the restoration of all things' (Ac 3^{21}) are now in actual process. The Son of Man is now sitting on the throne of His glory, at the right hand of God, and 'he must reign until he has put all his enemies under his feet' (1 Co 15^{25}). Such a Kingdom is essentially millennial, and has its ages of ages for 'making all things new.' Its crises and triumphs are portrayed in terms of apocalyptic prophecy, and so the language of Jesus in Mt 24$^{29-31}$ and similar passages in other parts of the NT is to be interpreted as we interpret the same forms of speech in the OT prophets (cf. Is 13$^{9, 10}$ 19$^{1, 2}$ 34$^{4, 5}$, Dn 7$^{13, 14}$).

According to this last interpretation, the Apocalypse of John is but an enlargement of Jesus' discourse on the Mount of Olives, and the descent of the New Jerusalem out of heaven is a visional symbol of the coming of the Kingdom of God, and the continuous answer to the prayer, 'Thy will be done, as in heaven, so on earth.' The Apostles, like their Lord, thought and spoke of things supernatural and invisible after the manner of the Hebrew prophets. St. Paul's picture of the Lord's coming from heaven (1 Th 4$^{14-18}$) is in striking accord with the language of Mt 24$^{29-31}$, and yet has its own peculiar points of difference. In Ro 16^{20} he speaks of 'the God of peace "bruising Satan" under your feet shortly,' and in 2 Th 2$^{1-12}$ he teaches that the Antichrist, 'the man of sin,' is destined to be destroyed by the manifestation of the coming of the Lord Jesus. It was probably not given to the Apostle to understand that what he saw in the vision of a moment would occupy millenniums. In his forms of statement we may discern survivals of his Jewish modes of thought, and a failure to distinguish the times and seasons and methods in which the Kingdom of heaven is ultimately to overcome the prince of the powers of wickedness in high places. But in all essentials of content his prophetic picture of the coming and triumph is true to fact and to the teaching of the Lord Himself. St. Paul also speaks of the Kingdom of God as an inheritance. It is in part a present possession, but it contemplates also a future eternal blessedness. The redeemed 'shall reign in life through Jesus Christ.' Our heavenly Father 'makes us meet to be partakers of the inheritance of the saints in light, delivers us out of the power of darkness and translates us into the kingdom of the Son of his love' (Col 1$^{12, 13}$). Such heirs of God are 'sealed with that Holy Spirit of promise, which is the earnest of our inheritance, unto the redemption of God's own possession' (Eph 1^{14}). According to this conception of the heavenly Kingdom, Christ is now upon His throne and continuously making all things new. His Parousia is millennial. He is drawing all men unto Himself, and the resurrection of the dead is as continuous as His own heavenly reign. Whenever 'the earthly house' of any one of His servants is dissolved, he has a new habitation from God, 'a house not made with hands, eternal in the heavens' (2 Co

KINGS, BOOKS OF

5[1-10]). Each man must have his own last day, and each one be made manifest and answer for himself before the judgment-seat of Christ. And when all things are ultimately put in subjection unto the Christ, then also shall the Son of God Himself have perfected His redemptive reign, and God shall be all in all. See AUTHORITY, DOMINION, PAROUSIA, POWER.

M. S. TERRY.

KINGS, BOOKS OF.—1. Title, etc.—This is the name of two well-known narrative books of the OT. In Heb. MSS and early printed editions they appear as one book, and even to the present day the Massoretic note appears at the end of the second book only. The division into two was made for the convenience of Greek readers, and passed from the LXX to the Vulgate, and so to the Church. In fact, the division between the parts of the great Biblical narrative which extends from Genesis to 2 Kings is more or less arbitrary,—there is no clear line of demarcation between 2 Samuel and 1 Kings, any more than between 1 and 2 Kings.

2. Method and sources.—What we have just said does not imply that the Books of Kings are exactly like the other historical books. They differ in their method, and in the way in which the narrative is presented. The most striking feature is the attempt to date the events recorded, and to keep two parallel lines of history before the reader. The period of time they cover is something over 400 years, and when it is remembered that these books give us almost the only light we have on events in Israel for this period, their historical value will be evident. At the same time, the light they throw on the method by which the Biblical authors worked is almost equally great. To estimate the historical value, it will be necessary to look at the literary method. The phenomenon which first strikes the reader's attention is the unevenness of the narrative. In some cases we have an extended and detailed story; in others a long period of time is dismissed in a few words. The reign of Solomon occupies eleven chapters—about a fourth part of the work; while the longer reign of Manasseh is disposed of in sixteen verses. From our point of view there is reason to think that the reign of Manasseh was quite as interesting and quite as important as the other.

Still closer examination shows that there are well-marked characteristics of style in certain sections which are replaced by equally marked but totally different ones in other sections. Moreover, there are seemingly contradictory assertions which can hardly have come from the same pen, though they might have occurred in different documents, and have been retained by a compiler who did not fully realize their force. Thus the account of Solomon's forced labour 'raised out of all Israel' seems inconsistent with the other declaration that Solomon made no bond-servants of Israel (1 K 5[13ff.], cf. 11[28] and 9[22]). One passage says without qualification that there was war between Rehoboam and Jeroboam all their days; another tells us how Rehoboam gathered a mighty army, but dismissed it at the word of a prophet without making war (1 K 12[21-24] and 14[30]). These indications of a compilatory activity, such as we find also in other parts of the OT, are confirmed by the author's reference to some of the books from which he has drawn. Two of these are mentioned so often that they attract the attention of every reader. They are the Books of Annals (in our version 'books of chronicles') of the kings of Israel and of the kings of Judah. To these we may add the references to the Book of the Acts of Solomon. The author had these three books in his hand, and, what is of more importance, he thought his readers were likely to have them at their command. This is the reason why he refers to them—that those readers who are curious for further details may find them in these books. It follows that these sources of his are not the archives of the two kingdoms, but regular books circulated and read among the people at large. But it is clear that other sources were drawn upon. Some of the material cannot have come from either of the books named. The description of the Temple might supposedly have been embodied in the Acts of Solomon, though this seems improbable. But it is quite certain that the extended life of Elijah and the equally diffuse life of Elisha never had a place in the history of the kings. There must have been a Life of Elijah circulated by some of his disciples or admirers after his death, and the probability is strong that there was also a separate Life of Elisha. Whether these two may not have been embodied in a general work on the Lives of the Prophets, whence the sections which interested him were taken by our author, we may not be able to determine. That these sections did not come from the source with which they are most nearly combined is evident from the difference in tone and point of view. Ahab appears very differently in the Elijah sections and in the chapters which treat of the Syrian wars.

The narratives which deal with Isaiah suggest reflexions similar to those which come to us in looking at Elijah and Elisha. They look like portions of a biography of Isaiah. This biography was not our Book of Isaiah, in which some sections are duplicates of what we find in the Second Book of Kings. But other portions of the Book of Isaiah seem to have been drawn from the same Life of Isaiah which furnished the duplicate material of which we have spoken.

Although some of the points that have been touched upon are more or less obscure, we are justified in saying that the Books of Kings are a compilation from at least five separate sources—three which the author cites by name, a Temple chronicle, and a History of the Prophets. The hypothesis of compilation explains some of the discrepancies already noted, and it also explains some of the violent transitions in the narrative. Ch. 20 of 1 Kings is inserted between two passages which belong together, and which were once continuous. This chapter introduces Benhadad as though we knew him, when in fact we have not heard of him. In like manner Elijah appears suddenly in the narrative, without the slightest intimation as to who he is or what he has been doing. These indications confirm the theory of compilation, and they show also that the author has in no case (so far as we can discover) embodied the *whole* of any one of his sources in his work. He used his freedom according to his main purpose, taking out what suited that purpose and leaving the rest behind.

3. Purpose.—The next inquiry is, What was the purpose which explains the book? In answer to this it is at once seen that the purpose was a religious one. The author was not trying to write history; he was trying to enforce a lesson. For those who were interested in the history *as history* he gave references to the books in which the history could be found. For himself, there was something more important—this was to point a moral so plainly that his people would take heed to it and act accordingly. This comes to view plainly in the recurring sentences which make up what has been called the framework of the book. These are not always exactly alike—sometimes they are scantier, sometimes they are fuller. But they are the same in purport. A complete example is the following: 'Jehoshaphat reigned over Judah in the fourth year of Ahab, king of Israel. Thirty-five years old was Jehoshaphat when he began to reign; and twenty-five years he reigned in Jerusalem; and his mother's name was Azubah, daughter of Shilhi. He walked in all the way of Asa, his father; he turned not from it, doing right in the eyes of Jahweh. Only the high places were not removed,—the people continued sacrificing and offering at the high places. . . . And the rest of the acts of Jehoshaphat—and the mighty deeds which he did—are they not written in the Book of Annals of the kings of Judah? . . . And Jehoshaphat slept with his fathers, and was buried in the city of David, and Jehoram his son reigned in his stead' (1 K 22[41-43. 45. 50]). The first part

of this formula is found at the beginning of a reign, the rest at the end. Sometimes there is so little recorded about a king that the two parts come in immediate sequence. But usually they are separated by a narrative, longer or shorter according to what the author thinks fit to give us. The framework itself shows that the author desires to preserve the name of the king, his age at accession, the length of his reign, the name of his mother, who was of course the first lady of the land. These items he was interested in, just because his work would not have been a history without them. But what most interested him was the judgment which he felt justified in pronouncing on the character of the monarch. The very fact that he gives such a judgment in every case shows that he had before him more material than he has handed down to us, for it would have been obviously unjust to pronounce so positively if he had as little ground for his opinion as in many cases he gives to us.

It is important to notice the reference to the high places which comes in immediate sequence to the judgment on the character of the king. The high places in the opinion of later times were illegitimate places of worship. Their toleration casts a shadow on the piety even of kings otherwise commendable, while their destruction is regarded as a proof of religious zeal. What light this throws on the date of the book will appear later. For the present it is sufficient that the treatment of the high places furnishes the ground on which the kings are graded in excellence. The first place is given to Hezekiah and Josiah (who are classed with David), just because they did away with these ancient sanctuaries. The next rank is accorded to Asa, Jehoshaphat, Jehoash of Judah, Amaziah, Uzziah, and Jotham, and we notice that they all effected certain reforms in the Temple. With reference to each of these, the commendation is tempered by the statement that the high places were not taken away. In the third class we find the remaining kings of Judah, and all the kings of Israel, who are condemned as bad. The formula for the kings of Israel is not quite the same as the one just noticed. For one thing, the name of the queen-mother is not given—whether because the names had not been handed down, or because they were thought to be of minor importance after the destruction of the kingdom, is not clear. The formula may be illustrated by the one used for Baasha,—'In the third year of Asa king of Judah, Baasha son of Ahijah became king over Israel in Tirzah, (and reigned) twenty-four years. He did evil in the eyes of Jahweh, and he walked in the ways of Jeroboam, and in his sin by which he made Israel sin. . . . And the rest of the affairs of Baasha, and what he did, and his power, are they not written in the Book of Annals of the kings of Israel? And Baasha slept with his fathers and was buried in Tirzah, and Elah his son reigned in his stead' (1 K $15^{33f.}$ $16^{5f.}$). The reason given for the condemnation which is visited on all the kings of the Northern Kingdom is that they walked in the ways of Jeroboam I.,—that is, they fostered the worship of the golden bulls (calves they are called in derision) at Bethel and Dan. This is, in the eyes of the author, distinct rebellion against the God whose legitimate sanctuary is at Jerusalem.

While the longer quotations from his sources usually show the compiler's religious intent, yet he often presents us with brief notices for which he is probably indebted to the Books of Annals, but which have no very direct bearing on his main object. Thus in the case of Jehoshaphat he inserts in his framework a brief notice to the effect that this king made peace with Israel. In the three-membered contest between Zimri, Tibni, and Omri (1 K 16^{15-22}) he compresses the story of a prolonged civil war into a few lines. In the case of Omri we find a brief notice to the effect that this king built the city of Samaria, having bought the land from a man named Shemer (1 K 16^{24}). Such a notice probably compresses a detailed account in which Omri was glorified as the founder of the capital.

As some of these shorter notices duplicate what we find elsewhere, it seems as if the compiler made out his framework or epitome first and filled it in with his excerpts afterwards. In the insertion of these longer passages the religious motive is always apparent. The matter of supreme importance to him is the worship of the God of Israel as carried on at the Temple in Jerusalem. He is under the influence known as Deuteronomistic. This is seen first in the phrases which recur in those sections which we suspect to be his own composition. In many cases it is not possible to say whether these sections come from the hand of the compiler or whether they were inserted by one of his followers. This is, in fact, of minor importance,—if various hands have been concerned they worked under the same bias. The attitude taken towards the high places is distinctly Deuteronomistic, for the demand that these sanctuaries should be abolished was first formulated by Deuteronomy. Josiah's reforms, as is well known, were the direct result of the finding of this book in the Temple. Hence the strong, we might say extravagant, commendation of this king.

Moreover, it was laid down by the writer of Deuteronomy that obedience to the law which he formulates will be followed by temporal well-being, and that disobedience will be punished by calamity. Now, one object of the writer or compiler of the Book of Kings is to show how this has proved true in the past. He is less thorough in the application of this theory than the author of the Book of Chronicles, but that he has it at heart will be evident on examination. The Northern Kingdom had perished—why? Because kings and people had from the first been disobedient to Jahweh, revolting from His legitimate sanctuary at Jerusalem, and provoking His wrath by the bulls of Bethel. In Judah the same lesson is taught. David, who laid the foundations of the kingdom, was of unusual piety, and was favoured by unusual prosperity. Solomon was the builder of the Temple, and to this extent an example of piety; his prosperity was in proportion. But there were shadows in the picture of Solomon which our author was too honest to ignore. It had not been forgotten that this king built altars to foreign gods. History also told that he had suffered by the revolt of Edom and Damascus. It was easy to see in this the punishment for the king's sins. The historic fact seems to be that the revolt preceded the defection, so that the punishment came before the crime. In any case, the compiler has dealt freely with his material, dating both the defection and the revolt late in the king's reign, at a time when senile weakness would excuse the wise man for yielding to his wives.

The most distinct instance in which the author teaches his lesson is the prayer of Solomon at the dedication of the Temple. It was the custom with ancient historians, as we know, to compose speeches for their heroes which tell us what ought to have been said rather than what was actually said. Our author makes use of this perfectly legitimate literary device. A reading of the prayer shows that it is Deuteronomistic in word and thought throughout. More than one hand has been concerned in it, but the tone is that of the Deuteronomistic school. It confirms what has been said about the purpose of the book. It follows that the historical value of the work must be estimated with due allowance for this main purpose.

4. Date.—The date of the Book of Kings in its present form cannot be earlier than the Babylonian exile. The latest event which it mentions is the release of king Jehoiachin from confinement, which took place in the year B.C. 561; and as the author speaks of the allowance made to the king 'all his life' (2 K 25^{30}), we conclude that he wrote after his death. It will not be far out of the way, therefore, to say that the work was

completed about B.C. 550. Some minor insertions may have been made later. While this is so, there are some things which point to an earlier date for the greater part of the work. The purpose of the author to keep his people from the mistakes of the past is intelligible only at a time when the avoidance of the mistakes was still possible,—that is, before the fall of Jerusalem. We find also some phrases which indicate that the final catastrophe had not yet come. The recurrence of the phrase 'until this day' (1 K 8^{8}; cf. 9^{21} 12^{19}, 2 K 2^{22} 8^{22} 16^{6}) is one of these indications. It is, of course, possible that all these belong to the older sources from which the author drew, but this hardly seems probable. On these grounds it is now generally held that the substance of the book was compiled about B.C. 600, by a writer who was anxious to enforce the lesson of the Deuteronomic reform while there was yet hope. This first edition extended to 2 K 23^{25} or ^{28}. About fifty years later an author living in the Exile, and who sympathized with the main purpose of the book, completed it in substantially its present form. The theory receives some confirmation from the double scheme of chronology which runs through the book. As has been shown in the formula quoted above, there is a series of data concerning the length of each king's reign, and also a series of synchronisms, according to which each king's accession is brought into relation with the era of his contemporary in the other kingdom. The two series are not always consistent—a state of things which is best accounted for on the theory that one was the work of one author, the other the work of the other.

5. Text.—The text of the Books of Kings has not been transmitted with the care which has been shown in some parts of the OT. The LXX shows that early copies did not always agree in their wording or in the order of the paragraphs. In some cases the LXX has a better reading. But the differences are not such as to affect the meaning in any essential point.

H. P. SMITH.

KING'S GARDEN (2 K 25^{4}, Jer 39^{4} 52^{7}, Neh 3^{15}).—This garden was clearly near the 'gate of the two walls' which was near the Pool of Siloam, and it was in all probability just outside the walls, being irrigated by overflow water from the Siloam tunnel and pool, just as the land in this situation is treated to-day. Indeed, the garden may have covered much the same area as is now cultivated as irrigated vegetable garden by the women of *Silwān*. See KIDRON [BROOK OF], SILOAM

E. W. G. MASTERMAN.

KING'S POOL.—Neh 2^{14}, prob. identical with Pool of Siloam. See SILOAM.

KING'S VALE.—Gn 14^{17} (AV **king's dale**). See SHAVEH.

KIR.—An unidentified place, subject in the 8th and 7th cents. to Assyria. Amos (1^{5}), according to the present Hebrew text, predicted that the Aramæans should be carried captive to Kir. In 9^{7} he declares that Jahweh brought them from Kir. It is said in 2 K 16^{9} that Tiglath-pileser carried the people of Damascus captive to Kir, while in Is 22^{6} Kir is mentioned in connexion with Elam as furnishing soldiers to the Assyrian army which fought against Israel. It has been identified with *Kur*, a river flowing into the Caspian Sea; with *Cyropolis*; with the Syrian province of *Cyrrhestica*; with *Cyrene*; with *Kurenia* in Media; with *Kuris*, north of Aleppo; with **Koa** of Ezk 23^{23}, which has been supposed to be the same as the *Gutium* of the Bab.-Assyr. inscriptions, which possessed a high civilization as early as B.C. 3000. In reality nothing certain is known of the locality of Kir. GEORGE A. BARTON.

KIR (of Moab).—Coupled with **Ar** of Moab (Is 15^{1}), possibly identical with it. Following the Targum, Kir of Moab has long been identified with the modern *Kerak*, a place of great importance in the times of the Crusades. Kerak is situated on a lofty spur between the *Wady el-Kerak* and the *Wady 'Ain Franji*, about 4000 feet above the Dead Sea level. The hills behind rise much higher, so that it is commanded on every side by higher ground, which explains 2 K 3^{25-27}. It was surrounded by a wall of great thickness, and there are remains of ancient rock-hewn cisterns. The gates were to be reached only through long tunnels in the solid rock.

C. H. W. JOHNS.

KIRAMA (1 Es 5^{20}) = Ezr 2^{26} **Ramah.**

KIR-HARESETH (Is 16^{7}), **Kir-haraseth** (2 K 3^{25} AV [pausal form]), **Kir-heres** (Jer $48^{31.\ 36}$), **Kir-haresh** (Is 16^{11} AV [pausal form]).—A place of great strength and importance in Moab; generally regarded as identical with **Kir of Moab** (wh. see). The LXX and Vulg. take these names as phrases, and translate them on some more or less fanciful Hebrew etymology. The Targum on Isaiah renders *Kerak tokpehon*, which suggests that *haraseth* may be connected with the Assyrian *hurshu*, 'a cliff,' etc., but the word may be Moabite or Canaanite, and seems to occur in '*Harosheth* of the Gentiles' (Jg $4^{2.\ 13.\ 16}$). The modern *Kasr harasha*, 35 minutes' walk above Dera'a, preserves a similar title.

C. H. W. JOHNS.

KIRIATH is the st. constr. of *Kiriah*, the complement of which, *-jearim*, seems to have fallen out in Jos 18^{28}, from its resemblance to the word for 'cities' which follows. Therefore we ought probably to read *Kiriath-jearim*, a reading supported by the LXX. W. EWING.

KIRIATHAIM.—**1.** A town E. of the Jordan, in the disputed territory between Moab and Reuben, placed by the *Onomasticon* 10 Roman miles W. of Madeba (Gn 14^{5}, Nu 32^{37}, Jos 13^{19}, Jer 48^{23}, Ezk 25^{9}); unidentified. **2.** A town in Naphtali (1 Ch 6^{76}), called **Kartan** in Jos 21^{32}.

W. EWING.

KIRIATH-ARBA is used as a name for **Hebron** (wh. see) in Gn 23^{2} etc. Only in Gn 35^{27} and Neh 11^{25} is *Arba'* written with the article. The city may have been so called as the seat of a confederacy between four men or tribes, or the name may be = *Tetrapolis*, 'the city of four quarters.' The Heb. text explains it as 'the city of Arba,' 'the greatest man among the Anakim' (Jos 14^{15} RV), or 'the father of Anak' (15^{13} 21^{11}). In the first passage LXX reads 'the city Argob, the metropolis of the Anakim': in the second 'the city Arbok, metropolis,' etc. Perhaps in the last two, therefore, we should read *'ēm*, 'mother,' *i.e.* 'mother-city,' instead of *'abi*, 'father.'

W. EWING.

KIRIATH-ARIM (Ezr 2^{25}).—See KIRIATH-JEARIM.

KIRIATH-BAAL.—See KIRIATH-JEARIM.

KIRIATH-HUZOTH.—A spot unidentified, apparently between Ar-moab and Bamoth-baal (Nu 22^{39}, cf. vv.$^{36.\ 41}$). It may be *Kureiāt*, S. of *Jebel 'Attārūs*.

W. EWING.

KIRIATH-JEARIM ('city of forests').—One of the cities of the Gibeonites (Jos 9^{17}), occupied by the Danites (Jg 18^{12}), on the border between Judah and Benjamin (Jos 15^{9} 18^{14}). From there David brought up the ark (2 S 6^{2}, 1 Ch 13^{5}, 2 Ch 1^{4}). Its older name appears to have been **Kiriath-baal** (Jos 15^{60}) or **Baalah** (Jos $15^{9.\ 10}$, 1 Ch 13^{6}). It is also mentioned as **Baale Judah** (2 S 6^{2}), and through a textual error as **Kiriath-arim** (Ezr 2^{25}; cf. Neh 7^{29}). It was probably, like Kedesh, Gezer, etc., an old Canaanite 'high place.' In Jer 26^{20} it is mentioned as the home of Uriah the prophet, the son of Shemaiah. See also 1 Ch $2^{50.\ 53}$ and 1 Es 5^{19} [in this last passage it is called **Kariathiarius**]. The site of this important ancient sanctuary and frontier town has been very generally accepted, since the 5th cent. A.D., as close to that of the modern *Kuriet el-'Enab*, a flourishing little village on the high-road from Jaffa to Jerusalem, about 9 miles from the latter. The ancient remains are to the W. of the village, but a handsome Crusading Church in the village itself has recently been restored. *Kuriet el-'Enab* is generally known as *Abu Ghosh*, after a family

of semi-brigands of that name who established themselves there nearly a century ago, and for long held the whole surrounding country at their mercy. Another site, which has been powerfully advocated by Conder, is *Khurbet 'Erma*, on the S. of the Vale of Sorek, just where the narrow valley opens into the plain. The similarity of '*arim* (Ezr 2^{25}) and '*erma*, and the nearness of the site to Zorah and Eshtaol, are in its favour. There, too, are ancient remains, and a great rock platform which would appear to mark an ancient 'high place.' On the other hand, it is far from the other cities of the Gibeonites (Jos 9^{17}). The question cannot be considered as settled.

E. W. G. Masterman.

KIRIATH-SANNAH, KIRIATH-SEPHER.—See Debir, No. 1.

KISEUS.—The form in Ad. Est 11^{2} of **Kish** (Est 2^{5}), the name of the great-grandfather of Mordecai. See Kish, No. 4.

KISH.—1. The father of Saul the first king of Israel (1 S 9^{1} 10^{21} 14^{51}, Ac 13^{21}). His home was at Gibeah (rendered 'the hill of God' and 'the hill' in both AV and RV of 1 S 10^{5} and 10^{10}). **2.** The uncle of the foregoing (1 Ch 8^{30} 9^{36}). **3.** The eponym of a family of Merarite Levites (1 Ch $23^{21.\ 22}$ 24^{29}, 2 Ch 29^{12}). **4.** A Benjamite ancestor of Mordecai (Est 2^{5}).

KISHI.—A Merarite Levite, ancestor of Ethan (1 Ch 6^{44}; the parallel passage, 1 Ch 15^{17}, has **Kushaiah,** probably the correct form of the name).

KISHION.—A town allotted to Issachar (Jos 19^{20}), given to the Levites (21^{28}). The parallel passage, 1 Ch 6^{72}, reads **Kedesh,** which is perhaps a textual error for Kishion. The latter name has not been recovered.

KISHON (Jg 4^{7} 5^{21}, 1 K 18^{40}, Ps 83^{9}).—The ancient name of the stream now called *Nahr el-Mukatta'*, which drains almost the whole area of the great Plain of Esdraelon. The main channel may be considered as rising near the W. foot of Mt. Tabor, and running W. through the centre of the plain until it enters the narrow valley between the S. extension of the Galilæan hills and the E. end of Carmel. After emerging from this it enters the Plain of Akka, running a little N. of the whole length of Carmel, and enters the sea about a mile E. of Haifa. The total length is about 23 miles. In the first part of its course it is in winter a sluggish stream with a bottom of deep mud, and in summer but a chain of small marshes; from just below where the channel is crossed by the Nazareth road near Carmel it usually has a certain amount of water all the year round, and in parts the water, which is brackish, is 10 or 12 feet deep. At its mouth, however, it is almost always fordable. Numerous small watercourses from the Galilæan hills on the N. and more important tributaries from 'Little Hermon,' the Mountains of Gilboa, and the whole southern range of Samaria and Carmel on the E. and S., contribute their waters to the main stream. The greater number of these channels, in places 10 or 15 feet deep with precipitous sides, are perfectly dry two-thirds of the year, but during the winter's rains are filled with raging torrents. A number of copious springs arise along the edge of the hills to the S. of the plain. At *Jenin* there are plentiful fountains, but they are, during the summer, entirely used up in irrigation; at *Ta'anak*, at *Lejjûn*, near *Tell el-Kasîs*, at the E. end of Carmel, and at the *'Ayûn el-Sa'di*, perennial fountains pour their water into the main stream. Those who have seen the stream only in late spring or summer can hardly picture how treacherous and dangerous it may become when the winter's rain fills every channel with a tumultuous flood of chocolate-brown water over a bottom of sticky mud often itself several feet deep. Both animals and baggage have not infrequently been lost at such times. Under such conditions, the Kishon, with its steep, uncertain banks, its extremely crooked course, and its treacherous fords, must have been very dangerous to a flying army of horses and chariots (Jg $5^{21.\ 22}$). Of all parts the section of the river from Megiddo (wh. see) to 'Harosheth of the Gentiles' (now *el-Harithîyeh*), where the fiercest of the battle against Sisera was fought (cf. Jg 5^{19} and 4^{16}), must have been the most dangerous. The other OT incident connected with this river is the slaughter there of the prophets of Baal after Elijah's vindication of Jehovah on the heights of Carmel (1 K 18^{40}).

E. W. G. Masterman.

KISS (Heb. *nĕshîqah*, Gr. *philēma*).—Kissing is a mark of affection between parents and children (Gn 27^{26}f, Ru 1^{9}, 1 K 19^{20} etc.), members of a family, or near connexions (Gn 29^{13} 45^{15}), and equals in rank (2 S 20^{9}, Ac 20^{37}). Guests are received with a kiss (Lk 7^{45}). A kiss from a superior marks condescension (2 S 15^{5} 19^{39}). These kisses may be on the lips, but are usually on the cheek or neck. The kiss was a token of love (Ca 1^{2} 8^{1}), of homage and submission (Gn 41^{40}, Job 31^{27}, Ps 2^{12}), and was also an act of idolatrous worship (1 K 19^{18}, Hos 13^{2}). The Moslems kiss the black stone at Mecca. Juniors and inferiors kiss the hands of seniors and superiors. A wife kisses the hand or beard of her husband. The hand, garments, even the feet of one appealed to may be kissed. Probably Judas presumed to salute with the kiss of an equal (Mt 26^{49} etc.). A kiss on the hand would have been natural. The 'holy kiss,' or 'kiss of love' (1 Co 16^{20}, 1 P 5^{14}), marked the tie that united Christians in a holy brotherhood.

W. Ewing.

KITE.—1. *'ayyāh*. In Lv 11^{14}, Dt 14^{13} AV renders this word by 'kite,' in Job 28^{7} by **'vulture';** RV has uniformly **'falcon.' 2.** *dā'āh*: Lv 11^{14} (AV **'vulture,'** RV 'kite'). **3.** *dayyāh*; Dt 14^{13} (EV **'glede'** [Old Eng. for 'kite']), Is 34^{15} (AV **'vulture,'** RV 'kite'). The red kite, the black kite, and the Egyptian kite are all found in Palestine, but it is impossible to say which birds are denoted by the different words. W. Ewing.

KITRON.—A Canaanite town in the territory of Zebulun (Jg 1^{30}). See Kattath.

KITTIM (AV **Chittim,** which is retained by RV in 1 Mac 1^{1} 8^{5}) designates properly the island of Cyprus, and is to be so understood in the geographical list of the descendants of Javan (wh. see), that is, the Ionians, in Gn 10^{4}. The name is based on that of the settlement on the south-east of the island, called Kition by the Greeks, the modern Larnaka. This was the first trading post of the Phœnicians on the Mediterranean, hence it is vaguely used in Ezk 27^{6} as the mother-city of all the maritime settlements westward. The connexion with the Ionians or Greeks is not quite clear, since these were not the first settlers on the island. There were, however, undoubtedly Greek colonists there in the 8th cent. B.C., as we learn from the inscription of the Assyrian Sargon of 720, pointing to a settlement of Ionian Cyprians in Ashdod. A use of the word, still more vague, is found in Dn 11^{30}, where it refers to the Romans, while in Nu 24^{24} (as in 1 Mac 1^{1} 8^{5}) it is applied apparently to the Macedonians.

J. F. M'Curdy.

KNEADING-TROUGH.—Only Ex 8^{3} 12^{34} and RV of Dt $28^{5.\ 17}$ (AV 'store'). See Bread, House, § 9.

KNEE, KNEEL.—The knees are often referred to in Scripture as the place where weakness of the body, from whatever cause, readily manifests itself: *e.g.* from terror (Job 4^{4}, Dn 5^{6}), or fasting (Ps 109^{24}). The reference in Dt 28^{35} seems to be to 'joint leprosy,' in which, after the toes and fingers, the joints of the larger limbs are attacked (Driver, *Deut. in loc.*). The laying of children on the knees of father or grandfather seems to have involved recognition of them as legitimate members of the family (Gn 30^{3} 50^{23}). In many passages of Scripture kneeling is spoken of as the attitude assumed in prayer (1 K 8^{54}, Ps 95^{6}, Dn 6^{10}, Ac 20^{36} etc.). To

'bow the knee' is equivalent to 'worship' (1 K 19[18], Is 45[23], Ro 14[11] etc.). To fall upon the knees before a superior is an act at once of reverence and of entreaty (2 K 1[13], Mt 17[14], Lk 5[8] etc.). In the court of an Eastern judge the writer has often seen men prostrate themselves, and then make their plea, resting upon their knees. W. EWING.

KNIFE.—Of the various sorts of knives noticed in the OT mention may be made of the flint knives used for the rite of circumcision (Jos 5[2f.], cf. Ex 4[25])—an instance of conservatism in ritual, to which parallels may be found in all religions. The knives for ordinary purposes under the monarchy were mostly of bronze, of which, as of the earlier flint knives, the recent excavations have furnished many varieties. We also read of sacrificial knives (Gn 22[6. 10], Ezr 1[9]), of 'a barber's knife' or **razor** (Ezk 5[1]), and of a scribe's knife (Jer 36[23] EV '**penknife**'), used for sharpening his reed-pen and making the necessary erasures. Cf. HOUSE, § 9.

A. R. S. KENNEDY.

KNOP.—Another form of 'knob,' is used to render two different words in EV. **1.** The knops of the stem and arms of the golden candlestick, or rather lampstand, of the Tabernacle (Ex 25[31] etc.) were the spheroidal ornaments still recognizable in the representation on the Arch of Titus. **2.** Knops also denote certain ornaments, probably egg- or gourd-shaped, carved on the cedar lining of the walls of Solomon's Temple (1 K 6[18]—note RVm), and similar ornaments on the 'brazen sea' (7[24]).

A. R. S. KENNEDY.

KNOWLEDGE.—I. HUMAN KNOWLEDGE.—**1. In the OT.**—Knowledge, so far as it has a theological use, is moral rather than intellectual. It is assumed that a knowledge of God is possible, but this is the result of a revelation of Himself by God, and not a speculative knowledge achieved by man. So knowledge becomes practically equivalent to religion (Ps 25[14], Is 11[2]), and ignorance to irreligion (1 S 2[12], Hos 4[1] 6[6]). The Messianic age is to bring knowledge, but this will be taught of God (Is 54[13]). This knowledge of God is therefore quite consistent with speculative ignorance about the universe (Job 38. 39). Perhaps some expressions in the NT which seem to refer to Gnostic ideas may be explained by this view of knowledge.

2. In the NT.—(*a*) *In the Gospels* knowledge is spoken of in the same sense as in the OT. Christ alone possesses the knowledge of God (Mt 11[25-27]). This knowledge gives a new relation to God, and without it man is still in darkness (Mt 5[8], Jn 7[17] 17[3]). (*b*) *In St. Paul's Epistles.*—In the earlier Epistles knowledge is spoken of as a gift of the Spirit (1 Co 1[30] 2. 12[8]), although God can to a certain extent be known through nature (Ac 14[7], Ro 1[19. 20]). 1 Cor. especially urges the subordination of knowledge to charity. In Col 2 and 1 Ti 6[20] a wrong kind of knowledge is spoken of—perhaps an early form of Gnosticism. True knowledge, however, centres in Christ, who is the mystery of God (Col 2[2]). In Him all questions find their answer, and this knowledge is not, like Gnosticism, the property of a few, but is intended for all men (Col 1[28]). In the Pastoral Epp. knowledge is spoken of with reference to a definite body of accepted teaching, which is repeatedly alluded to; it is, however, not merely intellectual but moral (Tit 1[1]). (*c*) *In the other NT books* knowledge is not prominent, except in 2 Peter, where, however, there is nothing specially characteristic. In Hebrews the ordinary word for 'knowledge' does not occur at all, but the main object of the Epistle is to create and confirm a certain kind of Christian knowledge. Although knowledge in both OT and NT is almost always moral, there is no trace of the Socratic doctrine that virtue is knowledge.

II. DIVINE KNOWLEDGE.—It is not necessary to show that perfect knowledge is ascribed to God throughout the Scriptures. In some OT books—Job and some Psalms—the ignorance of man is emphasized in order to bring God's omniscience into relief (cf. also the personification of the Divine Wisdom in the Books of Proverbs and Wisdom).

III. DIVINE AND HUMAN KNOWLEDGE IN CHRIST.—The question has been much debated how Divine and human knowledge could co-exist in Christ, and whether in His human nature He was capable of **ignorance.** It is a question that has often been argued on *a priori* grounds, but it should rather be considered with reference to the evidence in the records of His life. The Gospels certainly attribute to Christ an extraordinary and apparently a supernatural knowledge. But even supernatural illumination is not necessarily Divine consciousness, and the Gospel records also seem to attribute to our Lord such limitations of knowledge as may be supposed to make possible a really human experience. **1.** There are direct indications of ordinary limitations. He advanced in wisdom (Lk 2[52]); He asked for information (Mk 6[38] 8[5] 9[21], Lk 8[30], Jn 11[34]); He expressed surprise (Mk 6[38] 8[5] 9[21], Jn 11[34]). His use of prayer, and especially the prayer in the garden (Mt 26[39]) and the words upon the cross (Mk 15[34]), point in the same direction. **2.** With regard to one point our Lord expressly disclaimed Divine knowledge (Mk 13[32]). **3.** In the Fourth Gospel, while claiming unity with the Father, He speaks of His teaching as derived from the Father under the limitations of a human state (Jn 3[34] 5[19. 20] 8[28] 12[49. 50]). **4.** While speaking with authority, and in a way which precludes the possibility of fallibility in the deliverance of the Divine message, He never enlarged our store of natural knowledge, physical or historical. If it be true that Christ lived under limitations in respect of the use of His Divine omniscience, this is a part of the self-emptying which He undertook for us men and for our salvation (see KENOSIS).

J. H. MAUDE.

KOA.—A people associated with Pekod and Shoa (Ezk 23[23]), probably, therefore, a by-form of *Kutû* (also *Gutium*), often mentioned in Assyr. inscriptions in the same company. Their seat lay N.E. of Babylonia, in the mountains between the upper Adhem and the Dijâlâ. Cf. KIR.

C. H. W. JOHNS.

KOHATH, KOHATHITES.—Although the origin of the name *Levi* is doubtful, and scholars are still uncertain whether or not it was the name of a tribe before 'Levite' was a descriptive term denoting one who was trained in priestly duties, there is no doubt that the term 'Levite' had this meaning as early as the period of the Judges (see Jg 17[7. 9. 13]). And in process of time every member of the Levitical or priestly 'caste' traced his descent through one line or another to Levi. These genealogies must have been in the making before the Exile, but were afterwards stereotyped and reduced to system by the priestly school. The name *Kohath* is found nowhere except in P and Chronicles. The three main divisions of Levites bore the names of Gershon, Kohath, and Merari, and these are accordingly given as the names of the 'sons' of Levi (Gn 46[11], Ex 6[16], Nu 3[17], 1 Ch 6[1. 16] 23[6]). The second division is described either as 'the Kohathites' (Nu 3[27. 30] 4[18. 34. 37] 10[21] 26[57], Jos 21[4. 11], 1 Ch 6[33. 54] 9[32], 2 Ch 20[19] 29[12]) or '**the sons of Kohath**' (Ex 6[18], Nu 3[19. 29] 4[2. 4. 15] 7[9], Jos 21[5. 20. 26], 1 Ch 6[2. 18. 22. 61. 66. 70] 15[5] 23[12]). These were subdivided into four groups, the Amramites, the Izharites, the Hebronites, and the Uzzielites (Nu 3[27]), each being traced to a son of Kohath (Ex 6[18], Nu 3[19], 1 Ch 6[2. 18] 23[12]). From these families fragments of genealogies remain. Amram is of peculiar importance, because his children were Aaron and Moses (Ex 6[20], 1 Ch 23[13-17]); and Korah, a son of Izhar, was notorious in priestly tradition (Nu 16). See KORAH, DATHAN, ABIRAM.

The importance of these families after the Exile was small, with the exception of the priests who traced their descent from Aaron. Some Kohathites are named as appointed to humble offices (1 Ch 9[19. 31f.], Ezr 2[42], Neh 12[25]). But the tendency of the period

to idealize ancient history led the Priestly writers, including the Chronicler, to construct narratives in which the eponymous ancestors of the Levitical families played a prominent part; see 1 Ch 9[19]. (1) During the desert wanderings the Kohathites were on the south side of the Tent (Nu 3[30]), and they carried the screen of the sanctuary and its furniture, after it had been prepared for travel by the greatest of all the descendants of Kohath—Aaron and his sons (3[31] 4[4-15] 10[21]); they were privileged to carry their burden upon their shoulders (7[9]), instead of in waggons, as the Gershonites and Merarites; they were superintended by Eleazar, Aaron's son (4[16]). (2) After the settlement in Palestine, 23 cities were assigned to them (Jos 21[4f. 13-26] = 1 Ch 6[57-61. 67-70]). (3) In David's reign the Chronicler relates that the Temple music was managed partly by Heman, a Kohathite, and his family (1 Ch 6[31-38] 16[41f.] 25[1. 4-6. 13. 16. 18. 20. 22f. 25-31]; and see 15[5. 8-10. 17. 19]). David divided the Levites into courses 'according to the sons of Levi' (23[6]; Kohathites vv.[12-20] 24[20-25]); and particular offices of Kohathites are stated in 26[1-9. 12-15. 17-19. 23-31]. (4) Under Jehoshaphat they led the song of praise at the battle of En-gedi (2 Ch 20[19]). (5) Under Hezekiah they took part in the cleansing of the Temple (29[12. 14]).

A. H. M'Neile.

KOHELETH.—See Ecclesiastes.

KOLAIAH.—**1.** The father of the false prophet Ahab (Jer 29[21]). **2.** The name of a Benjamite family which settled in Jerusalem after the Captivity (Neh 11[7]).

KONÆ (Jth 4[4]).—An unknown town of Palestine (AV, following a different reading, 'the villages').

KOPH.—The nineteenth letter of the Hebrew alphabet, and as such employed in the 119th Psalm to designate the 19th part, each verse of which begins with this letter.

KORAH, KORAHITES.—**1.** Korah is the name of a 'duke,' son of Esau and Aholibamah, named in Gn 36[5. 14. 18], and therefore an Edomite. **2.** A Korah also appears in 1 Ch 2[43] as a 'son' of Hebron and descendant of Caleb, the Kenizzite, *i.e.* Edomite. **3.** In 1 Ch 9[19. 31] we hear of a ben-Korah and of a Korahite, the Korahites being further designated as door-keepers. Combining the various notes, we gather that the sons of Korah were of Edomite extraction, were incorporated among the Levites, and formed a Temple-guild. Moreover, Pss 42–49 and 84. 85. 87. 88 bear the superscription '**to the sons of Korah.**' They share, therefore, with the sons of Asaph the honour of forming the Temple-choir. But whether they rose (or fell) from being door-keepers to being singers, or *vice versa*, it is, in our ignorance of most of the details of the worship of the first Temple, impossible to say. Nor can we say how it was that the guilds of Asaph and Korah came to be transformed into the guilds of Heman, Asaph, and Ethan. See also next article.

W. F. Cobb.

KORAH, DATHAN, ABIRAM.—The story of the rebellion of Korah, as contained in Nu 16. 17, is now combined with what was originally an entirely different narrative—that of the resistance of **Dathan** and **Abiram**, who were *laymen*, to the *civil* authority of Moses. Refusing to obey Moses' summons to appear before him, Dathan and Abiram, along with their households, were swallowed up by the earth (Nu 16[1b. 2a. 12-15. 25f. 27b-34] [JE]). The story of Korah proper contains two strata, the work of Priestly writers of different ages. The first of these (Nu 16[1a. 2b-7a. 18-24. 27a. 32b. 35. 41-50] ch. 17) describes a revolt of Korah, at the head of 250 princes of the congregation, against Moses *and Aaron*, in the interests of *the people at large* as against *the tribe of Levi*. The matter is decided by the test of the censers, the rebels being consumed by fire from the Lord. The sequel is found in ch. 17—the blossoming of Aaron's rod. The latest narrative (Nu 16[7b-11. 16f. 35-40]) represents Korah at the head of 250 *Levites*, opposing, in the interests of the tribe of Levi, the monopoly of the *priesthood* claimed by Aaron. These last two narratives are memorials of the struggles that took place, and the various stages that were passed through, before the prerogatives of Levi were admitted by the other tribes, and those of the house of Aaron by the other Levitical families. [In Sir 45[18] and Jude [11] AV has **Core** for Korah].

KORE.—**1.** The eponym of a Korahite guild of door-keepers (1 Ch 9[19]). **2.** Son of Imnah, a Levite in the time of Hezekiah (2 Ch 31[14]).

KUSHAIAH.—See Kishi.

L

LAADAH.—A Judahite (1 Ch 4[21]).

LABAN.—**1.** Son of Nahor (Gn 29[5]; cf. 24[47], where 'Bethuel, son of,' is apparently an interpolation). He was the brother of Rebekah (24[29]), father of Leah and Rachel (29), and through them ancestor to three-fourths of the Jewish nation. He had several sons (30[35] 31[1]), and was father-in-law and uncle of Jacob. He appears first in Scripture as engaged in betrothing his sister Rebekah to Isaac (24[29-60]). We meet him next at Haran entertaining Jacob (29[13. 14]), who had escaped from his brother Esau. The details of the transactions between Laban and Jacob for the fourteen years while the nephew served the uncle for his two daughters need not be recounted here (see chs. 29 and 30). At the end of the period Jacob was not only husband of Leah and Rachel and father of eleven sons, but also the owner of very many flocks and herds. As Laban was reluctant to part with Jacob, regarding his presence as an assurance of Divine blessing, the departure took place secretly, while Laban was absent shearing his sheep. Jacob removed his property across the Euphrates, while Rachel took with her the *teraphim* or household gods of the family. When Laban pursued after them and overtook them at Mount Gilead (31[32]), he did no more than reproach Jacob for his stealthy flight and for his removal of the *teraphim*, and finally made a covenant of peace by setting up a cairn of stones and a pillar; these served as a boundary-stone between the Aramæans and the Hebrews, which neither were to pass with hostile intent to the other.

In character Laban is not pleasing, and seems to reflect in an exaggerated form the more repulsive traits in the character of his nephew Jacob; yet he shows signs of generous impulses on more than one occasion, and especially at the final parting with Jacob.

2. An unknown place mentioned in Dt. 1[1].

T. A. Moxon.

LABANA (1 Es 5[29]) = Ezr 2[45] and Neh 7[48] **Lebana(h).**

LACCUNUS (1 Es 9[31]) = Ezr 10[30] **Chelal.**

LACE.—The Eng. word 'lace' comes from Lat. *laqueus*, a 'snare,' and is used in that sense in Old Eng. It is then employed for any cord or band, and that is its meaning in Ex 28[28. 37] 39[21. 31], Sir 6[30].

LACEDÆMONIANS.—In 2 Mac 5[9] we read that Jason

fled for refuge to the Lacedæmonians 'because they were near of kin.' This claim is further set forth in 1 Mac $12^{2ff.}$; cf. $14^{16.\ 20f.}$ 15^{23}, where we read of **Sparta** and an alliance with the **Spartans**. It was, of course, entirely fanciful, the Hellenes and the Jews belonging respectively to the Indo-European and Semitic branches of the human race. A. E. Hillard.

LACHISH.—A town in the south country of Judah referred to several times in the Tell el-Amarna tablets. In the Biblical records it first appears as joining the coalition headed by the king of Jerusalem against the Gibeonites (Jos 10^3), and as being in consequence reduced by Joshua (v.^{31}) in spite of the assistance given to it by the king of Gezer (v.^{33}). It is enumerated among the cities of the tribe of Judah (15^{39}). Rehoboam fortified it (2 Ch 11^9). Hither Amaziah, king of Judah, fled from conspirators, and here he was murdered (2 K 14^{19}). In the reign of Hezekiah, Sennacherib took Lachish, and while he was quartered there Hezekiah sent messengers to him to make terms (18^{13-17}). Sennacherib's Lachish campaign is commemorated by a sculpture from Nineveh, now in the British Museum. Lachish and Azekah were the last cities to stand against the king of Babylon (Jer 34^7). Lachish was one of the towns settled by the children of Judah after the Exile (Neh 11^{30}). Micah's denunciation of Lachish as 'the beginning of sin to the daughter of Zion' (1^{13}) doubtless refers to incidents of which we are quite ignorant.

Lachish was identified by Conder with *Tell el-Hesy*, an important mound in the Gaza district, which was partially excavated with success by Flinders Petrie and Bliss for the Palestine Exploration Fund (1890–1893). Another site in the neighbourhood, of Roman date, called *Umm Lakis*, probably represents a later dwelling of the representatives of the ancient Lachishites, and preserves the name of the city. R. A. S. Macalister.

LADAN.—**1.** A name occurring in the genealogy of Joshua (1 Ch 7^{26}). **2.** A Gershonite family name (1 Ch $23^{7.\ 8.\ 9}$ 26^{21ter}). In 6^{17} it appears as **Libni** (wh. see).

LADANUM.—See Myrrh.

LADDER.—In ancient times ladders were used chiefly for scaling the walls of a besieged city, as frequently shown on the Egyptian and Assyrian monuments (Wilkinson, *Anc. Egyp.* i. 243; Layard, *Nineveh*, ii. 372). Although this use of them is probably implied in Pr 21^{22}, scaling-ladders are first expressly mentioned in the time of the Maccabees (1 Mac 5^{30}). See Fortification, §§ 3, 6.

Jacob's 'ladder' (Gn 28^{12}) seems to have been rather a 'flight of stone steps, rising up to heaven' (Driver, *Com. in loc.*). A. R. S. Kennedy.

LAEL.—A Gershonite Levite (Nu 3^{24}).

LAHAD.—A Judahite family name (1 Ch 4^2).

LAHAI-ROI.—See Beer-lahai-roi.

LAHMAM (RVm **Lahmas**).—A town of Judah (Jos 15^{40}), possibly mod. *el-Lahm*, near Beit Jibrīn.

LAHMI.—The brother of Goliath the Gittite, slain by Elhanan the son of Jair (1 Ch 20^5). There is a discrepancy between this passage and the parallel passage in 2 S 21^{19}, where we read that 'Elhanan [wh. see] the Bethlehemite slew Goliath the Gittite.' If the text of Chronicles is the more correct, the designation *Bethlehemite* of Samuel is simply a corruption of the name *Lahmi*, but the converse might also be the case.

T. A. Moxon.

LAISH.—**1.** The original name of the town of Dan (Jg $18^{7.\ 14.\ 27.\ 29}$). The variation **Leshem** occurs in Jos 19^{47bis}. **2.** The father of Palti or Paltiel, to whom Michael, David's wife, was given by Saul (1 S 25^{44}, 2 S 3^{15}).

LAISHAH (Is 10^{30}).—The name of a place connected with Gallim, and mentioned here along with other localities in Benjamin and Judah. If Gallim be *Beit Jāla* near Bethlehem, Laishah would also be in that neighbourhood.

LAKKUM.—An unknown town of Naphtali (Jos 19^{33}).

LAMA.—See Eloi, Eloi, Lama Sabachthani.

LAMB.—See Sheep, and next article.

LAMB OF GOD.—The lamb was the most common victim in the Jewish sacrifices, and the most familiar type to a Jew of an offering to God. The title 'the lamb of God' (*i.e.* the lamb given or provided by God; cf. Gn 22^8) is applied by John the Baptist to Jesus in Jn $1^{29.\ 36}$. The symbolism which the Baptist intended can be inferred from the symbolic allusions to the lamb in the OT. Thus in Jer 11^{19} the prophet compares himself to a lamb, as the type of guilelessness and innocence. Again, in Is 53^7 (a passage which exercised great influence on the Messianic hope of the Jews, and is definitely referred to Christ in Ac 8^{32}) the lamb is used as the type of vicarious suffering. It seems beyond doubt that these two ideas must have been in the Baptist's mind. It is also quite possible to see in the phrase a reference to the lamb which formed part of the daily sacrifice in the Temple; and also, perhaps, an allusion to the Paschal lamb which would soon be offered at the approaching Passover (Jn 2^{13}), and which was the symbol of God's deliverance. Certainly this is the idea underlying the expressions in Jn 19^{36} and 1 P 1^{19}. Thus all these strata of thought may be traced in the Baptist's title, viz. innocence, vicarious suffering, sacrifice, redemption.

The lamb is used 27 times in the Apocalypse as the symbol of Christ, and on the first introduction of the term in Rev 5^6 the writer speaks specifically of 'a lamb as though it had been slain.' The term used in the Greek original is not the same as that found in the Baptist's phrase, but the connexion is probably similar. It seems most likely that the sacrificial and redemptive significance of the lamb is that especially intended by the Apocalyptic author.

The specific title 'the lamb of God' may be an invention of the Baptist's own, which he used to point an aspect of the Messianic mission for his hearers' benefit, or it may have been a well-known phrase currently employed to designate the Messiah; we have no trace of such an earlier use, but it may have existed (see Westcott on Jn 1^{29}). A. W. F. Blunt.

LAME, LAMENESS.—See Medicine, p. 599^b.

LAMECH.—The name apparently of two people in the antediluvian period, the one belonging to the Cainite and the other to the Sethite genealogy. **1.** The fifth descendant from Cain (Gn 4^{18-24}). He seems to have been a man of importance in the early legend, as the names of his two wives (Adah and Zillah), his three sons (Jabal, Jubal, and Tubal-cain), and his daughter (Naamah) are all mentioned. Special interest is attached to him on account of his song—

> 'Adah and Zillah, hear my voice;
> Ye wives of Lamech, hearken unto my speech:
> For I have slain a man for wounding me,
> And a young man for bruising me:
> If Cain shall be avenged sevenfold,
> Truly Lamech seventy and sevenfold.'

The meaning of this song has been the subject of much conjecture. The song is clearly one of exultation, and it has not unnaturally been associated with the fact that Tubal-cain his son is specially mentioned as the 'forger of every cutting instrument.' Jerome relates the Jewish legend that Lamech accidentally slew Cain, but for this, of course, there is no foundation. It has been suggested (Lightfoot, *Decas Chorogr. Marc. praem.* § iv.) that the reference is to the fact that Lamech, as the first polygamist, introduced greater destruction into the world than Cain. R. H. Kennett sees in the song a deprecation of blood-guiltiness incurred by the fact that Lamech, as a tribal chieftain, has avenged an insult of a boy by slaying him.

A possible variant rendering might be mentioned: 'I would have slain (or 'I will slay') any man who wounds me.' If this is accepted, it materially alters the sense.

2. The father of Noah (Gn 5^{29}). It is now commonly believed, owing to the identity of some names and the similarity of others in the two genealogies, that they are merely different versions of one original list.

T. A. Moxon.

LAMENTATIONS, BOOK OF.—1. Occasion.—In B.C. 586 Nebuchadnezzar captured Jerusalem, put out the eyes of Zedekiah, slew the princes, burned the Temple and palaces, razed the walls, and deported the inhabitants (save some of the poorest sort) to forced labour in Babylon (2 K 25). These events and their religious meaning are the theme of the five complete hymns in the Book of Lamentations. The poet looked on these calamities as the death of the Jewish people; and he prepares an elegy for the national funeral.

2. Date.—It need not be supposed that Jeremiah went about composing acrostics while Jerusalem was burning; on the other hand, the language of the poems is not that of some Rabbinical versifier after Nehemiah's time. Between the desolation of B.C. 586 and the restoration of B.C. 536 is the time limit for the production of this book.

3. Form.—The form of these elegies has been recognized to be the type of Hebrew poetry which is peculiar to threnody. Its metrical character depends on the structure of the single line. The line has not the exact measure of a Latin hexameter or pentameter, but consists of five to seven words, making on an average eleven syllables. The line is divided by sense and grammar into two unequal parts, as 6: 5 or 4: 3; the first part being more emphatic in sense, and the second forming an antiphonal supplement to the first. Thus 1^{1}—

'Ah now! she sits alone—the populous city,
Husbandless doomed to be—the foremost of peoples,
Once the princess over states—a serf in a gang.'

Such is the *qīnāh*-metre, found also in parts of Amos, Isaiah, and Ezekiel.

4. Arrangement.—These Hebrew elegiacs may stand singly, as in La 3, or in two-lined stanzas, as in ch. 4, or in three-lined stanzas, as in chs. 1 and 2. But there is also in Lam. a more artificial embellishment. The 22 stanzas of chs. 1, 2, and 4 are introduced by the 22 letters of the Hebrew alphabet in regular order, except that 2 and 4 place the letter *Pe* before the letter *Ayin*. This inexplicable variation in the order of the letters has been held to imply a difference in authorship. Again ch. 3 has 66 verses, the lines beginning aaa; bbb, etc. Ch. 5 has 22 verses, but no acrostic; and its lines are of a slightly different structure. As this chapter is a prayer, these external marks may have been felt to be inappropriate. The poetic form of Lam. is thus the result of elaborate effort; but this need not imply the absence of genuine feeling. The calamity in remembrance seemed to call for an adequate form of expression, and to invite the resources of technical skill.

5. Contents.—The contents of the five hymns are not pervaded by clear lines of thought; but the nature of the subject forbids us to look for the consistency of a geometrical theorem. The cruel scenes, the pity and horror they occasioned, the religious perplexity at the course of events, are depicted sometimes by the poet himself, again by Jerusalem, or by the personified community. Ch. 1 describes the ruin of Jerusalem and the humiliation of the exiles—vv.$^{1\text{-}11}$ in the words of the poet, while the city itself speaks in vv.$^{12\text{-}22}$. The second hymn finds the sting of their sufferings in the fact that they are inflicted by Jehovah, their ancient defender. Ch. 3, 'the triumph song of ethical optimism,' recounts the national misery (vv.$^{1\text{-}18}$), perceives the purpose of Jehovah in their calamities (vv.$^{19\text{-}47}$), and calls the people to penitence (vv.$^{48\text{-}66}$). Ch. 4 contrasts the past history of Zion with its present condition, and ch. 5 is a prayer for mercy and renewal of ancient blessings. The hope for Judah was the compassion of the Lord; 'therefore let us search and try our ways and turn again to the Lord' (3^{40}). It forms a curious contrast to the consolation offered to Athens in her decline and fall through the comedies of Aristophanes.

6. Authorship.—No author is named in Lam. itself. In 2 Ch 35^{25} we read that '**Jeremiah** lamented for Josiah, and all the singing men and singing women spake of Josiah unto this day; and they made them an ordinance in Israel: and behold they are written in the lamentations.' This statement is 300 years later than the fall of Jerusalem; and Lam. has nothing to do with Josiah. But it ascribes standard elegies to Jeremiah. The LXX, followed by the Vulgate and other versions, names Jeremiah the prophet as the author of Lam.; and this view prevailed universally till recent times. Internal evidence has been considered unfavourable to Jeremiah's authorship. The alphabetic form, a few peculiar words, an affinity in chs. 2 and 4 with Ezekiel, in chs. 1 and 5 with the younger Isaiah, and in ch. 3 with late Psalms, the accumulation of pictorial metaphors, the denial of vision to prophets, the reliance on Egypt (4^{17}), are given (Löhr, *Com.*) as conclusive objections to Jeremiah's being the writer. But the acrostic form would then have the charm of novelty, and would be useful as a mnemonic for professional mourners; and it is not prophecy to which it is here attached. The affinities with later books are not very marked, and may be due to derivation from the elegies. And there is avowedly much resemblance in vocabulary and thought between Jeremiah and Lamentations. Both trace disaster to the sin of the nation, both deprecate trust in alliances, and both inculcate penitence and hope. Probably the internal evidence originated the traditional view that Jeremiah was the author; and the newer scrutiny of the evidence seems hardly sufficient to disprove the verdict of the ancients.

Again it is asked, Would one author make five independent poems on one and the same subject? If several authors treated the theme independently, it is not likely that their work would bear juxtaposition so well as the collection in Lamentations. Jeremiah's life ended some 6 or 7 years after the Captivity began; and 5^{20} implies a longer interval since the devastation. If we assign, with Thenius, chs. 2 and 4 to Jeremiah, and suppose that some disciples of the prophet imitated his model in 1, 3, and 5, then perhaps the differences and similarities in the several hymns may be accounted for. When Jerusalem was destroyed by Titus in A.D. 70, there was no new *qīnāh*; the elegies seem to presuppose a personality of Jeremiah's type as their originator.

7. Names.—The Hebrew name of Lam. is *'Ekhāh* ('How!'), the first word in the book. It is also called *Qīnōth* or 'Elegies.' The LXX has *Threnoi* (*Ieremiou*); Vulg., *Threni, id est lamentationes Jeremiæ prophetæ*, and this is the source of the English title.

8. Position in the Canon.—In Hebrew Bibles Lam. is placed in the third division of the OT Canon. Its place is generally in the middle of the five *Megilloth*, between Ruth and Ecclesiastes. The Jews recite the book on the Black Fast (9th of Ab)—the anniversary of the destruction of Jerusalem. In the Greek OT and the other versions Lam. is attached to the prophecies of Jeremiah, in accordance with the current belief in his authorship.

D. M. Kay.

LAMP.—1. The earliest illuminant everywhere was supplied by pieces of resinous wood. Such probably were the **torches** of Gideon's adventure (Jg $7^{16.\ 20}$ RV for AV 'lamps') and other passages. There is no evidence of anything of the nature of our **candles**, which is a frequent AV rendering of the ordinary Heb. word (*nēr*) for '**lamp**,' now introduced throughout by RV except in Zeph 1^{12} (but Amer. RV here also 'lamp'). The

unearthing of thousands of lamps in the course of recent Palestine exploration, sometimes as many as two or three hundred from a single grave, has made it possible to trace the development of the lamp from early pre-Israelite to Byzantine times. Only the barest outline can be attempted here.

2. Two main stages in this development have to be recognized, the first that of the *open*, the second that of the *closed*, lamp. (*a*) The earliest form found in pre-Israelite strata is that of the plain open clay lamp in the shape of a shell, or shallow bowl, with rounded bottom. It is distinguished from the later form of open lamp by having the rim only slightly pinched along about one-third of its circumference, to keep the wick in position. (*b*) In the later forms just referred to, which are those of the late Canaanite and early Hebrew periods, the lips are drawn much more closely together, so as to form an elongated spout, as may be seen in the illust. in Hastings' *DB* iii. 24, fig. 1; Bliss and Macalister, *Excavations in Palestine* (in the sequel cited as *BMExc.*), plate 66; Bliss, *Mound of Many Cities*, 87. For types of (*a*) and (*b*) side by side, see *PEFSt*, 1904, 327. (*c*) The next step apparently was to substitute a flat base for the rounded forms of (*a*) and (*b*). This type of open lamp has continued in use to the present day in certain parts of Syria.

3. The introduction of the closed lamp cannot as yet be dated with certainty, but is probably due to Western influence. According to Bliss (*BMExc.* 130), 'by Seleucidan times the open lamp appears largely to have given way to the closed lamp.' (*a*) The earlier specimens of this type consist of a circular bowl closed at the top, with the exception of a round opening for pouring in the oil, with a flat or concave base. They are further characterized by their long tapering, and sometimes straight, spout, which 'forms a distinct angle with the bowl.' These lamps are entirely without ornament, and, like all the others, without handles. (*b*) The later closed lamps, on the other hand, have their upper surface ornamented with an endless variety of design, ranging from simple lines through chevrons, spirals, etc., to animal forms. Numerous specimens of (*a*) and (*b*) are illustrated in *BMExc.* pl. 62, 63. For a typical lamp of the Maccabæan period, see *PEFSt*, 1904, 348, pl. iii. No. 5. This may be assumed to have been the prevailing type of lamp in NT times.

4. Many of the specimens hitherto given as illustrations of the lamps of OT are really of early Christian or even Byzantine date. A typical Byzantine form is given in *BMExc.* pl. 66, No. 6. This type is distinguished from the previous closed type by the fact that 'the curve of the body is continuous with the top of the spout, giving a generally oval shape.' See the collections illustrated *PEFSt*, 1892, 125; 1904, plate iii; 1905, 150.

5. In addition to the normal lamp with a single wick, the excavations in northern and southern Palestine have brought to light numerous specimens of 'multiple lamps,' a favourite form of which consisted of a bowl, having its rim pinched into three, four, or seven spouts (see *BMExc.* pl. 66). As in other lands, the Palestinian potter sometimes gave his lamp the shape of an animal, such as the remarkable clay duck from Gezer described and illustrated in *PEFSt*, 1903, 40.

The favourite *material* in all ages was clay. A good specimen of a bronze lamp with a handle, from the Greek period, is shown in *BMExc.* 60. Silver lamps are mentioned in Jth 10^{22}. Those of the Tabernacle and Temple were of gold. The usual *illuminant* was the oil of the olive; other oils, including naphtha, are named in the Mishna (*Shabbath*, ii. 1 ff.), where may be found, also, a list of the substances for wicks in addition to the ordinary **wick** of twisted flax (Is 42^{3} RVm), and other details regarding the household lamp.

6. In the poorer houses the lamp was placed, as it still is, in a niche in the wall. It is in the case of a 'great woman' that we first hear of a **lampstand** in a private house. Lampstands of stone, about 30 inches in height, have been found in the recent excavations in Crete; one of limestone is figured in Bliss, *Mound*, etc. 104, from Lachish. The **candlestick** of AV, which, strangely enough, is retained in RV (except in Mt 5^{15}, where 'stand' is substituted), is of course a lampstand. For the elaborate lampstands or 'candlesticks' of the Tabernacle and the Temple see those articles. An interesting specimen of a lamp with seven spouts and stand in one piece was found by Sellin at Taanach (illust. in his *Eine Nachlese*, etc. 22; Benzinger, *Heb. Arch.*[2] [1907] 99).

In ancient times, as at the present day, it was customary to keep the household lamp continually alight, hence the figure in 1 K 11^{36}, 2 K 8^{19}; conversely, the putting out of the lamp of the wicked (Job 18^{6} [AV 'candle'], Pr 13^{9}) denotes their utter extinction.

For a recently discovered, and still obscure, early rite in which lamps and bowls played an essential part, see HOUSE, § 3; and for a later rite, see DEDICATION [FEAST OF].

A. R. S. KENNEDY.

LAMPSACUS (1 Mac 15^{23} RVm).—See SAMPSAMES.

LANCE, LANCET.—The former only Jer 50^{42}, RV 'spear,' but Heb. is *kīdōn*, hence rather 'javelin'; the latter only 1 K 18^{28}, RV 'lance,' Heb. *rōmach*. For both these weapons, see ARMOUR AND ARMS, § 1.

LAND CROCODILE (Lv 11^{30} RV).—See CHAMELEON and LIZARD.

LANDMARK.—The word (*gebūl*) so rendered must not be identified off-hand, as is usually done, with the *kudurru* or boundary-stone of the Babylonians, for the fundamental passage, Dt 19^{14}, 'Thou shalt not remove thy neighbour's landmark, which they of old time have set,' should rather be rendered: 'Thou shalt not remove (or 'set back') thy neighbour's *boundary*, which they . . . have drawn.' Under the old Hebrew system of the cultivation in common of the village land, the boundaries of the plots may have been indicated as at the present day by 'a furrow double in width to the ordinary one,' at each end of which a stone is set up, called the 'boundary-stone' (*PEFSt*, 1894, p. 195 f.). The form of land-grabbing by setting back a neighbour's boundary-line must have been common in OT times, to judge by the frequent references to, and condemnations of, the practice (Dt 19^{14} 27^{17}, Hos 5^{10}, Pr 22^{28} 23^{10}, Job 24^{2}).

A. R. S. KENNEDY.

LANGUAGE OF OT AND APOCRYPHA.—See TEXT VERSIONS AND LANGUAGES OF OT.

LANGUAGE OF THE NT.—The object of this article is to give a general non-technical account of the Greek in which the NT is written. It should be stated at the outset that the standpoint of scholarship in regard to this subject has materially altered since Prof. Thayer wrote his excellent article in vol. iii. of the *DB*. We shall therefore briefly state the nature of our change in view, and then describe the NT Greek as we now regard it, without further reference to older theories.

1. The old view.—In every age of NT study, scholars have been struck by the fact that its Greek to a large extent stands alone. It differs immensely from the language of the great classics of the period which was closed some four centuries earlier, and not much less from that of post-classical writers of its own time, even when those writers were Palestinian Jews, as was Josephus. During the 17th cent. the 'Purist' school sought to minimize these differences, holding that deviation from the 'purity' of classic standards was a flaw in the perfection of the inspired Book, which must at all costs be cleared away. But, except for such eccentricities of learning, the efforts of scholars in general were steadily directed towards the establishment of some rationale for this isolation of what Rothe called the 'language of the Holy Ghost.' Two excellent reasons were found for the peculiarities of NT Greek. (1) NT writers were steeped in the language of the Greek OT, a translation

which largely followed the Hebrew original with slavish literalness. A special religious phraseology was thus created, which not only contributed a large number of forms for direct quotation, but also supplied models for the general style of religious writing, much as the style of modern sermons or devotional books is modelled upon the English of the Bible. (2) The writers were mostly Jews who used Aramaic (a language closely related to Hebrew) in their daily life. When, therefore, they thought and wrote in Greek, they were prone to translate literally from their native tongue; and 'Aramaisms' thus infected the Greek, side by side with the 'Hebraisms' which came from the LXX. The degree to which either of these classes of Semitism was admitted to affect particular words or grammatical constructions in the Greek NT naturally differed in the judgment of different writers; but even Thayer, who wrote after the new lights had already begun to appear, shows no readiness to abandon the general thesis that the NT Greek lies outside the stream of progress in the development of the Greek language, and must be judged by principles of its own.

2. Newer views.—The credit of initiating a most far-reaching change of view, the full consequences of which are only beginning to be realized, belongs to a brilliant German theologian, Adolf Deissmann. His attention having been accidentally called to a volume of transcripts from the Egyptian papyri recently added to the Berlin Museum, he was immediately struck by their frequent points of contact with the vocabulary of NT Greek. He read through several collections of papyri, and of contemporary Greek inscriptions, and in 1895 and 1897 published the two volumes of his *Bible Studies* (Eng. tr. in one volume, 1901). Mainly on the ground of vocabulary, but not without reference to grammar and style, he showed that the isolation of NT Greek could no longer be maintained. Further study of the papyri he used, and of the immense masses of similar documents which have been published since, especially by the explorers of Oxford and Berlin, confirms his thesis and extends it to the whole field of grammar. To put the new views into two statements—(1) The NT is written in *the spoken Greek of daily life*, which can be proved from inscriptions to have differed but little, as found in nearly every corner of the Roman Empire in the first century. (2) What is peculiar in 'Biblical Greek' lies in the presence of boldly literal translations from Hebrew OT or Aramaic 'sources': even this, however, seldom goes beyond clumsy and unidiomatic, but perfectly possible, Greek, and is generally restricted to the inordinate use of correct locutions which were rare in the ordinary spoken dialect. The Egyptian non-literary papyri of the three centuries before and after Christ, with the inscriptions of Asia Minor, the Ægæan islands and Greece during the same period,—though these must be used with caution because of the literary element which often invades them,—supply us therefore with the long desiderated parallel for the language of the NT, by which we must continually test an exegesis too much dominated hitherto by the thought of classical Greek or Semitic idiom.

3. History and diffusion of the Greek language.—At this point, then, we should give a history of the world-Greek of NT times. A sister-language of Sanskrit, Latin, Slavonic, German, and English, and most other dialects of modern Europe, Greek comes before us earliest in the Homeric poems, the oldest parts of which may go back to the 10th cent. B.C. Small though the country was, the language of Greece was divided into more dialects, and dialects perhaps more widely differing, than English in the reign of Alfred. Few of these dialects gave birth to any literature; and the intellectual primacy of Athens by the end of the classical period (4th cent. B.C.) was so far above dispute that its dialect, the Attic, became for all future time the only permitted model for literary prose. When Attic as a spoken language was dead, it was enforced by rigid grammarians as the only 'correct' speech for educated people. Post-classical prose accordingly, while varying in the extent to which colloquial elements invade the purity of its artificial idiom, is always more or less dominated by the effort to avoid the Greek of daily life; while in the NT, on the contrary, it is only two or three writers who admit even to a small extent a style differing from that used in common speech. Meanwhile the history of Greece, with its endless political independence and variation of dialect between neighbouring towns, had entered a new phase. The strong hand of Philip of Macedon brought Hellas under one rule; his son, the great Alexander, carried victorious Hellenism far out into the world beyond. Unification of speech was a natural result, when Greeks from different cities became fellow-soldiers in Alexander's army, or fellow-colonists in his new towns. Within about one generation we suddenly find that a compromise dialect, which was based mainly on Attic, but contained elements from all the old dialects, came to be established as the language of the new Greek world. This 'Common' Greek, or Hellenistic, once brought into being, remained for centuries a remarkably homogeneous and slowly changing speech over the larger part of the Roman Empire. In Rome itself it was so widely spoken and read that St. Paul's letter needed no translating, and a Latin Bible was first demanded far away from Latium. In Palestine and in Lycaonia the Book of *Acts* gives us clear evidence of bilingual conditions. The Jerusalem mob (Ac 21^{40} 22^{2}) expected St. Paul to address them in Greek; that at Lystra (14^{11}) similarly reverted with pleasure to their local patois, but had been following without difficulty addresses delivered in Greek. It was the one period in the history of the Empire when the gospel could be preached throughout the Roman world by the same missionary without interpreter or the need of learning foreign tongues. The conditions of Palestine demand a few more words. It seems fairly clear that Greek was understood and used there much as English is in Wales to-day. Jesus and the Apostles would use Aramaic among themselves, and in addressing the people in Judæa or Galilee, but Greek would often be needed in conversation with strangers. The Procurator would certainly use Greek (rarely Latin) in his official dealings with the Jews. There is no reason to believe that any NT writer who ever lived in Palestine learned Greek only as a foreign language when he went abroad. The degree of culture in grammar and idiom would vary, but the language itself was always entirely at command.

4. NT Greek.—We find, as we might expect, that 'NT Greek' is a general term covering a large range of individual divergence. The author of *Hebrews* writes on a level which we might best characterize by comparing the pulpit style of a cultured extempore preacher in this country—a spoken style, free from artificiality and archaisms, but free from anything really colloquial. The two *Lukan* books show similar culture in their author, who uses some distinctively literary idioms. But St. Luke's faithful reproduction of his various sources makes his work uneven in this respect. *St. Paul* handles Greek with the freedom and mastery of one who probably used it regularly all his life, except during actual residence in Jerusalem. He seems absolutely uninfluenced by literary style, and applies the Greek of common intercourse to his high themes, without stopping a moment to polish a diction the eloquence of which is wholly unstudied. Recent attempts to trace formal rhetoric and laws of rhythm in his writings have completely failed. At the other end of the scale, as judged by Greek culture, stands the author of *the Apocalypse*, whose grammar is very incorrect, despite his copious vocabulary and rugged vigour of style. Nearly as unschooled is *St. Mark*, who often gives us very literal translations of the Aramaic in which his story was first wont to be told: there seems some

reason to suspect that in the oldest form of his text this occurred more frequently still. The other main Gospel 'source,' the '*Sayings of Jesus*,' shows likewise the traces of processes of translation. Space forbids any attempt to distinguish the position of all the NT writers, but we may note that the papyri supply parallels in degrees of culture to compare with them in turn, except so far as sheer translation comes in.

5. Help derived from Modern Greek, and from reconstructed Aramaic originals.—We must now return to the development-history of Greek to observe that its later stages, even up to the present day, are full of important contributions to our study of the NT. The 'Common' or Hellenistic Greek, described above, is the direct ancestor of the vernacular of modern Greece and the Greek-speaking districts of Turkey. We are daily learning more of the immense significance of this despised patois for interpreting the sacred language. Here the student must carefully eliminate the artificial 'Modern Greek' of Athenian newspapers and books, which is untrustworthy for this purpose, just as is the Greek of Plutarch or Josephus. The genuine vernacular—with its dialects, based on inconsiderable local variations in Hellenistic, which may have no small weight ere long even in our NT criticism—may be placed by the side of modern folk-ballads and mediæval popular stories and saint-legends, to take us back to the papyri and inscriptions, as our latest-found tools for NT study. The literature, classical and post-classical, will of course retain the place it has always held, when modern methods have taught us how to check its testimony. And Comparative Philology, with lights on the meaning of cases and tenses and moods, may be added to the equipment with which purely linguistic science may now help forward the interpretation of Scripture. All this is on the side of the student of Greek itself. But the other side of NT language must naturally not be forgotten. Contributions of great value have recently been made to our knowledge of the Aramaic, in which nearly all the sayings of Christ must have been uttered, and in which Papias (as usually understood) shows they were first written down. The possibility of reconstructing to some extent the original of our Greek Gospel sources is drawing nearer; and the co-operation of Greek and Semitic scholars promises marked advances in our knowledge of the very kernel of the NT (cf. next art.).

6. Characteristics of NT Greek.—A few concluding words may be given to the general characteristics of the language which had so providentially become the language of the civilized world just at the time when the gospel began its advance. It used to be frequently contrasted unfavourably with the classical Attic, which is undeniably the most perfect language the world has ever seen, for the clearness, subtlety, and beauty with which it can express thought. In Hellenistic Greek the subtlety, the sense of rhythm, and the literary delicacy have largely disappeared. But the old clearness is only enhanced by a greater simplicity; and the boundless resourcefulness of the language impresses us powerfully when in the NT for the first and (practically) last time the colloquial dialect of the people was enshrined in literature, the authors of which were nearly always unconscious that they were creating literature at all. The presentation of Christianity to the Western world as a system of thought could never have been accomplished in Hebrew, even if that language had attained universal currency. In Greek we are always conscious of a wealth of suggestiveness which no translation can convey, an accuracy and precision of thought which repay the utmost exactness of study. This is in no sense lost even when the simpler grammar of the later language becomes the tool of men who had no inheritance of Greek culture. A comparatively elementary knowledge of this simpler Greek, which can be attained without touching the complex structure of the classical language, will constantly reveal important elements in the writer's meaning that are beyond the reach of our language to convey directly. In our own time at last this language is being studied for its own sake; and even classical scholars are beginning to allow that the renewed youth of Greek, under conditions which make it largely a new language, produced a literature which the philologist, and not merely the theologian, can admire.

JAMES HOPE MOULTON.

LANGUAGE OF CHRIST.—The records of our Lord's words and discourses have descended to us in four Greek Gospels. Some early Christian writers assert that St. Matthew wrote in Hebrew; but the Greek *St. Matthew* has universally, and from the first, been accepted as an authoritative and inspired document. It is not improbable that the writer published his book in the two languages, and that the Greek edition alone has survived. Josephus, who wrote in Greek, prepared a Semitic edition of his *Wars* for the benefit of those who understood only their vernacular.

At the present day, perhaps, most scholars would admit that the vernacular of Palestine in the time of our Lord was Semitic, and not Greek; but a difference is observed between their theory and their practice; for in all kinds of theological writings, critical as well as devotional, the references to the text of the Gospels constantly assume that the Greek words are those actually uttered by our Lord. But if Greek was not commonly spoken in the Holy Land, it is improbable that He who ministered to the common people would have employed an uncommon tongue. It follows that the Greek words recorded by the Evangelists are not the actual words Christ spoke. We may think we have good grounds for believing that they accurately represent His utterances; but to hear the original sounds we must recover, if that be possible, the Semitic vernacular which underlies the traditional Greek.

The evidence as to the nature of the Palestinian vernacular may be thus stated. In the first century of the Christian era the Holy Land was peopled by men of more than one race and nationality, but there is no reason to suppose they had been fused into one people, with Greek for their common tongue. Most of the inhabitants of Judæa were Jews, being descendants of the returned exiles. In Galilee there was a mixture of races; but the name 'Galilee of the Gentiles' was a survival of the description of an earlier condition. The Syrian and Assyrian invaders of the Northern Kingdom had passed, though leaving their mark, and a period of Jewish ascendency had followed, created by the victories of the Maccabees. The Idumæan princes, though inclined to alliance with Rome, sought to pose as Judaizers. Herod the Great, while in sympathy with Hellenism, was famous as the builder of the third Temple. The strict, orthodox Jews, who were opposed to Hellenism, and compassed sea and land to make one proselyte, would lose no opportunity of re-occupying their fatherland, from Jerusalem in the south to the north of Galilee, and would take with them the ancient customs and the ancestral tongue. Samaria, however, preserved its integrity as a foreign colony, with its own Semitic dialect. Beyond the Jordan, and in the border lands of the south, there was some mingling with the neighbouring Moabite, Idumæan, and Arab tribes, and probably many dialects were spoken, the records of which have perished for ever. Yet the Hebrew of the Jerusalem Pharisee, the language of the Samaritans, the speech of the men of Galilee, and the patois of the borderers, were all Semitic dialects. No place is found for the alien speech of Greece. Yet it must not be forgotten that Greek was the language of trade and literature. It would be heard in the seaports, and in the neighbourhood of the great roads by which communication was kept up through Palestine between Asia Minor, Mesopotamia, and Egypt. It was spoken by many in the Roman garrisons, and was the adopted tongue of the Jews of the Dispersion, who cultivated Hellenism, and brought their foreign customs to Jeru-

salem, when they came to worship or for temporary residence (see Ac 6[1]). But the language of the Palestinian home, of the Palestinian synagogue, of farmers, artisans, and labourers, as well as of educated Jews, who cultivated the ancient ways, was Hebrew, using that term for the moment in a somewhat extended sense. Very significant is the reference to the vernacular in Ac 1[19], and the obvious inference is confirmed by the description of the title on the cross. Besides the official notice in Latin, which probably few could read, the accusation was written in Greek and in Hebrew. If the majority of the passers by would understand the former, the latter was superfluous. Even if the Hebrew was added only to please the mob, this fact would prove that the lower classes were partial to their vernacular, and were at least bilinguists, and not in the habit of using Greek exclusively (cf. Ac 22[2]).

The story of Peter's denial incidentally adds another confirmation. He conversed in a language which was understood by the servants and others of the same class assembled round the fire, but he was recognized as a northerner by his accent. There is no evidence that the Galilæans pronounced Greek differently from the Judæans, but it is known that their pronunciation of some of the Hebrew letters differed from that of the southerners. Peter and the servants had a Semitic vernacular in common, though with dialectic differences of pronunciation, and possibly of vocabulary.

In the Syrian Church historical documents have been handed down which, whatever be the dates of the existing works, undoubtedly represent very ancient traditions, and depend on documents such as would have been preserved amongst the archives of Edessa. In the *Doctrine of Addai* this remarkable statement occurs: 'Him whose Gospel has been spread abroad by the signs which his disciples do, who are Hebrews, and only know the tongue of the Hebrews, in which they were born.' In the same Church there was a tradition that their national version of the NT was rather a second record than a translation, and dated from Apostolic times. Such a view (whether true or false matters not now) depends on an assumption that some language related to Syriac, if not Syriac itself, was the vernacular of the Apostles.

The greater part of the NT consists of writings intended for the benefit of Jews who resided outside Palestine, and of converts from heathenism. For such readers the vernacular of Palestine would have been unsuitable; and those of the writers who were not familiar with Greek could employ a translator. St. Peter is said to have been attended by Mark in this capacity. We have already referred to the tradition that Matthew, who wrote for the benefit of his countrymen, composed a Gospel in Hebrew. That some one should have undertaken a work of that nature is highly probable; but the circulation would be limited, for the native Jewish Church did not long retain the position of importance it possessed at first (Ac 21[20]), and the collection of sacred writings into a Canon was the work of Greek-speaking Christians. The Epistle of St. James is one of the earliest books of the NT, but though intended for Jewish Christians it was written in Greek, as a literary vehicle. An apparent, though not a real, difficulty is presented by the style of certain pieces included in the sacred narratives. The *Magnificat, Nunc Dimittis*, and Lord's Prayer, for example, which must be translations, in accordance with our view of the use of a Semitic vernacular, are thought to savour rather of original composition than of translation. But it should be remembered that the ancient idea of a version was different from ours. Literal rendering often (though not always) yielded to the demands of commentary. Perhaps (to take another, and, as some think, crucial instance), the angel could not have saluted Mary in the native dialect with the famous alliteration—*Chaire kecharitōmenē*; and yet the Evangelist may have recorded the '*Hail! highly favoured*' in that form, influenced by the style of OT diction, in which play on words is a marked feature.

The majority of the quotations in the Gospels appear to be derived from some form of the Septuagint Greek text of the OT. It does not follow that the speakers habitually used Greek. All we can safely infer is that the Evangelists, when writing in Greek, employed a version which had acquired considerable authority by usage, to express the quotations they recorded.

It has been thought that the conversations between our Lord and the woman of Samaria and the Syrophœnician woman must have been carried on in Greek as a common language. It is forgotten that Syriac, Samaritan, and the so-called Hebrew of Palestine, were nearly related. Many to whom one or other of these was the vernacular, would have some slight acquaintance with the others. However, the object of this article is not to deny that Christ knew, and sometimes spoke, Greek, but to reinforce the arguments by which we conclude that the vernacular of Palestine was Semitic, and that therefore Christ's teachings were, for the most part, delivered in a different tongue from that in which they have come to us in the Greek Gospels.

By far the greater number of personal and place names connected with Palestine in the NT are of Semitic derivation, but they afford no evidence in relation to our inquiry. The preservation and use of such names would be consistent with a change in the vernacular. Place names are practically permanent; personal names are often sentimentally borrowed from a dead ancestral tongue. Nor would we lay stress on the occurrence of Semitic words, as *rabbi, korban, pascha* ('passover'), in the Greek text. The men of our Lord's day, whatever dialect they spoke, were the heirs of a religious and social system which had its roots in Hebraism, and of which there were constant reminiscences in the daily use of words belonging to the ancient terminology. But other non-Greek expressions are recorded in connexions which lend them a much greater significance. In Ac 1[19] we are informed that the Semitic name *Akeldama*, which was given to a certain field, was in the 'proper tongue' of 'the dwellers at Jerusalem.' Our Lord's words on two occasions are given in Semitic,—*Talītha kūmi* (Mk 5[41]), and *Ephphatha* (7[34]). On the cross He uttered a cry which might have been a quotation from Ps 22[1]; but the form preserved in Mk 15[34] varies dialectically from the Hebrew of the opening words of that psalm.

These and other Semitic remains preserved in the pages of the NT, even when account has been taken of all place and personal names and single words, as well as of the few phrases, afford but limited evidence, and are only a few specimens of the Palestinian vernacular. Yet they suffice to show that the dialect was neither ancient Hebrew nor the classical Syriac. It had arisen through corruption of the ancestral tongue, under the influence of surrounding languages, especially Aramaic. Probably it varied considerably in different parts of the Holy Land, and there were 'dialects' rather than 'a dialect' of Palestine. But all the evidence tends to the conviction that Christ habitually employed some form of the vernacular in His discourses, and not the alien language of Greece. G. H. Gwilliam.

LANTERN.—Only Jn 18[3], where some form of 'torch' is more probably intended. The Greek is *phanos*, a word not found elsewhere in Biblical Greek.

LAODICEA was situated in the valley of the Lycus, a tributary of the Mæander in Asia Minor. It was founded by Antiochus II. about the middle of the 3rd cent. B.C. It was planted in the lower Lycus glen, Colossæ being situated in the upper. The Lycus glen was the most frequented path of trade from the interior of the country to the west, and the great road passed right through Laodicea. The city was nearly square, and strongly fortified, but dependent for its water supply on an acqueduct 6 miles long. It played a comparatively small part in the dissemination of Greek culture. Its prosperity advanced greatly under the Romans. It was an important manufacturing centre, for instance, for a soft glossy black wool, which was made into garments of various kinds (cf. Rev 3[18]). In connexion with the temple of the Phrygian god Men Karou (13 miles W. of Laodicea), there grew up a celebrated school of medicine. Its most famous medicines were an ointment made from spice nard, which strengthened the ears, and

Phrygian powder, obtained by crushing Phrygian stone, which was used for the eyes (Rev 3^{18}). There were many Jewish inhabitants of Laodicea, and the population as a whole was of very mixed race. There is a want of individuality about the life of this city, which has been called 'the city of compromise.' The church there was not founded by St. Paul, but probably by one of his coadjutors, perhaps Epaphras (cf. Col 4^{13}). It was no doubt one of the cities which received the 'Epistle to the Ephesians' (Col 4^{16}), as well as the Epistle to the Colossians (Col 4^{16}). It was one of the 'seven churches' of the Apocalypse (3^{14-22}). Its condemnation is perhaps the severest of all. A. Souter.

LAPPIDOTH ('torches' or 'lightning flashes').—The husband of Deborah the prophetess (Jg 4^{4}). Some commentators take the term to be descriptive of the character of Deborah, 'a woman of lightning flashes.' In favour of this they urge the feminine termination *-oth*, but the same termination is found elsewhere to men's names, e.g. *Meremoth*. T. A. Moxon.

LAPWING.—See Hoopoe.

LASCIVIOUSNESS.—The Greek word so translated in Mk 7^{22} etc. is translated **'wantonness'** in Ro 13^{13}. This is the translation in the VSS before AV in nearly all the passages where AV has 'lasciviousness.' The idea of the Gr. word is shameless conduct of any kind.

LASEA is mentioned by St. Luke (Ac 27^{8}), but by no other ancient author. It was the nearest town to Fair Havens in Crete, but it was 5 miles away, and this, apart from the inconvenience of the roadstead, would explain the reluctance of the captain of St. Paul's ship to winter there. The ruins of Lasea were examined in 1856,—the site still bears the ancient name. A. E. Hillard.

LASHA (Gn 10^{19}) marked the S.E. boundary of the land of the Canaanites. Jerome identified it with the hot springs of Callirrhoë, in the *Wâdy Zerqâ Ma'ên*. Wellhausen would identify it with Laish, on the N. frontier. There is nothing to support this but the resemblance in the name. Against it is the order in which the names occur. It cannot now be identified. W. Ewing.

LASSHARON.—A town taken by Joshua (12^{18}). LXX B reads here 'the king of Aphek in Sharon.' The *Onomasticon* gives the name of 'Sharon' to a second district, viz. that between Mount Tabor and Tiberias. The name *Sarôna* attaches to an ancient site on the plateau, 6½ miles S.W. of Tiberias, which may possibly represent Lassharon (Conder). W. Ewing.

LASTHENES.—An officer of high rank, 'kinsman' (1 Mac 11^{31}) and 'father' (v. ^{32}) of Demetrius II. He raised a body of Cretan mercenaries, and enabled Demetrius to land in Cilicia, and wrest the throne of Syria from Alexander Balas (Jos. *Ant.* XIII. iv. 3; cf. 1 Mac 10^{67}). When Demetrius was endeavouring to make terms with Jonathan the Maccabæan, he wrote to Lasthenes in favour of the Jews, and forwarded a copy of his letter to the Jewish prince (1 Mac 11^{29-37}).

LATCHET.—See Dress, § 6.

LATIN.—In such provinces as Judæa the Latin language alone had place in official acts and Roman courts. Where Greek was allowed in court pleadings, it was, so to speak, an act of grace on the judge's part, and there can be little doubt that, *e.g.*, the speech of Tertullus in Ac 24 was in Latin. The Latin words used in a Greek form in the NT are mainly administrative, legal, or military (e.g. *census, custodia, prætorium, colonia, libertinus, centurio, legio*), or names of Roman coins (*denarius, quadrans*), but the total number of such Latin words occurring is only about 25. The Gentile names adopted by Jews were generally of Greek form (e.g. *Philip*)—a Latin form like the name of St. Paul was an exception (to be expected perhaps with one so proud of Roman citizenship). Throughout Palestine, while Latin was the language of the administration, Greek was the main language of commerce, and Aramaic the language of common intercourse among Jews. Hence we find all three languages used for the superscription on the cross (Lk 23^{38}). A. E. Hillard.

LATIN VERSIONS.—See Text (of OT and NT) and Vulgate.

LATTICE.—See House, § 7.

LAUD.—In Ro 15^{11} the AV has 'Praise the Lord, all ye Gentiles; and laud him, all ye people.' The Gr. vbs. being different, two different Eng. vbs. are used. But the RV turns 'laud' into 'praise.' In the OT, however, 'laud' and 'praise' are both used in order to distinguish two Heb. vbs., as in Ps 117^{1} 145^{4}, though not quite consistently. In Ps 147^{12} the difference between the verbs is ignored.

LAUGHTER.—Laughter is used in the Bible in three ways. (1) It is opposed to weeping, as Ec 3^{4} 7^{3}, Job 8^{21}, Ps 126^{2}, Lk 6^{21}. (2) It expresses incredulity, as Gn 17^{17} 18^{12}. (3) It signifies derision, as Ps 2^{14}, Bel ^{19}.

LAVER.—See Tabernacle, § 4, Temple, § 6 (*d*).

LAW (IN OT).—**1.** That the 'law was given by Moses' (Jn 1^{17}) represents the unanimous belief both of the early Christians and of the Chosen Nation. He was their first as well as their greatest law-giver; and in this matter religious tradition is supported by all the historical probabilities of the case. The Exodus and the subsequent wanderings constitute the formative epoch of Israel's career: it was the period of combination and adjustment between the various tribes towards effecting a national unity. Such periods necessitate social experiments, for no society can hold together without some basis of permanent security; no nation could be welded together, least of all a nation in ancient times, without some strong sense of corporate responsibilities and corporate religion. It therefore naturally devolved upon Moses to establish a central authority for the administration of justice, which should be universally accessible and universally recognized. There was only one method by which any such universal recognition could be attained; and that was by placing the legal and judicial system upon the basis of an appeal to that religion, which had already been successful in rousing the twelve tribes to a sense of their unity, and which, moreover, was the one force which could and did effectually prevent the disintegration of the heterogeneous elements of which the nation was composed.

2. We see the beginning and character of these legislative functions in Ex 18^{15}, where Moses explains how 'the people come unto me to inquire of God: when they have a matter they come unto me; and I judge between a man and his neighbour, and make them know the statutes of God, and his laws (*tôrôth*).' Originally *tôrah* (the usual word in the OT for 'law') meant, as in this passage, oral instruction or direction. This kind of *tôrah* survived for long in Israel. It was a 'method strictly practical and in precise conformity with the genius and requirements of primitive nations,' W. R. Smith (*OTJC*² 339). Cases of exceptional difficulty were brought to the sanctuary, and the decisions there given were accepted as emanating from the Divine Judge of Israel (cf. 1 S 2^{25}; and, for the use of 'Elohim' to signify the judges speaking in Jehovah's name, cf. Ex 21^{6} 22^{7}). The cases thus brought 'before God' may be divided into three classes, as they dealt respectively with (1) matters of moral obligation, (2) civil suits, (3) ritual difficulties. We read that Moses found it necessary to devolve some of this administrative work upon various elders, whom he associated with himself in the capacity of law-givers.

In this connexion it is important to remember that—(*a*) These decisions were orally given. (*b*) Although binding only on the parties concerned, and in their case only so far as they chose to submit to the ruling of the judge, or as the latter could enforce his authority, yet with the increasing power of the executive government such decisions soon acquired the force of consuetudinary law for a wider circle,

until they affected the whole nation. (*c*) Such oral direction in no sense excludes the idea of any previous laws, or even of a written code. The task of the judges was not so much to create as to interpret. The existence and authority of a law would still leave room for doubt in matters of individual application. (*d*) As social life became more complex, the three divisions of the *tōrah* became more specialized; civil suits were tried by the judge; the prophets almost confined themselves to giving oral direction on moral duties; the priests were concerned mainly with the solution of ritual difficulties. Cf. JUSTICE (II.).

Here, then, we can trace the character of Hebrew legislation in its earliest stages. Law (*tōrah*) means oral direction, gradually crystallizing into consuetudinary law, which, so far from excluding, may almost be said to demand, the idea of a definite code as the basis of its interpretative function. Finally, when these directions were classified and reduced to writing (cf. Hos 8^{12}), *tōrah* came to signify such a collection; and ultimately the same word was used as a convenient and comprehensive term for the whole Pentateuch, in which all the most important legal collections were carefully included.

3. The *tōrah* of the Prophets was moral, not ceremonial. The priests, while by their office necessarily much engaged in ceremonial and ritual actions, nevertheless had boundless opportunities for giving the worshippers true direction on the principles underlying their religious observances; and it is for their neglect of such opportunities, and not, as is often crudely maintained, on account of any inherently necessary antagonism between priestly and prophetical ideals, that the prophets so frequently rebuke the priests,—not because of the fulfilment of their priestly (*i.e.* ceremonial) duties, but because of the non-fulfilment of their prophetical (*i.e.* moral) opportunities. For the priests claimed Divine sanction for their worship, and tradition ascribed the origin of all priestly institutions to Mosaic (or Aaronic) authorship. This the prophets do not deny; but they do deny that the distinctive feature of the Sinaitic legislation lay in anything but its moral excellence. In this connexion the words of Jeremiah cannot be quoted too often: 'I spake not unto your fathers, nor commanded them in the day that I brought them out of the land of Egypt, concerning burnt-offerings or sacrifices; but this thing I commanded them, saying —Hear my voice, . . . and walk ye in the way that I command you' (Jer $7^{21.\ 22}$). The correct interpretation of Am $5^{24\text{-}26}$ corroborates Jeremiah's contention. It is wholly unwarrantable to say that the prophets condemned the sacrificial system, or denied its worth and Divine sanction; but, on the other hand, we are justified in asserting that the *tōrah* of Jehovah, 'the law of the Lord,' meant to the prophets something wholly different from the punctilious observance of traditional ceremonies; and what is more, they appeal without fear of contradiction to the contents of the Mosaic legislation as completely establishing their conviction that it was in the sphere of morality, rather than in the organizing of worship, that the essence of Jehovah's law was to be found.

4. With this test (as well as with the considerations proposed in § 1) the character of the *Decalogue* is found to be in complete agreement. Its Mosaic origin has indeed been questioned, on the ground that such an ethical standard is wholly at variance with the 'essentially ritualistic character' of primitive religions. To this it may be replied: we cannot call the prophets as witnesses for the truth of two mutually contradictory propositions. Having already cited the prophets in disproof of the Mosaic authorship of the Levitical legislation, on the ground that the latter is essentially ritualistic (and therefore does not correspond to the prophets' view of the Law of Moses), it is monstrously unfair to deny the Sinaitic origin of what is left in conformity with the prophetical standard, on the ground that it ought to be 'essentially ritualistic' also, and is not.

We have rightly had our attention called to the witness of the prophets. But the weight of their evidence *against* the early elaboration of the ceremonial law is exactly proportioned to the weight attached to their evidence *for* the existence and authenticity of the moral code.

A more serious difficulty, however, arises from the fact that we have apparently three accounts of the Decalogue, exhibiting positively astounding divergences (Ex 20, Dt 5, and Ex 34). The differences between Ex 20 and Dt 5 are not hard to explain, as the Ten Words themselves are in each case identical, and it is only in the explanatory comments that the differences are marked. Stylistic peculiarities, as well as other considerations, seem to show that these latter are subsequent editorial additions, and that originally the Decalogue contained no more than the actual commandments, without note or explanation. It is, however, most instructive to observe that no theory of inspiration or literary scruples prevented the editors from incorporating into their account of the Ten Words of God to Moses, the basis of all Hebrew legislation, such comments and exhortations as they considered suitable to the needs of their own times. The difficulty with regard to Ex 34, where a wholly different set of laws seems to be called 'The Ten Words,' has not been solved. Hypotheses of textual displacement abound (cf. *OTJC*[2] 336), others confidently assert that the author 'manifestly intends to allude to the Decalogue' (Driver, *LOT*[6] 39), while some scholars have suggested, with much force and ingenuity, that we have in Ex 20–23 and 34 a series of abbreviations, re-arrangements, and expansions of ten groups of ten laws each. No final solution has yet been reached; but we may hold with confidence that the traditional account of the Decalogue is correct, and that the Ten Commandments in their original and shorter form were promulgated by Moses himself. On this basis the law of Israel rests, and in the Pentateuch we can distinguish the attempts made from time to time to apply their principles to the life of the people.

5. The Book of the Covenant (Ex 20^{22}–23^{33}) is a collection of 'words' and 'judgments' arising out of the needs of a very simple community. The frequent mention of the ox, the ass, and the sheep proves that this code of law was designed for an agricultural people. The state of civilization may be inferred from the fact that the principles of civil and criminal justice are all comprehended under the two heads of retaliation and pecuniary compensation (cf. *OTJC*[2] 340). Religious institutions also are in an undeveloped and archaic stage. The laws, however, recognize, and even insist upon, the claims of humanity and justice. It is possible that the original code may have been promulgated at Sinai; but if so, it has received considerable expansions to suit the agricultural requirements, which first became part of Israel's daily life in the early years of the occupation of Canaan.

6. The Law of Deuteronomy shows a civilization far in advance of that contemplated in the preceding code. Life is more complex; and religious problems unknown to an earlier generation demand and receive full treatment. It is not difficult to fix its approximate date. In the year B.C. 621, king Josiah inaugurated a national reformation resulting from the discovery of a *Book of the Law* in the Temple. All the evidence points to this book being practically identical with Deuteronomy; all the reforms which Josiah inaugurated were based upon laws practically indistinguishable from those we now possess in the Deuteronomic Code; in fact, no conclusion of historical or literary criticism has been reached more nearly approaching to absolute certainty than that the Book of the Law brought to light in 621 was none other than the fifth book of the Pentateuch.

But was it written by Moses?—(i.) The book itself nowhere makes such a claim. (ii.) The historical situation (suiting the times of the later monarchy) is not merely

anticipated, but actually presupposed. (iii.) The linguistic evidence points to 'a long development of the art of public oratory.' (iv.) The religious standpoint is that of, *e.g.*, Jeremiah rather than Isaiah. (v.) Some of its chief provisions appear to have been entirely unknown before 600; even the most fervid champions of prophetism before that date seem to have systematically violated the central law of the one sanctuary. (vi.) While subsequent writers show abundant traces of Deuteronomic influence, we search in vain for any such traces in earlier literature. On the contrary, Deut. is itself seen to be an attempt to realize in a legal code those great principles which had been so emphatically enunciated by Hosea and Isaiah.

The laws of Deuteronomy are, however, in many instances much earlier than the 7th century. The Book of the Covenant supplies much of the groundwork; and the antiquity of others is independently attested. It is not so much the substance (with perhaps the exception of (*a*) below) as the expansions and explanations that are new. A law-book must be kept up to date if it is to have any practical value, and in Deuteronomy we have 'a prophetic re-formulation and adaptation to new needs of an older legislation' (*LOT*[6] 91).

The main characteristics of Deut. are to be found in—

(*a*) *The Law of the one Sanctuary*, which aimed at the total extinction of the worship of the high places. By confining the central act of worship, *i.e.* the rite of sacrifice, to Jerusalem, this law certainly had put an end to the syncretistic tendencies which constituted a perpetual danger to Israelitish religion; but while establishing monotheism, it also somewhat impoverished the free religious life of the common people, who had aforetime learned at all times and in all places to do sacrifice and hold communion with their God.

(*b*) The wonderful *humanity* which is so striking a feature of these laws. The religion of Jehovah is not confined to worship, but is to be manifested in daily life; and as God's love is the great outstanding fact in Israel's history, so the true Israelite must show love for God, whom he has not seen, by loving his neighbour, whom he has seen. Even the animals are to be treated with consideration and kindness.

(*c*) The *evangelical fervour* with which the claims of Jehovah upon Israel's devotion are urged. He is so utterly different from the dead heathen divinities. He is a living, loving God, who cannot be satisfied with anything less than the undivided heart-service of His children.

It is not surprising that Deuteronomy should have been especially dear to our Lord (cf. Mt 4), or that He should have 'proclaimed its highest word as the first law no longer for Judah, but for the world' (Mt 12[28-30], Dt 6[4-5]) [Carpenter, quoted by Driver, *Deut.* p. xxxiv.].

7. The Law of Holiness (Lv 17–26) is a short collection of laws embedded in Leviticus. The precepts of this code deal mainly with moral and ceremonial matters, and hardly touch questions of civil and criminal law. We should notice especially the prominence of agricultural allusions, the multiplication of ritual regulations, the conception of sin as impurity, and, again, the predominance of humanitarian principles.

8. The Priestly Code, comprising the concluding chapters of Exodus, the whole of Leviticus, and other portions of the Hexateuch, probably represents a determined attempt to give practical effect to the teaching of Ezekiel. We may approximately fix its date by observing that some of its fundamental institutions are unknown to, and even contradicted by, the Deuteronomic legislation. On the other hand, the influence of Ezekiel is prominent. The Priestly editor, or school, lays special stress on the ceremonial institutions of Israelite worship. We must not, however, conclude that they are therefore all post-exilic. On the contrary, *the origin* of a great number is demonstrably of high antiquity; but their *elaboration* is of a far more modern date. It is sometimes customary to sneer at the Priestly Code as a mass of 'Levitical deterioration.' It would be as justifiable to quote the rubrics of the Prayer Book as a fair representation of the moral teaching of the Church of England. As a matter of fact, P does not profess to supplant, or even to supplement, all other laws. The editor has simply collected the details of ceremonial legislation, and the rubrics of Temple worship, with some account of their origin and purpose. In later history, the expression of Israel's religion through Temple services acquired an increased significance. If the national life and faith were to be preserved, it was absolutely essential that the ceremonial law should be developed in order to mark the distinctive features of the Jewish creed. It is argued that such a policy is in direct contradiction to the universalistic teaching of the earlier prophets. That may be so, but cosmopolitanism at this stage would have meant not the diffusion but the destruction of Jewish religion. It was only by emphasizing their national peculiarities that they were able to concentrate their attention, and consequently to retain a firm hold, upon their distinctive truths. Ezekiel's ideal city was named 'Jehovah is there' (48[35]). P seeks to realize this ideal. All the laws, all the ceremonies, are intended to stamp this conviction indelibly upon Israel's imagination, 'Jehovah is there.' Therefore the sense of sin must be deepened, that sin may be removed: therefore the need of purification must be constantly proclaimed, that the corrupting and disintegrating influences of surrounding heathenism may not prevail against the remnant of the holy people: therefore the ideal of national holiness must be sacramentally symbolized, and, through the symbol, actually attained.

9. It must be plain that such stress on ritual enactments inevitably facilitated the growth of formalism and hypocrisy. We know that in our Lord's time the weightier matters of the law were systematically neglected, while the tithing of mint, anise, and cummin, together with similar subtleties and refinements, occupied the attention of the lawyer and exhausted the energies of the zealous. But our Lord did not abrogate the law either in its ceremonial or in its moral injunctions. He came to fulfil it, that is, to fill it full, to give the substance, where the law was only a shadow of good things to come. He declared that not one jot or tittle should pass away till all things were accomplished; that is to say, until the end for which the law had been ordained should be reached. It took people some time to see that by His Incarnation and the foundation of the Christian Church that end had been gained; and that by His fulfilment He had made the law of none effect—not merely abrogating distinctions between meats, but transferring man's whole relation to God into another region than that of *law*.

10. 'The law was given by Moses, but grace and truth came by Jesus Christ.' The impossibility of ever fulfilling its multitudinous requirements had filled the more earnest with despair. There it remained confronting the sinner with his sin; but its pitiless 'Thou shalt' and 'Thou shalt not' gave him no comfort and no power of resistance. The law was as cold and hard as the tables on which it was inscribed. It taught the meaning of sin, but gave no help as to how sin was to be overcome. The sacrificial system attempted to supply the want; but it was plain that the blood of bulls and goats could never take away sin. In desperation the law-convicted sinner looked for a Saviour to deliver him from this body of death, and that Saviour he found in Christ. The law had been his 'pedagogue,' and had brought him to the Master from whom he could receive that help and grace it had been powerless to bestow. But Christianity not merely gave power; it altered man's whole outlook on the world. The Jews lived *under the law*: they were the unwilling subjects of an inexorable despotism; the law was excellent in itself, but to them it remained something external; obedience was not far removed from bondage and fear. The prophets realized the inadequacy of this legal system: it was no real appeal to man's highest nature; it did not spring from the man's own heart; and so they prophesied of the New Covenant when Jehovah's laws should be written in the heart, and His sin-forgiving grace should remove all elements of servile fear (cf. esp.

Jer 31[31-34]); but it was only the hard discipline of the law that made them realize the necessity and superiority of a more spiritual covenant between man and his God.

11. A word may be said about *the giving of the law*. Whatever physical disturbances may have accompanied its original proclamation, it is not upon such natural phenomena that its claims to the homage of mankind are based. It is, in a manner, far more miraculous that God should at that early age, among those half-civilized tribes, have written these laws by His spirit on man's conscience and understanding, than that amid thunder and flame He should have inscribed them with His own fingers upon two tables of stone. The Old Testament itself teaches us that we may look in vain for God among the most orthodox manifestations of a theophany, and yet hear Him speaking in the still, small voice. Miracle is not the essence of God's revelation to us, though it may accompany and authenticate His message. The law stands because the Saviour, in laying down for us the correct lines of its interpretation has sealed it with the stamp of Divine approval, but also because the conscience and reason of mankind have recognized in its simplicity and comprehensiveness a sublime exposition of man's duty to his God and to his neighbour; because 'by manifestation of the truth it has commended itself to every man's conscience in the sight of God' (cf. 2 Co 4[2]).

ERNEST ARTHUR EDGHILL.

LAW (IN NT).—This subject will be treated as follows: (1) the relation of Jesus Christ to the OT Law; (2) the doctrine of law in St. Paul's Epistles; (3) the complementary teaching of Hebrews; (4) the attitude of St. James representing primitive Jewish Christianity.

1. Our Lord stated His position in the saying of Mt 5[17]: 'I did not come to destroy the law or the prophets, but to fulfil.' The expression covers the whole contents of Divine Scripture (sometimes, for brevity, spoken of simply as 'the law'; see Jn 10[34] 12[34] 15[25]), which He does not mean to invalidate in the least (Mt 5[18]), as the novelty of His teaching led some to suppose (see 7[28f.]), but will vindicate and complete. But His 'fulfilment' was that of the Master, who knows the inner mind and real intent of the Scripture He expounds. It was not the fulfilment of one who rehearses a prescribed lesson or tracks out a path marked for him by predecessors, but the crowning of an edifice already founded, the carrying forward to their issue of the lines projected in Israelite revelation, the fulfilment of the blade and ear in 'the full corn.' Jesus penetrated the shell to reach the kernel of OT representations; and He regarded *Himself*—His Person, sacrifice, salvation, Kingdom—as the focus of manifold previous revelations (see Lk 4[17-21] 16[16] 24[27], Jn 1[17] 6[45]). The warning of Mt 5[17-20] was aimed at the Jewish legists, who dissolved the authority of the law, while jealously guarding its letter, by casuistical comments and smothering **traditions**, who put light and grave on a like footing, and blunted the sharpness of God's commands in favour of man's corrupt inclinations. The Corban formula, exposed in Mk 7[7-13], was a notorious instance of the Rabbinical quibbling that our Lord denounced. It is a severer not a laxer ethics that Jesus introduces, a searching in place of a superficial discipline; 'Your righteousness,' He says, 'must *exceed* that of the scribes and Pharisees.'

Our Lord's fulfilment of 'the law'—*i.e.* in the stricter sense, the body of Mosaic statutes regulating Israelite life and worship—included (*a*) *the personal and free submission* to it, due to His birth and circumcision as a son of Israel (Gal 4[4]; cf. Mt 3[15] 8[4] 15[24] 17[27], Lk 2[21ff.]).

His fulfilment included (*b*) *the development of its unrecognized or partially disclosed principles*. Thus Jesus asserted, in accordance with views already advanced among the scribes, that 'the whole law and the prophets hang on the two commandments' of love to God and to our neighbour (Mt 22[34-40], Lk 10[25-37])—the parable of the Good Samaritan gives to the second command an unprecedented scope. His distinction between 'the weightier matters' of 'justice, mercy, fidelity,' and the lighter of tithes and washings, was calculated to revolutionize current Judaism.

(*c*) A large part of the Sermon on the Mount (Mt 5[21-48]) is devoted to *clearing the law from erroneous glosses and false applications*: on each point Jesus sets His 'I say unto you' against what 'was said to the ancients'—mere antiquity goes for nothing; nor is He careful to distinguish here between the text of the written law and its traditional modifications. With each correction the law in His hands grows more stringent; its observance is made a matter of inner disposition, of intrinsic loyalty, not of formal conduct; the criterion applied to all law-keeping is that it shall 'proceed out of the heart.'

(*d*) Further, our Lord's fulfilment of the law necessitated *the abrogation of temporary and defective statutes*. In such instances the letter of the old precept stood only till it should be translated into a worthier form and raised to a higher potency (Mt 5[18]), by the sweeping away of limiting exceptions (as with the compromise in the matter of wedlock allowed to 'the hard-heartedness' of Israelites, Mt 19[8-9]), or by the translation of the symbolic into the spiritual, as when cleansing of hands and vessels is displaced by inner purification (Mk 7[14-23], Lk 11[37-41]; cf. Col 2[16f.], He 9[9f.]). Our Lord's reformation of the marriage law is also a case for (*b*) above: He rectifies the law by the aid of the law; in man's creation He finds a principle which nullifies the provisions that facilitated divorce. The abolition of the distinction of 'meats' (Mk 7[19]), making a rift in Jewish daily habits and in the whole Levitical scheme of life, is the one instance in which Jesus laid down what seemed to be a new principle of ethics. The maxim that 'what enters into the man from without cannot defile,' but only 'the things that issue out of the man,' was of far-reaching application, and supplied afterwards the charter of Gentile Christianity. Its underlying principle was, however, implicit in OT teaching, and belonged to the essence of the doctrine of Jesus. He could not consistently vindicate heart-religion without combating Judaism in the matter of its ablutions and food-regulations and Sabbath-keeping.

(*e*) Over the last question Jesus came into the severest conflict with Jewish orthodoxy; and in this struggle He revealed the consciousness, latent throughout His dealings with OT legislation, of being the sovereign, and not a subject like others, in this realm. Our Lord 'fulfilled the law' by *sealing it with His own final authority*. His 'I say unto you,' spoken in a tone never assumed by Moses or the prophets, implied so much and was so understood by His Apostles (1 Co 7[10], Gal 6[2], 1 Jn 2[3f.] etc.). Christ arrogates the rôle of 'a son over his house,' whereas Moses was 'a servant in the house' (He 3[5f.]). Assuming to be 'greater than Solomon,' 'than Abraham,' 'than the temple' (Mt 12[6. 42], Jn 8[53]), He acted as one greater than Moses! The Sabbath-law was the chosen battle-ground between Him and the established masters in Israel (Mk 2[23-28] 3[2ff.], Lk 13[10-17], Jn 5[9-16]). In the public Sabbath assemblies Jesus was oftenest confronted with cases of disease and demoniacal possession; He must do His work as God's 'sent' physician. The Sabbath-rules were clear and familiar; His infraction of them in acts of healing was flagrant, repeated, defiant; popular reverence for the day made accusations on this count particularly dangerous. Men were placed in a dilemma: the Sabbath-breaker is *ipso facto* 'a sinner'; on the other hand, 'how can a *sinner* do such signs?' (Jn 9[16. 24ff.]). Jesus argues the matter on legal grounds, showing from recognized practice that the 4th Commandment must be construed with common sense, and that 'it is lawful to do good on the Sabbath day' and to work in the service of God (Mt 12[5. 11f.]). He goes behind those examples to the governing principle (see (*b*) above), that 'the Sabbath was made for man, and not man for the Sabbath' (Mk 2[27f.]): the institution is designed for human benefit, and its usages should be determined by its object. But He is not content with saying this: the war against Him was driven on the

Sabbath-question *à outrance*; Jesus draws the sword of His reserved authority. He claims, as sovereign in human affairs, to decide what is right in the matter—'The Son of Man is lord of the Sabbath'; more than this, He professes to have wrought His Sabbath works as God the Father does, to whom all days are alike in His beneficence, and through the insight of a Son watching the Father at His labour (Jn 5^{17-20})—a pretension, to Jewish ears, of blasphemous arrogance: 'He maketh himself equal with God!' On this ground Jesus was condemned by the Sanhedrin (cf. Jn 19^{7}), because He set Himself above the Sabbath, on the strength of being one with God. Thus the law of Moses put Jesus Christ to death; it was too small to hold Him; its administrators thought themselves bound to inflict the capital sentence on One who said, 'I am the Son of the Blessed' (Mk $14^{61ff.}$).

(*f*) At the same time, Caiaphas, the official head of the system, gave another explanation, far deeper than he guessed, of the execution: 'That Jesus should die for the nation, and not for the nation only' (Jn $11^{49ff.}$). Virtually, He was offering Himself for 'the lamb' of the Paschal Feast, ready to be slain in sacrifice, that He might 'take away the sin of the world.' This mysterious relation of the death of Jesus to Divine law He had hinted at here and there (Mt 20^{28} 26^{28}, Lk 22^{37}, Jn 3^{14} 6^{51} 12^{24}); its exposition was reserved for His Apostles speaking in the light of this grandest of all fulfilments. Jesus *made good the implicit promise of the sacrificial institutions of Israel.*

2. The word 'law' occurs 118 times in St. Paul's Epistles,—103 times in Romans and Galatians alone. It is manifest how absorbing an interest the subject had for this Apostle, and where that interest mainly lay. Gal 2^{19} puts us at the centre of St. Paul's position: 'I through law died to law, that I might live to God.' From legalism, as from a house of bondage, he had escaped into the freedom of the sons of God. (*a*) Paul 'died to the law,' as he had understood and served it when a Pharisee, regarding obedience to its precepts as the sole ground of acceptance with God. He had sought there 'a righteousness of' his 'own, even that which is of the law' (Ph 3^{9}), to be gained by 'works,' by which he strove to merit salvation as a 'debt' due from God for service rendered,—a righteousness such as its possessor could 'boast of' as 'his own' (Ro 4^{1-5} 9^{31}–10^{3}). Pursuing this path, 'Israel' had failed to win 'the righteousness of God,' such as is valid 'before God'; the method was impracticable—justification on the terms of 'the law of Moses' is unattainable (Ac $13^{38f.}$, Ro 8^{3}). Instead of destroying sin, the law arouses it to new vigour, 'multiplying' where it aimed at suppressing 'the trespass' (Ro 5^{20} 7^{7-13}, 1 Co 15^{56}). Not the 'law' in itself, but the 'carnal' sin-bound nature of the man, is to blame for this; arrayed against 'the law of God,' to which 'reason' bows, is 'another law' successfully oppugning it, that 'of sin' which occupies 'my members' (Ro 7^{12-23}), and which is, in effect, a 'law of death' (8^{2}).

(*b*) But St. Paul's Judaistic experience had a positive as well as a negative result: if he 'died to law,' it was '*through* law'; 'the law has proved our *pædagogus* [for leading us] to Christ' (Gal 3^{24}). Law awakened conscience and disciplined the moral faculties; the Jewish people were like 'an heir' placed 'under guardians and stewards until the appointed times,' and trained in bond-service with a view to their 'adoption' (Gal 4^{1-5}). Even the aggravations of sin caused by the law had their benefit, as they brought the disease to a head and reduced the patient to a state in which he was ready to accept the proffered remedy (Ro 7^{24}). 'The Scripture' had in this way 'shut up all things under sin,' blocking every door of escape and blighting every hope of a self-earned righteousness (Gal $3^{21f.}$), that the sinner might accept unconditionally the 'righteousness which is through faith in Christ' (Ph 3^{9}).

(*c*) Contact with Gentile life had widened St. Paul's conception of moral law; it was touched by the influences of Greek philosophy and Roman government. He discerned a law established 'by nature,' and 'inscribed in the hearts' of men ignorant of the Mosaic Code and counting with Jews as 'lawless.' This Divine *jus* (and *fas*) *gentium* served, in a less distinct but very real sense, the purpose of the written law in Israel; it impressed on the heathen moral responsibility and the consciousness of sin (Ro 2^{6-16}). The rule of right and wrong Paul regards as *a universal human institute*, operating so as to 'bring the whole world under judgment before God' (Ro 3^{9-19}); its action is manifested by the universal incidence of death: in this sense, and in the light of 2^{12-15}, should be read the obscure parenthesis of Ro $5^{13f.}$, as stating that 'law' is concomitant with 'sin'; the existence of sin, followed by death, in the generations between Adam and Moses proves that law was there all along, whether in a less or a more explicit form; the connexion of sin and death in humanity is, in fact, a fundamental legal principle (Ro 8^{2}).

(*d*) Having 'died to law' by renouncing the futile salvation it appeared to offer, the Apostle had learned to live to it again in a better way and under a nobler form, since he had begun to 'live to God' in Christ. St. Paul is at the farthest remove from Antinomianism; the charge made against him on this score was wholly mistaken. While no longer '*under* law,' he is 'not lawless toward God, but *in law* toward Christ' (Ro $6^{14f.}$, 1 Co 9^{21}). The old *ego*, 'the flesh with its passions and lusts,' has been 'crucified with Christ' (Gal 2^{20} 5^{16-24}). God's law ceases to press on him as an external power counteracted by 'the law of sin in the members'; the latter has been expelled by 'the Spirit of God's Son,' which 'forms Christ' in him; the new, Christian man is 'in law' as he is 'in Christ'—he sees the law now from the inside, in its unity and charm, and it constrains him with the inward force of 'the law of the Spirit of life in Christ Jesus' possessing his nature. He 'serves' indeed, but it is 'in the new' life wrought 'of the Spirit, and not in the old' servitude to 'the letter' (Ro 7^{6}). Constituting now 'one new man,' believers of every race and rank 'through love serve one another,' as the hand serves the eye or the head the feet; for them 'the whole law is fulfilled in one word, Thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself' (Ro 13^{8-10}, 1 Co $12^{13.\ 25f.}$, Gal $5^{13f.}$, Eph 2^{15-18}). The Christian 'fulfils *the law of Christ*,' as the limb the law of the head. Thus St. Paul's doctrine of the Law joins hands with that of Jesus (see **1** above). Thus also, in his system of thought, the law of God revealed in the OT, when received from Christ revised and spiritualized, and planted by 'faith' along with Him in the believer's heart (cf. Jer 31^{31-34}), becomes for the first time really valid and effective: 'Do we nullify law through faith? God forbid; nay,' he cries, 'we establish law!' (Ro 3^{31}).

(*e*) Neither Jesus nor Paul makes a formal distinction between the moral and the ceremonial law (see, however, Ro 9^{4}). St. Paul's teaching bears mainly on the former: as a Pharisee he had no ritualistic bent, and his ambition was for ethical perfection. 'Circumcision' has lost in his eyes all religious value, and remains a mere national custom, now that it ceases to be the covenant-sign and is replaced in this sense by baptism (1 Co $7^{18ff.}$, Gal 6^{15}, Col $2^{11ff.}$). It becomes a snare to Gentiles when imposed on them as necessary to salvation, or even to advancement in the favour of God; for it binds them 'to keep the whole law' of Moses, and leads into the fatal path of 'justification by law' (Gal 2^{2-5} $3^{2ff.}$ 5^{3-6}). St. Paul's contention with the legalists of Jerusalem on this question was a life and death struggle, touching the very 'truth of the gospel' and 'the freedom' of the Church (Ac 15^{1-11}, Gal 2^{1-10} 5^{1}). The same interests were threatened, more insidiously, by the subsequent attempt, countenanced by Peter and Barnabas at Antioch, to separate Jewish from Gentile Christians at

table through the re-assertion of the Mosaic distinction of 'meats' which had been expressly discarded by Jesus. The assumption of a privileged legal status within the Church meant the surrender of the whole principle of salvation by faith and of Christian saintship (Gal 2[11-21], Ro 14[17f.], 1 Co 8[8]; cf. Mk 7[14-23]). In some Churches Paul had to deal with the inculcation of Jewish ritual from another point of view. At Colossæ the dietary rules and sacred seasons of Mosaism were imposed on grounds of ascetic discipline, and of reverence towards angelic (*scil.* astral) powers; he pronounces them valueless in the former respect, and in the latter treasonous towards Christ, who supplies 'the body' of which those prescriptions were but a 'shadow' (Col 2[16-32]).

3. Col 2[17] forms a link between the doctrine of St. Paul on the Law and *the complementary teaching of the writer of Hebrews*,—a Jew of very different temperament and antecedents from Saul of Tarsus. This author emphasizes the ceremonial, as Paul the moral, factors of the OT; the Temple, not the synagogue, was for him the centre of Judaism. 'The first covenant,' he says, 'had ordinances of divine service,' providing for and guarding man's approach to God in worship (He 9[1] etc.); for St. Paul, it consisted chiefly of 'commandments expressed in ordinances' (Eph 2[15]), which prescribe the path of righteousness in daily life. 'The law' means for this great Christian thinker the institutions of the Israelite priesthood, sanctuary, sacrifices—all consummated in Christ and His 'one offering,' by which 'he has perfected for ever them that are sanctified' (He 9[1]–10[14]). In his view, the law is superseded as the imperfect, provisional, and ineffective, by the perfect, permanent, and satisfying, as the shadowy outline by the full image of things Divine (7[18f.] 8[1-4] 10[1-4]); 'the sanctuary of this world' gives place to 'heaven itself,' revealed as the temple where the 'great high priest'—Divine-human in person, sinless in nature, perfected in experience, and immeasurably superior to the Aaronic order (4[14ff.] 7[26ff.])—'appears before the face of God for us,' 'having entered through the virtue of his own blood' as our 'surety' and 'the mediator of' our 'covenant,' who has won for mankind 'an eternal redemption' (2[9] 7[22] 8[6] 9[24-28]). Jesus thus 'inaugurated a new and living way into the holy place' (in contrast with the old and dead way of the law); as experience proves, He has 'cleansed the conscience from dead works to serve the living God,' while the law with its repeated animal sacrifices served to remind men of their sins rather than to remove them (7[25] 9[14] 10[1-4]). Equally with St. Paul, the *auctor ad Hebræos* regards 'remission of sins' as the initial blessing of the Christian state, which had been unattainable 'under law,' and 'the blood of Christ' as the means of procuring this immense boon. In Paul's interpretation, this offering 'justifies' the unrighteous 'before God' and restores them to the forfeited status of sonship; in the interpretation of Hebrews, it 'cleanses' worshippers and brings them 'nigh to God' within His sanctuary; on either view, the sacrifice of Calvary removes the barriers set up, by man's sin 'under the law,' between humanity and God.

4. For St. James also the OT law was transformed. He conceives the change in a less radical fashion than Paul or the writer of Hebrews; James stands sturdily on the platform of the Sermon on the Mount. Re-cast by 'the Lord of glory' and charged with 'the wisdom that cometh from above,' the law is new and glorified in his eyes; like Paul, he knows it as 'the law of Christ.' All the disciples of Jesus were one in the place they gave to that which James calls 'the sovereign law, Thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself' (2[8-13]; cf. 1 Co 13); deeds of pure brotherly love prove 'faith' alive and genuine; they make it 'perfect,' and guarantee the believer's 'justification' (ch. 2). When he describes this law as 'a perfect law, the law of liberty,' James' idea is substantially that of Paul in 1 Co 9[21] and Ro 8[2. 4], viz. that the law of God is no yoke compelling the Christian man from without, but a life actuating him from within; the believer 'bends over it' in contemplation, till he grows one with it (1[24]; cf. 2 Co 3[18]). 'The tongue' is the index of the heart, and St. James regards its control as a sure sign of perfection in law-keeping (3[1-12]). James treats of the law, not, like Paul, as it affects the sinner's standing before God,—nor, like the author of Hebrews, as it regulates his approach in worship,—but as it governs the walk before God of the professed believer. His Epistle is, in effect, a comment on the last clause of Ro 8[4], 'that the righteousness of the law may be fulfilled in us.'

5. The word 'law' is entirely wanting in the Epistles of St. Peter and of St. John. 1 P 1[18. 19] 2[24] 3[18] manifest the influence of Paul's doctrine of salvation on the writer; while 1 Jn 1[7. 9] indicates a leaning to the mode of representation characteristic of Hebrews, and 1 Jn 2[2] and 4[10] virtually sustain the doctrine of St. Paul on law, sin, and sacrifice.

G. G. Findlay.

LAWGIVER.—The word is found six times in the AV of the OT (Gn 49[10], Nu 21[18], Dt 33[21], Ps 60[7] 108[8], Is 33[22]). The Heb. *mĕchōqēq*, which it translates, is from a root meaning to 'cut' or 'engrave,' and hence to 'enact' a law, afterwards to be engraved on the public archives. The Heb. word appears to have two meanings: (1) 'ruler'; so in Dt 33[21], where RVm gives 'ruler,' and in Is 33[22], where the parallelism shows the meaning—'Jehovah is our judge, Jehovah is our lawgiver.' (2) 'Ruler's staff'; so in Gn 49[10], where the word is parallel to 'sceptre,' and in Ps 60[7] 108[8], where the RV renders it 'Judah is my sceptre.'

In the NT the word 'lawgiver' (Gr. *nomothetēs*) is found once only (Ja 4[12]); there it is applied to God as 'the lawgiver and judge,' who is regarded as the Supreme Source of all law. Other passages (He 7[11], Ro 9[4]) where kindred Gr. words are used, have a reference to the law of Moses, or, to be more exact, the law of Israel.

T. A. Moxon.

LAWYER.—This term in Scripture does not belong so much to the legal as to the religious sphere. The 'lawyers' busied themselves with the study and exposition of the Written and the Oral Law of Israel, and were practically identical with the scribes (wh. see).

LAYING ON OF HANDS.—This ceremony, of frequent occurrence in both OT and NT, is a piece of natural symbolism with the central idea that through physical contact the person performing it identifies himself with the other in the presence of God. In OT this is done with a view to the transference (*a*) of a Divine blessing (Gn 48[14ff.]; cf. Nu 27[18. 23], Dt 34[9]); (*b*) of a burden of guilt (Lv 1[4] 4[3f. 24] 16[21f.] etc.). In NT, while it is variously employed, the general idea is always that of blessing.

1. The simplest case is when Jesus lays hands of *blessing* on the little children (Mt 19[13. 15] ||). The fact that the mothers desired Him to do so shows that this was a custom of the time and people. The narrative in Mt. shows further that, as used by Jesus, it was no magical form, but the symbolic expression of what was essentially an act of prayer (19[13]).

2. In His deeds of *healing* Jesus constantly made use of this symbol (Mk 6[5] 8[23], Lk 4[40] 13[13]; cf. Mt 9[18] ||, Mk 7[32])—an example which was followed by the Apostolic Church (Ac 9[12. 17] 28[8]). In these cases, however, besides its religious symbolism, the act may further have expressed the healer's sympathy (cf. the hand laid even on the leper, Mk 1[41], Lk 5[13]), or have been designed to bring a reinforcement to faith.

3. In the early Church the imposition of hands was used, sometimes in close association with the act of *baptism* (Ac 9[17. 18] 19[5. 6]; cf. He 6[2], which, however, may include all the various kinds of laying on of hands), but sometimes quite apart from it (Ac 8[17. 19]), as an *accompaniment of prayer* that believers might receive a special endowment of the Holy Ghost in charismatic

forms. That this endowment does not mean the essential gift of spiritual life, but some kind of 'manifestation' (1 Co 12[7]), is proved when Ac 9[17] ('filled with the Holy Ghost') is compared with Ac 2[4], and when 8[15. 17] is read in the light of the request of Simon Magus (v.[18ff.]), and 19[2] in the light of 19[6]. The case of Ananias and Saul (9[17]) further proves that the laying on of hands for this purpose was not a peculiar Apostolic prerogative.

4. In four passages the laying on of hands is referred to in connexion with an act that corresponds to **ordination** (the word in its ecclesiastical sense does not occur in NT. 'Ordained' in Ac 14[23] should be 'elected' or 'appointed'; see RV). The Seven, after being chosen by the multitude, were appointed to office by the Apostles, with prayer and the laying on of hands (Ac 6[6]). The 'prophets and teachers' of the Church at Antioch 'separated' Barnabas and Saul for their missionary work by laying their hands on them with fasting and prayer (13[3]). Timothy received the 'gracious gift' which was in him with the laying on of the hands of a body of elders (see art. PRESBYTERY), with which St. Paul himself was associated (cf. 1 Ti 4[14] with 2 Ti 1[6]). Timothy's 'gracious gift' probably means his special fitness to be St. Paul's companion in the work of a missionary evangelist (see Hort, *Chr. Ecclesia*, p. 184 ff.).

5. Of the *manner* in which deacons and elders or bishops were set apart to office no information is given in NT. The injunction, 'Lay hands suddenly on no man' (1 Ti 5[22]), has often been supposed to refer to the act of ordination; but the fact that the whole passage (vv.[19-25]) deals with offenders points rather to the imposition of hands in the restoration of the penitent (cf. 2 Co 2[6f.], Gal 6[1]), a custom that certainly prevailed in the early Church at a later time. The fact, however, that Jewish Rabbis employed this rite when a disciple was authorized to teach, favours the view that it was commonly practised in the Apostolic Church, as it was almost universally in the post-Apostolic, in consecration to ministerial office. But the silence of the NT at this point is against the supposition that the rite was regarded as an essential channel of ministerial grace, or anything more than the outward and appropriate symbol of an act of intercessory prayer (see Mt 19[13], Ac 6[6] 13[3] 28[8]; and cf. Augustine, *de Baptismo*, iii. 16, 'What else is the laying on of hands than a prayer over one?'). See, further, art. BISHOP.

J. C. LAMBERT.

LAZARUS.—A common Jewish name, a colloquial abbreviation of *Eleazar*.

1. The brother of Martha and Mary, the friend of Jesus (Jn 11[3. 11. 36], where 'love' and 'friend' represent the same root in Greek). The family lived at Bethany, a village within two miles of Jerusalem just over the brow of Olivet. Lazarus was the subject of the greatest miracle of the Gospel story (Jn 11[1-44]). In the last year of His ministry Jesus sojourned at Jerusalem from the Feast of Tabernacles in October to that of the Dedication in December; and, on being driven out by the violence of the rulers (Jn 10[31. 39]), He retired to 'Bethany beyond Jordan' (10[40]; cf. 1[28] RV). A crowd followed Him thither, and in the midst of His beneficent activities of teaching and healing tidings reached Him that His friend had fallen sick. He might have responded immediately to the sisters' appeal either by hastening to their home and laying His hand on the sick man, or by sending forth His word of power and healing him across the intervening distance of some twenty miles (cf. Jn 4[46-54], Mt 15[21-28] = Mk 7[24-30]). But He did neither; He remained where He was for two days, until Lazarus was dead. He desired not only to manifest His power to His friends, but to make a signal appeal to impenitent Jerusalem, by working a miracle which would attest His Messiahship beyond all question.

At length He set forth. If the messenger started in the morning, he would reach Jesus the same evening. Jesus stayed two days, and setting out early would arrive on the evening of the fourth day. Thus on His arrival Lazarus had been dead four days (v.[39]). In that sultry climate burial followed immediately on death, and it sometimes happened that a swoon was mistaken for death, and the buried man came to life again. The Jewish belief was that the soul hovered about the sepulchre for three days, fain to re-animate its clay. On the fourth day decomposition set in, and hope was then abandoned. Jesus arrived on the fourth day, and there was no doubt of the reality of Lazarus' death and of the ensuing miracle. It was not a recovery from a trance, but a veritable resurrection. He went to the rock-hewn sepulchre, and in presence of the sisters and a large company of mourners, including many of the rulers who had come from the adjacent capital to testify their esteem for the good Lazarus and their sympathy with Martha and Mary (v.[19]), summoned the dead man forth and restored him, alive and well, to his home. It was a startling miracle. It made a profound impression on the multitude, but it only exasperated the rulers. They convened a meeting of the Sanhedrin and determined to put Jesus to death (vv.[47-53]).

He retired to Ephraim near the frontier of Samaria, and stayed there until the Passover drew near; then He set out for Jerusalem to keep the Feast and to die. Six days before it began (Jn 12[1]), He reached Bethany, and despite the Sanhedrin's decree He received a great ovation. He was honoured with a banquet in the house of one of the leading men of the village, Simon, who had been a leper and had probably been healed by Jesus (Jn 12[2-11] = Mt 26[6-13] = Mk 14[3-9]). Lazarus was one of the company. The news of His arrival at Bethany reached Jerusalem, and next day the multitude thronged out and escorted Him in triumph into the city. It was the raising of Lazarus that excited their enthusiasm (Jn 12[9. 17. 18]).

After this Lazarus appears no more in the Gospel story. Surely he of all men should have stood by Jesus at His trial and crucifixion; and the explanation of his absence is probably that he had been forced to flee. Observing the popular enthusiasm, the infuriated rulers had determined to put him also to death (Jn 12[10. 11]). He would withdraw more for Jesus' sake than for his own. His presence only increased the Master's danger.

2. The beggar in our Lord's parable (Lk 16[19-31]).—This is the only instance where Jesus gives a name to a parabolic character, and there was an idea in early times that it was not a parable but a story from real life. A name was found also for the rich man—*Ninevis* or *Phinees*. He is often styled **Dives,** but this is merely Latin for 'the Rich Man.' In fact, however, Lazarus is less a name than a definition. It means 'God has helped'; and Jesus calls the beggar *Lazarus* by way of indicating what commended him to God. He was not only poor but also diseased. It is, however, a mistaken notion that he was a leper (hence *lazzeretto, lazar-house*), for then he must have kept afar off and durst not have lain at the rich man's gateway.

The parable is a drama with two scenes: (1) The conditions of the Rich Man and the Beggar here—the former with his mansion, his fine clothing, his sumptuous table; and the latter lying at his gateway, full of sores, with none to tend him, hungrily eyeing the feast, and glad of any scraps that were flung to him. (2) Their conditions hereafter—a striking reversal: Lazarus in Abraham's bosom, *i.e.* the place of honour (cf. Jn 13[23]), at the heavenly feast; the Rich Man in Hades, thirsting for a drop of water.

The parable is clothed with Jewish imagery. 'Hell' in v.[23] is *Hades*, the Greek equivalent of the Hebrew *Sheol*, the unseen world, where, according to Jewish theology, all souls, good and bad alike, had their abode and received their due reward. It was an aggravation of the misery of the wicked that they had the felicity of the righteous continually in view (cf. Rev 14[10]). A feast, with Abraham the father of the faithful presiding, was the Jewish ideal of the felicity

of the Messianic Kingdom (cf. Mt 8^{11}). Jesus, ever anxious to appeal to His hearers, has clothed His parable with this familiar imagery.

The purpose of the parable is not to condemn riches and exalt poverty in the spirit of Ebionitic asceticism. It is an enlargement of the Lord's admonition in v.^{9}: 'Make to yourselves friends by means of the mammon of unrighteousness, that, when it shall fail, they may receive you into the eternal tabernacles' (RV). The merit of Lazarus was not that he was poor, but that he had found his help in God; the offence of the Rich Man was not that he was rich, but that he lived a self-indulgent and luxurious life, regardless of the misery around him. Had he made friends to himself of Lazarus and others like him by means of his mammon of unrighteousness, he would have had a place and a welcome among them when he entered the unseen world. DAVID SMITH.

LEAD.—See MINING AND METALS.

LEAH.—The elder daughter of Laban, married to Jacob by stratagem (Gn $29^{21ff.}$). Jacob's love for her was less than for Rachel (v.^{30}); sometimes she is said to be hated (vv.$^{31.\ 33}$). She was the mother of Reuben, Simeon, Levi, Judah, Issachar, Zebulun, and a daughter Dinah (29^{31-35} $30^{18.\ 20.\ 21}$). She was buried in the cave of Machpelah before Jacob went to Egypt (49^{31}). She is mentioned in Ru 4^{11}. Her name probably means 'mistress,' equivalent to Assyrian *lî'at* (Haupt, *GGN*, 1883, p. 100, and others). This is preferable to the view that it means 'wild cow,' from the Arabic, chiefly because the correspondence in form of the words is more exact. GEORGE R. BERRY.

LEASING.—A 'leasing' is a lie. Wyclif uses the word often. Thus Jn 8^{44} 'Whanne he spekith a lesinge, he spekith of his owne thingis; for he is a lyiere, and fadir of it.' The word occurs in AV in Ps 4^{2} 5^{6} and 2 Es 14^{18}.

LEATHER.—See ARTS AND CRAFTS, § 5.

LEAVEN.—The leaven both of OT and of NT may be assumed to have always consisted of a piece of fermented dough from a previous baking. There is no clear trace, even in the Mishna, of other sorts of leaven, such as the lees of wine or those enumerated by Pliny (*Hist. Nat.* xviii. 26). In ordinary cases, in the preparation of the household bread, the lump of dough, above referred to, was either broken down into the water in the kneading-trough (see BREAD) before the fresh flour was added, or it might be 'hid' in the latter and kneaded along with it, as in the parable, Mt 13^{33}. The bread made from dough thus prepared was 'leavened bread' (Ex 12^{15} and oft.); cakes made from flour without the addition of leaven received the special name **mazzoth,** 'unleavened cakes,' which gave their name to 'the feast of unleavened cakes' (Ex 23^{15} etc., EV 'unleavened bread').

The prohibition of leavened bread during the continuance of this Feast, including the Passover, is probably another illustration of conservatism in ritual, the nomadic ancestors of the Hebrews, like the Bedouin of the present day, having made their bread without leaven. The further exclusion of leaven from the offerings placed upon the altar of J"—although admitted when the bread was to be eaten by the priests (Lv 7^{13} 23^{17})—is to be explained, like the similar exclusion of honey, from the standpoint that fermentation implied a process of corruption in the dough. The antiquity of this prohibition is attested by its occurrence in the earliest legislation (Ex 34^{25} 23^{18}). It does not seem to have been observed, however, in Amos' day in the Northern Kingdom (see the Comm. on Am 4^{5}).

This antique view of leaven as (in Plutarch's words) 'itself the offspring of corruption, and corrupting the mass of dough with which it has been mixed,' is reflected in the figurative use of 'leaven' in such passages as Mt 16^{6} ||, and especially in the proverbial saying twice quoted by St. Paul, 'a little leaven leaveneth the whole lump' (1 Co 5^{6}, Gal 5^{9}; cf. 1 Co $5^{7f.}$). In Mt 13^{33}, however, it is the silent but all-pervading action of leaven in the mass of the dough that is the point of comparison. A. R. S. KENNEDY.

LEBANA (Neh 7^{48}) or **LEBANAH** (Ezr 2^{45}).—The head of a family of returning exiles; called in 1 Es 5^{29} **Labana.**

LEBANON, now *Jebel Lebnān*, is mentioned more than 60 times in the OT. The name, from the root *lābān* ('white'), was probably given on account of the mountain's covering of snow. The snow of Lebanon is mentioned in Jer 18^{14}. Many passages refer to its beauty, particularly in relation to its cedars and other trees (see Ps 72^{16}, Ca 4^{11}, Hos $14^{5.\ 7}$). From Lebanon was obtained wood for building the first (2 Ch 2^{8}) and the second (Ezr 3^{7}) Temple. Lebanon was famous for its fruitfulness (Ps 72^{16}) and its wine (Hos 14^{7}).

The term 'Lebanon' may be considered in most places as referring to the whole mountain mass, more correctly distinguished as Lebanon and Anti-Lebanon (**Libanus** and **Antilibanus** of Jth 1^{7}). The two ranges traverse N. Syria, running roughly parallel, from S.W. to N.E., and are separated by a deep valley—the *biq'ah* of Jos 11^{17} 12^{7}—known to-day as *el-Buqa'*. The western range, Lebanon proper, is nearly 100 miles long, but the eastern, if Hermon is deducted as a separate entity, is only 65 miles long. The former range is divided from the mountains of Galilee by the deep chasm made by the *Litāni* river in its passage seawards. In the N. a somewhat similar gorge formed by the *Nahr el-Kebīr*, the ancient Eleutherus, divides it from the *Jebel Nusairiyeh*. The summits of the range rise in height from south to north. In the S. a few points attain to almost 7000 feet; in the centre, E. of Beyrout, *Jebel Kuneiseh* is 6960 feet, and *Jebel Sannīn* 8554 feet; further N., to the S.E. of Tripoli, is a great semicircular group of mountains, sometimes known as the 'Cedar group,' on account of the famous group of these trees in their midst, where the highest point, *Jebel Mukhmal*, reaches 10,207 feet, and several other points are almost as lofty. Geologically the Lebanon is built of three main groups of strata. Lowest comes a thick layer of hard limestone, named—after its most characteristic fossil (*Cidaris glandaria*)—Glandaria limestone; above this are strata of Nubian sandstone, yellow and red in colour, and in places 1500 feet thick, overlaid and interlaced with strata of limestone containing fossil echinoderms and ammonites; and thirdly, above this group, and forming the bulk of the highest peaks, is another layer, many thousand feet thick in places, of a limestone containing countless fossils known as hippurites, radiolites, and such like. The sandstone strata are most important, for where they come to the surface is the richest soil and the most plentiful water, and here flourish most luxuriantly the pines which are such a characteristic feature of W. Lebanon scenery. A great contrast exists between the W. and E. slopes. The former are fertile and picturesque, while down their innumerable valleys course numberless mountain streams to feed the many rivers flowing seawards. The E. slopes are comparatively barren, and, except at one point, near *Zahleh*, there is no stream of importance. Of the Lebanon rivers besides the *Nahr Litāni* (Leontes) and the *Nahr el-Kebīr* (Eleutherus), the following may be enumerated from S. to N. as the more important: *Nahr ez-Zaherani*, *Nahr el-'Auwali* (Bostrenus), *Nahr Beirūt* (Magoras), *Nahr el-Kelb* (Lycus), *Nahr Ibrahīm* (Adonis), and the *Nahr Qadīsha* or 'holy river,' near Tripoli.

The Lebanon is still fairly well wooded in a few places, though very scantily compared with ancient times, when Hiram, king of Tyre, supplied Solomon with 'cedar trees, fir trees, and algum trees out of Lebanon' (1 K 5^{6}, 2 Ch 2^{8}). In regard to cultivation there has been a very great improvement in recent years, and the terraced lower slopes of the mountain are now covered with mulberry, walnut, and olive trees as well

as vines. Many of the views in the Lebanon are of most romantic beauty, and the climate of many parts is superb. Wild animals are certainly scarcer than in olden days. In the time of Tiglath-pileser I. the elephant was hunted here, but it has long been extinct. Jackals, gazelles, hyænas, wolves, bears, and panthers (in order of commonness) are found and, inland from Sidon, the coney (*Hyrax*) abounds.

Politically the Lebanon rejoices in a freer and better government than any other part of Syria, as, since the massacres of 1860, a Christian governor, appointed with the approval of the European Powers, rules on behalf of the Sultan. The district, except in the N., is now extensively supplied with excellent carriage roads, and the range is crossed by the French railway from Beyrout to Damascus, the highest point traversed being 4880 feet above sea-level.

Between the Lebanon and Anti-Lebanon is the great hollow known to the Greeks as **Cœle-Syria**, and to-day called *Buqa' el-'Azîz*. Considered geologically, this wide valley is a product of the same great 'fault' as produced the deep Jordan valley. It is now a great, fertile, but little cultivated, plain, from 3 to 6 miles wide, and in its rise, not far from Baalbek, two famous rivers, the *Litâni* (Leontes), which flows S., and the *Nahr el-'Asi* or Orontes, which flows N., and enters the sea near Antioch. This hollow plain, besides being crossed transversely by the Damascus railway and road, is traversed over more than half its length by the new line past Baalbek, Homs, and Hamath to Aleppo. Some part of this plain, 'the valley of the Lebanon, would appear to have been conquered by the Israelites (Jos 11^{17}).

The **Anti-Lebanon** is to-day known as *Jebel esh-Sherki* or 'the east mountain,' the equivalent of 'Lebanon towards the sun-rising' of Jos 13^{5}. In Ca 7^{4} it is referred to as 'the tower of Lebanon that looketh towards Damascus.' In Dt 1^{7} 3^{25} 11^{24}, Jos 1^{4} 9^{1}, the Heb. 'Lebanon' is in the LXX tr. 'Anti-Lebanon.' Anti-Lebanon is somewhat arbitrarily divided from Hermon, which is structurally its S. extremity, by a pass (along which the French diligence road runs), and especially by the *Wady Barada*. In the N. it terminates in the plain around Homs. Its highest point is *Tâla'at Mûsa* (8755 feet), but several other peaks are almost as lofty. A valley, like the *Buqa'* in miniature, traverses the S. part of the range from N. to S., and in this rises the *Nahr Yafûfeh*, which empties its waters down the *Wady Yafûfeh* to join the *Litâni*; and the *Nahr Barada*, which, after rising in a beautiful pool at the S.W. extremity of this plain, runs down the *Wady Barada* to Damascus. The N. part of this range is very bare and wild.

E. W. G. Masterman.

LEBAOTH.—See Beth-biri.

LEBBÆUS.—See Thaddæus.

LEB-KAMAI.—In Jer 51^{1} is a phrase 'in the midst of them which rise up against me' (Heb. *leb-qamai*). This is generally recognized as being an example of the Kabbalistic rule of hermeneutics whereby a cipher word was obtained by taking the letters of the alphabet in the reverse order, the last for the first, the last but one for the second, and so on. By this process (known as Atbash), *leb-qamai* gives us *Kasdim* (the Chaldæans).

W. F. Cobb.

LEBONAH.—A place near Shiloh on the way to Shechem (Jg 21^{19}). It is prob. the ruin *Khan el-Lubban*, about 3 miles W.N.W. of *Seilûn* (Shiloh).

LECAH.—The 'son' of Er (1 Ch 4^{21}).

LEEKS.—The Heb. word *châtsîr*, which is elsewhere tr. 'grass' or 'herb,' is rendered 'leeks' in Nu 11^{5}, and in this passage, owing to the association with onions and garlic, the tr. is probably correct, leeks being *the* herb *par excellence*. The leek (*Allium porrum*) is much grown in Palestine, where it is a general favourite.

E. W. G. Masterman.

LEES.—The sediment which settled at the bottom of the wine-jars, composed of morsels of husks, stalks, etc.; in OT only in figures. See Wine and Strong Drink, § 3.

LEG.—**1.** *kĕrâ' ayim*, a fem. dual, in which form alone it appears (Ex 12^{9} etc.). It denotes the legs from knee to ankle (Gesenius). **2.** *regel* (1 S 17^{6}), lit. 'foot.' **3.** *shôq*, the leg, apparently including the thigh, for which it stands in Ex $29^{22.\ 27}$, Lv $7^{32.\ 33.\ 34}$ $8^{25f.}$ 9^{21} $10^{14f.}$, Nu 6^{20} 18^{18}, 1 S 9^{24}, in all of which AV tr. 'shoulder,' but RV, correctly, '**thigh.**' In Ps 147^{10} *shôqê hâ-îsh* may mean 'foot-soldiers.' The proverbial phrase 'hip and thigh,' is literally 'leg upon thigh' (Jg 15^{8}), descriptive of the confusion of severed limbs. **4.** *shôbel* (Is 47^{2}) means 'train' (RV, correctly, 'strip off the train'). **5.** *skelos* (Jn $19^{31ff.}$). To hasten the death of the crucified, it was customary to break their legs.

W. Ewing.

LEGION.—This term, which means literally 'a gathering,' looks back to the early days of the Roman citizen army. In the time of the Empire it indicated a force of about 6000 infantry, together with complements of other arms. The infantry proper were divided into ten **cohorts** (the word is tr. '**band**' [wh. see] in Mt 27^{27}, Mk 15^{16}, Jn $18^{3.\ 12}$, Ac 10^{1} 21^{31} 27^{1}), each containing about 600 men, and each commanded on occasion by a military tribune. Of these tribunes there were six to a legion. A cohort was itself subdivided into ten centuries, each commanded by a **centurion.** It is not necessary to remember all these facts in studying the NT use of the word 'legion' (Mt 26^{53}, Mk $5^{9.\ 15}$, Lk 8^{30}). What chiefly impressed Semites was apparently the size of the legion, and 'legion' appears to have become a proverb among them for a large number of persons in orderly combination.

A. Souter.

LEHABIM, occurring only in Gn 10^{13} (=1 Ch 1^{11}), are descendants of Mizraim, the Egyptian eponym. The general opinion is that they are the same as the **Lubim** (wh. see), whether the word is an alternative traditional pronunciation of the name of this people, or whether, as is more probable, the form here given is due to textual corruption. The fact that *Lubim* or **Libyans** is a fairly common word, and that it is not found in the ethnological list of Gn 10, where it would naturally appear in the place of Lehabim, adds something to the evidence of identity. Perhaps **Ludim** (wh. see) in the same verse is another variant.

J. F. M'Curdy.

LEHI ('jawbone').—The scene of Samson's well-known adventure with the jawbone of an ass (Jg $15^{9.\ 14.\ 19}$). The site has been placed in Judah, between the Cliff of Etam and the country of the Philistines.

LEMUEL.—The name of a king, otherwise unknown, to whom Pr 31^{1-9} is addressed by his mother. His identity has been much discussed; he has been identified (by the Rabbinical commentators) with Solomon, (by Grotius) with Hezekiah. Cf. also **Massa.** It is possible that the name is a fanciful title to represent any virtuous king, invented for the purpose of conveying certain maxims.

T. A. Moxon.

LENDING.—See Debt.

LENTILS (*'ădâshîm*, Gn 25^{34}, 2 S 17^{28} 23^{11}, Ezk 4^{9}).—These are without doubt the Arab. *'adas*—a kind of small reddish bean, the product of *Ervum lens*, a small leguminous plant 6 or 8 inches high, much cultivated in Palestine, and ripening in June or July. It is the bean from which the well-known *revalenta*, a food for invalids, is made. In Palestine a kind of 'pottage' known as *mujedderah*, universally popular, is made from it. It is of a reddish-brown colour, and is certainly the original '**red pottage**' of Esau (Gn 25^{30}).

E. W. G. Masterman.

LEOPARD (*nâmêr*).—This animal (*Felis pardus*, Arab. *nimr*) is still found at times in the wilder parts of Palestine. Its beautiful spotted skin (Jer 5^{6}) is from time to time brought into the towns for sale. Some dervishes clothe

themselves in a leopard's skin. Its fierceness (Hos 13^{7}), its agility (Hab 1^{8}), and untamableness (Is 11^{6}) are all mentioned. The name *Nimr* is a favourite one with the Arabs, who admire these qualities. In the names 'waters of *Nimrīm*' ('leopards,' Is 15^{6}, Jer 48^{34}) and 'Beth-*nimrah*' ('f. leopard,' Nu $32^{3.\ 36}$) references to the leopard also occur; cf. the 'mountains of *nĕmērīm*' (*i.e.* 'the leopards,' Ca 4^{8}). The cheetah (*Felix jubata*) is found also in Galilee, and it too may have been included under the Heb. word *nāmēr*. E. W. G. Masterman.

LEPROSY.—This term, as used in Scripture, seems to include not only true leprosy (*elephantiasis*)—probably the disease of Job—but also such skin diseases as *psoriasis*, ring-worm, and *vitiligo*. For the priestly regulations as to the diagnosis of the disease and the treatment of lepers, see art. Clean and Unclean, § 5. The 'leprosy' in garments (Lv $13^{47ff.}$) seems to be an effect of fungus or mildew, while that in houses ($14^{34ff.}$) is probably dry-rot.

LESHEM.—A form, occurring only in Jos 19^{47bis}, of the name **Laish** (see Dan).

LESSAU.—A village where an encounter took place between the Jews and Nicanor (2 Mac 14^{16}). The site is unknown, and the text is uncertain.

LET.—In Anglo-Saxon *lætan* meant 'to permit' and *lettan*, 'to hinder.' In course of time both words were spelled 'let.' Consequently in AV, besides its modern meaning of 'permit,' the vb. 'let' sometimes has the opposite meaning of 'hinder.' Thus 2 Th 2^{7}, 'only he who now letteth will let, until he be taken out of the way.' The other places are Ex 5^{4}, Nu 22^{16}m, Is 43^{13}, Wis 7^{22}, Ro 1^{13}.

LETHECH, LETHEK.—See Weights and Measures.

LETTER.—See Writing.

LETUSHIM.—One of the Dedanite tribes in N. Arabia (Gn 25^{3}), the others being **Leummim** and **Asshurim** (wh. see). In this verse LXX adds two other tribes; but in the parallel passage, 1 Ch 1^{32}, the sons of Dedan are omitted altogether both in MT and in most MSS of LXX. None of the three tribes has been identified.

J. F. M'Curdy.

LEUMMIM.—A tribe of the Dedanites (Gn 25^{3}). Cf. Letushim.

LEVI.—**1.** The third son of Jacob by Leah (Gn 29^{34} [J]). The genealogical story connects the name with the verb *lāwāh*, 'to be joined,' and P (Nu $18^{2.\ 4}$) plays upon the same word, saying to Aaron: 'Bring the tribe of Levi . . . that it may be joined (*yillāwū*) unto thee.' Many modern scholars hold to this improbable etymology of the name—improbable, among other reasons, because, unlike other tribal names, it is not nominal, but adjectival. It is said to signify 'the one who attaches himself.' Accordingly 'the **Levites** are those who attached themselves to the Semites who migrated back from the Delta, therefore, Egyptians' (Lagarde, *Or.* ii. 20, *Mitt.* i. 54). Others say 'those who were attached to the ark' as priestly attendants. Still others make it a gentilic noun, and connect it with the South-Arabian *lavi'u*, (f. *lavi'at*), 'priest.' Against this is the primitive use of 'Levite' as one of the tribe of Levi. The word is probably a gentilic from *Leah* ('wild-cow') as Wellh. (*Proleg.* 146) suggests, and as Stade (*GVI* 152) asserts. If this be correct, and it has the greater probability in its favour, it points to early totem worship.

In the Blessing of Jacob (Gn 49^{5-7}) we have one of the most important passages bearing upon the early history of this tribe and that of **Simeon**:

> 'Simeon and Levi are brethren;
> Weapons of violence are their swords.
> . . . . . .
> Cursed be their anger, for it was fierce;
> And their wrath, for it was cruel:
> I will divide them in Jacob,
> And scatter them in Israel.'

From this passage it is abundantly evident that Levi was, like all the other Israelitish tribes, a purely secular organization. Simeon and Levi are both set forth as bloodthirsty characters, and there is not the slightest hint of Levi being a priestly caste. The treacherous act referred to, which was so serious a violation of tribal morals that it cost them the sympathy of the other tribes, is probably recorded in Gn 34 in two different versions, the oldest of which is J's. The other now interwoven with it is probably P's enlargement of the original. According to the story, **Shechem,** the son of **Hamor,** became enamoured of Dinah, the sister of Simeon and Levi, and seduced her. He made an honourable arrangement to marry the girl and to discharge whatever obligations her family might impose upon him. Simeon and Levi took advantage of the Shechemites' disability and slew them. Like other stories, though related in personal form, it is tribal in intention. It portrays early relations between the Israelites and the original inhabitants. The love of the Shechemite for the daughter of Jacob points to some sort of an alliance in which the right of *connubium* was acknowledged, and the act of Simeon and Levi was, therefore, a barbarous repudiation of the rights of their native allies. From Jg 9 it is clear that the sons of Hamor re-possessed themselves of the city, the other tribes having withheld their assistance, probably more from fear of Canaanite revenge than from any overwhelming moral detestation of the act. The result was fatal for the future of the tribes, at first more particularly for Levi, but later also for Simeon. So complete were the disastrous consequences to Levi at this time that the tribal independence was lost, and the members became absorbed by the other tribes, especially by Judah. There is no mention of Levi and Simeon in Jg 5.

Some early connexion with Moses may have aided them in finding recognition about the sanctuaries in the early days. Then the altar did not call for a consecrated servitor; but, as we see in the case of Micah, who had a private sanctuary in Ephraim, there existed apparently a preference for a Levite (Jg 17). It is not absolutely clear from the reference here that '**Levite**' is equal to 'priest,' as is commonly held. This would imply that by this time all Levites were priests. '**Filling up of the hand**' (translated 'consecrated' in vv.$^{5.\ 12}$) may refer to a ceremony of induction into the priestly office, the principal act of which was the solemn placing of the god (or other religious symbol) in the hands of the future officiant at the shrine. It is the phrase used by the Assyrian kings when they speak of *the gods* bestowing upon them the kingship. It is the phrase which became the *terminus technicus* for consecration to the priesthood, and there is no reason for giving a different meaning to it here. In Jg 3–16 there is no mention of a priest. For the altar-service alone priests were not necessary, as we see in the case of Gideon and Manoah. The fact that the word '*levite*' became synonymous with 'priest' indicates that the priesthood drew heavily from the tribe. It is not the only time that worldly misfortune has contributed to religion. See also Priests and Levites, Tribes of Israel.

2. See Matthew. **3. 4.** Two ancestors of Jesus (Lk $3^{24.\ 29}$).

James A. Craig.

LEVIATHAN.—In four of the five passages where this word appears, the LXX have *dragon*, and their belief that a creature of serpentine form was meant is confirmed by the derivation of Heb. *lavāh*, which signifies 'to twist *or* wind.' The leviathan of Job 41^{1-34} is the **crocodile,** with added traits drawn from the ancient Creation myths. On the assumption that Ps 74^{12-17} refers to the Exodus, we should again find the crocodile in v.^{14}. But it is at least equally probable that the allusion is to the creation of the world (vv.$^{16.\ 17}$), and to the mythological **sea-monsters** then vanquished.

Leviathan here has several heads; the great serpent of Babylonian tradition had seven. Is 27^{1} distinguishes between two leviathans, the flying serpent, and the crooked or coiled serpent—symbols of two heathen kingdoms. The identification of the kingdoms depends on the date of the prophecy: Assyria and Babylon, Persia and Greece, Syria and Parthia, are rival suggestions. The species of sea-monster pointed to in Ps 104^{26} is left indefinite. The leviathan (RV; AV 'their mourning') aroused by magicians (Job 3^{8}) is most likely a denizen of the abyss which threatens the world with destruction. Many, however, take him to be the mythical sky-dragon which was supposed to cause eclipses. It will be noted that there is a close connexion between leviathan and the watery world. Robertson Smith held that it is a personification of the water-spout (*RS*^{2}, p. 176). The Apocalyptic and Rabbinical writers gave full scope to their fancy in dealing with this theme. Leviathan and **Behemoth** were created on the fifth day, and the depths of the sea were assigned to the former as his abode; during the last quarter of each day God plays with him (as the LXX and some recent expositors interpret Ps 104^{26}); the Jordan empties itself into his mouth; his flesh will be for food to the godly in the days of the Messiah; part of his skin will be made into a tent for them, whilst the rest is spread on the walls of Jerusalem, and its brightness is visible to the ends of the earth (En $60^{7ff.}$, 2 Es 6^{49}, Apoc. Bar 29^{4}; *Aboda zara*, 3*b*; *Baba bathra*, 74*b*; Targ. on Nu $11^{26f.}$). Cf. art. Behemoth.

J. Taylor.

LEVIRATE LAW.—See Marriage, § 4.

LEVIS.—Wrongly taken in 1 Es 9^{14} as a proper name; in Ezr 10^{15} 'Shabbethai the Levite' stands in place of 'Levis and Sabbateus.'

LEVITES.—See Levi, and Priests and Levites.

LEVITICAL CITIES.—See Priests and Levites, § d.

LEVITICUS.—1. Scope.—The book has received its title from the name 'the Levitical book,' which was prefixed to it in the LXX. Since, however, the special functions of the Levites are not referred to, the scope of the book is better brought out in the title 'Law of the Priests,' which is given to it in the Talmud. As such, Leviticus practically confines itself to legislation, and, except in the section chs. 17–26, to priestly legislation. Even the few passages, such as chs. 8 and 10, which are cast in the form of narrative, do not aim at describing what once happened, but use this form in order to prescribe what is to continue. The JE narrative, which was a history, does not appear to have been drawn upon; and Leviticus, unlike Exodus and Numbers, offers no exact dates of month and year. The book does not give a history of Israel's past, but chiefly embodies some of the rules of the one living institution which persisted in Israel from its formation as a nation to the destruction of the Temple. Since, however, this institution was moulded to meet the nation's changing circumstances, the praxis which regulated its services required and received constant modification. Some of these changes can be traced in Leviticus; but it is impossible to detail them in a brief sketch like the present. Readers who wish more details on the ritual can find them and their justification in the art. in Hastings' *DB*, or in Driver's *LOT*.

2. Sources.—The general editor is the same as the editor who arranged Exodus in its present form, though a little has been added by later hands. (1) He took from P that history of the sacred institutions which appeared in Ex 25–29 (see Exodus): chs. 8. 9, with 10^{12-15} (which supplements 9^{21}), 10^{1-7} $(16-20)$ $16^{2-4.\ 6.\ 12f.}$ $24^{1-4.\ 5-9}$. These sections are not all of the same period.

Thus ch. 8, which relates the anointing of the priests, is the fulfilment of Ex 29 and 40^{12-15}. It formed part of that expansion of Ex 25–29 which now occupies Ex 35–40, and to which also belong 24^{1-4} on the Tabernacle lamps, vv.$^{5-9}$ on the shewbread—sections which in some inexplicable way have strayed into their present incongruous position. Ch. 9 with 10^{12-15}, which recounts the sacrifices at the inauguration of the Tabernacle, originally formed the sequel of Ex 25–29, and was followed by 10^{1-7} (the story of Nadab and Abihu offering strange fire), and was closed by $16^{2-4.\ 6.\ 12f.}$ (the rule as to the time and way for Aaron to approach the Holy Place which had thus vindicated its awful sanctity). 10^{16-20} (on the goat of the sin-offering) is a later addition, and gives an interesting illustration of the way in which it was sought to reconcile differences in the older laws (cf. it with 9^{15} and 6^{24-30}).

(2) Chs. 1–6.—Into this framework the editor has fitted laws from other sources. Thus he seems to have separated ch. 8 from its natural position after Ex 40, because he counted it suitable, after the Tabernacle was set up and before the priests were anointed or the Tabernacle inaugurated, to insert the laws prescribing the sacrifices which the priests when anointed were to offer in the Tabernacle.

This law-book has its own history, and in particular once existed in two sections. Thus 6^{8}–7^{21}, with its subscription $7^{37f.}$, was originally a code addressed to the priests, dealing with matters ancillary to the sacrifices, and especially concerned with the priestly dues. Because of this esoteric character of the little code, 6^{20-23} (on the priests' meal-offering) was inserted. With the exception of that section, each of the regulations is introduced by the formula 'this is the law of'; and this formula appears in the subscription. It represents the early rules on this subject.

Again, 1^{1}–6^{7} is a book addressed to the people, defining their sacrifices, but it has received large modification. From a comparison of $1^{2f.}$ with 3^{1} it is evident that ch. 3 (the law of the peace-offering) once followed immediately on ch. 1 (the burnt-offering). These are probably very old. The different formulæ used in ch. 2 (3rd person in vv.$^{1-3}$, 2nd person in v.$^{4ff.}$) and its intrusive position prove that the law of the meal-offering has been developed. A comparison between the law of the sin-offering in ch. 4 and similar laws elsewhere proves how largely this part of the ritual has been elaborated. Thus the sin-offering for the congregation is a bullock in v.^{14} instead of the goat of 9^{15} and Nu 15^{24}; and the high priest's sin-offering (vv.$^{3-12}$) is more elaborate than that in 9^{8-11} and Ex 29^{10-14}. 5^{1-13} (examples of unintentional sins which require a sin-offering, and mitigations for the case of those who cannot afford a lamb or a goat) has suffered change, since vv.$^{2.\ 3}$ evidently break the connexion between v.^{1} and v.^{4}. It is, however, older than ch. 4, though the relation is specially difficult to define. 5^{15}–6^{7} defines the cases which require a guilt-offering, and makes it clear that originally this sacrifice was a composition for fraud practised upon God ($5^{15ff.}$) or man (6^{1-7}). When he united these codes on the sacrifices, the editor added a rule (7^{22-27}) forbidding fat and blood more expressively than 3^{17}, and a rule (7^{28-34}) giving heave leg and wave breast to the priest, and a subscription (v.$^{35f.}$).

(3) Chs. 11–15.—The priests, however, had other functions in the life of the people besides those immediately connected with the sacrifices. It was their business to determine on all questions connected with uncleanness. As soon, therefore, as the editor had described the inauguration of the Tabernacle and the priesthood, he grouped together a series of regulations bearing on this side of the priestly duties.

Chs. 11–15 deal with this more civil yet priestly function. The rules in ch. 11 on clean and unclean animals (vv.$^{2-23.\ 41-45}$, with their subscription v.$^{46f.}$) appear in a more primitive form in Dt 14^{4-20}, and have probably been taken from the Law of Holiness (see below). The law of defilement from touching unclean animals and all carcases (vv.$^{24-40}$), which prescribes also the purification required in case of neglect of the regulations, is ignored in the subscription v.$^{46f.}$ and must be an insertion. Chs. 12. 15 prescribe the forms of purification after childbirth and after certain physical secretions. In their basis these rules are very old, but the careful detail of derivative uncleanness (cf. esp. $15^{1-12.\ 19-27}$) shows where a slow elaboration has been at work. Chs. 13. 14 contain a series of directions for the diagnosis of leprosy in human beings, clothing, leather, and houses, and for the method of purification. The primitive character of the prescribed purification (14^{2-8}), along with the fact that this can be carried out apart from the Temple, proves the early origin of the rules. The gravity of the task thus imposed on the

priest and the serious issues involved make it even probable that the directions were not left to the discretion of individuals, but were early committed to writing.

(4) In ch. 16 the sacrificial ritual culminates in the **Day of Atonement.** This embodies very old elements (see AZAZEL), but has been so altered that its original character is no longer to be distinguished. The chapter in its present form contains two parts. The historical introduction (vv.[1-4. 6. 12f.], once connected with ch. 10) prescribes how and when the high priest may approach the Holy Place. The ritual of the Day of Atonement (vv.[5. 7-10. 15-34]) was united with this, because it defines the purpose for which the high priest made his annual entry. The place given to this ritual after chs. 11–15 is appropriate, because in its sacrifices priest and people united to make atonement for the sanctuary and holy things, and purge them from the pollution contracted through the forms of uncleanness specified in these chapters.

(5) LAW OF HOLINESS OR H.—Chs. 17–26 form an independent body of laws, which have had their own history, and which, after receiving something of their peculiar form from an earlier collector, have been incorporated, after considerable modifications by the general editor, into the greater law-book. That these were once independent is proved by: (*a*) the long hortatory conclusion in ch. 26 and the opening instructions as to the place of sacrifice; (*b*) the presence in them of matters which have already been dealt with (cf., *e.g.*, 17^{10-14} with $7^{26f.}$, 19^{6-8} with 7^{15-18}, 20^{25} with ch. 11); (*c*) the fact that the laws have a much wider scope than those of chs. 1–16. But this early code has not survived in its integrity, for (i.) certain subjects are broken off before completion (19^{5-8} 20^{25}); and (ii.) the arrangement of subjects shows a considerable confusion (cf. $19^{5-8.\ 20-22}$ 20^{27}).

Ch. 17 prescribes that all animals suitable for sacrifice must be slain at the sanctuary, that such animals, when sacrificed, must be offered to Jahweh alone, that blood and the flesh of carcases must not be eaten. If vv.[1-6] were ever in force while the Israelites inhabited Palestine, the order requiring every goat, sheep, or ox which was slaughtered to be brought to the Jerusalem Temple practically made it illegal to kill these animals. P, which required all sacrifices to be brought to the Jerusalem Temple as the only sanctuary, permitted all animals to be freely slaughtered, but forbade the eating of fat and blood. Probably the code, in its early form, recognized the local sanctuaries, and required the slaughter of animals suitable for sacrifice to take place before the Lord, *i.e.* at one of these accessible shrines. The change is due to the desire to discredit these shrines.

Ch. 18 is a series of laws on incest (and Molech-worship), with admonitory introduction and conclusion. Ch. 19 contains a group of miscellaneous laws, with introduction and conclusion. These laws, which are curt and direct, give an interesting view of the morals of early Israel, and should be compared and contrasted with the relative sections in Ex 20–23, Dt 22–25. Ch. 20, which is different in character from the preceding chapters, prescribes in general penalties for certain offences already specified. In it vv.[10-21] (with the penalties for incest) may be the conclusion of ch. 18. The fact, however, that it is followed by a conclusion (vv.[22-24]), while ch. 18 is provided with its own, has led some to count the two sections independent. Again, vv.[25f.] show where laws corresponding with ch. 11, if not that collection itself, originally stood in H; vv.[2-5] (against Molech-worship), vv.[6. 27] (against traffic with familiar spirits), v.[9] (against cursing father or mother) may have been brought together here, because, like most of the laws in vv.[10-21], they prescribe the death-penalty.

Chs. 21. 22 deal with priests and offerings. They state the ceremonial restraints required of the priests in their domestic life (21^{1-15}), demand bodily perfection in every officiating priest (vv.[16-24]), ordain that sacrificial food may be eaten only by those who are ceremonially clean and who can claim membership in a priestly family (22^{1-16}), and require the sacrificial animals to be perfect (vv.[17-25]). Three minor regulations as to the sacrifices (vv.[26-30]) are followed by an exhortation (vv.[31-33]). Not only the recurrent formula, 'I am the Lord,' but the insistence on a ceremonial holiness, which characterizes the early code, proves that the basis of these chapters is old. The material has been largely revised by P, but the elaborate analysis cannot be entered into here.

Ch. 23 is a calendar of the sacred seasons, which has necessarily received much change. In general, it may be said that vv.[9-20. 22. 39b. 40-43], though not left without minor modifications, belong to the early code. Here the festivals still represent the religious life of a people which is settled on the land and engaged in agriculture. No more precise date than, *e.g.*, 'when ye reap the harvest of your land,' is laid down for a festival, because no other was practicable. The people celebrated the harvest when the harvest was gathered. The other sections (vv.[1-8. 21. 23-38. 39ac. 44]) give rigid dates and betray the change which became necessary, as soon as many of the worshippers were no longer agriculturists and were scattered beyond the limits of Palestine. The definite dates prescribed by a centralized priesthood became a necessity of the national and religious life. These later sections come from P.

Ch. 24 (on vv.[1-9] see above) deals with blasphemy (v.[15f.]) and injuries to men and cattle (vv.[17-22]). These early sections closely resemble ch. 20, and may once have stood in closer connexion with it. The penalty pronounced on blasphemy was specially interesting to P, and was illustrated by an incident taken from the desert-wanderings (vv.[10-14. 23]; cf. Nu 15^{32-36}).

Ch. 25 contains the rules for the **Sabbatical year** (vv.[1-7. 20-22]) and those for the year of **Jubilee** (vv.[8-19. 23-55]). The section, vv.[20-22], has been separated from its original context in order to make the regulations contained in it apply to the Jubilee as well as the Sabbatical year. The analysis of the chapter is very uncertain. H seems to have contained the rule as to the Sabbatical year (cf. vv.[1-7] with Ex $23^{10f.}$ and note the prominent interest in agriculture). In connexion with the Jubilee, it ordered that land must not be alienated absolutely, but must revert to its original owners at the Jubilee (vv.[13-15]). It also provided for the relief of an impoverished Israelite by ordering: (*a*) that his land might be redeemed by a kinsman (v.[25]); (*b*) that usury was not to be exacted from him (vv.[35-38]); (*c*) that, when he was in bondage, he must be treated humanely (vv.[39. 40a. 43. 47. 53. 55]). P took over this early law with a number of modifications, added fresh regulations as to the redemption of land (vv.[9b. 10b-12. 23. 26-34]), and especially extended the benefits of the Jubilee from land to persons (vv.[40b-42. 44-46. 48-52. 54]). A comparison of vv.[40-42] with Dt 15^{12-18} suggests that in the course of time the latter rule had proved impracticable, and that this relaxation was designed to take its place.

Ch. 26, after two fragments, of which v.[1] is parallel to 19^{4}, and v.[2] identical with 19^{30}, contains the hortatory conclusion (vv.[3-45]), which the collector of H appended to his law-book. It closes with the subscription (v.[46]), which the editor of Leviticus added when he inserted the collection in is present position. The resemblances between vv.[3-45] and the Book of Ezekiel are too numerous to be catalogued here, but they deserve special attention.

As H is evidently incomplete and its character is strongly marked, efforts have been made to detect fragments of its legislation in other parts of the Pentateuch. In particular, Ex $31^{13.\ 14b}$, Lv $11^{1-23.\ 41-47}$, Nu 15^{37-41} have been asigned to it. It is necessary, however, to remember that undue stress should not be laid on the appearance of such characteristic formulæ as 'I am the Lord,' 'I am the Lord which sanctify you,' since, when once some laws had been countersigned by these formulæ, it was natural to introduce them into others. Even in the case of Lv 11^{1-23}, all that can be said is that similar legislation must have been in H; it is unwise to suppose that this section belonged to H, for laws of this type must have appeared in several of the codes, and in the nature of the case the language used could not greatly vary.

The law-book which is obtained after the excision of the later elements is a valuable survival of one of the codes which represented and guided the life of early Israel under the monarchy. To estimate it, both in its uniqueness and in its common characteristics, it is useful briefly to compare H with the other codes which have come down. Thus it agrees with Deut. and the Book of the Covenant (Ex 20–23) in the prominence given to the social as well as to the ceremonial life of the people, and in the recognition that this life is still largely an agricultural life. Its closer affinity to the Book of the Covenant is found in the concise formulæ into which its laws are cast, as though they were meant for direct

popular use, and in the fact that these laws are addressed to the people, not to the priest. It resembles Deut. very closely in forbidding certain forms of idolatry and semi-heathen practices which were common in Palestine. The two codes are penetrated throughout by the sense that what gives Israel its distinctive character is its religion, though they express this in different ways—H dogmatically forbidding ('for I am the Lord'), Deut. developing the reason why some things are forbidden. On the other hand, Deut. betrays the existence of a more complex and developed social life than H, though the basis for both is still the land. Thus H leaves the great festivals connected with the agricultural life, while Deut. seeks to add historical motives to them, and thus prepares for the time when the people, even though torn from the land, can find a bond of national and religious life in these festivals. Again, to H the centralized priesthood and developed ritual of Deut. are unknown: it ignores the central sanctuary and the Levites. The chief distinction between H and the Book of the Covenant is that H is more detailed and shows a larger interest in the ceremonial side of Israel's life. The latter point must not, however, be pressed too far, since H has not survived in its entirety, and, having passed through the hands of a Priestly editor, may have retained more particularly those sections which interested him, and which therefore may have been made to appear relatively more conspicuous.

Further, when compared with P, H does not conceive of Israel as grouped round the sanctuary, but regards the local sanctuaries as forming an element in the popular life. It knows nothing of the centralized and hierarchical priesthood, and the priesthood it knows is one side of a larger life, not its controlling factor. Its sacrifices are the older and simpler burnt-offering and thank-offering, without the development of guilt- and sin-offerings. Though 6^{2-7} be taken to represent the early sin-offering required by this code, its place is very secondary compared with P. The laws of H are generally cast into concise formulæ to meet practical needs. They are backed continually by religion, but the religion supplies a sanction and a command rather than a reason and a motive. The book is specially conscious of Israel's religion as one which requires separation from all heathen pollution. Holiness is separateness, 'for I Jahweh sanctify you.' The period at which the laws were compiled is still debated, but the affinity between H and Ezekiel is so close that a direct connexion must be presumed. This affinity does not consist in common phrases, nor can it be measured by identity of language; it shows itself in the common point of view which justified Ezekiel in borrowing phrases, because no others could be found which were so adequate to embody his meaning. To both holiness is the stamp of Israel's religion, and this holiness is largely construed as absence of ceremonial pollution—a pollution which includes more than ethical elements. The law-book probably arose at some sanctuary other than Jerusalem, and expressed and determined the religious life which centred there. As such, it offers a welcome and pleasant sketch of pre-exilic Israelitish life. It probably owed its survival through the Exile, in spite of the superior influence of Deut., to the fact that it deeply influenced the thought of Ezekiel. The priest-prophet preserved a book to which he owed so much; and it is not impossible that certain features in the conclusion (26^{4-45}) which have seemed to several to point to the Exile, may be due to Ezekiel himself or to a member of his school.

Ch. 27 contains rules on the commutation of vows and tithes. It belongs to P, and owes its present position to the fact that it presupposes the year of Jubilee (ch. 25).

A. C. Welch.

LEWD.—In the AV 'lewd' does not always mean 'lustful,' as it does now. That meaning, indeed, is not found in the Apocr. or NT. There the meaning is simply 'wicked,' as Ac 17^{5} 'certain lewd fellows of the baser sort.' So 'lewdness' is usually simply 'wickedness.'

LIBANUS.—The (Greek) form of the (Heb.) name **Lebanon** (wh. see), 1 Es 4^{48} 5^{55}, 2 Es 15^{20}, Jth 1^{7}, Sir 24^{13} 50^{12} [all].

LIBERTINES.—Ac 7^{8} brings the Libertines forward as a group or synagogue amongst the Hellenistic Jews concerned in the prosecution of Stephen. There is no sufficient reason for emending the text. And, the text standing as it is, the conclusion at once follows that the men in question came from Rome. The 'Libertines,' or 'Freedmen' of Rome, were a considerable class. Among the vast bodies of slaves composing the imperial and aristocratic households, emancipation was a common occurrence. The Freedmen frequently held positions of great influence, and sometimes played a noble, oftener an ignoble, part. Amongst the Libertines were found many Jews, not a few of them being the descendants of the Jerusalemites carried away by Pompey. Some of these latter, having bought their freedom and returned to the Holy City, would probably be men of more than average force and earnestness. Hence they were natural leaders in the opposition to Stephen's destructive criticism of Jewish institutionalism.

Henry S. Nash.

LIBERTY.—Moralists are accustomed to distinguish between formal freedom, or man's natural power of choice, and real freedom, or power to act habitually in accordance with the true and good. Scripture has little to say on the mere power of choice, while everywhere recognizing this power as the condition of moral life, and sees real liberty only in the possession and exercise of wisdom, godliness, and virtue. Where there is ignorance and error, especially when this arises from moral causes (Ro 1^{21}, Eph 4^{18}, 1 Jn 2^{11} etc.)—subjection to sinful lusts (Ro 7^{14-23}, Eph 2^{3}, 1 P 1^{14} $4^{2.\ 3}$; cf. 2^{16} etc.), fear and distrust of God (Ro 8^{15} He 12^{18-21} etc.), bondage to the letter of the law (Gal $4^{24.\ 25}$)—there cannot be liberty. Sin, in its nature, is a state of servitude (Jn 8^{34}). Spiritual liberty is the introduction into the condition which is the opposite of this—into the knowledge and friendship of God, the consciousness of cleansing from guilt, deliverance from sin's tyranny, the possession of a new life in the Spirit, etc. Even under the Law, saints could boast of a measure of liberty; God's commandment was found by them to be exceeding broad (Ps $119^{45.\ 96}$, cf. Ps $51^{11.\ 12}$). But the gospel gives liberty in a degree, and with a completeness, unknown under the Law and unthought of in any other religion. It does this because it is the religion of reconciliation, of the Spirit, of sonship, of love. Jesus already teaches that His yoke is easy and His burden light; this because He inculcates meekness and lowliness of heart—a spirit like His own (Mt $11^{29.\ 30}$). His religion is to St. James 'the perfect law, the law of liberty' (1^{25}). The instrument in freeing from bondage is 'the truth' (Jn 8^{32}); the agent is the Spirit of God. 'Where the Spirit of the Lord is, there,' of necessity, 'is liberty' (2 Co 3^{17}). As the result of the reception of the truth of the gospel, the believer knows himself justified and saved (Ro 6^{7}), knows God as Father, and is assured of His love (1 Jn 4^{14-18}); receives the spirit of adoption, in which is liberty (Ro $8^{15.\ 16}$); experiences deliverance from the dominion of sin ($6^{17.\ 18}$ 7^{25} 8^{2}); is set free from the yoke of outward observances (Gal 4^{9}, cf. 5^{1} 'with freedom did Christ set us free; stand fast, therefore,' etc.); has victory over the world (Gal 4^{14}, 1 Jn 5^{4}); lives in the power of the Spirit (Gal $5^{16-18.\ 22-25}$); has release from fear of death (He 2^{15}), etc. On the freedom of man's will, see Predestination, p. 749[a].

James Orr.

LIBNAH.—1. An unidentified station in the desert wanderings (Nu 33^{20}). **2.** A Canaanite city taken by Joshua after Makkedah and before Lachish (Jos 10^{29} etc.), named between Arad and Adullam (12^{15}), and

between Makkedah and Ether in the Shephēlah (15^{42}). It was given to the Levites (21^{13}, 1 Ch 6^{57}). Taking advantage of an Edomite revolt, it rose against Judah under Joram (2 K 8^{22}). It was besieged by Sennacherib (2 K 19^{8} = Is 37^{8}). Hamutal, mother of Jehoahaz and Zedekiah, was a native of Libnah (2 K 23^{31} 24^{18}, Jer 52^{1}). The district is clearly indicated, but the site is still unknown. Conder (*PEFSt*, 1897, p. 69) suggests *el-Benawy*, 10 miles S.E. of Lachish (*Tell el-Hesy*).

W. Ewing.

LIBNI.—The eldest son of Gershon, that is to say, the eponym of a principal family of Gershonite Levites, Ex 6^{17}, Nu 3^{18}, 1 Ch 6$^{17. 20}$. In 1 Ch 6^{29} [Heb. ^{14}], perhaps owing to some dislocation of the text, the name appears as that of the eponym of a family of Merarites. The patronymic **Libnites** occurs in Nu 3^{21} 26^{58}. Cf. Ladan.

LIBRARY.—See Writing, § 5.

LIBYA, LIBYANS.—See Lubim.

LICE (*kinnīm*, Ex 8$^{16-18}$, Ps 105^{31}; cf. *kēn*, Is 51^{6}, see Gnat).—RVm suggests '**sandflies** *or* **fleas**' instead of 'lice.' All the insects named are only too common in Palestine and Egypt. The three well-known varieties of *pediculi* or lice are perpetually prevalent among the dirty, and a plague of them would certainly be much more terrible than one of the harmless, though irritating 'sand-fly' (*Simulium*), and far more disgusting than one of the flea (*Pulex*). Cf. p. 733^{b}. E. W. G. Masterman.

LIDEBIR.—See Debir, No. **3**, and Lo-debar.

LIE, LYING.—1. In the OT.—The simple lie, which is a deliberate suppression of the truth in conversation, was condemned by the Levitical code as contrary to the character of holiness demanded by, and becoming to, the people of Israel's holy God (Lv 19$^{11f.}$, cf. 6$^{2f.}$). Perjury, as an aggravation of the ordinary sin, was emphatically condemned, and stringently punished in the legislative enactments of Israel (Ex 23^{1}, Dt 19$^{16-20}$). There can be no doubt that the moral consciousness of the Hebrews was alive to the sinfulness of deceit (Pr 19^{22} 21^{28} 24^{28} 25^{18} 30$^{6. 8}$; cf. Is 58^{11} AVm). The lying selfishness of Cain, and the reprehensible deception practised by Abraham, are recorded by the historian in a tone which reveals his attitude towards such acts (Gn 4^{9} 20$^{2-16}$ 12$^{11-20}$; cf. 2 K 5$^{20-27}$ where Gehazi's punishment is the reward of his thoughtless levity at a time of national gloom, as well as of his deceitful conduct and words). The moral reprobation of falsehood reaches its climax in the utterances of the prophets. According to these teachers, it is at the foundation of all human depravity (Hos 7^{13} 12^{1}, Mic 6$^{11f.}$). **Truth** can be arrived at and spoken only by those who are in personal touch with the sacred Fountain of truth (cf. Is 6$^{5-8}$). Indeed, some of the most emphatic declarations as to the moral attributes of Jehovah are based on the belief that He is above all else the God of truth (Nu 23^{19}, 1 S 15^{29}; cf. Ps 89^{35}, Ezk 24^{14}, Mal 3$^{5f.}$; see 2 Ti 2^{13}, Tit 1^{2}). Hence the enormity of the guilt of those teachers who had not Jehovah as the source of their inspiration, though they might speak in His name, who pandered to the prevailing moral degeneracy (Jer 5^{31} 6^{13} 29^{9}, Ezk 13^{6}; cf. Wis 14$^{28ff.}$ etc.), or who encouraged their hearers in idolatry with its debasing ritual (Jer 16^{19}, Jon 2^{8}; cf. Ps 31^{6}).

A curious phenomenon in the OT is the bold speculation which sought to explain the authorship of the lying instruction by which Jehovah's enemies were seduced to their own destruction. The fatuity of Ahab's conduct, and its fatal consequences, are detailed in the light of this conception (1 K 22), while, with a still more unequivocal directness, Samuel is said to have been counselled by God to deceive Saul (1 S 16$^{1f.}$). In both instances the historian is evidently interpreting events by the ideas current in his day.

2. In the NT.—Falsehood is here traced back to its source in the principle of evil. Jesus attributes its origin to Satan (Jn 8^{44}; cf. Ac 5^{3}, Rev 12^{9}). Membership in the Christian body postulated a new creation 'in righteousness and holiness of truth' (Eph 4$^{24f.}$) and forbade one member to lie to another (Col 3^{9}).

The denial of the Messiahship of Jesus is characterized by the Johannine author as a lie (1 Jn 2^{22}), while the same writer makes self-deceit the cause of that Pharisaic complacency which he so unsparingly condemns (1 Jn 1$^{8ff.}$). The Pauline representation of paganism bases its degrading moral influence on the fact that it is founded essentially on a lie (Ro 1^{22}).

The awful fate which awaits 'all liars' (Rev 21^{8}) is the outcome and direct development of the OT judgment of this sin, for it fundamentally estranges the guilty from Him whose 'word is truth' (Jn 17^{17}; cf. Rev 21^{27} 22^{15}, and see Ps 51^{6} 24^{4} 119^{160}). Cf. also Truth.

J. R. Willis.

LIEUTENANT.—See Satrap.

LIFE.—I. In the OT—

The term 'life' in EV is used, with a few unimportant exceptions, as the equivalent of one or other of two Heb. expressions: (1) *chai*, or mostly in plur. *chayyim*; (2) *nephesh*. The LXX makes a general distinction between these two, by usually rendering the former as *zōē* and the latter as *psychē*. The former term occurs more frequently than the latter. The notion of life and the terms used to denote it belong, like 'death,' to the primitive elements in human thought and speech. Roughly speaking, we may explain (1) as primarily = what is fresh, new, in active existence; and (2) as primarily = breath.

1. Self-originated movement, especially as seen in locomotion and breathing, were naturally the earliest criteria of life. So still, scientists are investigating life as merely a 'mode of motion.' Life, however, has not yet yielded up its secret to human inquiry; not yet has life, by any experiment, been produced from purely inorganic origins. Meantime those who do not stumble at a theistic view of creation hold an entirely worthy and satisfactory position in following the Genesis Creation narratives, and ascribing the origin of all life to God, who 'giveth to all life and breath and all things' (Ac 17^{25}). The mystery of life abides, but it is not in the least likely that any results of scientific investigation will ever really conflict with this position.

Life as a physical phenomenon is pre-eminently associated with animals—the living creatures of the sea, the land, and the air (Gn 1$^{21ff.}$). Plant-life is hardly recognized as such. OT writers do not go so far as to predicate life of trees in much the same way as of animals, as is the case with some of the early Greek philosophers (*e.g.* Aristotle, *Eth. Nic.* i. 7, 12). Still 'green' and 'dry,' as applied to plants, correspond to 'living' and 'dead.' There is the feeling that trees possess 'a sort of' life; and such references to trees as that concerning the fresh sprouting of a stock or root (Job 14$^{7ff.}$, Is 11^{1}) are very significant. Notice also the way in which the prosperity of man is likened to that of a flourishing tree (Ps 1^{3} etc.), and other frequent illustrative uses.

Physical life is not only primitively connected with the breath, but also with the **blood.** The effect of the draining away of the blood (as from a wound) in the lessening vitality of the body and finally death—a matter of early observation—naturally explains this. A certain sacredness thus attaches to the blood (1 S 14$^{33ff.}$), and definite prohibitive legislation relating to the eating of flesh with the blood becomes incorporated in the laws of Israel (Lv 3^{17} 7^{26} etc.). This primitive conception of blood as the seat of life lies at the root of the whole OT system of sacrifices and of all the Scripture ideas and teachings based thereupon.

The sacredness of life as such is strongly emphasized. The great value ascribed to human life is indicated by the numerous laws relating to manslaughter and to offences which interfere in any way with a man's right to live and with his reasonable use and enjoyment of life. The feeling extends to other creatures. See the suggestive words 'and also much cattle' in Jon 4^{11}. The beasts are associated with man's humiliations and

privations (Jon $3^{7f.}$, Jl $1^{18. 20}$); their life is a thing to be considered. We find the ground of this feeling in the view that God is not only the original Creator or Source of life, but directly its Sustainer in all its forms (Ps 36^{6}, Pss 104. 145 *passim*). This seems also to be the fundamental significance of the very common expression 'the living God' (lit. 'God of life').

2. Life is predominantly set forth as man's *summum bonum*. Life and death are respectively 'the blessing and the curse,' and that uniquely (Dt 30^{19}). 'Choose life' is the appeal pointing to the one desirable boon. Every man should answer to the description in Ps 34^{12}. The language which disparages life and praises death (*e.g.* Job 7^{16}, Ec $4^{1ff.}$ etc.) is the expression of an abnormal state of feeling, the outcome of man's experience of misery in one form and another. But it is not mere existence that is in itself desirable. As Orr points out, life in its Scripture use has 'a moral and spiritual connotation' (*Christian View* [1893], p. 393); and it is only the godly and righteous life that is a boon from the Scripture point of view. Such is the burden of the Wisdom books, when they speak of 'finding life,' and describe wisdom as a 'tree of life' (Pr 3^{18} 8^{35}).

3. The idea of a life to come is in many portions of the OT conspicuous by its absence. There is nothing anywhere that will compare with the NT conception of '**eternal life.**' The latter expression, it is true, is found in the OT, but only once, and that in the late-Hebrew Book of Daniel (12^{2}). It is to be remembered that, though this book is in EV numbered among the Major Prophets, its affinities are not with that group but rather with later post-Biblical Jewish writings. In these writings the use of this expression is best illustrated. Enoch, Ps.-Sol., 4 Mac. furnish examples. See also in Apocrypha, 2 Mac $7^{9. 36}$. 'Life' alone in this later use comes to be used as='life eternal.' (See, *e.g.*, 2 Mac 7^{14}; cf. in NT, Mt 7^{14} 19^{17}). Later Jewish use, however, prefers the clearer phrase, 'life of the age to come': and along this line the genesis of the term 'eternal life' must be explained. (Cf. the last clause in the Nicene Creed: 'the life of the world to come'). Jewish eschatological hopes, first for the nation and afterwards for the individual, contributed largely to the development of this idea.

At the same time, though in some parts of the OT the hope of life hereafter seems expressly excluded (see, *e.g.*, Is $38^{11. 18}$, Ec $9^{5. 10}$ [Ec 12^{7} is not in conflict, for it embodies the idea of 're-absorption,' and is not to be read in the light of Christian hope and teaching]), and this world alone is known as 'the land of the living,' the very asking of the question in Job 14^{14} is significant, and the language of Ps 16 concerning 'the path of life' lends itself readily to an interpretation looking to life beyond death.

II. In the Apocrypha.—Chs. 1–5 of Wis. yield much that is of interest relating to contemporary Jewish thought; *e.g.* God is the author of life but not of death ($1^{13f.}$ $2^{23f.}$). The wicked live in harmony with the saying, 'Let us eat and drink, for to-morrow we die' (ch. 2). The righteous have immortality as their inheritance, whilst the wicked shall be brought to judgment and shall be destroyed (chs. 3–5). For an impressive presentment of a foolish appreciation of life, see also $15^{7ff.}$. In Sir 15^{17} 'Before man is life and death,' we have an echo of Dt 30^{19}. The conception of life ('soul') as a loan that can be recalled is found in Wis $15^{8. 16}$, a close parallel with Lk 12^{20}. Such phrases as 'the fountain of life' (Sir 21^{13}) and 'the tree of life' (2 Es 2^{12} 8^{52}) recall their use in both OT and NT. For the former, see Ps 36^{9}, Pr 10^{11}, Jn $4^{10. 14}$; for the latter Gn 2^{9}, Rev 2^{7} 22^{2} etc. 2 Es 7 furnishes a notable and picturesque view of life beyond death, with the judgment of the righteous and the unrighteous. See especially the long passage beginning at v.^{75}. The return of the spirit 'to him who gave it,' v.^{78}, has none of the limitations that attend a similar reference to death in Ec 12^{7}. (See above.)

III. In NT—

The term 'life' is the Eng. equivalent of three terms used in the original—(1) *zōē*. This is of most frequent occurrence; generally corresponding to *chayyim* in OT; = life in the absolute: vitality: full, active existence. It is the term capable of embodying all progressive conceptions as to what constitutes life, and so regularly occurring in the phrase 'eternal life.' (2) *psychē*, generally = OT *nephesh*, but the fluctuation between 'life' and 'soul' (see, *e.g.*, the well-known passage Mt $16^{25f.}$) as its rendering in English is significant. The primary notion is that of the animating principle (in contrast to the 'body'). It further denotes the specific life or existence of any individual. By an easy transition it comes to stand for a man's 'self' (roughly 'soul'). (3) *bios*, occurring only a few times, = the present state of existence, this life; as in Lk 8^{14}, 1 Ti 2^{2}, 2 Ti 2^{4}, 1 Jn 2^{16} 3^{17} (*zōē*, however, is sometimes used in this sense, with 'this' or 'the present' qualifying it, *e.g.* 1 Co 15^{19}); also = means of subsistence; and so = 'living' (Lk 8^{43} 15^{12} etc.).

1. The teaching of Jesus.—As regards the *present life* we gather from the Gospels that Jesus never bewailed its brevity and vanity. The mournful notes of some of the OT Scriptures, the pensive commonplaces of so much of man's thoughts and moralizings, find no echo here. On the contrary, in His own life He graciously exemplifies the *joie de vivre*. This in one respect was made even a ground of complaint against Him (Mt 11^{19}). The sacredness of life is insisted on, and the Sixth Commandment is accentuated (Mt 5^{21}). The preciousness of life, even in its humblest forms ('sparrows,' Mt 10^{29} || Lk 12^{6}), appears in connexion with our Lord's arresting doctrine of Divine Providence, which stands in such unhesitating defiance of the sterner features of the world of life (*In Memoriam*, lv. f.).

Very conspicuously Jesus condemns over-anxiety about this life and its 'goods.' Simplicity and detachment in regard to these things are repeatedly insisted on (see, *e.g.*, Mt $6^{19. 31}$, Lk 12^{15}). Certainly the accumulation of a superabundance of the 'goods' of life at the expense of others' deprivation and want is in direct opposition to the spirit of His teaching. The deep, paradoxical saying (Mt $16^{25f.}$) about losing and finding one's life is of significance here—a saying found not only in the three Synoptics (see Mk 8^{35}, Lk 9^{24}), but also in its substance in Jn 12^{25}.

Eternal life figures conspicuously in the teaching of Jesus. He did not originate the expression: it was already established in the Rabbinical vocabulary. The subject was, and continued to be, one greatly discussed among the Jews. The phrasing of Jesus—as when He speaks of 'inheriting' (Mt 19^{29}), 'having' (Jn. *passim*), 'receiving' (Mk 10^{30}), 'entering into,' or 'attaining' (Mt 19^{17}), eternal life, or life simply—is also that of the Jewish teachers of His own and a later day. (Note even the significance of the wording in Mk 10^{17}||). 'Life' alone as='eternal life' is used in Mt 7^{14}, Mk 9^{43} etc.; also in John's Gospel (as 3^{36} 10^{10} etc.). (See above.)

The Johannine Gospel conspicuously gives 'eternal life' as a chief topic of Christ's teaching; whilst in the Synoptics 'the kingdom of God' holds the corresponding place. The connexion between the two conceptions is intimate and vital. The primary characteristic of eternal life is that it is life lived under the rule of God. The definition found in Jn 17^{3} (with which Wis 15^{3} invites comparison) shows how essentially it is a matter of moral and spiritual interests. The notion of everlastingness rather follows from this: the feeling that death cannot destroy what is precious in God's sight. Cf. Tennyson:

> '—Transplanted human worth
> Shall bloom to profit otherwhere.'

But the life is a present possession, an actual fact of experience (Jn 3^{36} 5^{24} 6^{47} etc.). We have, however, the indication of a special association of eternal life with the hereafter in Mk 10^{30} ('in the world to come') Mt 25^{46}. Cf. also p. 490^{a}.

It is the teaching of Christ that has caused the words 'eternal life' to be written, as it were, across the face of the NT. Still more are we to notice the unique claim made as to His relation to that life. The keynote of the Johannine presentation is 'in him was life' (Jn 1^4), and throughout He is consistently represented as giving and imparting this life to His people. Note also, it is eternal life as predicated of these that is principally, if not exclusively, in view in the Evangelical teaching there is little or nothing on human immortality in the widest sense.

2. The rest of the NT.—The leading theme of *1 Jn.* is 'eternal life,' and it is handled in complete accord with the Fourth Gospel.—*St. Paul* is in agreement with the Johannine teaching on the cardinal topic of eternal life. His Epistles throb with this theme, and he conspicuously presents Christ as the source of this life in its fullest conception, or the One through whom it is mediated. See Ro 6^{23}, and note his strong way of identifying Christ with this life, as in Gal 2^{20}, Ph 1^{21}, Col $3^{3.\ 4}$. Christ is also presented as author or mediator of life in the widest sense, the life that moves in all created things (Col $1^{16.\ 17}$; cf. Jn 1^3). St. Paul, again, uses 'life' alone as containing all the implicates of 'eternal life' (Ro 5^{17}, 2 Co 5^4, Ph 2^{16}). The supremely ethical value associated with life is seen in the definition given in Ro 8^6, with which cf. Jn 17^3. The new life of the Spirit as a dynamic in the present and as having the promise of full fruition in eternity, is central in the Apostle's exposition of Christianity.—For the rest, *the Apocalypse* should be noticed for its use of such images as 'crown of life,' 'book of life,' 'fountain,' 'river,' and 'water of life,' and the 'tree of life' (which we also meet with elsewhere)—all embodying the Christian hope of immortality. J. S. Clemens.

LIGHT.—To the ancient mind light was a holy thing, and the Scriptures associate it with God. He dwells in light (Ex 24^{10}, 1 Ti 6^{16}); He is clothed with light (Ps 104^2); He is light, and in Him is no darkness at all (1 Jn 1^5); His glory is the effulgence of His light (Rev 21^{23}). Cf. the ancient Greek *Evening Hymn* rendered by Keble: 'Hail, gladdening Light, of His pure glory poured,' etc. Hence Jesus, God Incarnate, is called 'the Light of the world' (Jn $1^{4.\ 5.\ 9}$ 18^{12}), 'an effulgence of the glory of God' (He 1^3); and salvation is defined as walking in His light and being enlightened by it (Jn 8^{12} $12^{35.\ 36}$, 1 Jn 1^7, 2 Co 4^6, Eph $5^{8.\ 14}$, 1 Th 5^5, 1 P 2^9). And Christians as His representatives and witnesses are the light of the world (Mt $5^{14.\ 16}$, Ph 2^{15}). On the contrary, a godless life is **darkness** (Jn 3^{19} 8^{12} 12^{46}, 1 Jn 2^{11}).

David Smith.

LIGHTNING.—Our colloquial use of 'fire' for 'lightning' had its counterpart in Heb., *e.g.* in such a phrase as 'fire (*'ēsh*) and hail' (Ex 9^{23} etc.; cf. Gn 19^{24}, 1 K 18^{38} etc.). The Heb. *'ōr* (Job 37^3) is lit. 'light'; *bāzāq* (Ezk 1^{14}) should probably read *bārāq*; *lappīd*, lit. 'torch,' is used in the plur. for 'lightnings' (Ex 20^{18}); a word of uncertain meaning, *chāzīz* (Job 28^{26} 38^{35}, Zec 10^1), is evidently related to **thunder**, and should probably in each case be tr. 'thunder-cloud.' The usual Heb. word is *bārāq*, Gr. *astrapē* (2 S 22^{15} etc., Mt 24^{27} etc.). It is used fig. for the glitter of bright metal (Dt 32^{41}, lit. 'the lightning of my sword'; cf. Ezk 21^{10}, Nah 3^3, Hab 3^{11}), and for the glittering weapon itself (Job 20^{25}). It is suggested, either by the flash of polished metal, or by the speed of the chariot (Nah 2^4). Lightning is associated with the appearance of God (Ex 19^{16} etc.), and He alone can control it (Job 38^{35}, Ps 18^{14}). With lightnings as with arrows, God scatters His enemies (Ps 144^6 etc.). A radiant face (Dn 10^6), and gleaming garments (Mt 28^3), are like lightning. There is vivid suggestiveness in the comparison of Satan's overthrow with the descent of lightning (Lk 10^{18}). Cf. the name *Barak* (Jg 4^6), with the Carthaginian *Barca*.

W. Ewing.

LIGN ALOES.—See Aloes.

LIGURE.—See Jewels and Precious Stones.

LIKHI.—The eponym of a Manassite family (1 Ch 7^{19}).

LIKING.—In older English 'liking' was used for the outward appearance, qualified by good or ill. So Job 39^4 'Their young ones are in good liking.'

LILITH.—The word occurs only in Is 34^{14}, and is rendered in AV by '**screech-owl**' and in RV by '**night-monster.**' Belonging to the post-exilic time, it is connected with Jewish ideas on demons which, as foreign influence became felt, were developed on the lines of Babylonian and Persian myths. The *Lilith* is mentioned in connexion with the desolation which would haunt Edom; it was a hairy monster, and specially dangerous to infants (cf. *Lamia*). Strange stories are told about *Lilith* by the Rabbins. It was a nocturnal spectre who assumed the form of a beautiful woman in order to beguile and destroy young children. In the Talmud she is associated with the legends of Adam, whose wife she was before Eve was created, and so became the mother of the demons. T. A. Moxon.

LILY (*shūshan*, 1 K 7^{19}; *shōshannah*, 2 Ch 4^5, Ca 2^1, Hos 14^5).—The Heb. word is probably a loan word from the Egyptian for the 'lotus.' In Arab. it is *sūsan*, which includes a great number of allied flowers—lilies, irises, gladioli, etc. No doubt the Heb. word was equally comprehensive. Flowers of this group are very plentiful in Palestine, the irises being pre-eminent for their handsome appearance. The '**lily work**' (1 K $7^{19.\ 22.\ 26}$) is likely to have been modelled after the lotus (*Nymphæa lotus*) itself: lotus-like flowers appear on some Jewish coins. The Gr. *krinon* of Mt 6^{28}, Lk 12^{27} probably had as wide a significance as *shūshan*, and included much more than actual lilies.

E. W. G. Masterman.

LIME (*sīdh*, LXX *konia*) is mentioned by name in EV only in Is 33^{12}, Am 2^1. Is 33^{12} 'the peoples shall be as the burnings of lime,' *i.e.* they shall be so utterly consumed as to be comparable to the heap of quicklime that is left after limestone has been burned in a furnace. In Am 2^1 the prophet denounces Moab because they 'burned the bones of the king of Edom into lime'—phosphate of lime being the chief ingredient of the ash of well-burned bones. In Dt $27^{2.\ 4}$ *sīdh* occurs both as vb. and noun, but is rendered '**plaister.**' For Is 27^9 see Chalk-stones. The '**whited sepulchres**' of Mt 23^{27} and the '**whited wall**' of Ac 23^3 are allusions to the whitewashing of tombs with diluted quicklime so as to render them conspicuous, and of walls for purposes of embellishment. J. C. Lambert.

LINE.—**1.** *qaw*, which is of most frequent occurrence, is properly a measuring line (*e.g.* Jer 31^{39}, Ezk 47^3, Zec 1^{16}). Figuratively it denotes a rule of life (cf. 'precept upon precept, line upon line' of Isaiah's teaching, Is 28^{10}). Ps 19^4 'their line is gone out through all the earth' has been variously interpreted. The LXX, taking the line to be a resonant cord, rendered by *phthonggos*—'a musical sound,' and St. Paul quotes that version in Ro 10^{18} (EV 'sound'). More probably, however, the idea is still that of a measuring line. Cf. Perowne (*Psalms, in loc.*), who gives 'line or boundary'—'as the heavens seems to measure and mark out the earth (whence the term horizon or boundary).' **2.** *hebhel*, a rope or cord, esp. a measuring cord used in measuring and dividing land (cf. Ps 78^{55}, Am 7^{17}, Zec 2^1). 'The lines are fallen unto me in pleasant places' (Ps 16^6) alludes to the marking out of plots of land with a measuring cord. **3.** *tiqwāh* (fr. the same root as *qaw*) is used of the cord of scarlet thread that Rahab bound in the window (Jos $2^{18.\ 21}$). **4.** *chūt*, properly a sewing-thread, only in 1 K 7^{15}. **5.** *pāthīl*, a string or cord, only in Ezk 40^3. **6.** *seredh* in Is 44^{13} is misrendered 'line,' for which RV gives '**pencil,**' RVm

'red ochre.' **7.** In NT 'line' occurs only in AV of 2 Co 10^{16}. The Gr. word is *kanōn*, a measuring rod (AVm 'rule,' RV 'province,' RVm 'limit'), and so, figuratively, a rule. Probably the Apostle's idea is that of a measuring line, as defining the boundary between his own province and another's. J. C. Lambert.

LINEN is cloth made from the prepared fibre of **flax.** In ancient Egypt great proficiency was attained in its manufacture (Pliny, *HN* vii. 56; Strabo, xvii. 41; Herod. ii. 182), and a flourishing trade was carried on (Pr 7^{16}, Ezk 27^{7}). As material of wearing apparel it has always been esteemed in the East. In a hot climate it tends to greater freshness and cleanliness than cotton or wool. The Egyptian priests were obliged to wear linen (Herod. ii. 37; Wilk. *Anc. Egyp.* iii. 117). The 'cotton garments' mentioned on the Rosetta stone were probably worn over the linen, and left outside when the priests entered a temple. The embalmed bodies of men and animals were wrapped in strips of linen. No other material was used for this purpose (Wilk. *ib.* iii. 115, 116, 484). Perhaps we may trace Egyptian influence in the place given to linen in the hangings, etc., of the Tabernacle, and in the garments of the priests (Ex 25^{4} 26^{1} etc., 28^{15} etc.). It formed part of the usual clothing of royalty, and of the wealthy classes (Gn 41^{42}, Est 8^{15}, Lk 16^{19}). It is the dress worn by persons engaged in religious service. The priests are those who 'wear a linen ephod' (1 S 22^{18}). The child Samuel in Shiloh (1 S 2^{18}), and David, bringing back the ark (2 S 6^{14} etc.), also wear the linen ephod; cf. Ezk 9^{2} 10^{2}, Dn 10^{5}. It formed the garment of the Levite singers (2 Ch 5^{12}). It was the fitting raiment of the Lamb's wife, 'the righteousness of the saints' (Rev 19^{8}); presumptuously assumed by 'the great city Babylon' (18^{16}); in it are also arrayed 'the armies that are in heaven' (19^{14}).

No clear and uniform distinction can be drawn between several Heb. words tr. 'linen.' *bad* appears to be always used of garments (Gn 41^{42} etc.), while *shēsh* may perhaps mean the thread, as in the phrase '*bad* of fine twined *shēsh*' (Ex 39^{28}), the cloth made from it (Ex 25^{4} 26^{1}, Ezk 27^{7} etc.), and also garments (Ex 28^{5} etc.). We cannot, indeed, be certain that 'linen' is always intended (Guthe, *Bib. Wörterbuch, s.v.*). The modern Arab. *shash* means 'cotton gauze.' *būts* is a word of Aramæan origin, occurring only in later books (Ezk 27^{16}, 1 Ch 4^{21}, Est 1^{6}), whence comes the Gr. *byssos*, which covered both *bad* and *shēsh* (Jos. *Ant.* III. vi. 1 f.). By later writers it was taken to represent cotton (Liddell and Scott, *s.v.*). *pishtīm* is a general term, denoting the flax, or anything made from it (Jos 2^{6}, Jg 15^{14}, Jer 13^{1} etc.). *sādīn* was a sheet in which the whole body might be wrapped (Jg $14^{12 f.}$, Pr 31^{24} etc.). It probably corresponded to the *sindōn* **'linen cloth'** of Mk 14^{51}, and the **shroud** of Mt 27^{59} etc. *'ētūn* (Pr 7^{16}) is probably fine Egyptian thread, with which cloths and hangings were ornamented. *othonē* (Ac 10^{11}) is a large sheet: *othonia* (Jn 19^{40} etc.) are strips for bandages. *ōmolinon* (Sir 40^{4}) was cloth of unbleached flax. *sha'atnēz* (Lv 19^{19}) was probably cloth composed of linen and cotton.

Linen yarn (1 K 10^{28}, 2 Ch 1^{16}, *miqweh*) should almost certainly be rendered with RV 'drove.' W. Ewing.

LINTEL.—See House, § 6.

LINUS.—One of the Christians at Rome from whom St. Paul sends greetings at the end of the Second Epistle to Timothy (4^{21}). All writers agree that he is identical with the first Bishop of Rome. Thus Irenæus: 'Peter and Paul, when they founded and built up the Church of Rome, committed the office of its episcopate to Linus.' And Eusebius: 'Of the Church of the Romans after the martyrdom of Paul and Peter, the first to be appointed to the office of Bishop was Linus, of whom Paul makes mention at the end of his letter to Timothy.' His episcopate lasted about twelve years, but there is considerable difference of opinion as to its date.

Morley Stevenson.

LION.—

(1) *'ārī, 'aryēh*, full-grown lion (Gn 49^{9}, Jg $14^{8. 9}$ etc.).

(2) *kēphīr*, a young strong lion (Jg 14^{5}, Job 4^{10}, Ezk 19^{2} etc.).

(3) *lābī* (cf. Arab. *labwah*), specially lioness (Gn 49^{9}, Nu 23^{24}, Job 4^{11} etc.); and *lēbīyyah* (Ezk 19^{2}).

(4) *layīsh*, particularly in poetry (Job 4^{11}, Pr 30^{30}, Is 30^{6} etc.).

(5) *shachal*, poetically, lit. 'the roarer' (Job 4^{10} 10^{16} 28^{8}, Hos 5^{14}, Ps 91^{13}).

(6) *bēnē-shachats* is tr. in AV of Job 28^{8} 'lion's whelps,' but ought to be, as in RVm, 'sons of pride.'

Lions have been extinct in Palestine since the time of the Crusades, but evidently were once plentiful, especially in the thickets along the Jordan (Jer 49^{19} 50^{44}, Zec 11^{3}). They were a source of danger to men (1 K $13^{24 f.}$ 20^{36}, 2 K 17^{25}), and especially to shepherds' flocks (1 S 17^{34}, Is 31^{4}, Am 3^{12}, Mic 5^{8}). The terrifying roar of the lion is referred to in Pr 19^{12} 20^{2} etc., and it is compared to the voice of God (Jer 25^{30}, Jl 3^{16}, Am 3^{8}). Metaphorically, Judah is described as a lion in Gn 49^{9}, Dan in Dt 33^{22}, and Israel in Nu 23^{24} 24^{9}; but in the NT the lion is usually typical of Satan (1 P 5^{8}; cf. **'Lion of the tribe of Judah,'** Rev 5^{5}).

E. W. G. Masterman.

LIP (Heb. *sāphāh, sāphām*; Gr. *cheilos*).—**1.** *sāphāh*, the usual OT word, and of very frequent occurrence. Only rarely are the lips referred to from the point of view of description of physical beauty and charm (Ca $4^{3. 11}$ 5^{13}). Once they are associated with kissing (Pr 24^{26}), once with drinking (Ca 7^{9}, with which cf. Ps 45^{2}), once (anthropomorphically of J″) as the source from which the breath issues (Is 11^{4}); once the protrusion of the lips occurs as a gesture of mocking contempt (Ps 22^{7}). Twice (2 K 19^{28}, Is 37^{29}) we have an allusion to the cruel Assyrian custom of passing a ring through the lips of captives and leading them about with a rope or thong. But in the great majority of cases the lips are referred to as organs of speech (Job 27^{4}, Ps 119^{171}, Pr 15^{7} 24^{2}). Hence, according to the kind of words they utter and the quality of the heart from which the words come, they are described figuratively as uncircumcised (Ex $6^{12. 30}$), flattering (Ps $12^{2. 3}$), feigned (17^{1}), lying (31^{18}), joyful (63^{5}), perverse (Pr 4^{24}), righteous (16^{13}), false (17^{4}), burning (26^{23}), unclean (Is 6^{5}). By an intensification or extension of this figurative use, swords are said to be in the lips (Ps 59^{7}), adders' poison to be under them (140^{3}), or in them a burning fire (Pr 16^{27}). In Is 57^{19} 'the fruit of the lips' = praise. For Hos 14^{2} see Calves of the Lips. **2.** *sāphām* (Ezk $24^{17. 22}$, Mic 3^{7}, only in the phrase 'cover the lips'), whose equivalent is 'moustache,' it being the Eastern custom to cover this as a sign of stricken sorrow. **3.** *cheilos* occurs 6 times in NT, always in quotations from LXX: Mt 15^{8} and Mk 7^{6} = Is 29^{13}; Ro 3^{13} = Ps 140^{3} [139^{4}]; 1 Co 14^{21} = Is 28^{11}; He 13^{15} = Hos 14^{2}; 1 P 3^{10} = Ps 34^{13} [33^{14}]. J. C. Lambert.

LIST.—The Old Eng. vb. 'to list' occurs in Mt 17^{12}, Mk 9^{13}, Jn 3^{8}, Ja 3^{4}. It means 'to desire *or* choose.'

LITTLE OWL.—See Owl.

LIVELY.—In AV 'lively' sometimes means 'living.' Thus in 1 P 2^{5} Christians are 'lively stones,' while in the previous verse Christ is a 'living stone,' though the Gr. word is the same in both verses. The other passages are Ac 7^{38} 'lively oracles' and 1 P 1^{3} 'lively hope.'

LIVER (*kābēdh*).—**1.** In the great majority of cases where the liver is mentioned, it is in connexion with the law of sacrifice as prescribed in P (Ex $29^{13. 22}$, Lv $3^{4. 10. 15}$ etc.), and always in association with the **caul** (*yōthereth*). The LXX, followed by Josephus (*Ant.* III. ix. 2), takes *yōthereth* to be a lobe of the liver; but it is now agreed that it denotes the fatty mass at the opening of that organ. According to Semitic ideas, a peculiar holiness belonged to the liver and kidneys (wh. see), together with the fat attached to them; the reason being that they were regarded as the special seats not only of emotion but of life itself. Because of its sacredness the liver with its fat was not to be eaten, but was to be offered in sacrifice to J″. **2.** Pr 7^{23} 'till a dart strike through his liver,'

La 2^{11} 'my liver is poured upon the earth' (cf. Job 16^{13} 'he poureth out my gall upon the ground') are further illustrations of the physiological ideas referred to above. Either they are strong expressions for a deadly disease, or they denote sorrowful emotion of the most poignant kind. **3.** In Ezk 21^{21} the king of Babylon, at the parting of the way, 'looked in the liver' as one of the three forms of divination he employed. **4.** In To 6^{4-16} 8^{2} the liver of a fish is used for the purpose of exorcism. See, further, art. MAGIC DIVINATION AND SORCERY, p. 568b.

J. C. LAMBERT.

LIVING CREATURES.—See BEAST, No. 2.

LIZARD.—

(1) *lĕṭā'āh*, a generic name for 'lizard.'
(2) *tsāb* (cf. Arab. *dabb*), tr. AV **'tortoise,'** RV 'great lizard.'
(3) *'ănāqāh*, tr. AV 'ferret,' RV **'gecko.'**
(4) *kōach*, tr. AV **'chameleon,'** RV **'land crocodile.'**
(5) *chōmet*, tr. AV **'snail,'** RV **'sandlizard.'**
(6) *tinshemeth*, tr. AV **'mole,'** RV **'chameleon'** (wh. see).

All these names occur in Lv 11^{29-30}, as 'unclean' animals; most of them are very uncertain.

(7) *sĕmāmīth* (Pr 30^{28}), tr. AV **'spider,'** RV 'lizard.'

Lizards are ubiquitous and exceedingly plentiful in Palestine: over 40 species have been identified. The most common is the green lizard (*Lacerta viridis*). The Palestinian **gecko** (*Ptyodactylus Hasselquistii*) is common in all native houses; it is able to walk up the walls and along the ceilings by means of the disc-like suckers at the ends of its toes. If *sĕmāmīth* was, as many scholars claim, a lizard, then probably the gecko is the special species indicated. The *dabb* is a large lizard (*Uromastix spinipes*), with a long spiny tail. The **sandlizards** or skinks are common on soft, sandy soil; seven species are found in Palestine. The **'land crocodile,'** known to the Arabs as the *warrel*, is a large lizard, sometimes five feet long; two species have been found in the Jordan valley—the *Psammosaurus scineus* and the *Monitor niloticus*. The **chameleon** is dealt with in a separate article.

E. W. G. MASTERMAN.

LOAF.—See BREAD.

LO-AMMI.—A symbolical name given to Hosea's son (Hos 1^{9}), signifying 'not my people,' as **Lo-ruhamah**, the name of his daughter, signifies 'not-pitied.' Opinions are divided as to whether these names are of actual persons used symbolically, or are purely allegorical. See art. HOSEA.

W. F. COBB.

LOAN.—See DEBT.

LOCK.—See HOUSE, § 6.

LOCUST.—

(1) *'arbeh* (root='to multiply') occurs more than 20 times; in Jg 6^{5} 7^{12}, Job 39^{20}, and Jer 46^{23} it is, however, tr. **'grasshopper'** in AV.

(2) *chāgāb* (tr. AV and RV 'locust' in 2 Ch 7^{13}, elsewhere 'grasshopper'), possibly a small locust: see Lv 11^{22}, Nu 13^{33}, Ec 12^{5}, Is 40^{22}.

(3) *gēbīm* (pl.), Am 7^{1}, AV 'grasshoppers,' RV 'locusts,' AVm 'green worms'; *gōbai*, Nah 3^{17}, AV 'great grasshoppers,' RV 'swarms of grasshoppers.'

The remaining words are very uncertain. (4) *gāzām*, tr. **'palmer worm'** (*i.e.* caterpillar). (5) *yeleq*, tr. (RV) **'canker-worm.'** (6) *chāsīl*, tr. **'caterpillar.'** These three (Jl 1^{4} 2^{25} etc.) may all be stages in the development of the locust, or they may, more probably, be some varieties of grasshoppers. (7) *chargōl*, Lv 11^{22} (mistranslated in AV **'beetle'**; RV **'cricket'**), and (8) *sol'ām*, Lv 11^{22} (tr. AV and RV **'bald locust'**), are also some varieties of locust or grasshopper (it is impossible to be certain of the varieties specified). (9) *tselātsal*, Dt 28^{42}, from a root meaning 'whirring,' may refer to the *cicada*, which fills the countryside with its strident noise all through the hot summer.

Locusts and grasshoppers are included in the family *Acrididæ*. The latter are always plentiful, but the locusts fortunately do not appear in swarms, except at intervals of years. The most destructive kinds are *Acridium peregrinum* and *Œdipoda migratoria*. When they arrive in their countless millions, they darken the sky (Ex 10^{15}). The poetical description in Jl 2^{1-11} is full of faithful touches; particularly the extraordinary noise they make (v.5) when they are all feeding together. Their voracious onslaught is referred to in Is 33^{4}, and their sudden disappearance when they rise in clouds to seek new fields for destruction is mentioned in Nah 3^{17}. They clear every green thing in their path (Ex 10^{15}). No more suitable figure can be conceived for an invading army (Jg 6^{5} 7^{12}, Jer 46^{23}). When, some forty years ago, the Anezi Bedouin from E. of the Jordan swarmed on to the Plain of Esdraelon, an eye-witness looking from Nazareth described the plain as stripped utterly bare, 'just as if the locusts had been over it.' When locusts are blown seaward, they fall into the water in vast numbers (Ex 10^{19}). The present writer has seen along the N. shore of the Dead Sea a continuous ridge of dead locusts washed up. The smell of piles of rotting locusts is intolerable. The feebleness and insignificance of these little insects, as viewed individually, are referred to in Nu 13^{33}, Ps 109^{23}, Is 40^{22}. Locusts are still eaten (cf. Mt 3^{4}). See FOOD, **8.**

E. W. G. MASTERMAN.

LOD, LYDDA.—A town in the territory of Benjamin, not apparently of pre-Israelite origin, but built (1 Ch 8^{12}), along with Ono, by the Benjamite Shemed (but *Luthen* and *Auanau* occur side by side in the lists of Thothmes III.). Elsewhere it is mentioned only in the post-Captivity lists (Ezr 2^{33}, Neh 7^{37} 11^{35}); and in connexion with the healing of Æneas at this place (Ac 9^{32}). Its inhabitants were enslaved by Cassius, and freed by Antony (Jos. *Ant.* XIV. xi. 2, xii. 2). Cestius Gallus burned it, and it afterwards surrendered to Vespasian (*BJ.* II. xix. 1, IV. viii. 1). In the Middle Ages it was the seat of a bishopric. It is a centre of the cultus of that strange being called by the Christians Saint George (to whom the church is dedicated), and by the Muslims *el-Khudr*—probably an ancient spirit of vegetation. It was known as *Diospolis* in the Byzantine period, but the dirty modern town which represents the ancient site retains the old name *Ludd*.

R. A. S. MACALISTER.

LODDEUS (1 Es $8^{45.\ 46}$).—The 'captain in the place of the treasury' (or 'at the place Casiphia,' Ezr 8^{17})' to whom Ezra sent for Levites; called **Iddo** in Ezr 8^{17}.

LO-DEBAR.—A place in Gilead, near to, and apparently east from, Mahanaim. It was the retreat of Mephibosheth till he was summoned to court by David (2 S $9^{4.\ 5}$). It is mentioned also upon the occasion of David's flight to the east of the Jordan (17^{27}). The site has not been recovered. It is perhaps the same as **Lidebir** of Jos 13^{26}.

LODGE.—See CUCUMBERS.

LOFT.—See HOUSE, **5.**

LOG.—See WEIGHTS AND MEASURES.

LOGIA.—See GOSPELS, § **2** (*c*).

LOGOS.—In classical Greek *logos* signifies both 'word' and 'reason,' but in the LXX and the NT it is used, with few exceptions, in the former sense only. When it is God's word that is spoken of, it denotes the declaration or revelation of the Divine will, and specifically the Christian gospel as the utterance of the Divine plan of salvation (*e.g.* Mt 13^{19-23}‖, Ph 1^{14}). But in the Prologue to the Fourth Gospel (1^{1} [3 times] ^{14}, with which cf. 1 Jn 1^{1} [5^{7} of AV is spurious; see RV] and Rev 19^{13}) 'Logos' (EV **Word**) is applied to Jesus Christ, and is used to set forth His peculiar glory as the only-begotten Son of God, who is also the Life and Light of men. It is with this Johannine Logos that we have now to deal, and in doing so it seems necessary to consider (1) the content of John's Logos doctrine; (2) its sources; (3) its place in the Fourth Gospel; (4) its theological significance.

1. Content.—Three stages appear in the exposition of the Logos doctrine given in the Prologue. (*a*) First (vv.1-5), the nature and functions of the Logos are set forth in His relations to God, the world, and man. He was with *God* in the beginning, *i.e.* He eternally held a

relation of communion with Him as a separate personality—a personality itself Divine, for 'the Word was God.' As to the *world*, it was made by Him (v.[3], cf. v.[10]), perhaps with the further suggestion that from Him it draws continually the life by which it is sustained (v.[4]). But from Him there flows also the higher life of *man* as a spiritual being possessed of reason and conscience, for His life becomes the universal light of human souls (v.[4], cf. v.[9]). (*b*) The second stage of the exposition (vv.[5-13]) is a contrast of the Logos with the word of God that came by John the Baptist. John was not the Light; he came only to bear witness of it. The Logos is the true Light, and the mediator of Divine life to all who believe on His name. (*c*) Finally (vv.[14-18]), the author describes the incarnation of the Logos in the flesh, and declares His identity with the historical Jesus Christ, the bringer of grace and truth. In v.[18] the whole Prologue is summed up. Here the writer returns to the point from which he set out (cf. v.[1]), but his readers now understand that the eternal Logos is one with Jesus Christ, the Son of God.

2. Sources.—(1) For these some have been content to refer to *the OT and the post-canonical Jewish writings*. And it is true that a connexion is clearly to be traced. We can hardly mistake a reference in the Prologue (vv.[1. 3. 4. 10]) to the creative word of God in Gn 1. In the Psalms and Prophets, again, a personification of the word of Jehovah is common (*e.g.* Ps 33[6], Is 55[11]). And in the Wisdom literature, both canonical and apocryphal, this personifying tendency is carried still further (Pr 8[22-31], Sir 24), though it is God's Wisdom, not His Word, that becomes His representative, and a full personification of the Word does not meet us till we have reached a point in Jewish history where Greek influences have begun to make themselves felt (Wis 9[1] 16[12]). All this, however, is very far from explaining the Johannine Logos doctrine. The most that can be said is that the doctrine of the Prologue reflects a tendency of Jewish thought, finding its roots in the OT, to conceive of the Divine self-revelation as mediated by the personified Wisdom or Word of Jehovah.

(2) Some have held that John's Logos doctrine was derived entirely from *the Judæo-Alexandrian philosophy*, and specifically from the teaching of **Philo**. From early times there had grown up among the Greeks a conception of the Logos as the Divine Reason manifested in the universe, and explaining how God comes into relation with it. To this Logos philosophy Plato's doctrine of ideas had contributed, and afterwards the Stoic view of the Logos as the rational principle of the universe. In his efforts to blend Judaism with Hellenism, Philo adopted the term as one familiar alike to Jews and to Greeks, and sought to show by means of allegorical interpretations that the true philosophy of God and the world was revealed in the OT. And St. John, it is supposed, simply appropriated this teaching, and by means of an idealizing treatment of Christ's life constructed in his Gospel a philosophical treatise on the doctrine of Philo. The theory breaks down on any examination. To Philo the Logos was the principle of Reason; to St. John He was the Divine revealing Word. Philo's Logos is not really personal; St. John's certainly is. Philo does not identify the Logos with the Messiah; to St. John He is no other than the Christ, the Saviour of the world. Philo sees in the flesh a principle opposed to the Godhead; St. John glories in the fact of the Incarnation. With Philo the antithesis between God and the world is a metaphysical one; with St. John it is ethical and religious. St. John cannot, then, have derived his doctrine of the Logos from Philo. But he undoubtedly used the term because Philo had made it familiar to Græco-Jewish thought as a means of expressing the idea of a mediation between God and the universe, and also because he himself had received certain formal influences from the Philonic philosophy (see, *e.g.*, the value he assigns to knowledge; his crystallization of the gospel into such general terms as light,' 'truth,' 'life'; his constant antithesis of light and darkness). Apart, however, from such formal influences and the convenience of a familiar and suggestive term, the real source of the Johannine Logos doctrine is still to seek.

(3) That source is assuredly to be found in *the actual historical personality of Jesus Himself* as we find it set forth in the rest of this Gospel. More and more it becomes impossible for the careful student of this book to treat it as a philosophical romance in which a purely idealizing treatment is given to the figure of Jesus; more and more the substantial historical truth of the presentation becomes evident. And, assuming the substantial truth of the narrative, it seems clear that St. John uses his Logos conception, not 'to manufacture the Light of the World out of the Messiah of Israel,' but to set forth, in a way that would appeal to the men of his own place and time, Christ's real relations to God and the universe as these had been attested by His words and deeds, by His dying and rising from the dead, and by all the facts of His self-revelation. We must bear in mind, moreover, that while the term 'Logos' was a new one to be applied to Christ, the place of dignity and power assigned to Him by John was by no means new. Both St. Paul and the author of Hebrews had taught the doctrine of Christ's eternal Sonship, and of His functions as the creator of the universe and the revealer of the Father (Ph 2[6-11], Col 1[13-20] 2[9], He 1[1-4]), and the teaching of both, already familiar and widely accepted in the Church, is subsumed in the Johannine doctrine of the Logos.

3. Place in the Fourth Gospel.—The attempt has been made to distinguish between the Logos doctrine in the Prologue as Hellenic, and the Gospel itself as Palestinian; and it has been maintained that the influence of the Logos idea does not extend beyond the Prologue, and that it was merely intended to introduce to Greek readers the story of the Jewish Messiah with a view to making it more attractive and intelligible. We may remind ourselves, however, of Strauss's comparison of this Gospel to the seamless robe of Jesus, a judgment which has been verified by nearly every critical student of whatever school. It is true that when we pass beyond the Prologue the word 'Logos' is not repeated. The author nowhere puts it into the mouth of Jesus,—one evidence surely of his historical fidelity. But, all the same, the doctrine of the Prologue manifestly works right through the narrative from beginning to end (see such passages as 3[13-21] 6[53-58] 7[28. 29] 8[12. 14. 16] 10[29ff.] 12[44-50] 14[6-11] 17[5. 8. 24] etc.). It is very noticeable that in 20[31], where, before laying down his pen, the writer reveals the motive of his work, he really sums up the great ideas of the Prologue as he declares that Jesus is the Christ, the Son of God, and that believing we may have life through His name. The Logos, then, is not a mere catchword, put forth in order to seize the eye and arouse the interest of the Greek reader. The Logos idea underlies the whole Gospel, and has much to do with the author's selection of his materials. In the Prologue, as in any other well-written introduction, the plan of the work is set out, and the Logos doctrine is stated there because it supplies the key to a right understanding of the history that follows.

4. Theological significance.—From the time of Justin, and ever since, the Logos doctrine of St. John's Prologue has served as the material of many a Christian metaphysic. It is no doubt inevitable that this should be the case; but we must be careful not to make St. John responsible for the theological constructions that have been woven out of his words. If an injustice is done him when his doctrine of the Logos is supposed to be nothing more than the fruitage of his study of Philo, another injustice is committed when it is assumed that he is setting forth here either a metaphysic of the

Divine nature or a philosophy of the Incarnation. It is plain, on the contrary, that in all that he says it is the religious and ethical interests that are paramount. He uses the Logos conception for two great purposes,—to set forth Jesus (1) as *the Revealer of God*, and (2) as *the Saviour of men*. The first of these ideas, as has been said, is one that we find already in the Pauline Epistles and in Hebrews; but by his emphasis on the relations of Fatherhood and Sonship St. John imparts a peculiarly moral meaning to the essential nature of the God who is revealed in Christ. But it is above all for a soteriological purpose that he seems to employ the Logos idea. The Logos, who is identified with Jesus Christ, comes forth from the bosom of the Father, bringing life and light to men. He comes with a gospel that supersedes the Law of Moses, for it is a gospel of grace as well as of truth. Himself the Son of God, He offers to all who will believe on His name the right to become the children of God. And so, while the Logos is undoubtedly the agent of God's creative will, He is still more distinctively the mediator of God's redeeming purpose. It is therefore as a religious power, not as a metaphysical magnitude, that St. John brings Him before us. The Evangelist shows, it is true, as Kirn points out, that the absoluteness of Christ's historical mission and His exclusive mediation of the Divine saving grace are guaranteed by the fact that the roots of His personal life reach back into the eternal life of God. His Logos doctrine thus wards off every Christology that would see in Jesus no more than a prophetic personality of the highest originality. But, while the Logos idea 'illuminates the history with the light of eternity, it can reveal eternity to us only in the light of history, not in its own supernatural light' (*PRE*[3] xi. 605). J. C. Lambert.

LOIS.—The grandmother of Timothy (2 Ti 1[5]), and probably the mother of Eunice, Timothy's mother. The name is Greek. The family lived at Lystra (Ac 16[1]), where St. Paul first made their acquaintance. Lois was a devout Jewess by conviction, who instructed her family diligently in the Holy Scriptures.
Morley Stevenson.

LONGSUFFERING.—In the OT the RV uses this word only in Jer 15[15], where it is the translation of a phrase usually rendered 'slow to anger' (cf. Ex 34[6], Nu 14[18], Ps 86[15], in which passages AV has 'long-suffering').

In the NT 'longsuffering' is the usual tr. of *makrothumia* and the corresponding verb. (The only exceptions are 'patience,' He 6[12], Ja 5[10]; cf. vb. in Mt 18[26. 29], Ja 5[7f.]; and adv. in Ac 26[3]). The RV improves on AV by using 'longsuffering' in Lk 18[7], 1 Th 5[14]. The Gr. word means 'a long holding out of the mind before it gives room to action or passion—generally to passion.' (Trench, *Synonyms of NT*, § liii.); it implies the opposite of short temper; cf. Old Eng. 'longanimity.' In the NT the longsuffering of God is regarded as a proof of His 'goodness' (Ro 2[4]; here and elsewhere 'longsuffering,' ‖ **'forbearance'** [*arochē*]) and of his faithfulness (2 P 3[9. 15]); it is manifested in the gracious restraint which characterizes His attitude towards those who deserve His wrath (Ro 9[22], 1 P 3[20]). The Divine longsuffering is perfectly exemplified in Christ's dealings with sinners (1 Ti 1[16]). Longsuffering is, therefore, a conspicuous grace in the ideal Christian character (2 Co 6[6], Eph 4[2], Col 3[12], 1 Th 5[14], 2 Ti 3[10] 4[2]); it is viewed as an evidence of Divine strengthening (Col 1[11]), as a manifestation of love (1 Co 13[4]), and as a fruit of the Spirit (Gal 5[22]). J. G. Tasker.

LOOKING-GLASS.—See Glass.

LOOM.—See Spinning and Weaving.

LOOPS.—See Tabernacle, § 5 (*a*).

LORD.—The Heb. OT has three leading names for God: (1) 'the name of four letters' (*tetragrammaton*) JHWH (familiar to us in the incorrect form 'Jehovah'; the real vocalization is almost certainly 'Jahweh' [see God, p. 299[b]]); (2) *Adonai*; (3) *Elohim*. By a misinterpretation of Lv 24[16] the Jews shrank from uttering the first of these, and added to its four consonants, in their reading of the OT, the *vowels* of either *Adonai* or *Elohim*. When the vowels of the former were added, the AV and RV generally translate the word by 'Lord'; when those of the latter, by 'God'; using small capitals in each case. If, however, *Adonai* is originally in the text, they represent it by 'Lord,' using an initial capital only. Thus in the OT 'Lord' represents *Jahweh* when it was read as *Adonai*; and 'Lord' represents *Adonai* when it stands in the original text. This distinctive printing is not observed in the NT. There are several other Hebrew words in the OT expressing the general idea of lordship, which are rendered by 'lord' (Gn 45[8], Jos 13[3], Ezr 8[25] etc.).

In the NT 'Lord' is used once as tr. of *Rabboni* (Mk 10[51]), and five times of *despotēs* (Lk 2[29], Ac 4[24], 2 P 2[1], Jude [4], Rev 6[10]); in all the latter cases the RV has **'master'** in text or margin. Elsewhere it represents *kyrios*, applying the title (1) to God (Mt 1[20], Ac 5[19] etc.); (2) to Christ (Lk 6[46], Jn 20[28] etc.). Indeed, as applied to Christ, it is the highest confession of His Person (1 Co 12[3], Ro 10[9], Rev 19[16]). The form 'lord' in NT indicates mere possession of authority (Mt 18[25], Lk 16[8] etc.). Charles T. P. Grierson.

LORD OF HOSTS (*Jahweh tsbĕā'ōth*) appears in the OT as a title of God 282 times, of which all but 36 are found in the Prophetical writings. There is considerable uncertainty as to what the term 'hosts' signifies, and it seems best to suppose that its meaning underwent modifications in the course of time. We can, perhaps, distinguish three stages.

1. It is possible that at one time the title suggested the idea of Jahweh as *the leader of the Israelite forces*. In favour of this view is the fact that the word *tsĕbā'ōth* outside this phrase always refers to bodies of men, and usually to Israelite forces. There is no doubt that in the early stages of the history of the nation the popular view of the functions of Jahweh was concentrated to a large extent on this point that He was the guider and commander of the armies in warfare; and the same idea lingered late, and lies at the bottom of the objection to the institution of the monarchy which is put in Samuel's mouth (cf. 1 S 8[20] with 1 S 12[12]). In the same way, David, as he taunts Goliath, says to him, 'I come in the name of the Lord of hosts, the God of the armies of Israel' (1 S 17[45]). And once more there is evidently a special connexion between the title 'Lord of hosts' and the Ark which is regarded as the habitation of Jahweh in His capacity as War-God (cf. 1 S 4[3. 6-8] 5. 6). But this explanation of the origin of the title, as Delitzsch pointed out, is greatly invalidated by the fact that we do not find it in the period in which we should expect it to be most common, that is, in the wars of the Wandering in the Wilderness.

2. So we are brought to another view, which may merely mark a later stage: the 'hosts' are *the spiritual forces which stand at God's disposal*. So in Jos 5[13. 14], when Joshua asks the unknown warrior whether he is on their side or on that of their enemies, the implied answer of the Divine stranger is that he belongs to neither side, but is come as captain of the Lord's host to succour His people. For the idea of the angelic host engaged in the service of God, cf. 2 S 24[16], 1 K 22[19], 2 K 6[17]; and in the NT Mt 26[53], Lk 2[13], He 1[14].

3. The third stage is reached in the prophets, esp. Isaiah, Jeremiah, Zechariah, and Malachi, where the title assumes a far wider meaning and embraces *all the forces of the universe*. The term **'host of heaven'** is commonly used of the heavenly bodies to which the later kings paid idolatrous worship (cf. also Gn 2[1], Ps 33[6]). As the idea of the omnipotence of God grew

loftier and wider, the elemental forces of nature were regarded as performing service to their Creator. So the sun is God's minister (Ps 19[4-5]), and even so early as the Song of Deborah the stars are represented as joining by God's behest in the battle against the invader (Jg 5[20]). Hence the term 'Lord of hosts' becomes with the prophets the highest and most transcendental title of God, and is even rendered by the LXX in a certain number of passages 'Lord of the forces (of nature).' It serves as a constant reminder of the illimitable width of God's sway, and as such it acquires a close connexion with the other great attribute of God, His holiness. Hence we get the summit of the OT creed in the angelic song of praise, Is 6[3], 'Holy, holy, holy is the Lord of hosts: the fulness of the whole earth is his glory.'

In the NT, with the exception of a quotation from Is 1[9] in Ro 9[29], the term occurs only in Ja 5[4] (in both passages EV has the form **'Lord of Sabaoth'**), where it is singularly appropriate in the passionate denunciation of the oppression practised by the unscrupulous landowners, recalling as it does the spirit of the Hebrew prophets.

H. C. O. Lanchester.

LORD'S DAY.—1. Name and origin.—The title used by St. John (Rev 1[10]), probably to describe the day upon which the Christian Church in Apostolic days assembled for worship. The Acts of the Apostles shows us the disciples of Christ immediately after Pentecost as a closely united body, 'of one heart and soul,' supported by daily gatherings together and the Eucharist (4[32] 2[42. 46]). Their new faith did not at first lead them to cut themselves off from their old Jewish worship, for their belief in Jesus as Messiah seemed to them to add to and fulfil, rather than to abolish, the religion of their childhood. This worship of Christians with their Jewish fellow-countrymen secured the continuation of the Church of God from one dispensation to another; while their exclusively Christian Eucharists consolidated the Church and enabled it to discover itself.

The *daily* worship of the Christian Church would no doubt soon prove impracticable, and a weekly gathering become customary. For this weekly gathering the **Sabbath** was unsuitable, as being then observed in a spirit radically different from the joy and liberty of the new faith; doubtless also the restrictions as to length of a Sabbath day's journey would prove a bar to the gathering together of the little body. Of the other six days none so naturally suggested itself as the first. To it our Lord had granted a certain approval; for on it He rose from the grave and appeared to His disciples, and on the following Sunday repeated His visitation; while, if Pentecost that year fell on the first day of the week (which it did if the chronology of St. John be followed), it received a final seal as the special day of grace.

That this day was actually chosen is seen in the NT (Ac 20[7], 1 Co 16[2]). And mention of it is found in the literature immediately following the Apostolic writings.

Not the least interesting evidence is found in a report to the Emperor Trajan written by Pliny, a heathen magistrate, not long after the death of St. John, which mentions that the custom of the Christians was to meet together early in the morning on a certain 'fixed day' and sing hymns to Christ as a god, and bind themselves by a *sacramentum* to commit no crime. Ignatius, the earliest of post-Apostolic Christian writers, also speaks of it, telling the Magnesians to lead a life comformable to 'the Lord's Day.'

And from then to now a continuous stream of evidence shows that the Church has faithfully observed the custom ever since.

The *title* by which early Christian writers usually called the festival was 'the Lord's Day'; but before long the Church felt no difficulty in adopting the heathen title of **'Sunday,'** realizing that as on that day light was created, and the Sun of Righteousness arose on it, there was to them a peculiar fitness in the name.

The most valuable evidence as to the method by which the early Church observed the day is found in Justin Martyr's *Apology* (i. 67, A.D. 120), where we read that on the day called Sunday the Christians met together, out of both city and country, and held a religious service at which first the writings of Apostles and Prophets were read; then the president preached; after which common prayers were said; and when these were ended, bread and wine were brought to the president, who uttered prayers and thanksgivings, to which the people said, 'Amen'; all present then participated in the Eucharist, the deacons carrying it to the absent. Thus it is clear that the early Church continued the Apostolic custom (Ac 20[7]) of celebrating the Lord's Supper every Lord's Day—a custom so wide-spread as to enable Chrysostom to call Sunday *dies panis*, or 'the day of bread.'

2. Relation to the Sabbath.—The relation of the Lord's Day to the Sabbath is best defined as one of close affinity rather than of identity. The Sabbath was originally instituted as a provision for deep physical and spiritual needs of human nature. It sprang from the love of God for man, providing by religious sanction for the definite setting apart of the seventh day as a time for rest from labour and for communion with God. Our Lord found the original institution almost hidden beneath a mass of traditional regulations. Thus his action towards the Sabbath as He found it, was to bring men back to its first ideal. This He did by showing that their tradition told how David broke the letter of its regulation and yet was guiltless (Lk 6[3]); how charity and common sense led men to break their own rules (13[15]); how the Sabbath was granted to man as a blessing and not laid on him as a burden (Mk 2[27]); and how He as Son of Man, fulfilling ideal manhood, was its Lord (2[28]); but while our Lord thus purified the Sabbath, there is no proof that He *abolished* it. He foreknew its ultimate abolition, as He foreknew the ultimate destruction of the Temple; and He cleansed it as He cleansed the Temple.

We can best see Christ's will regarding the Sabbath and the Lord's Day in what actually happened. For what happened had its rise in Apostolic times, and has been adopted by the Church universal ever since, and is thus assuredly His will as wrought by the Spirit. The Acts shows us that the Christians who were originally Jews observed *both* the Sabbath and the Christian Lord's Day (Ac 21[20f.]); and this double observance lasted among them at least until the destruction of the Temple. The Jewish members of the Church were soon outnumbered by the Gentile, and these latter would feel in no way drawn to continuing the observance of the Jewish Sabbath as well as their own Lord's Day; and this the more so that they had received the gospel under the wider teaching of St. Paul, who had emphasized the danger of an undue observance of days, and had spoken of the Sabbath as 'a shadow of the things to come' (*i.e.* the Christian dispensation; cf. Col 2[16f.], Gal 4[9-11], Ro 14[5f.]). But if the Gentile Christian did not observe the Jewish Sabbath, yet he could not be ignorant of its deeper meaning, for he saw the Sabbath observed by his Jewish neighbours, and read in the OT of its institution and uses; and thus imperceptibly the essential principles of the Sabbath would pass into the Christian idea of their own sacred day of rest and worship. Christ's intention, then, seems to have been to allow the Sabbath to die slowly, but by His Spirit to teach the Church to perpetuate for mankind in her Lord's Day all that was of eternal moment in the Sabbath. Thus was avoided the danger of pouring the new wine of Christian truth and liberty into the old bottles of Jewish traditional observances.

Charles T. P. Grierson.

LORD'S PRAYER.

Mt 6[9-13].

v.[9] Thus therefore pray ye:
(1) Our Father which art in the heavens;
(2) Hallowed be thy name.
v.[10] (3) Thy kingdom come.
(4) Thy will be done, as in heaven, so on [the] earth.

v.[11] (5) Our *daily* (?) bread give us to-day.
v.[12] (6) And forgive us our debts, as we also [forgive] our debtors.
v.[13] (7) And bring us not into temptation;
(8) But deliver us from the evil (*one* ?).
For thine is the kingdom, and the power, and the glory, unto the ages. Amen.

Lk 11[2-4].
v.[2] Whensoever ye pray, say,
(1) [Our] Father [which art in the heavens];
(2) Hallowed be thy name.
(3) Thy kingdom come.
(4) [Thy will be done, as in heaven, so on the earth.]
v.[3] (5) Our *daily* (?) bread give us day by day.
v.[4] (6) And forgive us our sins, for we ourselves also forgive every one that is indebted to us.
(7) And bring us not into temptation;
(8) [But deliver us from the evil (*one* ?)].

The request of one of the disciples—'Lord, teach us to pray' (Lk 11[1])—expresses a desire which doubtless found a place in the hearts of all. Great teachers were expected to give their disciples a form of prayer. Because John had taught his disciples to pray, Christ was petitioned to do the same for His followers.

The Lord's Prayer has been delivered to us in two forms, one by Mt., another by Lk.; in each case in a different context. The forms are set out above for comparison, in a literal translation, as a preliminary to the consideration of questions connected with the texts and the contexts. The places in which there is a difference of reading, or where words are omitted by some authorities, are enclosed in brackets. The form in Mt. consists of eight clauses, which correspond, clause by clause, to an equal number in Lk., according to the longer text. The shorter Lukan text omits clauses 4 and 8. The Doxology is found only in MSS of Mt., and not in the oldest of these.

'Thus,' 'after this manner' (Mt 6[9]) introduces the prayer as a model of acceptable devotion. 'Whensoever' (Lk 11[2]) enjoins the use of the words which follow, and implies that the prayers of Christ's disciples should be conceived in the spirit of the form He was giving them.

In clause 4 (Mt.) the article before 'earth' is omitted in some MSS; but as, by a well-known rule, the article in Greek is often implied, but not expressed, after a preposition, the omission does not demand a change in the translation.

In clause 6 (Mt.) a few old authorities read the perfect—'have forgiven.'

In Lk., clause 1, the words 'Our' and 'which art in the heavens,' and the whole of clauses 4 and 8, are omitted by a few ancient authorities, and, in consequence, have been rejected by the RV. Yet the TR of Lk. is attested by the majority of the MSS. If we go behind these witnesses, and, in spite of their evidence, accept the shorter Lukan form, it will perhaps follow that the rejected clauses were never parts of the Prayer, as taught by Christ, but are later amplifications, which obtained a place in Mt., and thence were copied into the Lukan text.

Clause 6 in Lk. explains the corresponding words in Mt. In the latter 'as' is not of strict proportion, but of general condition. It cannot be, as is sometimes stated in devotional exegesis, that we are to pray God to measure His boundless pity by our imperfect attempts to forgive; but we plead that we have endeavoured to remove what would be a bar to His grant of pardon; and this is expressed clearly in Lk., 'for we ourselves also forgive.'

The Doxology, which is not found in the oldest MSS, is contained in the majority of copies. The evidence of the ancient versions is divided. Some of the Fathers, in commenting on the Lord's Prayer, take no account of a Doxology; but Chrysostom and others recognize it, and note its connexion with the preceding petitions. If the Doxology be not an integral part of the Matthæan text, it is certainly of very great antiquity. It may have been interpolated from a Liturgy; for it is now admitted that liturgical forms existed in the earliest days of Christianity, although perhaps at first they were unwritten, and were transmitted orally.

The word in clause 5 which we have provisionally rendered 'daily' was of doubtful import in early times, for different interpretations have been given by the ancients.

Origen (3rd cent.), the greatest textual critic of primitive days says that the word (*epiousios*) was coined by the Evangelists, and is not found in earlier Greek writers. Among the Syrians, one Version (Curetonian) has in Mt. 'bread constant of the day,' in Lk. 'bread constant of every day'; in Lk. the Lewis Version (not extant in Mt.) has the same as the Curetonian; in Mt. the Pesh. has 'bread of our need today,' in Lk. 'bread of our need daily.' The ancient Latin rendering of *epiousios* was 'daily.' This is read now in the Vulgate in Lk., but in Mt. was altered by Jerome to 'supersubstantial.' The term is derived either from *epi* and *ienai*, 'to come upon,' *i.e.* 'succeed,' 'be continual'; or from *epi* and *ousia*, 'upon substance,' *i.e.* 'added to, *or* adapted to, substance.' The Syriac rendering 'constant' comes from the first derivation; the second derivation permits their other rendering 'of our need,' bread '*adapted* to our human *substance*.' Jerome's rendering in Mt. takes *epiousios* in a spiritual sense, 'something *added to* natural *substance*.' In either case 'bread' may be taken in an earthly or a heavenly sense. The fulness of Scriptural language justifies the widest application of the term. If we adopt the derivation from *ienai* 'to come,' the bread *epiousios* will be—(i) whatsoever is needed for the coming day, to be sought in daily morning prayer—'give us to-day'; (ii) whatsoever is needed for the coming days of life. The petition becomes a prayer for the presence of Him who has revealed Himself as 'the Bread.' Another application, the *coming* feast in the Kingdom of God (cf. Lk 14[15]), seems excluded by the reference to the present time in both Evangelists.

In clause 8 the Greek may be the genitive case of *ho ponēros*, 'the evil one,' or of *to ponēron*, where the article *to* is generic, 'the evil,' 'whatsoever is evil.' The Greek is indefinite, and commentators have taken the words in both applications.

We have already observed that the longer readings in the Lukan form of the Prayer may be due to the attempts of copyists to harmonize the text with the form found in their days in Mt. Some may further argue that the two forms are different reminiscences of the same instruction. If it be held that the Gospels are late compositions, in which, long after the events recorded, certain unknown writers gathered together, without method, or accurate knowledge, such traditions as had reached them, it will be as justifiable as it is convenient to treat all related passages as mere varying traditions of the same original. But if it be admitted that the Evangelists were accurate and well-informed historians, there is no ground for identifying the Prayer in Lk. with that in Mt. They occupy different places in the history. Mt. records the Prayer as part of a discourse. It was delivered unasked, as a specimen of right prayer, in contrast to the hypocritical and superstitious habits which the Master condemned; and it is followed by an instruction on forgiveness. The occasion in Lk. is altogether different. Christ had been engaged in prayer; then, in response to a request, He delivered a form for the use of His disciples, and enforced the instruction by a parable and exhortations teaching the power of earnestness in prayer. The differences of text, especially if the shorter readings in Lk. be adopted, distinguish the one form from the other; and it is unreasonable to deny that the Master would, if necessary, repeat instructions on an important subject.

The Prayer is rightly named 'the Lord's,' because it owes to the Master its form and arrangement; but many of the sentiments may be paralleled in Jewish writings, and are ultimately based on the teachings of the OT.

In a work accessible to the ordinary reader, *Sayings of the Jewish Fathers* (ed. C. Taylor), we read (ch. v. 30): 'R. Jehudah ben Thema said, Be strong as a lion, to do the will of thy Father which is in heaven.' In ch. iv. 7 (n. 8) examples are given of the use of 'the Name' as a substitute for titles of the Almighty, and including all that they imply. The Rabbinical doctrine of the correspondence of the upper with the lower world is exemplified by Taylor, ch. iii. 15 n. Hillel said of a skull floating on the water (ii. 7), 'Because thou

drownedst, they drowned thee, and in the end they that drowned thee shall be drowned'; which illustrates clause 6 of the Prayer. From Talmudic prayers are quoted (p. 128) the petitions: 'May it be thy will to deliver us from evil man, evil chance,' etc.; and 'Bring me not into the hands of sin, nor into the hands of temptation.' In the OT we may compare with clause 1, Is 63^{16}; clause 2, Ex 20^{7}; clauses 2, 3, Zec. 14^{9}; clause 4, Ps 103^{20} 135^{6}; clause 5, Ex 16^{4}, Pr 30^{8}; clause 6, Ob 15. The Doxology may be compared with 1 Ch 29^{11}.

It is remarkable that there is no instance in the NT of the use of the Prayer by the disciples; but the scantiness of the records forbids an adverse conclusion. There is in 2 Ti 4^{18} what seems to be an allusion to clause 8, and to the Doxology, in relation to St. Paul's experience. The first word of the Prayer in our Lord's vernacular and in the Evangelists' translation is alluded to in Ro 8^{15}, Gal 4^{6}. It is doubtful whether an Oriental would consider that he had satisfied the requirements of the 'thus' and the 'whensoever' by *ex tempore* or other devotions, which merely expressed the sentiments of the Prayer. In any case, from early days the opinion has prevailed in the Church that the use of the actual words is an essential part of every act of worship.

G. H. Gwilliam.

LORD'S SUPPER.—See Eucharist.

LORDS OF THE PHILISTINES.—The chieftains or 'tyrants' of the five Philistine cities, Gaza, Ashkelon, Ashdod, Ekron, and Gath. Wherever they are mentioned (Jos 13^{3}, Jg 3^{3} $16^{5.\ 8.\ 18.\ 27.\ 30}$, 1 S $5^{8.\ 11}$ $6^{4.\ 12.\ 16.\ 18}$ 7^{7} $29^{2.\ 6.\ 7}$, 1 Ch 12^{19}) the word translated 'lord' is a peculiar one, being identical with the Heb. word for 'axle.' Once (1 S 18^{30}) the Heb. word for 'princes' is applied to them. Probably the peculiar word is a native Philistine title. Their functions, so far as can be gathered from the OT, were the same as those of petty kings.

George A. Barton.

LO-RUHAMAH.—See Hosea, Lo-ammi.

LOT.—The son of Haran, brother of Abraham. His name seems clearly derived from a root meaning *to wrap closely*. The account of his life is contained in Gn 11^{27}–14^{16} 19. He was born in Ur, and went with Abraham to Haran, and thence to Canaan. He accompanied Abraham in much of his wandering. The separation between them (ch. 13) was due to a quarrel between their herdsmen, each having great possessions of cattle. As a result, Lot dwelt in the cities of the plain, making his home in Sodom. During the expedition of Chedorlaomer (ch. 14) he was carried away captive, and rescued by Abraham. In ch. 19 is narrated the escape of Lot and his daughters from Sodom, with the subsequent incidents. The city of **Zoar,** where they dwelt for a time, is possibly the *Zoara* or *Zoōr* of Josephus, at the S.E. extremity of the Dead Sea, in the modern *Ghōr es-Sāfieh*, a well-watered region. The mountain to which he finally went is doubtless the mountainous region later known as Moab. The story of the daughters of Lot (19^{30-38}) is now usually considered to be not history, but a traditional account of the origin of the two nations, Moab and Ammon. The basis of the story is partly popular etymology of the two names; while it is prompted chiefly by national rivalry and hostility. That Lot was a righteous man (2 P $2^{7.\ 8}$) may be granted in a relative sense, in comparison with the Sodomites; but he shows no great strength of character.

Lot's wife.—The historical character of the story of Lot's wife and her transformation into a **pillar of salt** is doubtful: it may have arisen from the peculiarities of the cliffs in the vicinity of the Dead Sea. At its S.W. extremity is a range of cliffs 6 miles long and 600 feet high, called *Jebel Usdum*, 'the mountain of Sodom.' These consist of crystallized rock salt, covered with chalky limestone and gypsum, and curiously furrowed and worn, so as sometimes to resemble a human figure.

George R. Berry.

LOTAN.—A Horite clan (Gn $36^{20.\ 22.\ 29}$ = 1 Ch $1^{38.\ 39}$).

LOTHASUBUS (1 Es 9^{44}).—A corruption of **Hashum** in Neh 8^{4}.

LOTS.—See Magic (567 f.), Urim and Thummim, Purim.

LOTUS TREES.—The correct (RV) tr. of *tse'ĕlim* (Job $40^{21 f.}$, AV 'shady trees'), the haunt of Behemoth (*i.e.* the hippopotamus). The tree is probably = the Arab. *dāl*, the '*dom*-tree,' and must not be confused with the Egyptian water-lilies. It is a prickly shrub found in N. Africa and S. Europe.

W. Ewing.

LOVE, LOVER, LOVELY, BELOVED.—

1. 'Love' (noun and verb, native Eng.) represents a single Heb. word, which ranged, like the Eng. term, from (1) *sensuous*, and often (though not necessarily) evil, *desire* (as in Gn 25^{28}, 2 S 13^{4}, Jer 2^{33}), through (2) *family affection* and *natural friendship* (Gn 22^{2}, Ex 21^{5}, 1 S 18^{16}, 2 S 1^{26}), up to (3) the highest *spiritual passion*. Under (3) comes (*a*) *J″'s love to Israel*, to the righteous, etc. (Dt 4^{37} $7^{7 f.}$, 1 K 10^{9}, Hos 3^{1} 9^{15} 11^{4} 14^{4}, Zeph 3^{17}, Jer 2^{2}, Is 43^{4} 48^{14} 63^{9}, Mal 1^{2}, Ps 11^{7} 47^{4} 78^{68} 87^{2} 146^{8}, Pr 3^{12} 8^{17}, 2 Ch 2^{11} 9^{8}); and (*b*) *Israel's love to J″*, His name, word, ways, etc. (*e.g.* in Ex 20^{6}, Dt 6^{5} etc., Neh 1^{5}; 1 K 3^{3}—same verb as in 11^{1}; Ps 5^{11} 31^{23} 116^{1} 119^{97} etc; Mic 6^{8}). Under a strong synonym meaning *to cleave to* or *hang upon*, J″ is said (Dt 7^{7}) to have '*set* his *love upon*' Israel, and the saint (Ps 91^{14}) to have '*set* his *love upon*' J″. Passages coming under (*b*) are relatively numerous, and date from the redemption of the Exodus. The instances of (*a*) we have enumerated in full; none of these is certainly earlier than Hosea, who first represented the covenant of Jehovah as a *spousal* contract. In similar connexion, J″*s* love to His people is poetically expressed by a word, of twofold form, signifying 'darling' ('beloved,' etc.), in Dt 33^{12}, Is 5^{1}, Ps 60^{5} 127^{2}; this term figures much in Canticles. 'Love does not appear with this association in Gn.; but the phrase 'walked with God,' of $5^{22.\ 24}$ 6^{9} (also Mic 6^{8}, Mal 2^{6}), conveys the idea of companionship. Several other Heb. synonyms occur, of limited use and slight significance. **Lover** (OT) is used in the evil meaning of (1) = *paramour*, and in sense (2) above—a derivative (in Heb.) from the main stem first referred to. **Lovely** in 2 S 1^{23} = *lovable*. For 'greatly beloved' in Dn 9^{23} etc., see RVm.

Love, like joy (wh. see), holds a unique place in the Israelite as compared with other religions, as it signifies *the reciprocal affection of God and people*. According to Greek philosophy, the gods are as much above human affection as inanimate things are below it: 'for friendship demands reciprocity; but relationship with God admits of no return of love, and therefore of no love in the proper sense, for it would be preposterous if any one said that he *loves* Zeus!' (*Magna Moralia*). The sentiment of the OT is just the opposite of this; J″ calls Israel 'the seed of Abraham, my friend' (Is 41^{8}; cf. Pss 91. 116 etc.). In several of the texts referred to under (3) above, usages (*a*) and (*b*) are correlative; the people's love to J″ presupposes and grows out of J″'s love to it. The fact that the word denoting this affection comes from the sphere of conjugal love and of friendship imports reciprocity; see, in illustration, Ex 33^{11}, Hos 2^{14-23} 11^{1-4}, Is 62^{3-5} 63^{7-10}. The Divine Wisdom says, in Pr 8^{17}, 'I love them that love me,' conditioning J″'s affection on the return made to it (cf. Jn 14^{23} $15^{9.\ 10}$). Yet it was not because of the greatness or the worth of this people that J″ 'chose' them—the case was quite otherwise—but out of His unmerited goodness and His faithful regard for their forefathers (Dt $7^{7ff.}$ $9^{4ff.}$, Ezk 16^{3-14}; cf. Ro $5^{7f.}$); the characteristic saying of 1 Jn 4^{19}, 'We love, because he first loved us,' equally applies to the OT redemption. *The union of affection* between J″ and Israel, grounded on the covenant with the fathers and the redemption from Egypt, is the distinctive and vital element in the OT doctrine of love. 'Love' becomes increasingly prominent in the prophetic speech as the relations between God and people become increasingly strained, during the national downfall and exile; see esp. Hosea and Deutero-Isaiah.

The character of J″, 'the Holy One of Israel,' gives to His love its qualities—purity, intensity, selflessness, fidelity; reciprocal love calls forth like qualities in His people (see the relevant expressions of love to J″ in

LOVE, LOVER, LOVELY, BELOVED

the Psalms). Israel's sin is the base requital it has rendered; see Dt 32[4-6], Is 5[1-4] 63[7-10], Mic 6[3f.], Jer 2[5. 31], Mal 1[2. 6], Neh 9[7-17]. God's love is *kindness, loving-kindness* (see artt.: very frequent); to those in any degree worthy and approved, becoming *delight, joy*, in special cases, it is *mercy* (wh. see) toward the weak, sinful, needy—'mercy' is more conspicuous than 'love' in the OT, and looks beyond the covenant-bond. God's love breaks into *grief, anger, wrath, threatening* (the reaction of affronted love) against the faithless and wanton (Dt 7[7-11], Ps 78[40], Is 63[9f.], Am 3[1f.] etc.); it burns with *jealousy*, when its chosen are seduced into idolatry and vice—J″'s *loathing* of Israel's corruption reveals at once the purity of His nature and the zeal of His affection (Ex 20[5], Nu 25[11], Dt 29[18-21], Zeph 1[18], Jer 44[4] etc.). For the same reason, there is in Him a 'jealousy *over* Zion,' etc., when His 'beloved' is injured or wronged (Jl 2[18], Zec 1[14] etc.). Is 19[25] 42[1-6] etc., adumbrate the inclusion of 'the nations' in the covenant; and Ps 100. 103[13-16] 145[9-12], Jon 4[11] reveal a universal and truly *humane* love in J″ (cf. Lk 2[29-32], Tit 3[4]).

2. The Greek language discriminated in expressing love: it distinguished (1) sexual love, *erōs*; (2) family love, natural affection, *storgē*; (3) social love, friendship, *philia*; (4) sometimes, in a broader ethical sense, *philanthropia*, humanity, kindness. The LXX translators, though not consistent in their usage, enlisted (5) *agapē* to denote religious love, the love of God to man or man to God, or of man to man under God's covenant (Lv 19[18])—i.e. *love suffused with religion*. The lower kinds of love, (1) and (2), they express by *philia—erōs* is avoided; *agapē*, however, encroaches here upon *philia*. The verb *agapaō* (or *-azō*; noun *agapē* rare outside of Scripture) was used in all periods of Greek synonymously with *phileō*, implying in distinction therefrom *affection* rather than passion, and *practical affection*, love shown by signs, rather than sentiment. The AV, after the Latin *caritas* (*charitas*), rendered *agapē* in NT 30 times by **'charity,'** which RV has corrected to 'love.' Being a term of the heart, free from debasing and narrow associations, *agapē* was suitable for Biblical use. In the NT vocabulary of love, (1) never occurs —'lust' represents the evil *erōs*; *agapē* and *philia* are the prevailing synonyms (verbs *agapaō* and *phileō*), the latter sometimes replacing the former in application to the higher love, with the connotation of endearment or intimacy; see Jn 5[20] and 16[27] (a *quasi*-family affection), 11[3. 36]—spoken *about* Jesus (*agapaō* in v.[5]), 20[2] (*agapaō*, in parallels), 21[15ff.] (no idle variation); and in 1 Co 16[22], where the negative coalesces with the verb ('If any one is *no friend* of the Lord'). *storgē* (2) is found in its negative in Ro 1[31], 2 Ti 3[3]; and in the peculiar compound of Ro 12[10], the adjective 'tenderly-affectioned.' In Tit 3[4] Paul speaks of 'the *philanthropy* (4) of God.' **'Beloved'** ('well-' 'dearly-') represents a derivative of *agapaō*, used of Christ, or Christians, as dear to God; and of Christians, as dear to fellow-believers. It is synonymous with 'brethren'; this usage is frequent in salutations and apostrophes. **'Lovely'** in Ph 4[8] reproduces an adjective akin to *philia* (3) = amiable' or 'affectionate.' There are several NT Gr. compounds of *phil-*, rendered 'love of—'and 'lover(s) of—.'

agapē (*agapaō*), signifying primarily a voluntary, active affection, has brought from the LXX into the NT the deeper sense of *spiritual affection*, the love that links God and man and unites soul and soul in the Divine communion. Like *philia*, it implies reciprocity, fellowship,—if not existing, then desired and sought.

The Apostle John gives the final and complete NT doctrine of love. (*a*) *The love of God* John sees 'perfected' in those who 'love one another' and thus 'keep God's commands,' from whose souls accordingly 'fear' is 'cast out,' who 'abide' wholly in the realm of love that is constituted by the one Spirit dwelling in their hearts (1 Jn 2[5] 3[24] 4[11f. 16-21]); by such love men are 'perfected into one,' even as Christ is 'one' with the Father by virtue of the love subsisting eternally between them (Jn 17[21-26]; cf. Mt 3[17] 17[5])—there is love's prime fountain. Gradually, almost timidly, OT saints had learned to speak of J″'s 'love' to men; Christ builds everything upon this. Coming from His 'bosom' (Jn 1[18]), He knows the Father's love, and seeks to convey it to and share it with His brethren. His mission is to 'show the Father,'—to declare how much, and to what effect, 'God loves the world' (Jn 3[16f. 17[25f.] etc.), 'thankless and evil' though it is (Lk 6[35]). In love which heaps kindness on the worst and seeks out the most alienated, lies the 'perfection' of God in His character of Father (Mt 5[48], Lk 15 etc.; cf. Ro 2[4], Col 1[21f.]). The bestowment of 'the Son of his love,' 'the only begotten,' on our race, and the sacrifice of that Son's life for man's redemption, display with infinite force and effect the love of the Father towards His unworthy children; see Jn 1[14] 3[14-19], Ro 5[5-8] ('love of God,' or 'of Christ,' means always in Paul God's, or Christ's, love to man) 8[32], 1 Jn 4[9f. 14], Col 1[13]. The love which God thus 'commends' subsisted in Him apart from and anterior to this proof; it actuates all God's dealings with mankind,—in creation, providence, and moral discipline (Mt 5[45] 6[26-33] 10[29ff], Ja 1[17f.], 1 P 4[19]). 'Love is of God,' since 'God is love'; it comes from Him, being absolutely in Him; 'love' gives the best conception we can form of God's nature. Since its objects are pitiable, God's redeeming love is *mercy* (Lk 1[50], Eph 2[4], Tit 3[5], 1 P 1[3]—'love' predominates in the NT, as 'mercy' in the OT); and as men are sinful and undeserving, love wears the form of *grace* (wh. see: Paul's favourite term, as 'love' is John's). God's 'good-will' (or 'pleasure') is His love taking determinate expression (Lk 2[14] 12[32], 1 Co 1[21], Eph 1[5ff.] etc.); His 'kindness' is love in its considerateness or bounty (Lk 6[35], Ro 2[4]); His 'long-suffering' is love in its patience, restraining anger and delaying chastisement (Ro 2[4] 9[22], 1 Ti 1[16], 1 P 3[20]). Jesus Christ is not the mere channel of the Father's good-will; He shares in it infinitely—'the love of God' is seen in 'the love *of Christ*' (Ro 8[35. 39], 2 Co 5[14], Gal 2[20], Eph 3[19]; cf. Jn 10[11-15] 13[1. 34] 14[21], Rev 1[5] etc.). Ja 4[5] testifies to a 'jealous *yearning*' in the Holy Spirit, over Christians infected with 'love of the world'; cf. Eph 4[13], Is 63[10].

(*b*) *The love of Christians towards God and Christ* is the heart's response to the Father's love exhibited in Christ (1 Jn 4[19]). This is not spontaneous on man's part, but comes by 'knowing the love of Christ that surpasses knowledge' (Eph 3[19], Ro 5[17f.], Eph 2[3-5] 3[17-19], Jn 15[16] 17[23]). Grateful and obedient love to God results from *faith* (wh. see: 'faith and love,' also 'faith, hope, love,' are companions; 1 Co 13[13], 1 Th 1[3], 1 Ti 1[14], Philem[5] etc.) in Jesus Christ—His mission and sacrifice of the mind of God (2 Co 4[4-6], Gal 5[6], Eph 5[1f.]; cf. 2[8], 1 P 1[8f.], 1 Jn 4[16. 19]); it is the 'fruit' and evidence of *the Holy Spirit's* indwelling, who is the Father's 'gift' of love to His reconciled children (Gal 5[22], 1 Co 2[12], Ro 5[5], 1 Jn 4[13f.]). 'Abba, Father!' was the cry of this new-born filial love (Ro 8[15], Gal 4[6]). Its antithesis is found in 'the love of the world,' of 'self,' 'pleasure,' 'money' (1 Jn 2[15ff.], Ja 4[4], 2 Ti 3[2-5], Lk 16[13f.], Jn 15[19-24]). Love towards God is the fundamental law of man's nature, broken by his transgression—a law proclaimed in comprehensive terms in the OT, recalled by Jesus and recognized by the true Israelite (Mt 22[37]); the false professors of Judaism 'had not the love of God in them,' for indeed they 'had not known Him' or they would have 'received' His messenger, they would have 'loved' His Son (Lk 11[42], Jn 5[38. 42f. 8[42. 55]). The world's radical hostility towards God shows itself in unbelief towards Christ, and consequent persecution of Christians (Jn 15[19-16[3], Ro 8[7. 38], Gal 4[29], 1 Jn 3[12f.]). Love towards God (and Christ) renovates and purifies the heart, inspires a constant self-devotion, and makes the perfect vision of God the object of fervent anticipation (1 P 1[3-9. 18-23], Eph 4[31] 5[5], Col 3[12-15], 1 Jn 3[1-3] 4[11], Rev 21[7] 22[3f.], Jn 14[23] 17[24]). To cherish this love to the Father is to live as one who 'has learnt Christ'; it is to follow in His steps, with the certainty of arriving where He is (Jn 17[21ff.] 15[8ff.] 14[2ff.], Eph 4[20-24]). Thus one

wins 'the crown of life' (Ja 1[12], Rev 2[10], Ro 8[28-30]); hence the coupling of 'love and hope' (wh. see).

(*c*) If love to God is rekindled by the knowledge of God's love to man in Christ, this holds no less of *man's love to man*, to which most NT instances of the word refer. This was the matter of 'the second commandment' of Jesus, which is 'like unto the first and great commandment,' and is grounded equally with it upon creation and the true order of the world (Mt 22[38ff.]). Sin, brought in by 'the wicked one,' confounded this order, planting hate, lust, deceit, the destroyers of love and life, in human nature (Jn 8[44], 1 Jn 3[12], Ja 1[14f.] 4[1f.] [11]); this whole evil brood Paul traces to wilful ignorance of God (Ro 1[19-32], Eph 4[17-19]). In 'laying down his life for us' Jesus Christ has laid the foundation of a new empire of love, a régime and fashion of life the opposite of that inaugurated by Cain (1 Jn 3[12]; cf. 1 P 2[21ff.], 2 Co 5[15f.], Eph 4[31–5:5], Col 1[13], Tit 3[3-7]). The **'new commandment'** is, after all, 'the old commandment which' men 'had from the beginning' (1 Jn 2[7f.]); God's Fatherly love manifest in the unstinted bounties of nature, which visit 'just and unjust' every day, dictates to His 'children' love to 'enemies' and kindness to 'the evil' (Mt 5[43-48]). 'The love of Christ,' reaffirming and immensely reinforcing the primeval law, 'constrains us' to 'live no longer to ourselves but to him' (2 Co 5[14-19]); in living to Him one lives for His Church and for humanity (Eph 5[25ff.], Mt 25[34-46], 1 Co 8[11f.], Ro 1[14f.], 1 Jn 3[16], Eph 3[8-9], Col 1[24-29]). 'If a man say, I love God, and hateth his brother, he is a liar' (1 Jn 2[9] 4[20f.]; cf. Tit 1[16]); true love ever speaks in beneficent deed (Ja 1[27] 2[15f.], 1 Jn 3[17ff.]). The terms of Christ's redemption bind His redeemed to human service; they have become both witnesses and engaged parties to God's covenant of grace in Christ made with mankind (Jn 1[29] 6[33. 51], Mt 10[8] 26[28], Mk 16[15], Lk 24[46ff.], Ac 1[8], Ro 5[12-21], Col 1[23], 1 Jn 2[2], Rev 5[9] etc.). The gift of the Spirit is bestowed expressly with this world-aim in view; the salvation of each sinner is a step towards and an earnest of the world's salvation (Mt 5[13f.] 13[33], Ja 1[18], 1 P 2[9], Eph 3[7ff.], Gal 3[14]). The love of God must reach the world and rule the world through those who know it in 'knowing the grace of our Lord Jesus Christ.'

G. G. Findlay.

LOVE FEAST (Agape).—The Love Feast of the Christian Church in Apostolic times was a common meal of which all the brethren partook, and was still connected with the **Eucharist.** The 'breaking of bread from house to house' (Ac 2[46]) probably included both under the title 'the Lord's Supper' (1 Co 11[20]). From Ac 20[7] we gather that the religious exercises of the Love Feast were prolonged till dawn, and ended with the Eucharist. The scandalous behaviour, which St. Paul was constrained to rebuke at Corinth in A.D. 57–58 (1 Co 11[17-34]), shows that not all who came to the Love Feast were in a fit condition to communicate. More serious evils still were introduced by false teachers described by Jude [12]: 'they who are hidden rocks at your love feasts when they feast with you, shepherds that without fear feed themselves.' The writer is dependent on 2 P 2[13]: 'spots are they and blemishes, revelling in their love feasts, while they feast with you.'

In spite of the disorders, which marred the religious value of these social club-feasts and led in the end to their suppression, they lasted for a considerable period. Ignatius of Antioch wrote to the Smyrnæans (*c.* 8): 'It is not lawful apart from the bishop either to baptize or to hold a love feast,' in a context which proves that the Agape included the Eucharist. Tertullian (*Apol. c.* xxxix.) gives a vivid description of the feast explained by its own name.

'The participants, before reclining, taste first of prayer to God. As much is eaten as satisfies the cravings of hunger: as much is drunk as befits the chaste. They say it is enough, as those who remember that even during the night they have to worship God; they talk as those who know that the Lord is one of their auditors. After manual ablution and the bringing in of lights, each is asked to stand forth and sing, as he can, a hymn to God, either one from the Holy Scriptures or one of his own composing. This is a proof of the measure of our drinking. As the feast commenced with prayer, so it is closed with prayer.'

The food consisted of bread, fish, and vegetables. The pictures of the Love Feasts in the catacombs give fish a prominent place. Interesting specimens of prayers used at them are found in the *Didache.* The direction to give thanks 'after ye are satisfied' plainly associates the prayer with the Love Feast rather than the Eucharist (*c.* 10):—

'We give Thee thanks, Holy Father, for Thy Holy Name which Thou hast made to tabernacle in our hearts, and for the knowledge and faith and immortality, which Thou hast made known unto us through Thy Servant Jesus; Thine is the glory for ever and ever. Thou, Almighty Master, didst create all things for Thy Name's sake, and didst give food and drink unto men for enjoyment, that they might render thanks to Thee; but didst bestow upon us spiritual food and drink and eternal life through Thy Servant. . . .'

The separation of the Love Feast from the Eucharist seems to have been due, in the first instance, to the action of the Roman Government, always jealous of secret societies. Pliny's letter to Trajan speaks of the celebration of the Eucharist in the early morning as followed by a simple meal, which had been left off since the issue of the edict forbidding clubs. On the other hand, fear of calumnies regarding any more or less secret feast, and experience of disorders like those which prevailed at Corinth, were motives which from time to time hindered the practice in certain districts, and finally extinguished it.

A. E. Burn.

LOVINGKINDNESS.—Two ideas are blended in this expressive word; it denotes *kindness* which springs from the loyalty of *love.* It is the frequent tr. (30 times in the AV, 42 times in the RV) of the Heb. word *chesedh,* which G. A. Smith renders 'leal love' (*Book of the Twelve Prophets,* i. 243 n). The EV most frequently tr. *chesedh* **'mercy'** and not seldom **'kindness.'** The Amer. RV gives 'lovingkindness' uniformly when the reference is to God's love to man. The adoption of this helpful suggestion would bring out the connexion between 'lovingkindness' as a fundamental attribute of the Divine nature (Ex 34[6f.] etc.), its poetic personification (Ps 42[8] 57[3] 89[14]), and the appeal to God to be true to Himself,—to save and to redeem 'for His lovingkindness' sake' (Ps 6[4] 44[26] 115[1]). For the combination of 'lovingkindness' with 'faithfulness' see Ps 89, where each word occurs seven times, and cf. La 3[22f.], Is 55[3]. Cf. also Love.

J. G. Tasker.

LOZON (1 Es 5[33]) = **Darkon,** Ezr 2[56], Neh 7[58].

LUBIM.—The name of a people, standing in EV for the **Libyans** in Nah 3[9], 2 Ch 12[3] 16[8], and replaced by the word 'Libyans' itself in Dn 11[43]. These were a very ancient people living west of Egypt, who were subdued by the Egyptians at an early date and long furnished mercenary soldiers to their armies. At length they invaded Egypt, subdued it in the 10th cent. B.C., and established a powerful dynasty, of which the Biblical Shishak was the founder. Probably *Lubim* should be read for **Ludim** (wh. see) in certain passages. Cf. Lehabim.

J. F. M'Curdy.

LUCAS, Philem [24] (AV), for **Luke** (wh. see).

LUCIFER.—In Is 14[12] occurs the phrase *'helēl (helāl) ben shachar,'* commonly but incorrectly rendered 'Lucifer son of the morning,' as if the expression *helēl (helāl)* must mean 'the morning-star' (cf. AVm and RV **'day-star'**). In this connexion, *helēl (helāl)* can denote only the waning of some luminary, as it is forcibly compared with the impending fate of the then king of Babylon, whose utter destruction the prophet is engaged in foretelling. The waning luminary intended by the author may probably have been only the old moon crescent seen at dawn, just about to disappear. It

could scarcely have been a morning-star, whose chief point would be its brightness. This allusion to a waning luminary possibly reflects some myth similar to the Greek Phaethon legend (Gunkel, *Schöpfung und Chaos*, 132–134). From a supposed reference in Lk 10^{18} and Rev $9^{1\text{-}11}$ to this passage in Isaiah, the name 'Lucifer' came to be used synonymously with 'Satan.'

N. A. Koenig.

LUCIUS.—**1.** A 'consul of the Romans' (1 Mac $15^{16ff.}$), who transmitted the decree of the senate in favour of the Jews. Probably the reference is to Lucius Calpurnius Piso, consul in B.C. 139. **2.** Of Cyrene, one of certain prophets and teachers at Antioch in Syria, mentioned in Acts 13^{1}, to whom it was revealed that Paul and Barnabas should be separated for the work to which they had been called. The suggestion that he was the same person as **St. Luke,** the Evangelist, has nothing to support it. **3.** Mentioned in Ro 16^{21}, as sending greetings to the brethren at Rome. Possibly the same person as **2,** but of this there is no certain proof. Morley Stevenson.

LUCRE.—The Eng. word 'lucre' is in AV always qualified by the adj. 'filthy,' because the word itself had not then the offensive meaning it has now. Erasmus speaks of God turning men's wickedness 'into the lucre and encreace of godlynesse.' It simply meant gain. Filthy lucre means sordid gain.

LUD, LUDIM.—Usually supposed to stand for the country and people of **Lydia** (wh. see). In Gn 10^{22} (1 Ch 1^{17}) Lud is named as one of the 'sons' of Shem, along with the well-known Elam, Asshur, and Aram, and the uncertain Arpachshad. In this list the Elamites at least are not Semitic, but are regarded as such by reason of association with the Babylonians. In a similar way the Lydians may be associated here with the Semitic Assyrians, whose rule once extended to the borders of the Lydian empire. No better explanation has been given, and they are at any rate an Asiatic people.

On the other hand, *Ludim* is given as the name of one of the descendants of Mizraim (Egypt) in Gn 10^{13} (1 Ch 1^{11}) in a list of peoples all undoubtedly African. Here there can be no question of Asiatic Lydians, and experts are divided as to whether an unknown African people is referred to, or whether we are to read **Lubim** (wh. see). This reading would suit equally well Jer 46^{9}, and even the singular form *Lud* might with advantage be emended into *Lub* in Ezk 27^{10} 30^{5}, Is 66^{19}.

J. F. M'Curdy.

LUHITH.—The ascent of 'Luhith' (Is 15^{5}) is probably the path called the 'descent *or* going down of Horonaim,' the latter lying, probably, higher than Luhith (cf. Jer 48^{5}). The way leading through *Wâdy Bene Hammâd*, from the district of Zoar to the eastern plateau, may be intended. The *Onomasticon* places Luhith between Areopolis and Zoar. It is not now known. W. Ewing.

LUKE (EVANGELIST).—Luke, a companion of St. Paul, is mentioned in Col 4^{14}, Philem ^{24}, 2 Ti 4^{11}, in all three places in connexion with Mark. He is generally believed to be the author of the Third Gospel and Acts, and therefore a frequent fellow-traveller with the Apostle of the Gentiles. (See art. Acts of the Apostles for proofs, and for his place of origin.) He has been identified, but without probability, with **Lucius of Cyrene** (Ac 13^{1}). He may have been converted by St. Paul, possibly at Tarsus, where he could have studied medicine. Tertullian calls St. Paul his 'illuminator' and 'master' (*adv. Marc.* iv. 2), which perhaps has this meaning; but it may be a mere conjecture. Luke joined St. Paul on his Second Missionary Journey, apparently for the first time, at Troas. He was not an eye-witness of the Gospel events (Lk 1^{2}), but had ample means of getting information from those who had been. He was a Gentile (cf. Col $4^{10f.}$ and v.^{14}); thus he could not have been of the Seventy, or the companion of Cleopas (Lk $24^{13.\ 18}$), as some have thought. He was a doctor (Col 4^{14}), and perhaps had attended St. Paul in his illnesses. A tradition, perhaps of the 6th cent., makes him a painter, who had made a picture of the Virgin. He was possibly of servile origin; his name, which seems to be an abbreviation of Lucanus, Lucius, Lucilius, or Lucianus, may well have been a slave's name; and physicians were often slaves. Chrysostom and Jerome take him for 'the brother whose praise in the gospel' is spread abroad (2 Co 8^{18}; see art. Gospel). Other traditions connect him with Achaia, Bithynia, or Alexandria; some assign to him a martyr's crown. A. J. Maclean.

LUKE, GOSPEL ACCORDING TO.—**1. The Third Gospel in the Early Church.**—Of 2nd cent. writers the following can without doubt be said to have known the Gospel or to imply its previous composition: Justin Martyr (*c.* 150 A.D.), who gives particulars found in Lk. only; Tatian, his pupil, who included it in his Harmony (the *Diatessaron*); Celsus (*c.* A.D. 160 or *c.* 177), who refers to the genealogy of Jesus from Adam; the *Clementine Homilies* (2nd cent.); the *Gospel of pseudo-Peter*, a Docetic work (*c.* A.D. 165? Swete); the *Testament of the Twelve Patriarchs*, a Jewish-Christian work (before A.D. 135, Sinker in Smith's *Dict. of Christ. Biog.*); the *Epistle of the Church of Lyons and Vienne* (A.D. 177); Marcion, who based his Gospel upon Lk. and abbreviated it [this is certain—as against the hypothesis that Lk. is later than, and an expansion of, Marcion, as the Tübingen school maintained—from the evidence of Irenæus, Tertullian, and Epiphanius; from the exact similarity of style between the portions which are not in Marcion and those which are; and for other reasons]; the Valentinians; and Heracleon, who wrote a commentary upon it. The first writers who name Luke in connexion with it are Irenæus and the author of the Muratorian Fragment (perhaps Hippolytus), Tertullian, and Clement of Alexandria—all at the end of the 2nd century. If we go back earlier than any of the writers named above, we note that Clement of Rome, Ignatius, Polycarp, and the *Didache* writer perhaps knew Lk.; but we cannot be certain if their quotations are from Mt. or from Lk. or from some third document now lost, or even from oral tradition. Yet Clement of Rome, Ignatius, and Polycarp probably quote Acts, and the title of the *Didache* seems to come from Ac 2^{42}, and this presupposes the circulation of Luke. It will be observed that the ecclesiastical testimony shows the existence of Lk. before the second quarter of the 2nd cent., but we have not, as in the case of Mt. and Mk., any guidance from that early period as to the method of its composition or as to its author.

2. Contents of the Gospel.—The preface ($1^{1\text{-}4}$) and the Birth and Childhood narratives (1^{5}–2^{52}) are peculiar to Luke. The Evangelist then follows Mk. (up to 6^{19}) as to the Baptist's teaching and the early ministry, inserting, however, sections common to him and Mt. on the Baptist and on the Temptation, and also the genealogy, the miraculous draught of fishes, the anointing by the sinful woman, and some sayings (especially those at Nazareth) peculiar to himself. From 6^{20} to 8^{3} Lk. entirely deserts Mk. The intervening portion contains part of the Sermon on the Mount (not in the order of Mt.), the message of the Baptist, and the healing of the centurion's servant (so Mt.) and some fragments peculiar to himself, especially the raising of the widow's son at Nain (Lk. practically omits the section Mk 6^{45}–8^{26} = Mt 14^{22}–16^{12}). The Markan narrative, containing the rest of the Galilæan ministry, the charge to the Twelve, the Transfiguration, etc., is then resumed, nearly in the same order as Mk., but with some omissions, to 9^{50} (= Mk 9^{40}), where a long insertion occurs (9^{51}–18^{14}). After this Luke takes up Mk. almost where he left it (Lk 18^{15} = Mk 10^{13}). The insertion deals largely with the Peræan ministry and the journeys towards Jerusalem, and contains many parables peculiar to Lk (the Good

Samaritan, the Importunate Friend, the Rich Fool, the Barren Fig-tree, the Lost Sheep, the Lost Piece of Money, the Prodigal Son, the Unjust Steward, the Rich Man and Lazarus, the Ten Lepers, the Unjust Judge, the Pharisee and the Publican), and also several incidents and sayings peculiar to Lk., *e.g.* the Mission of the Seventy; this section also has portions of the Sermon on the Mount and some parables and sayings common to Mt. and Lk., a few also which are found in other parts of Mk. From 18^{15} to the end the Markan narrative is followed (from 19^{45} to 22^{14} very closely) with few omissions, but with some insertions, *e.g.* the parable of the Pounds, the narrative of Zacchæus, of the Penitent Robber, of the two disciples on the Emmaus road, and other incidents peculiar to Lk. In the Passion and Resurrection narrative Luke has treated Mk. very freely, adding to it largely, and in several cases following other sources in preference.

Viewing the Third Gospel as a whole, we may with Dr. Plummer divide it thus: Preface, 1^{1-4}; Gospel of the Infancy, 1^{5}–2^{52}; Ministry, mainly in Galilee, 3^{1}–9^{50}; Journeyings towards Jerusalem, and the Ministry outside Galilee, 9^{51}–19^{28}; the Ministry in Jerusalem in the last days, 19^{29}–21^{28}; the Passion and Resurrection, 22–24.

3. The Sources.—The preface (1^{1-4}), the only contemporary evidence of the manner in which Gospels were written, tells us that the Evangelist knew of written Evangelic narratives, and had access to eye-witnesses, though he himself had not seen the events which he chronicles. Of the former sources (documents), the preceding section will lead us to name two (see also art. GOSPELS), namely the 'Petrine tradition' (see art. MARK [GOSPEL ACC. TO]), which is our Mk. or else something very like it, and which the First Evangelist also used; and another, which is often called the 'Logia,' but which it is safer to call the 'non-Markan document,' which is a common source of Mt. and Lk., but which is now lost (see art. MATTHEW [GOSPEL ACC. TO]). In the use of the latter the order of Lk. differs greatly from that of Mt., and the question arises which of the two Evangelists has followed this source the more closely. Now we have seen (§ 2) that Luke has followed the order of his Markan source very closely; it is therefore probable that he did the same with the 'non-Markan document.' We may then presume that the order of the latter is more faithfully reproduced in Lk. than in Mt.—With regard to the sections peculiar to Lk. we must probably separate 1^{5}–2^{52} from the rest. This section has a strong Aramaic tinge; it is an 'episode of family history of the most private character' (Ramsay); it is told from the point of view of a woman, and is full of womanly touches; it represents the Mary side of the story, while the narrative in Mt. represents the Joseph side. It is therefore highly probable that the ultimate, if not the immediate, source was the Virgin Mother, and that the story had not passed through many hands. Some postulate an Aramaic written source for this section (Plummer). But it is by no means certain that Luke the Gentile understood Aramaic; and the character of the narrative rather points to an oral source (Ramsay). The introduction of the Aramaic style (which begins abruptly at 1^{5} after the very Greek preface) may probably be an intentional change on the author's part, and be due to a diligent study of the LXX. For the rest of the matter peculiar to Lk., it is usual, perhaps rightly, to assume a special source, oral or written; but it must be observed that the silence of Mt. does not negative the supposition that much or most of this matter was contained in the 'non-Markan document.' Silence does not necessarily mean ignorance.

Assuming now (see § 5) that the author was Luke, Paul's companion, we can see at once that he was in a position to gather together not only written materials, but also first-hand oral reports. The two years at Cæsarea (Ac 24^{27}) would give him good opportunities for collecting materials both for the Gospel and for Acts. Mary may well have been alive at the time (*c.* A.D. 57), or at least Luke may have met several of the women best known to her. And both in Palestine at this time and later at Rome, he would have direct access to Apostolic information: in the former case, of several of the Twelve; in the latter, of St. Peter. At Rome he would probably read the written 'Petrine tradition,' his Markan source.

We must notice that Lk. is not the Pauline Gospel in the same sense that Mk. is the Petrine. St. Paul could not be a 'source' as St. Peter was; and indeed the preface to Lk. contradicts such an idea. Yet the Pauline influence on Luke is very great, not only in his ideas but in his language. Many words and phrases are peculiar in NT to Luke and Paul. Among other topics insisted on by both may be mentioned the universality of the Gospel (Lk $3^{5f.}$ $4^{24ff.}$ $10^{29ff.}$ 13^{29} etc.).

As a detail in the consideration of the treatment of his sources by Luke, we may notice the Lord's Prayer, which is much shorter in Lk. than in Mt. (see RV). Does this mean that the Prayer was delivered twice, in two different forms, or that Luke abbreviated the original, or that Matthew enlarged it? The first hypothesis is *a priori* quite probable; but if we have to choose between the two others, the presence of the Lukan phrase 'day by day' (11^{3}, so 19^{47}, Ac 17^{11}, not elsewhere in NT), and of others which seem to be simplifications (as 'we forgive' for 'we have forgiven' of Mt. RV, or 'sins' for 'debts' of Mt.), points to the Matthæan prayer being the original. But it is difficult to believe that either Evangelist would deliberately alter the *Lord's* Prayer as found in his sources; the case is not parallel with other alterations. If we hold the Prayer to have been given only once, the most probable explanation of the differences would seem to be that, our Lord not having laid down fixed rules for worship, but only general principles, the first Christians did not feel bound to use, or did not know, His *ipsissima verba*; hence the liturgical usage with regard to the Prayer would vary. The First and Third Evangelists might well incorporate in their Gospels that form to which they were accustomed in worship. We must not forget also that as originally delivered the Prayer was, doubtless, in Aramaic, and so in any case we have not Jesus' exact words.

4. The writer's style and interests.—The Third Evangelist is at once the most literary and the most versatile of the four. The sudden change from a classical to an Aramaic style at 1^{5} has been noticed in § 3; when the writer is working on the 'Petrine tradition,' and the 'non-Markan document,' the Aramaic tinge is much less marked. The same thing is seen in Acts, where the early chapters have a strong Aramaic tinge which is absent from the rest. Yet the special characteristics of language run through both the books, and their integrity and common authorship is becoming more and more certain. The writer has a keen sense of effective composition, as we see by the way in which he narrates his incidents (*e.g.* that of the sinful woman, $7^{36ff.}$). Yet his descriptions are not those of an eye-witness; the autoptic touches which we find in the Second Gospel (see MARK [GOSPEL ACC. TO]) are absent here. The author's interests are many—his sympathy with women, his 'domestic tone' shown by the social scenes which he describes, his medical language and descriptions of cures (a large number of technical phrases used by Greek medical writers and by Luke have been collected), and his frequent references to angels, are clearly marked in both books. It has been said that in his Gospel he avoids *duplicates*; but this statement can hardly stand examination (cf. the two songs ($1^{46.\ 68}$), the two feasts (5^{29} 19^{5}), the mission of the Twelve and of the Seventy (9^{1} 10^{1}), the two disputes as to who is the greatest (9^{46} 22^{24}), etc.).

The Evangelic symbol usually ascribed by the Fathers to Luke is the calf, though pseudo-Athanasius gives him the lion; and it is said that the Gospel has a sacrificial aspect, the calf being the animal most commonly used for sacrifice. But this appears to be very fanciful, and it is not easy to see why Lk. is more sacrificial than the other Gospels.

5. Authorship and date.—(*a*) The Third Gospel and Acts have the same author. Both books are addressed to the same person, Theophilus; the style of both is identical, not only in broad features, but in detail

(see § 4), and Ac 1[1] refers to a 'former' (or 'first') treatise. Thus, if the author is not the same in both cases, the later writer has deliberately interwoven into his book the whole style of his predecessor, in a manner that absolutely defies detection. That this should have happened is a gross improbability. (*b*) We have no external evidence of authorship before Irenæus, who names Luke (§ **1**). But the internal evidence of Acts is very strong that the writer was Luke, the companion of St. Paul (see art. Acts of the Apostles). We must therefore conclude either that the author was Luke, or that he wished to pass for him. The latter hypothesis is maintained by some on the ground that the writer is indebted to Josephus, who wrote his *Antiquities* c. A.D. 94. It may be remarked that this fact, if proved, would not preclude the Lukan authorship, for if Luke was a young man when travelling with St. Paul, he might well have been alive and active in a literary sense *c.* A.D. 100 (so Burkitt). But it is extremely improbable that he had ever read Josephus. The crucial cases are those of the taxing in Lk 2[2] and of Theudas in Ac 5[36], discussed in § **7** below, and in art. Theudas, where dependence is shown to be most unlikely (see also art. Egyptian [the]). Other things point to an absence of literary connexion; *e.g.* Acts describes Agrippa's death quite independently of Josephus. The argument from language, on the other side, scarcely deserves serious refutation; the common use of the LXX accounts for most of the resemblances (see, further, Plummer, *St. Luke*, p. xxx; the connexion between Lk. and Josephus is denied by Schürer, Harnack, Zahn, and by most English writers). For the reasons, then, which are stated in art. Acts of the Apostles, we conclude that Luke was the author. It may be added that it is difficult to conceive any reason which the author, if not Luke, could have had for the pretence. Luke was not sufficiently well known for a forger to use his name.

(*b*) *Date.*—For the reasons just stated we must probably choose a date immediately after Ac 28[30] (Blass, Headlam, Salmon, etc.), or else between A.D. 70 and 80 (Sanday, Plummer, Ramsay, etc.). To the present writer the earlier date for Acts, and therefore for Lk., seems on the whole more likely (see art. Acts of the Apostles), and this probability is not diminished by Lk 1[1] 21[20], the chief passages adduced for the later date. Sanday and Plummer think that the earlier date does not allow enough time for drawing up the narratives spoken of in 1[1]; but it is not obvious why written Gospels should not have been attempted at an early stage. The passage 21[20], where 'Jerusalem compassed with armies' replaces 'the abomination of desolation' of Mk 13[14], is said to betoken a date later than the destruction of Jerusalem, and to describe what had actually happened. But if the change be due to Luke, it is just what we should expect—a Hebraism interpreted for Gentile readers (see § **6**); in any case it scarcely goes further than Dn 9[26]. Sir J. Hawkins (*Horæ Synopticæ*) thinks that there must have been a considerable interval between Lk. and Acts. The whole question of date is far from certain.

6. Purpose of the Gospel.—St. Luke clearly writes for the Gentiles, being a Gentile himself (see art. Acts of the Apostles, § **2**), and undertakes his task because the works of his predecessors were incomplete,—probably as not beginning with our Lord's birth,—and because he was in possession of good information. He writes to Theophilus, thought by Origen and Ambrose to be an imaginary Christian, but more probably a real person, perhaps, as Ramsay deduces from the epithet 'most excellent' (Lk 1[3]), a Roman citizen of rank [this is denied by Blass and Plummer]. He has also in view, however, other Gentile converts. He explains Jewish customs (22[1]), substitutes Greek names for Hebrew ('Zelotes' for 'Cananæan' 6[15], Ac 1[13], 'the Skull' for Golgotha' 23[33], 'Master' for 'Rabbi' often), is sparing of OT quotations and of references to prophecy, uses 'Judæa' for the whole of Palestine (1[5] 7[17] 23[5], Ac 2[9] 10[37] 11[29]; but in Lk 4[44] RVm and Ac 11[1] the more restricted sense is probable), and insists on the universality of the Gospel (see § **3**). An interesting detail which shows the readers to whom the book is addressed is pointed out by Sir Wm. Ramsay (*Was Christ born at Bethlehem* p. 63). In 5[19] Luke alters the description of the breaking up of the mud roof through which the paralytic was let down (Mk 2[4])—a description which would be unintelligible to a Western—and speaks of the man being let down through the 'tiles.'

7. Accuracy of Luke.—Very different estimates have been made as to the trustworthiness of Luke as a historian. He is the only Evangelist who connects his narrative with contemporary events in the world at large (2[1*f.*] 3[1], Ac 11[28] 18[2] 24[27] etc.), and who thus gives us some opportunities of testing his accuracy. His accuracy has been assailed by a large number of scholars, and as strongly defended by others. The former fix especially on two points: (*a*) Gamaliel's speech about Theudas (Ac 5[36*f.*]) is said to be absolutely unhistorical, and to be an invention of the writer, who had read and misread Josephus (see § **5** and art. Theudas). (*b*) The reference to the enrolment (AV **taxing**) in Lk 2[1ff.] is said to be also unhistorical. It is objected that Augustus did not order a general enrolment, that if he did, the order did not apply to Herod's kingdom, and that, even if it did so apply, there was no reason why Joseph and Mary should go to Bethlehem; that no census had been made in Judæa till A.D. 6–7, when **Quirinius** was governor of Syria ('*the* census' Ac 5[37], Josephus); and that Quirinius was never governor of Syria in Herod's lifetime (he died B.C. 4). As against these objections it used to be urged that Luke was accurate in most particulars, but that he made a mistake about Quirinius only. Now Luke does not say that a *Roman* census was being made in Palestine when Jesus was born; the enrolment is said by him to have been tribal and according to lineage, not according to the place where persons happened to be at the time, as was the Roman custom. He says that this was the first of a series of enrolments, and that Augustus instituted the rule of enrolments for the [Roman] world—this is the force of the Greek phrase used. A remarkable confirmation of Lk. has recently come to light, by the discovery in Egypt of some papyri which show that periodic enrolments by households in a cycle of 14 years did as a matter of fact take place in that country. Many actual census papers, beginning A.D. 20, have been found. This fact is confirmed by Clement of Alexandria. Sir Wm. Ramsay, in his fascinating work (*Was Christ born at Bethlehem?* 1st ed. 1898), argues with much probability that the first enrolment in Syria was in B.C. 8, and that the 14 years' cycle was used. The second enrolment would be that of Ac 5[37], which led to great riots in Palestine, because the Roman system, so offensive to Jewish patriotism, was then first introduced. No such riots are said by Luke to have occurred at the census when Jesus was born. Ramsay gives reasons for thinking that this was because Herod, ruling a semi-independent kingdom, though he could not from fear of losing Augustus' favour forego the census (this agrees with Josephus' account of his relations with Rome), yet conducted it in Jewish fashion, and postponed it for a year or two. This would give B.C. 6 (summer) for our Lord's birth. All this fits in well with Luke. The difficulty of Quirinius alone remains. An inscription found near Tibur makes it probable that he was for the *second* time governor of Syria A.D. 6–9. He was consul B.C. 12; and his former governorship must therefore have fallen between these dates. In a technical argument Ramsay urges that Quirinius, during a time of war, held in B.C. 6 a special office in Syria as the Emperor's deputy, with command of the forces, while another was civil governor; and that Luke's phrase (lit. 'while Quirinius was ruling Syria') suits this state of affairs. This would completely vindicate Luke's accuracy. Cf. Quirinius.

The accuracy of the Gospel is really vouched for by the remarkable accuracy of Acts, which gives so many opportunities of testing it (see art. ACTS OF THE APOSTLES, § 12, and also art. LYSANIAS). But it may be asked whether Luke was a good chronologer. Did he really write 'in order' (Lk 1^3)? This phrase does not necessarily imply chronological order; it may merely imply method. Yet the chronological note in 3^1 leads us to think that Luke meant the former, though he certainly is less definite as to dates than Josephus or Tacitus, who were able to consult public records. Sir Wm. Ramsay decides that he had 'little of the sense for chronology.' It may be said, however, that he had more of this characteristic than his predecessors. The sources used by him had probably few, if any, marks of time. The earliest generation of disciples did not write histories for posterity, but religious narratives to teach their contemporaries faith. Luke, however, does insert some definite chronological landmarks; we may be certain that they come from him and not from his sources. He shows his trustworthiness in giving dates when he can do so; and when he has no information he does not pretend to guide us. A. J. MACLEAN.

LUNATIC.—See MOON, POSSESSION.

LUST.—The Eng. word 'lust,' which is now restricted to sexual desire, formerly expressed strong desire of any kind. And so, as Thomas Adams says, there can be a lusting of the Spirit, for the Spirit lusteth against the flesh (Gal 5^{17}).

LUTE.—See MUSIC AND MUSICAL INSTRUMENTS, 4 (1) (*b*).

LUZ.—**1.** Gn 28^{19} 35^6 48^3, Jos 16^2 18^{13}, Jg $1^{23\text{-}26}$. The exact locality is uncertain, and a comparison of the above passages will show that it is also uncertain whether Luz and **Bethel** were one or two sites. In Gn 28^{19} it is stated that Jacob changed the name of the place of his vision from Luz to Bethel (cf. also Gn 35^6, Jg 1^{23}). The two passages in Joshua, however, seem to contradict this; both of them speak of Luz and Bethel as two distinct places. A possible solution is that Luz was the name of the old Canaanite city, and Bethel the pillar and altar of Jacob outside the city. **2.** Luz is also the name of a city built on Hittite territory after the destruction of the original Canaanite city (Jg 1^{26}).

T. A. MOXON.

LYCAONIA meant originally the country inhabited by the Lycaones, a central tribe of Asia Minor. It is for the most part a level plain, which is merged on the north and east in the plains of Galatia and Cappadocia, and is bounded on the west and south by hills. It was and is an excellent country for pasturage. Its exact boundaries varied at different times. At some uncertain date a part of Lycaonia, containing fourteen cities, of which Iconium was one, was transferred to Galatia. (See ICONIUM.) Lycaonia was part of the Seleucid Empire until B.C. 190. Later the whole or part of it belonged successively to the Pergamenian kings, the Galatians, Cappadocia, and Pontus. At the settlement of B.C. 64 by Pompey, the north part was added to Galatia, the south-east to Cappadocia, and the west was added to the Roman Empire, to be administered by the governor of the Roman province Cilicia. In B.C. 39 Mark Antony gave the western part (including Lystra and Iconium) to Polemon, but in B.C. 36 it was transferred to Amyntas along with Galatia proper. (See GALATIA.) Amyntas conquered Derbe and Laranda, which were incorporated in the Roman Empire when Amyntas' kingdom was made into the province Galatia in B.C. 25. In A.D. 37 Eastern Lycaonia, which up to that time had continued under the weak Cappadocian rule, was placed under Antiochus of Commagene, along with most of Cilicia Tracheia, and got the name Lycaonia Antiochiana.

Under Claudius and Nero, when St. Paul visited the churches of South Galatia, Lycaonia included the two parts, the Roman and Antiochian. The former part included Lystra and Derbe and a number of smaller places, and it is correctly described in Ac 14^6. The Apostles, when persecuted at Iconium in Phrygia (or the Phrygian district of the vast province Galatia), crossed into Lycaonia (another district of the same province). In Ac $16^{1\text{-}4}$ this territory is not explicitly named, but its two cities are mentioned by name. In Ac 18^{23} the same cities are included in the expression used.

Both parts of Lycaonia were comprised in the united province of Galatia-Cappadocia under Vespasian and his sons (A.D. 70 onwards). They were again divided by Trajan in 106. About A.D. 137 'the triple eparchy' was formed, consisting of Cilicia, Lycaonia, and Isauria.

The name of the Lycaonians is not mentioned in the Bible, but their language is in Ac 14^{11}: it was no doubt prevalent in the villages and smaller towns.

A collection of Christian inscriptions (of 3rd cent. A.D. and later) has been discovered in Lycaonia, which for numbers cannot be matched in any other Eastern province. They show the wide diffusion of Christianity in this district evangelized by St. Paul. A. SOUTER.

LYCIA was a mountainous country in the S.W. of Asia Minor, which played very little part in the early history of Christianity. In it were situated many great cities, such as **Patara** (Ac 21^1) and **Myra** (Ac 27^5, cf. 21^1). The former was a celebrated seat of the worship of Apollo, the latter an important harbour, between which and Alexandria there was constant traffic in ancient times. Lycia was ruled by the Persians, and conquered by Alexander the Great. After his death it belonged to the Seleucid Empire, was then taken from Antiochus by the Romans in B.C. 188, and given to Rhodes at first, but afterwards freed in B.C. 168. It was one of the self-governing states, to which the Romans sent letters in favour of the Jews in B.C. 138–7 (1 Mac 15^{23}); see CARIA, DELOS. This proves that there were Jews there. Lycia was made a Roman province by Claudius in A.D. 43 on account of dissensions between its cities, and in A.D. 74 was formed into a double province along with Pamphylia. A. SOUTER.

LYDDA.—See LOD.

LYDIA was the name for the central part of the coastland on the west of Asia Minor in ancient times, having been so called from the race which inhabited it, the Lydians. At the earliest time of which we have any knowledge it was a prosperous kingdom, and the name of the last king, Crœsus, has become proverbial for wealth. The Persians seized the kingdom from him about B.C. 546 ('Lydia' in Ezk 30^5 AV is corrected to **'Lud'** in RV). Alexander the Great conquered it in B.C. 334. The possession of it was disputed by the Pergamenians and Seleucids till B.C. 190, in which year it became definitely Pergamenian (cf. 1 Mac 8^8). In B.C. 133 it passed by will with the rest of the Pergamenian kingdom into the Roman Empire, and the whole kingdom was henceforth known as the province Asia, by which name alone it is indicated in the NT (see ASIA). After the formation of this province, the term 'Lydia' had only an ethnological significance. The chief interest of Lydia for us is that it contained several very ancient and important great cities (of the Ionian branch), Smyrna, Ephesus, Sardis, Colophon, etc., some of which were among the 'churches of Asia.' The evangelization of the country is connected with St. Paul's long residence in Ephesus (Ac $19^{1ff.}$). A. SOUTER.

LYDIA.—A seller of purple-dyed garments at Philippi, probably a widow and a 'proselyte of the gate' (see art. NICOLAS), whom St. Paul converted on his first visit to that city, together with her household, and with whom he and his companions lodged (Ac $16^{14f.\ 40}$). She was of Thyatira in the district of Lydia, the W. central portion of the province Asia, a district famed for its purple dyes; but was doubtless staying at Philippi for the purpose of her trade. She was apparently

prosperous, dealing as she did in very fine wares. It has been held that Lydia is the proper name of this woman; but it seems more likely that it merely means 'the Lydian,' and that it was the designation by which she was ordinarily known at Philippi. She is not mentioned (at least, by that name) in St. Paul's Epistle to the Philippians, and unless we identify her with Euodia or Syntyche, she had probably left the city when the Apostle wrote; for a conjecture of Renan's, see art. SYNZYGUS. The incident in Ac 16 is one example out of many of the comparatively independent position of women in Asia Minor and Macedonia.

A. J. MACLEAN.

LYE.—See NITRE and SOAP.

LYRE.—See MUSIC AND MUSICAL INSTRUMENTS, 4 (1) (*a*).

LYSANIAS.—This tetrarch of **Abilene** is mentioned only in Lk 3^{1}. St. Luke has been accused of gross inaccuracy here, and is said to be referring to a Lysanias who died B.C. 36. But that Lysanias was king (not tetrarch) of Chalcis (not Abilene). Josephus speaks of 'Abila of Lysanias' and of a tetrarchy of Lysanias; he is confirmed on the latter point by a medal and an inscription. Thus Luke's statement is made at least quite probable. Perhaps Lysanias was a dynastic name of the rulers of Abilene. Abila was the capital of Abilene, and lay on the N. side of Mount Hermon. See also ABILENE.

A. J. MACLEAN.

LYSIAS.—**1.** A general of Antiochus Epiphanes, charged with a war of extermination against the Jews (1 Mac $3^{32ff.}$, cf. 2 Mac 10^{11} $11^{1ff.}$); defeated at Bethsura (1 Mac $4^{34ff.}$); after the death of Epiphanes he championed the cause of Eupator, and finally suffered death along with the latter at the hands of Demetrius ($6^{14ff.}$ ^{63} 7^{2-4}, 2 Mac 14^{2}). Cf. art. MACCABEES, § 2.

2. See next article.

LYSIAS, CLAUDIUS.—A chiliarch of a cohort in Jerusalem who rescued St. Paul from the Jews in the Temple and took him to the 'Castle,'—the fortress Antonia which commanded the Temple. His second name shows him to have been a Greek, but he had bought the Roman citizenship (Ac 22^{28}) and taken the name Claudius. On account of a plot he sent St. Paul guarded to Felix at Cæsarea, and wrote a letter of which the version in Ac 23^{26}, although doubtless only a paraphrase, yet clearly represents the true sense. It is just what we should expect from Lysias, being much more favourable to his course of action than the real facts warranted. (See art. EGYPTIAN [THE]).

A. J. MACLEAN.

LYSIMACHUS.—**1.** The translator of the Greek edition of Esther into Greek (Ad. Est 11^{1}). **2.** The brother of the high priest Menelaus. He excited the hatred of the populace by his systematic plundering of the Temple treasures, and was finally killed in a riot (2 Mac $4^{29.\ 39-42}$).

LYSTRA (modern *Khatyn Serai*).—A city situated about 18 miles S.S.W. of Iconium in the south of the Roman province Galatia and in the Lycaonian part of that province, connected with Pisidian Antioch by the direct military 'Imperial road,' which did not pass through Iconium (Ramsay in *Studies in the History and Art of the Eastern Provinces of the Roman Empire*, p. 241ff.). Both Pisidian Antioch and Lystra were 'colonies' (see COLONY) established by the Emperor Augustus in A.D. 6 to make the Roman occupation more effective, and the official language of these was Latin. Hardly any remains of the city exist above ground. No trace of the temple of Zeus-before-the-City (Ac 14^{13}) has been found, but it is probable that a college of priests was attached to it. The sacrifice to Barnabas and Paul as Zeus and Hermes (or rather the national Lycaonian gods corresponding to these) took place at the entrance to it. The town appears not to have been much Grecized, and the uncultivated populace expressed themselves in Lycaonian. There were Jews in Lystra (Ac 16^{1}), but there was evidently no synagogue. Timothy was a native of Lystra, which was visited by St. Paul four times in all (Ac $14^{6.\ 21}$ 16^{1} 18^{23}), and addressed by him in the Epistle to the Galatians.

A. SOUTER.

M

MAACAH.—**1.** A son of Nahor (Gn 22^{24}). **2.** The daughter of Talmai, wife of David, and mother of Absalom (2 S 3^{3} etc.). **3.** The father of Achish, king of Gath (1 K 2^{39}), possibly the same as **Maoch** (1 S 27^{2}). **4.** Wife of Rehoboam, and mother of Abijah (2 Ch 11^{20}). When she is called 'daughter' of Absalom (1 K $15^{2.\ 10}$, 2 Ch $11^{20f.}$), 'granddaughter' may be intended, as Absalom had but one daughter, **Tamar**, who may have married Uriel of Gibeah (2 Ch 13^{2}, where the name is given as **Micaiah**; cf. Jos. *Ant.* VII. X. 1). Maacah fell under the spell of loathsome idolatry, for which Asa deposed her from the position of queen-mother, which she appears to have held till then (1 K 15^{13}, 2 Ch 15^{16}). **5.** A concubine of Caleb (1 Ch 2^{48}). **6.** Wife of Machir (1 Ch $7^{15f.}$). **7.** Wife of Jehiel, the father of Gibeon (1 Ch 8^{29} 9^{35}). **8.** One of David's warriors, father of Hanan (1 Ch 11^{43}). **9.** The father of Shephatiah, the captain of the Simeonites (1 Ch 27^{16}).

W. EWING.

MAACAH.—A small kingdom out of which the Aramæan (1 Ch 19^{6}) inhabitants were not driven (Jos 13^{13}). It probably lay in what is now known as the *Jaulān*, E. of the Sea of Galilee and the Upper Jordan (Dt 3^{14}, Jos 12^{5} 13^{11}), but its borders cannot now be determined. Its king and army were hired against David by the Ammonites, and shared their overthrow in the battle fought near Medeba (2 S 10, 1 Ch 19). The inhabitants were called **Maacathites** (2 S 23^{34} etc.).

W. EWING.

MAADAI.—One of the sons of Bani, who had married a foreign wife (Ezr 10^{34}); 1 Es 9^{34} **Momdis.**

MAADIAH.—A priestly family which returned with Zerubbabel (Neh 12^{5}); called in v.^{17} **Moadiah.**

MAAI.—One of the sons of Asaph who took part in the dedication of the walls (Neh 12^{36}).

MAALEH-ACRABBIM.—Jos 15^{3} AV ('ascent of Akrabbim,' RV). See AKRABBIM.

MAANI (1 Es 5^{31}) = **Meunim**, Ezr 2^{50}, Neh 7^{52}.

MAARATH.—A town of Judah (Jos 15^{59}). Possibly the name survives in *Beit 'Ummār*, west of Tekoa.

MAAREH-GEBA (AV 'the meadows of Gibeah,' RVm 'the meadow of Geba').—The place from which the men placed in ambush rushed forth to attack the Benjamites (Jg 20^{33}). There can be little doubt that we ought to emend MT to '*to the west of* Geba' (better *Gibeah*).

MAASAI.—The name of a priestly family (1 Ch 9^{12}).

MAASEAS.—The grandfather of Baruch (Bar 1^{1}) = **Mahseiah** of Jer 32^{12} 51^{59}.

MAASEIAH.—**1.** A priest, of the sons of Jeshua, who had married a foreign wife (Ezr 10^{18} [1 Es 9^{19} **Mathelas**]). **2.** A priest, of the sons of Harim, who had committed the same offence (Ezr 10^{21} [1 Es 9^{21} **Manes**]). Foreign wives had been taken also by **3.** and **4.**—A priest, of the sons of Pashhur (Ezr 10^{22} [1 Es 9^{22} **Massias**]), and a layman, of the sons of Pahath-moab (v.^{30} [1 Es 9^{31} **Moossias**]). **5.** A wall-builder (Neh 3^{23}). **6.** One of those who stood upon the right hand of Ezra at the reading of the Law (Neh 8^{4}); called in 1 Es 9^{43} **Baalsamus.** **7.** One of those who expounded the Law to the people (Neh 8^{7}); called in 1 Es 9^{48} **Maiannas.** He is perhaps the same as the preceding. **8.** One of those who sealed the covenant (Neh 10^{25}). **9.** A Judahite (Neh 11^{5}); in 1 Ch 9^{6} **Asaiah.** **10.** A Benjamite (Neh 11^{7}). **11.** **12.** Two priests (Neh $12^{41\,f.}$). **13.** A priest in the time of Zedekiah (Jer 21^{1} 29^{25} 35^{4} 37^{3}). **14.** The father of the false prophet Zedekiah (Jer 29^{21}). **15.** A Levitical singer (1 Ch $15^{18.\ 20}$). **16.** One of the captains who assisted Jehoiada in the overthrow of Athaliah (2 Ch 23^{1}). **17.** An officer of Uzziah (2 Ch 26^{11}). **18.** A son of Ahaz slain by Zichri the Ephraimite (2 Ch 28^{7}). **19.** Governor of Jerusalem under Josiah (2 Ch 34^{8}). **20.** In 1 Ch 6^{40} **Baaseiah** appears to be a textual error for Maaseiah.

MAASMAS (1 Es 8^{43}) = **Shemaiah.** Ezr 8^{16}.

MAATH.—An ancestor of Jesus (Lk 3^{26}).

MAAZ.—A Jerahmeelite (1 Ch 2^{27}).

MAAZIAH.—A priestly family which constituted the 24th course (Neh 10^{8}, 1 Ch 24^{18}).

MACALON (1 Es 5^{21}).—The same as **Michmash**; cf. Ezr 2^{27}.

MACCABEES.—The name commonly given to the Jewish family otherwise known as **Hasmonæans,** who led the revolt against Syria under Antiochus IV., and furnished the dynasty of leaders and rulers in the State thus formed. The family is said to have derived its name from a more or less mythical ancestor *Hasmonæus*. The chief members of the house were:

1. Mattathias (B.C. 167–166), a citizen of Modin, and of priestly descent. When, in accordance with the policy of Antiochus IV., the royal officer attempted to establish heathen sacrifices in that town, Mattathias refused to conform, killed the officer and a Jew about to offer sacrifices, levelled the heathen altar to the ground, and fled with his five sons to the mountains. There he was joined by a number of other patriots and by 'the Pious' (see HASIDÆANS). After a few months of vigorous fighting in behalf of the Torah, Mattathias died, leaving the conduct of the revolt to his five sons. Of these, Eleazar and John were killed in the succeeding struggle without having attained official standing. The other three were his successors (1 Mac 2).

2. Judas (B.C. 166–161), called *Maccabee*, or 'the Hammerer,' from which surname the entire family came to be known. Judas was essentially a warrior, whose plans involved not only the re-establishment of the Torah, but also, in all probability, the re-establishment of the Jewish State in at least a semi-independent position. He defeated successively the Syrian generals Apollonius and Seron. Antiochus IV. then sent **Lysias,** the imperial chancellor, to put down the revolt, and he in turn sent a large body of troops against Judas, under three generals—Ptolemy, Nicanor, and Gorgias. Judas called the fighting men of Galilee together at Mizpah, organized them, and at Emmaus surprised and utterly defeated the forces of **Gorgias** (B.C. 166–165). In the autumn of 165, **Lysias** himself came against Judas at the head of a great army, but was defeated at Bethzur. Thereupon, in December 165, Judas cleansed the Temple of the Syrian pollutions and inaugurated the re-established worship with a great feast. For a year and a half he waged war on his enemies on the east of the Jordan, while his brother Simon brought the Jews scattered throughout Galilee back to Judæa for safety. His vigorous campaign, however, seems to have alienated 'the Pious,' who had seen their ambition realized in the re-establishment of the Temple worship. Lysias returned with a great army, and at Beth-zacharias completely defeated Judas. He then laid siege to Jerusalem, where the citadel was still in Syrian hands. Jerusalem surrendered, but Lysias did not attempt again to disestablish the Jewish faith. He appointed Alcimus as high priest, who was received by 'the Pious' as legitimate, although he favoured the Greeks. Judas and his party, however, remained in revolt, and when Lysias returned to Syria, undertook war against Alcimus himself. Demetrius I., who had succeeded Antiochus IV., sent **Nicanor** to put an end to the rebellion. He was defeated by Judas at Capharsalama, and retreated to Jerusalem, where he threatened to burn the Temple if Judas were not delivered up. This once more brought 'the Pious' to the support of Judas, who decisively defeated the Syrians at Adasa, Nicanor himself being killed. Josephus states that at this time Alcimus died and Judas was made high priest. Although this is probably an error, Judas was now at the head of the State. He sent ambassadors to Rome asking for assistance, which was granted to the extent that the Senate sent word to Demetrius I. to desist from fighting the Jews, the allies of the Romans. This international policy of Judas displeased 'the Pious,' however, and they deserted him; and before the message of the Senate could reach Demetrius, Judas had been defeated by the Syrian general **Bacchides,** at Elasa, and killed (1 Mac 3–9^{22}).

3. Jonathan (B.C. 161–143) undertook the leadership of the revolt, only to suffer serious defeat east of the Jordan, where he had gone to avenge the killing of his brother John by the 'sons of Jambri.' For a time it looked as if Syria would again establish its complete control over the country. The high priest Alcimus died, and Bacchides, believing the subjection of Judæa complete, returned to Syria (B.C. 160). The land, however, was not at peace, and in the interests of order Bacchides gave Jonathan the right to maintain an armed force at Michmash. The fortunes of the Maccabæan house now rose steadily. As a sort of licensed revolutionist, Jonathan was sought as an ally by the two rivals for the Syrian throne, Alexander Balas and Demetrius I. Each made him extravagant offers, but Jonathan preferred Alexander Balas; and when the latter defeated his rival, Jonathan found himself a high priest, a prince of Syria, and military and civil governor of Judæa (B.C. 150). When Alexander Balas was conquered by Demetrius II., Jonathan laid siege to the citadel of Jerusalem, which was still in the hands of the Syrians. Demetrius did not find himself strong enough to punish the Jews, but apparently bought off the siege by adding to Judæa three sections of Samaria, and granting remission of tribute. Jonathan thereupon became a supporter of Demetrius II., and furnished him auxiliary troops at critical times. Thanks to the disturbance in the Syrian Empire, Jonathan conquered various cities in the Maritime Plain and to the south of Judæa, re-established treaties with Rome and Sparta, and strengthened the fortifications of Jerusalem, cutting off the Syrian garrison with a high wall. Joppa was garrisoned and various strategic points throughout Judæa fortified. This steady advance towards independence was checked, however, by the treacherous seizure of Jonathan by Trypho, the guardian and commanding general of the young Antiochus V., by whom he was subsequently (B.C. 142) executed (1 Mac 9^{23}–12).

4. Simon (B.C. 143–135), another son of Mattathias, succeeded Jonathan when the affairs of the State were in a critical position. A man of extraordinary ability, he was so successful in diplomacy as seldom to be compelled to carry on war. It was greatly to his advantage that the Syrian State was torn by the struggles between the aspirants to the throne. Simon's first step was to

MACCABEES

make the recognition of the independence of Judæa a condition of an alliance with Demetrius II. The need of that monarch was too great to warrant his refusal of Simon's hard terms, and the political independence of Judæa was achieved (B.C. 143–142). In May 142 Simon was able to seize the citadel, and in September 141, at a great assembly of priests and people, and princes of the people, and elders of the land, he was elected to be high priest and military commander and civil governor of the Jews, 'for ever until there should arise a faithful prophet.' That is to say, the high-priestly office became hereditary in Simon's family. Following the policy of his house, Simon re-established the treaty with Rome, although he became involved in a strenuous struggle with Syria, in which the Syrian general was defeated by his son, John Hyrcanus. Like his brothers, however, Simon met a violent death, being killed by his son-in-law at a banquet (1 Mac 13–16[16]).

5. John Hyrcanus (B.C. 135–105). Under this son of Simon, the Jewish State reached its greatest prosperity. Josephus describes him as high priest, king, and prophet, but strangely enough the records of his reign are scanty. At the opening of his reign, John's position, like that of his father and uncle, was critical. Antiochus VII. (Sidetes), the last energetic king of Syria, for a short time threatened to reduce Judæa again to political dependence. He besieged Jerusalem and starved it into surrender. For some reason, however, probably because of the interference of the Romans he did not destroy the city, but, exacting severe terms, left it under the control of Hyrcanus. Antiochus was presently killed in a campaign against the Parthians, and was succeeded by the weak Demetrius II., who had been released from imprisonment by the same nation. John Hyrcanus from this time onwards paid small attention to Syrian power, and began a career of conquest of the territory on both sides of the Jordan and in Samaria. The affairs of Syria growing ever more desperate under the succession of feeble kings, John ceased payment of the tribute which had been exacted by Antiochus, and established a brilliant court, issuing coins as high priest and head of the Congregation of the Jews. He did not, however, take the title of 'king.' His long reign was marked by a break with the Pharisees, who, as successors of 'the Pious,' had been the traditional party of the government, and the establishment of friendship with the Sadducees, thereby fixing the high priesthood as one of the perquisites of that party. John died in peace, bequeathing to his family a well-rounded out territory and an independent government (Jos. *Ant.* XIII. viii.–x.; *BJ* I. ii.).

6. Aristobulus I. (B.C. 105–104). According to the will of John Hyrcanus, the government was placed in his widow's hands, while the high priesthood was given to the oldest of his five sons, Aristobulus. The latter, however, put his mother in prison, where she starved to death, established his brother Antigonus as joint-ruler, and threw his other three brothers into prison. In a short time, urged on by suspicion, he had his brother Antigonus killed, and he himself took the title of 'king.' Of his short reign we know little except that he was regarded as a friend of the Greeks, and conquered and circumcised the Ituræans, who probably lived in Galilee. At this time the final Judaizing of Galilee began (Jos. *Ant.* XIII. xi.; *BJ* I. iii.).

7. Alexander Jannæus (B.C. 104–78). After the death of Aristobulus, his widow Alexandra (Salome) released his three brothers from prison, and married the oldest of them, Alexander Jannæus (or Jonathan), making him king and high priest. Alexander carried on still more vigorously the monarchical policy of Aristobulus, and undertook the extension of Judæa by the conquest of the surrounding cities, including those of Upper Galilee. He was essentially a warrior, but in his early campaigns was defeated by the Egyptians. Judæa might then have become a province of Egypt had not the Jewish counsellors of Cleopatra advised against the subjection of the land. The Egyptian army was withdrawn, and Alexander Jannæus was left in control of the country. His monarchical ambitions, however, aroused the hostility of the Pharisees, and Judæa was rent by civil war. For six years the war raged, and it is said that 50,000 Jews perished. The Pharisees asked aid from Demetrius III., and succeeded in defeating Alexander. Thereupon, however, feeling that they were in danger of falling again into subjection to Syria, many of the Jews went over to Alexander and assisted him in putting down the rebellion. The consequent success of Alexander was marked by a series of terrible punishments inflicted upon those who had rebelled against him. During the latter part of his reign he was engaged in struggles with the Greek cities of Palestine, in the siege of one of which he died, bequeathing his kingdom to his wife Alexandra, with the advice that she should make friends with the Pharisees (Jos *Ant.* XIII. xii.–xv.; *BJ* I. iv.).

8. Alexandra (B.C. 78–69) was a woman of extraordinary ability, and her reign was one of great prosperity, according to the Pharisees, whose leaders were her chief advisers. She maintained the general foreign policy of her house, defending her kingdom against various foreign enemies, but particularly devoted herself, under the guidance of her brother Simon ben-Shetach, to the inner development of Judæa along lines of Pharisaic policy. The Sadducean leaders were to some extent persecuted, but seem to have been able to bring about their appointment to the charge of various frontier fortresses. The death of Alexandra alone prevented her being involved in a civil war (Jos. *Ant.* XIII. xvi.; *BJ* I. v.).

9. Aristobulus II. (B.C. 69-63). After the death of Alexandra civil war broke out. According to the queen's provision, her eldest son, Hyrcanus II., who was already high priest, was to have been her successor. In fact, he did undertake to administer the State, but his younger and more energetic brother Aristobulus organized the rebellion, defeated Hyrcanus, and compelled him to surrender. By the agreement that followed, Hyrcanus was reduced to private life in the enjoyment of a large revenue. It was at this time that **Antipater,** the father of Herod I., appeared on the scene. He was an Idumæan of boundless ambition and much experience. He undertook to replace Hyrcanus on the throne. With the assistance of Aretas, king of Arabia, he organized an army and besieged Aristobulus in the Temple Mount. As the war was proceeding, Pompey sent Scaurus to Syria (B.C. 65). Scaurus proceeded towards Judæa to take advantage of the struggle between the two brothers. Before he reached Judæa, however, both Aristobulus and Hyrcanus referred their quarrel to him. Scaurus favoured Aristobulus, and ordered Aretas to return to Arabia. This decision, however, did not end the controversy between the brothers, and they appealed to Pompey himself, who meantime had arrived at Damascus. The two brothers pleaded their cause, as did also an embassy of the Jewish people, which asked that the monarchy be abolished, and the government by the high priest be re-established. Pompey deferred his decision, and ordered the two brothers to maintain peace. Aristobulus, however, undertook to continue the revolt, fleeing to Alexandrium, a fortress on the Samaritan hills, above the Jordan Valley. At the command of Pompey he surrendered the fortress, but fled to Jerusalem, where he prepared to stand a siege. Pompey followed him, and Aristobulus promised to surrender. When, however, Gabinius, the Roman general, went to take possession of the city, he found the gates closed against him. Thereupon Pompey proceeded to besiege the city. The various divisions of Jerusalem surrendered to him except the Temple Mount. This was captured after a long siege, and at terrible cost (B.C. 63). Pompey went into the Holy of Holies, but did not touch the Temple treasures. He did, however, make Judæa tributary to Rome and greatly reduced its territory. Aristobulus was taken prisoner, and Hyrcanus was re-established as high priest, but without the title of 'king.' Great numbers of Jews were taken by Pompey to Rome at this time, together with Aristobulus, and became the nucleus of the Jewish community in the capital. With this conquest of Pompey, the Maccabæan State really came to an end; and Judæa became tributary to Rome (Jos. *Ant.* XIV. i.–iv. *BJ* I. vi. and vii.).

10. Hyrcanus II. was a weak man, but had for his adviser and *major domo* Antipater, an exceedingly able man. The State, as re-organized by Gabinius, was attached to Syria and Hyrcanus exercised the function of high priest (63–40). During this time Judæa was swept more completely into the current of Roman history, because of the assistance rendered by Antipater and Hyrcanus to Cæsar in his struggle with the party of Pompey in Egypt. In gratitude Cæsar gave many rights and privileges to the Jews throughout the Roman world. Hyrcanus was, however, not appointed king, but 'ethnarch,' and Antipater was made procurator. The walls of Jerusalem, which had been broken down by Pompey, were now rebuilt, and various cities taken away by Pompey were restored to the Judæan territory. Hyrcanus, completely under the control of Antipater, supported Cassius in the struggle which followed the death of Cæsar, but in the disturbances following the death of Brutus and Cassius espoused the cause of Antony. At this critical juncture Antipater was killed, and his two sons, Phasael and Herod, were appointed by Antony

tetrarchs of the country of the Jews. Antigonus, however, the second son of Aristobulus, with the assistance of the Parthians, captured Phasael, compelled Herod to flee, and seized the State. Hyrcanus was carried away prisoner by the Parthians, and his ears were cut off, so that he could no longer act as high priest.

After Herod had been made king, Hyrcanus was brought back to Judæa, and became a centre of one of the various intrigues against Herod, who had married Hyrcanus' granddaughter Mariamme. As a result, Herod had him executed (B.C. 30), on the charge of conspiracy with the king of Arabia (Jos. *Ant.* XIV. v.–xiii.; *BJ* I. viii.–xiii.).

11. Alexander, the elder son of Aristobulus II., who escaped from Pompey on the journey to Rome, collected an army and headed an insurrection in Judæa (B.C. 57). He was finally defeated, and later during the civil wars was beheaded by order of Pompey as a friend of Cæsar.

12. Antigonus, with his father Aristobulus, escaped from the Romans, and in B.C. 56 headed a revolt in Judæa. Aristobulus retreated to Machærus, but after two years' siege was compelled to surrender, and went again as prisoner to Rome, where he was poisoned (B.C 49), just as he was setting out to the East to assist Cæsar. Antigonus in B.C. 47 attempted unsuccessfully to induce Cæsar to establish him as king of Judæa in place of Hyrcanus and Antipater. After the death of Cæsar and during the second triumvirate, Antigonus attempted to gain the throne of Judæa with the assistance of the Parthians, and in 40–37 maintained himself with the title of 'king and high priest.' At the end of that period, however, Herod I., who had been appointed king by the Romans, conquered Antigonus with the assistance of Rome. Antigonus was beheaded (B.C. 37) by Antony at the request of Herod (Jos. *Ant.* XIV. xiv.–xvi.; *BJ* I. xiv.–xviii. 3).

13. Alexandra, daughter of Hyrcanus II., married her cousin Alexander, son of Aristobulus II. She was a woman of great ability, and as the mother of Mariamme, wife of Herod I., was an object of bitter hatred on the part of Herod's sister Salome. She was executed by Herod in B.C. 28.

14. Aristobulus III., son of Alexander and Alexandra, became a member of the household of Herod after the latter's marriage with Mariamme. Like all Hasmonæans, he was possessed of great personal beauty, and was a favourite with the people. At the request of his sister he was made high priest by Herod (B.C. 35). On account of his popularity, Herod had him drowned while he was bathing at Jericho, in the same year, when he had reached the age of seventeen.

15. Mariamme, daughter of Alexander and Alexandra, was reputed to be one of the most beautiful women of the time. She became the wife of Herod, who loved her jealously. Driven to madness, however, by the scandalous reports of his sister Salome, Herod had her executed in B.C. 29.

Although the direct line of Hasmonæans was thus wiped out by Herod, the family was perpetuated in the sons of Herod himself by Mariamme—Alexander and Aristobulus. Both these sons, indeed, Herod caused to be executed because of alleged conspiracies against him, but the Maccabæan line still lived in the persons of Herod of Chalcis and Agrippa I. and II. (see HEROD). SHAILER MATHEWS.

MACCABEES, BOOKS OF.—See APOCRYPHA, §§ 1, 2.

MACEDONIA.—The Macedonians were a part of the Hellenic race who settled early in history in the region round the river Axius at the N.W. corner of the Ægæan. When they first came into Greek politics they had dominion from the mountains N. of Thessaly to the river Strymon, except where the Greek colonies of the peninsula of Chalcidice kept them back. Their race was probably much mixed with Illyrian and Thracian elements; they did not advance in culture with Southern Greece, but kept their primitive government under a king, and were regarded by the Greeks as aliens. Down to the time of Philip (B.C. 359) they played a minor part as allies of various Greek cities having interests in the N. Ægæan. Under Philip, through his organization of an army and his diplomatic skill, they became masters of Greece, and under his son Alexander conquered the East. The dynasties which they established in Syria and Egypt were Macedonian, but in the subsequent Hellenization of the East they took no larger part than other Greek races. In their original dominions they remained a hardy and vigorous race. After several wars with Rome, Macedonia was divided into four separate districts with republican government, but it received the regular organization of a province in B.C. 146.

Macedonia was the scene of St. Paul's first work in Europe. See PHILIPPI, THESSALONICA, BEREA. The province at that time included Thessaly, and stretched across to the Adriatic; but Philippi was a colony, not subject to the governor of the province, and Thessalonica was also a 'free city,' with the right of appointing its own magistrates. The Via Egnatia ran across the province from Dyrrhachium to Neapolis, and St. Paul's journey was along this from Neapolis through Philippi, Amphipolis, Apollonia, to Thessalonica. A further visit is recorded in Ac 20^{3-6}, and the Pastoral Epistles imply another after his first imprisonment (1 Ti 1^{3}).

A. E. HILLARD.

MACHÆRUS.—A place E. of the Dead Sea, fortified by Alexander Jannæus, and greatly enlarged and strengthened by Herod the Great (Jos. *BJ* VII. vi. 1). According to Josephus, the daughter of Aretas retired to this place when she left the bigamous Antipas. He describes it as 'in the borders of the dominions of Aretas and Herod,' and then 'subject to her father' (*Ant.* XVIII. v. 1). He goes on to say that here John was imprisoned and beheaded (Mt $14^{10ff.}$ etc.). If it was then subject to Aretas, this is at least curious. The fortress was one of the last taken by the Romans in the war of independence (*BJ* II. xviii. 6, VII. vi.). It is identified with the ruin of *Mukâwer*, on the height about half-way between *Wâdy Zerka Ma'în* and *Wâdy el-Môjib*.

W. EWING.

MACHBANNAI.—A Gadite who joined David at Ziklag (1 Ch 12^{13}).

MACHBENA.—Named in the genealogical list of Judah (1 Ch 2^{49}). Machbena is probably the same as **Cabbon** of Jos 15^{40}, which may perhaps be identified with *el-Kubeîbeh*, situated about 3 miles south of *Beit Jibrîn*.

MACHI.—The father of Geuel, the Gadite spy (Nu 13^{15}).

MACHIR.—1. The eldest 'son' of Manasseh (Jos 17^{1}), the only son (Nu 26^{29}). Machir was also the 'father of the Gilead.' These names are ethnographic, and their use suggests that the **Machirites** were either coterminous with the tribe of **Manasseh** (wh. see) or were its most warlike part. Settled on the W. of Jordan, they invaded N. Gilead some time after the days of Deborah, and so became the 'father of the Gilead.' **2.** Son of Ammiel of Lo-debar on the E. of Jordan. He clung to the house of Saul as long as possible, and afterwards victualled David's men when that king was fleeing from Absalom (2 S 9^{5} 17^{27}).

W. F. COBB.

MACHNADEBAI.—One of the sons of Bani, who had married a foreign wife (Ezr 10^{40}).

MACHPELAH.—The name of a locality in which, according to the Priestly narrative of the Hexateuch, were situated a field and a cave purchased by Abraham from Ephron the Hittite, to serve as a burial-place for himself and his family (Gn 23^{17-18}). Here Sarah was buried by her husband; and subsequently Abraham himself, Isaac, Rebekah, Leah, and Jacob were laid to rest in the same spot (Gn 49^{31}). The appellation 'Machpelah,' which seems in strictness to designate the site comprehensively, is also applied to the actual field and the cave within it, which are respectively called 'the field of Machpelah' (Gn 23^{19} 49^{30} 50^{13}) and the 'cave of Machpelah' (Gn 23^{9} 25^{9}). The place is described as being 'before Mamre' (Gn 25^{9}), 'before' usually meaning 'east of' (see Gn 25^{18}, Jos 13^{3}, 1 K 11^{7}), just as 'behind' signifies 'west of' (Nu 3^{23}). Mamre, in Gn 23^{19}, is identified with Hebron, which is the modern *el-Khalil* ('the Friend,' *i.e.* Abraham, cf. Is 41^{8}, Ja 2^{23}), a town built on the sides of a narrow valley, the main portion of it lying on the face of the E. slope. The traditional site of the cave of Machpelah is on the E. hill, so that it would appear that ancient Hebron was built

to the west of the modern city, on the W. hill, and that it has subsequently extended into the valley and climbed the opposite declivity.

Above the supposed site of the cave there is now a rectangular enclosure called the *Haram*, measuring 181 ft. by 93 ft. internally (the longer axis running from N.W. to S.E.), and surrounded by massive walls 40 ft. high, which are conjectured to date from the time of Herod the Great, though some authorities incline to assign them to a still earlier period. At the S.E. end of the quadrangle is a mosque, once a Christian church, 70 ft. by 93 ft., parts of which are attributed to the 12th century. Within the mosque are cenotaphs of Isaac and Rebekah; in a porch on the N.W. side are those of Abraham and Sarah; whilst at the opposite end of the enclosure are those of Jacob and Leah. The *Haram* has been but rarely entered by Christians in modern times. King Edward VII. was admitted to it, when Prince of Wales, in 1862; and the present Prince of Wales, with his brother, visited it in 1882. The cave, which is reputed to be the real resting-place of the patriarchs and their wives, is below the floor of the mosque, and is thought to be double, in accordance with a tradition which perhaps is derived from the LXX rendering of *Machpelah* as 'the double cave.' The entrances to it, of which there are said to be three, are in the flagged flooring of the building. It is doubtful whether any Christian has been allowed to enter it in modern times.

G. W. Wade.

MACRON.—Surname of Ptolemy (1 Mac 3^{38}, 2 Mac 4^{45}), who was governor of Cyprus (2 Mac $10^{12f.}$) and subsequently of Cœle-Syria and Phœnicia (2 Mac 8^{8}).

MADAI (Gn 10^{2}=1 Ch 1^{5}).—See Medes.

MADMANNAH.—A town in the Negeb of Judah (Jos 15^{31}), named with Hormah and Ziklag. Its place is taken in Jos 19^{5} etc., by **Beth-marcaboth.** No satisfactory identification has been suggested. Conder mentions *Umm Demineh* N. of Beersheba, but does not think it suitable.

W. Ewing.

MADMEN.—A place in Moab, which, if the MT be correct, has not been identified. The name occurs only in Jer 48 [Gr. 31]^{2}, where there is a characteristic word-play: *gam Madmēn tiddōmī*, 'also, O Madmen, thou shalt be brought to silence' (LXX *kai pausin pausetai*). It is a very natural suggestion that the initial *m* of *Madmen* has arisen by dittography from the final *m* of the preceding word, and that for *Madmen* we should read *Dimon* (cf. Is 15^{9}), *i.e. Dibon* (cf. Jer 48^{18}). Cf. art. Medeba.

MADMENAH.—A place apparently north of Jerusalem, named only in the ideal description of the Assyrian invasion, Is 10^{31}. The name has not been recovered.

MADON.—A royal city of the Canaanites in the north (Jos 11^{1} 12^{19}). *Khirbet Madin* near *Hattīn* might suit. If, however, Madon be a scribal error for Maron, then *Meirōn*, at the foot of *Jebel Jermuk*, may be the place intended.

W. Ewing.

MAELUS (1 Es 9^{26})=**Mijamin,** Ezr 10^{25}.

MAGADAN.—See Dalmanutha.

MAGBISH.—An unknown town, presumably in Benjamin, whose 'children' to the number of 156 are said to have returned from the Exile (Ezr 2^{30}); omitted in the parallel passage Neh 7^{33}, perhaps identical with **Magpiash** of Neh 10^{20}.

MAGDALA, MAGDALENE.—See Mary, No. 3.

MAGDIEL.—A 'duke' of Edom (Gn 36^{43}=1 Ch 1^{54}).

MAGI.—The plural of *magus*, which occurs in Ac 13^{8} (tr. 'sorcerer'—see RVm). Used as a plural word it denotes the **'wise men'** of Mt 2 (see the RVm note at v.^{1}). The subject of this article is twofold—(1) the elucidation of that narrative, and of one or two other Biblical references to the Magi; (2) the brief delineation of the religion connected with the Magi, in its relation to the religious history of Israel. These two points need not be kept apart.

Herodotus tells us that the Magi formed one of six tribes or castes of the Medes. Since another of the six is expressly named as 'Aryan,' it seems to follow that the other five did not belong to the conquering race; and the Magi would accordingly be an aboriginal sacred caste, like the Brahmans in India. When Cambyses, the son of the great Cyrus, died, the Magi seem to have made an attempt to regain civil power, of which Cyrus and his Aryans had deprived them; and a Magian pretender Gaumâta held the throne of Persia for some months, until dispossessed and slain by Darius in B.C. 522. There is reason to believe that the Magi, in the course of a generation or two, made a bid for spiritual power: they conformed to the religion of the conquerors, profoundly altering its character as they did so, and thus gained the opportunity of re-asserting their own sacred functions among their fellow-countrymen, who were predisposed to accept their re-introduction of the old beliefs under the forms of the new. We have but little evidence to guide us in re-constructing this primitive Median religion. The sacred caste itself appears to be mentioned in Jer $39^{3.\ 13}$ (see Rab-mag); and a ritual observance, preserved still in Parsi worship, figures in Ezk 8^{17}, from which we gather that sun-worship, accompanied with the holding of the *barsom* ('bunch of fine tamarisk boughs,' as the geographer Strabo defines it) to the face, was a characteristic of Magian ritual before it was grafted on to Persian religion.

There are three special characteristics of Magianism proper which never obtained any real hold upon the religion with which the Magi subsequently identified themselves. These are (1) *astrology*, (2) *oneiromancy*, or divination by dreams, and (3) *magic*, which was traditionally associated with their name, but was expressly forbidden by the religion of the Persians. The first two of these features appear in the narrative of the Nativity. We have evidence that the Magi connected with the stars the *fravashi* or 'double' which Parsi psychology assigned to every good man—a part of his personality dwelling in heaven, sharing his development, and united with his soul at death. A brilliant new star would thus be regarded by them as the heavenly counterpart of a great man newly born. That dreams guided the Magi at one point of their adventure is expressly stated (Mt 2^{12}); and it is fair to postulate similar direction in the initial interpretation of the star. There is, of course, nothing in this to convince those who have decided that the narrative of the Magi is legendary; nor is this the place to examine the difficulties that remain (see Star of the Magi). But it may at least be asserted that the story has curiously subtle points of contact with what we can re-construct of the history of Magian religion; and the invention of all this perhaps involves as many difficulties as can be recognized in the acceptance of the narrative as it stands.

The doctrine of the *fravashi*, just now referred to, may be paralleled rather closely in the Bible; and it is at least possible that the knowledge of this dogma, as prevailing in Media, may have stimulated the growth of the corresponding idea among post-exilic Jews. When in Mt 18^{10} Jesus declares that the *angels* of the little ones are in heaven nearest to the Throne, the easiest interpretation is that which recognizes these angels as a part of the personality, dwelling in heaven, but sharing the fortunes of the counterpart on earth. This gives a clear reason why the angels of the children should be perpetually in the Presence—they represent those who have not yet sinned. So again in Ac 12^{15} Peter's 'angel' is presumably his heavenly 'double.' The conception was apparently extended to include the heavenly representatives of communities, as the 'princes' of Israel, Greece, and Persia in Dn 10 and 12,

and the 'angels' of the churches of Asia in Rev 2 and 3. If this doctrine really owed anything to the stimulus of Magianism, it is in line with other features of later Jewish angelology. It is only the naming and ranking of angels, and the symmetrical framing of corresponding powers of evil, that remind us of Parsi doctrine: the Jews always had both angels and demons, and all that is claimed is a possible encouragement from Parsi theology, which developed what was latent already. A more important debt of Judaism to Persian faith is alleged to be found in the doctrine of the Future Life. From the beginning **Zoroastrianism** (see below) had included immortality and the resurrection of the body as integral parts of its creed. It is therefore at least a remarkable coincidence that the Jews did not arrive at these doctrines till the period immediately following their contact with the Persians, who under Cyrus had been their deliverers from Babylonian tyranny. But though the coincidence has drawn some even to adopt the linguistically impossible notion that the very name of the Pharisees was due to their 'Parsi' leanings, a coincidence it remains for the most part. The two peoples came to the great idea by different roads. The Persians apparently developed it partly from the analogy of Nature, and partly from the instinctive craving for a theodicy. The Jews conceived the hope through the ever-increasing sense of communion with a present God, through which their most spiritual men realized the impossibility of death's severing God from His people. But we may well assume that the growth of this confident belief was hastened by the knowledge that the doctrine was already held by another nation.

How well the religion of the Magi deserved the double honour thus assigned to it—that of stimulating the growth of the greatest of truths within Israel, and that of offering the first homage of the Gentile world to the infant Redeemer—may be seen best by giving in a few words a description of the faith in general.

Its pre-historic basis was a relatively pure Nature-worship, followed by the common ancestors of the Aryans in India and Persia, and still visible to us in the numerous elements which appear in both Veda and Avesta—the most sacred books of India and Iran respectively. To Iranian tribes holding this faith came in the 7th cent. B.C., or earlier, the prophet Zarathushtra, called by the Greeks Zoroaster. He endeavoured to supersede Nature-worship by the preaching of a highly abstract monotheism. The 'Wise Lord,' *Ahura Mazda* (later *Ormazd*), reigned alone without equal or second; but Zoroaster surrounded Him with personified attributes, six in number, called *Amesha Spenta* (*Amshaspands*), 'Immortal Holy Ones,' who were the archangels of the heavenly court. The problem of Evil he solved by positing a 'Hurtful Spirit,' *Angra Mainyu* (later *Ahriman*), with his retinue of inferior demons (see Asmodæus), who is a power without beginning, like Ormazd, creator of all things evil, and perpetual enemy of God and of good men. In the end, however, he is to be destroyed with his followers, and Good is to triumph for ever. Truth and Industry, especially in agriculture, are the practical virtues by which the righteous advance the kingdom of Ahura Mazda. The eschatology is striking and lofty in its conception, and the doctrine of God singularly pure. Unhappily, with the prophet's death the old polytheism returned, under the guise of angel-worship, and the Magi were ere long enslaving the religion to a dull and mechanical ritual. Many of these degenerate elements have, however, been largely subordinated in modern Parsism. The small community, mostly concentrated round Bombay, which today maintains this ancient faith, may assuredly challenge any non-Christian religion in the world to match either its creed or its works. James Hope Moulton.

MAGIC, DIVINATION, AND SORCERY.—Magic, divination, sorcery, and witchcraft are all connected with belief in superhuman powers, and are methods whereby men endeavour to obtain from these powers knowledge of the future, or assistance in the affairs of life. Belief in magic and divination is most prevalent in the lower stages of civilization and religion. The arts of the magician and the diviner were founded upon the same logical processes as have issued in the development of modern science; but the limits within which deduction would be valid were disregarded, and the data were frequently imperfect. Accidental coincidence was often confused with causal sequence. (See Hastings' *DB*, art. 'Divination'). Magic and divination were derived from attempts at reasoning which were very often erroneous; but from such crude beginnings science has slowly grown.

In their beginning these arts were associated with religion; and diviners and magicians were those thought to be most intimately connected with the Deity, and, owing to their superior knowledge of Him and His ways, best able to learn His secrets or secure His aid. Among the Arabs the priest was originally also the **soothsayer**; the Heb. *kōhēn*, 'priest,' is cognate with the Arab. *kāhin*, 'soothsayer'; the primitive priest had charge of the shrine of the god, and both offered sacrifices and gave responses. In this manner classes of professional diviners and magicians arose, as in Egypt (Gn 41^{8}, Ex 7^{11}), in Babylon (Dn 2^{2}), in connexion with Baal (1 K 18^{19}), and even among the Israelites in the lower rank of professed prophets (Mic 3^{5-11}; see G. A. Smith, *Twelve Prophets*, Introd.). Such officials were set apart for their office by some rite specially connecting them with the god, as the eating of a particular food, or the wearing of a sacred dress (cf. 2 K 1^{8}, Zec 13^{4}). The animism, in which magical arts had their root, soon passed beyond the simple belief that Nature was peopled with spirits, and began to distinguish between good and evil spirits. When that distinction had been attained, the art of the magician and diviner also became subject to moral distinctions, according to the character of the spirit whose aid was sought and the purpose in view. This diversity in the moral characteristics of magic and divination is illustrated in the history of Israel; for divination is akin to some of the institutions sanctioned by God, such as the Urim and Thummim (Ex 28^{30}, Lv 8^{8}), and it includes, at the other extreme, such necromancy as that of the witch of Endor. Among Semitic races and by the Egyptians, magic and divination were associated with the worship of various gods and the belief in the existence of a vast number of demons. With the gradual rise of religion in Israel under the teaching of God, early modes of prying into the future, and magical methods of seeking superhuman help, were slowly abandoned, and, as revelation became clearer, they were forbidden. The teaching of the inspired prophets of Jehovah was very different from that of the merely professional prophets and from the religion of the common people. Throughout pre-exilic times there was a struggle in Israel between the pure worship of Jehovah alone as inculcated by the great prophets, and the worship of 'other gods,' such as the local Canaanitish Baalim and idols in the homes of the people. In process of time magic and divination became closely linked with these illicit cults, and were consequently denounced by the great prophets; but at the same time the desire of the human heart to learn the future and to secure Divine help (which lies at the root of magic and divination) was met by God, purified, elevated, and satisfied by the revelation of His will through the prophets. God's revelation was suited to the stage of spiritual development to which the people had attained, hence His prophets sometimes employed methods similar to those of divination; consequently some forms of divination are allowed to pass without censure in many passages of the Bible, but these were gradually put aside as the people were educated to a more spiritual conception of religion. On the other hand, as men sought to prognosticate the future by illicit commerce with false gods and spirits, magic and divination became generally degraded and divorced from all that is right and good. This explains the increasing severity with which magic and divina-

tion are regarded in Scripture; nevertheless we find it recorded, without any adverse comment, that Daniel was made head of the 'wise men' of Babylon—although these included magicians, enchanters, sorcerers, and 'Chaldæans'—(Dn $2^{2.\ 48}$); and that the wise men (Mt 2^{1}) were *magi*. (See Grimm-Thayer's *Lex.* p. 385.) In explanation it may be said that reliance upon divination is a moral evil in proportion to the religious light vouchsafed to the individuals concerned; and God accommodated the methods of His teaching to the condition of those to whom He revealed Himself.

General course of the history of magic and divination in Israel.—Several sources can be traced from which the Israelites derived their magical arts, and different periods are apparent at which these influences were felt. (*a*) *From patriarchal times up to Israel's contact with Assyria*, most of their occult arts were the outcome of the beliefs common to Semitic peoples. Although their sojourn in Egypt brought them into contact with a civilized nation which greatly practised divination and sorcery, we cannot trace any sign that they borrowed many magical arts from the Egyptians at that time. In this early period of Israelitish history we find divination by *teraphim*, the interpretation of dreams, and necromancy, besides the authorized means of inquiry of God. The very earliest legislation enacts that witchcraft shall be punished by death (Ex 22^{18} [JE]); and we read that Saul put to death 'those that had familiar spirits and the **wizards**' (1 S 28^{3}).

(*b*) *Under the influence of the Assyrian advance southward*, the small States of Palestine were driven into closer relations with one another, owing to the necessity of united opposition to the common foe. This was prejudicial to religion, through its rendering Israel more tolerant towards the gods of their allies (*e.g.* the worship of the Phœnician Baal, fostered by Ahab), and by its favouring the introduction of methods of magic and divination in use among their neighbours (cf. Is 2^{6}, Jer 10^{2}). This evil tendency was encouraged by Manasseh (2 K 21^{6}), but in the reformation of Josiah, idolatry, witchcraft, and the use of *teraphim* were suppressed (2 K 23^{24}) in accordance with Dt $18^{10\text{-}12}$ (D).

(*c*) *The Captivity* brought Israel into contact with a much more fully developed system of magic and divination than they had known before. In Babylon, not only were illicit magical practices widely indulged in, but the use of such arts was recognized by their being entrusted to a privileged class (Dn 2^{2}). The officials are here denominated '**magicians**' (*chartummīm*, scribes who were acquainted with occult arts), '**enchanters**' (*'ashshāphīm*, prob. a Bab. word meaning 'those who used conjurations,' but its derivation is uncertain), '**sorcerers**' (*mĕkashshĕphīm*, in its root-meaning perhaps indicating those who mixed ingredients for magical purposes [LXX *pharmakoi*], but this is not certain), and '**Chaldæans**' (*kasdīm*, a name which, from being a national designation, had come to mean those who were skilled in the occult lore of Babylonia and could interpret dreams). Recent discoveries have revealed that the Babylonians believed in a vast number of demons who could be compelled by proper spells; also they practised astrology (Is $47^{12.\ 13}$), augury from the inspection of victims (Ezk 21^{21}), the tying of magic knots, and the designation of fortunate and unfavourable days.

(*d*) *Egyptian influences* were strongly felt in the century before, and the one following, the Christian era. The Mishna shows the presence of a very strong tendency to occult sciences, and in the NT we find examples of Jews who practised them in Simon Magus (Ac 8^{9}) and Elymas (13^{8}). Among the Alexandrian Jews, and later by the Alexandrian Gnostics, magic was much used, and the name of Jehovah in various forms entered into their spells and the inscriptions upon their amulets. Books of **incantations**, reputed to have been the work of Solomon, were extant, and the Babylonian Talmud is full of superstition (Schürer, *HJP* II. iii. 152). Such books and charms were burnt at Ephesus when their owners became Christians (Ac 19^{19}). So celebrated was Ephesus for its magic, that 'Ephesian letters' was a common name for amulets made of leather, wood, or metal on which a magic spell was written (Farrar, *St. Paul*, ii. 26).

A. Distinguishing *divination*, in which prominence is given to the desire to know the future, from *magic*, which has for its object power to do something by supernatural aid, we have now to inquire into the modes of divination and magic which appear in the Scriptures.

Forms of divination mentioned in the Bible.—(*a*) *The casting of lots.*—The casting of **lots** was founded on the belief that God would so direct the result as to indicate His will (Pr 16^{33}). It was employed: (1) *In crises in national history and in individual lives.* Most scholars consider that the phrase 'enquire of God' refers to the use of **Urim and Thummim**, which seems to have been of the nature of drawing lots. This occurs in the arrangements for the conquest of Canaan (Jg 1^{1}), in the campaign against the Benjamites (20^{27}), in David's uncertainty after the death of Saul (2 S 2^{1}), and in war ($5^{19.\ 23}$). The Phœnicians cast lots to discover the cause of the tempest (Jon 1^{7}).—(2) *In criminal investigation.* It was employed to discover the wrongdoer in the cases of Achan (Jos 7^{14}) and Jonathan (1 S $14^{41.\ 42}$). —(3) *In ritual.* Lots were cast in reference to the scapegoat (Lv 16^{8}). Two goats were brought, and lots were cast; one goat was offered as a sin-offering, and the other was sent away into the wilderness.—(4) *In dividing the land of Canaan* (Nu 26^{55} 33^{54} 34^{13}, Jos $21^{4.\ 6.\ 8}$).—(5) *In selecting men for special duties*: the election of Saul (1 S 10^{20}), the choice of the men to attack Gibeah (Jg 20^{9}), the division of duties among the priests (1 Ch 24^{5}).

In most cases the method of casting the lot is not stated. Several ways were in use among the Israelites, some of which were directly sanctioned by God as a means of Divine guidance suited to the degree of religious knowledge attained by the people at the time. The following methods can be distinguished:—

(i.) *By Urim and Thummim.* Although not certain, it is believed by most scholars that the **Urim and Thummim** were two stones which were carried in a pouch under the breastplate of the priest, and which were drawn out as lots (see Hastings' *DB s.v.* 'Urim and Thummim'). In connexion with this the **ephod** is mentioned. In some passages this evidently means a priestly dress (*e.g.* 1 S 2^{18} 22^{18}), but in other references it is considered by some to have been an image of gold representing Jehovah (Jg $8^{26.\ 27}$ 18^{14} [see Harper, *Amos and Hosea*, p. 221]) or the gold sheathing of an image (Is 30^{22}), although in this passage some understand it as being a garment. The use of the ephod in connexion with the Urim and Thummim is not known. The employment of the Urim and Thummim for consulting God disappeared before the clearer guidance received through the inspired prophets. Apparently it had ceased by the time of Israel's return from the Captivity (Ezr 2^{63}). Inquiry respecting the future was also made of heathen deities (2 K $1^{2f.}$), and their responses were probably given by the drawing of lots.

(ii.) *By belomancy and in other ways.* The word *qāsam* (which is specially applied to the drawing of lots as with headless arrows) is used of divination generally and frequently translated 'to divine.' It is generally referred to unfavourably (except Pr 16^{10}). Arrows are once specified as the means by which the lot was cast (Ezk $21^{21.\ 22}$). This practice is found among the Arabs, and was also used in Babylonia. Arrows with the alternatives written upon them were shaken in a quiver at a sanctuary, and the first to fall out was taken as conveying the decision of the god. Nebuchadnezzar is represented as deciding in this manner his line of march (Ezk 21^{21}), and, as the result of casting the lot, holding in his hand 'the divination Jerusalem,' *i.e.* the arrow with 'Jerusalem' written upon it (see Driver, *Deut.* p. 224).

Without any indication of the method of divination, operations denoted by the word *qesem* appear among the Moabites (Balaam, Nu 23^{23}, payment being made for the service, 22^{7}), among the Philistines (1 S 6^{2}), and among

MAGIC, DIVINATION, AND SORCERY

the Babylonians (Is 44[25]). It also appears as a method of the lower rank of prophets in Israel (Mic 3[6-11], Ezk 13[6. 9] 22[28]). Prophets are named in connexion with diviners (*qōsĕmīm*, Jer 27[9] 29[8]). The word is used in relation to necromancy and the consultation of *teraphim* (1 S 15[23] 28[8], 2 K 17[17], Zec 10[2]). The practice is forbidden in Dt 18[10].

(iii.) *By rhabdomancy.* This is alluded to in Hos 4[12]. Probably pieces of stick were used for drawing lots, as in the case of divination by arrows.

(*b*) *Dreams and visions.*—Numerous instances occur in which Divine intimations were communicated to men by **dreams** and visions. (1) In so far as these were spontaneous and unsought, they do not properly belong to the domain of divination. Such occur in Gn 20[3] 28[12] 31[10. 24] 37[5], 1 K 3[5], Mt 1[20] 2[12] 27[19]. Dreams are spoken of as a legitimate channel for God's communications to His prophets and others (Nu 12[6], 1 S 28[6], Job 33[15], Jl 2[28]).—(2) But the belief in Divine warnings through dreams came very near to divination when interpreters were sought to make clear their meaning, as in Egypt (Gn 40[5ff.] 41[1] Pharaoh calls the *chartummīm* —a word used only in the sense of scribes possessed of occult knowledge), among the Midianites (Jg 7[13]), and in Babylon (Dn 2[2]).—(3) Dreams were sought by the prophets of a lower order in Israel, and it is known that among the Egyptians and other ancient nations special means, such as fasting or drugs, were used to induce them, from the belief that they were Divine communications. In Egypt it was a common practice for worshippers to sleep within the precincts of the temples in order to obtain intimations by dreams, and some devotees lived by the rewards received by them for recounting the dreams which had come to them in the temple. References to misleading divination by dreams occur in Dt 13[1-5] (prophets were to be judged by the character of their teaching and to be put to death if they favoured idolatry), Jer 23[25-28] 27[9] 29[8], Zec 10[2].

Vision (*chāzōn*, with its cognate words) has a similarly wide application, extending from the God-given experiences of the higher prophets to the misleading predictions of false prophets. Instances of its highest signification occur in Is 1[1] 2[1], Am 1[1], Mic 1[1]. The word is used respecting the deception practised by lower prophets, as in Nu 24[3. 15], where reference is apparently made to the seer receiving the intimation in a trance, but the interpretation is not quite certain (see Gray, *Numbers*, p. 361); other physical phenomena appear in connexion with prophesying (1 S 10[10] 19[18-24]; see G. A. Smith, *Twelve Prophets*, i. p. 21). The word also appears in connexion with false prophets (Is 28[7] 30[10], La 2[14], Ezk 12[24] 13[6. 16. 23] 21[29] 22[28], Zec 10[2]).

(*c*) *Observation of omens* (**augury**).—*nāchash*, tr. 'to divine' or 'to use enchantments,' the agent being called 'an enchanter' (Dt 18[10]), means 'to learn by means of **omens.**' Very probably the expression is derived from *nāchāsh*, 'a serpent,' with the underlying idea that the intimation was obtained by the worshipper through the assistance of the serpent-god; another, but less likely, derivation is from the 'hissing' or 'whispering' tones of the diviner. The word is very frequently used with a bad sense attaching to it.

Words were sometimes taken as omens of the future (1 K 20[33] RVm 'took it as an omen,' also 1 S 14[10]). The movements of animals also constituted omens. It was considered by the Arabs that some animals, under the influence of a higher power, could see what was invisible to men, and consequently their action became an omen. It would be quite in accordance with this that Balaam's ass should see what was hidden from her master (Nu 22[27]); a similar belief in the significance of the movements of animals is shown in the lords of the Philistines watching the way the kine took with the ark of God (1 S 6[12]).

The methods of divination by omens are often unexpressed, as Gn 30[27], Lv 19[26], 2 K 17[17] 21[6], 2 Ch 33[6]. The following practices in divination by omens appear:—(i.) *By hydromancy* (Gn 44[5]). In Egypt it was common to attempt to divine the future by the appearance of the liquid in a goblet or dish.—(ii.) *By the observation of the clouds.* The clouds were carefully studied by diviners among the Chaldæans, and the word '*ōnēn* seems to indicate this practice as existing among the Hebrews and Philistines (Is 2[6]; see Cheyne, *Isaiah*, vol. i. p. 17). Driver, however, leaves the kind of divination undecided, and suggests a derivation from an Arabic root meaning 'to murmur' or 'whisper,' the reference being to the mutterings of the soothsayer (*Deut.* p. 224). Perhaps it meant the bringing of clouds by magic arts, as in Jer 14[22] (see Delitzsch on Is 2[6]). It has also been suggested that the word is a denominative from '*ayin* ('eye'), and means 'to glance with an evil eye.' This form of augury was forbidden (Lv 19[26], Dt 18[10]), and those practising it were denounced (Mic 5[12], Jer 27[9]). Manasseh fostered it (2 K 21[6], 2 Ch 33[6]).—(iii.) *By astrology.* The **stars** were very early believed to have an influence on the fortunes of men (Jg 5[20], Job 38[33]). Professional astrologers were prominent among the Assyrians and Babylonians, among whom a standard astrological work was constructed as early as the 16th cent. B.C. (Cheyne, *Isaiah*, vol. i. p. 310). Babylonian **astrology**, with its announcement of coming events and notification of favourable and unpropitious days (such as are now extant on Babylonian clay tablets), is mentioned in Is 47[13]; but astrology does not seem to have been practised by Israel in early times; Jeremiah speaks of it as 'the way of the nations,' and warns the people against it. In later times astrology was regarded by the Jews in a less unfavourable lignt: *e.g.* Dn 2[48], where Daniel is made chief of ten wise men who included astrologers (cf. Mt 2, where the wise men, who appear to have been astrologers, were met by God in their darkness, and led to the infant Saviour [Edersheim, *LT* i. 202]).—(iv.) *By inspecting victims.* Forecasting the future from the appearance of the **livers** of victims is mentioned in Ezk 21[21]. This was common in Babylon (Diod. Sic. ii. 29) and also among the Romans (Cic. *de Divin.* ii. 12). It does not appear to have been in use among the Israelites; the sacrifices of Balaam (Nu 23[1. 14]) were not for this purpose, but to propitiate the deity consulted.

Connected with the use of omens is the appointment of '**signs**' by prophets to assist their consultors in believing what they predicted. Signs were given by God and His prophets as well as by false prophets; these were exhibitions of Divine power in smaller matters by which men might be enabled to trust God in things of greater moment (Jg 6[36]); or they were instances of truth in small predictions, to awaken confidence in greater promises or threatenings (Ex 4[8] 10[2], Is 7[11]); or they were simply the attachment of particular meaning to ordinary facts to remind men of God's promises or threats (Gn 9[12] 17[11], Is 8[18], Ezk 12[11], Zec 3[8]). In the time of Christ such signs were demanded by the Jews (Mt 12[38] 16[1], Lk 11[16], Jn 4[48], 1 Co 1[22]). Cf. art. SIGN.

(*d*) *Necromancy and* **familiar spirits.**—Of these there were two kinds:—(1) A spirit (primarily a subterranean spirit, '*ōbh*) was conceived as dwelling in a human being (Lv 20[27]), most commonly in a woman. Those thus possessed were sometimes called '*ōbhōth* (Is 8[19]), or the woman was denominated *ba'alath 'ōbh* (1 S 28[7]). Another explanation (H. P. Smith, *Samuel*, p. 239) makes the '*ōbh* a sort of idol, on the ground that Manasseh 'made' an '*ōbh* (2 K 21[6]) and that it is classed with *teraphim* (2 K 23[24]). These **necromancers** professed to have the power of calling up the dead (1 S 28[11], Is 8[19]). Of their method of procedure we know nothing. In the interview with the **witch of Endor**, it appears that Saul was told by the witch what she saw, but the king himself entered into the conversation. Necromancers seem to have deceived their inquirers by speaking in a thin weak voice to make it appear that it was the spirit speaking through them (Is 8[19] 29[4]). The LXX generally represents them as ventriloquists, *engastrimythoi* (cf. *goētes*, 2 Ti 3[13]). A similar belief that a spirit might dwell in a human being and give responses appears in Ac 16[16]; this opinion was common in heathendom. The Jews had similar views respecting the indwelling of demons in cases of demoniacal possession.

(2) Other diviners represented themselves as having fellowship with a spirit from whom they could receive intimations. These spirits were called *yidde'ōnīm*, the

MAGIC, DIVINATION, AND SORCERY

meaning being either that the spirits were wise and acquainted with the future, or that they were known to the **wizards** and had become '**familiar spirits**' to them. The word occurs only in conjunction with *'ōb*, as in Lv 19[31] 20[6], Dt 18[11].

(*e*) *Divination by teraphim.*—The **teraphim** were images in human form (cf. Michal's stratagem, 1 S 19[13]), and they were worshipped as gods (Gn 31[19. 30], Jg 18[24]), but in later times they seem to have been degraded to magical uses.

Some suppose them to have been the remains of a primitive ancestor-worship, and connect the word with *rephā'īm* which means 'ghosts' (root *rāphāh*, 'to sink down'; 'to relax'). Some Jewish commentators (cf. Moore, *Judges*, p. 382) have suggested that they were originally the mummied heads of human beings, and that images of wood or metal were substituted for these in later times.

Teraphim were used for divination by Israelites and Aramæans (Gn 31[19]), and Nebuchadnezzar is represented as consulting them (Ezk 21[21]). Josiah abolished *teraphim* as well as other methods of illicit divination (2 K 23[24]), but they subsequently reappeared (Zec 10[2]). The use of the *teraphim* in divination is not stated, but it was probably somewhat similar to the consulting of familiar spirits, namely, the diviner gave the response which he represented himself to have received from the *teraphim*.

B. Magic, like divination, had both legitimate and illicit branches. The moral character of the attempt to obtain supernatural aid was determined by the purpose in view and the means used to attain it. **Witchcraft,** which sought to injure others by magical arts, has always been regarded as evil and worthy of punishment among all nations. Invocation of aid from false gods (who were still regarded as having real existence and power) and from evil spirits has been generally denounced. But there was also a magic, which has been denominated 'white magic,' having for its object the defeat of hostile witchcraft and the protection of individuals from evil influences.

1. Magic employed to counteract the work of evil spirits or the arts of malicious magicians.—This kind of magic was extensively practised among the Assyrians and Babylonians, and was the kind professed by the wise men who were under the patronage of Nebuchadnezzar (Dn 2[2]). It also appears in the ceremony of **exorcism.** In Babylonia illness was traced to possession by evil spirits, and exorcism was employed to expel them (see Sayce, *Hibbert Lecture*). Exorcism was practised by the later Jews (Ac 19[13], Mt 12[27]).

The method of a Jewish exorcist, Eleazar, in the time of Vespasian is described by Josephus (*Ant.* VIII. ii. 5). He placed a ring containing a magical root in the nostril of the demoniac; the man fell down immediately, and the exorcist, using incantations, said to have been composed by Solomon, adjured the demon to return no more.

This kind of magic is also exemplified in the use of **amulets** and **charms,** intended to defend the wearer from evil influences. These derived their power from the **spells** which had been pronounced over them (thus *lāchash*, which began with the meaning of serpent-charming, came to mean the muttering of a spell, and from that it passed to the meaning of an amulet which had received its power through the spell pronounced over it), or from the words which were inscribed upon them, or the symbolic character of their form. They were used by all ancient peoples, and were opposed by the prophets only when they involved trust in other gods than Jehovah. Probably the earrings of Gn 35[4] and Hos 2[13] were amulets; so also were the moon-shaped ornaments of Jg 8[21. 26] and Is 3[18]; their shape was that of the crescent moon which symbolized to the Arabs growing good fortune, and formed a protection against the evil eye (see Delitzsch on Is 3[18]). Perhaps the 'whoredoms' and 'adulteries' of Hos 2[2] were nose-jewels and necklaces which were heathen charms. Written words were often employed to keep away evil. The later Jew, understanding Dt 6[8. 9] in a literal sense, used **phylacteries** (Mt 23[5]), to which the virtue of amulets was attributed, although their origin apparently was mistaken exegesis rather than magic. The use of such charms was very prevalent in the early centuries of the Christian era among the Alexandrian Jews and the Gnostics.

2. Magic in forms generally denounced by the great prophets.—(*a*) *Magic which was apparently dependent upon the occult virtues attributed to plants and other substances.*—The Hebrew term for this was *kesheph*. The root *kāshaph* means 'to cut,' and has been explained as denoting the cutting which the worshipper inflicted upon himself (as 1 K 18[28]), or (by W. Robertson Smith) as the cutting up of herbs shredded into the magic brew; the latter meaning is supported by the LXX tr. of *kesheph* by *pharmaka*, and also by Mic 5[12], where *kĕshāphīm* appear to be material things; such a decoction is perhaps referred to in Is 65[4], and some Jewish commentators consider the **seething of a kid in its mother's milk** (Ex 23[19]) to refer to a magical broth which was sprinkled over the fields to promote their fertility; this custom is found among other Eastern peoples. A wider signification is, however, possible, as in 2 K 9[22], where *keshāphīm* has the meaning of corrupting influences (AV '**witchcrafts**'). Some derive *kāshaph* from an Assyr. root meaning '**to bewitch**' (see Hastings' *DB*, art. 'Magic').

Hebrew magic came to a considerable extent from Assyria and Babylonia, where the art was practised by a class of men specially set apart for it (Dn 2[2]; cf. also Is 47[9. 12], Nah 3[4]). Egyptian sorcerers are also noticed (Ex 7[11]), but Egyptian influence in the art was most strongly felt by the Jews in post-exilic times. The belief in the virtue of **mandrakes** as love-philtres appears in Gn 30[14] and Ca 7[13] (*dūdā'īm*, from the root *dūd*, 'to fondle'). **Sorcerers** are frequently denounced in the Bible (Ex 22[18], Dt 18[10], 2 K 9[22], 2 Ch 33[6], Jer 27[9], Gal 5[20], Rev 9[21] 21[8]).

(*b*) *Magic by spells or the tying of knots.*—The tying of knots in a rope, accompanied by the whispered repetition of a **spell,** was common in Babylonia (cf. Is 47[9. 12]) and in Arabia. This practice may lie behind the word *chābar*, Dt 18[11] (Driver, *Deut.* p. 225), or the word may refer to the spell only as a binding together of words. *chābar* is also used with the special meaning of serpent-charming (Ps 58[5]). This art, as now found in India and Egypt, was also denominated by the word *lāchash* (Ps 58[5], Ec 10[11], Jer 8[17]); from the muttering of the charm, the word gained the meaning of whispering (2 S 12[19], Ps 41[7]), and it is used of a whispered prayer (Is 26[16], or, as some understand it in this passage, 'compulsion by magic'). Magical power was also held to be present in the reiteration of spells or prayers as in the case of the priests of Baal (1 K 18[26]), and this repetition of the same words is rebuked by our Lord (Mt 6[7]).

In close connexion with the power of spells is the belief in the efficacy of **cursing and blessing** when these were uttered by specially endowed persons (Nu 22[6], Jg 5[23]); also there were magicians who professed to make days unlucky by cursing them (Job 3[8]).

An authorized ceremony closely approaching the methods of magicians is found in the ritual for the trial by **ordeal** of a wife charged with unfaithfulness (Nu 5[12-31]); the woman brought the prescribed offerings and the priest prepared a potion of water in which was put dust from the Tabernacle floor; the curse, which the woman acquiesced in as her due if guilty, was written and washed off with the water of the potion, the idea being that the curse was by this means put into the water, and the potion was afterwards drunk by the woman.

(*c*) *Symbolic magic.*—Magicians often made, in clay or other material, figures of those whom they desired to injure, and, to the accompaniment of fitting spells, inflicted upon these models the injuries they imprecated. They believed that in this way they sympathetically affected the persons represented. A trace of this symbolism is to be found in the placing of **golden mice**

and emerods in the ark by the Philistines when they sent it back to Israel (1 S 6^5); by this means they believed that they would rid themselves of the troubles which the ark had brought to them.

F. E. Robinson.

MAGISTRATE.—This word is used in the AV to represent either 'judge' or 'ruler'—'authority' in the most general sense. The latter is its meaning in Jg 18^7 (RV 'none in the land, possessing authority'—implying independence of Zidon and Phœnicia). The former is its meaning in Ezr 7^{25}, where it stands for *shōphetim* (the same word as *sufētes*, by which the Romans designated the Carthaginian magistrates). In Lk $12^{11.\ 58}$, Tit 3^1 it stands for derivatives of the general word *archo*, 'to rule,' but in the passages from Lk. with a special reference to judges. In Ac $16^{20\text{-}38}$ the word is used to translate the Gr. *stratēgoi*. This is often used as the equivalent of the Lat. *prætores*, and in the older Roman colonies the two supreme magistrates were often known by this name. But we have no evidence that the magistrates at Philippi were called **prætors**, and it probably represents the more usual *duumviri*.

A. E. Hillard.

MAGNIFICAL.—Obsol. for 'magnificent'; retained by EV in 1 Ch 22^5 from the Geneva version—'the house . . . must be exceeding magnifical.' The adv. occurs in Rhem. NT, Lk 16^{19} 'He fared every day magnifically.'

MAGNIFICAT.—The hymn *Magnificat* (Lk $1^{46\text{-}55}$) has been well described as 'something more than a psalm, and something less than a complete Christian hymn' (Liddon). It is the poem of one who felt nearer to the fulfilment of the promises than any writer of the OT. But no Evangelist of the NT could have failed to speak of Christ by His human name, writing after His Death and Resurrection.

In the TR the hymn is ascribed to the Virgin Mary, but there is a variant reading 'Elisabeth' which demands some explanation. 'Mary' is the reading of all the Greek MSS, of the great majority of Latin MSS, and of many Early Fathers as far back as Tertullian (2nd cent.). On the other hand, three Old Latin MSS (*cod.* Vercellensis, *cod.* Veronensis, *cod.* Rhedigeranus-Vratislaviensis) have 'Elisabeth.' This reading was known to Origen (*Hom.* 5 on Lk 5), unless his translator Jerome interpolated the reference. Niceta of Remesiana (fl. *c.* 400) quoted it in his treatise 'On the good of Psalmody.' We can trace it back to the 3rd cent. in the translation of Irenæus. There is fairly general agreement among critics that the original text must have been simply 'and she said,' so that both 'Mary' and 'Elisabeth' should be regarded as glosses.

On the question which is the right gloss, opinions are divided. In favour of 'Elisabeth' it has been suggested that the exclamation vv.$^{42\text{-}45}$ does not cover all that is implied in v.^{41}, 'and Elisabeth was filled with the Holy Ghost.' Such words when used of Zacharias in v.^{67} are followed by the *Benedictus*. Are we to look on the *Magnificat* as a corresponding prophecy on the lips of Elisabeth? On the other hand, the glowing words of Elisabeth (vv.$^{42\text{-}45}$) need a reply. She who had answered the angel so humbly and bravely (v.^{38}) would surely speak when thus addressed by a near relation. Indeed, v.^{48}, 'all generations shall call me blessed,' seems like a reply to Elisabeth's 'Blessed is she that believed' in v.^{45}. In the OT the formula of reply is frequently without a proper name, and the first chapters of Lk. have 'a special OT colouring.'

Another argument has been founded on the reading of v.^{56}: 'Mary abode with her,' where the Pesh. and the Sinai Palimpsest render 'with Elisabeth.' It is suggested that the tell-tale 'with her' of the Greek text proves that the hymn was ascribed to Elisabeth. But in the OT the personality of the singer is, as a rule, sunk in the song, and the name is mentioned at the end as if to pick up the thread (cf. Balaam, Nu 24^{25}; Moses, Dt 32^{44} 34^1 [Bp. Wordsworth]). On the whole, the external evidence is in favour of the gloss 'Mary.' The question remains whether the hymn is more suitable on the lips of Elisabeth as expressing the feeling of a mother from whom the reproach of childlessness has been removed. Such an idea seems to express very inadequately the fulness of meaning packed into these few verses. The first words remind us of the song of Hannah as a happy mother (1 S 2^1), but the hymn is founded to a much greater extent on the Psalms, and the glowing anticipation of the Messianic time to come befits the Lord's mother. It is characteristic that she should keep herself in the background. No personal fear of the reproach of shame, which might be, and indeed was, levelled against her, no personal pride in the destiny vouchsafed to her, mar our impression of a soul accustomed to commune with God, and therefore never lacking words of praise.

The hymn has four strophes. In strophe i. (vv.$^{46.\ 47}$) she praises God with all the powers of soul and spirit. In ii. (vv.$^{48\text{-}49}$) she speaks of living in the memory of men, not as something deserved but because it is the will of the holy Lord. In iii. (vv.$^{51\text{-}53}$) she rises to a large view of the working out of God's purposes in human history, in the humbling of proud dynasties, and the triumph of the meek. In iv. (vv.$^{54.\ 55}$) she comes back to the fulfilment of the promises in the Messianic time, beginning with the Incarnation, which is the crowning proof of God's mercy and love.

A. E. Burn.

MAGOG.—The name of a people, enumerated in Gn 10^2 among the 'sons' of Japheth, between Gomer (the Cimmerians) and Madai (the Medes), and mentioned in Ezk 38^2 (cf. 39^6) as under the rule of **Gog**, prince of 'Rosh, *Meshech*, and *Tubal*,' who is to lead in the future a great expedition against the restored Israel, from 'the uttermost parts of the north,' and who has among his allies *Gomer* and *Togarmah*,—the nations whose names are italicized being also mentioned in Gn $10^{2.\ 3}$ as closely connected with 'Magog.' From these notices it is evident that Magog must have been the name of a people living far N. of Palestine, not far from Meshech and Tubal, whose home is shown by Assyrian notices to have been N.E. of Cilicia. Following Josephus, Magog has commonly been understood of the Scythians,—a wild and rough people, whose proper home (Hdt. iv. 17–20, 47–58) was on the N. of the Crimea, but who often organized predatory incursions into Asia and elsewhere: about B.C. 630 there was in particular a great irruption of Scythians into Asia (Hdt. i. 104–6), which seems to have supplied Ezekiel with the model for his imagined attack of nations from the N. upon the restored Israel (chs. 38. 39). Why, however, supposing this identification to be correct, the Scythians should be called 'Magog' is still unexplained. The name has not as yet been found in the Assyr. inscriptions. In Rev 20^8 'Gog and Magog' are applied figuratively to denote the nations who are pictured as brought by Satan, at the end of the millennium, to attack Jerusalem, and as destroyed before it (see, further, Gog).

S. R. Driver.

MAGOR-MISSABIB.—A nickname given (Jer 20^3) by Jeremiah to Pashhur, chief officer in the Temple, who had caused Jeremiah to be beaten and put in the stocks as a false prophet. The name is an etymological play on the word *Pashhur*, and denotes 'fear-round-about'; but whether Pashhur (wh. see) was to be that to his surroundings, or *vice versa*, does not appear.

W. F. Cobb.

MAGPIASH.—See Magbish.

MAGUS.—See Bar-Jesus, Magi, Magic, and Simon Magus.

MAHALALEEL.—See Mahalalel.

MAHALALEL.—**1.** Son of Kenan and great-grandson of Seth (Gn $5^{12.\ 13.\ 15.\ 16.\ 17}$[P] = 1 Ch 1^2, Lk 3^{37} **Mahalaleel**); = **Mehujael** in J's list (Gn 4^{18}). **2.** The son of Perez, who dwelt at Jerusalem after the Captivity (Neh 11^4).

MAHALATH.—1. See BASEMATH, No. 1.—2. Wife of Rehoboam, 2 Ch 11[18]. 3. See PSALMS, p. 772[a].

MAHALATH LEANNOTH.—See PSALMS, p. 772[a].

MAHANAIM ('two camps' or 'two hosts' [if the Heb. word is really a dual, which is very doubtful]).—An important city E. of Jordan on the frontier of Gad and Manasseh (Jos 13[26. 30]); it was a Levitical city within the territory of Gad (Jos 21[38. 40]). It was clearly N. of the Jabbok, as Jacob travelling S. reached it first (Gn 32[2. 22]). Here Abner made Ish-bosheth, son of Saul, king (2 S 2[8]), and here David took refuge from his rebel son Absalom (2 S 17[24-27] 19[32]). Solomon put Abinadab in authority in this city (1 K 4[14]). There is apparently a reference to Mahanaim in Ca 6[13] (see RV and AVm). The site of Mahanaim is quite uncertain. A trace of the name appears to linger in *Mahneh*, the name of a mass of ruins in the *Jebel Ajlūn* N.W. of the village *Ajlūn*. Merrill suggests a ruin called *Suleikhat* in the *Wady Ajlūn*, near its entrance to the Jordan valley; others consider the site of Jerash, which is first mentioned, as Gerasa, in the time of Alexander Jannæus, as a likely spot for so prominent and, apparently, so attractive a city.

E. W. G. MASTERMAN.

MAHANEH-DAN (Jg 13[25] 18[12]).—The locality of this spot is given in these two passages as 'behind Kiriath-jearim,' and as 'between Zorah and Eshtaol.' In the former passage we are told that 'the Spirit of Jehovah began to move Samson in the camp of Dan between Zorah and Eshtaol'; in the latter passage the derivation of the name is given as the place where the last encampment of the band of 600 Danite warriors took place, before they set out on their expedition to Laish. The exact position of the spot has not been identified, as the site of **Eshtaol** (wh. see) is not known with certainty. T. A. MOXON.

MAHARAI.—One of David's thirty heroes (2 S 23[28], 1 Ch 11[30]); according to 1 Ch 27[13], of the family of Zerah, and captain of the Temple guard for the tenth monthly course.

MAHATH.—1. The eponym of a Kohathite family (1 Ch 6[35], 2 Ch 29[12]); perhaps to be identified with **Ahimoth** of 1 Ch 6[25]. 2. A Levite in the time of Hezekiah (2 Ch 31[13]).

MAHAVITE, THE.—The EV designation in 1 Ch 11[46] of Eliel, one of David's heroes. The MT should prob. be emended to read 'the Mahanaimite.'

MAHAZIOTH.—The Hemanite chief of the 23rd course of singers (1 Ch 25[4. 30]).

MAHER-SHALAL-HASH-BAZ ('spoil speedeth, prey hasteth'), Is 8[1. 3].—A symbolical name given to one of Isaiah's sons to signify the speedy destruction of the power of the allied kings Rezin and Pekah by the king of Assyria.

MAHLAH.—1. One of the daughters of Zelophehad (wh. see), Nu 26[33] 27[1] 36[11], Jos 17[3]. 2. One of the sons of Hammolecheth, 1 Ch 7[18].

MAHLI.—In Ex 6[19], Nu 3[20], 1 Ch 24[26. 28], it is the name of a son of Merari, Levi's youngest son. In 1 Ch 23[23] 24[30] a son of Mushi, Mahli's brother, bears the same name. Ezr 8[18] speaks of 'a man of discretion (see ISH-SECHEL), of the sons of Mahli . . . and **Sherebiah,**' etc. 1 Es 8[47] [**Mooli**] drops 'and,' thus identifying this son of Mahli with Sherebiah. In Nu 3[33] 26[58] Mahli's descendants are called 'the family of the **Mahlites.**' According to 1 Ch 23[22], these Mahlites were descended from the daughters of Eleazar, the elder son of the Mahli mentioned in Ex 6[19]. Eleazar left no male offspring. Their cousins, the sons of Kish, therefore took them in marriage, and prevented the extinction of their father's name.

MAHLON.—See CHILION.

MAHOL.—The father of Ethan the Ezrahite, Heman, Chalcol, and Darda (1 K 4[31]), who are mentioned as famous for their wisdom, though surpassed in this respect by Solomon. Apparently, then, Mahol is a proper name, but it is also found in Ps 149[3] 150[4] (EV tr. 'dance') amongst instruments of music, so that the four wise men mentioned above may really be described as 'sons of music,' in which case their wisdom may have consisted chiefly in their skill in the composition of hymns.

T. A. MOXON.

MAHSEIAH.—Grandfather of Baruch and Seraiah (Jer 32[12] 51[59]); called in Bar 1[1] **Maaseas.**

MAIANNAS (1 Es 9[48]) = **Maaseiah,** Neh 8[7].

MAIL.—See ARMOUR, 2 (*c*).

MAINSAIL.—See SHIPS AND BOATS.

MAKAZ.—A town on the W. slopes of Judah (1 K 4[9]). The LXX reading, *Michmash*, is impossible. The site has not been recovered. W. EWING.

MAKE.—In Jg 18[3] 'to make' means 'to do'—'What makest thou in this place?' In Jn 8[53] 'Whom makest thou thyself?', and Jn 19[7] 'He made himself the Son of God,' 'make' means 'pretend to be'; cf. Jos 8[15] 'Joshua and all Israel made as if they were beaten.' This is the meaning also in 2 S 13[5] 'Lay thee down on thy bed, and make thyself sick.' In Ezk 17[17] 'Neither shall Pharaoh with his mighty army and great company make for him in the war,' 'make for' means 'assist.'

MAKED.—A 'strong and great' city in Gilead (1 Mac 5[26. 36]). The site is unknown.

MAKHELOTH (Nu 33[25. 26]).—One of the twelve 'stations' of the children of Israel (Nu 33[25f.]); unknown.

MAKKEDAH.—A Canaanite royal city in the Shephēlah, where the five kings of the Canaanites, defeated by Joshua at Gibeon, and chased by Israel down the valley by way of Beth-horon and Azekah, took refuge in a cave (Jos 10[10. 16ff.]), whence, later, by Joshua's orders, they were brought forth and slain. The city was taken and the inhabitants put to the sword. **Azekah** has not been identified, but in Jos 15[41] it is named with Gederoth, Beth-dagon, and Naamah, which may be identified with the modern *Katrah*, *Dajūn*, and *Na'aneh*. In this district the name *Makkedah* has not been found, but Warren and Conder agree in suggesting *el-Mughār*, 'the cave,' as the most likely spot. The rock-quarrying and tombs mark an ancient site, and caves are found in no other place where Makkedah might be located. It lies on the N. of *Wādy Surār*, about 15 miles S. of Jaffa. The *Onomasticon* places it about 7 miles E. of Eleutheropolis (*Beit Jibrīn*), a position hardly to be reckoned within the Shephēlah. W. EWING.

MAKTESH.—The name of a locality mentioned only in Zeph 1[11] as 'the Phœnician quarter' (?) of Jerusalem. The word denotes a *mortar*, and presumably was given to the place because it was basin-shaped. If so, a part of the Tyropœon valley has as good a claim as any other locality to be regarded as what is referred to. Certainly the Mt. of Olives is but a precarious conjecture. W. F. COBB.

MALACHI.—1. Author.—The Book of Malachi raises a question of authorship which cannot be answered with certainty. Who was the author? Was his name Malachi? *A priori*, it might be supposed that the author of the last book of prophecy in the OT Canon would be sufficiently well known to have his name attached to his work. If the name appeared with the book (especially if the name was *Ezra*, as the Targum asserts), it could scarcely have been lost or forgotten before the 'Minor Prophets' were collected, and the Canon of the Prophets was closed.

It is, however, doubtful whether *Malachi* is the personal name of the prophet. The word, as it appears in the

superscription, means 'my messenger,' and in this sense it is used in 3^1. It is argued that the word ought to have the same signification in both places. But, while in 3^1 it can scarcely mean anything else than 'my messenger,' this meaning does not suit the superscription, which would run, 'Oracle of the word of Jahweh through my messenger.' The oblique case of *Jahweh* with the direct reference of the suffix in 'my messenger,' is more than awkward. The LXX renders the superscription 'by the hand of his messenger.' The change of text is very slight. Whether there was MS authority for it cannot be determined.

The termination of the word *Malachi* may be *adjectival*. It would thus be equivalent to the Latin *Angelicus*, and would signify 'one charged with a message or mission' (a *missionary*). The term would thus be an official title, and the thought is not unsuitable to one whose message closed the Prophetical Canon of the OT, and whose mission in behalf of the Church was of so sacred a character. If this were the explanation, it is probable that greater definiteness would be attached to the words. It should be noted that, while the LXX render the word *Malachi* by 'his messenger' in the superscription, they prefix, as the title of the book, *Malachias*, as if the Hebrew should read *Malachiyah*, i.e. 'messenger of Jahweh.' Some such form must be adopted if the *Malachi* of the superscription is taken as a proper noun. The form would thus correspond to *Zacharias*, and many other proper nouns (so Vulg. both in the title and in the superscription). This is a possible grammatical explanation, and the name 'messenger of Jahweh' is suitable to the condition of Judah at the time. The Jews had little experience of prophets when the message of this book was delivered. It is significant that Haggai, the earliest prophet of the post-exilic period, is expressly designated 'messenger of Jahweh' (Hag 1^{13}). He had already received the official title of prophet (*nābî'*), (v.^{1}). But there were prophets and prophets. False prophets had done much to bring about the Exile. If there were to be prophets after the Exile, it was important that the new community should be in no doubt as to their character. This was secured in the case of the first of the post-exilic prophets by the express statement that he was the messenger of Jahweh, and that what he spoke was the message of Jahweh. In the case of the last of the prophets of the OT Canon, an assurance of a similar character would be furnished symbolically by the name *Malachiyah* ('messenger of Jahweh'). This, *pro tanto*, favours the form of the word as it appears in the title of the LXX and the Vulgate.

But 3^1 remains. If *Malachi* is a proper noun—the name of the author—in 1^1, should the word not have the same significance in 3^1? The answer is, that there is no *insuperable* objection to the twofold explanation. The form admits of the twofold reference. The question is one of probability. At this point, however, reference should be made to the Targum, according to which Ezra was the author of the Book of Malachi; and this opinion continued to prevail among the Jews. Jerome accepted it, and it was favourably regarded by Calvin and others. No doubt the Targum expressed the Jewish opinion of the time. But that does not settle the question. In the four or five centuries between the appearance of the Book of Malachi and the birth of Christ, the life of the OT Church centred in the Law of Moses. That law was given, mainly, by Ezra to the post-exilic Church. As years passed, and the traditions of the scribes began to gather about the Law, the figure of Ezra stood out as the prominent one in post-exilic times. Everything of importance connected with the Law was wont to be assigned to him. Take along with that the fact that *Malachi* occurs as a common noun in 3^1, and the additional fact that the prophecy closes with a solemn warning to remember the Law of Moses, and it may appear not improbable that Ezra should have been claimed as the author of this closing passage, and of the prophecy in which it is found.

In these circumstances the authority of the Targum is not of very great weight. But in one respect the Targum is of importance. If the name of Ezra was the only one associated with the Book of Malachi when the Targum was prepared, it is probable that the book originally appeared anonymously—at least, that it bore no name when the volume of the Minor Prophets was made up, and that the compiler either regarded the term *Malachi* in 3^1 as the name of the author, or attached it to the book in the superscription as an official title. It is scarcely necessary to observe that the name of the author is not required for the authentication of the message. The terms of the superscription are amply sufficient for the purpose of authentication. It is the 'Oracle of the Word of Jahweh' that the prophet delivers. This is equivalent to 'The word of Jahweh came—or was—to . . . (so and so)' in other books of prophecy, and implies the familiar 'Thus saith Jahweh' of prophetic address.

2. Date.—Opinion is greatly divided regarding the date of the book. That it belonged to the Persian period appears from the name (*pechah*) given to the governor (cf. Hag $1^{1.\ 14}$ etc., Neh 5^{14} etc.). Further, it is obvious that the statutory services of the Temple had been in operation for some time before the message of Malachi was delivered. Abuses had crept in which could not be associated with those who had returned from Babylon and rebuilt the Temple. The dedication of the Second Temple took place in B.C. 516, and the condition of religious life depicted in Malachi must have been a good many years later than that date. This is very generally admitted.

Two dates are most worthy of consideration—the first shortly before Ezra's arrival in Jerusalem, and the second during Nehemiah's second visit to the holy city. Certain expressions occurring in the book are held to favour the former (cf. $2^{2.\ 4.\ 5}$ $3^{5.\ 10.\ 22}$ [EV 4^1]). These, breathing the spirit of Deut., are supposed to show that the author was under the influence of the Deuteronomic Code. If his activity was later than 445, the influence of P would have been expected to show itself. But the expression 'the law of Moses' (3^{22} [EV 4^4]) finds a natural explanation in connexion with the whole Pentateuchal legislation read before the people in 445 (Neh 8 ff.). The covenant with Levi ($2^{4.\ 5}$) seems to presuppose Nu $25^{10\text{-}13}$ (P). And the reference to the tithes (3^{10}) appears to rest on Lv $27^{30\text{-}33}$ and Nu $18^{21\text{-}32}$ (both belonging to P^1). Deuteronomic expressions of an ethical character are suitable to any earnest prophet after Amos, and are not determinative of date as are the passages which presuppose P,—on the assumption that P was first promulgated in B.C. 445. The language, upon the whole, favours a date later than the appearance of P. The contents of the book point in the same direction. Ezra's reformation appears to have been limited to the banishing of the foreign wives, and the effort to effect a complete separation of the Chosen People from the idolatrous tribes round about. The author of Malachi brings three main charges against the Church of his day: (1) against the priests for the profanation of the services of the Temple; (2) against the community (priests included) for marrying heathen wives; (3) against the people generally for immorality, indifference, and infidelity. All this agrees very closely with the state of affairs with which Nehemiah had to deal on his second visit to Jerusalem (Neh $13^{7ff.}$). And upon the whole (the conclusion can only be a matter of comparative probability), the period of that visit may be accepted for the prophetic activity of the author of Malachi. The date would be somewhere about B.C. 430.

3. Contents.—The book may be divided into the following sections:

I. 1^{1}. The superscription.
II. 1^{2-5}. Jahweh's love to Israel. This love proved by the history of His dealings with Israel from the days of their great ancestor Jacob, as contrasted with the history of Jacob's brother Esau and of his descendants.
III. 1^{6}–2^{9}. Israel's forgetfulness of Jahweh,—neglect and contempt of His offerings, through illegal proceedings on the part of the priests.
IV. 2^{10-16}. Denunciation of divorce and of foreign marriages.
V. 2^{17}–3^{6}. Day of Jahweh (*i.e.* His coming to judgment) against unbelievers, scoffers, etc., especially with the view of purifying the priests in order that acceptable offerings may be presented unto Him.
VI. 3^{7-12}. Drought and locusts sent on those who neglected to bring the tithes for the service of the Temple and the support of the priests.
VII. 3^{13-24} [EV 3^{13}–4^{6}]. The punishment of the wicked, and the triumph of the righteous, on the day of Jahweh, with a concluding exhortation to obey the Law of Moses, and a promise of the coming of Elijah to lead the people to repentance.

4. **Doctrine.**—Malachi, in its doctrinal contents, is in entire harmony with the Prophetic books that preceded it, and adds its testimony to the fact that, while Divine revelation is progressive, and the circumstances of the time add a special character and colour to the different Prophetic books, the fundamental doctrines are the same in all. The keynote of Malachi's message is found in the opening words of 1^{2}. Israel's position as the Chosen People is founded in the electing love of Jahweh. The divorcing of Jewish and the marrying of heathen wives is a crime against the love of Jahweh. Further, Jahweh—as in all the prophets from Amos downwards—is a God of righteousness. He rewards the righteous and punishes the wicked. The day of Jahweh, on which the wicked are punished and the righteous rewarded, is the same as in Amos and his successors; and the closing words of the prophecy, dealing with this day of Jahweh, connect the OT with the NT, in which the day of the Lord occupies a position of equal importance with that assigned to it in the OT. The special circumstances of the time, which serve so far to determine the date, appear in the importance assigned to ritual, and the severity with which neglect or irregularity in this part of religious observance is treated.

5. **Style.**—As might be expected, the style and diction of a book belonging to the last half of the 5th cent. are inferior to those of the pre-exilic prophets. The language is mostly plain, homely prose. There are, however, poetic passages, some of considerable merit (cf. 1^{11} $3^{\text{ff.}}$ $^{10\text{ff.}}$ $^{16\text{ff.}}$ $^{19\text{ff.}}$ [EV $4^{1\text{ff.}}$]). The most striking feature of the style is the discussion of an important subject by means of question and answer,—a dialectic method which became common afterwards, and which about the same time was well known in Athens through the labours of Socrates.

G. G. Cameron.

MALACHY.—2 Es 1^{40} (AV and RV) for **Malachi.**

MALCAM.—**1.** One of the heads of the fathers of Benjamin, and the son of Shaharaim and Hodesh (1 Ch 8^{9}). **2.** In Zeph 1^{5} *Malcam* is apparently the name of an idol, and might be rendered literally 'their king,' as in the margin of AV and RV. Quite possibly, however, there is an error in the pointing of the Hebrew word, and it should be rendered **Milcom** (wh. see), the 'abomination' of the children of Ammon, and identical with Molech (cf. Is 8^{21}, Jer 49^{1-3}, and 1 K 11^{5}). See also art. Molech.

T. A. Moxon.

MALCHIAH.—**1.** A priest, the father of Pashhur (Jer 21^{1} 38^{1}), same as **Malchijah** of 1 Ch 9^{12}, Neh 11^{12}. **2.** A member of the royal family, to whom belonged the pit-prison into which Jeremiah was let down (Jer 38^{6}).

MALCHIEL.—The eponym of an Asherite family (Gn 46^{17}, Nu 26^{45}, 1 Ch 7^{31}). The gentilic name **Malchielites** occurs in Nu 26^{45}.

MALCHIJAH.—**1.** A descendant of Gershom (1 Ch 6^{40} [Heb. ^{25}]). **2.** A priest, the father of Pashhur (1 Ch 9^{12}, Neh 11^{12}), same as **Malchiah** of Jer 21^{1} 38^{1}. **3.** Head of the 5th course of priests (1 Ch 24^{9}), perhaps the same as the preceding. **4.** **5.** Two of the sons of Parosh, who had married foreign wives (Ezr 10^{25} *bis*); called in 1 Es 9^{26} **Melchias** and **Asibias** respectively. **6.** One of the sons of Harim who had married a foreign wife (Ezr 10^{31}). In Neh 3^{11} he is mentioned as taking part in the repairing of the wall. He is called in 1 Es 9^{32} **Melchias.** **7.** Malchijah the son of Rechab repaired the dung-gate (Neh 3^{14}). **8.** One of the guild of the goldsmiths who helped to repair the wall (Neh 3^{31}). **9.** One of those who stood at Ezra's left hand at the reading of the Law (Neh 8^{4}). **10.** One of those who sealed the covenant (Neh 10^{3}), probably the same as No. **2.** **11.** A priest who took part in the ceremony of dedicating the wall (Neh 12^{42}).

MALCHIRAM.—Son of Jeconiah (1 Ch 3^{18}).

MALCHI-SHUA.—The third son of Saul (1 S 14^{49}); slain by the Philistines at Mt. Gilboa (1 S 31^{2}, 1 Ch 10^{2}).

MALCHUS.—The name of the high priest's servant whose ear Peter cut off in the Garden of Gethsemane at the arrest of our Lord. St. John is the only Evangelist who mentions his name (Jn 18^{10}), thereby substantiating the fact that he was intimately acquainted with the high priest and his household (Jn 18^{15}). The incident is related in the other three Gospels (Mt 26^{51}, Mk 14^{47}, Lk 22^{50}). On a comparison of the four accounts, it seems that Malchus pressed forward eagerly to seize Jesus, whereupon Peter struck at him with his sword. The blow, missing its main object, almost severed the ear, but not quite, as Jesus *touched* it and healed it.

Luke, the physician, is the only Evangelist who mentions the healing of the ear.

Morley Stevenson.

MALICE.—

1. (i) OT.—All in Pr.-Bk. version: Ps 94^{23} 119^{150} and 10^{17} (adj.) 59^{5} (adj.) and 55^{3} (adv.).
(ii.) Apocr.—All in AV: Wis $12^{10.\ 20}$ 16^{14} (and RVm), * Sir 27^{30} and 28^{7}, * 1 Mac 9^{61} and 13^{6}, 2 Mac 4^{50}.
(iii) NT.—In RV: 1 Co 5^{8} 14^{20}, Eph 4^{31}, Col 3^{8}, Tit 3^{3}, Ja 1^{21} mg., 1 P 2^{1} (AV and RVm); 'maliciousness' Ro 1^{29}, 1 P 2^{16} (AV and RVm 'malice'); 'malicious' * 3 Jn ^{10} AV.

2. Discussion is needless as to (i.), for the Heb. is clear. (See RV.) All the other instances, however, except those marked * represent a Gr. word (*kakia*) which has a much wider meaning than 'malice' as now used. It may be 'wickedness,' as Ac 8^{22}, Ja 1^{21}; or 'evil'='trouble,' Mt 6^{34}.

3. The point is important, because 'malice' has acquired its exclusive meaning 'spitefulness' only since the 17th century. It indicated evil of any sort (cf. Pr.-Bk. as cited above, and for some striking examples see art. in Hastings' *DB*). This change accounts for RV renderings of Apocr., and would perhaps have justified further emendation of AV.

4. The modern usage is a return to the classical *malitia*. Its relation to *kakia* was discussed by Cicero, who coined *vitiositas* as the nearest rendering; for whereas 'malice' indicated a particular fault, 'vitiosity' stood for all (*Tusc. Disp.* iv. 34).

H. F. B. Compston.

MALLOTHI.—A son of Heman (1 Ch $25^{4.\ 26}$).

MALLOWS (*mallûach*, connected with *melach* 'salt'), Job 30^{4}, RV **salt-wort.**—Almost certainly the sea orache (*Atriplex halimus*), a perennial shrub with leaves somewhat like the olive, common in saltish marshes, especially near the Dead Sea, where it is associated with the *retem* (see Juniper). The sour-tasting leaves can be eaten, but only in dire necessity.

E. W. G. Masterman.

MALLUCH.—**1.** A Merarite, ancestor of Ethan

(1 Ch 6^{44}). **2.** One of the sons of Bani who had married a foreign wife (Ezr 10^{29}); called in 1 Es 9^{30} **Mamuchus.** **3.** One of the sons of Harim who had married a foreign wife (Ezr 10^{32}). **4. 5.** Two of those who sealed the covenant (Neh $10^{4.\ 27}$). No. 4 is probably identical with Malluch of Neh 12^{2}, called in 12^{14} **Malluchi.**

MALLUCHI.—The eponym of a priestly family who returned with Zerub. (Neh 12^{14}); probably the same as **Malluch** of Neh 10^{4} 12^{2}.

MALLUS.—A city of Cilicia which joined Tarsus in a rebellion against Antiochus Epiphanes about B.C. 171 (2 Mac 4^{30}). Tradition said that it was founded at the time of the Trojan War. Its coinage shows that it was an important town. Its site is doubtful, but as ancient statements make it near the river Pyramus, near the sea, and also on a hill, Professor Ramsay identifies it with *Kara-Tash*, on a coast line of hills E. of Magarsa, which served as its port. The W. branch of the Pyramus has become almost completely dried up. A. E. Hillard.

MALOBATHRON.—RVm of Ca 2^{17} for EV **Bether** (wh. see). It is argued by Post, against this rendering, that the malobathron plant (*Laurus malabathrum*) did not grow wild on any of the mountains of Palestine. Others would render (by a slight textual emendation) 'mountains of cypresses.'

MALTANNEUS (1 Es 9^{33}) = **Mattenai,** Ezr 10^{33}.

MAMDAI (1 Es 9^{34}) = **Benaiah,** Ezr 10^{35}.

MAMMON.—This is a Semitic word, but of doubtful derivation. It has been referred to Heb. *aman*, 'a reliable (store),' and to *taman* (*t* being elided), 'hidden treasure.' Augustine (*Serm. on Mount*) says it was the name for 'riches' among the Hebrews, and that the Phœnician agrees, for 'gain' in Phœnician is called *mammon*. Phœnician and Hebrew were near akin, and the ancients often included Aramaic in Hebrew. 'Mammon' is not found in OT Hebrew, but occurs in Rabbinical, in Syriac (Western Aramaic), and is used in the Aramaic Targums as the equivalent of Heb. terms for 'gain' or 'wealth.' Being a well-known Phœn. trade word, it is introduced without translation (unlike *corban*, etc.) into NT Greek, where the right spelling is *mamōnas* (Mt 6^{24}, Lk $16^{9.\ 11.\ 13}$); with this agrees the Syriac form *momūna*. A Phœn. deity, Mamon, has been supposed. Though not improbable, the idea seems due to Milton (*P.L.* i. 679 ff.). 'Serve God and mammon' suggests personification, but compare the phraseology of Ph 3^{19}. G. H. Gwilliam.

MAMNITANEMUS (1 Es 9^{34}) corresponds to the two names **Mattaniah, Mattenai** in Ezr 10^{37}, of which it is a corruption.

MAMRE.—A name found several times in connexion with the history of Abraham. It occurs (*a*) in the expression **'terebinths of Mamre'** in Gn 13^{18} 18^{1} (both J), and 14^{13} (from an independent source) with the addition of 'the Amorite'; (*b*) in the expression 'which is before Mamre,' in descriptions of the cave of Machpelah, or of the field in which it was (Gn $23^{17.\ 19}$ 25^{9} 49^{30} 50^{13}), and in 35^{27}, where Mamre is mentioned as the place of Isaac's death; (*c*) in Gn 14^{24} as the name of one of Abraham's allies, in his expedition for the recovery of Lot. In (*b*) Mamre is an old name, either of **Hebron** or of a part of Hebron (cf. 23^{19} 35^{27}); in Gn 14^{13} it is the name of a local sheik or chief (cf. v.^{24}), the owner of the terebinths called after him; in Gn 13^{18} 18^{1} it is not clear whether it is the name of a person or of a place. The 'terebinths of Mamre' are the spot at which Abraham pitched his tent in Hebron. The site is uncertain, though, if the present mosque, on the N.E. edge of Hebron, is really built over the cave of Machpelah, and if 'before' has its usual topographical sense of 'east of,' it will have been to the W. of this, and at no great distance from it (for the terebinths are described as being 'in' Hebron, Gn 13^{18}). From Josephus' time (*BJ*, IV. ix. 7) to the present day, terebinths or oaks called by the name of Abraham have been shown at different spots near Hebron; but none has any real claim to mark the authentic site of the ancient 'Mamre.' The oak mentioned by Josephus was 6 stadia from the city; but he does not indicate in which direction it lay. Sozomen (*HE* ii. 4), in speaking of the 'Abraham's Oak' of Constantine's day (2 miles N. of Hebron), states that it was regarded as sacred, and that an annual fair and feast was held beside it, at which sacrifices were offered, and libations and other offerings cast into a well close by. Cf. Oak. S. R. Driver.

MAMUCHUS (1 Es 9^{30}) = **Malluch,** Ezr 10^{29}.

MAN.—The Bible is concerned with man only from the religious standpoint, with his relation to God. This article will deal only with the religious estimate of man, as other matters which might have been included will be found in other articles (Creation, Eschatology, Fall, Sin, Psychology). Man's dignity, as made by special resolve and distinct act of God in God's image and likeness (synonymous terms), with dominion over the other creatures, and for communion with God, as asserted in the double account of his Creation in Gn 1 and 2, and man's degradation by his own choice of evil, as presented figuratively in the story of his Fall in Gn 3, are the two aspects of man that are everywhere met with. The first is explicitly affirmed in Ps 8, an echo of Gn 1; the second, without any explicit reference to the story in Gn 3, is taken for granted in the OT (see esp. Ps 51), and is still more emphasized in the NT, with distinct allusion to the Fall and its consequences (see esp. Ro 5^{12-21} and 7^{7-25}). While the OT recognizes man's relation to the world around him, his materiality and frailty as 'flesh' (wh. see), and describes him as 'dust and ashes' in comparison with God (Gn 2^{7} 3^{19} 18^{27}), yet as made in God's image it endows him with reason, conscience, affection, free will. Adam is capable of recognizing the qualities of, and so of naming, the living creatures (2^{19}), cannot find a help meet among them (v.^{20}), is innocent (v.^{25}), and capable of moral obedience (v.$^{16.\ 17}$) and religious communion ($3^{9.\ 10}$). The Spirit of God is in man not only as life, but also as wisdom and understanding, counsel and might, skill and courage (see Inspiration). The Divine immanence in man as the Divine providence for man is affirmed (Pr 20^{27}).

In the NT man's dignity is represented as Divine sonship. In St. Luke's Gospel Adam is described as 'son of God' (3^{38}). St. Paul speaks of man as 'the image and glory of God' (1 Co 11^{7}), approves the poet's words, 'we also are his offspring,' asserts the unity of the race, and God's guidance in its history (Ac 17^{26-28}). In his argument in Romans regarding universal sinfulness, he assumes that even the Gentiles have the law of God written in their hearts, and thus can exercise moral judgment on themselves and others (2^{15}). Jesus' testimony to the Fatherhood of God, including the care and bounty in Providence as well as the grace in Redemption, has as its counterpart His estimate of the absolute worth of the human soul (see Mt 10^{30} 16^{26}, Lk 10^{20} 15). While God's care and bounty are unlimited, yet Jesus does seem to limit the title 'child *or* son of God' to those who have religious fellowship and seek moral kinship with God (see Mt $5^{9.\ 45}$; cf. Jn 1^{12}). St. Paul's doctrine of man's adoption by faith in God's grace does not contradict the teaching of Jesus. The writer of Hebrews sees the promise of man's dominion in Ps 8 fulfilled only in Christ ($2^{8.\ 9}$). Man's history, according to the Fourth Evangelist, is consummated in the Incarnation (Jn 1^{14}).

The Bible estimate of man's value is shown in its anticipation of his destiny—not merely continued existence, but a future life of weal or woe according to the moral quality, the relation to God, of the present

life (see ESCHATOLOGY). The Biblical analysis of the nature of man is discussed in detail in art. PSYCHOLOGY.

ALFRED E. GARVIE.

MAN OF SIN (or **'lawlessness'**).—Probably the equivalent in 2 Th 2^{3-10} of **Antichrist** (wh. see). According to the Pauline view, the Parousia would be preceded by an apostasy of believers and the appearance of the 'man of lawlessness,' 'who opposeth and exalteth himself above all that is called God or that is worshipped; so that he as God sitteth in the temple of God, showing himself that he is God' (v.$^{3f.}$). The appearance of this evil one and his oppression of the believers were prevented by some force or person. In course of time, however, this restraint was to be removed. The wicked one would exercise his power until the Christ should come to destroy him (vv.$^{6-8}$).

The precise references of this statement are beyond final discovery. It is, however, commonly believed that the reference is to some historical person, possibly the god-emperor of Rome. Such a reference is, however, very difficult if 2 Thess. was written by St. Paul, for at the time of its composition the Roman State had not become a persecutor. The 'one who restrains' is also difficult to identify if the 'man of lawlessness' be the Roman emperor. For that reason it may be best to refer the 'man of lawlessness' to the Jewish people or their expected Messiah, and 'he that restraineth' to the Roman power. This interpretation is supported by the fact that in his letters to the Thessalonians, St. Paul regards the Jews as persecutors, while throughout Acts the Roman State is presented as a protector of the Christians. This identification, however, does not satisfactorily explain the reference to 'sitting in the temple.' It is, therefore, probably better not to attempt a precise historical interpretation of either the 'man of lawlessness' or 'him that restraineth,' but to regard the former as a reference to the expected Antichrist, and the latter to some unidentified personal influence that led to the postponement of his appearance.

SHAILER MATHEWS.

MANAEN (=Menahem).—One of the Christian prophets and teachers at Antioch, and 'foster-brother' of Herod Antipas (Ac 13^{1}). Although individual non-official Christians prophesied (Ac $2^{17f.}$ 21^{9}, 1 Co 14^{31}), yet there was in NT a class of official prophets (Eph 2^{20} 3^{5}, Rev 18^{20}, perhaps 1 Th 2^{15}); and so in the *Didache* (*c.* A.D. 120?) the prophets formed an official class above the local ministry. Manaen was clearly an official at Antioch. The phrase 'foster-brother of Herod' is thought by Deissmann to be a mere title of honour, like 'the king's friend' in 1 Ch 27^{33}, but more probably represents a literal fact. An older Manaen had been befriended by Herod the Great as having foretold his advancement; this one might be his grandson, brought up with Antipas. Another instance of the circle of Herod being reached by Christianity is Joanna, wife of Chuza, Herod's steward (Lk 8^{3}); and Antipas himself was touched by the Baptist's preaching (Mk 6^{20}).

A. J. MACLEAN.

MANAHATH.—**1.** Mentioned only in 1 Ch 8^{6} as the place to which certain Benjamite clans were carried captive. The town is probably identical with that implied in **Manahathites** (wh. see), with the *Manochō* of the Gr. text of Jos 15^{59}, and if the text in Jg. is correct, with the **Menuhah** of Jg 20^{43} RVm. **2.** Gn 36^{23} (P), 1 Ch 1^{40} 'son of Shobal, son of Seir, the Horite,' *i.e.* eponymous ancestor of a clan of Edom, or of the earlier population conquered and absorbed by Edom.

MANAHATHITES (RV **Menuhoth** in 1 Ch 2^{52}), 1 Ch 2^{54}.—The genealogy in these two passages is to be interpreted as meaning that the city **Manahath**, occupied by portions of two sections of the Edomite clan Caleb, came to be reckoned to Judah.

MANASSEAS (1 Es 9^{31}) =**Manasseh**, Ezr 10^{30}.

MANASSEH.—**1.** In MT and AV of Jg 18^{30} *Manasseh* is a scribal change for dogmatic purposes, the original being *Moses* (see GERSHOM, **1**). **2.** A son of Pahath-moab (Ezr 10^{30} [1 Es 9^{31} **Manasseas**]). **3.** Son of Hashum (Ezr 10^{33}). **4. 5.** See next two articles.

MANASSEH.—The firstborn son of Joseph, and full brother of Ephraim (Gn $41^{51f.}$ [E]), by Asenath, the daughter of Poti-phera, priest of On (v.^{45} [J]).

The popular etymology makes the name a *Pi'ēl* ptcp. of the verb *nāshāh*, 'to forget.' Josephus (*Ant.* II. vi. 1) adopts this without criticism, as do our Hebrew Lexicons. In the Assyrian inscriptions the name appears as *Minsē*, *Menase*. In Is 65^{11} the god *Meni* (RV 'Destiny') is associated with *Gad*, the god of Fortune. Some scholars, consequently, equate Manasseh with *Men-nasa*='the god *Men* seized.' 'Apparently Manasseh succeeded in establishing friendly relations with the Canaanites at an early date. His name points to such influences' (Niebuhr, *Gesch. d. Ebr. Zeit.* p. 252; cf. Siegfried, 'Gad-Meni u. Gad-Manasse' in *Ztschr. f. prot. Theol.*, 1875, p. 366 f.). Hogg, who in *EBi*, *s.v.*, discusses the name at length, appears to favour the participial form, but (following Land) connects it with the Arabic *nasā*, 'to inflict an injury.' He thus brings it into relation with the story of Jacob's wrestling with the angel (Gn 32). 'It would appear,' so runs the conclusion, 'that in the original story the epithet Manasseh was a fitting title of Jacob himself, which might be borne by his worshippers as in the case of Gad.' But it is extremely unlikely that Jacob was originally regarded as a deity, as Luther (*ZATW* xxi. p. 68 ff.) also holds. The Babylonian form *Ya'qub-ilu* found in the contract tablets of the period of Hammurabi (23rd cent. B.C.) and *Jacob-el* (or *-her*) found on the scarab of an Egyptian king of the Hyksos period, is not to be translated 'Ya'kub is god.' As forms like *Yakbar-ilu*, *Yamlik-ilu*, etc., render probable, *ilu* is subject. Nevertheless, there may have been some original connexion between Manasseh and Jacob. Jacob's name, we are told, was afterwards changed to Israel, and Manasseh is said to have been the elder brother of Ephraim, the name which later became almost synonymous with Israel, and, finally, in Jg $1^{27.\ 28}$ Manasseh and Israel appear to be used as equivalents. But where no better data are obtainable, we must confess ignorance as frankly as we reject the etymologizing tales of our sources.

In our oldest source bearing upon the early tribal settlement (Jg 5) the name of Manasseh does not appear, though that of Ephraim does. **Machir** there (v.^{14}) seems to take the place of Manasseh. In Gn 50^{23} (E) he is the only son of Manasseh; so also Nu $26^{29.\ 34}$ (P), but in Jos 17^{1b} (perh. J) he is the firstborn of Manasseh. In Nu $32^{39.\ 41.\ 42}$ (v.^{40} is not original) we have an excerpt from JE added to P's story of Reuben's and Gad's settlement on the East Jordan, which tells us that the children of Machir, the son of Manasseh, went to Gilead and *took* it. Jair, it is said, and Nobah, two other descendants of Manasseh, also *took* towns in Gilead, to which they gave their own names. But, according to Dt 3^{13}, Moses, after completely exterminating the inhabitants, *gave* North Gilead, all Bashan, and Argob 'to the half tribe of Manasseh'; cf. Jos $13^{29ff.}$ etc. In P's account of the settlement of Reuben and Gad (Nu 32) there was nothing said originally of this half-tribe being associated with them. The whole story is told before the Manassites are brought in in v.^{33} (cf. Jos $13^{21ff.}$ and ch. 17). The story of their early settlement on the East side is discredited by many scholars, who hold that the East was later conquered from the West. As we have seen in Jg 5^{14}, where Machir takes the place of Manasseh, he appears to be in possession on the West; and Machir, the son of Manasseh, is said to have gone to Gilead and taken it (Nu 32^{39}), and if so, he must have operated from his original seat. In Jos 17^{14-18} we read of the complaint of the 'children of Joseph' to Joshua that he had given them ('him') only *one* lot, despite the fact that he was a great people. Nothing is said about any previous allotment by Moses on the East. Further, in Nu 32^{41} Bashan is conquered by Jair, who, according to Jg 10^{3}, was a judge of Israel. The argument is strong but not cogent.

As we have already seen, the tribe on the West was represented by Machir (Jg 5). J, the next oldest docu-

ment, includes Ephraim and Manasseh in the phrase 'sons of Joseph' (Jos 16^{1-4}), 'house of Joseph' (17^{17} ['Ephr. and Man.' is a gloss] 18^{5}, Jg $1^{22.\ 23.\ 25}$). *One* lot only is consequently assigned to them, the limits of which are roughly sketched in Jos 16^{1-3}. Jos 17 gives Gilead and Bashan to Machir (making no mention of Jair and Nobah), and v.^{2} begins to tell of the assignments to the remainder of the Manassite clans, but fails to do so. But the 'clan' names, Abiezer, Shechem, and the names of the cities appended show that they were on the West. It is clear from what is said of the cities which were in Issachar and Asher (v.$^{11ff.}$) that they were only ideally in Manasseh's territory, and that the latter was confined on the north to the hill-country. Like the rest of the tribes, they 'were not able to drive out the Canaanites.' When they made their complaint to Joshua (vv.$^{14-18}$) that they were too cramped in their abode to better themselves, he sententiously replied that being a great people as they boasted, they could clear out the mountain forests and develop in that way, and so ultimately get the upper hand of the Canaanites in the plains. It should be said that the names of the rest of the sons of Manasseh, Abiezer, Helek, Asriel, Shechem, Hepher, Shemida, as well as the five daughters of Zelophehad, the great-grandson of Machir, are probably all place-names, as some of them certainly are, and not personal names.

Whether Joseph was a tribe has been doubted, because there is no mention of it in Jg 5, and the fact that the name Machir appears to be from the root *mâchar*, 'to sell,' has raised the question whether the story of Joseph's sale into Egypt did not arise in connexion with it.

For the clans see Jos 17^{1b-2} (J), Nu 26^{28-34} (P), 1 Ch 7^{14-19} 2^{21-23}.

The tribe, owing to its situation, had much to endure during the Syrian wars (Am 1^{3}, 2 K 10^{33}), and, according to 1 Ch 5^{26}, the eastern half was deported (B.C. 743) by Tiglath-pileser III. (see GAD). See also TRIBES OF ISRAEL. JAMES A. CRAIG.

MANASSEH, son of Hezekiah, reigned longer than any king of his line—fifty-five years, according to our sources (2 K 21^{1}). His reign was remarkable for the religious reaction against the reforms which had been made by Hezekiah. The record (vv.$^{2-9}$) is that he built again the altars which Hezekiah had destroyed, and erected altars for Baal, and made an *ashêrah*, as Ahab king of Israel had done, and that he worshipped the host of heaven and served them. In restoring the old altars he doubtless thought he was returning to the early religion of the nation, and the Baal whom he worshipped was probably identified in the minds of the people with the national God Jahweh. The *ashêrah* was a well-known accompaniment of the altars of Jahweh down to the time of Hezekiah. In all this Manasseh's measures may be called conservative, while his worship of the 'host of heaven' was no doubt a State necessity owing to the Assyrian rule. The sacrifice of his son and the practice of witchcraft and magic, of which he is accused, were also sanctioned by ancient Israelitish custom. The reaction was accompanied by active persecution of the prophetic party, which can hardly surprise us, toleration being an unknown virtue. On account of these sins, Manasseh is represented by later writers as the man who filled the cup of Judah's iniquity to overflowing, and who thus made the final catastrophe of the nation inevitable.

H. P. SMITH.

MANASSES.—1. 1 Es 9^{33} =**Manasseh, No. 3** (Ezr 10^{33}). **2.** Judith's husband (Jth 8^{2}). **3.** An unknown person mentioned in the dying words of Tobit (To 14^{10}). **4.** For 'Prayer of Manasses' see APOCRYPHA, § **11.**

MANDRAKE (*dûdâ'îm*, Gn $30^{14f.}$, Ca 7^{13}; RVm 'love apples,' cf. root *dôdîm*, 'love').—Although other plants have been suggested, the mandrake (*Mandragora officinarum*), of the *Solanaceæ* or Potato order, is most probable. It is a common plant in all parts of S. Palestine. Its long and branched root is very deeply imbedded in the earth, and an old superstition survives to-day that he who digs it up will be childless—but at the same time the effort of pulling it up will cure a bad lumbago. When the last fibres give way and the root comes up, a semi-human scream is supposed to be emitted (cf. also Jos. *BJ* VII. vi. 3). Occasionally the root resembles a human figure, but most of those exhibited have been 'doctored' to heighten the resemblance. The leaves are dark green, arranged in a rosette, and the flowers dark purple. The fruit, which ripens about May, about the time of the wheat harvest, is somewhat like a small tomato, and orange or reddish in colour: it is called by the natives *baïd el-jinn*, 'the eggs of the *jinn*.' It has a heavy narcotic smell and sweetish taste. It is still used medicinally, but is known to be poisonous, especially the seeds. The mandrake was known to the ancients as an aphrodisiac (see p. 569^{b}).

E. W. G. MASTERMAN.

MANEH.—See WEIGHTS AND MEASURES, III.

MANES.—One of those who agreed to put away their 'strange' wives (1 Es 9^{21} [Ezr 10^{21} **Maaseiah**]).

MANGER (Lk $2^{7.\ 12.\ 16}$ 13^{15} RVm).—EV tr. of *phatnê*, the LXX equivalent of Heb. *'êbûs*, 'a place where cattle are fattened' (Job 39^{9} etc.). It also represents *'urwâh* (2 Ch 32^{28}), and *repheth* (Hab 3^{17}), EV **stall.** In Job 39^{9}, Pr 14^{4} *'êbûs* may mean the stall or shelter; in Is 1^{3} it is probably the **crib** in which the food was placed. A like ambiguity attaches to *'urwâh* or *'uryâh* (2 Ch 32^{28}), lit. 'collecting place' or 'collected herd.' It probably came to mean a certain number of animals, as 'a pair' or 'team' (1 K 4^{26}, 2 Ch 9^{25}) [Gesenius]. The Heb. *repheth* (Hab 3^{17}) clearly means 'stall'; *marbêq* is the place where the cattle are 'tied up' (1 S 28^{24} 'fatted calf' ='calf of the stall,' Jer 46^{21}, Am 6^{4}, Mal 4^{2}); *phatnê* may therefore denote either the 'manger' or the 'stall.'

If *kataluma* (Lk 2^{7}) means 'guest chamber' (see art. HOSPITALITY, *ad fin.*), Joseph and Mary may have moved into the side of the house occupied by the cattle, from which the living-room is distinguished by a higher floor, with a little hollow in the edge, out of which the cattle eat. The present writer has seen a child laid in such a 'manger.' Or, in the crowded *khân*, only the animals' quarters may have afforded shelter. We do not now know. Ancient tradition places Jesus' birth in a cave near Bethlehem. Caves under the houses are extensively used in Palestine as stables. The *midhwad*, 'manger,' cut in the side, is an excellent 'crib' for a baby. W. EWING.

MANI (1 Es 9^{30}) =**Bani** of Ezr 10^{29} and 1 Es 5^{12}.

MANIUS.—According to 2 Mac 11^{34}, **Titus Manius** was one of two Roman legates who, being on their way to Antioch after the campaign of Lysias against Judæa in the year B.C. 163, sent a letter to the Jews confirming the concessions of Lysias, and offering to undertake the charge of their interests at Antioch in concert with their own envoy. This action would be in accord with the policy the Romans were following towards the Syrian kingdom, and is probable enough. But we have no knowledge from any other source of the presence in the East of any legate called Titus Manius.

A. E. HILLARD.

MANNA.—The food of the Israelites during the wanderings (Ex $16^{1.\ 35}$, Jos 5^{12}), but not the only food available. Documents of various dates speak of (*a*) cattle (Ex 17^{3} 19^{13} 34^{3}, Nu $7^{3.\ 6f.}$), especially in connexion with sacrifice (Ex 24^{5} 32^{6}, Lv $8^{2.\ 26.\ 31}$ 9^{4} 10^{14}, Nu $7^{15ff.}$); (*b*) flour (Nu $7^{13.\ 19.\ 25}$ etc., Lv 10^{12} 24^{5}); (*c*) food in general (Dt 2^{6}, Jos 1^{11}).

1. The origin of the word is uncertain. In Ex 16^{15} the exclamation might be rendered, 'It is *mân*!' (note

RVm). If so, the Israelites were reminded (but only vaguely, see v.[15]) of some known substance. The similar Arabic word means 'gift.' More probably the words are a question—'What is it?' Unaware of the proper term, they thus spoke of manna as 'the-what-is-it.'

2. The manna was flaky, small, and white (Ex $16^{14.\ 31}$). It resembled the 'seed' (better 'fruit') of the coriander plant (Ex 16^{31}, Nu 11^{7}), and suggested bdellium (Nu 11^{7} [see § **3**]). It could be ground, and was stewed or baked (Ex 16^{23}, Nu 11^{8}). The taste is compared to that of honey-wafers (Ex 16^{31}), or oil (Nu 11^{8}). It was gathered fresh every morning early (but see § **4**), for, if exposed to the sun, it melted (Ex 16^{21}; cf. Wis 19^{2}); if kept overnight (see § **4**), it went bad (Ex $16^{19f.}$). Each person was entitled to a measured '*omer* of manna (Ex 16^{19}).

3. Many would identify manna with the juice of certain trees. The flowering ash (S. Europe) exudes a 'manna' (used in medicine); and a species of tamarisk found in the Sinai peninsula yields a substance containing sugar. The description of manna would not in every point support such an identification, but it is worth noting that manna is likened (see § **2**) to bdellium, which is a resinous exudation. A more recent theory is that manna was an edible lichen like that found in Arabia, etc.

4. Manna would thus come under the category of 'special providences,' not 'miracles.' There can, however, be no doubt that the Biblical writers regarded it as miraculous. (*a*) There is enough for a host of '600,000 footmen.' (*b*) The quantity gathered proves exactly suited to the consumer's appetite (Ex 16^{18}). (*c*) The Sabbath supply (gathered the previous day) retains its freshness (Ex $16^{23f.}$). (*d*) An '*omer* of it is kept as a sacred object near (Ex $16^{33f.}$) but not *within* (1 K 8^{9}; ct. He 9^{4}, Rev 2^{17}) the ark. (*e*) Allusions to it suggest the supernatural (Neh 9^{20}, Ps $78^{24f.}$ 105^{40}, 2 Es 1^{19}, Wis 16^{20} 19^{21}).

5. All this must lend significance to NT mention. Christ as the living bread is typified by manna (Jn $6^{31ff.}$, 1 Co 10^{3}; cf. [4]); and secret spiritual sustenance is the reward for 'him that overcometh' (Rev 2^{17}).

H. F. B. Compston.

MANOAH.—The father of Samson, of the town of Zorah, and of the family of the Danites (Jg 13^{1-23} $14^{2.\ 3.\ 5.\ 6.\ 9.\ 10}$ 16^{31}). We learn but little of his character and occupation from the Bible narrative. He was a worshipper of Jehovah, and a man of reverent piety; he was hospitable, like his ancestor Abraham; he shared the dislike of his people for the alien surrounding tribes, and strongly deprecated an alliance between his son and the Philistines. The second narrative gives us the following information about him. His wife was barren, but she was warned by a Divine messenger that she was destined to bear a son who was to be a Nazirite and dedicated to Jehovah. The messenger appeared again when Manoah also was present, and repeated his prophecy (Jg 13^{2-23}). We hear of Manoah on four more occasions: we find him remonstrating with his son about the proposed Philistine marriage ($14^{2.\ 3}$); he accompanied his son on the preliminary visit to Timnah (vv.[5. 6]), and again to the marriage itself (vv.[9. 10]). He did not survive his son, who was buried by his side (16^{31}). Cf. art. Samson.

These scanty details are somewhat amplified by Josephus (*Ant.* v. viii. 2, 3), who was apparently following some ancient Jewish tradition. T. A. Moxon.

MANSION.—The English word occurs in Scripture only in Jn 14^{2}, 'In my Father's house are many mansions' (RVm 'Or, *abiding places*'). Its retention is an archaism, for the modern connotation of a house of some dignity is quite lacking from the word as used by Tindale (1525), apparently from the Vulg. *mansiones*, 'abiding places.' The Gr. word (*monē*), like the Latin, means (1) the act of abiding, (2) a place of abode. In the NT it occurs also in Jn 14^{23}, where 'make our abode' is Greek idiom for 'abide.' Hence the thought in Jn 14^{2} is simply that there is ample room for the disciples in the Father's house. In the LXX the Gr. word occurs only once, viz. 1 Mac 7^{38}, 'give them no abiding place' (RV 'suffer them not to live any longer').

S. W. Green.

MANSLAYER.—See Kin [Next of] and Refuge [Cities of].

MAN-STEALING.—See 'Kidnapping' in art. Crimes, § **7**.

MANTELET.—See Fortification, § **7**.

MANTLE.—See Dress, § **4** (*c*).

MANUSCRIPTS.—See Text and Writing.

MAOCH.—The father of Achish king of Gath (1 S 27^{2}). He is probably to be identified with **Maacah** No. **3**

MAON, MAONITES.—**1.** In Jg 10^{12} the Maonites are mentioned together with the Zidonians and Amalekites as having oppressed Israel. They dwelt in Mt. Seir, south of the Dead Sea. According to 1 Ch $4^{41f.}$, the Maonites (called **Meunim** in this passage) were, in the reign of Hezekiah, driven out of their pasture land by the Simeonites. The passage is interesting as showing how long the original Canaanites held their own in the land after the Israelite invasion. In 2 Ch 26^{7} they are mentioned as having been overcome by Uzziah (cf. 2 Ch 20^{1}, where 'Ammonites' should probably be 'Meunim').

2. A different place of the name of Maon is mentioned in Jos 15^{55}; this was a small town in the hill-country of Judæa. It was in the 'wilderness' of Maon that Nabal dwelt (1 S 25^{2}), and in this district David sojourned on two occasions during the period of his outlaw life ($23^{24ff.}$ $25^{2ff.}$).

W. O. E. Oesterley.

MARA.—The name which **Naomi** claimed for herself: 'Call me not Naomi ('pleasant'), call me Mara (*i.e.* 'bitter'): for the Almighty hath dealt very bitterly with me' (Ru 1^{20}).

MARAH.—The first 'station' of the Israelites after crossing the sea (Ex 15^{23}, Nu $33^{8.\ 9}$). If the passage was in the neighbourhood of Suez, *Wādy Hawarah*, about 15 to 16 hours' camel-ride from 'the Wells of Moses' (nearly opposite Suez on the E. side of the Gulf of Suez) on the route to the convent of St. Katherine (the traditional Sinai), is a suitable identification.

MARALAH.—A place on the west border of Zebulun (Jos 19^{11}). The site is quite uncertain.

MARANATHA.—An Aram. expression which occurs in 1 Co 16^{22} in juxtaposition with 'anathema' ('If any man loveth not the Lord, let him be anathema. Maran atha' [so RV]).

1. Meaning of the term.—The original meaning of the term has been disputed, but it is now generally agreed that it is a component of two distinct words (cf. RV above). Most moderns follow Bickell in holding that the two parts of which the expression is composed mean 'Our Lord, come!' (= Aram. *māranā thā*). This seems preferable to the older view, according to which the meaning would be 'Our Lord has come!' (= Aram. *māran 'athā*). The imperative sense is made probable by Rev 22^{20} ('Amen. Come, Lord Jesus!'), from which it may perhaps be inferred that some such formula as 'O our Lord, *or* O Lord, come!' was in use in early Christian circles. A very early instance of the use of the term occurs in the *Didache* at the end of the Eucharistic prayer (ch. 10).

The passage runs as follows:—

'Let grace come, and this world pass away.
Hosanna to the God of David.
If any is holy, let him come: if any is not, let him repent.
Maranatha. Amen.'

Here the combination *maranatha. Amen* (='O our Lord, come! Amen') is strikingly parallel with the

remarkable phrase in Rev 22[20] ('Amen. Come, Lord'). It is noticeable also that in both passages the expression is used as a concluding formula. Whether any similar formula was in use among the Jews is disputed. An old Jewish acrostic hymn, still extant in all types of the Jewish liturgy, the initial letters of the lines of which may be read 'Amen. Come' (Heb. *āmēn bō*) at least suggests the possibility of such a usage.

2. **Original significance of the expression.**—It is clear from the passage in the *Didache* cited above that 'maranatha' cannot be regarded as a formula of excommunication synonymous with 'anathema' (so Calvin, comparing 'Abba, Father'). It was rather a watchword of the earliest Christian community, embodying the thought in the form of a prayer that the 'Parousia,' or Second Advent of the Lord, might soon be consummated, in accordance with the ardent expectations current in the first generation.

3. **Later usage.**—In later usage, under the influence of false exegesis, the term acquired an imprecatory sense. It thus occurs in an early sepulchral inscription (4th or 5th cent.) from the island of Salamis. Its supposed correspondence with the Jewish *shammatha* (the 3rd or highest degree of excommunication) has, of course, nothing to substantiate it. Further details of this development will be found in Hastings' *DB*, *s.v.* 'M ranatha.' G. H. Box.

MARBLE.—See Mining and Metals.

MARCHESHVAN.—See Time.

MARCUS.—AV of Col 4[10], Philem [24], 1 P 5[13]=**Mark** (wh. see).

MARDOCHEUS.—**1.** The name of **Mordecai**, the uncle of Esther, appears in this form in Ad. Est 10[4] 11[2. 12] 12[1. 4-6] 16[13]. **2.** 1 Es 5[8]=**Mordecai**, Ezr 2[2], Neh 7[7].

MARESHAH.—**1.** The 'father' of Hebron (1 Ch 2[42]). **2.** A Judahite (1 Ch 4[21]). These genealogical data are really concerned with—**3.** An important city in the Shephēlah of Judah (Jos 15[44]), fortified by Rehoboam (2 Ch 11[8]; see also 2 Ch 14[9. 10] 20[37], Mic 1[15]). Later on, under the name *Marissa*, Josephus describes (*Ant.* xii. viii. 6 etc.) its extremely chequered history. The site of Mareshah has now with certainty been identified as *Tell Sandahanna*. This *tell* was partially excavated by Bliss and Macalister, but the identity of the site was finally demonstrated by the finding, in 1902, of a tomb by Messrs. Peters and Tiersch, adorned with a number of interesting pictured animals, etc., and about 200 inscriptions recording the names of many Phœnician inhabitants of Marissa, about B.C. 200. The hill on which the ruins of Mareshah stand is riddled with the most extraordinary caves, once human dwellings. The old name Mareshah still lingers in *Khurbet Merash*, the name of some ruins about half a mile off. See also Marisa.
E. W. G. Masterman.

MARIMOTH (2 Es 1[2])=**Meraioth** (Ezr 7[3]); also called **Memeroth**, 1 Es 8[2].

MARISA.—The Gr. form of the name **Mareshah**. It occurs only in 2 Mac 12[35], but should be read also in 1 Mac 5[66], where all Greek MSS wrongly have 'Samaria.'

MARK (JOHN).—There are three groups of NT passages where the name Mark occurs.

(1) *John Mark* was a Jew and son of Mary, who was a leading Christian woman at Jerusalem. At her house the faithful assembled for prayer, and thither Peter went on his release from imprisonment, having perhaps previously lodged there (Ac 12[12ff.]). An improbable conjecture makes Mark the son of the 'goodman of the house' in Mk 14[14], and another, not so unlikely, identifies Mark himself with the 'young man' of Mk 14[51]; but the Muratorian Fragment (see next art. § 1) apparently denied that Mark had ever seen our Lord. Probably Mary was a widow. 'Mark' would be an added name such as the Jews often took, in Roman fashion; it was a Roman *prænomen*, much used among Greek-speaking people, but not common among the Jews. John Mark was chosen as companion of Barnabas and Saul when they left Jerusalem for Antioch (Ac 12[25]—the reading of RVm is hardly possible), and taken by them on their first missionary journey (13[5]), not as chosen expressly by the Holy Ghost (ct. v.[2]), and not as an equal; 'they had also John as their attendant (AV minister).' It has been suggested that Mark was a Levite (see below), and that the designation here used means 'a synagogue minister,' as in Lk 4[20] (Chase). But this would make the words 'they had' intolerably harsh. Probably Mark's work was to arrange the Apostles' journeys, perhaps also to baptize—a work not usually performed by St. Paul himself (1 Co 1[14]). Mark remained with the Apostles on their journey through Cyprus, but left them at Perga in Pamphylia (Ac 13[13]) either from cowardice, or, more probably, because the journey to Pisidian Antioch and beyond, involving work among distant Gentiles, was a change of plan which he did not approve (Ramsay). He had not yet grasped the idea of a world-wide Christianity, as St. Paul had. His departure to Jerusalem led later to the estrangement of Paul and Barnabas; the latter wished to take Mark with them on the Second Journey (15[37ff.]), but Paul refused, and separated from Barnabas, who then took Mark to Cyprus.

(2) *The Mark of the Pauline Epistles* was cousin of Barnabas (Col 4[10] RV), probably of the Jewish colony of Cyprus, and a Levite (Ac 4[36]). It is therefore generally agreed that he was the same as John Mark. If so, he became reconciled to St. Paul, and was his 'fellow-worker' and a 'comfort' to him (Col 4[11], Philem [24]), and useful to him 'for ministering' (2 Ti 4[11])—this was Mark's special office, not to be an original organizer but a useful assistant (Swete). We learn that Mark was contemplating a visit to Colossæ, and perhaps that the Colossians had hesitated to receive him (Col 4[10]).

(3) *The Petrine Mark.*—St. Peter speaks of a Mark as his 'son' (1 P 5[13]), and as being with him at 'Babylon' when he wrote the First Epistle. It is usually held that 'Babylon' means Rome, as there seems not to have been a Jewish colony in the real Babylon at the time, and as all ecclesiastical tradition connects St. Peter's work with Rome. If this be so, we may safely identify all the three Marks as one person. [If not, the Petrine Mark is probably not the same as the Pauline.] The identification is made more likely by the fact that John Mark is connected with both Peter and Paul in Acts; and if 1 P 5[13] refers to Rome, there is no reason why this double connexion should not have continued as long as both Apostles lived. And if, as is not impossible, St. Peter survived St. Paul for some time, we can well understand that Mark devoted himself exclusively to the former after the death of the latter, and that in this way the ecclesiastical tradition (see next art.), which almost unanimously attaches him to Peter, grew up. By that tradition Mark's activity is associated both with Rome and with Alexandria; and the Egyptian Church assigns its principal liturgy to his name. But the early Alexandrian Fathers, Clement and Origen, are silent as to Mark's residence in Egypt. The *Acts of Mark* (5th cent.?) makes him a martyr. A. J. Maclean.

MARK, GOSPEL ACCORDING TO.—**1. External testimony.**—It is possible that the first reference to Mk. is the preface to Lk. (1[1-4]), which implies that the narratives spoken of were, in St. Luke's opinion, incomplete and not in the best order. Mk. is certainly incomplete from the point of view of one who wished to begin 'from the beginning.' From internal evidence it is probable that St. Luke used Mk. (see §§ **3-5**). Papias (quoted by Eusebius, *HE* iii. 39) gives the following

account (*c.* A.D. 140 or earlier), as derived from 'the Elder' from whom he gleaned traditions:

'Mark, having become the interpreter of Peter, wrote down accurately everything that he remembered, without, however recording in order what was either said or done by Christ [cf. the Lukan preface]. For neither did he hear the Lord, nor did he follow Him, but afterwards, as I said, (attended) Peter, who adapted his instructions to the needs (of his hearers), but had no design of giving a connected account of the Lord's oracles [*or* words]. So then Mark made no mistake while he thus wrote down some things as he remembered them; for he made it his one care not to omit anything that he heard, nor to set down any false statement therein.'

Here Papias vindicates Mark from inaccuracy and from errors of omission as far as his knowledge went, but finds fault with his chronological order, which was due to his being dependent only on Peter's oral teaching. He was Peter's 'interpreter'—a phrase which may mean that he translated Peter's words into a foreign tongue during the Apostle's lifetime, as a dragoman, or that, being Peter's disciple, he made the Apostle's teaching widely known through his written Gospel.—Justin Martyr (*c.* A.D. 150) says (*Dial.* 106) that Christ changed Simon's name to Peter, and that this is written 'in his Memoirs,' and also that He changed the name of the sons of Zebedee to 'Boanerges, which is Sons of Thunder.' But the last words occur only in Mk 3^{17}, where also we read of Simon's new name. It is reasonable (in spite of Harnack and Sanday's opinion that Justin is here quoting the apocryphal Gospel of pseudo-Peter, which, as far as we know, did not contain these words—it is only a fragment) to suppose that Justin by Peter's 'Memoirs' means our Second Gospel; he elsewhere speaks of 'Memoirs'—'the Memoirs composed by [the Apostles] which are called Gospels' (*Apol.* i. 66, cf. also *Dial.* 103, where he uses the same name for the narratives written by followers of the Apostles).—Tatian included Mk. in his *Diatessaron*, or Harmony of the four Gospels.—(Irenæus (*Hær.* iii. 1. 1 and 10. 6) speaks of Mark as 'Peter's interpreter and disciple' (cf. Papias), and says that he handed on to us in writing the things preached by Peter after the departure of Peter and Paul (note the indication of date).—Tertullian calls Mark 'Peter's interpreter.'—The Muratorian Fragment (*c.* 170–200?) begins in the middle of a sentence which is generally believed to refer to Mk., and which may mean that the Evangelist was present at *some* of Peter's discourses only, or perhaps that he heard some of our Lord's discourses; but the latter interpretation is against the words that follow, which say of Luke: 'Neither did he himself see the Lord in the flesh.' The writer probably therefore had said that Mark had never seen our Lord.—Clement of Alexandria (*c.* A.D. 200) says that while Peter was preaching the Gospel at Rome (ct. Irenæus above), Mark wrote down what he said at the request of the hearers, Peter neither forbidding it nor urging it.—Origen seems to bear this out, but in the Muratorian Fragment there is a similar story about John.—Of later writers only Augustine need be quoted. He calls Mark 'Matthew's follower and abbreviator.' This saying, which is probably widely removed from the truth, has had great influence on ecclesiastical opinion, and to a great extent brought about the comparative neglect into which the Second Gospel fell for many centuries.—There are probable allusions to Mk. in Polycarp (*c.* A.D. 111) and pseudo-Clement of Rome ('2 Clem. *ad Cor.*') and Hermas, all early in the 2nd cent.; it was used by Heracleon, the Valentinians, and the authors of the *Gospel of (pseudo-) Peter* and the *Clementine Homilies*, and is found in all the old versions. We conclude that there is valid evidence that Mk. was in circulation before the middle of the 2nd century. By ecclesiastical writers Mark is connected almost uniformly with Peter, but (see above) there is a difference of tradition as to whether he wrote before or after Peter's death. Some make him go from Rome to Alexandria and take his Gospel there; but it is remarkable that the Alexandrian Fathers Clement and Origen do not mention this.

2. The Second Gospel and the 'Petrine tradition.'—Internal evidence to a considerable extent confirms, however indirectly, the Patristic evidence (§ 1) that Mark wrote down the preaching of Peter. Mk. tells us the facts of which Peter was an eye-witness. The vividness of description (especially in Mk.) in the scenes common to the Synoptics where only Peter, John, and James were present, suggests that one of them was the authority on which the common source rests—such as the raising of Jairus' daughter (5^{37-43}), the Transfiguration (9^{2-13}; the story in Mk. is told from the point of view of one of the three: cf. 9^{14} '*they* saw'), and Gethsemane (14^{33-42}). The authority could hardly be James, who was martyred early (Ac 12^{2}), or John, on whom another account depends (even if he were not the author of the Fourth Gospel, we might probably say this). Peter therefore remains, and he alone would be likely to remember the confused words which he spoke on awakening at the Transfiguration (9^{5}; cf. Lk $9^{32f.}$). Other passages suggesting a Petrine source are: Mk 1^{36} 11^{21} 13^{3} (these are found only in Mk.); and the accounts of Peter's denials ($14^{54.\ 66-72}$). As Eusebius noticed, Mk. is silent on matters which reflect credit on Peter. These facts and the autoptic character of the Gospel (§ 4) lead us to the conclusion that we have in Mk. the 'Petrine tradition' in a far more exact form than in the other Synoptics.

3. Presentation of Christ's Person and work.—The Second Gospel describes shortly the Baptist's preaching and the baptism of our Lord, and then records at length the Galilæan ministry. It is noteworthy that in this account the proclamation of Jesus' Messiahship in Galilee is very gradual (see art. GOSPELS, § 3). Even in the discourses to the Apostles there is great reserve. After the Transfiguration, the future glory and the Passion of our Lord are unfolded ($8^{31.\ 38}$ $9^{12.\ 31}$ etc.), but it is only after the short account (ch. 10) of the journeys in Judæa and Peræa, and on the final approach to Jerusalem, that this reserve passes away. In describing our Lord's Person, the Evangelist lays great emphasis on His Divinity, but still more on His true humanity. (*a*) For the former we note how in Mk. Jesus claims superhuman authority, especially to forgive sins ($2^{5ff.\ 28}$ 8^{38} $12^{6ff.}$ 14^{62}); He is described as a Supernatural Person ($1^{11.\ 24}$ 3^{11} 5^{7} 9^{7} 15^{39}); He knows the thoughts of man (2^{8} 8^{17} 12^{15}), and what is to happen in the future (2^{20} $8^{31.\ 38}$ 9^{31} 10^{39} $13^{2.\ 10}$ 14^{27}); His death has an atoning efficacy (10^{45} 14^{24}). (*b*) For the latter we note not only (as with the other Evangelists) the references to Jesus' human body—weariness and sleep (4^{38}), eating and drinking (14^{3} 15^{36}), etc.—but especially the description of His human soul and spirit (2^{8} $14^{34.\ 38}$), His human compassion (1^{41}) and love (10^{21}), and the more painful emotions which Mk. has in a pre-eminent degree, while in the parallels in Mt. and Lk. the phrases are almost uniformly altered or omitted. Instances are 1^{43} RVm (the word denotes sternness, not necessarily anger but deep feeling), 3^{5} 6^{6} 10^{14}; note especially $14^{33f.}$ where St. Mark alone speaks of the surprise, added to the distraction from grief, of Jesus' human soul in the Agony. St. Mark also refers to the sinless limitations of Jesus' human nature. Questions are asked, apparently for information (5^{30} 8^{5} 9^{16}). St. Mark relates the one perfectly certain instance of Jesus' human ignorance, as to the Day of Judgment (13^{32}, so || Mt.). It is because so much stress is laid in Mk. on the true humanity of our Lord that Augustine assigns to the Second Evangelist the symbol of the man; by other Fathers the other Evangelic symbols are assigned to him. The Second Gospel represents an early stage of the Gospel narrative; it shows an almost childlike boldness in speaking of our Lord, without regard to possible misconceptions. An example of this is seen in passages where Mark tells us that Jesus

MARK, GOSPEL ACCORDING TO

'could not' do a thing (1^{45} 6^{5} 7^{24}). The inability is doubtless relative and conditional. Jesus 'could not' do that which was inconsistent with His plan of salvation. Yet here the other Synoptists, feeling that the phrase might be misunderstood as taking from the Master's glory, have altered or omitted it.

4. Autopic character.—Whereas Mk. was for centuries depreciated as telling us little that is not found in the other Gospels, we have now learned to see in it a priceless presentation of the story of our Lord's life, inasmuch as no historical narrative in the Bible, except Jn., gives such clear signs of first-hand knowledge. Many of the instances lose much point in a translation, but even in English the fact is noticeable. An eye-witness is betrayed in such little details as the heavens 'in the act of opening' (1^{10}—the present participle is used), the incoherent remarks of the crowd at the healing of the Capernaum demoniac (1^{27} RV—they are softened down by later scribes of Mk. and in Lk.), the breaking up of the mud roof in 2^{4} (see art. LUKE [GOSPEL ACC. TO], § 6), the *single* pillow, probably a wooden head-rest, in the boat (4^{38} RV), the five thousand arranged on the green grass 'like garden beds' (6^{40}: this is the literal translation; the coloured dresses on the '*green* grass'—another autoptic touch—had to the eye-witness the appearance of flowers), the taking of the children by Jesus into His arms (9^{36} 10^{16}), and His *fervent* blessing (10^{16}: this is the force of the Greek), the searching glance of love cast by Jesus on the rich young man, and the clouding over of the young man's brow ($10^{21 f.}$ RV). All these details, and many others, are found in Mk. only; many of the signs of an eye-witness throughout the Gospel are removed by the alterations introduced in Mt. and Lk. For the vividness of the scenes at the Transfiguration, the raising of Jairus' daughter, and the Agony, see § 2. Notice also the evidence of exceptional knowledge of facts in 1^{29} (Andrew and Peter living together, though the latter was married; Andrew omitted in || Mt. Lk.), and in the mention of some names not found elsewhere (2^{14} 10^{46} 15^{21}). We have then an eye-witness here; in this case we need not look for him in the writer, but the facts show that the latter was in the closest touch with one who had seen what is described.

5. Comparison with the other Synoptics.—The facts which follow appear to prove that Mk., either in the form in which we have it, or at least in a form very closely resembling our present Gospel, was before the other Synoptists when they wrote. (*a*) *Scope.*—Except about 30 verses, all the narrative of Mk. is found in either Mt. or Lk. or in both, and (especially as regards Lk.) in nearly the same order; though the other Synoptists interpolate matter from other sources. (*b*) *Parallel passages.*—If we compare these, we see that though Mk. is as a whole shorter than Mt. and Lk., yet *in the parallels* it is longer. St. Mark's style is diffuse, and it was necessary for the other Synoptists, in order to make room for the matter which they were to introduce from other sources, to prune Mk. considerably. (*c*) *Correction of Markan details in Mt. and Lk.*—As we have seen, Mark describes our Lord's painful emotions; these passages are softened down in Mt. and Lk. Sometimes a slip of the pen is corrected; *e.g.* Mk $1^{2 f.}$ RV quotes as from Isaiah a passage which is a cento of Mal 3^{1}, Is 40^{3}, but the others silently avoid this by omitting the Malachi passage here, though they give it elsewhere (Mt 11^{10}, Lk 7^{27}); the words in Mk 2^{26} RV, 'when Abiathar was high priest,' are omitted in Mt. and Lk., for Abiathar was not yet high priest at the time in question. The alteration of 'abomination of desolation' (Mk 13^{14}, so Mt 24^{15}) into 'Jerusalem compassed with armies' (Lk 21^{20}) is clearly an explanation of a writer later than Mk.; and so the change from 'Son of God' (Mk 15^{39}, so Mt 27^{54}) to 'a righteous man' (Lk 23^{47}). In some cases, by the turn of a phrase the accuracy of Mk. in minute points is lost by the other Synoptists. Thus cf. Mk. 4^{36}; our Lord was already in the boat (4^{1}); in || Mt. Lk. He is described by an oversight as embarking here. In Mk 10^{1} Jesus comes 'into the borders of Judæa and beyond Jordan'; the parallel Mt 19^{1} omits 'and,' but doubtless Mk. is right here, and Jesus went both into Judæa and into Peræa. But the most striking corrections of Mk. in Mt. Lk. are found in the phraseology. The Markan style is rough and unpolished, reflecting the Greek commonly spoken by the Jews of the 1st cent.; many diminutives and colloquialisms are found, but are usually corrected in Mt. or in Lk. or in both. In Mk. there are many awkward and difficult phrases—sometimes smoothed over in a translation like ours, and usually corrected in Mt. or Lk. or both: *e.g.* 3^{16} $4^{11.\ 24}$ (see Lk. 8^{18}) 4^{32} (the 'yet' of RV is 'and' in Gr.) $7^{11 f.}$ (grammatical but harsh) 9^{41} 13^{19} 14^{65} (note RV in these cases). These facts are most significant, and appear to be conclusive as to the priority of Mk. For no writer having before him a smooth text would gratuitously introduce harsh or difficult phraseology, whereas the converse change is natural and common.

There are also some changes made for greater precision, especially in Lk.; thus in Mk. (*e.g.* 1^{16}) and Mt. we read of the 'Sea' of Galilee, but St. Luke with his superior nautical knowledge calls it a 'lake'; Herod Antipas in Mk 6^{14} is called 'king,' but in Mt. Lk. more commonly 'tetrarch' (but 'king' is retained in Mt 14^{9}); in Mk 15^{32} (so Mt.) we read that 'they that were crucified with him reproached him,' but St. Luke, who had independent knowledge of this incident (for only he relates the penitence of the robber), emphatically corrects this to '*one* of the malefactors' (Lk 23^{39}).—In two or three cases it is *possible* that the priority lies the other way. Thus in Mk 6^{3} 'the carpenter' = Mt 13^{55} 'the son of the carpenter' = Lk 4^{22} 'the son of Joseph,' the correction may be in Mt. Lk., the giving of the name 'the carpenter' to Jesus not being liked; or it may be in Mk., the phrase 'son of Joseph' being altered as capable of misconception by those who had not the Birth story before them. But as the phrases in Mt. and Lk. are not the same, the priority probably lies with Mk. Also the Second Evangelist alone relates the *two* cock-crowings ($14^{30.\ 68.\ 72}$), though the state of the text suggests that perhaps originally only one was mentioned in Mk., but in a different place from that of Mt. Lk. It is hard to see why a later writer should have omitted one cock-crowing and it is suggested that therefore our Mk. is later than Mt. Lk. in this respect. It is, however, equally hard to see why St. Mark, if he wrote after the others, should have *added* a cock-crowing. If in two or three such cases the priority be decided to lie with Mt. and Lk., the meaning would be that our Mk. had received some editorial additions (see § 9). But this does not seem to be very likely.

The general conclusion is that Mk. as we have it now, or at least a Gospel which differs from our Mk. only in unessential particulars, lay before the First and Third Evangelists when they wrote.

The matter peculiar to Mk. is small:—the parable of the seed growing silently ($4^{26 ff.}$), the healing of the deaf stammerer ($7^{31 ff.}$), of the blind man at Bethsaida ($8^{22 f.}$), the questions about the dulness of the disciples when they forgot to take bread ($8^{17 f.}$), about the dispute of the disciples (9^{33}), the incidents of the young man with the linen cloth ($14^{51 f.}$), of the smiting of Jesus by the servants of the high priest (14^{65}), of Pilate's wonder, and of his question put to the centurion (15^{44}).

6. Authorship, purpose, date, and place of writing.—There is no reason to dispute the Patristic statements (§ 1) that John Mark was the author of the Second Gospel. Clement of Alexandria states that he wrote in Rome; Chrysostom (two centuries later) that he wrote in Egypt. The former statement, both as being earlier and as agreeing with the *negative* testimony of the Alexandrian Fathers, is more probable, though some moderns have supposed a double publication, one in Rome and one in Alexandria. In either case it is probable that, as in the case of the Third Gospel, Gentiles are specially addressed, though St. Mark as a Jew writes (unlike St. Luke) from a Jewish point of view. There is a general absence of OT quotations except when our Lord's words are cited ($1^{2 f.}$ is an exception; 15^{28} is almost certainly be expunged, with RV, from the text).

The Aramaic transliterations like *Talitha cum(i)* are interpreted, and Jewish customs and geography are explained [$7^{2ff.}$ 12^{42} (the 'mite' was a Jewish coin) 13^{3} 15^{42}]. The absence of mention of the Jewish Law points in the same direction.

The *date* is probably before the Fall of Jerusalem in A.D. 70. (For the argument from the Discourse on the End, see art. MATTHEW [GOSPEL ACC. TO], § 5, and note especially Mk $13^{13f.\ 24.\ 30.\ 33}$, which point to the fulfilment of the prophecy being, at the time of writing, only in prospect.) The reference to the shewbread (2^{26}, 'it *is* not lawful') suggests that the Temple still stood when Mark wrote. The characteristics already mentioned, the description of Jesus' inner feelings, the style and details of the Gospel, give the same indications. If the early date of Acts be adopted (see art. ACTS OF THE APOSTLES, § 9), Lk. and therefore Mk. must be earlier still. The external testimony, however, raises some difficulty when we consider the date of 1 Peter. For Papias by implication and Irenæus explicitly say that Mark wrote after Peter's death, while Clement of Alexandria and Origen say that he wrote in Peter's lifetime (see § 1). If the former statement be correct, and if 1 Peter be authentic, the Epistle must have preceded Mk.; but it is not easy to assign a very early date to it (*e.g.* 1 P 4^{16} 'suffer as a Christian'; though Dr. Bigg disputes this inference and thinks that 1 Peter was written before the Neronic persecution in A.D. 64). There is no need to dispute the authenticity of 1 Peter because of supposed references to late persecutions, for there is no good reason for saying that St. Peter died in the same year as St. Paul, and it is quite possible that he survived him for some considerable time, during which Mark acted as his 'interpreter.' If, then, we are led by internal evidence so strongly to prefer an early date for Mk., we must either choose an early date for 1 Peter, or else prefer the Alexandrian tradition that Mark wrote in Peter's lifetime [Dr. Swete gives *c.* 69 for Mk., Dean Robinson *c.* 65].

7. Was Mk. written in Greek or Aramaic?—The Second Gospel is more strongly tinged with Aramaisms than any other. It retains several Aramaic words transliterated into Greek:—*Boanerges* 3^{17}, *Talitha cum(i)* 5^{41}, *Corban* 7^{11}, *Ephphatha* 7^{34} (these Mk. only), *Abba* 14^{36} (so Ro 8^{15}, Gal 4^{6}), *Rabbi* 9^{5} 11^{21} 14^{45}, *Hosanna* 11^{9} (these two also in Mt. and Jn.), *Rabboni* 10^{51} (Jn. also), *Eloi Eloi lama sabachthani* 15^{34} (or as ‖ Mt. *Eli*); and several Aramaic proper names are noticeable: *Bartimæus* 10^{46} (a patronymic), *Cananæan* 3^{18}, *Iscariot* 3^{19}, *Beelzebub* 3^{22}, *Golgotha* 15^{22}. Aramaisms are also found freely in the grammar of Mk. and in several phrases. From these facts it is argued (Blass, Allen) that Aramaic was the original language. Dr. Blass also suggests that St. Luke in Ac 1–12 used an Aramaic source, while the rest of that book was his own independent work. In these twelve chapters, unlike the rest, Aramaisms abound, and the style is rough. The argument is that Mark, the son of a prominent lady in Jerusalem, wrote the Aramaic source of Ac 1–12, and that if so his former work (our Second Gospel) would be in Aramaic also. This argument will probably be thought to be too unsubstantial for acceptance. There is no reason for saying that Mark wrote the supposed Aramaic source of Ac 1–12, and even if he did, he might, being confessedly bilingual, have written his Gospel equally well in Greek as in Aramaic. The Aramaic tinge is probably best explained by the fact that Mark thought in Aramaic. If our Greek were a translation, the Aramaic phrases like *Talitha cum(i)* might have been bodily incorporated by transliteration, or else translated; but they never would have been transliterated and then interpreted, as is actually the case. The Fathers, from Papias downwards, had clearly never heard of an Aramaic original. The most fatal objection to the theory, however, is the freshness of the style of the Gospel. Even the best translation loses freshness. The Greek of Mk. reads as if it were original; and we may safely say that this is really the language in which the Evangelist wrote.

8. The last twelve verses.—The MSS and versions have three different ways of ending the Gospel. The vast majority have the ending of our ordinary Bibles, which is explicitly quoted by Irenæus as a genuine work of St. Mark, is probably quoted by Justin Martyr, possibly earlier still by 'Barnabas' and Hermas, but

in the last three cases we are not certain that the writer knew it *as part of the Gospel*. The two oldest Greek MSS (the Vatican and the Sinaitic), the old Syriac version (Sinaitic), and the oldest MSS of the Armenian and Ethiopic versions, end at 16^{8}, as Eusebius tells us that the most accurate copies of his day did. An intermediate ending is found in some Greek MSS (the earliest of the 7th cent.), in addition to the ordinary ending; and in a MS of the Old Latin (pre-Hieronymian) version, standing alone. It is as follows:—'And they immediately (*or* briefly) made known all things that had been commanded (them) to those about Peter. And after this Jesus himself [appeared to them and] sent out by means of them from the East even to the West the holy and incorruptible preaching of the eternal salvation.' This intermediate ending is certainly not genuine; it was written as a conclusion to the Gospel by some one who had the ordinary ending before him and objected to it as unauthentic, or who had a MS before him ending at 16^{8} and thought this abrupt. It appears that the copy from which most of these MSS with the intermediate ending were made, ended at 16^{8}.

Now it is confessed that the style of the last twelve verses is not that of the Gospel. There are, then, two possible explanations. One is that Mark, writing at a comparatively late date, took the 'Petrine tradition,' a written work, as his basis, incorporated it almost intact into his own work, and added the verses 1^{1-15} $16^{9ff.}$, and a few editorial touches such as 3^{5} $6^{6.\ 52}$, which are not found in the other Synoptics, and which resemble phrases in the last twelve verses ($16^{11.\ 13f.}$). This was Dr. Salmon's solution. There are various objections to it; two seem fatal—(1) that ecclesiastical writers never represent Peter as writing a Gospel either by himself or by any scribe or interpreter except Mark, and yet this theory supposes that the 'Petrine tradition' was not first written down by Mark; and (2) that the last twelve verses seem not to have been written as an end to the Gospel at all, being apparently a fragment of some other work, probably a summary of the Gospel story. For the beginning of 16^{9} is not continuous with 16^{8}; the subject of the verb 'appeared' had evidently been indicated in the sentence which had preceded; yet the necessary 'Jesus' cannot be understood from anything in v.^{8}. Further, Mary Magdalene is introduced in v.^{9} as a new person although she had just been mentioned by name in $15^{40.\ 47}$ 16^{1}, and was one of the women spoken of throughout vv. $^{1-8}$.—On the other hand, it is inconceivable that 16^{8} with its abrupt and inauspicious 'they were afraid' could be the conclusion of a Gospel,—that the book should deliberately end without any incident of the risen life of our Lord, and with a note of terror. The other possible explanation, therefore, is that some verses have been lost. Probably the last leaf of the original, or at least of the copy from which all the MSS existing in the 2nd cent. were taken, has disappeared. This is conceivable, the last leaf of a MS being that which is most likely to drop; and the difficulty that the original MS of Mk. must have been copied before it got so old that the last leaf fell may perhaps be satisfactorily met by supposing that (as we know was the case later) the Second Gospel was not highly prized in its youth, as not giving us much additional information, and as being almost entirely contained in Mt. and Lk. On the other hand, the last twelve verses are extremely ancient. Most scholars look on them as belonging to the first few years of the 2nd cent., and Aristion has been suggested as the writer, on the strength of a late Armenian MS. But it is quite possible that they are part of an even earlier summary of the Gospel story; and, like the passage about the woman taken in adultery (Jn 7^{53}–8^{11}), they are to be reverenced as a very ancient and authoritative record.

9. Have we the original Mark?—This has been denied from two different and incompatible points of view. (*a*) Papias speaks of Mk. being 'not in order' and of Matthew writing the 'oracles' or 'logia' (see § 1 above, and art. MATTHEW [GOSPEL ACC. TO]). It is objected that our Second Gospel is an orderly narrative, and cannot be that mentioned by Papias. Renan maintained that Mark wrote a disconnected series of anecdotes about Christ, and Matthew a collection of discourses, and that our present First and Second Gospels took their present form by a process of assimilation, the former assimilating the anecdotes and adding them to the discourses, the latter adopting the reverse process.

This rests on the unproved assumption that Matthew's original work consisted of Jesus' sayings *only*, which is very improbable. But as a matter of fact there is no time for the process imagined by Renan to have taken place, and the result, moreover, would have been a large number of variant Gospels—a given passage appearing in some MSS in one Gospel, in others in another, as is the case with the story of the woman taken in adultery. [For a more probable interpretation of Papias' words, see § 1.]—(*b*) It is sometimes argued that our present Mk. is an 'edited' form of the original Mk., being very like it, but differing from it by the insertion of some editorial touches and additions. [For Salmon's form of this theory, see above, § 8; but the theory is held by many (*e.g.* Schmiedel) who reject the last twelve verses as Markan.]

The only argument of real importance urged by those who hold this theory is that Mt. and Lk. occasionally agree together against Mk. To take one example only, Mk 1^8 has 'with the Holy Ghost' where ‖ Mt 3^{12} and Lk 3^{16} have 'with the Holy Ghost *and fire*.' If Mt. and Lk. are later than Mk.,—unless the First Evangelist knew the Third Gospel or the Third Evangelist the First, both of which suppositions are confessedly improbable,—we cannot, it is said, explain their agreements against Mk. Therefore we must suppose, it is urged, that these phrases where they agree were in the original Mk., but have been altered in *our* Mk. This idea in itself is grossly improbable, for it means in some cases that a later editor (our Mark) altered a smooth construction into a hard or a difficult one not found in Mt. or Lk. (see § 5 (*c*)), which is hardly to be conceived. But this difficulty rests on the unproved assumption noticed just now, that the 'non-Markan document' contained discourses only. If, as is almost certain, it contained narrative also, and if this narrative (as it is only reasonable to suppose) sometimes overlapped the 'Petrine tradition,' the result is exactly what we should expect. Mt. and Lk. sometimes follow Mk. rather than the non-Markan source; sometimes one follows the one and the other the other; and sometimes both follow the non-Markan source. This fully accounts for their agreements against Mk.

It is indeed possible, as many think, that a very few phrases in our Mk. are later editorial additions; but even this hypothesis is unnecessary, and it seems on the whole most probable that our Mk. is the original Mk., and that it was used by the First and Third Evangelists.

A. J. Maclean.

MARKET, MARKETPLACE.—The former is found in OT in Ezk $27^{13.\ 17}$ etc. as the rendering of a collective noun signifying 'articles of exchange,' hence RV throughout **'merchandise,'** this last in v.^{15} being AV rendering of another word for which RV gives **'mart.'** In NT 'market' has disappeared from RV in favour of the uniform 'marketplace' (Gr. *agora*). Here we must distinguish between the 'markets' of Jerusalem (Mt 11^{16}, Mk 7^4 etc.), which were simply streets of shops—the 'bazaars' of a modern Eastern city,—and the 'market' (AV) or 'marketplace' (RV) of a Greek city (Ac 16^{19} 17^{17}). The latter was the centre of the public life of the city, and was a large open space adorned with colonnades and statues, and surrounded by temples and other public buildings. A. R. S. Kennedy.

MARKS.—1. The mark of circumcision.—This is an instance (among many) of the taking-over of a pre-existing rite, and adapting it to Jahweh-worship; whatever it may have meant in its origin—and opinions differ very widely on this point—it became among the Israelites the mark *par excellence* of a Jahweh-worshipper (cf. Gn 17^{14}), the symbol of the covenant between Him and His people (see, further, Circumcision).

2. The mark of Cain (Gn 4^{15}).—In seeking to discover the character of this sign or mark, the first question that obviously suggests itself is, why should there be any protective efficacy in such a sign? On the assumption of its being a tribal mark (so Robertson Smith, Gunkel, and others), men would know that any injury done to its bearer would be avenged by the other members of the tribe (see art. Cain). But this answer is unsatisfactory, because, if it was a tribal mark, it would be common to all the members of the tribe, whereas this one is spoken of as being specifically for Cain's benefit, and as having been given to protect him *qua* manslayer; a tribal mark would have been on him before the murder of Abel. But then again, any mark designed to protect him on account of his being a murderer, would, as proclaiming his guilt, rather have the opposite effect. Another point to bear in mind is that from the writer's point of view (if the narrative is a unity) there really was nobody to hurt Cain except his parents. It is clear, therefore, that the contradictory elements in the narrative show that it has no basis in fact; it is more reasonable to regard it as one of the 'ætiological' stories with which the Book of Genesis abounds, *i.e.* it purports to give the *cause* of some custom the real reason for which had long been forgotten. One can, of course, only conjecture what custom it was of which this story gave the supposed origin; but, taking all its elements into consideration, it was very probably the answer to the inquiry: 'Why do man-slayers within the tribe bear a special mark, even after the blood-wit has been furnished?' The reason given was quite wrong, but it accounted satisfactorily for a custom of which the origin had been forgotten, and that was sufficient.

3. The mark of the prophet.—In 1 K 20^{35-43} there is the account of how one of the prophets 'disguised himself with a headband over his eyes'; the king does not recognize the man as a prophet until the latter takes away this covering from his face, whereupon the king 'discovered him as one of the prophets.' Clearly there must have been some distinguishing mark on the forehead of the man whereby he was recognized as belonging to the prophetic order. This conclusion is strengthened by several other considerations. (1) It is a fact that among other races the class of men corresponding to the prophetic order of the Israelites are distinguished by incisions made on their persons. (2) There is the analogy of circumcision; just as among the Israelites this was the distinguishing mark of the people of Jahweh, so those who, like the prophets, were more especially His close followers also had a special mark, a distinctive sign, which differentiated them from other men. (3) The custom of putting a mark upon cattle to denote ownership, and for the purpose of differentiating from other herds, was evidently well known in early Israel. When one remembers how rife anthropomorphisms were among the Israelites, it is perhaps not fanciful to see here an analogy: just as the owners of herds marked their own property, so Jahweh marked His own people; and as the prophets were differentiated from the ordinary people, so they would have their special mark. (4) There is the passage Zec 13^{4-6}. These considerations point distinctly to marks of some kind or other which, either on the forehead or on the hand—possibly on both—were distinctive characteristics of a prophet among the Israelites.

4. Cuttings for the dead.—The custom of making cuttings in the flesh and other marks upon the body for the dead (Lv 19^{28}; cf. 21^5, Dt 14^1) was practised by the Israelites, but forbidden on account of its being a heathen rite. This was not a sign of mourning, as is often, but erroneously, supposed; it was an act of homage done to the departed, with the object of inducing the spirit not to molest those left behind. In Dt 14^1 the prohibition runs, 'Ye shall not cut yourselves, nor make any baldness (the cognate Arabic root means 'wound') between your eyes for the dead.' This was done in order the more easily to be seen by the spirit.

5. Marks connected with Jahweh-worship.—There can be little doubt that originally the signs on the **hand** and the memorial between the eyes (Ex $13^{9.\ 16}$) were marks cut into hand and **forehead**; this custom was taken over by the Israelites from non-Jahweh-worshipping ancestors, and was regarded as effectual against demoniacal onslaughts; hence in later days the use and name of

'phylacteries,' which took the place of the actual cuttings in hand and forehead (Dt 6^8 11^{18} etc.). Reference to an early custom is perhaps (but cf. RV) contained in the words: 'Lo, here is my mark, let the Almighty answer me'; the word used for 'mark' comes from a root meaning 'to wound,' and it is the same as that used in Ezk $9^{4.\ 6}$; the reference is to those who are true to God.

W. O. E. Oesterley.

6. 'Stigmata.'—The rendering of St. Paul's strongly figurative words in Gal 6^{17} adopted by RV reads thus: 'From henceforth let no man trouble me: for I bear branded on my body the marks (*stigmata*) of Jesus.' This rendering accords with the interpretation of this difficult passage adopted by most recent scholars. The Apostle warns his Galatian converts against further attempts to 'trouble' him, for he is under the special protection of Jesus, whose 'marks' he bears in the scars and other evidence of the scourgings and other ills he has borne for His sake (see 2 Co $11^{23ff.}$). St. Paul here emphasizes his consecration of himself to his Lord by using a figure, familiar to his readers, taken from the practice of branding a slave with the name or symbol of the deity to whose service he was devoted. Thus Herodotus (ii. 113) tells of a temple of Heracles, 'in which if any man's slave take refuge and have the sacred marks (*stigmata* as here) set upon him, *giving himself over to the god*, it is not lawful to lay hands upon him.' A still more apposite illustration is afforded by the branding of certain Jews of Alexandria with an ivy leaf—the symbol of Dionysus—by Ptolemy Philopator (3 Mac 2^{29}).

A. R. S. Kennedy.

MARMOTH (1 Es 8^{62}) = **Meremoth,** Ezr 8^{33}.

MAROTH.—An unknown town (Mic 1^{12} only). There is a play upon the name, which means 'bitternesses.'

MARRIAGE.—1. Forms of Marriage.—There are two forms of marriage among primitive races: (1) where the husband becomes part of his wife's tribe, (2) where the wife becomes part of her husband's tribe.

(1) W. R. Smith (*Kinship and Marriage in Early Arabia*) gives to this form the name *sadika*, from the *sadac* or 'gift' given to the wife. (*a*) The union may be confined to an occasional visit to the wife in her home (*mota* marriage). This is distinguished from mere prostitution, in that no disgrace is attached, and the children are recognized by the tribe; cf. Samson's marriage. (*b*) The husband may be definitely incorporated into his wife's tribe (*beena* marriage). The wife meets her husband on equal terms; children belong to her tribe, and descent is reckoned on the mother's side. Women could inherit in Arabia under this system (*op. cit.* p. 94). Possible traces in OT are the marriages of Jacob (Laban claims wives and children as his own, Gn $31^{31.\ 43}$), Moses (Ex 2^{21} 4^{18}), Samson (Jg 14. 15. 16^4; there is no hint that he meant to take his wife home; his kid seems to be the *sadac* or customary present). So the Shechemites must be circumcised (Gn 34^{15}); Joseph's sons born in Egypt are *adopted* by Jacob (48^5); Abimelech, the son of Gideon's Shechemite concubine (Jg 8^{31}), is a Shechemite ($9^{1\text{-}5}$). The words of Gn 2^{24} may have originally referred to this custom, though they are evidently not intended to do so by the narrator, since *beena* marriages were already out of date when they were written. Many of the instances quoted can be explained as due to special circumstances, but the admitted existence of such marriages in Arabia makes it probable that we should find traces of them among the Semites in general. They make it easier to understand the existence of the primitive custom of the '*matriarchate*,' or reckoning of descent through females. In addition to the cases already quoted, we may add the closeness of maternal as compared with paternal relationships, evidenced in bars of marriage (see below, § **3**), and the special responsibility of the maternal uncle or brother (Gn 24^{29} 34^{25}, 2 S 13^{22}). It is evident that the influence of polygamy would be in the same direction, subdividing the family into smaller groups connected with each wife.

(2) The normal type is where the wife becomes the property of her husband, who is her 'Baal' or possessor (Hos 2^{16}), she herself being 'Beulah' (Is 62^4). She and her children belong to his tribe, and he alone has right of divorce. (*a*) In unsettled times the wife will be acquired by *war* (Jg 5^{30}). She is not merely a temporary means of pleasure, or even a future mother, but a slave and an addition to a man's wealth. Dt $21^{10\text{-}14}$ regulates the procedure in cases of capture; in Jg 19–21 we have an instance of the custom. Traces may remain in later marriage procedure, *e.g.* in the band of the bridegroom's friends escorting, *i.e.* 'capturing,' the bride, and in her feigned resistance, as among the Bedouin (W. R. Smith, *op. cit.* p. 81). (*b*) Capture gives place to *purchase* and ultimately to *contract*. The daughter is valuable to the clan as a possible mother of warriors, and cannot be parted with except for a consideration. Hence the 'dowry' (see below, § **5**) paid to the bride's parents.

2. Polygamy among the Hebrews was confined to a plurality of wives (polygyny). There is no certain trace in OT of a plurality of husbands (polyandry), though the Levirate marriage is sometimes supposed to be a survival. The chief causes of polygyny were—(*a*) the desire for a numerous offspring, or the barrenness of first wife (Abraham's case is directly ascribed to this, and among many peoples it is permitted on this ground alone); (*b*) the position and importance offered by numerous alliances (*e.g.* Solomon); (*c*) the existence of slavery, which almost implies it. It can obviously be prevalent only where there is a disproportionate number of females, and, except in a state of war, is possible only to those wealthy enough to provide the necessary 'dowry.' A further limitation is implied in the fact that in more advanced stages, when the harem is established, the wife when secured is a source, not of wealth, but of expense.

Polygamy meets us as a fact: *e.g.* Abraham, Jacob, the Judges, David, Solomon; 1 Ch 7^4 is evidence of its prevalence in Issachar; Elkanah (1 S $1^{1f.}$) is significant as belonging to the middle class; Jehoiada (2 Ch 24^3) as a priest. But it is always treated with suspicion; it is incompatible with the ideal of Gn 2^{24}, and its origin is ascribed to Lamech, the Cainite (4^{19}). In Dt 17^{17} the king is warned not to multiply wives; later regulations fixed the number at eighteen for a king and four for an ordinary man. The quarrels and jealousies of such a narrative as Gn 29^{31}–30 are clearly intended to illustrate its evils, and it is in part the cause of the troubles of the reigns of David and Solomon. Legislation (see below, § **6**) safeguarded the rights of various wives, slave or free; and according to the Rabbinic interpretation of Lv 21^{13} the high priest was not allowed to be a bigamist. Noah, Isaac, and Joseph had only one wife, and domestic happiness in the Bible is always connected with monogamy (2 K 4, Ps 128, Pr 31, Sir $25^{1.\ 8}$ $26^{1.\ 13}$). The marriage figure applied to the union of God and Israel (§ **10**) implied monogamy as the ideal state. Polygamy is, in fact, always an unnatural development from the point of view both of religion and of anthropology; 'monogamy is by far the most common form of human marriage; it was so also amongst the ancient peoples of whom we have any direct knowledge' (Westermarck, *Hum. Marr.* p. 459). Being, however, apparently legalized, and having the advantage of precedent, it was long before polygamy was formally forbidden in Hebrew society, though practically it fell into disuse; the feeling of the Rabbis was strongly against it. Herod had nine wives at once (Jos. *Ant.* xvii. i. 3, cf. 2). Its possibility is implied by the technical continuance of the Levirate law, and is proved by the early interpretation of 1 Ti 3^2, whether correct or not (§ **8**). Justin (*Dial.* 134, 141) reproaches the Jews of his day with having

'four or even five wives,' and marrying 'as they wish, or as many as they wish.' The evidence of the Talmud shows that in this case at least the reproach had some foundation. Polygamy was not definitely forbidden among the Jews till the time of R. Gershom (*c.* A.D. 1000), and then at first only for France and Germany. In Spain, Italy, and the East it persisted for some time longer, as it does still among the Jews in Mohammedan countries.

3. Bars to Marriage.—(1) *Prohibited degrees.*—Their range varies extraordinarily among different peoples, but on the whole it is wider among uncivilized than among civilized races (Westermarck, *op. cit.* p. 297), often embracing the whole tribe. The instinctive impulse was not against marriage with a near relative *qua* relative, but against marriage where there was early familiarity. 'Whatever is the origin of bars to marriage, they are certainly early associated with the feeling that it is indecent for housemates to intermarry' (W. R. Smith, *op. cit.* p. 170). The origin of the instinct is natural selection, consanguineous marriages being on the whole unfavourable to the species, in man as among animals. This, of course, was not consciously realized; the instinct took the form of a repulsion to union with those among whom one had lived; as these would usually be blood relations, that which we recognize as horror of incest was naturally developed (Westermarck, p. 352). We find in OT no trace of dislike to marriage within the tribe (*i.e.* endogamy), though, judging by Arab analogies, it may have originally existed; on the contrary, the Hebrews were strongly endogamous, marrying within the nation. The objection, however, to incestuous marriages was strong, though in early times there was laxity with regard to intermarriage with relatives on the *father's* side, a natural result of the 'matriarchate' and of polygamy, where each wife with her family formed a separate group in her own tent. Abram married his half-sister (Gn 20^{12}); 2 S 13^{13}, Ezk 22^{11} imply the continuance of the practice. Nahor married his niece (Gn 11^{29}), and Amram his paternal aunt (Ex 6^{20}). On marriage with a stepmother see below, § **6**. Jacob married two sisters (cf. Jg 15^{2}). Legislation is found in Lv $18^{7\text{-}17}$ 20^{11} (cf. Dt $27^{20.\ 22.\ 23}$); for details see the commentaries. We note the omission of prohibition of marriage with a niece, and with widow of maternal uncle. Lv 18^{18} forbids marriage not with a deceased but with a living wife's sister, *i.e.* a special form of polygamy. The 'bastard' of Dt 23^{2} is probably the offspring of an incestuous marriage. An heiress was not allowed to marry outside her tribe (Nu 36^{6}; cf. 27^{4}, To 6^{12} 7^{12}). For restrictions on priests see Lv $21^{7.\ 14}$. There were no caste restrictions, though difference in rank would naturally be an objection (1 S $18^{18.\ 23}$). Outside the prohibited degrees consanguineous marriages were common (Gn 24^{4}, To 4^{12}); in Jg 14^{3} the best marriage is 'from thy brethren.' Jubilees 4 maintains that all the patriarchs from Adam to Noah married near relatives. Cousin marriages among the Jews are said to occur now three times more often than among other civilized peoples (Westermarck, p. 481).

(2) *Racial bars* arose from religious and historical causes. Gn 24. 28. 34, Nu 12^{1}, Jg 14^{3} illustrate the objection to foreign marriages; Esau's Hittite wives are a grief to his parents (Gn 26^{34} 27^{46}); cf. Lv 24^{10}. The marriage of Joseph (Gn 41^{45}) is due to stress of circumstances, but David (2 S 3^{3}) and Solomon (1 K 3^{1} 11^{1}) set a deliberate example which was readily imitated (16^{31}). Among the common people there must have been other cases similar to Naomi's (Ru 1^{4}): Bathsheba (2 S 11^{3}), Hiram (1 K 7^{14}), Amasa (1 Ch 2^{17}), Jehozabad (2 Ch 24^{26}) are the children of mixed marriages. They are forbidden with the inhabitants of Canaan (Ex 34^{16}, Dt 7^{3}), but tolerated with Moabites and Egyptians (23^{7}). Their prevalence was a trouble to Ezra (9. 10) and to Nehemiah (10^{30} 13^{23}). To 4^{12} 6^{15}, 1 Mac 1^{15} renew the protest against them. In the Diaspora they were permitted on condition of proselytism, but Jubilees 30 forbids them absolutely; they are 'fornication.' Jewish strictness in this respect was notorious (Tac. *Hist.* v. 5; cf. Ac 10^{28}). The case of Timothy's parents (Ac $16^{1\text{-}3}$) is an example of the greater laxity which prevailed in central Asia Minor. It is said that now the proportion of mixed to pure marriages among the Jews is about 1 to 500 (Westermarck, p. 375), though it varies greatly in different countries. 1 Co 7^{39} probably discourages marriage with a heathen (cf. v.$^{12ff.}$ 9^{5}), but the general teaching of the Epp. would remove any religious bar to intermarriage between Christians of different race, though it does not touch the social or physiological advisability.

4. Levirate Marriage (Lat. *lēvir*, 'a brother-in-law').—In Dt $25^{5\text{-}10}$ (no ‖ in other codes of OT) it is enacted that if a man die leaving no son ('child' LXX, Josephus, Mt 22^{24}), his brother, if he lives on the same estate, is to take his widow, and the eldest child is to succeed to the name and inheritance of the deceased (cf. Gn 38^{9}). If the survivor refuses, a formal declaration is to be made before the elders of the city, and the widow is to express her contempt by loosing his sandal and spitting in his face. The law is a codification, possibly a restriction, of an existing custom. (*a*) It is presupposed for the patriarchal age in Gn 38, the object of this narrative being to insist on the duty of the survivor; (*b*) Heb. has a special word = 'to perform the duty of a husband's brother'; (*c*) the custom is found with variations in different parts of the world—India, Tibet, Madagascar, etc. In India it is confined to the case where there is no child, and lasts only till an heir is born; sometimes it is only permissive. In other cases it operates without restriction, and may be connected with the form of polyandry where the wife is the common property of all the brothers. But it does not necessarily imply polyandry, of which indeed there is no trace in OT. Among the Indians, Persians, and Afghans it is connected with ancestor worship, the object being to ensure that there shall be some one to perform the sacrificial rites; the supposed indications of this among the Hebrews are very doubtful. In OT it is more probably connected with the desire to preserve the family name (a man lived through his children), and to prevent a division or alienation of property. On the other hand, the story of Ru 4 seems to belong to the circle of ideas according to which the wife is inherited as part of a man's property. Boaz marries Ruth as *goel*, not as *levir*, and the marriage is legally only a subordinate element in the redemption of the property. There is no stigma attached to the refusal of the nearer kinsman, and the son ranks as belonging to Boaz. The prohibited degrees in Lv 18 (P) make no exception in favour of the Levirate marriage, whether repealing or presupposing it is uncertain. In later times we have *the Sadducees' question* in Mk 12^{19}‖. It does not imply the continuance of the practice. It had fallen into disuse, and the Mishna invents many limitations to avoid the necessity of compliance. It was agreed that the woman must have no child (Dt. 'son'), and the school both of Shammai and of the Sadducees apparently confined the law to the case of a betrothed, not a wedded, wife. If so, the difficulty was twofold, striking at the Levirate custom as well as at the belief in the Resurrection (Edersheim, *LT* ii. 400).

5. Marriage Customs.—(1) *The arranging of a marriage* was normally in the hands of the parents (Gn 21^{21} 24^{3} 28^{1} 34^{4}, Jg 14^{2}, 2 Es 9^{47}); there are, in fact, few nations or periods where the children have a free choice. But (*a*) infant or child marriages were unknown; (*b*) the consent of the parties was, sometimes at least, sought (Gn 24^{8}); (*c*) the rule was not absolute; it might be broken wilfully (26^{34}), or under stress of circumstances (Ex 2^{21}); (*d*) natural feeling will always make itself felt in spite of the restrictions of custom; the sexes met freely, and romantic attachments were not un-

known (Gn 29[10] 34[3], Jg 14[1], 1 S 18[20]); in these cases the initiative was taken by the parties. One view of Canticles is that it is a drama celebrating the victory of a village maiden's faithfulness to her shepherd lover, in face of the attractions of a royal rival. It was a disgrace if a daughter remained unmarried (Sir 42[9]); this fact is the key to 1 Co 7[25ff.]. (2) The **betrothal** was of a more formal and binding nature than our 'engagement'; among the Arabs it is the only legal ceremony connected with a marriage. Gn 24[58. 60] may preserve an ancient formula and blessing. Its central feature was the **dowry** (*mohar*) paid to the parents or representatives of the bride, the daughter being a valuable possession. Dt 22[29] (cf. Ex 22[16]) orders its payment in a case of seduction, and 50 shekels is named as the average. In Gn 34[12] Hamor offers 'never so much dowry'; cf. the presents of ch. 24. It might take the form of service (Gn 29, Jacob; 1 S 18[25], David). Dowry, in our sense of provision for the wife, arose in two ways. (*a*) The parents provided for her, perhaps originally giving her a portion of the purchase money (Gn 24[61] 29[24]). Caleb gives his daughter a field (Jos 15[19] = Jg 1[15]); Solomon's princess brings a dowry of a city (1 K 9[16]); Raguel gives his daughter half his goods (To 8[21] 10[10]). This dowry was retained by the wife if divorced, except in case of adultery. (*b*) The husband naturally signified his generosity and affection by gifts to his bride (Gn 24[53] 34[12] [where gift is distinct from 'dowry'], Est 2[9]). According to the Mishna, the later ceremony of betrothal consisted in payment of a piece of money, or a gift, or the conveyance of a writing, in presence of two witnesses. A third method (by cohabitation) was strongly discountenanced. *After betrothal* the parties were legally in the position of a married couple. Unfaithfulness was adultery (Dt 22[23], Mt 1[19]). The bridegroom was exempt from military service (Dt 20[7]). Non-fulfilment of the marriage was a serious slight (1 S 18[19], Jg 14[19]), but conceivable under certain circumstances (Gn 29[27]).

(2) *Wedding ceremonies.*—Great uncertainty attaches to the proceedings in Biblical times. We have to construct our picture from passing notices, combined with what we know of Arabic and later Jewish customs. In some cases there seems to have been nothing beyond the betrothal (Gn 24[53-67]); or the wedding festivities followed it at once; but in later times there was a distinct interval, not exceeding a year in case of a virgin. Tobit (7[14]) mentions a 'contract' (cf. Mal 2[14]), which became a universal feature. The first ceremony was the *wedding procession* (Ps 45[15], 1 Mac 9[37]), which may be a relic of 'marriage by capture,' the bridegroom's friends (Mt 9[15], Jn 3[29]; cf. '60 mighty men' of Ca 3[7]) going, often by night, to fetch the **bride** and her attendants; in Jg 14[11. 15. 20] Samson's comrades are necessarily taken from the bride's people. The rejoicings are evidenced by the proverbial 'voice of the **bridegroom,**' etc. (Jer 7[34] etc., Rev 18[23]). Gn 24[53], Ps 45[13-15], Jer 2[32], Rev 19[8] 21[2] speak of the magnificence of the bridal attire; Is 61[10], of the garland of the bridegroom and jewels of the bride (cf. 49[18]); the veil is mentioned in Gn 24[65] 29[23]; the supposed allusions to the lustral bath of the Greeks (Ru 3[3], Ezk 23[40], Eph 5[26]) are very doubtful. The situation in Mt 25[1] is not clear. Are the 'virgins' friends of the bridegroom waiting for his return with his bride, or friends of the bride waiting with her for him? All that it is possible to say is that the general conception is that of the wedding procession by night in which lights and torches have always played a large part. Another feature was the scattering of flowers and nuts; all who met the procession were expected to join in it or to salute it.

The marriage supper followed, usually in the home of the bridegroom (2 Es 9[47]); Gn 29[22], Jg 14[10], To 8[19] are easily explained exceptions. Hospitality was a sacred duty; 'he who does not invite me to his marriage will not have me to his funeral.' To refuse the invitation was a grave insult (Mt 22). Nothing is known of the custom, apparently implied in this passage, of providing a wedding garment for guests. Jn 2 gives us a picture of the feast in a middle-class home, where the resources are strained to the uttermost. It is doubtful whether the 'ruler of the feast' (cf. Sir 32[1. 2]) is 'the best man' (3[29], Jg 14[20]), the office being unusual in the simple life of Galilee (Edersheim, *LT* i. 355). There is nowhere any hint of a *religious ceremony*, though marriage was regarded with great reverence as symbolizing the union of God with Israel (*ib.* 353). The feast was no doubt *quasi*-sacramental (cf. the Latin 'confarreatio'), and the marriage was consummated by the entry into the 'chamber' (*huppah*). W. R. Smith (*op. cit.* p. 168) finds in this a relic of 'beena' marriage (see above, § 1), the *huppah* or canopy (Jl 2[16]) being originally the wife's tent (Gn 24[67], Jg 4[17]); cf. the tent pitched for Absalom (2 S 16[22]). In Arab., Syr., and Heb. the bridegroom is said to 'go in' to the bride. Ps 19[5] speaks of his exultant 'coming forth' on the following morning; 'the chamber' can hardly refer there to the 'canopy' under which in modern weddings the pair stand *during* the ceremony, though this has no doubt been evolved from the old tent.

The wedding festivities were not confined to the 'supper' of the first night, at any rate in OT times. As now in Syria, the feast lasted for 7 days (Gn 29[27], To 11[19] 8[19] [a fortnight]). The best picture is in Jg 14, with its eating and drinking and not very refined merriment. Canticles is generally supposed to contain songs sung during these festivities; those now sung in Syria show a remarkable similarity. 7[1-7] in particular would seem to be the chorus in praise of the bride's beauty, such as is now chanted, while she herself in a sword dance displays the charms of her person by the flashing firelight. During the week the pair are 'king and queen,' enthroned on the threshing-board of the village. It is suggested that 'Solomon' (3[7]) had become the nickname for this village king. Dt 24[5] exempts the bridegroom from military service for a year (cf. 20[7]).

6. Position of the wife.—The practically universal form of marriage was the 'Baal' type, where the wife passed under the dominion of her 'lord' (Gn 3[16], Tenth Com.). Side by side with this was the ideal principle, according to which she was a 'help meet for him' (Gn 2[18]), and the legal theory was always modified in practice by the affection of the husband or the strong personality of the wife; cf. the position of the patriarchs' wives, of women in Jg. or in Pr. (esp. 31); cf. 1 S 25[18], 2 K 4[8]. But her value was largely that of a mother of children, and the position of a childless wife was unpleasant (Gn 16[4] 30[1-4], 1 S 1[6], 2 Es 9[43]). Polygamy led to favouritism; the fellow-wife is a 'rival' (1 S 1[6]) —a technical term. Dt 21[15ff.] safeguards the right of the firstborn of a 'hated' wife; Ex 21[10] provides for the rendering of the duties of marriage to a first wife; even if a purchased concubine; if they are withheld she is to go free (cf. Dt 21[14] of a captive). The difference between a wife and a **concubine** depended on the wife's higher position and birth, usually backed by relatives ready to defend her. She might claim the inheritance for her children (Gn 21[10]); her slave could not be taken as concubine without her consent (16[2]). As part of a man's chattels his wives were in certain cases *inherited by his heir*, with the limitation that a man could not take his own mother. The custom lasted in Arabia till forbidden by the Koran (ch. iv.). In OT there is the case of Reuben and Bilhah (Gn 35[22] 49[4]), perhaps implying the continuance of the custom in the tribe of Reuben, after it had been proscribed elsewhere (Driver, *ad loc.*). It is presupposed in 2 S 3[7], where Ishbosheth reproaches Abner for encroaching on his birthright, and in 16[22], where Absalom thus publishes his claim to the kingdom. In 1 K 2[22] Adonijah, in asking for Abishag, is claiming the eldest brother's inheritance. Ezk 22[10] finds it still necessary to condemn the practice; cf. Dt 22[30], Lv 18[8]. Ru 4 shows how the wife is regarded as part of the

inheritance. A **widow** normally remained unmarried. If poor, her position was bad; cf. the injunctions in Dt., the prophets, and the Pastoral Epp. In royal houses her influence might be greater than that of the wife; *e.g.* the difference in the attitude of Bathsheba in 1 K 1^{16} and in 2^{19}, and the power of the queen-mother (1 K 15^{13}, 2 K 11). There was a strong prejudice in later times against her re-marrying (Lk 2^{36}; Jos. *Ant.* XVII. xiii. 4, XVIII. vi. 6). There is no instance of a corresponding dislike to the marriage of a widower, but the wife was regarded as a man's property even after his death. St. Paul, however, permits re-marriage (1 Co 7^{39}), and even enjoins it for younger widows (1 Ti 5^{14}).

7. Adultery.—If a bride was found not to be a virgin, she was to be stoned (Dt 22^{13-21}). A man who violated an unmarried girl was compelled to marry her with payment of 'dowry' (v.^{29}, cf. Ex 22^{16}). A priest's daughter playing the harlot was to be burnt (Lv 21^{9}). Adultery holds a prominent place among social sins (Seventh and Tenth Com., Ezk 18^{11}). If committed with a married or betrothed woman, the penalty was stoning for both parties, a betrothed damsel being spared if forced (Dt 22^{22-27}, Lv 20^{10}, Ezk 16^{40} 23^{45}). The earlier penalty was burning, as in Egypt (Gn 38^{24}; Tamar is virtually betrothed). In Nu 5^{11-31} the fact of adultery is to be established by ordeal, a custom found in many nations. It is to be noted that the test is not poison, but holy water; *i.e.* the chances are in favour of the accused. The general point of view is that adultery with a married woman is an offence against a neighbour's property; the adultery of a wife is an offence against her husband, but she has no concern with his fidelity. It is not probable that the extreme penalty was ever carried out (2 S 11, Hos 3). The frequent denunciations in the prophets and Pr. (2^{18} 5^{8} 6^{26}) show the prevalence of the crime; the usual penalty was divorce with loss of dowry (cf. Mt 5^{31}). In the 'pericope' of Jn 8, part of the test is whether Christ will set Himself against Moses by sanctioning the abrogation of the Law; it is not implied that the punishment was ever actually inflicted; in fact, no instance of it is known. The answer (v.^{11}) pardons the sinner, but by no means condones the sin: 'damnavit, sed peccatum non hominem' (Aug.); cf. the treatment of 'the woman who was a sinner' (Lk 7^{47}). The NT is uncompromising in its attitude towards this sin, including in its view all acts of **unchastity** as offences against God and the true self, as sanctified by His indwelling, no less than against one's neighbour (Mt 5^{27}, Ac 15^{29}, 1 Co 5^{11} $6^{9.\ 13-20}$, Gal 5^{19}, 1 Th 4^{3}). The blessing on the 'virgins' of Rev 14^{4} probably refers to chastity, not celibacy; cf. 'the bed undefiled' of He 13^{4}. The laxity of the age made it necessary to insist on purity as a primary Christian virtue (see Swete, *ad loc.*).

8. Divorce is taken for granted in OT (Lv $21^{7.\ 14}$ 22^{13}, Nu 30^{9}), it being the traditional right of the husband, as in Arabia, to 'put away his wife' (Gn 21^{14}). The story of Hosea probably embodies the older procedure, which is regulated by the law of Dt 24^{1}. There must be a **bill of divorcement** (Is 50^{1}, Jer 3^{8}), prepared on a definite charge, and therefore presumably before some public official, and formally given to the woman. (But cf. Mt 1^{19}, where possibility of private divorce is contemplated [or repudiation of betrothal?].) The time and expense thus involved would act as a check. Further, if the *divorcée* re-marries, she may not return to her former husband—a deterrent on hasty divorce, also on re-marriage—, if there is any prospect of reconciliation. The right of divorce is withheld in two cases (Dt $22^{19.\ 29}$). There was great divergence of opinion as regards *the ground* 'if she find no favour in his eyes, because he hath found in her the nakedness of a thing.' The school of Hillel emphasized the first clause, and interpreted it of the most trivial things, practically 'for any cause' (Mt 19^{3}); that of Shammai laid stress rightly on the second clause, and confined it to **unchastity**. But the vague nature of the expression (cf. Dt 23^{14}), and the fact that 22^{22} enacts death for unchastity, show that something wider must be meant, probably 'immodest or indecent behaviour' (Driver, *ad loc.*). In spite of the prohibition of Mal 2^{13-16} and the stern attitude of many Rabbis, divorce continued to be frequent; Ezr 9. 10 encouraged it. The Mishna allows it for violation of the Law or of Jewish customs, *e.g.* breaking a vow, appearing in public with dishevelled hair, or conversing indiscriminately with men. Practically the freedom was almost unlimited; the question was not what was lawful, but on what grounds a man ought to exercise the right the Law gave him. It was, of course, confined *to the husband* (1 S 25^{44} is simply an outrage on the part of Saul). Women of rank such as Salome (Jos. *Ant.* xv. vii. 10) or Herodias (XVIII. v. 4) might arrogate it, but it is condemned as a breach of Jewish law. Christ contemplates its possibility in Mk 10^{12}, perhaps having in view the Greek and Roman world, where it was legal. But the words caused a difficulty to the early versions, which substitute desertion for divorce, and may be a later insertion, added for the sake of completeness. In a later period the Talmud allowed a wife to claim a divorce in certain cases, *e.g.* if her husband had a loathsome disease.

In the NT divorce seems to be forbidden absolutely (Mk 10^{11}, Lk 16^{8}, 1 Co $7^{10.\ 39}$). Our Lord teaches that the OT permission was a concession to a low moral standard, and was opposed to the ideal of marriage as an inseparable union of body and soul (Gn 2^{23}). But in Mt 5^{32} 19^{9} He seems to allow it for 'fornication,' an exception which finds no place in the parallels (cf. 1 Co 7^{15}, which allows re-marriage where a Christian partner is deserted by a heathen). (*a*) Fornication cannot here be sin before marriage; the sense of the passage demands that the word shall be taken in its wider sense (cf. Hos 2^{5}, Am 7^{17}, 1 Co 5^{1}); it defines the 'uncleanness' of Dt 24^{1} as illicit sexual intercourse. (*b*) Divorce cannot be limited to separation 'from bed and board,' as by R.C. commentators (1 Co 7 uses quite different words). To a Jew it always carried with it the right of re-marriage, and the words 'causeth her to commit adultery' (Mt 5^{32}) show that our Lord assumed that the *divorcée* would marry again. Hence if He allowed divorce under certain conditions, He allowed re-marriage. (*c*) It follows that Mt 19^{9}, as it stands, gives to an injured husband the right of divorce, and therefore of re-marriage, even if it be supposed that the words 'except for fornication' qualify only the first clause, or if 'shall marry another' be omitted with B. A right given to an injured husband must on Christian principles be allowed to an injured wife. Further, re-marriage, if permitted to either party, is logically permitted both to innocent and to guilty, so far as the dissolution of the marriage bond is concerned, though it may well be forbidden to the latter as a matter of discipline and penalty. Mt 5^{32} apparently allows the re-marriage of the justifiably divorced, *i.e.* guilty wife, though the interpretation of this verse is more doubtful than that of 19^{9}. (*d*) The view implied by the exception is that adultery *ipso facto* dissolves the union, and so opens the way to re-marriage. But re-marriage also closes the door to reconciliation, which on Christian principles ought always to be possible; cf. the teaching of Hosea and Jer 3; Hermas (*Mand.* iv. 1) allows no re-marriage, and lays great stress on the taking back of a repentant wife. (*e*) Hence much is to be said for the view which is steadily gaining ground, that the exception in Mt. is an editorial addition from the Judaic standpoint, or under the pressure of practical necessity, the absolute rule being found too hard. (For the authorities, see Hastings' *DB*, Ext. Vol. p. 27^{b}, and add Wright's *Synopsis* and Allen's *St. Mat.*) It is true that though the textual variations in both passages of Mt. are numerous, there is no MS authority for the entire omission of the words. But there is no hint of the exception in Mk., Lk., or 1 Cor.; Mt 19^{3} alters the

question of Mk 10[2], adding the qualification 'for every cause,' which thus prepares the way for the qualified answer of v.[9]. This answer really admits the validity of the law of Dt 24[1], with its stricter interpretation (see p. 586[b]), whilst the language of v.[8] leads us to expect its abrogation. The introduction of the exception upsets the argument, which in Mk. is clear and logical. Again, is it not contrary to Christ's method that He should legislate in detail? He rather lays down universal principles, the practical application of which He left to His Church (see below, § **11**).

(*f*) The requirement in 1 Ti 3[2. 12], Tit 1[6], that the 'bishop' and 'deacon' shall be the '*husband of one wife*,' is probably to be understood as a prohibition of divorce and other sins against the chastity of marriage (cf. He 13[4]), made necessary by the low standard of the age. Of course, no greater laxity is allowed to the layman, any more than he is allowed to be 'a brawler or striker'; but sins of this type are mentioned as peculiarly inconsistent with the ministry. Other views of the passage are that it forbids polygamy (a prohibition which could hardly be necessary in Christian circles) or a second marriage. But there was no feeling against the remarriage of *men* (see above, § 6), and St. Paul himself saw in a second marriage nothing *per se* inconsistent with the Christian ideal (1 Ti 5[14]), so that it is hard to see on what grounds the supposed prohibition could rest.

9. The Teaching of NT.—(1) *Marriage and celibacy.* The prevalent Jewish conception was that marriage was the proper and honourable estate for all men. 'Any Jew who has not a wife is no man' (Talmud). The Essene, on the other hand, avoided it as unclean and a degradation. Of this view there is no sign in NT (1 Ti 4[3]). Christ does, however, emphasize the propriety of the unmarried state in certain circumstances (Mt 19[12] [? Rev 14[4]]). The views of St. Paul undoubtedly changed. In 1 Th 4[4] he regards marriage merely as a safeguard against immorality. The subject is prominent in 1 Cor. In 7[1.7.8.38] he prefers the unmarried state, allowing marriage for the same reason as in 1 Th. (1 Co 7[2. 9. 36]). He gives three reasons for his attitude, the one purely temporary, the others valid under certain conditions. (*a*) It is connected with the view he afterwards abandoned, of the nearness of the Parousia (v.[31]); there would be no need to provide for the continuance of the race. (*b*) It was a time of 'distress,' *i.e.* hardship and persecution (v.[26]). (*c*) Marriage brings distractions and cares (v.[32]). The one-sidedness of this view may be corrected by his later teaching as to (2) *the sanctity of the marriage state.* The keynote is struck by our Lord's action. The significance of the Cana miracle can hardly be exaggerated (Jn 2). It corresponds with His teaching that marriage is a Divine institution (Mt 19[9]). So Eph 5[22], Col 3[18], and the Pastoral Epp. assume the married state as normal in the Christian Church. It is raised to the highest pinnacle as the type of 'the union betwixt Christ and His Church.' This conception emphasizes both the honourableness of the estate and the heinousness of all sins against it; husband and wife are one flesh (Eph 5; cf. He 13[4]). (3) As regards *relations between husband and wife*, it cannot be said that St. Paul has entirely shaken himself free from the influences of his Jewish training (§ 6). The duty of the husband is love (Eph 5[28]), of the wife obedience and fear, or reverence (v.[22. 33], Col 3[18]), the husband being the head of the wife (v.[23], 1 Co 11[3. 7-11]); she is saved 'through her childbearing' (1 Ti 2[11-15]). The view of 1 P 3[1-7] is similar. It adds the idea that each must help the other as 'joint heirs of the grace of life,' their common prayers being hindered by any misunderstanding. Whether the subordination of the wife can be maintained as ultimate may be questioned in view of such passages as Gal 3[28].

10. Spiritual applications of the Marriage Figure.—*In OT* the god was regarded as *baal*, 'husband' or 'owner,' of his land, which was the 'mother' of its inhabitants. Hence 'it lay very near to think of the god as the husband of the worshipping nationality, or mother land' (W. R. Smith, *Prophets*, 171); the idea was probably not peculiar to Israel. Its most striking development is found in Hosea. Led, as it seems, by the experience of his own married life, he emphasizes the following points. (1) Israel's idolatry is whoredom, adultery, the following of strange lovers (note the connexion of idolatry with literal fornication). (2) J″ still loves her, as Hosea has loved his erring wife, and redeems her from slavery. (3) Hosea's own unquenchable love is but a faint shadow of J″'s. A similar idea is found in Is 54[4]; in spite of her unfaithfulness, Israel has not been irrevocably divorced (50[1]). Cf. Jer 3. 31[32], Ezk 16, Mal 2[11]. The direct spiritual or mystical application of Ca. is now generally abandoned.

In NT, Christ is the **bridegroom** (Mk 2[19], Jn 3[29]), the Church His **bride.** His love is emphasized, as in OT (Eph 5[25]), and His bride too must be holy and without blemish (v.[27], 2 Co 11[2]). In OT the stress is laid on the ingratitude and misery of sin as 'adultery,' in NT on the need of positive holiness and purity. Rev 19[7] develops the figure, the dazzling white of the bride's array being contrasted with the harlot's scarlet. In 21[2. 9] she is further identified with the New Jerusalem, two OT figures being combined, as in 2 Es 7[26]. For the coming of her Bridegroom she is now waiting (Rev 22[17], cf. Mt 25[1]), and the final joy is represented under the symbol of the marriage feast (22[2], Rev 19[9]).

11. A general survey of the marriage laws and customs of the Jews shows that they cannot be regarded as a peculiar creation, apart from those of other nations. As already appears, they possess a remarkable affinity to those of other branches of the Semitic race; we may add the striking parallels found in the Code of Hammurabi, *e.g.* with regard to betrothal, dowry, and divorce. Anthropological researches have disclosed a wide general resemblance to the customs of more distant races. They have also emphasized the *relative* purity of OT sexual morality; in this, as in other respects, the Jews had their message for the world. But, of course, we shall not expect to find there the Christian standard. 'In the beginning' represents not the historical fact, but the ideal purpose. Gn 2 is an allegory of what marriage was intended to be, and of what it was understood to be in the best thought of the nation. This ideal was, however, seldom realized. Hence we cannot apply the letter of the Bible, or go to it for detailed rules. Where its rules are not obviously unsuited to modern conditions, or below the Christian level, a strange uncertainty obscures their exact interpretation, *e.g.* with regard to the prohibited degrees, divorce, or 'the husband of one wife'; there is even no direct condemnation of polygamy. On the other hand, the principle as expanded in NT is clear. It is the duty of the Christian to keep it steadily before him as the ideal of his own life. How far that ideal can be embodied in legislation and applied to the community as a whole must depend upon social conditions, and the general moral environment.

C. W. Emmet.

MARSENA.—One of the seven princes who had the right of access to the royal presence (Est 1[14]).

MARSHAL.—**1.** For AV 'scribe' RV of Jg 5[14] has 'marshal.' It was the duty of this officer to muster the men available for a campaign. In later times he kept a register of their names (2 K 25[19], Jer 52[25], 2 Ch 26[11], where the same Heb. word is used; see also 1 Mac 5[42]). The staff (not 'pen') in his hand was an emblem of authority (Jg 5[14]; cf. Nu 21[18]). **2.** The Heb. *tiphsar* is identified with the Assyr. *dupsarru*, 'tablet-writer,' 'scribe.' In Jer 51[27] and Nah 3[17] it denotes a military officer of high rank (AV '**captain,**' RV 'marshal.' [The alteration was not imperatively necessary]).

J. Taylor.

MARS' HILL.—AV for **Areopagus** (wh. see).

MART.—See Market.

MARTHA is first mentioned (Lk 10^{38-42}) as living in 'a certain village' with her sister **Mary,** and as receiving our Lord as He passed on His way. We know from Jn 11^{1} and 12^{1} that they afterwards lived with Lazarus, their brother, in Bethany; the village, then, may be either Bethany or where they lived before moving there. The characters of the two sisters are strongly marked and rendered vivid by their contrast; we shall therefore deal with the characteristics of *both* in this article.

Martha is over-anxious, and distracted with household duties; while Mary, as a disciple, sits 'at the feet' (cf. Ac 22^{3}) of Jesus. Martha complained to our Lord of Mary's inactivity, and showed some temper, perhaps jealousy, by speaking of the matter to Him rather than to her. Jesus commenced His reply with 'Martha, Martha,' repeating the name as He did on another occasion of loving correction ('Simon, Simon,' Lk 22^{31}), and blamed her for her outward agitation ('troubled') and inward anxiety ('careful,' RV 'anxious'), telling her that she lacked 'the one thing needful.' (For various reading see RVm.) He then praised Mary for having 'chosen that good part' which from its nature was everlasting, and so would 'not be taken from her.' He blamed Martha, not for her attentive service of love, but for allowing that service to irritate, agitate, and absorb her. Martha's character here is loving, active, self-reliant, practical, hasty; Mary's also loving, but thoughtful, humble, receptive, dependent, devoted. We find the same distinguishing marks in Jn 11, where the two sisters again appear in the narrative of the raising of Lazarus. When Jesus, after delaying for four days (v.^{17}) to come in response to their joint request (v.^{3}), arrived, Martha was the first to hear of His arrival, and at once went to meet Him. Mary, on the other hand, removed by her grief from the activities of life engaged in by her sister, was unaware of His coming. The moment, however, that she was sent for by Him (v.^{28}) she hurried to His presence, and fell down at His feet. The contrast of character seen in Lk 10 is here markedly present.

'Martha holds a conversation, argues with Him, remonstrates with Him, and in the very crisis of their grief shows her practical common sense in deprecating the removal of the stone. It is Mary who goes forth silently to meet Him, silently and tearfully, so that the bystanders suppose her to be going to weep at her brother's tomb; who, when she sees Jesus, falls down at His feet; who, uttering the same words of faith in His power as Martha (vv.$^{21.\ 32}$), does not qualify them with the same reservation; who infects all the bystanders with the intensity of her sorrow, and crushes the human spirit of our Lord Himself with sympathetic grief' (Lightfoot, *Biblical Essays*, p. 37).

The sisters appear again, and finally, in Jn 12, at the Supper given to our Lord at Bethany (see art. MARY, No. 2); and again their contrast of disposition is seen. Martha, as presumably the elder sister, 'served,' while Mary poured the precious ointment on the Saviour's head and feet. A comparison between this passage and Lk 10^{38-42} shows, indeed, the same Martha, but now there is no record of her over-anxiety or distraction, or of any complaint of her sister's absorption in devotion to the Saviour; for doubtless she had herself now chosen that good part which would not be taken from her. CHARLES T. P. GRIERSON.

MARTYR.—See WITNESS.

MARY.—The Gr. form of Heb. *Miriam*.

1. Mary, mother of James and Joses, was one of the company of women who followed Jesus from Galilee, ministering unto Him, and who beheld from afar the crucifixion (Mt 27^{56}); she is spoken of as 'the other Mary' (27^{61} 28^{1}), as 'the mother of James the little and Joses' (Mk 15^{40}), as 'Mary the [mother] of Joses' (Mk 15^{47}), and as 'Mary the [mother] of James' (Mk 16^{1}, Lk 24^{10}). That she is identical with 'Mary the [wife] of Clopas' (Jn 19^{25}) is almost, though not absolutely, certain; the uncertainty arising from the fact that as '*many* women' (Mt 27^{55}) were present, St. John *may* have mentioned a Mary who was distinct from the Mary mentioned as present by the Synoptists. It is very doubtful whether this **'Mary of Clopas'** was sister to the Virgin Mary. The words of St. John, 'There were standing by the cross of Jesus his mother and his mother's sister, Mary the wife of Clopas, and Mary Magdalene,' are ambiguous; for He may have intended to name *four* women as present—the Virgin's sister being one, and Mary of Clopas another—or only three, the Virgin's sister being described as 'Mary of Clopas.' Certain decision on the point seems impossible. Cf. BRETHREN OF THE LORD, *ad fin.*

2. Mary, the sister of Martha, is mentioned thrice in the Gospels—(1) as sitting at the feet of Jesus, while her sister served (Lk 10^{38-42}); (2) as falling at His feet on His arrival to raise Lazarus from the grave (Jn 11^{28-32}); (3) as anointing His feet during the feast at Bethany before the Passion (Mt 26^{7-16}, Mk 14^{3-11}, Jn 12^{1-8}). The first and second of these occasions are dealt with in art. MARTHA, where the character of Mary is also treated of. It remains, therefore, for us only to consider the last.

The accounts of this incident as given in the first two Gospels and by St. John have been thought to disagree both as to *where* and *when* the feast was held. As regards the *place*, the Fourth Gospel mentions Martha as serving, and it has therefore been assumed that the gathering was in her house—a fact held to be in contradiction to the statement of Mt. and Mk. that it took place in the house of **Simon the leper.** But even if St. John's words do bear this meaning, there is not necessarily any disagreement, for her house might also be known as the house of Simon the leper. Her husband or her father *may* have been named Simon, and *may* have been a leper. In fact, we know far too little of the circumstances to be justified in charging the writers with inaccuracy. A careful study of St. John's statement, however, seems to show that the gathering was *not* in Martha's house; for the words 'Jesus came to Bethany, where Lazarus was, whom Jesus raised from the dead. So *they made a supper there*; and Martha served,' imply that the *people of Bethany as a whole* honoured our Lord, who had shown His power notably by raising their fellow-townsman, with a public feast. At such a feast Lazarus would be one of those that would sit at meat with Him, and Martha assuredly would serve. The reason why they selected the house known as that of Simon the leper cannot be determined; but it may have been simply because it was the most suitable building.

As regards the *date* of the feast, John distinctly places our Lord's arrival as 'six days before the passover,' and implies that the feast was then held immediately. Mt. and Mk., however, *first* record the words of our Lord, in which He foretells His betrayal as about to occur 'after two days,' and *then* add their account of the feast in Bethany. If the Fourth Gospel be taken as definitely fixing the date as six days before the Passover, then the Synoptists must have placed their account of the incident later than it really happened. Probably this is what they did; and their reason for so doing is evidently to connect our Lord's rebuke of Judas (Mt $26^{13.\ 14}$, Jn 12^{4}) with the traitor's decision to betray Him. With this object in view they place the anointing by Mary immediately before the betrayal, introducing it with a vagueness of language which avoids any definite statement of time (Mt 20^{6} 'Now when Jesus was in Bethany'; Mk 14^{3} 'And while he was in Bethany'). There is really no contradiction in the records, but rather a change in the order of events, of deliberate purpose, by Mt. and Mk. for the purpose of elucidating the treachery of Judas.

Mary's act of devotion in anointing the head (Mt 26^{7}) and feet (Jn 12^{3}) of our Lord, and in wiping His feet with her hair, is in perfect keeping with her character as seen in Lk 10 and Jn 11—as she sat at His feet as a disciple, and fell at His feet in grief, so now in humble adoration she anoints His feet with the precious ointment, and wipes them with the hair of her head. The act called forth the hypocritical indignation of Judas. But Jesus at once silenced him, accepting the anointing as for His burial, and predicting that wherever His Gospel should be preached, there should her deed of love be remembered.

This act of Mary bears a strong resemblance to that recorded in Lk $7^{36ff.}$, and so similar is the general picture presented by the two narratives that many have thought them different accounts of the same event. The agreement between the narratives is striking; in both are presented to us acts of love on the part of devoted women; in both the house is said to belong to a 'Simon'; in both the depth of the devotion is shown by the feet being anointed, and being wiped with the loosened hair. On the other hand, however, many differences are to be noted. The hosts, though both named Simon, are distinct, the one being described as a Pharisee, the other as a leper; the scene is different, for in one case it is laid in Galilee, in the other in Judæa; the women are different, for one is Mary 'whom Jesus loved,' the other is an unnamed notorious sinner, such as we cannot suppose Mary ever to have been. The lessons drawn from the incidents by our Lord are different; in the one case He teaches love to God based on His forgiving mercy, in the other He foretells that the deed which Judas had described as 'waste' would for all time be an object of universal praise.

It must further be borne in mind that anointing was a usual courtesy; and that not unnaturally two deeply loving women would very probably at different times be impelled to show their devotion by humbly outpouring their precious gifts upon His sacred feet. Very possibly Mary never had heard of the poor sinful woman's act, occurring as it did probably two years previously and many miles away in Galilee; but even if she had, why should she not act similarly when her heart impelled her to a like act of devotion?

3. Mary Magdalene, probably so called as belonging to **Magdala** (possibly *el-Mejdel*, 3 miles north-west of Tiberias), a place not mentioned in NT, as **Magadan** is the correct reading of Mt 15^{39}. She is first mentioned in Lk 8^{2} as one of the women who, having been 'healed of evil spirits and infirmities, . . . ministered unto them (*i.e.* Jesus and the Apostles) of their substance.' Seven demons had been cast out of her (cf. Mk 16^{9})—a fact showing her affliction to have been of more than ordinary malignity (cf. Mt 12^{45}, Mk 5^{9}).

An unfortunate tradition identifies her with the unnamed sinful woman who anointed our Lord (Lk 7^{37}); and she has been thus regarded as the typical reformed 'fallen woman.' But St. Luke, though he placed them consecutively in his narrative, did not identify them; and as possession did not necessarily presuppose moral failing in the victim's character, we need not do so.

With the other women she accompanied Jesus on His last journey to Jerusalem; with them she beheld the crucifixion, at first 'from afar,' but afterwards standing by the Cross itself (Mt 27^{55}, Jn 19^{25}); she followed the body to the burial (Mk 15^{47}), and then returned to prepare spices, resting on the Sabbath. On the first day of the week, while it was yet dark, she visited the sepulchre (Jn $20^{1ff.}$). Finding the grave empty, she assumed that the body had been removed, and that she was thus deprived of the opportunity of paying her last tribute of love. She ran at once to Peter and John and said, 'They have taken away the Lord, and we know not where they have laid him.' They all three returned to the tomb, she remaining after they had left. Weeping she looked into the sepulchre, and saw two angels guarding the spot where Jesus had lain. To their question, 'Why weepest thou?' she repeated the words she had said to Peter and John. Apparently feeling that someone was standing behind her, she turned, and saw Jesus, and mistook Him for the gardener. The utterance of her name from His lips awoke her to the truth. She cried, '*Rabboni*,' ('my Master')—and would have clasped His feet. But Jesus forbade her, saying, 'Touch me not; for I am not yet ascended unto the Father.' She must no longer know Him 'after the flesh' (2 Co 5^{16}), but possess Him in spiritual communion. This, the first appearance of our Lord after His resurrection (Mk 16^{9}), conferred a special honour on one whose life of loving ministry had proved the reality and depth of her devotion. She has been identified with Mary the sister of Lazarus, but without any grounds.

4. Mary the Virgin.—(1) *Scripture data.*—The NT gives but little information regarding her. In the Gospels she is directly mentioned only three times during Christ's ministry (Jn 2, Mk $3^{21.\ 31}$, Jn $19^{25f.}$), and indirectly twice (Mk 6^{3}, Lk 11^{27}). Outside the Gospels she is mentioned only once (Ac 1^{14}).

The Apocryphal Gospels are full of legendary stories connected with her childhood and after-life. In them we are told that she was miraculously granted to her aged and childless parents, Joachim and Anna; that at the age of three she was dedicated to God at the Temple, where she remained until she was twelve; that during these years she increased in virtue, angels ministering unto her; that at twelve she was betrothed to Joseph, an aged widower, who was selected for her by a miraculous sign. The visit of Gabriel, the journey to Bethlehem, and the Saviour's birth in a cave are mentioned. It is added that at the moment of the birth of Jesus all nature was stilled; the fowls of the air stopped in their flight, men with uplifted arms drew them not down, dispersing sheep stood still, and kids with their lips to the water refrained from drinking.

The legendary character of the apocryphal records renders them worthless as evidence of the events that centre round the birth of our Lord, and we are therefore confined to the opening chapters of the First and Third Gospels. It has been felt that more evidence than two Gospels can supply might reasonably be expected for such a transcendent miracle. But consideration will show that the evidence could not be essentially greater than it is. For from the nature of the case the circumstances would be known only to Mary and Joseph. Mary must have known; and Joseph must also have known, if he were to continue to act as protector of his espoused wife. Now, the First Gospel narrates the events of the miraculous birth from the point of view of Joseph; while the narrative of the Third Gospel, with its intimate knowledge of the events which it so calmly, delicately, and yet clearly, sets forth, must, in the first instance, have been obtained from the Virgin herself. St. Luke has been proved to be a writer of great historical accuracy, and we may be certain that he admitted nothing within his record of which he had not thoroughly tested the truth: and it is difficult to believe that he would open his Gospel with a statement that he had accurately traced the course of the Gospel history from the first (1^{3}), and then immediately proceed to insert untrustworthy information. Indeed, the wide-spread belief of the early Church in the **Virgin-birth** can be reasonably accounted for only by the occurrence of the fact itself. The date of St. Luke's Gospel is too early to allow of ideas of a Virgin-birth to pass into the Church from *Gentile* Christians; while to *Jewish* Christians the whole idea would be alien. To the Jew maternity, not virginity, was praiseworthy, and to him the thought of Jehovah becoming incarnate would be incredible; in fact, the Virgin-birth, so far from being an invention of Jewish Christians, must have been a severe stumbling-block to them in accepting their new faith.

The angel Gabriel, when sent to announce to Mary that she was to be the mother of our Lord, greeted her with the words, 'Hail, thou that art highly favoured,' or 'thou that art endued with grace' (Lk 1^{28}). (The Rhemish Version, following the Vulgate, renders 'full of grace'; a translation correct enough if meaning 'fully endowed with grace,' but incorrect if meaning 'fully bestowing grace'—a rendering the Gr. word cannot bear.) With absolute submission she received the announcement, merely replying, 'Behold the handmaid of the Lord; be it unto me according to thy word' (Lk 1^{38}). Soon she hastened to her 'kinswoman' (v.^{36}) Elisabeth, who greeted her with inspired utterance (vv.$^{42\text{-}45}$). The Virgin then in reply uttered her noble hymn of exultation. The *Magnificat* is largely based on the song of Hannah (1 S 2). Naturally at such a time of deep spiritual emotion she fell

back on the OT Scriptures, which she had known since childhood. She remained with Elisabeth until the birth of the Baptist, and then returned to Nazareth. Having accompanied Joseph on his journey to be enrolled at Bethlehem, she was there delivered of her Son. When the forty days of purification were ended, they brought the Child to Jerusalem 'to present him to the Lord,' and to offer the necessary sacrifice. Being poor, they offered 'a pair of turtle doves or two young pigeons' (Ex 12[8]). Then was it that Simeon took the Child in his arms, and, blessing God, uttered his *Nunc Dimittis*, and foretold to Mary that a sword would yet pierce through her soul: a prophecy fulfilled during the period of her Son's ministry, and specially by His death. From the Temple they returned to Bethlehem, whence they fled to Egypt from the cruelty of Herod, on whose death they returned, and settled in Nazareth.

We next find the Virgin in Jerusalem, whither she had gone with Jesus, now aged twelve. When she discovered Him in the Temple she remonstrated, saying, 'Thy *father* and I have sought thee . . .' His reply, 'I must be in *my Father's house*' (Lk 2[48]), shows that He had begun to feel, and expected His mother to realize, the gulf of Divine parentage that separated Him from all others. It taught her, perhaps for the first time, that her Son felt God to be in an especial sense His Father.

For the next eighteen years our Lord was subject to home-authority at Nazareth. During this time His mother lost the protection of Joseph; for, if he were alive, he certainly would have been mentioned in Jn 2[1], Mk 3[31], Jn 19[25]. Doubtless Joseph's place in the home was filled in a measure by our Lord; and these must have been years of wonderful peace to the Virgin.

When, however, Jesus once entered upon His ministry, a time of real difficulty to her began. She, with the secret of His birth ever present, must have anticipated for Him a career of Messianic success; whereas He, with the knowledge of His Divine Sonship, was compelled to sever Himself once and for all from her control. We are not, then, surprised to find that each of the three recorded incidents which bring our Lord and the Virgin together during the years of ministry centre round the question of His absolute independence of her authority. Thus His first miracle (Jn 2) gave Him an occasion for definitely teaching her that she must no longer impress her will upon Him. His reply, 'Woman, what have I to do with thee?' has assuredly no roughness in it (see Jn 19[26]); yet the fact that He does not address her as 'mother' can have but one meaning. Again, when the pressure of His ministry leads to His neglect of food, His friends said, 'He is beside himself' (Mk 3[21]). 'His friends' were His mother and brethren (v.[31]); and when their message reached Him through the crowd He stretched forth His hand (Mt 12[49]), and said, 'Behold my mother and brethren. For whosoever shall do the will of God, the same is my brother, and sister, and mother'—words which amount to, 'I, in working out the world's redemption, can acknowledge only spiritual relationships.' Similarly, as He hung on the Cross, and looked down upon His broken-hearted mother, He tenderly provided for her future, and entrusted her to the care of the Apostle of love. Still, even then He was unable to name her as His own mother, but gave her, in the person of St. John, the protection of a son. 'Woman (not 'mother'), behold thy son.' 'Son, behold thy mother' (Jn 19[26. 27]). Exactly parallel to these is His answer to the exclamation of the unknown woman, 'Blessed is the womb that bare thee'—'Yea rather, blessed are they that hear the word of God and keep it' (Lk 11[27ff.]).

It is, we think, impossible to exaggerate the bitter trial of these years to the Virgin Mary; but God's grace kept her throughout submissive, patient, and trustful. And it is a happy thing that the last mention we have of her in the NT is when she is gathered with the infant Church after the Ascension *praying* in the upper room.

(2) *Place of the Virgin in the Christian Church.*—The position she *ought* to hold is clear from the NT, and has been well described as follows: 'So far as St. Mary is portrayed to us in the Scripture she is, as we should have expected, the most tender, the most faithful, humble, patient, and loving woman, but a woman still.' Certain sections of the Church, however, have not been satisfied with granting her this limited reverence, but have done her the questionable honour of claiming for her the *worship* of the Church. Epiphanius (A.D. 370) mentions heretics, called Collyridians, who worshipped the Virgin, and he strongly reproves them. But before long the error found too ready a welcome within the Church, and a considerable impulse was given to it at the time of the Nestorian Controversy (A.D. 431). In meeting the error of Nestorius the Church insisted that our Lord had, with His human and Divine natures, but one *personality*, and *that* Divine; and therefore it emphasized the fact that He who was born of the Virgin was very God. It thus became customary to give the Virgin the title *Theotokos*. This title seems to have been specially chosen to emphasize the fact that, by being the mother of our Lord, she brought the incarnate God into life, and, at the same time, to avoid calling her 'mother of God.' This latter title would convey ideas of authority and right of control on the part of the parent, and of duty and obedience on the part of the child—ideas which were rightly felt to have no place in the relationship between Christ and His mother; therefore it was avoided. It would have been easy for the Church then to call her 'mother of God,' but it did not. Notwithstanding this cautious treatment, undue reverence towards her rapidly increased, and 'mother of God' became largely applied to her, and her worship gained much ground.

With the worship of the Virgin there gradually arose a belief in her *sinlessness*. The early Fathers, while claiming for her the perfection of womanhood, state distinctly their belief that she shared in man's fallen nature and that she had committed actual sin. But Augustine, though not denying her participation in original sin, suggested her freedom through grace from actual transgression. Ultimately her freedom from all taint of sin, whether original or actual, was officially declared an article of faith in the Roman Church by the dogma of the Immaculate Conception decreed by Pius IX. (1854). Similar to this erroneous development was the growth of the belief in the miraculous translation of her body after death. The fanciful legends found in the Apocryphal Gospels regarding her death were readily seized upon as if supplying the requisite evidence; and in due course it became the authoritative doctrine of both the Roman and Greek Churches. The Festival of her *Assumption* is held on the 15th of August.

(3) *The perpetual Virginity* of Mary is a matter incapable of proof with the evidence available. With the Church of Rome and the Greek Church it is an essential dogma; but with the other branches of Christendom it is left undefined. In forming a decision on the point many feel the great weight of the undeniable sentiment of the Church for centuries, while others see in this very sentiment an unwholesome view, which overestimated the sanctity of virginity, and depreciated the sanctity of matrimony. From the NT we receive no certain guidance; for the 'till' of Mt 1[25] is undecisive, as its use shows (*e.g.* Gn 28[15], Dt 34[6], 1 S 15[35], 2 S 6[23]), while 'the brethren' of our Lord may mean either the children of Joseph and Mary, or the children of Joseph by a former marriage, or even the cousins of Jesus. The first of these views is specially associated with the name of Helvidius, the second with that of Epiphanius, the third with that of Jerome. See BRETHREN OF THE LORD.

5. Mary, the mother of John Mark (Ac 12[12]). **6. Mary,** saluted by St. Paul (Ro 16[6]).

CHARLES T. P. GRIERSON.

MASCHIL.—See PSALMS, p. 772[a].

MASH.—One of the sons of Aram, Gn 10[23]. The parallel passage, 1 Ch 1[17], gives **Meshech** (wh. see), as also does LXX in both passages. But this is wrong, as Meshech was Japhetic. Either Mons Massius is meant, or a region and people in the Syro-Arabian desert corre-

sponding to the 'desert of Mash' of the Assyrian inscriptions. J. F. M'Curdy.

MASHAL (1 Ch 6[74]).—See Mishal.

MASIAS.—One of 'Solomon's servants' (1 Es 5[34]); is absent from the parallel list in Ezra.

MASON.—See Arts and Crafts, § 3.

MASREKAH.—Mentioned as the home of an Edomite king, Samlah (Gn 36[36] = 1 Ch 1[47]). The locality has not been identified.

MASSA.—A son of Ishmael (Gn 25[14] = 1 Ch 1[30]), representing a North Arabian tribe. Its exact location is unknown, but it seems to be mentioned in an inscription containing a report to king Ashurbanipal of Assyria (B.C. 668–626) of an attack made by the Massorites upon the people of **Nebaioth** (wh. see). The tribe of Massa would therefore seem to have lived not very far east of Palestine. This view is confirmed by the fact that Pr 31[1-10] is addressed to **'Lemuel,** king of Massa' (see RVm), since Pr 30 and 31 belong to the border-land wisdom of Israel. It is probably not to be read in Pr 30[1], where the word 'Massa' (RVm) is presumably a gloss. Cf. Mesha, p. 607[a]. J. F. M'Curdy.

MASSAH AND MERIBAH.—Ex 17[1-7] (JE) tells of a miraculous gift of water at a spot near Horeb, which was called *Massah* and *Meribah* ('testing' and 'contention') because the people tested Jahweh by doubting His providence and contended with Moses. It is implied that this occurred about a year after the Exodus. Nu 20[1-13], a later narrative (P), gives a similar account, but puts it thirty-seven years later, and with important variations. The scene is now laid at **Kadesh,** which receives the name *Meribah* from the contention of Israel with Jahweh. Moses and Aaron also sin against Him. There are references to the first passage in Dt 6[16] 9[22], Ps 95[8]; and to the second in Dt 32[51], Ps 106[32]; in Ps 81[7] the two are apparently confused. Dt 33[8] regards the events at Kadesh in a peculiar light: here Jahweh proves *Levi* at Massah and strives with (or for) him at Meribah. The tendency of recent criticism is to consider Ex 17 and Nu 20 as duplicate records of the same event, the locality of which must be fixed at Kadesh, where the spring '*Ain Kadîs* creates a fertile oasis. There the tribes were blended into a strong unity. *Meribah,* on this interpretation, originally signified 'the place of judgment,' because Moses delivered there his oracular sentences; cf. 'waters of Meribah' and **'En-mishpat'** (Gn 14[7]).

Massah never stands alone, save at Dt 6[11] 9[22]. As variants of 'Meribah' we find 'waters of Meribah,' 'waters of **Meribah-kadesh,'** and, at Ezk 47[19], 'waters of **Meriboth-kadesh,'** if the reading be correct. Ezk 47[19] 48[28] place Meribah on the southern border of the restored nation. It has been plausibly suggested that *Meribôth-kadesh* is the correct reading instead of 'ten thousands of holy ones' in Dt 33[2]. J. Taylor.

MASSIAS (1 Es 9[22]) = **Maaseiah** Ezr 10[22].

MASSORAH, MASSORETES.—See Text of OT.

MASTER.—The Greek word for teacher is tr. 'master' in 2 Mac 1[10], Ja 3[1], and in all its occurrences in the Gospels except Lk 2[46], where it is 'doctor,' and Jn 3[2] 'teacher.' See Lord and Slave.

MASTIC (*tsorî,* Gn 37[25] RVm, EV 'balm' (wh. see), *schinos,* Sus 54).—A dicecious shrub (the *pistacia lentiscus* L.), found in thickets on the Mediterranean seaboard. The gum obtained through cuttings in the bark is chewed as a dentifrice, and also for its pleasant taste and perfume. It is sometimes used as a flavouring by confectioners. W. Ewing.

MATHELAS (1 Es 9[11]) = **Maaseiah,** Ezr 10[18].

MATRED.—The mother-in-law (?) of Hadar (Gn.) or Hadad (Ch.), one of the kings of Edom, Gn 36[39] = 1 Ch 1[50]. In Gn. the LXX and Pesh. make Matred the *son* not the *daughter* of Me-zahab (wh. see).

MATRITES.—A family of the tribe of Benjamin to which Saul belonged (1 S 10[21]).

MATTAN.—**1.** Priest of Baal (2 K 11[18], 2 Ch 23[17]). **2.** Father of Shephatiah, a contemporary of Jeremiah (Jer 38[1]).

MATTANAH.—A 'station' of the Israelites (Nu 21[18. 19]). No satisfactory identification has been made.

MATTANIAH.—**1.** The original name of king Zedekiah (2 K 24[17]). **2.** An Asaphite (1 Ch 9[15]), leader of the Temple choir (Neh 11[17] 12[8]), door-keeper (12[25. 35]). **3.** Mattaniah in 2 Ch 20[14] should probably be identified with the preceding. **4. 5. 6. 7.** Four of those who had married foreign wives, Ezr 10[26] (called in 1 Es 9[27] **Matthanias**), v.[27] (called in 1 Es 9[28] **Othonias**), v.[30] (called in 1 Es 9[31] **Matthanias**), v.[37] (combined in 1 Es 9[34] with the following Mattenai into **Mamnitanemus**). **8.** A Levite who had charge of the offerings (Neh 13[13]). **9.** A Hemanite (1 Ch 25[4. 16]). **10.** An Asaphite (2 Ch 29[13]).

MATTATHA.—An ancestor of Jesus (Lk 3[31]).

MATTATHIAS.—**1.** A Jew, who had married a foreign wife (1 Es 9[33]); called in Ezr 10[33] **Mattattah.** **2.** One of the men who stood at the right hand of Ezra during the reading of the Law (1 Es 9[43]); in Neh 8[4] **Mattithiah.** **3.** The father of the five Maccabæan brothers (1 Mac 2[1. 14. 16f. 19. 24. 27. 39. 45. 49] 14[29]). See Maccabees, § 1. **4.** A captain in the army of Jonathan the Maccabæan (1 Mac 11[70]). **5.** A son of Simon the high priest, who was murdered, together with his father and brother Judas, at a banquet at Dok, by Ptolemy the son of Abubus (1 Mac 16[14-16]). **6.** One of three envoys sent by Nicanor to treat with Judas Maccabæus (2 Mac 14[19]). **7. 8.** Two ancestors of Jesus (Lk 3[25. 26]).

MATTATTAH.—See Mattathias, No. **1.**

MATTENAI.—**1. 2.** Two of those who had married foreign wives, Ezr 10[33] (called in 1 Es 9[33] **Maltanneus**), v.[37] (combined in 1 Es 9[34] with the preceding Mattaniah into **Mamnitanemus**). **3.** Representative of the priestly house of Joiarib in the days of Joiakim (Neh 12[19]).

MATTHAN.—Grandfather of Joseph (Mt 1[15]); perhaps to be identified with **Matthat,** who occupies the same place in Lk 3[24].

MATTHANIAS.—**1.** 1 Es 9[27] = **Mattaniah,** Ezr 10[26]. **2.** 1 Es 9[31] = **Mattaniah,** Ezr 10[30].

MATTHAT.—**1.** See Matthan. **2.** Another ancestor of Jesus (Lk 3[24. 29]).

MATTHEW (APOSTLE).—Two sets of parallel passages, both from the Petrine tradition, tell us of this chosen companion of our Lord. The first (Mt 9[9], Mk 2[14], Lk 5[27]) narrates his call. He was named both 'Matthew' (Mt.) and **'Levi'** (Mk. [where some Western MSS read 'James'] and Lk.), and was the son of Alphæus (Mk.). He was a publican (Lk.), and was 'sitting at the place of toll' (Mt., Mk., Lk.) near Capernaum, which lay on the road from Damascus to the Mediterranean; here he collected dues for Herod the tetrarch. No doubt he was only an agent, not one of the wealthy farmers of the taxes. Nevertheless he must have been fairly rich, and had much to give up in following Jesus. The call is followed by a meal (Mt., Mk.), a great feast given to Jesus by Matthew himself (Lk.), which roused the anger of the 'scribes of the Pharisees.' The name 'Matthew' probably means 'Gift of Jahweh' (cf. 'Theodore'), and is another form of 'Matthias'; though some take it as meaning 'strong,' 'manly.' It was doubtless given to Levi as an additional name, perhaps (like 'Peter') by our Lord Himself.

The second set of passages gives the list of the Twelve (Mt 10[3], Mk 3[18], Lk 6[15], Ac 1[13]). In all these the surname 'Matthew' is given, not 'Levi,' just as 'Bartholomew' and 'Thomas' are surnames; and in all four Bartholomew, Matthew, Thomas, and James the (son) of Alphæus are mentioned together, though not always in the same order. In two lists (Mt., Ac.) Matthew comes

next to James (though they are not joined together as a pair); in the other two, next but one. If then we take the view that this James is neither the brother of our Lord, nor yet the same as James the Little (Mk 15^{40}), and if we negative the idea that 'Alphæus' (Aram. *Khalphai*) and 'Clopas' are one name, there is perhaps something to be said for the opinion that Matthew and James were brothers. But they are not mentioned together elsewhere. Only in the Mt. list is the designation 'the publican' added. For Matthew's connexion with the First Gospel, see the next article. We have no trustworthy information as to his later career.

A. J. Maclean.

MATTHEW, GOSPEL ACCORDING TO.—1. The First Gospel in the Early Church.—Papias (*c.* A.D. 140 or earlier), as quoted by Eusebius (*HE* iii. 39), says: 'Matthew, however, composed the *logia* in the Hebrew dialect, but each one interpreted them as he was able.' This remark occurs in his work *The Exposition of the Lord's logia*, and is practically all the external information that we have about the Matthæan Gospel, except that Irenæus says: 'Matthew among the Hebrews published a Gospel in their own dialect, when Peter and Paul were preaching in Rome and founding the Church' (*Hær.* iii. 1). Irenæus is probably quoting from Papias. In the 4th cent., Eusebius tells a story of Pantænus finding in the 2nd cent. the original Aramaic Mt. in India, but the story is very uncertain; Epiphanius says that the Aramaic Gospel of Matthew existed in his day, in the possession of an Ebionite sect (distinguished in modern times as Elkesaites), and describes it; and Jerome describes what he alleges to be the original of Mt. as in use among the Nazarenes, and says that he translated it into Greek. We have therefore first to interpret Papias, and then to deal with the later testimonies.

(*a*) *What does Papias mean by the 'logia'?*—The word may be translated 'oracles' or 'discourses,' and it is much disputed which sense we should take here. The interpretation of many (Westcott, Lightfoot, etc., who choose the translation 'oracles') is that it is an early word for the Gospels. The 'Lord's logia' which Papias expounded would be the story of our Lord's life and teaching, and Papias would mean that Matthew wrote his Gospel in Hebrew (cf. Ro 3^{2} where 'oracles' *may* mean only God's sayings, but more naturally may be taken to mean the whole of the OT). Certainly the word in the 1st cent. was used of any sacred writing, whether discourse or narrative. Others deny that at so early a date a NT writing as such could be called 'the Lord's oracles,' and take *logia* to mean 'discourses.' But from this point critics have diverged. Many understand Papias to mean that Matthew wrote our Lord's sayings *only*; but this does not appear from his words. The argument against the translation 'oracles' is deprived of force if we understand the reference to be, not necessarily to a written record, but to the Gospel story pure and simple, whether written or oral. Papias would then mean that Matthew wrote down the Gospel story in Hebrew. Even if we take the translation 'discourses' or 'sayings,' it is extremely unlikely that Papias meant that Matthew's Gospel contained no narrative, though it is quite likely that discourse predominated in it. (For Renan's theory, see art. Mark [Gospel acc. to]).

(*b*) *What does Papias mean about the original language of Matthew?*—All the testimony as to its being Aramaic ['Hebrew'] probably reduces itself to this one sentence. One interpretation is that Matthew wrote down Jesus' sayings in Aramaic, but did not expound them, and that Papias' own book had this object. But most writers understand Papias to mean that individuals translated Matthew's work into their own language for themselves. If so, this period must have been over in Papias' time, for he uses the past tense 'interpreted'; he must have had a Greek Matthew before him. And our Mt. is clearly an original composition, derived from *Greek* sources, such as Mk. and other documents, at any rate for the most part (see art. Gospels), and is not a translation from Aramaic. There is no reason for thinking that the Matthæan Gospel actually used by Papias was other than ours. We have then to ask, Did Papias make a mistake about the original language? We know that there was a 'Gospel of the Hebrews' current early in the 2nd cent., known to Hegesippus, probably to the writer of the *Clementine Homilies*, perhaps to Ignatius. Jerome knew of it and gives us extracts from it; and Epiphanius knew of a derived or kindred Gospel, used by the sect of the Nazarenes and containing several episodes different from our canonical narrative, *e.g.* in connexion with our Lord's baptism, and His appearance to James after the Resurrection (cf. 1 Co 15^{7}). In this Gospel the Holy Spirit is called the 'Mother' of Christ, the word 'Spirit' being feminine in Aramaic. Most critics (but Hilgenfeld and Harnack are exceptions) agree that this Gospel is later than our canonical four; Zahn gives good reasons for thinking that it is derived directly from our Mt.; and it is possible that Papias made the mistake fallen into later by Jerome, and, knowing that there was an Aramaic Gospel in existence purporting to be by Matthew (though he had apparently never seen it), thought that it was St. Matthew's in reality. Eusebius says that he was a man of not much understanding. He may, then, have erroneously thought that St. Matthew, writing in Palestine for Jewish Christians, must have written in Aramaic (Salmon). Another solution, however, is more commonly received. Papias is our only authority before Irenæus for attributing a Gospel to St. Matthew. Possibly then the Apostle Matthew may have written in Aramaic a document incorporated in, or largely drawn upon by, our First Gospel—*e.g.* the original of the Greek 'non-Markan document' (see art. Gospels); and this fact may account for his name being attached even early in the 2nd cent. to the First Gospel. Both these solutions seem to be quite possible; but it is not possible to suppose that *our First Gospel* was originally written in Aramaic.

Quotations from Mt. are found in the Epistle of 'Barnabas' (*c.* A.D. 100?), one with the formula 'as it is written.'

2. Contents, sources, and characteristics of the Gospel. The Birth narrative (chs. 1. 2) rests on an unknown source (see Luke [Gospel acc. to], § 3), and is independent of the other Synoptics. The Baptist's preaching, Jesus' baptism and temptation, the early ministry, and the calling of Simon, Andrew, James, and John (chs. 3. 4) follow the 'Petrine tradition' with additions from the non-Markan source (esp. in the Baptism and Temptation), from which also the Sermon on the Mount (chs. 5–7) comes. The narrative of the Galilæan ministry (which extends from 4^{12} to 16^{20}) is taken mainly from these two sources, but the order of neither is strictly adhered to. It includes the Charge to the Twelve (ch. 10), a large number of parables (ch. 13), and many miracles, some peculiar to Mt. From 16^{21} to the end of the book is the story of the Passion with the preparation for it, including the Transfiguration (17^{1-8}), the Discourse on the End (ch. 24), the parables which specially speak of the Passion and of the End of the World ($20^{1ff.}$ $21^{33ff.}$ $22^{1ff.}$ $25^{1ff.}$ $^{14ff.}$), and warnings against Pharisaism (esp. ch. 23). In the story of the Passion itself Mt. follows Mk. very closely, but has some additions.

We may now consider the manner in which the First Evangelist has treated his sources. We are at once struck with a great difference of order. Incidents are grouped together according to subject rather than to chronology. The Sermon on the Mount is a collection of sayings which were uttered at different times, as we see from Lk., where they occur in various contexts (Lk 6^{20-49} 11^{2-4} $12^{22ff.}$ $^{58ff.}$ etc.). It contains a passage (Mt 5^{20}) which would suggest (if Mt. were a chronological work) that the breach with the Pharisees had already, at that early stage, taken place; whereas Mk. shows how gradual the breach was (see the various stages in Mk. $2^{18ff.}$ ^{24} 3^{22} 7^{5}). At first Jesus treats the Pharisees

gently, and gives them explanations of difficulties; only when they are obstinate does He denounce them. This shows that Mt 5^{20} is not in its chronological order. Then, again, many of the parables in Mt. are grouped together (see ch. 13), but they would not have been spoken all at one time. The Charge to the Twelve (ch. 10) includes much of the Charge to the Seventy and other sayings to the disciples in Lk 6, 12–14, 17. The Discourse on the End in Mt. is grouped (see § 5). The groups in Mt. are often closed with a formula taken from Dt 31^{1} [LXX]; thus—7^{28} (Sermon on the Mount), 11^{1} (Charge to the Twelve), 13^{53} (group of parables), 19^{1} 26^{1} (groups of warnings). In fact, the First Evangelist aims at a synoptic view of Christ's teaching as a whole rather than at a chronological statement. In one or two particulars only, Mt. seems to borrow the grouping tendency from Mk., as in the case of the anointing at Bethany (Mt $26^{6ff.}$, Mk $14^{3ff.}$), which is related in close connexion with Judas' compact with the chief priests (the Evangelists seem to mean that the 'waste' of the ointment greatly influenced the traitor's action), whereas Jn. (12^{1}) gives the more chronologically correct position of the incident, 'six days before the passover.'

Another feature of Mt. is the frequency of quotations from the OT, and the mystical interpretations given. The interests of the First Evangelist lie largely in the fulfilment of prophecy (5^{17}). The principles of interpretation common among the Jews are applied; a text, for example, which in its literal sense applies to the Exodus, is taken to refer to the departure of the Child Jesus from Egypt (2^{15}, Hos 11^{1}), and the Evangelist conceives of events as coming to pass that prophecy might be fulfilled ($1^{22f.}$; cf. $2^{15.\ 17f.\ 23}$ $4^{14ff.}$ 8^{17} $12^{17ff.}$ 13^{35} $21^{4f.}$ $27^{9f.}$). It is thought that the second ass, which is found only in the Matthæan narrative of the Triumphal Entry ($21^{1ff.}$, the ass and 'a colt the foal of an ass'), is due to the influence of the words of the prophecy, Zec 9^{9}; for the narrative is taken closely from the Petrine tradition, but the second ass of Mt. is an addition to it. So the 'wine mingled with gall' (27^{34}) for the 'wine mingled with myrrh' (lit. 'myrrhed wine') of the Petrine tradition (Mk 15^{23}) seems to be due to Ps 69^{21}. The treatment of the non-Markan source is similar. In Lk $11^{29f.}$ Jesus refers to the sign of Jonah and to the repentance of the Ninevites, to whom, by his preaching, Jonah was a sign; but the First Evangelist sees (with justice) a type of our Lord's Resurrection in the story of Jonah in the belly of the whale (Mt $12^{39ff.}$; see, further, Robinson, *Study of the Gospels*, p. 96 f.).—The matter peculiar to Mt. is large in amount. Besides the Birth narratives we have the healing of the two blind men ($9^{27ff.}$), and of the blind and dumb demoniacs ($9^{32f.}$ $12^{22f.}$, thought by some to be one incident), the walking of St. Peter on the water ($14^{28ff.}$), the coin in the fish's mouth (17^{24}), Pilate's wife's dream and Pilate's washing of his hands ($27^{19.\ 24f.}$), and some other incidents, especially in the Passion; also many sayings, and part of the Sermon on the Mount.

3. Purpose of the Gospel.—That it was written for Jewish Christians appears from the frequency of OT quotations, from the mystical interpretations, and from the absence of explanations of Jewish customs. Yet the author was no Judaizer. He alone tells us of the visit of the Gentile Magi; with Lk, he relates the healing of the Gentile centurion's servant ($8^{5f.}$); and the admission of the Gentiles to the Kingdom and the rejection of some of the Jews is announced in $8^{11f.}$ (cf. 21^{43}). The Gospel is to be preached, and baptism and discipleship are to be given, to all nations (28^{19}).

4. Author.—The question of authorship has partly been anticipated in § 1. The earliest MSS give the title simply as 'According to Matthew,' and similar titles to the other Gospels. The titles need not be, indeed almost certainly are not, those of the original authors, but they must have been applied at a very early date. What do they imply? It has been thought that they meant merely that the Gospels reflected the preaching of the persons named (so Bartlet in Hastings' *DB* iii. 297). But in that case the Second Gospel would be entitled 'According to Peter,' a title very close to Justin Martyr's 'Memoirs of Peter,' which probably refers to Mk. (see art. MARK [GOSPEL ACC. TO], § 1). There can be little doubt that those who used the title in the second half of the 2nd cent. meant it to imply authorship. It is a question, however, whether *at the first* the phrase actually meant that the Gospel in its latest form was the work of the author named. For lack of external information as to the First Gospel, we are driven to internal evidence. But this would not lead us to think of the author or (if the phrase be preferred) the editor who brought the Gospel into its present form as an Apostle and eye-witness. Unlike Jn., which claims to be written by an eye-witness (Jn. 1^{14} 19^{35}),—a claim fully borne out by internal evidence,—and unlike Mk., which abounds in autoptic characteristics,—though in that case we have reason to think that they come not from the writer, but from the writer's teacher,—the First Gospel has none of the marks of an eye-witness. The autoptic characteristics of the Petrine tradition have in many cases been taken away by the alterations introduced by the First Evangelist (see art. MARK [GOSPEL ACC. TO], § 4). The conclusion is that it was not the Apostle Matthew who gave us the Gospel in its present form. The name comes simply from ecclesiastical testimony of the 2nd cent., and not from the sacred writings themselves. Yet the Matthæan tradition is strong. Even Papias, apparently, thought that the Greek Matthæan Gospel which he used was a translation of the Apostle's work. And there is no rival claimant to the authorship. On the other hand, Matthew, as an Apostle, was a sufficiently prominent person for an anonymous work to be assigned to him, especially if he had written a work which was one of its sources. These considerations may lead us to prefer the second solution mentioned above, in § 1 (*b*)—that Matthew the Apostle composed the Aramaic original of the Greek 'non-Markan document,' the 'Logia' (not consisting of sayings only, but of sayings and narrative combined), and that in this way his name became attached to the First Gospel. The real author must remain unknown. That the work of an Apostle should have entirely disappeared is not a very serious difficulty when we reflect on the number of St. Paul's Epistles that have perished.

5. Date.—Irenæus (*Hær.* iii. 1. 1) explicitly states that Matthew wrote first, 'while Peter and Paul were preaching the gospel in Rome,' but that Mark wrote 'after their departure.' In the Muratorian Fragment (*c.* 180–200?), a list of NT books, Mt. seems to have come before the rest, though, as it is incomplete at the beginning, this is not certain. This probably was also the general opinion of the succeeding ages, and finds an echo in Augustine's dictum that Mk. is an abbreviation of Mt. But internal evidence strongly negatives the idea of the priority of Mt. (see MARK [GOSPEL ACC. TO]). Though it is possible to make some reservations as to editorial touches, Mk. is seen to have been in the hands of the Matthæan writer; and whatever date we fix for it must be the earliest limit for Mt. We can get a further indication from the Discourse on the End (Mt $24^{1ff.}$). Both in Mt. and Mk. (whatever be thought of Lk.) the discourse is reported as if the fulfilment were only in prospect, and in a manner that would be unlikely if the siege of Titus had already taken place. This conclusion becomes still more likely when we compare the three Synoptics together. They all three begin with the destruction of the Temple (Mk $13^{1.\ 2}$ and ‖ Mt. Lk.). In Mk. and Lk. there follows a discourse which apparently speaks of the destruction of Jerusalem (Mk 13^{5-20}), and then there comes in Mk. and partly in Lk. a passage which seems to refer to the end of the world (Mk 13^{21-37}). But the First Evangelist, as so often, weaves together the sayings of Jesus which in Mk. are distinct, and makes the two events apparently one. (Cf. Mt 24^{3} with Mk 13^{4}, Lk 21^{7}). Thus the writer must have thought that both events would be synchronous, and therefore must have written his account of the prophecy before the Fall of Jerusalem. That this is so we may see by a contrast. The Fourth Evangelist gives a prophecy of our Lord which had been fulfilled when he wrote; but he refers to

the fulfilment (Jn 21[18f.], the death of St. Peter). It is, of course, possible that the Discourse was written down as we have it in Mt. before A.D. 70, and that a later writer incorporated it unchanged. But would not the later writer have betrayed some consciousness of the fulfilment of the prophecy? For these reasons a date before A.D. 70 is probable. But this conclusion is much disputed, and in any case we must acknowledge that the authorship and date of the First Gospel are among the most perplexing of all NT problems.

A. J. MACLEAN.

MATTHEW'S BIBLE.—See ENGLISH VERSIONS, § 20.

MATTHIAS ('gift of Jehovah').—The disciple who was nominated against Joseph Barsabbas (see JOSEPH [in NT], No. 6) and chosen to fill the place of Judas. Of his antecedents the NT records nothing beyond the fact that he had been a disciple from the beginning of the Lord's ministry; and of his subsequent career it tells nothing whatsoever.

Tradition is more lavish of information. Matthias, it is said, had been one of the Seventy (cf. Lk 10[1]), and he justified his election by evangelizing the savages of Ethiopia and writing two books—a Gospel and a work entitled 'Traditions' (*Paradoseis*). From the latter Clement of Alexandria quotes two sayings: (1) 'Wonder at the things before you' ('making this,' he explains, 'the first step to the knowledge beyond.' Cf. Plato's doctrine that wonder is the beginning of philosophy); (2) 'If an elect man's neighbour sin, the elect man has sinned.

It is thought by some that the election of Matthias was a blunder, due to the impetuosity of St. Peter; and there is reason for the opinion. (1) It was a hasty step. It was taken during the season when the disciples were waiting, according to the Lord's command (Ac 1[4]), for 'the promise of the Father,' the Baptism of the Spirit. (2) The method was objectionable. (*a*) The qualification required in the new Apostle was not a spiritual one: he must be a man who had been with Jesus all along. It was his lack of this qualification that made the Jewish Christians deny St. Paul's Apostleship. (*b*) They prayed for guidance, and then, instead of trusting to Divine direction, they had recourse to the superstitious practice of casting lots—a practice nowhere else observed in the Apostolic Church. Had they waited until they were endued with power from on high, they would have acted otherwise. As a matter of fact the election of Matthias was set aside by God. The true successor to the vacant office was St. Paul.

DAVID SMITH.

MATTITHIAH.—1. One of the sons of Nebo who had married a foreign wife (Ezr 10[43]); called in 1 Es 9[35] **Mazitias.** **2.** A Korahite Levite (1 Ch 9[31]). **3.** A Levite of the guild of Jeduthun (1 Ch 15[18. 21] 25[3. 21]). **4.** An Asaphite Levite (1 Ch 16[5]). **5.** See **Mattathias**, No. **2.**

MATTOCK.—The mattock of Is 7[25] is rather the **hoe** with which land inaccessible to the plough was hoed—noun and verb being the same here, cf. 5[6] RV 'hoed' for AV 'digged.' For descriptions and illustrations of the triangular hoe and the mattock, or pick, of modern Palestine, see *PEFSt*, 1901, p. 110 f., and Hastings' *DB* iii. 306. The passage 1 S 13[20f.] is very corrupt, and in v.[20] at least 'mattock' should probably be 'goad.' The same applies to 2 Ch 34[6], where AVm suggests 'mauls,' and RV has 'ruins.'

A. R. S. KENNEDY.

MAUL.—See ARMOUR AND ARMS, § 1 (*f*).

MAUZZIM.—The Heb. phrase *'ĕlōah mā'uzzīm* (Dn 11[38]) has been very variously understood. We need not discuss the different renderings that have been proposed, as there is now practical agreement to tr. with RV 'god of fortresses,' and 'fortresses' for *mā'uzzim* again in v.[39]. It is not so easy to decide which god is intended. Antiochus Epiphanes is the king referred to. He had begun to build a temple to Jupiter Capitolinus in Antioch (Livy, xli. 20). Holtzmann (Guthe's *Bibelwörterbuch*, *s.v.*), and others, therefore, conclude that he is the god meant. But Antiochus also sent 'an old man from Athens' to 'pollute the temple in Jerusalem, and to call it the temple of Jupiter Olympius' (2 Mac 6[2]). Hence some have claimed consideration for the Olympian Jupiter. On the available data, no certain decision is possible.

W. EWING.

MAW.—This Old Eng. word for the stomach is used by AV in Dt 18[3], and by RV in Jer 51[34]. Coverdale tr. 1 K 22[34], 'A certayne man bended his bowe harde and shott the kynge of Israel betwene the mawe and the longes.'

MAZITIAS (1 Es 9[35]) = **Mattithiah**, Ezr 10[43].

MAZZALOTH, MAZZAROTH.—See STARS.

MAZZEBAH.—See PILLAR.

MAZZOTH.—See LEAVEN, PASSOVER.

MEADOW.—This word disappears from RV in the only two places where it is found in AV (Gn 41[2. 18], Jg 20[33]). In the former passages the Heb. reads *'ăchū*, an Egyptian word which probably means **'reed grass'** (RV), and may possibly cover the natural pasture lands of old Egypt. It occurs again in Job 8[11] (EV 'rush,' RVm 'papyrus'). In Jg 20[33], where RV simply transliterates **'Maareh-geba,'** it is practically certain that we should read *ma'arab*, and translate 'from the west of Gibeah'; see GIBEAH, No. **2.** In RV 'meadows' stands for *'ārōth* (Is 19[7], AV **'paper reeds'**), where it is possible that *'ārōth* may be a misreading for *'ăchōth*.

W. EWING.

MEAL.—See FOOD, § 2.

MEAL-OFFERING.—See SACRIFICE, § 11.

MEALS.—In the art. FOOD attention was confined to the various articles of diet supplied by the vegetable and animal kingdoms. It now remains to study the methods by which these were prepared for the table, the times at which, and the manner in which, they were served.

1. *Preparation of food.*—The preparation of the food of the household was the task of the women thereof, from the days of Sarah (Gn 18[6]) to those of Martha. Only the houses of royalty and the great nobles had apartments specially adapted for use as kitchens, with professional **cooks,** male (1 S 9[23]) and female (8[13]). At the chief sanctuaries, also, there must have been some provision for the cooking of the sacrificial meals (1 S 2[13ff.]), although Ezekiel (46[24] RV) is the first to mention **'boiling-houses'** in this connexion (cf. Ex 29[31], Lv 8[31]).

The usual method of cooking and serving meat can have differed but little from that most commonly observed at the present day in Syria. The meat is cut into larger or smaller pieces (1 S 2[13], Ezk 24[3ff.]; cf. Micah's telling metaphor 3[3]), and put into the cooking-pot with water. It is then left to stew, vegetables and rice being added. Such a stew—with perhaps crushed wheat in place of rice—was the 'savoury meat' which Rebekah prepared for her husband from 'two kids of the goats' (Gn 27[9]). When meat was boiled in a larger quantity of water than was required for the more usual stew, the result was the **broth** of Jg 6[19f.], from which we learn that the meat and the broth might be served separately. The cooking-pots were of earthenware and bronze (Lv 6[28]. For an account of cooking utensils generally, with references to illustrations, see HOUSE, § 9).

In addition to boiling, or, as in EV more frequently, **seething** ('sod,' 'sodden,' Gn 25[29], Ex 12[9] etc.; but Amer. RV has 'boil' throughout), **roasting** was much in vogue, and is, indeed, the oldest of all methods of preparing meat. Originally the meat was simply laid upon hot stones from which the embers had been removed, as in the parallel case of the 'cake baken on the coals' (1 K 19[6] RVm). The **fish** of which the disciples partook by the Sea of Galilee was cooked on the charcoal itself. A more refined mode of roasting was by means of a spit

of iron or wood. In NT times the Passover lamb had always to be roasted in an oven, suspended by a spit of pomegranate laid across the mouth.

Eggs (Job 6^6, Lk 11^{12}), we read in the Mishna, might be cooked by being boiled in the shell, or broken and fried, or mixed with oil and fried in a saucepan.

As regards the important group of the **cereals,** wheat and barley ears were roasted on an iron plate or in a pan, producing the **'parched corn'** (Amer. RV 'parched grain') of OT. A porridge of coarse wheat or barley meal has also been referred to under Food, § **2.** The seeds of the leguminous plants were mostly boiled (Gn 25^{29}; cf. 2 K 4^{38}). A 'good savour' (1 Es 1^{12}) was imparted to the stew by the addition of other vegetables of a more pungent character, such as onions. In short, it may be affirmed that the Hebrew housewives were in no way behind their modern kinsfolk of the desert, of whom Doughty testifies that 'the Arab housewives make savoury messes of any grain, seething it and putting thereto only a little salt and *samn* [clarified butter].'

The direction in which Hebrew, like most Eastern, cooking diverged most widely from that of our northern climate was in the more extensive use of **olive oil,** which served many of the purposes of butter and fat among ourselves. Not only was oil mixed with vegetables, but it was largely used in cooking fish and eggs (as we have just seen), and in the finer sorts of baking. The poor widow of Zarephath's 'little oil' was not intended for her lamps, but to bake her 'handful of meal' withal (1 K 17^{12}). The flour was first mixed with oil, then shaped into cakes and afterwards baked in the oven (Lv 2^4); or a species of thin flat cake might first be baked in the usual way and then smeared with oil. The latter are the 'wafers anointed with oil' of Ex 29^2 etc. **Honey** and oil were also used together in the baking of sweet cakes (Ezk $16^{13.\ 19}$). In this connexion it is interesting to note that while Ex 16^{31} compares the taste of manna to that of 'wafers made with honey,' the parallel passage, Nu 11^8, compares it to 'the taste of cakes baked with oil' (RVm).

2. *The two chief meals.*—Among the Hebrews, as among their contemporaries in classical lands, it was usual to have but two meals, properly so called, in the day. Before beginning the work of the day the farmer in the country and the artizan in the city might 'break their fast' (Jn $21^{12.\ 15}$ RV) by eating a morsel of bread —the 'morning morsel' as it is called in the Talmud— with some simple relish, such as a few olives; but this was in no sense a meal. Indeed, to 'eat [a full meal] in the morning' was a matter for grave reproach (Ec 10^{16}).

The first **meal-time** (Ru 2^{14} RV), speaking generally, was at an hour when the climate demanded a rest from strenuous exertion, namely, about noon; the second and more important meal of the two was taken a little before or after sunset, when the labourers had 'come in from the field' (Lk 17^7). This was the **'supper** time' of 14^{17}. The former, the *ariston* of the Greeks—in EV rendered **dinner,** Mt 22^4, also Lk 11^{38} but RVm here **breakfast**—was in most cases a very simple meal. 'A servant plowing or keeping sheep' or harvesting would make his midday meal of bread soaked in light wine with a handful of parched corn (Ru 2^{14}), or of 'pottage and bread broken into a bowl' (Bel ^{33}), or of bread and boiled fish (Jn 21^{13}). All the evidence, including that of Josephus, goes to show that the second or evening meal was the principal meal of the day.

3. *Position at meals.*—Within the period covered by OT the posture of the Hebrews at meals, in so far as the men were concerned, was changed from **sitting** to **reclining.** In the earliest period of all, the Hebrews took their meals sitting, or more probably, squatting on the ground (Gn 37^{25} etc.), like the Bedouin and fellahin of the present day, among whom squatting 'with both knees downwards, and with the legs gathered tailor-fashion, alone is the approved fashion when at table' (*PEFSt*, 1905, 124). The food was served in a large wooden bowl placed upon a mat of leather or plaited grass, round which the company gathered. The first advance on this primitive practice was to present the food on a wooden or other tray, set upon a low stand raised but a few inches from the ground. The next step was the introduction of seats, which would naturally follow upon the change from nomadic to agricultural life after the conquest of Canaan. Saul and his messmates sat upon 'seats' (1 S 20^{25}), the precise form of which is not specified, as did Solomon and the high officials of his court (1 K 10^5, where the queen of Sheba admires the 'sitting,' *i.e.* the seated company of his servants; cf. 13^{20} etc.).

With the growth of wealth and luxury under the monarchy, the Syrian custom of reclining at meals gradually gained ground. In Amos' time it was still looked upon as an innovation peculiar to the wealthy nobles (Am 3^{12} 6^4). Two centuries later, Ezekiel is familiar with 'a stately bed' or couch (as Est 1^6 RV) with 'a table prepared before it' (Ezk 23^{41}). In the post-exilic period the custom must have taken firm root, for by the end of the 3rd cent. B.C. it was probably universal save among the very poor (Jth 12^{15}, To 2^1). In NT, accordingly, whenever **'sitting at meat'** is mentioned, we are to understand 'reclining,' as the margin of RV everywhere reminds us. At table, that is to say, the men—for women and children still *sat*—reclined on **couches** with wooden frames, upholstered with mattresses and provided with cushions, on which they leaned the left elbow (see Sir 41^{19}), using only the right hand to eat with (see § **5** below).

4. From the Mishna we learn that in NT times the **tables** were chiefly of wood, and furnished with three or four feet. They were lower and smaller than with us. The couches or divans were as a rule capable of accommodating several people. In the houses of the great each guest at a banquet might have a couch and table for himself. The Greek custom was to assign two, the Roman three, guests to each couch. As each guest reclined on his left elbow, *the person next on his right on the same couch* could be said to 'recline in the bosom' of his fellow-guest. Such were the relative positions of John and Jesus at the Last Supper (Jn 13^{23} RV).

5. *Procedure at meals,* etc. In our Lord's day, as we learn from the Gospels, great importance was attached by the Jewish authorities to the **'washing of hands'** before meals. This consisted of pouring water (which had been kept from possible defilement in large closed jars, the 'waterpots of stone' of Jn 2^6) over the hands and allowing it to run to the wrist (cf. Mk 7^3 RVm and commentaries).

This washing over, the food was brought in by the women of the household (Mk 1^{31}, Lk 10^{40}); in wealthy families by male slaves, the 'ministers' of 1 K 10^5, 'waiters' of Jth 13^1, 'servants' of Jn $2^{5.\ 9}$. At this stage **grace** was said. The date of the introduction of this custom is unknown, for 1 S 9^{13} is not a case in point. In NT the blessing before a meal has the repeated sanction of our Lord's example (Mt 15^{36} 26^{26} etc.; cf. Ac 27^{35} for Paul).

As to what may be termed, with the Mishna, 'the vessels for the service' of the table, these naturally varied with the social position of the household, and more or less with the progress of the centuries. In early times earthenware vessels would be used, for which, as civilization advanced, bronze would be substituted, and even in special cases, silver and gold (see House, § **9**). Bread, we know, was usually served in shallow wicker **baskets** (Ex 29^{23}). The main part of the meal in the homes of the people will have been served in one or more large **bowls** or **basins,** of earthenware or bronze, according to circumstances. Such was the **'dish'** into which our Lord dipped the 'sop' (Mt 26^{23}, Mk 14^{20}). A shallower dish is that rendered **'charger'** in Mt $14^{8.\ 11}$, and **'platter,'** Lk 11^{39}.

In the case of a typical dish of meat and vegetables, prepared as described above, those partaking of the meal helped themselves with the fingers of the right hand (Pr $19^{24}=26^{15}$ RV, Mt 26^{23}),—knives and forks being, of course, unknown at table,—while the more liquid parts were secured, as at the present day, by using pieces of thin wafer-like bread as improvised spoons, or simply by dipping a morsel of bread, the **sop** of Jn 13^{26}, into the dish. It was customary, as this passage shows, for the head of the family to hand pieces of food to various members; these are the **portions** of 1 S 1^4.

6. In the event of a Jew of some position resolving to entertain his friends at dinner, it was usual to send the invitations by his servants (Mt 22^3), and later to send them again with a reminder on the appointed day (v.^{4}, Lk 14^{17}). Arrived at his host's residence, the guest is received with a kiss (Lk 7^{45}), his feet are washed (v.^{44}), and his head is anointed with perfumed oil (v.^{38}; cf. Ps 23^5). He himself is dressed in white gala costume (Ec 9^8; see DRESS, § 7), for to come to such a feast in one's everyday garments would be an insult to one's host (cf. Mt $22^{11f.}$). After the **'chief places'** (Mt 23^6 RV; AV 'uppermost rooms') on the various couches had been assigned to the principal guests, the hands duly washed, and the blessing said, the meal began. This would consist of several courses, beginning with light appetizing dishes, such as salted fish, pickled olives, etc. During the course of the dinner those whom the host wished to single out for special distinction would receive, as a mark of favour, some dainty portion, such as Samuel had reserved for Saul (1 S 9^{23}). These were the **messes** sent by Joseph to his brethren (Gn 43^{34},—for a list of the parts of an animal in order of merit, so to say, used for this purpose at a fellahin banquet to-day, see *PEFSt*, 1905, 123).

At the close of the dinner the hands were again washed, the attendants bringing round the wherewithal, and tables with all sorts of fruit were brought in, over which a second blessing was said. Although wine was served in the first part of the **banquet** as well, it was at this second stage that the 'fruit of the vine' was chiefly enjoyed. The wine-cups were filled from the large mixing bowls (Jer 35^5) in which the wine had been diluted with water and perfumed with aromatic herbs. It was usual, also, to appoint a **'ruler of the feast'** (Jn 2^8 RV; cf. Sir 32^1) to regulate the manner and the quantity of the drinking, and to enforce penalties in the case of any breach of etiquette. 'Music and dancing' (Lk 15^{25}) and other forms of entertainment, such as the guessing of riddles (Jg $14^{12ff.}$), were features of this part of the banquet. For instruction in the 'minor morals' of the dinner-table, Jesus ben-Sira has provided the classical passages, Sir 31^{12-18} 32^{3-12}, expanding the wise counsel of the canonical author of Pr $23^{1f.}$.

A. R. S. KENNEDY.

MEARAH.—Mentioned amongst the districts of Palestine that had yet to be possessed (Jos 13^4). The text is doubtful.

MEASURES.—See WEIGHTS AND MEASURES.

MEASURING LINE, MEASURING REED.—See ARTS AND CRAFTS, §§ 1. 3.

MEAT.—This word is used in AV for food in general, as it is in Scotland still. Thus 2 Es 12^{51} 'I had my meat of the herbs'; cf. Hall, *Works* i. 806, 'There was never any meat, except the forbidden fruit, so deare bought as this broth of Jacob.'

MEAT-OFFERING.—See SACRIFICE, § 11.

MEBUNNAI.—The name in 2 S 23^{27} of one of David's thirty heroes. It is a scribal error for **Sibbecai**, the form which has been preserved in the parallel lists, 1 Ch 11^{29} 27^{11}, and also 2 S $21^{18}=1$ Ch 20^4.

MECHERATHITE.—1 Ch 11^{36}, prob. for 'Maachathite.'

MECONAH.—See MEKONAH.

MEDABA (1 Mac 9^{36}) =**Medeba** (wh. see).

MEDAD.—See ELDAD.

MEDAN.—One of the sons of Abraham and Keturah (Gn $25^2=1$ Ch 1^{32}). The existence of such a tribe, however, is very doubtful. In Gn 37^{36} 'Medanites' is miswritten for **Midianites** (see RVm), and there is every likelihood that in the former passage 'Medan' is a doublet of 'Midian,' the next word in the verse. Medan is unknown elsewhere in the Bible, nor is it represented by the name of any people in any extra-Biblical document. To connect it with the name of an Arabian god *Madān*, or with the similar name of a wady in N.W. Arabia, is very hazardous, both because the associations are remote, and because the word-form is common in Semitic, and is liable to occur in various relations.

J. F. M'CURDY.

MEDEBA (Nu 21^{30}, Jos $13^{9.\ 16}$, 1 Ch 19^7, Is 15^2).—A town in the *Mishor*, or 'plain' E. of Jordan, an hour and a half S. of Heshbon on the Roman road from Heshbon to Kerak. It was taken from Moab by Sihon and then conquered by Israel (Nu 21^{24-36}) and assigned to Reuben (Jos 13^{9-16} [v.^{9} 'all the tableland—Medeba to Dibon'; v.^{16} 'all the tableland to Medeba']). The Syrians who came to assist Ammon (1 Ch 19^{6-15}) pitched at Medeba, which was apparently then Ammonite. Later, Moab regained Medeba, for Omri, according to the Moabite Stone, l. 8, took *Mehedeba*, and Israel held it forty years, till Mesha recovered it and rebuilt the cities held by Omri and Ahab. Joram and Jehoshaphat made an unsuccessful attempt to retake these cities (2 K 3), but Jeroboam II. drove out the Moabites. Moab again held Medeba (Is 15^2, and probably also Jer 48^2; but see MADMEN). In Maccabæan times it was the stronghold of a robber clan, Jambri, which killed John, eldest son of Mattathias. Jonathan avenged this (1 Mac 9^{36-42}; Jos. *Ant.* XIII. i. 2, 4). John Hyrcanus besieged Medeba (Jos. *Ant.* XIII. ix. 1). Alexander Jannæus took it from the Arabians, and Hyrcanus II. promised to restore it to Aretas (*ib.* XIII. xv. 4, XIV. i. 4). During the Byzantine period Medeba was a flourishing Christian centre, the seat of a bishopric, and represented at the Council of Chalcedon. In 1880 a colony of Christians from Kerak settled there. Many ancient remains have come to light,—a large pool with solid walls, remains of gates, towers, four churches, some fine mosaics, especially a deeply interesting and important mosaic map of Christian Palestine and Egypt.

C. H. W. JOHNS.

MEDES, MEDIA.—A people and country called by the same word, **Madai**—in Hebrew and Assyrian. The Medes were the first of the Iranian immigrants to form a settled government on the borders of the old Semitic realm. As early as the 9th cent. B.C. they began to occupy the mountainous country south and south-east of the Caspian Sea, and by the middle of the 7th cent. their territory extended southward to the borders of Elam. Their chief city was Ecbatana, the Achmetha of Ezr 6^2 and the modern *Hamadān*. The Assyrians opposed them, and finally subdued them under Tiglath-pileser III. and Sargon, and the latter deported (B.C. 721) some of them as captives to Samaria (2 K 17^6 18^{11}). In the later years of the Assyrian empire they regained their independence, and under their king, Cyaxares, who had formed an alliance with the rising Chaldæan power, they destroyed the city of Nineveh (B.C. 607), and therewith the Assyrian dominion itself. By agreement with the Chaldæans, who restricted themselves to the lowlands, they speedily occupied the northern highlands as far as Cappadocia. Meanwhile the southern immigration from eastern Iran had settled to the east of the Persian Gulf and founded the Persian community. The southern portion of Elam soon fell to them, but they became vassals of their Median kindred. Under Cyrus the Great, Astyages, king of the Medes, yielded his throne to the **Persians** (B.C. 550), who henceforth held the hegemony of the Iranian race.

Among the Semitic peoples, however, the name of the Medes continued long to be more familiar than that of the Persians, partly by reason of their greater antiquity, and partly because the Medes formed the principal portion of the Iranian population. Hence the word is more frequent than 'Persia,' except in the later books of the OT. *Madai* is mentioned in Gn 10^2 among the sons of Japheth, with no allusion to the Persians. So the Medes and not the Persians are mentioned in prophecy as the prospective destroyers of Babylon (Is 13^{17} 21^2, Jer 25^{25} 51^{11}; cf. ELAM, p. 211b). In Ac 2^9 the Medes are vaguely mentioned, where the reference is to Jews or proselytes living in Media and using the language of the country. Media was of great importance in the history of religion, since it was there, probably in the early years of the 7th cent. B.C., that Zoroaster lived and taught. J. F. M'CURDY.

MEDIATOR, MEDIATION.—The word 'mediator' (Gr. *mesitēs*) occurs in the NT, once of Moses as the mediator of the Law (Gal $3^{19.\ 20}$), in the other instances of Christ as the 'one mediator between God and man' (1 Ti 2^5), and the mediator of a 'better' (He 8^6), or 'new' (9^{15} 12^{24}, in latter passage 'new' in sense of 'recent') covenant. The verbal form occurs in He 6^{17} [RV 'interposed (Gr. mediated) with an oath']. The LXX has the term once in Job 9^{33} (EV **'daysman'**). But the idea of mediation, that is, of God dealing with man, or man with God, not directly but through the interposition of another, has a leading place throughout Scripture. Different aspects of mediation, however, need to be distinguished. As regards the fundamental relation of man to God, Jesus, in the NT, is the one and sole Mediator.

1. The most general form of mediation is *intercessory prayer*. This is the privilege of all (cf. Ja 5^{16}). Well-known Scripture examples are the intercession of Abraham for Sodom (Gn 18^{23-33}), of Moses for Israel (Ex 32^{30-34}), of Samuel for Israel (1 S 7^{8-12}). Jeremiah (15^1) singles out Moses and Samuel as the chief representatives of this form of prayer. Probably an element of intercession enters into all effective mediation. St. John (ch. 17) preserves the great intercessory prayer of Jesus after the Last Supper, and intercession is declared to be a chief exercise of Christ's mediatorial function in heaven (Ro 8^{34}, He 7^{25}, 1 Jn 1^1). Intercessory prayer is a duty of the Christian (1 Ti $2^{1.\ 2}$), but always and only in the name of Christ, who in the same context is declared to be the 'one mediator' (v.5).

2. Mediation has a peculiar place in *the formation of the great covenants*. It is the singular fact in connexion with the covenant with Abraham of which St. Paul and the Epistle to the Hebrews in different ways take notice, that it involved no mediator (Gn 12^{1-3} 15. 17). It was a covenant of promise absolutely (Gal 3^{15-18}). This seems to be the force of St. Paul's peculiar saying, 'Now a mediator is not a mediator of one; but God is one' (Gal 3^{20}; there were not, as in the covenant through Moses, two contracting parties; the covenant proceeded solely from God, and was unconditional). In He 6^{13-18} this is carried further. God himself took the place of Mediator in this covenant, and, because He could swear by no higher than Himself, 'interposed (mediated) with an oath' in ratification of His promise (cf. Gn 22^{15-18}). It is different in the covenant with Israel at Sinai, where Moses is throughout (by God's appointment and the people's own desire, Ex 19^{10-25} 20^{18-21}) the mediator between God and the people (Gal 3^{19}, point of contrast between law and promise). Finally, mediation is the law in the 'new' and 'better' covenant, as the passages in Hebrews declare. The reason is that this perfect and eternal covenant, procuring forgiveness of sins, and removing all barriers to access to God, could be formed only on the basis of a reconciling sacrifice; and this Jesus alone, the Son of God, had the qualification to offer. It is noticeable, therefore, that all the passages that speak of Jesus as 'Mediator' do it in direct connexion with His sacrificial death; 1 Ti 2^5 'one mediator between God and men, himself man, Christ Jesus' connects with v.6 'who gave himself a ransom for all'; He 9^{15} declares: 'For this cause he is the mediator of a new covenant, that a death having taken place for the redemption of the transgressions that were under the first covenant' (cf. Ro 3^{25}); 12^{24}, where to come 'to Jesus the mediator of a new covenant' is to come 'to the blood of sprinkling, that speaketh better than that of Abel'; so also 8^6 (cf. the context, v.3). It is this fact, that Jesus has made the perfect sacrifice for sin, coupled with His unique dignity, as Son of God, which constitutes Him the Mediator *sui generis*.

3. Here, accordingly, is brought to consummation the last great aspect of mediation in the OT—the mediation of *a sacrificing priesthood*. Prophets also might be called mediators, as commissioned revealers of the will of God to the people; but mediation is peculiarly connected with the functions of the priest. In earlier times the head of the family was the priest; an interesting example of patriarchal mediation is given in the Book of Job (1^5 for his sons; cf. 42^{7-9} for his friends). Under the Law the people could approach God only through the Aaronic priesthood; but the mediatorial function was peculiarly vested in, and exemplified by, the high priest. To him it pertained, on the one hand, to represent the people before God (cf. the ephod and breastplate, with their precious stones graven with the names of the twelve tribes of Israel, Ex 39^{6-14}), and to offer sacrifices for their sins (He 2^{17} 8^3; he alone had the right of entry into the Holiest of all on the great annual Day of Atonement, He 9^7); and, on the other, to represent God to the people, in declaring His will by the Urim and Thummim, and blessing in His name (cf. Dt 10^8 33^8, prerogatives of the high priest). This twofold aspect of the high-priestly function, as the Epistle to the Hebrews seeks to show, is in a perfect and abiding way realized in Christ, who is thus the one true Mediator, our 'great high priest, who hath passed through the heavens' (4^{14}).

See ATONEMENT, PROPITIATION, RECONCILIATION.

JAMES ORR.

MEDICINE.—Palestine was probably a comparatively healthy country in Bible times, as it is now. Its natural features in most localities would protect it from the usual endemic diseases of Oriental lands, and its want of harbours would to a great extent prevent the importation of epidemics (contrast the reputation of Egypt, as attested by Dt 7^{15} 28^{60}, Am 4^{10}); moreover, the legislation of the Priestly Code, if it was ever observed, would have operated to prevent the spread of disease, and the existence of far-reaching destitution. These provisions, and the common occurrence of external and internal warfare, must also have tended to eliminate overcrowding as a cause of disease; but the ratio of population to area in ancient times is very difficult to estimate; the figures in 1 Ch 21^5 and 2 S 4^9 are clearly untrustworthy.

1. Jews believed in a definite connexion between **health** and virtue (cf. Is 58^8, Jer $8^{15.\ 22}$). **Disease** was popularly regarded as penal (Jn 9^2), and as sent by God either directly (Ex 4^{11}, Dt 32^{39}) or permissively by means of others (Job 2^7, Mk $9^{17.\ 25}$). It might also be caused by human envy (Job 5^2), or by bodily excess (Sir $37^{30.\ 31}$), but even so its *vera causa* was God's direct authorization.

Under these circumstances **healing** was treated as a token of Divine forgiveness (Ex 15^{26}). And the connexion of priest with **physician** was correspondingly close. On the whole, the medical knowledge of the Bible peoples was very defective; nor are there any traces of medical education in Palestine. Jacob was embalmed by Egyptian physicians (Gn 50^2), but there must probably have been some Jewish practitioners at the time when Ex 21^{19} was compiled. The word in

Jer 8[22] means a 'bandager.' The writer of 2 Ch 16[12] seems to take the extreme view that it was a sin to consult physicians, but saner ideas are represented in Sir 38[2]. Still, it may be doubted whether medical duties were not usually performed by priests (as in early Egypt), at any rate in the earlier OT times; certainly the priests had the supervision in the case of certain diseases, *e.g.* leprosy; and prophets also were applied to for medical advice (cf. 1 K 14[2] 17[18], 2 K 4[22] 20[7]). And even in Sir 38[14] the physician is regarded as having certain priestly duties, and the connexion between religion and medicine is seen in the counsel, given in that same chapter, that repentance and an offering shall precede the visit of the physician. In the NT we have St. Luke described as a physician (Col 4[14]), and a somewhat depreciatory remark on physicians in Mt 5[26], which, however, is much toned down in Lk 8[43].

It is therefore probable that up till late times medicine was in the charge of the priests, whose knowledge must have been largely traditional and empirical. The sacrificial ritual would give them some knowledge of animal morphology, but human anatomy can scarcely have existed as a science at all, since up to about A.D. 100 the ceremonial objections to touching or dissecting the dead prevailed. Thus Bible references to facts of anatomy and physiology are very few in number. **Blood** was tabooed as food (Gn 9[4], Lv 17[11])—a highly important sanitary precaution, considering the facility with which blood carries microbes and parasites. A rudimentary embryology can be traced in Job 10[10], Ps 139[15. 16] (cf. Ec 11[5]). But most of the physiological theories adverted to in the Bible are expressed in language of poetry and metaphor. On the whole, however, we may infer that the Jews (like other ancient peoples) regarded the **heart** as the seat of mental and moral activity (exceptions to this view are Dn 2[28] 4[5] 7[1]), the **reins** or **kidneys** as the seats of impulse, affection, conscience (Jer 11[20] 12[2], Ps 7[9]), the **bowels** as the organs of sympathy (Ps 40[8], Job 30[27]). Proverbs about physicians seem to be alluded to in Mt 9[12], Lk 4[23], Sir 38[1]. Except in the case of certain diseases, visitation of the sick is enjoined in the Talmud (though not in the OT), and enforced by Christ in Mt 25[36].

2. *General terms for disease.*—The words **'sick,' 'sickness,' 'sicknesses,' 'disease,' 'diseased,' 'diseases,'** are of the most frequent occurrence, though they are not always used as the tr. of the same words in the original. Sometimes the term is qualified, *e.g.* 'sickness unto death' (Is 38[1]), 'sore sickness' (1 K 17[17]), 'evil disease' (Ps 41[8]), 'incurable disease' (2 Ch 21[28]). We also have **'infirmity'** three times in the OT, in Lv 12[2] meaning periodic sickness, in Ps 77[10] as weakness from sickness, in Pr 18[14] as weakness generally. The term **plague** is sometimes used of a specific epidemic, at other times of sickness in general. There are also various figurative expressions for disease, and in some places it is described as inflicted by the angel of God, *e.g.* 2 S 24[16]. In the NT, again, various Gr. words are translated by 'sickness,' 'disease,' 'infirmity'; the allusion in 1 Co 11[30] may be to mental weakness, and in Ro 15[1] to weakness of conscience.

Some diseases, *e.g.* leprosy, were regarded as unclean, and those suffering from them were excluded from cities. But in general the sick were treated at home. As to the treatment we know very little. It is possible that in earlier times bleeding was not resorted to because of the taboo on blood, though in later times the Jews followed the universal practice. Pr 30[15] has been supposed to show a knowledge of the medicinal use of **leeches**; but this inference can by no means be drawn with any certainty from the context.

3. *Specific diseases.*—As a rule the Bible references to specific diseases are general and vague; and even where we find concrete mention of particular ailments, it is not always easy to decide what the exact nature of the maladies was. In some cases the symptoms are given, though sometimes very indefinitely.

In Dt 28[22] a group of terms is used for diseases which appear to resemble each other in the fact that they are sudden, severe, epidemic, and fatal. The first is called **consumption**. This may be phthisis, but more probable it means a kind of wasting fever, characterized by weakness and anæmia, often of long duration, and perhaps not unlike Mediterranean or Malta fever. The same word is used in Lv 26[16]. The 'consumption' mentioned in Is 10[22] 28[22] AV does not appear to be a specific disease at all. This is followed in Deut. by **fever**; the same word in Lv 26[16] is rendered 'burning **ague**' by the AV, and the LXX translates it by the Greek word for 'jaundice.' Its symptoms are given in the passage of Lv.; it may be a sort of malarial fever which occurs in certain parts of Palestine, and is occasionally accompanied by jaundice. This may be the disease alluded to in Jn 4[26] and Lk 4[38], both instances at Capernaum. Then comes **inflammation** (Dt 28[22] EV, LXX **ague**). This may be ague, or even typhoid, which is common in Palestine. Next we have 'extreme burning' (Dt 28[22] AV, RV 'fiery heat,' LXX 'irritation'); either some unspecified kind of irritating disease, or **erysipelas**; but this latter disease is not of frequent occurrence in Palestine. The 'sword' (Dt 28[22] AV, RV 'drought') may be a form of disease, or more probably, like the next two words, may refer to a destruction of the earth's fruits. The same word 'sword' in Zec 11[17] seems, from the symptoms described, to refer to a wasting paralysis. The descriptions given in Ps 39[11], Zec 14[12], Lv 26[39], Ezk 24[23] 33[10], Ps 38[5] are largely figurative; but the imagery may be taken from an attack of confluent smallpox, with its disfiguring and repulsive effects. It seems highly probable that **smallpox** was a disease of antiquity; perhaps the sixth plague of Egypt was of this character.

Allusions to **pestilence** or **plague** are exceedingly common in the OT. Thus at least four outbreaks took place among the Israelites during their wanderings in the wilderness, viz. Nu 11[33] (it has been suggested that the quails here mentioned may have come from a plague-stricken district) 14[37] 16[46] 25[9] (in this last case it may have been communicated by the Moabites). For other references to plague, cf. 2 S 24[15], 2 Ch 21[14], Ps 91[3. 6], Jer 21[9] 42[17], perhaps 2 K 19[35]. The bubonic plague was the periodic scourge of Bible lands. It has but a short period of incubation, spreads rapidly and generally, and is very fatal, death ensuing in a large proportion of cases, and nearly always within three days. No precautions against it are prescribed in the Levitical Code, because it was regarded as a special visitation of God. As the plague is not endemic in Palestine, the Jews probably incurred it by mixing with their neighbours. The **emerods** of 1 S 5[6] were tumours of a definite shape, and may therefore be the buboes of the plague. The tumours appeared somewhere in the lower part of the abdomen. Some have supposed them to be hæmorrhoids, by comparison with the phrase in Ps 78[66], but this is doubtful. The same word occurs in Dt 28[27].

Of diseases in the digestive organs the case in 2 Ch 21[19] is one of chronic **dysentery** in its worst form. That in Ac 28[8] (AV **bloody flux**) is also dysentery, which is very prevalent in Malta. The mention of hæmorrhage in this case shows that it was of the ulcerative or gangrenous type, which is very dangerous.

The results of intemperance are mentioned in Pr 23[29ff.], Is 19[14].

The **liver**. The Hebrew physicians regarded many disorders as due to an alteration in the bile (cf. Job 16[13], Pr 7[23], La 2[11]). The disorders alluded to in 1 Ti 5[23] were probably some kind of *dyspepsia*, apparently producing lack of energy (cf. 1 Ti 4[13-16]); the symptoms are often temporarily relieved by the use of alcohol. In Ps 69[3] allusion is made to the *dryness of throat* produced by mental emotions of a lowering character;

and in Is 16[11], Jer 4[19] to the *flatulent distension of the colon* due to the same cause.

Heart. There are few references to physical diseases affecting it. Pr 14[30] may be one. Cases of *syncope* seem to be recorded in Gn 45[26], 1 S 4[18] 28[20], Dn 8[27]. The allusions to a 'broken heart' in Scripture are always metaphorical, but the theory that our Lord's death was due to rupture of the heart deserves mention.

Paralysis or **palsy.** This is a disease of the central nervous system, which comes on rapidly as a rule, and disappears slowly, if at all. Such cases are mentioned in the NT, *e.g.* Mt 4[24], Lk 5[18], perhaps Ac 9[33]. The case in Mt 8[6] may have been one of acute spinal meningitis, or some other form of especially painful paralysis. In the case of the **withered hand** of Mt 12[10], Mk 3[1], Lk 6[6] a complete atrophy of the bones and muscles was probably the cause. The case in Ac 3[2] was possibly of the same nature. Such cases are probably intended also in Jn 5[3]. The man in Jn 5[7] can hardly have been suffering from *locomotor ataxia*, as he could move himself, and his disease had lasted 38 years. Therefore this also was, in all likelihood, a case of withered limbs. The sudden attack mentioned in 1 K 13[4] was probably due to sudden hæmorrhage affecting some part of the brain, which may under certain circumstances be only temporary.

Apoplexy. A typical seizure is described in 1 S 25[37], due to hæmorrhage in the brain produced by excitement, supervening, in this particular instance, on a drinking bout (cf. also 1 Mac 9[55]). The same sort of seizure may be referred to in 2 S 6[7], Ac 5[5-10].

Trance is mentioned in Gn 2[21] 15[12]. But the cases in 1 S 26[12], Jg 4[21], Mt 8[24] were probably of sleep due to fatigue. *Prophetic frenzy* is alluded to in Nu 24[3. 4], 2 K 9[11] (cf. Is 8[19]). Saul is an interesting psychical study: a man of weak judgment, violent passions, and great susceptibility, eventually succumbing to what seem to be recurring paroxysms of mania, rather than a chronic melancholia. A not uncommon type of *monomania* seems to be described in Dn 4 (the **lycanthropy of Nebuchadnezzar**). In the NT various nervous affections are probably included among the instances of *demoniac possession*, *e.g.* Lk 11[14], Mt 12[22]. In Lk 1[22], Ac 9[7] are apparently mentioned cases of temporary *aphasia* due to sudden emotion. (Cf. also Dn 10[15].)

Deafness and dumbness. Many of the NT cases of possession by dumb spirits were probably due to some kind of insanity or nervous disease, *e.g.* Mt 9[32], Mk 9[25]. In Mk 7[32] stammering is joined to deafness. Is 28[11] and 32[4] (cf. 33[19]) probably refer to unintelligible rather than defective speech. Moses' slowness of speech and tongue (cf. Ex 4[10]) was probably only lack of oratorical fluency. Patience with the deaf is recommended in Lv 19[14].

Epilepsy. The case in Mt 17[15], Mk 9[18], Lk 9[38] is of genuine epileptic fits; the usual symptoms are graphically described. Like many epileptics, the patient had been subject to the fits from childhood. The 'pining away' mentioned in the Markan account is characteristic of a form of the disease in which the fits recur frequently and cause progressive exhaustion. The word used in Mt. to describe the attack means literally 'to be moon-struck'; the same word is found in Mt 4[24], and an allusion to moon-stroke occurs in Ps 121[6]. It was a very general belief that epilepsy was in some way connected with the phases of the moon. Such a theory is put forward by Vicary, the physician of Henry VIII., at so late a date as 1577.

Sunstroke. This is mentioned in Ps 121[6], Is 49[10], and cases of apparently genuine *siriasis* are described in 2 K 4[19] and Jth 8[3]. This seizure is very rapid and painful, accompanied by a great rise in temperature, passing speedily into coma, and resulting as a rule in death within a very short space of time. The cure effected in 2 K 4 was plainly miraculous. *Heat syncope*, rather than sunstroke, seems to have been the seizure in Jonah's case (Jon 4[8]). He fainted from the heat, and on recovery was conscious of a severe headache and a feeling of intense prostration.

Dropsy is common in Jerusalem. The cure of a case of dropsy is recorded in Lk 14[2].

Pulmonary disease as such finds no mention in Scripture. The phrase used in 1 K 17[17], 'there was no breath left in him,' is merely the ordinary way of stating that he died.

Gout. This disease is very uncommon among the people of Palestine; and it is not, as a rule, fatal. The disease in his feet from which Asa suffered (1 K 15[23], 2 Ch 16[12]) has usually been supposed to be gout, though one authority suggests that it was articular leprosy, and another that it was senile gangrene. The passages quoted give us no clue to the nature of the disease in question, nor do they state that it caused his death. Josephus describes Asa as dying happily in a good old age. The OT records remark only that he suffered from a disease in the feet, which began when he was advanced in years.

Under the heading *surgical diseases* may be classed **the spirit of infirmity,** affecting the woman mentioned in Lk 13[11. 13], who, though she could attend the synagogue meetings, was bowed together and unable to lift herself. This was probably a case of senile *kyphosis*, such as not infrequently occurs with aged women, and sometimes with men, who have spent their lives in agricultural or horticultural labour, which necessitates constant curvature of the body.

Crook-backedness (Lv 21[20]) disqualified a man for the priesthood. This disease is one which can occur in youth, and is due to caries of the vertebræ. The collections of bones found in Egypt justify the inference that such curvatures must have been fairly common in Egypt.

Fracture of the skull. A case is recorded in Jg 9[53], where insensibility did not immediately supervene, showing the absence of compression of the brain. In Ac 20[9] fatal compression and probably a broken neck were caused by the accident. The fall in 2 K 1[2] was the cause of Ahaziah's ultimate death.

Lameness. Mephibosheth's lameness was due to an accident in infancy (2 S 4[4]), which apparently produced some sort of bone disease, necessitating constant dressing, unless the phrase in 2 S 19[24] refers merely to washing. Lameness was a disqualification for the priesthood (Lv 21[18]); Christ healed many lame people in the Temple (Mt 21[14]) as well as elsewhere. Jacob's lameness (Gn 32[31]) may also be mentioned.

Congenital malformations. Cf. 2 S 21[20], 1 Ch 20[6]. The possession of superfluous parts was held to disqualify a man for the priesthood (Lv 21[18]), as did also dwarfishness (Lv 21[20]), unless the reference there is to emaciation from disease. The word in Lv 21[18], which is translated 'that hath a flat nose,' may refer to the deformity of a hare-lip.

Skin diseases are of common occurrence in the East. The most important of them was **leprosy** (wh. see). But there are many minor diseases of the skin recognized in Bible enactments under various terms.

Baldness (Lv 13[40-43]) was not looked upon as causing ceremonial uncleanness, nor apparently was it common; it seems to have been regarded not as a sign of old age, but as the result of a life spent in excessive labour with exposure to the sun (cf. Ezk 29[18]), and so in Is 3[24] it is threatened as a mark of degradation and servitude.

Itch (Dt 28[27]) is probably the parasitic disease due to a small mite which burrows under the skin, and, if neglected, sometimes spreads all over the body; this disease is very easily communicated, and is not uncommon in Syria at the present time. It was a disqualification for the priesthood (Lv 21[20]).

Scab (Dt 28[27]) or **scurvy** (Lv 21[20]) is a kindred disease in which a crust forms on the skin; it is most common on the head. but sometimes spreads all over the body, and is most difficult to cure. 'Scab' in Lv 21[20] is the

tr. of a different word, but is probably another form of the same disease (cf. Is 3[17]).

Scall or scurf of the head and beard (Lv 13[30]) is another parasitic disease of similar nature.

Freckled spot (Lv 13[39], RV **tetter**) may be *psoriasis*, a non-contagious eruption.

The **botch of Egypt** (Dt 28[27. 35]). The same word is used in Job 2[7], Ex 9[9], 2 K 20[7], Is 38[21]. It is probably a general term for a swelling of the skin. In Ex 9[10] **blains**, perhaps pustules containing fluid, are stated to have accompanied the **boils**. The disease in Dt 28[35] affected especially the knees and legs. **Job's disease** appears to have been one of itching sores or spots all over the body, which disfigured his face (2[11]), caused great pain and a feeling of burning (6[4]), made his breath fetid (19[17]), and were infested with maggots (7[5]). Various names for the exact nature of the disease have been suggested, such as elephantiasis, leprosy, smallpox, etc. Some authorities, however, suppose the symptoms to agree better with those or the 'Biskra button' or Oriental sore, sometimes called 'Aleppo sore' or 'Baghdad sore,' which begins with papular spots, which ulcerate, become crusted over, are slow in granulation, and often multiple. This complaint is probably due to a parasite. Lazarus' sores (Lk 16[20]) were probably old varicose ulcers of the leg.

Spot (Dt 32[5], Job 11[15], Ca 4[7]) and **blemish** (Lv 21[17], Dn 1[4]) seem to be general terms for skin disease. **Wen** (Lv 22[22]) means a suppurating sore.

The **bloody sweat** of our Lord (Lk 22[44]) is difficult to explain. Some regard the passage as meaning merely that His sweat dropped, as blood drops from a wound. Instances of bloody sweat have been quoted in comparison, but it seems that none is satisfactorily authenticated.

Poisonous serpents are mentioned in Nu 21[6] (where they are miraculously cured by the erection of a brass model of a serpent), Dt 32[33], Job 20[14. 16], Is 11[8] 14[29] 30[6] 59[5], Jer 8[17], Mt 3[7] (metaphorically, as also in Mt 12[34] 23[33], Lk 3[7]), Mk 16[18], Lk 10[19], Ac 28[3]. There are several poisonous serpents in the desert of the Exodus narrative, whose bites are often fatal; but it has been suggested that the fiery serpents of Nu 21[6] were really the parasitic worms called guinea-worms, which are not uncommon in the desert region. Scorpion bites are common and often fatal to children in Egypt, but not in Palestine.

Worms (Ac 12[23]) is the description of the disease of which Herod died. One authority suggests that it was acute peritonitis set up by the perforation of the bowel by an intestinal worm. Josephus states that Herod suffered from a violent abdominal pain which in a few days proved fatal. Thus it cannot have been a case of *phthiriasis*. The death of Antiochus Epiphanes (2 Mac 9[5-9]) is described as preceded by a violent pain of the bowels; then he was injured by a violent fall, and 'worms rose up out of his body'—in all probability a case of compound fractures, in which blow-flies laid their eggs and maggots hatched, owing to neglect of the injuries.

The third plague of Egypt (Ex 8[16]) is called one of **lice**, but the margin of the RV suggests '**sand-flies**' or 'fleas.' It is possible that they were mosquitoes or sand fleas, the latter of which generate in the dust.

Discharges or **issues** of a certain nature caused ceremonial impurity; cf. Lv 15[2-25]. Some of these were natural (Dt 23[10]), others probably were the result of impure practices, but it is doubtful how much the ancients knew of the physical consequences of vice. Cf., however, Ps 107[17. 18], Pr 2[18] 5[11-22] 7[23. 26].

Blindness is exceedingly common among the natives of Palestine; the words describing this affliction are of frequent occurrence in the Bible, sometimes in the literal, sometimes in the metaphorical, sense. Apparently only two forms of blindness were recognized: (1) that which arose from the ophthalmia so prevalent in Oriental lands, a highly infectious disease, aggravated by sand, sun-glare, and dirt, which damages the organs, and often renders them quite useless; (2) that due to old age, as in the case of Eli (1 S 3[2]), Ahijah (1 K 14[4]), Isaac (Gn 27[1]). Cf. also Dt 34[7]. Blindness was believed to be a visitation from God (Ex 4[11]), it disqualified a man for the priesthood (Lv 21[18]); but compassion for the blind was prescribed (Lv 19[14]), and offences against them were accursed (Dt 27[18]). Leah probably suffered from a minor form of ophthalmia (Gn 29[17]). In Lv 26[16] we see ophthalmia accompanying malarial fever. The blinding of Elymas in Ac 13[11] may have been hypnotic, as also possibly the blinding of the Syrian soldiers in 2 K 6[18].

The cases of blindness which were cured by our Lord are usually given without special characterization; the two of most interest are that of the man born blind (Jn 9[1]), and that of the man whose recovery was gradual (Mk 8[22]). In the latter case we do not know whether the man was blind from birth or not; if he was, the stage in which he saw 'men as trees walking' would be that in which he had not yet accustomed himself to interpret and understand visual appearances. Our Lord's cures as described were all miraculous, in the sense that the influence of a unique personality must be postulated in order to explain the cure; but He used various methods to effect or symbolize the cure in various cases.

St. Paul's blindness (Ac 9[8]) was probably a temporary *amaurosis*, such as may be caused by looking at the sun. The 'scales' (Ac 9[18]) need not necessarily have been material; the words suggest a mere simile. One of the theories as to his '**thorn in the flesh**' is that it was a permanent 'weakness of eye' remaining after his experience (cf. Gal 4[15]). But other explanations have been suggested. The blindness of Tobit and its cure may also be mentioned (To 2[10] 11[11]); the remedy there adopted has a parallel in Pliny (*HN* xxxii. 24). **Eye-salve** is recommended in Rev 3[18], but the context is metaphorical.

Old age. Under this heading should be mentioned the famous passage in Ec 12, where the failure of powers consequent on growing years is described in language of poetic imagery.

Child-birth. The special cases of child-bearing which are mentioned in the Bible are mostly quoted to illustrate the 'sorrow' of conception, which was regarded as the penalty of Eve's transgression (Gn 3[16]). There are two cases of twins, that of Esau and Jacob (Gn 25[22]), and that of Perez and Zerah (Gn 38[29ff.]). The latter was 'a case of spontaneous evolution with perineal laceration, probably fatal to the mother.' Rachel's case (Gn 35[18]) was one of fatal *dystocia*, and the phrase in Gn 31[35] may hint at some long-standing delicacy. Phinehas' wife (1 S 4[19]) was taken in premature labour, caused by shock, and proving fatal. Sarah (Gn 21[2]), Manoah's wife (Jg 13[24]), Hannah (1 S 1[20]), the Shunammite woman (2 K 4[17]), and Elisabeth (Lk 1[57]) are instances of *uniparæ* at a late period. *Barrenness* was regarded as a Divine judgment (Gn 20[18] 30[2]), and the forked root of the mandrake was used as a charm against it (Gn 30[16]); fertility was correspondingly regarded as a proof of Divine favour (1 S 2[5], Ps 113[9]), and miscarriage is invoked as a token of God's displeasure in Hos 9[14]. The attendants at birth were women (Gn 35[17], Ex 1[15], **midwives**). The mother was placed in a kneeling posture, leaning on somebody's knees (Gn 30[3]), or on a labour-stool, if such be the meaning of the difficult passage in Ex 1[16]. After child-birth the mother was unclean for 7 days in the case of a male, for 14 days in the case of a female, child. After this she continued in a state of modified uncleanness for 33 or 66 days, according as the child was boy or girl, during which period she was not allowed to enter the Temple. The reason for the different lengths of the two periods was that the *lochia* was supposed to last longer in the

case of a female child. Nursing continued for 2 or 3 years (2 Mac 7^{27}), and in 1 K 11^{20} a child is taken by a relative to wean.

The legislation for the **menstrual period** and for *menorrhagia* is given in Lv $15^{19ff.}$. A rigid purification was prescribed, including everything which the woman had touched, and everybody who touched her or any of those things (see CLEAN AND UNCLEAN). *Menorrhagia* (EV **issue of blood**) was considered peculiarly impossible of treatment (Mt 9^{20}, Mk 5^{26}, Lk 8^{43}), and magical means were resorted to for its cure. In Ezk 16^4 is a description of an infant with undivided umbilical cord, neither washed nor dressed. The skin of infants was usually dressed with salt to make it firm. The metaphorical use of terms derived from child-labour is exceedingly common in the Bible.

Infantile diseases seem to have been very severe in Palestine in Bible times, as at the present day. We hear of sick children in 2 S 12^{15}, 1 K 17^{17}, and Christ healed many children.

Among cases of unspecified diseases may be mentioned those of Abijah (1 K 14^1), Benhadad (2 K 8^7), Elisha (2 K 13^{14}), Joash (2 Ch 24^{25}), Lazarus (Jn 11^1), Dorcas (Ac 9^{37}), Epaphroditus (Ph 2^{27}), Trophimus (2 Ti 4^{20}).

4. *Methods of treatment.*—The Bible gives us very few references on this point. We hear of washing (2 K 5^{10}); diet perhaps (Lk 8^{55}); the application of saliva (Jn 9^6); unction (Ja 5^{14}); the binding of wounds and the application of soothing ointment (Is 1^6); the use of oil and wine for wounds (Lk 10^{34}); a plaster of figs for a boil (Is 38^{21}); animal heat by contact (1 K 1^2 17^{21}, 2 K 4^{34}).

Balm of Gilead or **balm** is mentioned in Gn 37^{25} 43^{11}, Jer 8^{22} 46^{11} 51^8, Ezk 27^{17}. It appears to be regarded as a sedative application, and was probably an aromatic gum or spice (see art. BALM).

Mandrakes (*Mandragora officinalis*) were used as a stimulant to conception (Gn 30^{16}), and the fruit as a medicine. **Mint** (*Mentha silvestris*), **anise** (*Anethum graveolens*), **cummin** (*Cuminum sativum*) were used as carminatives; **salt** for hardening the skin, **nitre** (Jer 2^{22}) to cleanse it. The **caper-berry** (*Capparis spinosa*) is mentioned in Ec 12^5; it was regarded as an aphrodisiac. The **wine** offered to Christ at His crucifixion was probably intended as a narcotic (Mt $27^{34.\ 48}$, Mk $15^{23.\ 36}$, Lk 23^{36}, Jn 19^{29}). Most of the remedies were dietary in the Jewish as in the Egyptian pharmacopœia, *e.g.* meal, milk, vinegar, wine, water, almonds, figs, raisins, pomegranates, honey, etc.

We have a mention of **amulets** in Is 3^{20} and perhaps Gn 35^4. The **apothecary's** art is mentioned in Ex $30^{25.\ 35}$ 37^{29}, Ec 10^1, 2 Ch 16^{14}, Neh 3^8, Sir 38^8 49^1. But in all these passages the reference is to makers of perfumes rather than compounders of medicines. It is probable that medicines were compounded by those who prescribed them.

Hygienic enactments dealing with food, sanitation, and infectious diseases are common in the Levitical Code. With regard to food, herbivorous ruminant animals were permitted to be eaten; all true fishes also were allowed; but birds which lived on animal food were forbidden, and all invertebrates except locusts. The fat and the blood of animals were prohibited as food, and regulations were given for the inspection of animals slaughtered for eating. The origin, however, of many of these regulations probably lies in primitive taboo laws (see CLEAN AND UNCLEAN). Fruits could not be used for food until the tree had been planted for four years (Lv $19^{23.\ 25}$). The provisions repeated in Ex 12^{19} 13^7, Dt 16^3 for the periodic destruction of leaven, whatever their historical origin, must have been of service for the maintenance of pure bread-stuffs.

The agricultural sanitary laws are directed chiefly to prohibit the mixing of different species, *e.g.* the sowing of different seeds in a field at the same time, the cross-grafting of fruit-trees, the cross-breeding or yoking together of dissimilar cattle. And periodic rest for man and beast was prescribed. No mixture of linen and woollen materials in garments was permitted (Lv 19^{19}, Dt 22^{11}), as such garments cannot be so easily or thoroughly cleansed as those of one material. There were also various regulations as to domestic sanitation; thus the covering with earth of excreta and of blood was ordered; possibly the fires of the Valley of Hinnom were intended to consume the offal of the city. Houses were to be built with parapets to prevent accident (Dt 22^8). Isolation in suspected cases of infectious disease was prescribed (Lv 13^4), and the washing of body and clothes (Nu 19^{11}) was obligatory on those who had touched unclean things.

Uncleanness was in many cases merely ceremonial in nature. But the regulations must often have served to diminish the chances of propagating real infection. Various grades of uncleanness are recognized in the Talmud, and different periods of lustration and isolation were ordained, in accordance with the different grade of uncleanness contracted.

5. *Surgical instruments.* A flint **knife** was used for circumcision (Jos 5^3), but in later times steel knives were employed. An **awl** for boring the ear is mentioned in Ex 21^6.

The most important surgical operation was the performance of **circumcision.** Its original idea may have been that of imposing a tribal mark on the infant (unless it was at first performed in early manhood and subsequently transferred to the time of infancy); but it came to be regarded as an operation of purification. The exclusion of **eunuchs** from the service of God (Dt 23^1) may have been due to the dread of importing heathen rites into Israel. But they were important officials in the time of the kingdom, as in Oriental courts generally (1 K 22^9, 2 K 8^6 9^{32} 24^{15}, Jer 29^2 34^{19} 38^7 41^{16}), and there were eunuchs at the court of the Herods, as elsewhere (cf. Ac 8^{27}). The passage in Is 56^4 implies that eunuchs were then under no special religious disability; cf. also our Lord's reference in Mt 19^{12}.

Of course we must admit that in many cases the use of remedies, the sanitary laws, the prescriptions as to food, the regulations as to uncleanness, and so forth, did not necessarily originate in any theory as to their value for the preservation of public health. Primitive taboo customs, folk-lore, magic, superstition, are no doubt responsible for the existence of much that has been here placed under the heading of medicine. And it is quite likely, too, that up to a late period the popular Jewish view of the majority of these rules and customs was enlightened by no very clear conception of their hygienic value. The more educated minds of tne nation may possibly in time have come to see that enactments which had originated in crude or mistaken notions of religion might yet be preserved, and valued as important precautions for the prevention of disease and its cure. But it may be doubted whether, even in late times, the vulgar opinion about them was at all scientific. At the same time, it is necessary to recognize that many of the laws, begotten, perhaps, of primitive superstition, did nevertheless serve a medical purpose, and so may without untruthfulness be included in a treatment of Bible medicine.

A. W. F. BLUNT.

MEEDDA (1 Es 5^{32}) =**Mehida,** Ezr 2^{52}, Neh 7^{54}.

MEEKNESS.—In the earlier literature of revelation meekness is simply an excellent virtue. Moses is described as 'very meek, above all the men which were upon the face of the earth' (Nu 12^3), and his character illustrates the Hebrew ideal of meekness in those days. There was no weakness or cowardice about him. He was 'a still, strong man,' patient and pitiful. Subsequently the word acquired a peculiar significance. In the days of Israel's conflict the men of pride and violence came to the front, while the godly were thrust into the background,

contemned and oppressed (cf. Ps 10[2. 8-10]). Thus 'rich' and 'wicked' came to be synonymous (Is 53[9]); and corresponding to these there was a group of terms: 'meek,' 'humble' (or 'lowly'), 'poor,' 'needy.' In our Lord's time these terms denoted the godly remnant in Israel, those who, despised by the rulers, lived devout lives in obscure corners, nourishing their faith on the Scriptures, and 'waiting for the consolation of Israel' (Lk 2[25. 38]), the blessed Advent of the Messiah. And, just as the Psalmists and Prophets had sympathized with the Lord's hidden ones and promised them deliverance (Ps 9[12. 18] 10[12-18] 37[11] [cf. Mt 5[5]] 72[2. 4], Is 11[4]), so Jesus was their champion. He called them 'blessed' (Mt 5[3-12]), and He took His place by their side, Himself 'meek and lowly' (Mt 11[29]), the homeless Son of Man, despised and rejected of men. He shared their humility that they might share His glory. DAVID SMITH.

MEGIDDO (in Zec 12[11] **Megiddon**).—One of the most important of the fortress cities of ancient Canaan. It was captured by Thothmes III in the 23rd year of his reign, the spoils being magnificent; and it is mentioned several times in the Tell el-Amarna correspondence. Though nominally belonging to Manasseh (Jos 17[12. 13], Jg 1[27. 28]), the Canaanites remained in possession. Near the 'waters of Megiddo' the Canaanites under Sisera were defeated by Barak and Deborah (Jg 5[19-21]). Solomon restored its fortifications (1 K 9[15]). Here king Ahaziah (2 K 9[27]) died; and the good king Josiah, interfering in a quarrel between Pharaoh-necho and the king of Assyria, and opposing the former's progress in the dangerous passage of Megiddo, was also slain (2 K 23[29. 30], 2 Ch 35[22]), to the grief of all Israel (Zec 12[11]). Finally, it was at Armageddon (RV **Har-Magedon**, 'the mountains of Megiddo') that the mysterious conflict of Rev 16[16] was to take place.

The site of Megiddo may now be considered as proved to be *Tell el-Mutesellim* ('Hill of the Governor'), a great mound about 4 miles N.W. of *Tell Ta'annak* (Taanach; cf. Jos 12[21] 17[11], Jg 5[19] etc.). The importance of the site can be seen at a glance, for it guards the great pass from the Plain of Sharon to that of Esdraelon, which in all history, from Thothmes III. to Napoleon I., has been a route of armies. The hill has recently been excavated by the German Palestine Society, and fortifications going back before B.C. 2000 have been uncovered, as well as the most extensive remains of successive cities which have occupied this site for many centuries. Here was found the seal of Shama', 'the servant of Jeroboam'—probably Jeroboam II. To the south of the *tell* is an abundant stream, and in Roman times a fortified post—the *Legio* of Eusebius, the modern *el-Lejjun*—was established there. The stream may have been the 'waters of Megiddo' of Jg 5[19] etc.; it is one of the most important of the tributaries of the Kishon.

E. W. G. MASTERMAN.

MEGILLOTH.—See CANON OF OT, § 8.

MEHETABEL.—**1.** The grandfather of Shemaiah (Neh 6[10]). **2.** The wife of Hadar or Hadad, king of Edom (Gn 36[39], 1 Ch 1[50]).

MEHIDA.—The eponym of a family of Nethinim who returned with Zerub. (Ezr 2[52] = Neh 7[54]), called in 1 Es 5[32] **Meedda.**

MEHIR.—A Judahite (1 Ch 4[11]).

MEHOLATHITE (1 S 18[19], 2 S 21[8]).—Probably an inhabitant of **Abel-meholah** (wh. see).

MEHUJAEL.—A Cainite (Gn 4[18]) (J), corresponding to **Mahalalel** of P's genealogy (Gn 5[12ff.]).

MEHUMAN.—One of the seven eunuchs in attendance upon king Ahasuerus (Est 1[10]).

ME-JARKON (Jos 19[46]).—The Heb. text seems to be in disorder. The LXX reading, 'and from the sea, Jarkon and the boundary near Joppa,' sufficiently attests the name *Jarkon*, a place in the territory of Dan; but the site is not yet recovered. W. EWING.

MEKONAH (AV; RV needlessly changes to **Meconah**), —A town inhabited after the Captivity (Neh 11[28]). The site has not been identified.

MELATIAH.—A Gibeonite (Neh 3[7]).

MELCHI.—**1. 2.** Two ancestors of Jesus (Lk 3[24. 28]).

MELCHIAS.—**1.** 1 Es 9[26] = **Malchijah,** Ezr 10[25]. **2.** 1 Es 9[32] = **Malchijah,** Ezr 10[31]. **3.** 1 Es 9[44] = **Malchijah,** Neh 8[4].

MELCHIEL.—The father of Charmis (Jth 6[15]).

MELCHIZEDEK.—Described as king of Salem and priest of God Most High (*'El 'Elyōn*), who met Abraham on his return from the slaughter of Chedorlaomer and his allies, refreshed him and his servants with bread and wine, blessed him, and received from him a tenth of the spoil he had taken (Gn 14[18-20]). **Salem** has been variously identified: (1) with the *Shalem* of Gn 33[18] (AV and RVm), a place a little to the E. of Mt. Gerizim and not far from Shechem; (2) with the *Salim* of Jn 3[23] in the Jordan Valley S. of Scythopolis; and (3) with *Jerusalem*, which is called *Salem* in Ps 76[2]. The last identification is much the most probable; for though it is implied in Jos 15[8. 63], Jg 19[10] that Jerusalem was called *Jebus* so long as it was inhabited by the Jebusites (*i.e.* up to the time of David), the name *Jerusalem* really goes back to the 14th cent. B.C., since it appears in the Tell el-Amarna tablets as *Uru-salim*. This view has the support of Josephus (*Ant.* I. x. 2), and further obtains some slight confirmation from the resemblance of the name of Melchizedek to that of Adonizedek, who was king of Jerusalem in the time of Joshua (Jos 10[3]), the element *zedek* in each name being probably that of a Canaanite deity.

The historical character of the narrative in which Melchizedek is mentioned has been questioned on the ground of certain improbabilities which it contains; but though the events related have received no corroboration from other sources, the names of two of the kings who fought against Abraham, viz. Amraphel and Arioch, have with some plausibility been identified with those of Hammurabi and Eriaku, contemporary kings of Babylon and Larsa about B.C. 2200; so that, if the identification is correct, it confirms the *setting* of the story, though not its incidents. For the name and personality of Melchizedek no independent confirmatory evidence has yet been obtained.

In Ps 110[4], to the ideal king of Jewish hopes, the Messiah, there is promised an endless priesthood 'after the order of Melchizedek.' This ascription of priestly functions to a sovereign who was expected to be of the house of David and the tribe of Judah is evidently meant as an exceptional distinction, and implies that the writer lived at a time when priests in Israel were taken exclusively from the tribe of Levi, as was the case after the promulgation of the Deuteronomic law (probably in the 7th cent.). At an earlier date persons belonging to other tribes than that of Levi were sometimes priests: David's sons (2 S 8[18]); and Ira the Jairite (20[26]), who belonged to Manasseh (Nu 32[41]); but the author of Ps 110, in seeking a type for the combination in the same person of both the regal and priestly offices, had to go outside the limits of Israel, and found what he wanted in the priest-king of Salem, who was all the more adapted for the purpose by reason of the deference paid to him by so illustrious a personage as Abraham.

The writer of the Epistle to the Hebrews, identifying Jesus with the Messiah, and asserting His high priesthood, cites the words of Ps 110, and declares that He was 'named of God a high priest after the order of Melchizedek' (He 5[10]). He then proceeds to show the superiority of Christ's priesthood over that of the Jewish priests, the descendants of Aaron, and seeks to illustrate it by the superiority of Melchizedek over Abraham, as he gathers it from Gn 14. He explains Melchizedek's name to mean 'king of righteousness,' and his title of 'king of Salem' to mean 'king of peace'; and then,

arguing from the silence of the record respecting his parentage, birth, and death, describes him as 'without father, without mother, without genealogy, having neither beginning of days nor end of life, but made like unto the Son of God,' and affirms him to have been greater than Abraham, since he blessed him ('for without any dispute the less is blessed of the better') and received from him (and through him from his unborn descendants the Levitical priests) a tithe of his spoils (He 7^{1-10}). In this passage much of the writer's argument is fanciful, the narrative in Genesis being handled after a Rabbinic fashion, and the parallel drawn between our Lord and Melchizedek being largely based on the mere omission, in the OT record, of certain particulars about the latter, which, for the historian's purpose, were obviously irrelevant. At the same time it may perhaps be said that, as contrasted with the Levitical priests who succeeded to their priestly offices by reason of their descent, an ancient priest-king is really typical of our Lord, inasmuch as it is likely that, in a primitive age, such a one would owe his position to his natural endowments and force of character. It was in virtue of His personality that our Lord made, and makes, His appeal to the world; and to the authoritativeness of His attitude in regard to the current teaching of the Jewish religious teachers of His day (Mt 5^{21-48}, Mk 7^{1-23}) a distant analogy is, in fact, afforded by the superior position which in Genesis seems to be ascribed to Melchizedek in respect of Abraham, the ancestor of the Jewish race. See also art. Priest (in NT). G. W. Wade.

MELEA.—An ancestor of Jesus (Lk 3^{31}).

MELECH.—**1.** A grandson of Merib-baal (1 Ch 8^{35} 9^{41}). **2.** See Molech.

MELITA.—An island about sixty miles S. of Sicily, with an area of about ninety-five square miles. Its excellent position as a commercial station led to its early colonization by Phœnicians and Greeks. It became subject to Carthage, but was conquered by the Romans in B.C. 218, and became part of the province of Sicily. But the Carthaginian and Libyan element predominated, hence St. Luke's use of the phrase 'the barbarous people' (Ac 28^{2}). There can be no doubt that this Melita was the scene of St. Paul's shipwreck. The use of the name Adria (Ac 27^{27}) led to an attempt to identify it with Melita in the Adriatic, but the term 'Adria' was freely applied to the sea E. and S.E. of Sicily, and the wind 'Euraquilo' (Ac 27^{14}) would drive them from Crete to Malta if the captain, realizing that his chief danger was the Syrtis quicksands (27^{17}), took the natural precaution of bearing up into the wind as much as the weather permitted. The description is precise. On the 14th night of their drifting, by sounding they found they were getting into shallower water, and cast out anchors; but when day dawned they saw before them a bay with a shelving beach, on which they determined to run the vessel. Therefore they hastily cast off the anchors, unfastened the rudders, which had been lashed during their drifting, and with the aid of these and the foresail tried to steer the ship to the beach. But before they reached it they ran on a shoal 'where two seas met,' and reached the shore only by swimming or floating on spars. Every detail of the narrative is satisfied by assuming that they landed on the W. side of St. Paul's Bay, eight miles from Valetta, five miles from the old capital Città-Vecchia. The tradition which gave this as the scene was already old when our earliest map of Malta (a Venetian one) was made about A.D. 1530. As it is scarcely likely that the spot was identified by special investigations in the Middle Ages, this is a remarkable instance of the permanence and correctness of some early traditions. Incidentally, it is also a proof of the remarkable impression made on the inhabitants by the three months St. Paul was compelled to spend in the island. St. Luke relates only two incidents. As they made a fire for the shipwrecked men, a snake, aroused from the wood by the heat, fastened on St. Paul's hand, and, to the surprise of the onlookers, did him no harm. The word 'venomous' (28^{4}) is not properly in the text, and St. Luke does not state that it was a miraculous deliverance. But the natives thought it was, and therefore there probably were venomous snakes in Malta then. There are none now, but in an island with 2000 inhabitants to the square mile they would be likely to become extinct. The other incident was the curing of dysentery of the father of Publius (wh. see). Naturally there are local traditions of St. Paul's residence, and the map referred to above has a church of St. Paul's near the bay, but on its E. side. The first known bishop of Malta was at the Council of Chalcedon in 451.

Malta has had a varied history since. Vandals, Normans, Turks all left their mark on it. In 1530, Charles v. gave it to the Knights of St. John, who defended it three times against the desperate attacks of the Turks. In 1798, Napoleon seized it, but the English took it from him in 1800, and it has remained in English hands since. But the population remains very mixed,—the race and the native language retaining much of the Arabic element. A. E. Hillard.

MELONS (*'ăbattīhīm*, the same word as the Arab. *battīkh*, which includes the water-melon (*Citrullus vulgaris*) as well as other kinds).—Nu 11^{5}. Here the water-melon is specially referred to, as it was common in Egypt in ancient times. No fruit is more appreciated in the arid wilderness. Melons flourish in Palestine, especially on the sands S. of Jaffa, and are eaten all over the land, being carried to the towns all through the summer by long strings of camels.

E. W. G. Masterman.

MELZAR.—A proper name (AV), or official title (RV 'steward') in Dn $1^{11.\ 16}$,—in both cases with the article. It is generally agreed that the word is a loan-word from the Assyr. *massaru*, 'guardian,' and stands for one who was teacher and warden of the royal wards. Cheyne, however, is led by the LXX to conclude for *Belshazzar* as the true reading, and to read in Dn 1^{11}: 'And Daniel said to Belshazzar, prince of the eunuchs,' etc.

W. F. Cobb.

MEM.—The thirteenth letter of the Hebrew alphabet, and as such employed in the 119th Psalm to designate the 13th part, each verse of which begins with this letter.

MEMEROTH (1 Es 8^{2}) = **Meraioth**, an ancestor of Ezra (Ezr 7^{3}); called **Marimoth** in 2 Es 1^{2}.

MEMMIUS, QUINTUS.—Named along with Manius (wh. see) as a Roman legate (2 Mac 11^{34}).

MEMPHIS.—The famous ancient capital of Egypt, a few miles south of Cairo, the present capital. According to tradition, Memphis was built by Menes, who first united the two kingdoms of Upper and Lower Egypt. Kings and dynasties might make their principal residences in the cities from which they sprang, but until Alexandria was founded as the capital of the Greek dynasty, no Egyptian city, except Thebes, under the New Kingdom equalled Memphis in size and importance. The palaces of most of the early kings (Dyns. 3–12) were at or near Memphis, their positions being now marked by the pyramids in which the same kings were buried. The pyramid-field extends on the edge of the desert about 20 miles, from Dahshur on the south to Abu Roash on the north, the Great Pyramids of Gizeh lying 12 miles north of the central ruins of Memphis. The Egyptian name *Menfi* (in Hebrew **Noph**, Is 19^{13}, Jer 2^{16} 44^{1} $46^{14.\ 19}$, Ezk $30^{13.\ 16}$; once **Moph**, Hos 9^{6}), was apparently taken from that of the palace and pyramid of Pepy I. of the 6th Dynasty, which were built close to the city. At a later period, Tahrak (Tirhakah) ruled at Memphis; Necho, Hophra, and the other kings of the 26th Dynasty were buried at their ancestral city Sais, although their government was centred in Memphis. After the foundation of Alexandria the old capital fell to the second place,

but it held a vast population till after the Arab conquest, when it rapidly declined. The growth of Fostat and Cairo was accompanied by the destruction of all the stone buildings in Memphis for the sake of the materials, but the necropolis still bears witness to its former magnificence. The bull Apis (Egyp. *Hapi*) (whose name is read in LXX at Jer 46[15] 'Why did Apis flee from thee?') was worshipped at Memphis as sacred to Ptah (Hephaestus), the principal god of the city.

F. Ll. Griffith.

MEMUCAN.—One of the seven princes of Persia who had access to the royal presence (Est 1[14. 16. 21]).

MENAHEM, one of the latest kings of Israel, was a usurper, like so many other monarchs in this period. He and **Shallum** planned to seize the throne about the same time (2 K 15[13f.]), Shallum having possession of Samaria, while Menahem commanded the ancient fortress and former capital, Tirzah. War raged for a brief time with unusual ferocity, resulting in the defeat of Shallum. Menahem seems not to have felt secure on the throne, and to have purchased the help of Assyria by paying a heavy tribute to Tiglath-pileser (called Pul in 2 K 15[19]). Or we may suppose the Assyrians to have invaded the country because it was so weakened by civil war that it could no longer make effective resistance. The tribute was a thousand talents of silver, and it was raised by a direct tax on the holders of landed property. The assessment of sixty shekels each shows that there were sixty thousand proprietors in Israel at this time. From the Assyrian sources we learn that this tribute was paid in the year 738 B.C.

It is interesting to note that in the literature of Judaism *Menahem* (='Comforter') is a title of the Messiah.

H. P. Smith.

MENE MENE TEKEL UPHARSIN.—The words of the handwriting on the wall, which, according to Dn 5[5. 26], appeared mysteriously at Belshazzar's feast, and was successfully deciphered by Daniel alone (vv.[26-28]). In v.[25] the words of the inscription ('the writing . . . *inscribed*,' RV) are given as above, but in the explanation (vv.[26-28]) are quoted in a divergent form, and no account is taken of the repetition of the first word. This discrepancy can best be accounted for by assuming that the words of the inscription as given in v.[25] already lay in their present form before the author, and are not the product of his free invention; while vv.[26-28] are the result of 'an attempt to extract from the words, in spite of grammar, a meaning suitable to the occasion.'

What, then, is the real significance of the mysterious words? As has been shown by M. Clermont-Ganneau in the *Journal Asiatique* for 1886, they are really names of weights. *Mene* is the Aram. equivalent of the Heb. *maneh* (Ezk 45[12], Ezr 2[69]) and =mina; *tekel*=*shekel*; and *pharsin* is a plural, and probably represents a word (*perās* lit. 'division') which means half-mina. Thus the four words read consecutively: 'A mina, a mina, a shekel, and half-minas.' The enigmatic character of the combination apparently consisted partly in the manner in which the words were supposed to have been written—perhaps in some unfamiliar form of Aramaic cursive or with some curious inversion in arrangement—and partly in determining their import even when read. The appositeness of a list of three weights in such a connexion is not obvious. In deducing a meaning fitted to the occasion Daniel's skill as an interpreter of riddles is strikingly set forth. Each of the mysterious words is invested with a meaning suggested by etymological affinities. The term for 'mina' is connected with a root meaning 'to number'; hence it signifies 'God hath *numbered* thy kingdom and brought it to an end': 'shekel' is connected with a root meaning 'to weigh,' and hence—'thou hast been *weighed* in the balance and found wanting': 'half-mina' (*perās*) suggests a double play; 'thy kingdom is *divided* (*peris*) and given to the *Persians* (Aram. *pāras*='Persian'). It should be noticed that a double interpretation is apparently given throughout, each of the words having perhaps been read in two ways, and the meanings combined (see art. 'Mene Mene Tekel Upharsin' in Hastings' *DB* for details). Another possible rendering is, 'He has counted, counted, weighed, and they assess' (?a commercial formula). Possibly 'an actual inscription found on the walls of the palace at Babylon, or, at any rate, found somewhere, was worked by the author of Daniel into this dramatic scene and arbitrarily explained' (D. S. Margoliouth, *ib.*).

G. H. Box.

MENELAUS.—Brother of Simon the Benjamite (2 Mac 3[4]), or, according to Josephus (*Ant.* XII. v. 1), a younger brother of Jason and Onias. He purchased the office of high priest from Antiochus Epiphanes for the sum of 660 talents (*c.* B.C. 172), thereby causing the deposition of Jason, who had obtained the office by similar corrupt means. Being unable, through lack of funds, to pay the required sum, he was cited to appear before the king, but, finding the latter absent on warfare, he plundered the Temple of sacred vessels and thereby found means to silence his enemies. Having secured the death of Onias III., who threatened to divulge the sacrilege (2 Mac 4[27-34]), he became so unpopular that Jason marched against him to recover the office he had lost (5[5-10]). After this attempt of Jason, which ended in failure, Menelaus is lost to sight for some years, but finally suffered death at the hands of Antiochus Eupator (*c.* B.C. 163).

T. A. Moxon.

MENESTHEUS.—The father of Apollonius (2 Mac 4[21]).

MENI.—A deity named with **Gad** in Is 65[11]: 'Ye that . . . prepare a table for Gad, and that fill up mingled wine for Meni.' Gad is *Fortune*, and Meni *Destiny*. The name has been correlated with the Arab. *Manat*, and with a supposed Bab. god *Manu*. *manah* in Heb. means 'to number,' and so 'to apportion.' The name of this god of Destiny has been seen in *Manasseh* and in the name of one of the sons of Anak, *Ahiman*, in Nu 13[22]. See Gad.

W. F. Cobb.

MENNA.—An ancestor of Jesus (Lk 3[31]).

MENUHAH (Jg 20[43]).—We should perhaps read **Manahath** (wh. see), or, better, 'from *Nohah*.' In 1 Ch 8[2] **Nohah** is a clan of Benjamin.

MENUHOTH.—See Manahathites.

MEONENIM, OAK OF.—A place mentioned only in Jg 9[37] as being near Shechem. It is agreed that the rendering should be 'oak of the diviners,' but the derivation of the word *mĕʼōnĕnīm* is uncertain. There is a cognate Arabic word, however, which is used of the hum of insects and the whispering of leaves, and it is tempting, therefore, to connect *mĕʻōnĕnīm* with such a phenomenon as the 'sound of a marching in the tops of the balsams' of 2 S 5[24], where the rustling of the leaves is the sign of the presence of Jahweh, as the rustling of the leaves of the oaks of Dodona proclaimed the will of Zeus.

W. F. Cobb.

MEONOTHAI.—Son of Othniel (1 Ch 4[14]).

MEPHAATH.—A city of Reuben (Jos 13[18]); assigned to the Levites (21[37], 1 Ch 6[79]); a Moabite city in Jer 48[21]. In the 4th cent. A.D. it is said to have been the station of a Roman garrison.

MEPHIBOSHETH.—**1.** A son of Jonathan (2 S 4[4]), called also in 1 Ch 8[34] 9[40] **Merib(b)aal**, really the original form of the name 'Baal contends' or 'Baal's warrior.'

David, on succeeding to the throne, instead of destroying all the family of Saul, as was usual on such occasions, spared Mephibosheth out of regard for his father Jonathan (2 S 9[1]). Mephibosheth was five years old when Saul fell on Mt. Gilboa, and in the flight of the royal household after the battle he was so seriously injured by a fall as to become lame in both his feet (2 S 4[4]). In that warlike age such a bodily weakness prevented him from becoming a rival of David, and no doubt

inclined the latter to mercy. David was informed of his place of concealment in Lo-debar, on the east of the Jordan, by **Ziba**, who had been steward of Saul (2 S $9^{1ff.}$). The king restored to Mephibosheth all the estates of Saul, Ziba became his steward, and Mephibosheth himself was maintained as a permanent guest at David's table (2 S 9^{13}).

At the flight of David from Jerusalem after Absalom's rebellion, Ziba met him on the Mount of Olives with provisions. He also stated that his master had remained in Jerusalem, in hope of obtaining the kingdom of Saul. Notwithstanding the doubtful nature of the story, David said, 'Behold, thine is all that pertaineth to Mephibosheth' (2 S 16^4). On David's return, Mephibosheth came out to meet him, and declared that Ziba had accused him falsely, taking advantage of his lameness. David seems to have doubted the truthfulness of Mephibosheth or did not wish to alienate Ziba, who had also been faithful, and divided the land of Saul between the two. Mephibosheth expressed his willingness that Ziba should have all, 'forasmuch as my lord the king is come in peace unto his own house.'

From 2 S 9^{12} we learn that Mephibosheth had a son Mica, who was regarded as the founder of a well-known family of warriors (1 Ch 8^{35} 9^{41}).

2. One of the sons of Saul's concubine Rizpah, slain by the Gibeonites (2 S 21^8). W. F. Boyd.

MERAB.—The elder daughter of Saul, promised to the slayer of Goliath (1 S 17^{25}), and then to David personally as a reward for prowess against the Philistines (1 S 18^{17}), but given as wife to Adriel the Meholathite. In 2 S 21^8 **Michal**, whose sons are said to have been given over to satisfy the Gibeonites, is probably a scribal error for Merab. W. F. Boyd.

MERAIAH.—The head of a priestly house (Neh 12^{12}).

MERAIOTH.—1. Son of Ahitub and father of Zadok (1 Ch 9^{11}, Neh 11^{11}). **2.** A Levite (1 Ch $6^{6f.}$, Ezr 7^3); called in 1 Es 8^2 **Memeroth** and in 2 Es 1^2 **Marimoth. 3.** A priestly house in the days of Joiakim (Neh 12^{15} = **Meremoth** of v.^{3}).

MERARI, MERARITES.—1. The third son of Levi, to whom a division of the Levites traced their descent (Gn 46^{11}, Ex 6^{16}, Nu 3^{17}, 1 Ch $6^{1.\ 16}$ 23^6). The title 'Merarites' is found only in Nu 26^{57}; elsewhere they are called 'sons of Merari' (Ex 6^{19}, Nu 3^{20} $4^{29.\ 33.\ 42.\ 45}$ 7^8 10^{17}, Jos $21^{7.\ 34.\ 40}$, 1 Ch $6^{19.\ 29.\ 44.\ 63.\ 77}$ 9^{14} $15^{6.\ 17}$ 23^{21} 24^{27} 26^{19}, 2 Ch 29^{12}, Ezr 8^{19}). They were subdivided into two groups, the **Mahlites** and the **Mushites** (Nu 3^{33} 26^{58}), each being traced to a 'son' of Merari (Ex 6^{19}, Nu 3^{20}, 1 Ch $6^{19.\ 29.\ 47}$ 23^{21}). From these families fragments of genealogies remain, some branches being traced through the daughters of Mahli (see 1 Ch 23^{22}).

Very little is related of the Merarites after the Exile. Certain Merarites are mentioned in 1 Ch $9^{14.\ 16\text{-}18}$ = Neh $11^{15.\ 17\text{-}19}$ as dwelling in Jerusalem immediately after the Return, and certain others as accompanying Ezra to the city in 454 B.C. (Ezr $8^{18f.}$). But P and the Chronicler introduce the family into the earlier history. (1) During the desert wanderings the Merarites were on the north side of the Tent (Nu 3^{35}); their duty was to carry the less sacred parts of it, the 'boards' (or rather frames), pegs, cords, etc. ($3^{36f.}$ $4^{31f.}$ 10^{17}), for which they were given four waggons and eight oxen (7^8); and they were superintended by Ithamar, the youngest son of Aaron (4^{33}). (2) After the settlement in Palestine, twelve cities were assigned to them (Jos $21^{7.\ 34\text{-}40}$ = 1 Ch $6^{63.\ 77\text{-}81}$). (3) In David's reign the Chronicler relates that the Temple music was superintended partly by Ethan, or Jeduthun, a Merarite, and his family (1 Ch $6^{44\text{-}47}$ $16^{41f.}$ $25^{1.\ 3.\ 6.\ 9.\ 11.\ 15.\ 19.\ 21f.}$; and see $15^{6.\ 17\text{-}19}$). David divided the Levites into courses 'according to the sons of Levi' (23^6; Merarites, vv.$^{21\text{-}23}$ $24^{26\text{-}30}$), and particular offices of certain Merarites are detailed in $26^{10\text{-}13.\ 16\text{-}19}$. (4) They took part in the cleansing of the Temple under Hezekiah (2 Ch $29^{12.\ 14}$). Cf. also art. Kohath.

2. The father of Judith (Jth 8^1 16^7).

A. H. M'Neile.

MERATHAIM (Jer 50^{21}).—The term is an enigmatical one, and adapted so as to recall to a Heb. ear either 'double rebellion' or 'double bitterness.'

MERCHANDISE, MERCHANT.—See Market, Trade, and Commerce.

MERCHANTMAN.—This Eng. word is now used only of a trading vessel. In AV it means 'merchant, tradesman'; it occurs in Gn 37^{28}, 1 K 10^{15}, Mt 13^{45}. In each case the earliest editions of AV have two separate words.

MERCURY stands in the AV for the Gr. *Hermes* in Ac 14^{12}. Hermes, as the spokesman of the gods, was regarded by the Greeks as the god of eloquence. Hence, when Paul and Barnabas healed the cripple at Lystra, the former was hailed as Hermes, 'because he was the chief speaker.' The identification of Hermes with Mercury was due to another attribute. As the messenger of the gods, Hermes was the god who brought good fortune to men. Mercury was the Roman god of commerce (cf. *merx*, *mercari*), and success in commerce was attributed to him. Hence the mythology of the two was confused. A. E. Hillard.

MERCY, MERCIFUL.—

Mercy (French *merci*) is traced, through ecclesiastical Latin, to *merces* (reward); it seems to have got its meaning from the exclamation of the alms-receiver, 'Merci!' *i.e.* 'Reward to you (in heaven)!' 'May God reward you!' —the expression passing from the acknowledgment made to the bounty given, and then to the spirit prompting it. Thus *mercy* is by derivation allied to *merit*, *merchant*, *mercenary*, *amerce*.

1. In the OT, noun and adjective render two quite different Hebrew terms. (1) meaning primarily *bowels* (see Gn 43^{30}, 1 K 3^{26}), then *compassion* or *yearning*, occurs as noun, adjective, or verb ('have mercy,' 'show mercy'), with the tr. 'mercy' over 60 times (Gn 43^{14}, Ex 34^6, Hab 3^2, are typical examples),—often 'mercies' or 'tender mercies' for the noun, imitating the Hebrew plural. In 5 instances the EV translates by 'pity,' 'pitiful' (see Ps 103^{13}, La 4^{10}), in 17 by 'compassion.' In Gn 19^{16} 'merciful' renders a synonym of the above, which appears elsewhere (2 S 12^6, Is 63^9 etc.) as 'pity.'

(2) is a familiar OT word, occurring *passim* in the Psalms, denoting *kindness* or *benignity*, almost confined to the noun-form in this sense. It is rendered 43 times by *kindness* (often on the part of *men*), and 30 times by 'lovingkindness' (always of *God*, and mostly in Ps.), by *mercy* some 150 times in AV; other renderings—'goodness,' 'favour,' and 'pity'—are occasional RV frequently, the American Revisers uniformly, substitute **'lovingkindness'** (wh. see) for 'mercy' where *God* is the subject. This attribute of J″ lies nearer to the 'grace' (wh. see) than the 'mercy' of the NT, without implying necessarily, like the former, ill-desert in the object. It is associated frequently with 'truth' (wh. see) in J″—'lovingkindness (mercy) and truth' being the regnant qualities of His dealings with Israel—and with 'covenant' (Dt 7^9, 1 K 8^{23}, Neh 1^5 9^{32}, Ps 89^{28}, Is 55^3, Dn 9^4), as well as with 'goodness' and 'compassion' (above); while it is contrasted with 'anger,' 'judgment,' and 'sacrifice' (Mic 7^{18}, Ps 101^1, Hos 6^6). The word describes what one may call the characteristic *temper* of J″, His gracious disposition towards His chosen regarded in their dependence and necessities, His readiness to help, bless, relieve, forgive them—J″'s 'leal love' (G. A. Smith).

(3) A third root, the noun of which is translated 'grace' (wh. see) and its adjective 'gracious,' appears in the verb 16 times as 'be gracious' or the like, and 16 times as 'have' or 'show mercy' in AV (Dt 7^2, Ps 4^1 etc.), thrice as 'pity.' This term seems to imply more of inclination, and (2) more of active disposition.

(4) The expression 'be merciful' in AV of Dt 21[8] 32[43] is corrected by RV to 'forgive' and 'make expiation.'

2. Mercy in NT plays a part subordinate to that of love (wh. see). It represents a pair of Greek synonyms, both chiefly, but not exclusively, applied (in Scripture) to God. (*a*) As used in the LXX, the ordinary term (noun, adjective, and verb) in its *noun-form* reproduced commonly (2) of the Hebrew words above indicated; but in *adjective and verb* more often (3), less frequently (1). It denotes compassion as a temper and motive of action rather than a sentiment—*eleēmosynē* (alms) is one of its derivatives; like 'mercy,' the Greek *eleos* regards its objects as weak or suffering, and is therefore narrower in range than the Hebrew (2) above defined. Out of the 27 examples of this noun in NT, 9 occur in OT allusions, 7 in salutations or benedictions; other examples are Mt 5[7], Lk 16[24], Ro 9[23], 2 Co 4[1], Ja 3[17]. The verb is more frequent. (*b*) The second of the Greek synonyms—verb, noun, and adjective—is more pathetic, and corresponds to (1) of the OT terms; hence the Hebraizing combinations of Ph 2[1], Col 3[12], Ja 5[11] (Hebraistic equivalents replace the regular Greek terms in Eph 4[32], 1 P 3[8]). This tenderer significance 'mercy' bears in Lk 6[36], Ro 12[1], 2 Co 1[3], He 10[28], also in Mt 18[33] (RV, where AV reads 'pity'). (*c*) 'Of tender mercies' in Ja 5[11] (AV; RV 'merciful') represents a Hebraistic compound nearly the same as that rendered 'tender-hearted' in Eph 4[32] and 1 P 3[8] (RV; AV 'pitiful'). Akin to these adjectives is the verb occurring 12 times in the Synoptic Gospels, which is rendered 'moved with compassion' (moved to mercy), describing the emotion stirred in the breast of Jesus—*e.g.* by the cry, 'Have mercy on us,' of Mt 20[31-34].

G. G. Findlay.

MERCY SEAT.—See Tabernacle, § 7 *b*.

MERED.—A Judahite (1 Ch 4[17]).

MEREMOTH.—**1.** The head of the 7th course of priests (Ezr 8[33], Neh 3[4. 21] 10[5]); called in 1 Es 8[62] **Marmoth.** **2.** See Carabasion. **3.** See Meraioth, No. 3.

MERES.—One of the seven princes and counsellors of Ahasuerus (Est 1[14]).

MERIBAH.—See Massah and Meribah.

MERI(B)BAAL.—See Mephibosheth.

MERIBOTH-KADESH.—See Massah and Meribah.

MERODACH.—The name of the city-god of Babylon, worshipped, after the establishment of Babylon as capital of the Babylonian Empire, as chief god of Babylonia. The Babylonian name was *Marduk*, older form *Maruduk*. He gradually absorbed the attributes of other gods once supreme through the influence of their city seats of worship, particularly Ellil the old Bēl, or lord supreme of Nippur. Hence he was in later times the **Bēl** of Babylonia. Merodach is a Hebraized form occurring only in Jer 50[2], but the Bēl of the Apocryphal Bēl and the Dragon (Is 46[1], Jer 51[44]) is the same deity. Nebuchadnezzar was specially devoted to his worship, but the Assyrians reverenced him no less; and even Cyrus, on his conquest of Babylon, treated him with the deepest respect. The name occurs in many Babylonian proper names, and appears in the Bible in *Merodach-baladan* and *Evil-merodach*, and probably in *Mordecai*.

C. H. W. Johns.

MERODACH-BALADAN (Is 39[1]; misspelt [in MT, but not in LXX] **Berodach-b.** in 2 K 20[12]).—In Assyr. the name is written *Marduk-bal-iddina*, and means 'Merodach has given a son.' For his history see p. 66 f.

MEROM, THE WATERS OF.—The scene of Joshua's victory over the northern kings; usually identified with Lake Huleh in the Upper Jordan Valley (Jos 11[5. 7]). This identification is accepted by Robinson (*BRP* ii. 440), G. A. Smith (*HGHL*[1], 481), and others. It is questioned by Socin (Baedeker's *Palästina*), Buhl (*GAP*), and Guthe (*Bibelwörterbuch*, *s.v.*), the last suggesting an impossible position near *Meirōn*, at the base of *Jebel Jermuk*. Joshua's crowning victory would not be located by such 'waters' as are to be found there. The kings were encamped at Beroth, not far from Kadesh (Jos. *Ant.* v. i. 18), but probably they descended, as did Demetrius at a later date (*Ant.* xiii. v. 7), to battle in the plain, better suited than the rough uplands for the chariots on which they depended. There is nothing to wonder at in the disappearance of the ancient name, in a land where so many names have perished. It is almost certainly the lake Semechonitis of *Ant.* v. v. 1; the district to the N. was known as Ulatha (*Ant.* xv. x. 3; *BJ* i. xx. 4). This is the first appearance of the modern name—Ulatha = Hūleh—which covers both the lake and the district. The water is supplied by the fountains of the Jordan at Hasbeiyeh, Bāniās, and Tell el-Kādi, by the springs at 'Ain el-Balāta and 'Ain el-Mellāha on the western side of the valley; Mt. Hermon and the neighbouring slopes also drain into the basin. In shape *Baheiret el-Hūleh* is almost triangular. It lies 7 ft. above sea-level. The open water is about four miles in length by about three miles at the broadest part. It is from 10 to 16 ft. in depth. To the N. stretch great breadths of marsh land, with dense thickets of papyrus reeds, through which, in various channels, the streams find their way to the lake. Water fowl of all kinds abound, and the place is a sort of fisherman's paradise. The Ghawārineh Arabs occupy the valley, till the soil, tend the buffaloes, hunt, and fish. The hair tent is seldom seen: their 'houses' are 'built' of the papyrus reed.

W. Ewing.

MERONOTHITE.—A designation applied in the OT to two men. **1.** Jehdeiah (1 Ch 27[30]). **2.** Jadon (Neh 3[7]). From the context of Neh 3[7] Meronoth would appear to have been in the neighbourhood of Gibeon and Mizpah.

MEROZ.—A place which the angel of Jahweh bids men curse, together with its inhabitants, because they did not come to fight Jahweh's battle against Sisera. It is mentioned only in Jg 5[23], and probably owes its mention merely to the fact that it 'lay in the line of Sisera's flight' (Moore).

W. O. E. Oesterley.

MERRAN.—Bar 3[23] only. Probably *d* was misread *r* in the Sem. original, and the name = **Midian** (cf. Gn 37[28], Hab 3[3. 7]).

MESALOTH.—See Arbela.

MESHA.—**1.** Son of Shaharaim, a Benjamite (1 Ch 8[9]). **2.** Firstborn of Caleb (1 Ch 2[42]).

MESHA.—A king of Moab in the 9th cent. B.C. According to an inscription (on the '**Moabite Stone**' discovered at Dibon in 1868) describing his deeds, he expelled the Israelitish inhabitants from northern Moab, or from a portion of the debatable land between the two monarchies east of the northern third of the Dead Sea. Under Omri, the builder of Samaria, the border of Israel had been extended southwards to near its ancient limits (Nu 21[24ff.]); and Mesha reclaimed it by vindictive warfare, from Kiriathaim as far as Nebo. 2 K 3 also deals with the relation between northern Israel and Mesha, and it is difficult to reconcile the two accounts in every detail. The matter can best be dealt with here by giving the most probable order of the events: (1) the conquest by Omri [Inscription, lines 4, 5] about B.C. 880; (2) the expulsion of the Hebrews by Mesha in the time of Ahab [Inscr. l. 8 ff.] about B.C. 855, Mesha's 'forty years' being, as also often in Hebrew narrative, a round number; (3) the refusal of Mesha to again submit, which is all that the Hebrew of 2 K 1[1] 3[5] (EV 'rebelled') necessarily implies; (4) the unsuccessful expedition by Joram and his allies to reduce Mesha to submission, recorded in 2 K 3[6-27].

J. F. M'Curdy.

MESHA is mentioned as marking one of the boundaries of the territory ascribed to the descendants of Joktan

in Gn 10[23]. Its position has not yet been satisfactorily identified. The proposed identification with the late territory of Mesene at the head of the Persian Gulf is improbable. A better case can be made out for identifying it with Mash or Mashu, a general term in the Assyrian inscriptions for the Syro-Arabian desert; though the passage suggests that a single place, or tribe, rather than so vast a region, is referred to. If the vowel points be emended the word may be read as **Massa**, the name of a son of Ishmael in Gn 25[14] and 1 Ch 1[30]. Traces of this latter tribe have been sought in place names in central Arabia, but no identification yet suggested can be regarded as certain.

L. W. King.

MESHACH.—The name **Mishael,** by which one of Daniel's three companions, of the children of Judah, was originally called, was changed by the prince of the eunuchs into *Meshach* (Dn 1[7] and ch. 3). Such changes of name were not uncommon; they marked the fact that a new state of life had now begun. The meaning of the name is quite uncertain.

MESHECH.—**1.** The name of a people of Asia Minor mentioned after **Tubal** as among the sons of Japheth (Gn 10[2]). These two peoples, possibly kindred, appear almost always in conjunction in OT; so even in Is 66[19], where read 'Meshech' instead of 'that draw the bow' (the word for 'bow' being a supplementary gloss). In Ps 120[5] Meshech and **Kedar** appear as types of barbarous and warlike people, just as Meshech and Tubal are represented in Ezk 32[26] 38[2] 39[1]. In the Assyrian annals the *Tabalī* and *Mushkī*, who are undoubtedly the same as Tubal and Meshech, are found again together (as fierce opponents of Assyria in the 12th cent. B.C.), the former lying to the north-east of Cilicia and the latter eastward between them and the Euphrates. The *Tibareni* and *Moschi* of the classical writers must stand for the same two peoples. Ezk 27[13] names them as trading in slaves and articles of bronze.

2. In 1 Ch 1[17] 'Meshech' is written by mistake for **'Mash'** (cf. Gn 10[23]) J. F. M'Curdy.

MESHELEMIAH.—The eponym of a family of Korahite doorkeepers (1 Ch 9[21] 26[1]) = **Shelemiah** of 26[14], **Shallum** of 9[17. 19. 31], and **Meshullam** of Neh 12[25].

MESHEZABEL.—**1.** One of those who helped to repair the wall (Neh 3[4]). **2.** One of those who sealed the covenant (Neh 10[21]). **3.** The father of Pethahiah (Neh 11[24]).

MESHILLEMITH.—A priest (1 Ch 9[12]); called in Neh 11[13] **Meshillemoth.**

MESHILLEMOTH.—**1.** An Ephraimite (2 Ch 28[12]). **2.** A priest (Neh 11[13]); called in 1 Ch 9[12] **Meshillemith.**

MESHOBAB.—A Simeonite (1 Ch 4[34]).

MESHULLAM.—**1. 2. 3.** Three Benjamites (1 Ch 8[17] 9[7. 8]). **4.** A Gadite (1 Ch 5[13]). **5.** The grandfather of Shaphan (2 K 22[3]). **6.** The father of Hilkiah (1 Ch 9[11]). **7.** Another priest of the same family (1 Ch 9[12]). **8.** A Kohathite (2 Ch 34[12]). **9.** A son of Zerubbabel (1 Ch 3[19]). **10.** One of the 'chief men' whose services were enlisted by Ezra to procure Levites (Ezr 8[16]); called in 1 Es 8[44] **Mosollamus.** **11.** A Levite who opposed Ezra's proceedings in connexion with the foreign marriages (Ezr 10[15]); called in 1 Es 9[14] **Mosollamus.** **12.** One of those who had married foreign wives (Ezr 10[29]); called in 1 Es 9[30] **Olamus.** **13.** Son of Berechiah, one of those who helped to repair the walls of Jerusalem (Neh 3[4. 30]). His daughter was married to Tobiah (6[18]). **14.** Son of Besodeiah. He helped to repair the old gate (Neh 3[6]). **15.** One of the company that stood at Ezra's left hand during the reading of the Law (Neh 8[4]). **16. 17.** A priest and a chief of the people who sealed the covenant (Neh 10[7. 20]). **18.** One of the princes of Judah who marched in procession at the dedication of the walls of Jerusalem (Neh 12[33]). **19. 20. 21.** Two heads of priestly houses and a porter in the time of the high priest Joiakim (Neh 12[13. 16. 25] [see Meshelemiah]).

MESHULLEMETH.—Wife of king Manasseh and mother of Amon (2 K 21[19]).

MESOPOTAMIA = **Aram-naharaim** (see Aram).

MESS.—A mess is any dish of food *sent* to the table (Lat. *missum*, Fr. *mes*). The word occurs in Gn 43[34], 2 S 11[8], Sir 30[18], and RV introduces it at He 12[16].

MESSIAH.—The 'one anointed' (Gr. *Christos*), *i.e.* appointed and empowered by God through the impartation of His own spirit, to become the Saviour of His people. The conception of the Messiah is logically implicit in all the expectations of the Hebrew people that Jehovah would deliver Israel and turn it into a glorious empire to which all the heathen would be subjected. But it is not always explicit. The expectation of the coming Kingdom is more in evidence than the expectation of the coming King. But in the same proportion as the conception of the personal Messiah emerges from the general Messianic hope these elements appear within it: (1) the Deliverer; (2) the presence of God's Spirit in His own personality as the source of His power; (3) His work as the salvation of God's people, at first the Jewish nation, but ultimately all those who join themselves to Him.

1. The Messiah of the OT—

In any historical study of the OT it is necessary to distinguish sharply between the Messianic interpretation given to certain passages by later writers, notably Christian and Rabbinic, and the expectation which, so far as it is recoverable, the writers of the OT actually possessed. A disregard of this distinction has been common from the point of view of theological statement, but is fatal to a proper understanding of that progress in the religious apprehension of God and the clarifying of religious expectations which constitutes so large a factor in the Biblical revelation of God. It is always easier to discover tendencies as one looks back over a historical course of events than as one looks forward into the future which these events determine. The proper method in the study of the Messianic hope is not to mass the sentences of the OT to which a Messianic interpretation is given by later Biblical or extra-Biblical writers, but to study them in their context both literary and historical. In such a tracing of the historical development it is necessary to recognize critical results as far as they are reasonably fixed, and thus avoid reading back into the original hopes of the Hebrews those interpretations and implications which were given to the early history by various redactors. These latter, however, constitute data for the understanding of the Messianic ideal in the age of the editors.

Unfortunately, in the present state of criticism it is not possible to arrange the material of the OT in strictly chronological order. This is particularly true in the case of that reflecting the Messianic hope. The following classification of OT references is, therefore, not to be taken as a chronological exposition of a developing hope so much as a grouping of material of similar character.

1. *The national tendencies of Messianic prophecy.*—In the case of prophets like Elijah and Elisha the hope is hardly more distinct than a belief that the nation which worshipped Jehovah would be triumphant over its enemies. So far as the records of their teaching show, however, there was no expectation of any superhuman deliverer, or, in fact, any future contemplated other than one which presupposed a conquering Israel with an equally triumphant Jehovah. Eschatological conceptions were absent, and the new Kingdom was to be political in the truest sense. With the approach of the more tragic days of the fall of the Northern Kingdom, the threatened calamities served as a text for the foreboding of Amos. Hosea's prophecies of prosperity which would come to the nation when it turned from idols and alliances with heathen nations to the forgiving Jehovah may, as current criticism insists, belong to a later period than that usually accorded them; but in them we find little or nothing of the noble universalism to be seen in the promised victory of the seed of the woman over the serpent (Gn 3[14. 15]). It is rather a hope of national glory, such as appears in the promise made to

Shem (9[27]), to Abraham (12[2]), to Jacob (27[27-29]), and, in particular, to Judah (49[8-12]). The basis of this great expectation is the faith in Jehovah as interpreted by the prophets, whether earlier or later. It was inconceivable to them that the true God should be other than ultimately triumphant; cf. the prophecy of Balaam (Nu 24[17-19]), Song of Moses (Dt 32[6-10]), the expectation of 'the prophet' (Dt 18[15-19]). This nationalism is to be seen throughout the Messianic hope of the OT, although occasional exceptions are to be found, as in Gn 3[14. 15], and in some passages of Ezekiel.

2. *The Messianic hope of the great prophets.*—With Isaiah began a new development of the Messianic hope, primarily through the preaching of deliverance from the inevitable catastrophe of the Assyrian conquest. Out of the sorrows of the time, born largely, as Isaiah believed, from the sins of Jehovah's people, was to arise deliverance. This seems to be the central teaching of the great passage, Is 7[10-17]. Deliverance was to come before the expected child could choose between good and evil, but by the time he reached maturity the greater misery of Assyrian invasion should break forth. But in the name of the child, **Immanuel,** was the pledge that Jehovah would ever be with His people and would ultimately save them; not impossibly through the child himself, although nothing is said of Immanuel's share in the accomplishment of the deliverance. Whether or not the reference in Is 9[6. 7] is to Immanuel, it is unquestionable that it is to the coming of a descendant of David, who should deliver Israel and reign with Jehovah's assistance for ever triumphantly. In that glorious time, which was to be inaugurated by the Messianic King, would be prosperity hitherto unknown (Is 11[1-9]). The 'eternity' of his reign is undoubtedly to be interpreted dynastically rather than personally, but the king himself clearly is a person, and Jehovah's Spirit, which is to be within him, is just as plainly the source of his great success (cf. Is 33[14-24]). In a similar spirit Micah localizes the new Kingdom established through Divine guidance in Zion (Mic 4[1-5]), and declares that the King is to come from Bethlehem, that is to say, shall be Davidic (5[2-5]).

Primarily national as these expectations are, the keynote is the deliverance wrought by Jehovah through a particular royal person, in whose days righteousness and peace are to be supreme in the world because of the Hebrew empire. This picture of the royal king became one controlling element in the later Messianic hope.

In this literature, whatever its date may be, there appears also the new note of *universal peace* to be wrought by Jehovah. In large measure this peace was conceived of as due to the completeness of Jehovah's conquest of the nations in the interests of His people (cf. Is 9[1-6]). But beyond this there can also be seen the hope that the very nature of the reign of the new King would conduce to an end of war. In such a passage as Is 11[1-10] there is struck the keynote of a nobler Messianic reign than that possible to the mere conqueror. The peace then promised was to come from a knowledge of Jehovah as well as from the glories of the Davidic ruler.

The reformation of Josiah finds an echo in the equally exultant expectation of Jeremiah—that Jehovah would surely place a descendant of David upon the throne, a 'righteous branch,' and one who would deliver Israel (Jer 33[14-16]). The glory of the restored kingdom was to be enhanced by a New Covenant to replace the broken covenant of Sinai. This covenant would be spiritual, and the relations which it would establish between Israel and Jehovah would be profoundly religious. Israel would be a servant of Jehovah, who would, on His part, forgive His people's sins (Jer 31[31-34], cf. 33[17-22]). The restoration of Israel, which was thus to be accomplished by Jehovah, involved not only national honour, but also a new prosperity for the priesthood, and new immortality on the part of the individual and the nation. There is no reference, however, to a personal Messiah. Yet if such a passage as Dt 18[15-19] belongs to this period, it is evident that the hope included the expectation of some great person, who would be even more sublime than Moses himself.

3. *The Messianic hope during the Exile.*—The great catastrophe which fell upon both the Northern and Southern Kingdoms forced the prophets to re-examine the relations of national misfortune to the persistent hope of the glorious Kingdom of Jehovah. It would seem as if at the outset the exiles had expected that they would soon return to Palestine, but this hope was opposed most vigorously by Ezekiel, and the fall of Jerusalem confirmed his teaching. From the despair that followed, the people were rescued by the appearance of Cyrus, who became the instrument of Jehovah in bringing about the return of the remnant to their own land. It was from these dark years that there appeared a new type of Messianic hope, national and economic, it is true, but also profoundly religious. Jehovah would care for His people as the shepherd cared for his sheep, and the land to which they would return would be renewed (Ezk 34[11-31]), while the nations would support Israel and fear Jehovah (Is 49[22. 23]). Jehovah would make an everlasting covenant with His people (Is 55[1-5]), but the new nation would not be composed of all those who had been swept into exile and their descendants. It would rather be a righteous community, purified by suffering. Thus the hope rises to that recognition of the individual which Ezekiel was the first to emphasize strongly.

At this point we have to decide whether the suffering **Servant of Jehovah** is to be interpreted collectively as the purified and vicarious remnant of Israel; or as some individual who would stand for ever as a representative of Jehovah, and, through his sufferings, purify and recall Israel to that spiritual life which would be the guarantee of a glorious future; or as the suffering nation itself. The interpretation placed upon these 'Servant' passages (Is 42[1-13] 49[5] 61[1-3] 52[13-15] 53[1-12]) in Rabbinic thought was ordinarily not personal, but national. It was a suffering Israel who was not only to be gloriously redeemed, but was also to bring the knowledge of Jehovah and salvation to the world at large. And this is becoming the current interpretation to-day. Yet the personification is so complete as to yield itself readily to the personal application to Jesus made by the early Church and subsequent Christian expositors. A vicarious element, which was to prove of lasting influence, is now introduced into Messianic expectation. The deliverance was to be through the sufferings of the Deliverer. See, further, SERVANT OF THE LORD.

4. *'Messianic' Psalms.*—While it is not possible to date Ps 2 with any precision, its picture of the coming King who shall reign over all the world because of the power of Jehovah, is fundamentally political. The same is true of Pss 45 and 72. In these Psalms there are expressions which could subsequently be used very properly to express the expectation of a completed Messianic hope, but it would be unwise to read back into them a conscious expectation of a definite superhuman person. The hope at the time of the writing of these Psalms was national and political.

5. *The attempt at a Messianic nation.*—With the return of the exiles from Babylon to Judah attempts were made to inaugurate an ideal commonwealth which should embody these anticipations. The one great pre-requisite of this new nation was to be the observance of the Law, which would insure the coming of the Spirit of Jehovah upon the new Israel (Jl 2[28. 29], Hag 1[13], Zec 2[1-5] etc., Is 60[1-22]). The coronation of Zerubbabel seemed to Haggai and Zechariah the fulfilment of the promise that the prince would come from the house of David (Hag 2[23], Zec 3[8]). But the new commonwealth was thoroughly inefficient, and the Messianic hope seems to have become dormant in the struggles of the weak State. The literary activity of the years between the

re-building of the Temple and the Maccabæan outbreak was, however, if current critical views be correct, full of idealistic elements. These expressed themselves in a re-working of the older codes and prophecies of the Hebrews, under the influence of the faith in the coming triumph Jehovah would give His people. The personal Deliverer is not described, but the deliverance was assured. This genuinely Messianic hope was not killed even by other tendencies to replace prophecy by the philosophy of experience. Through all these years it is certain that the fundamental elements of the Messianic hope remained fixed; namely, the ineradicable belief that Jehovah would (*a*) make of the Jewish nation a world empire; (*b*) establish the house of David; (*c*) punish the enemies of His chosen people, whether Gentiles or Jews; and (*d*) that this glorious future would be established by the expression of the Divine power in the resurrection, not of the individual from Sheol, but of the nation from its miseries. These elements were subsequently to develop into the dominant characteristics of the later Messianic hope—the Kingdom of God, the Davidic King, the Day of Judgment, and the Resurrection of the Righteous.

II. **The Messiah of the Jewish literature.**—1. *The rise of apocalypse.*—The attempt of Antiochus Epiphanes to crush out Judaism led to the appearance of a new type of religious literature—the apocalypse. The origin of this literature is a matter of dispute. The influence of the Babylonian myth cycles is certainly apparent, but the apocalypses, as they stand, have no precise analogy in other literature of the period. For our present purpose, however, the importance of the apocalypse lies in the fact that it contributed to the development of a new Messianic conception. In the very nature of the case the misery of Syrian persecution forced 'the Pious' not only to renewed faith in Jehovah, but also to a new sense of the need of prophecy. In the absence of the genuine prophet, the triumph of Israel and the inevitable destruction of Jehovah's foes were foretold by symbol. The pseudonymous literature, which thus arose in the course of time, however, came to be taken not simply as figures of speech, but as possessing an ill-defined literal character (see Apocalyptic Literature).

2. *The Messiah of the later canonical books* is not well defined. The apocalyptic sections of Daniel contain a pervasive Messianic element, and in the portrayal of this hope we find the first thoroughly elaborated apocalypse of Judaism. The international relations of Israel are traced, but the historical horizon is bounded by Antiochus Epiphanes. A most important element of the future as set forth by Daniel is to be seen in the triumph of the kingdom of the saints, whose symbol is a 'son of man,' over the oppressing kingdoms of Babylonia, Media, Persia, and Syria, symbolized by the four beasts. There is, however, no sharply distinct personal Messiah in these visions, and the expectation is primarily that of a genuinely political State established by Jehovah in Palestine. The 'day of Jehovah' (see Day of the Lord) is, however, now elaborately developed into a world-judgment, and the lines of future apocalyptic Messianism are clearly drawn. But it is now to some extent expanded by the belief that the righteous, both Hebrews and others, would be raised from the dead to join in the Kingdom (Dn $12^{1ff.}$). In this union of the idea of the resurrection of the nation with that of the individual we find material which was ready to grow into the pictures of the later apocalypse.

3. In *the Sibylline Oracles* the figure of the Messiah again is not distinct, but there is a picture (III. 6^{52} 7^{94}) of a glorious time when under a Divinely supported king (doubtless a member of the Hasmonæan house) war was to cease and God was to bless the righteous and punish the wicked. The nations would then come under the law of Jehovah, and Jerusalem would be the capital of the world-wide empire to be established miraculously. The other literature of the inter-Biblical period is not so hopeful, although ben-Sira foresees an everlasting Jewish empire under a Davidic dynasty (Sir $32^{18.\ 19}$ $33^{1f.}$ 37^{25} 47^{11} 50^{24}).

4. In the different strata of *the Eth. Enoch literature* the hope of a personal Messiah is presented in somewhat different degrees of distinctness. In the older sections (1–36) of the original groundwork (chs. 1–36, 72–104), the hope, though apocalyptic, is national. Here, however, as in the later literature, attention is centred rather on the punishment of the wicked than on the development of the new Kingdom. Very noteworthy is the fact that both the punishment of the wicked and the rewards of the righteous were to be eschatological. But eschatology, though involving the resurrection, is still somewhat naïve. The righteous are to live 500 years, beget 1000 children, and die in peace (ch. 10). Still, the punishment of the wicked is to be in Sheol, which has been divided into four sections with varying conditions (ch. 22; see Sheol). It is obvious, however, that in this early Enoch literature the thought is poetic rather than precise, and in a way it marks the transition from the political religious hope of the prophets to the transcendental expectations of the later apocalypses.

In the dream visions (chs. 83–90) there is a more elaborate symbolical account of the sufferings of the Hebrew people under various oppressors. The new age, however, is about to be introduced by the Day of Judgment, when wicked persons—whether men, rulers, or angels—are to be cast into an abyss of fire. Then the New Jerusalem is to be established by God. The dead are to be raised, the Messiah is to appear, and all men are to be transformed into His likeness. These latter elements of the hope, however, are somewhat obscurely expressed. The Messiah seems to have no particular function either of judgment or of conquest. The new Kingdom is a direct gift of God.

In the later chapters of this early section (chs. 90–104) the thought becomes more eschatological. The resurrection comes at the end of the Messianic reign, which is to be one of struggle, in which the wicked are to be subdued. The Messiah is thus more distinct, and is at least once called by God 'my Son.'

In the other group of Enoch visions (chs. 37–72) the transcendental has become to some extent literalized. The Messiah is now very prominent, being called 'son of man,' 'elect,' 'righteous one.' He is pre-existent, and co-judge with God over both the living and the dead. The punishment of the enemies of Israel is still as prominent as the establishment of the new Kingdom, and the latter is described in terms which make it evident that the Jews could not conceive of any Kingdom of God apart from Palestine. There men and angels are to dwell together and rule over a world freed from sin.

5. In the *Book of Jubilees* the Messianic hope is all but lacking. Angelology and demonology are well developed, but apparently the author of the visions conceived of the Messianic age as about to dawn, even if it had not already begun. Members of that age were to live 1000 years, and were to be free from the influence of Satan. The Judgment was to close this period, but there was to be no resurrection of the body. There is no reference to a Messiah, but rather to the conquest of the world by a nation that kept Jehovah's law.

6. The best-drawn picture of the Messiah in the Pharisaic literature is that of the *Psalms of Solomon*. In the 17th and 18th of these the apocalyptic element is largely wanting, but there is nothing inconsistent with the view of apocalyptic Messianism. The Messiah, however, is given a position not accorded him elsewhere in pre-Christian Jewish literature. He is neither sufferer nor teacher, pre-existent nor miraculously born; he is a mighty king, vice-regent of God, strong through the Holy Spirit. He would conquer the world without weapons or armies, with the word of his mouth,

i.e. miraculously. The capital would be at Jerusalem, which would be purged from all heathen, and his subjects would be righteous Jews, 'sons of God.'

7. The literature of later Pharisaism became very strongly apocalyptic, but the figure of a personal Messiah is not always present. In the *Assumption of Moses* there is no personal Messiah mentioned, and God is said to be the sole punisher of the Gentiles. The sufferings of the faithful are treated as an incentive to faith in the Kingdom of God. The concrete king of the hostile kingdom should be overcome. The enemies of God were to be punished in Gehenna, and a glorious dispensation for united Israel was to dawn.

In *Slavonic Enoch*, likewise, there is no mention of the Messiah or of the resurrection, although the latter is doubtless involved in the doctrine of the millennium, which this book sets forth. It would appear that both in the Assumption of Moses and in Slavonic Enoch the central figure is God, the deliverer of His people and judge of His enemies, rather than the Messiah.

In *the Apocalypse of Baruch* and in *Second Esdras*, however, transcendentalism reaches its final form under the influence of the tragedy of the fall of Jerusalem. These two books are very probably the different forms of cycles of apocalyptic hopes that prevailed among the pious Jews. In one cycle a Messiah would slay those who had in any way injured the Jewish people, and make a Jerusalem already prepared in heaven his capital. In the other cycle there is no such glory in store for Israel, but there will be an end of corruptible things, and the establishment of a new world-age in which the dead shall be raised under the command of the Messiah. In Second Esdras the Christ is conceived of as pre-existent, raised from the sea in company with Enoch, Moses, and Elijah; and is addressed by God as 'my Son.' He destroys the enemies of Israel without war, with fire that proceeds from his mouth. The ten tribes of Israel return with their brethren to live in the New Jerusalem which had come down from heaven. Then the Messiah and all mankind die, remaining dead for an entire 'week'; after that come a general resurrection and judgment, and the fixing of the destinies of eternity. God, however, rather than the Messiah, is to be judge.

In these later apocalypses the Christ plays a large rôle, but is manifestly to be subordinated to God.

III. **The Messiah of popular expectation in NT times.**—Over against this Messiah of Pharisaic literature, so clearly increasingly superhuman in character, must be placed the Messianic hope of the people at large. It is difficult to discover this in detail, for the reason that it found its way into literature only as a hope that had been rejected by the writers. Yet it is possible in some passages of Josephus to trace its rise and its tragic outcome. The Messianic spirit is undoubtedly to be seen in the succession of so-called 'robbers' that disturbed the reigns of Herod I. and his successors; as well as in the conspiracies under 'the ten men' (*Ant.* XV. viii. 3, 4) and the Rabbis Judas and Matthias (*Ant.* XVII. vi. 2, 4). With the death of Herod, however, the Messianic movement among the masses gathered headway, particularly after the erection of Judæa into a procuratorial province (A.D. 6). Judas of Gamala and a Pharisee named Zaduc organized a fourth sect coordinate with the Pharisees, Sadducees, and Essenes, and incited the people to revolt, because of the census then established. There is no evidence, however, that this new sect, which is clearly that of the **Zealots**, had any distinct hope of a superhuman Messiah. According to Josephus (*Ant.* XVIII. i. 1, 6), they said God was to be their only ruler and lord. To this new party Josephus attributes in large degree the fall of the Jewish State. Messianic movements are also to be seen in the attempted revolt of the prophet Theudas, in robbers like Eleazar, in the Sicarii (or Assassins), and in 'the Egyptian,' with whom St. Paul was momentarily identified by the chief captain (Ac 21^{38}). Besides these were bands of fanatics like those mysterious men mentioned by Josephus (*BJ* II. i. 2, 3). All these movements co-operated to bring about the destruction of the Jewish State, for the revolt of 66 must be regarded as distinctly Messianic—a fact perceived by Josephus in the important passage *BJ* VI. v. 4, where it is said: 'What most stirred them up to war was the ambiguous oracle that was found also in their sacred writings [doubtless Daniel; cf. *Ant.* X. x. 4] that about that time one from their country should become ruler of the world.'

It is greatly to be regretted that this Messianic hope of the people has not left larger traces of itself. It is, however, not difficult to see in it the more political and concrete hopes which the Pharisees expressed in terms of the apocalypse. The Zealots, like the Pharisees, expected the new Kingdom to be established by God or His representative the Messiah, but, unlike the Pharisees, they were not content to await the Divine action. They preferred rather to precipitate deliverance by political revolt. The fact that the Messiah is not prominent in such hopes does not imply that such a person was unexpected. A leader would certainly be involved in any revolt, but such a leader would not necessarily be superhuman. Yet it would be unsafe to say that the Messiah whom the people expected, any more than he whom the Pharisees awaited, would be without Divine appointment and inspiration. He might not be, strictly speaking, supernatural, but he would certainly be given the Divine Spirit and power to bring deliverance which, without the aid of God, would be clearly impossible. The chief difference between the Messianic hope of the Pharisees and that of the Zealots and people was probably the lack in the latter of the eschatological, transcendental element, such as the resurrection from the dead and the heavenly Jerusalem, which was so important in the hope of the Pharisees. How thoroughly social and political this folk-Messianism became is to be seen in the various abortive attempts to establish, during the revolt of 66, a peasant republic, as well as in the destruction of evidence of indebtedness and the massacre of the aristocrats. The Pharisaic expectation would never have led to violence, but rather involved the patient waiting of the faithful for the time set by Jehovah.

IV. **The Messiah of the Samaritans.**—It would be exceedingly helpful, particularly for an understanding of Jn 4^{1-42}, if we knew the Samaritan Messianic hope with some precision. Unfortunately, there is no literature dating from the time of Christ which sets this forth. So far, however, as it can be recovered from later sources, and particularly from the present high priest of the Samaritans, it would seem that the expectation did not include the Davidic King of Judaism, but centred rather about the prophecy of Dt 18^{15} of the prophet God was to raise up like unto Moses. This prophet, according to the Samaritan belief, was to be 'the Converter,' who would bring moral and religious truth to light. At the same time, they believed that the Gentiles would be subjected to him, would believe in him and the holy Law, and in the sanctuary of Mt. Gerizim. There seems to have been no expectation of miraculous powers to be exercised by the prophet; but concerning this, as in fact about other particulars of the Samaritan hope, no statement can be made with absolute certainty.

V. **The Messiah of Rabbinism.**—Subsequent to the destruction of Jerusalem, Pharisaism developed rapidly into its final stage of Rabbinism. The two tendencies which are so marked in Pharisaism—one towards strict legalism, the other towards Messianic idealism—were then codified and systematically elaborated. The development of the Messianic expectation, however, was to some extent shaped by the need of combating the Messianic interpretations of Christianity. Traces of this influence are undoubtedly to be found in the Targum on Is 53,

and in 2 Esdras, but they are also to appear in literature that was clearly subjected to Christian redaction. The Messiah was generally regarded as a descendant of David. He was to free Israel from the power of the heathen world, kill its emperor of the kingdom of evil, and set up his own Kingdom. He was regarded also as pre-existent, not merely ideally, but actually. For a merely ideal pre-existence is not to be argued from the well-known saying including the seven things created before the world was made. The name here undoubtedly implies personality, and in some of the later Jewish writings this pre-existent state is somewhat minutely described. He is to be hidden until he appears, but the obvious inconsistencies of view were never fully systematized.

Doubtless because of the Messianic arguments of Christians, based upon such passages as Is 53, the Rabbis were forced to the recognition of the idea of the suffering Messiah. In this recognition, however, no change was made in the conception of the Messiah the son of David, but the belief came to involve a second Messiah the son of Joseph. His office and person are not described in detail, but later Rabbinic teaching held that he would appear before the coming of the Messiah the son of David, would gather faithful Jews to him, defeat his people's enemies, and establish a great empire with its capital and temple at Jerusalem. Thereafter some one of the various transcendental enemies of Israel, like Gog and Magog, would defeat and slay him. Then the Messiah son of David would come and resurrect the Messiah son of Joseph, and establish the great and more permanent Messianic Kingdom. This conception of the Messiah son of Joseph, however, has never played a very large rôle in Rabbinic Messianism, and must be regarded in the light of a concession to Christian opponents rather than as a really formative influence. The older hope of the Messiah son of David is that dominant among orthodox Jews, who still await his coming, which is to follow the appearance of Elijah (Mal 3^{1} $4^{5.\ 6}$).

VI. **The Messiah of the NT.**—As its very name indicates, Christianity centres about the belief that Jesus was the Messiah. The definition of that word as applied to Jesus is one about which there is some difference of opinion. Conceivably it might be (*a*) that of Pharisaic Messianism; (*b*) something altogether new; or, more probably, (*c*) the old conception modified by certain new elements.

In discovering what the Messianic conceptions of the NT are, it is necessary to avoid a dogmatic attitude of mind, and to come to the discussion from the historical-exegetical point of view. In such a method the point of departure is the presupposition that current beliefs and definitions were used by Jesus and His disciples wherever such thoughts and definitions are not distinctly changed or abrogated. A disregard of this primary principle in historical method has too frequently been the cause of false perspective and anachronistic conclusions as regards NT thought.

1. *Jesus' conception of Messiahship.*—That Jesus conceived of Himself as a Messiah seems to be beyond question, if the saying of Mk $14^{61.\ 62}$ is regarded as historical. But such a conclusion does not rest wholly upon a single saying. His words concerning His conquest of Satan (Mk 3^{23-26}) are altogether consonant with the conception of Himself as Christ; and His assent to the confession of the Apostles at Cæsarea Philippi is a practical acceptance of the title (Mk 8^{27-30}, which has been made more explicit in Mt 16^{13-16}, Lk 9^{18-20}). His answer to the inquiry of John the Baptist as to whether He were the Coming One (Mt 11^{2-10}, Lk $7^{18f.}$) can be interpreted only as affirmative. The question was genuinely Messianic, and the Scripture which He used (Is $35^{5.\ 6}$) was given a Messianic interpretation by the Rabbis. To give it any other than a Messianic implication is to render the whole episode unintelligible. It is to be noticed further that this saying is not exposed to the difficulties which inhere in some of the apocalyptic sayings attributed to Jesus, or in the repeated Messianic designations of the Fourth Gospel.

It is easy by a process of subjective criticism to remove such sayings from the field of discussion, but such procedure is arbitrary in view of the facts already adduced. It is true that in the Synoptic Gospels Jesus does not at the beginning of the Galilæan ministry go about the country announcing that He is the Christ, but neither does He undertake this sort of propaganda according to the Johannine source. And it should not be overlooked that in any case His words in the synagogue of Nazareth (Lk 4^{16-30}, Mt 13^{54-58}, Mk 6^{1-6}), which can best be interpreted as an exposition of His conception of His Messiahship, were uttered in the early part of His ministry. While some allowance may be made for the Johannine accounts of the early acceptance of Jesus as Christ, there is no reason why the ascription of the title to Him by the disciples might not have been made at the beginning of the ministry in the same futurist sense as is involved in the obvious Messianic definition implied in the questions of the sons of Zebedee in the Synoptic cycle (Mk 10^{35-45}). The fact that Jesus accepted such interpretations of His future makes it plain that He regarded Himself as Christ, at least in the sense that He was to do Messianic work in the future.

This, however, brings us face to face with the question as to how far Jesus applied to Himself the eschatological Messianic hopes of His people, and how far He developed an original Messianic ideal. As yet no consensus of scholars has been reached on this very difficult point. Certain things, however, seem to be established. (*a*) Jesus was not regarded generally as the Christ, but rather as a prophet and miracle-worker. He certainly refused to commit Himself to the Messianic programme of the Zealots. He rejected the title 'Son of David' (Mk 12^{35}), and refused to be made a king, or to use physical force in bringing in the Kingdom of God (Jn 6^{15}; cf. Mt 4^{8-10}, Lk 4^{5-8}, Mk $14^{47.\ 48}$). (*b*) Unless all reference by Jesus to the future in terms of eschatology is to be denied (a decision impossible for reasonable criticism), He certainly thought of Himself as returning in the near future to establish a Kingdom that was eschatological.

Although it is probable that the writers of the Gospels have imported eschatological references into the sayings of Jesus, it is impossible to remove them altogether. If, as is probable, Jesus conceived of the Kingdom as the gift of God, for whose coming men were to prepare, it is inevitable that His Messianic career would have been regarded as future as truly as the Kingdom itself (cf. Mt 6^{10}, Mk 9^{1}, Lk 12^{32}, Mt 25, Mk $14^{61.\ 62}$, Mk 13, 1 Th 4^{15-17}, Mt 19^{28}, Lk 22^{30}).

(*c*) But although the coming of the Kingdom, with the attendant Judgment, was still in the future, Jesus cannot be said to have conceived of His mission wholly in terms of eschatology. He had broken with Pharisaism too completely to warrant our attributing to Him *a priori* complete subjection to any Pharisaic conception. If there is anything that stands out in the expression of Jesus' self-consciousness, it is that His experience of God was superior to that of a prophet. While in the Synoptic Gospels He does not use explicitly the terms 'Christ' or 'Son of God' of Himself, His reticence in the use of terms is balanced by His conception of His own relation to the Kingdom of God. He was the 'Son of Man,' *i.e.*, in accordance with Dn 7^{13}, He was the type of the coming Kingdom. If, as is undoubtedly the case, He maintained reserve in His preaching in making explicit claims concerning Messiahship, such reserve is easily explained as a preventive against those misapprehensions with which people would have been sure to regard His work. The spirit of the Lord was upon Him to enable Him to do certain deeds which it was expected the Christ would perform. He was gathering disciples who, as His followers, were to share in the coming Kingdom. In a word, because of the Divine Spirit embodied in His own self-consciousness, He was already engaged in the work of saving God's people. (*d*) The connecting link between the Messianic career of service and the Messianic career of glory was His death.

No fair criticism can doubt that Jesus saw in these two supreme experiences elements of His work as Saviour. Only thus can we interpret His saying at the Last Supper and His repeated prophecies to His followers (Mk 14^{24} 8^{31}–9^{1} 9^{30-32}, Mt 12^{40}, Lk $12^{45.\ 46}$). Thus He fulfilled in Himself the Messianic picture of the Suffering Servant of Is 53. (*e*) In conclusion, it appears that Jesus' conception of Himself as Messiah was that He was the One in whom God Himself was revealing Himself as the Saviour of those who would accept Him as the Father. The teaching of Jesus from this point of view becomes something more than theoretical ethics and religion, and is seen to be an exposition of His own Messianic self-consciousness. Even in His humiliation and in His sufferings He was the Divinely empowered Saviour. If His faith in the ultimate triumph of that salvation took the form of the eschatology of His people, it does not thereby lose any of its significance. By His sufferings God's righteous Servant did justify many, and by His death on the cross He did draw men to Him. With His resurrection began a new era in religious experience, which revealed the realities of those pictures of that transcendental 'age to come' in which current Messianism clothed the glories of the Divine deliverance.

In short, Jesus modified the conception of the Messiah fundamentally: (1) by recognizing in His own experience vicarious suffering as a part of the Divine deliverance, but even more (2) by His insistence on the universal fatherliness of God, which transformed salvation from something ethnic and national into a salvation from sin and death of all those who accept Him as the Christ; *i.e.* who by faith reproduce in their lives that dynamic union with God, which was the source of the power which He Himself exhibited in His life and resurrection.

2. *The conception of the Messiah among the Apostles.*—In general the Apostles may be said to have believed Jesus to be the Messiah in the sense that (*a*) in His earthly period of humiliation He was anointed with God's Spirit; (*b*) that He had not done the strictly Messianic work during His earthly career; (*c*) that He had been declared the Christ by His resurrection; and (*d*) that, though now in authority in heaven, He would return to deliver His people, establish a Kingdom, and hold the world-judgment which was to be preceded by the resurrection of believers, if not of all men.

(1) In the primitive Church of Jerusalem expectation centred about the eschatological concept of judgment and deliverance. As appears from the speech of St. Peter at Pentecost (Ac 2^{14-42}), as well as from other addresses from the early chapters of Acts, the disciples believed that the new age was about to dawn. They were living in 'the last days' of the pre-Messianic age. The Christ had appeared, but had been killed, had ascended to heaven after His resurrection, thence He had sent the Holy Spirit to those who believed that He was the Christ, thus fulfilling the prophecy of Jl 2^{28-32} (which, however, had not been thus interpreted by the Pharisees). The Resurrection had not made Him the Christ, but had decisively shown that He was the One whom God had made Lord and Christ (Ac 2^{36}). In the primitive Church the Messianic deliverance was limited to the commonwealth of Israel. If the Gentiles were to share in the Messianic deliverance, they had need to be circumcised and join the Jewish community (Ac 15^{1}).

Just how far disciples like St. Peter and St. John were committed to this strictly Jewish type of Messianic expectation it is difficult to say. It would, however, be unfair to hold that they represented the so-called 'party of the circumcision' which combated St. Paul in his removal of all conditions of salvation beyond faith in Jesus as Christ. It should not be overlooked, moreover, that even in the primitive Jerusalem Church the death of Jesus was regarded as a part of the Messianic programme of deliverance, though there is no distinct theory of the Atonement formulated.

(2) St. Paul's conception of the Messiah. (i.) This is in marked advance upon that of the primitive Church. He was at one with the Jerusalem community in holding that the Kingdom had not yet come, and that Jesus would soon return from heaven to establish it. He built into his Messianic conception, however, a number of important elements, some of which were derived from Judaism. These elements were (*a*) the vicarious nature of the death of Christ; (*b*) the pre-existence of Jesus as Christ; (*c*) the doctrine of the second Adam, *i.e.* that Jesus in His resurrection was the type of the risen humanity, as Adam was the type of physical humanity; (*d*) the more or less complete identification of Jesus with the Spirit who came to the disciples, as distinct from having been sent by Jesus to the disciples.

(ii.) It is not difficult to see, therefore, why it was that St. Paul's chief interest did not lie in the career of the historical Jesus as a teacher and miracle-worker, but rather in the Divine, risen Christ who maintained spiritual relations with His followers. To have made the teaching of Jesus the centre of his thought would have been to replace the legalism of the Law by the legalism of a new authority. St. Paul was evidently acquainted with the teaching of Jesus, but his message was not that of a completed ethical philosophy, but a gospel of good news of a salvation possible to all mankind, through faith in Jesus as the Messiah. The Pauline gospel to the unconverted (see Ac 13^{16-41} 14^{8-17} 17^{1-3}) started with the expectation of Messianic judgment, presented the crucified Jesus as declared the Christ by His resurrection, proved it by the use of OT prophecy, and closed with the exhortation to his hearers to become reconciled to God, who was ready to forgive and save them. In his thought salvation consisted in the possession, through the indwelling Holy Spirit of God, of the sort of life which the risen Jesus already possessed. Morality was the expression in conduct of this regenerate life.

(iii.) The Pauline Christ is Divine, and His work is twofold. *First*, it is to be that of the Messiah of Jewish eschatology. The Apostle utilizes many of the elements of the Messianism of the Pharisees, *e.g.* the two ages, the world-judgment, the trumpet to raise the dead, the sorrows of 'the last days.' But he also made a distinct addition to Messianic thought (*a*) by his emphasis upon the relation of the death of Jesus to the acquittal of the believer in the eschatological judgment, and (*b*) in his formulation of a doctrine of the resurrection by the use of the historical resurrection of Jesus. The argument in this latter case rests on two foundations—testimony and the implications of Christian experience. The Christian is to be saved from death, the wages of sin, after the manner of his risen Lord, who had borne death on his behalf. Thus the Pauline Christology is essentially soteriological. Its speculative elements are wholly contributory to the exposition of the certainty and the reasonableness of the coming deliverance. Clothed though it is in Jewish vocabularies and conceptions, the Pauline conception of Christ and His work has for its foci the historical Jesus and Christian experience. The concepts inherited from Judaism do not give rise to his belief in the resurrection, but his confidence in the historicity of that event gives rise to his Christology.—*Secondly*, conceiving thus of Jesus as the supreme King of those whom He had delivered, the Pauline conceptions of His relations with the Church followed naturally. God was not to condemn those who had voluntarily undertaken to prepare for the Kingdom when it should appear. They were 'justified' through their faith in Jesus as Christ. But could the King of that coming Kingdom be indifferent to those who were justified, had already received the Holy Spirit as a first instalment of the future blessing, and were daily awaiting His reappearance? The Christ was the 'Head' of the Church in 'the last days,' just as truly as, in the 'coming age,' He would be King. His supremacy over the Church consisted not merely in that its original nucleus was composed of His disciples, but also in that He had instituted its simple

rites, established the details of its organization by giving to its members varying gifts of the Spirit, oversees its affairs, and is present within it. In fact, so intimate is His relation with the Church, that Christians may be said to be in Him, and He in them.

From this union of the believer with his Lord (generally mediated in the Pauline thought by the presence of the Holy Spirit) comes the consummation of the salvation of the individual. Since He had triumphed over death, the believer in whom the Holy Spirit lived might also expect the gift of that spiritual body which was one element of the salvation wrought by Jesus in the case of the individual.

(iv.) Yet St. Paul would not say that the Christ was to reign eternally. After He had completed His work of Messianic deliverance, had finally conquered sin and death, and had established His glorious age, He was to give up the Kingdom to the Father that God might be all and in all (1 Co 15^{24}). Thus, while the Pauline soteriological thought is Christo-centric, his theology is Theo-centric. Jesus is Christ in the sense that through Him God accomplishes the salvation of His people—with St. Paul no longer the Jewish nation, but individuals who, because of their relations with the Deliverer, have been wrought into a unity on earth and await an even nobler unity in heaven.

(3) In post-Pauline Apostolic thought the Messianic concept is still central, but in its development we notice two tendencies. (*a*) There is the tendency, already present in primitive and Pauline Christianity, to find confirmation of the Messianic dignity of Jesus in the OT prophecies. With their recollections of the historical career of Jesus, the Apostles saw in the OT Messianic meanings which had eluded the Pharisees. They did not, it is true, disregard those passages which set forth the royal dignity of the Christ, but they were far more concerned in arguing for the Messianic significance of those passages which foretold the victory of God's Anointed over death and the vicarious nature of His sufferings. Thus such passages as Ps 110 and Is 53 were seen to supplement each other in teaching the consonance of the Messianic dignity with suffering.

As Christian thought developed, this tendency to find Messianic references in the OT set practically no limits to itself. In the Epistle to the Hebrews the essential features of the entire Hebrew cult are viewed as foreshadowings of the career and the glories of the Christ. In the prophetic fulfilments noticed by the writer of the First Gospel, the prophecy of the birth of a son to 'the virgin' (Is 7^{14}) and the recall of Israel from Egypt (Hos 11^{1}) are also seen to be prophecies of the experience of Jesus (Mt 1^{23} 2^{15}). The same was true of more incidental matters, such as His name and His description as the Nazarene (Mt 2^{23}), while the experience of Jonah was regarded as a type of His burial and resurrection (12^{40}). Particularly was it seen that His vicarious character was foretold. In the Book of Revelation the Messianic future of Jesus and His Kingdom was still further elaborated by the copious utilization of apocalyptic thought. In the Apostolic Fathers the use of the OT as the basis for Christological thought involved an arbitrary exegesis which extended far beyond the limits of proper methodology; and events in the life of Jesus were found predicted in sayings and events quite unused by the Apostles.

(*b*) The second tendency in post-Pauline Christological interpretation is to re-state the Messianic significance of Jesus in terms of current philosophy. The most pronounced illustration of this is to be seen in the Johannine literature. Here the Christ is identified with the Logos, and His entire career is viewed as an illustration of the great conflict between light and darkness, life and death, the powers of Satan and the powers of God. In the Epistle to the Hebrews a tendency is to be seen towards the metaphysical conception of Jesus as the Son of God—a tendency which was to find its outcome in the theological formulations of the 3rd and 4th centuries.

But in both these tendencies the fundamental conception of Messiahship is maintained. God is in Jesus reconciling the world to Himself, not imputing their trespasses to those who accept Him, and already engaged in the work of their salvation. The elemental conception of the Messiah thus passed over into Christian thought. It carried with it, it is true, the figures of that interpretation which was born of the development of the Hebrew and Jewish thought. But these figures are not the essential element of Christianity. That is rather the message which the prophets themselves had applied exclusively to Israel, viz. that God would save His people through some personality in whom His spirit was particularly resident to empower Him for the work of salvation. Thus in the history of Jesus and in Christian experience this Divine salvation is set forth, not as *ab extra*, but as the result of the in-working of God in human lives, to which He comes through the mediation of faith in Jesus, His supreme revelation. To formulate and vindicate the message of this salvation is to exhibit the content of the gospel.

SHAILER MATHEWS.

METE.—'To mete' is 'to measure,' and a 'mete-yard' (Lev 19^{35}) is a merchant's measuring-stick.

METHEG-AMMAH.—'David took Metheg-ammah out of the hand of the Philistines' (2 S 8^{1} AV and RVm). RV tr. 'the bridle of the mother-city,' which has been interpreted to mean authority over the metropolis, or the suzerainty exercised by the Philistines,—it being assumed that Gath was the leading city. In all probability the text is corrupt beyond restoration. See, further, *ExpT*, Oct. 1899, p. 48, and Feb. 1906, p. 215.

W. F. COBB.

METHUSELAH.—A Sethite, the father of Lamech, Gn $5^{21ff.}$ (P), 1 Ch 1^{3}, Lk 3^{37} =**Methushael** in J's genealogy, 4^{18}. The name is interpreted by Holzinger as 'man of the javelin'—a fitting name for a time when the earth was full of violence.

METHUSHAEL.—A Cainite, the father of Lamech, Gn 4^{18} (J); **Methuselah** in P's genealogy ($5^{21ff.}$). The interpretations of the name are various.

MEUNIM.—See MAANI, MAON, MINÆANS.

MEUZAL.—Ezk 27^{19} AVm. See UZAL.

ME-ZAHAB ('waters of gold').—Father of Matred and grandfather of Mehetabel the wife of Hadar (Hadad), one of the kings of Edom (Gn 36^{39}). The name *Mezahab* is much more like that of a place than of a person. Holzinger suggests that it is the same name as appears in a corrupted form in Dt 1^{1} as **Dizahab** (wh. see).

MEZOBAITE.—One of David's heroes is called in 1 Ch 11^{47} 'Jaasiel the Mezobaite.' The text is doubtful.

MIBHAR.—In 1 Ch 11^{38} one of David's heroes appears as 'Mibhar the son of Hagri.' The parallel passage 2 S 23^{36} reads, 'of Zobah, Bani the Gadite,' which is probably the correct text.

MIBSAM.—**1.** A son of Ishmael (Gn 25^{13} =1 Ch 1^{29}). **2.** A Simeonite (1 Ch 4^{25}).

MIBZAR ('fortification').—A 'duke' of Edom (Gn 36^{42} =1 Ch 1^{53}).

MICA.—**1.** Son of Merib-baal (Mephibosheth), 2 S 9^{12}; called in 1 Ch $8^{34f.}$ $9^{40f.}$ **Micah.** See MICAH, No. **3.** **2.** Son of Zichri (1 Ch 9^{15}, Neh 11^{17}) =**Micaiah** of Neh 12^{35}. **3.** One of those who sealed the covenant (Neh 10^{11}).

MICAH, MICAIAH ('Who is like Jahweh?').—This name, which occurs at least twelve times in the OT, and is a woman's name as well as a man's, is spelt in three different ways; the full name is *Micajahu*, a partially shortened form is *Micaiah*, while a still shorter form is *Micah*. The more important of those who bore this

name are the following:—**1.** *Micah*, a dweller in the hill-country of Ephraim; he stole from his mother eleven hundred pieces of silver, which, however, he returned on hearing the curse which his mother pronounced against the thief. With part of the returned silver his mother causes an image to be made, which Micah sets up in his house; he then consecrates one of his sons a priest. But a Levite, named Jonathan, comes to the house of Micah while journeying; Micah induces him to be his priest instead of the son whom he had first consecrated. During this time the Danites send out five men to search for a suitable locality wherein to settle down; these five men come to the house of Micah, and while staying there they recognize the Levite. On their return they report that they have found a place for their tribe to dwell in. The whole 'family' of the Danites then set out, and come to take possession of the district they intend to make their home. On their coming into the neighbourhood of Micah's dwelling-place, the five men who had already been there come and persuade Micah's Levite to join them, and to bring with him Micah's ephod, teraphim, and graven image. Micah follows after them; but protests in vain, for he is warned that if he attempts to regain his priest and lost treasures by force he will lose his goods and his life; he therefore returns home without them (Jg 17. 18). This very interesting narrative has undoubtedly a basis in fact: it records—though later editors have somewhat altered its original form—how the sanctuary in Dan first came to be established (see esp. Jg 18^{29-31}).

2. *Micaiah, the son of Imlah*; a prophet of Jahweh who is called by Ahab, at the request of Jehoshaphat, king of Judah, to prophesy concerning the result of a projected expedition against the Syrians. In reply to Abah's inquiry Micaiah first prophesies smoothly; but Ahab bids him speak nothing but the truth; thereupon he foretells the disaster that is to befall the allied armies of Israel and Judah if they go up to Ramoth-gilead to battle. The parable which the prophet then utters is a terrible indictment against the 'lying prophets' of Israel; the blow which one of them thereupon gives him is answered by a further prophecy, this time directed against the false prophet who gave the blow. Micaiah is then commanded to be imprisoned until the king returns in peace; but, undaunted, the prophet replies, 'If thou return at all in peace, Jahweh hath not spoken by me.' The sequel showed Micaiah to have prophesied truly (1 K 22). **3.** *Micah*, the son of Mephibosheth (1 Ch $8^{34f.}$ $9^{40f.}$ [2 S 9^{12} **Mica**]). **4.** *Micaiah*, one of the teachers sent by Jehoshaphat to teach the commandments of Jahweh in the cities of Judah (2 Ch 17^{7}). **5.** *Micaiah*, the son of Gemariah, and a contemporary of Jeremiah, who heard Baruch reading out the prophecies of Jeremiah, and then spoke of them to the princes who were assembled in the scribe's chamber (Jer 36^{9-13}), perhaps identical with the *Micaiah* of 2 K 22^{12} and the *Micah* of 2 Ch 34^{20}. **6.** One of the priests who took part in the dedication of the wall (Neh 12^{41}). Other less important bearers of the name are mentioned in 1 Ch 5^{5} 23^{20} (cf. $24^{24f.}$), 2 Ch 13^{2} (see MAACAH, **4**), Neh 10^{11} 12^{35}. [1 Ch 9^{15} **Mica**] ^{41}, Jth 6^{15}. For the prophet Micah see the following article. W. O. E. OESTERLEY.

MICAH.—The **Morashtite**, one of the four prophets of the 8th century B.C. whose writings have survived. Probably his prophecy does not extend beyond the first three chapters of the Book of Micah (see next art.).

According to the general interpretation of 1^{6}, Micah prophesied, at least in part, before the destruction of Samaria, which took place in B.C. 722; though some place his prophetic activity entirely in the years 705–701. In any case, he prophesied a generation or so later than Amos, later also than Hosea; but he was contemporary with Isaiah, and his activity coincides with the mid-career of Isaiah, or its close, according as we accept the one or the other of the two views just mentioned.

He was a native of **Moresheth** (1^{1}, Jer 26^{18}), a place which, if we identify it, as we probably should, with Moresheth-gath (Mic 1^{14}), lay in the Shephēlah of Judah, a fertile country with views over the Philistine country to the Mediterranean, and backed by the loftier hills which rise to the plateau on which Jerusalem is placed. The home of Micah thus lay a good day's journey from the capital, which, if we may judge from the vividness of his descriptions, he must frequently have visited.

How Micah worked we are not told; that he spoke in public, and that perhaps both at home and in Jerusalem, is probable in the light of what is known of Amos and Isaiah; and, guided by the same analogy, we may suppose that he himself summarized his teaching in writing (Mic 1–3 in the main).

Of the call of Micah we have no details, but he understood his duty as prophet to consist in 'declaring to Jacob his transgression, and to Israel his sin' (3^{8}), and the doom which these involved. This transgression is centralized in the capitals—Samaria and Jerusalem (1^{5} 'What is the sin (so LXX) of Judah? Is it not Jerusalem?'; cf. 3^{10-12}). The rising buildings and the growing magnificence of Jerusalem in Hezekiah's day spoke to him of the grinding down of the poor by which the wealth needed for such works had been obtained. It is more especially the leading and ruling classes that Micah upbraids—the wealthy land-proprietors who squeeze out the smaller holders ($2^{1ff.}$; cf. Is 5^{8}), the judges and officials (3^{1-4}), the prophets ($3^{5ff.}$), and the priests; they have wholly misunderstood Jahweh; in the very pursuit of injustice and inhumanity they rely on His presence for safety! (3^{11}). With Micah as with Isaiah, Amos, and Hosea, Jahweh is thus essentially a righteous God, offended by man's moral sins, pleased only with a moral life; the ethical is the essential element in His personality. Brief as is his prophecy, this is clear, and the deep impression made by his work is evident from the narrative in Jer 26. G. B. GRAY.

MICAH, BOOK OF.—The Book of Micah stands in EV sixth in order of the so-called Minor Prophets. In the LXX it stood third, preceded only by Hosea and Amos. EV in its arrangement follows the Hebrew Bible. In the Hebrew Bible the Book of Micah is the sixth section of a collection of prophecies already known about B.C. 180 as 'the Twelve Prophets' (Sir 49^{10}). This Book of 'the Twelve Prophets' cannot have been compiled earlier than the 5th cent. B.C., for it contains the Book of Malachi, and it probably was not compiled till towards the close of the 3rd century B.C. For the history of the Book of Micah prior to its inclusion in this compilation we must rely entirely on internal evidence, except for any conclusions which may be drawn from Jer $26^{17ff.}$. It appears certain that the section of the Book of the Twelve Prophets entitled Micah consists in part of prophecies of Micah the Morashtite (see preced. art.), a contemporary of Isaiah, and in part of prophecies of later date; but the determination of what are the later prophecies is not in every case equally easy or sure.

The book divides into three clearly marked sections—chs. 1–3, Prophecies of Judgment for sin (exception $2^{12f.}$); chs. 4. 5, Prophecies of Promise (mainly, if not entirely); chs. 6. 7, more miscellaneous in character, but containing in ch. 7 *confessions* of national sin.

The first of these sections contains, and for the most part consists of, prophecies of Micah. The allusion to Samaria (which was destroyed in 722) as still standing, and the accordance of the other conditions presupposed with what is otherwise known of the latter half of the 8th cent. B.C., would suffice to prove this; but we also possess early external evidence that Micah was the author of a saying occurring in this section of the book. At the close of the following century (B.C. 608) the prophet Jeremiah was denounced by the priests and prophets as worthy of death, because he had predicted the de-

struction of Jerusalem; but certain elders cited against the priests and prophets the precedent of Micah the Morashtite, who had made a similar prediction in the days of Hezekiah, and yet, so far from being put to death, had led his people to repentance; in citing this case the speakers quote the words with which Mic 3 closes (see Jer 26, esp. vv.[17-19]). Of course, the citation of this single verse does not prove that even the first three chapters of the Book of Micah were then in circulation *in their present form*; but the narrative in Jeremiah shows that Micah, a century after he prophesied, ranked as a prophet of judgment, and Micah 1–3 is pre-eminently prophecy of judgment. The two verses (2[12f.]) which interrupt the general tenor of chs. 1–3 with a promise, represent Israel as scattered, and appear to presuppose the Exile; they are certainly not part of the preceding prophecy, and probably are an insertion in the book after the time of Jeremiah. It is held by some that the Book of Micah known to Jeremiah's contemporaries also lacked the following portions of chs. 1–3:—1[1-5a. 7. 10-15] 2[5]. Note, for example, that 1[7] stands most awkwardly before 1[8], which may give the reason for 1[6], but certainly not for 1[7]. Yet the grounds given for deleting these passages in order to recover the earliest form of the Book of Micah are by no means in all cases equally conclusive. For the teaching of Micah, see preceding article.

Two not quite identical questions now naturally arise: Did the Book of Micah in the time of Jeremiah extend beyond ch. 3? Do chs. 4–7 contain any prophecies of Micah? The answers, so far as they can be given, must rest mainly on internal evidence. What suggestion the narrative of Jer 26 offers in this connexion may best be put in the form of a question. Could the elders have cited (Jer 26[18]) the words of Mic 3[12] if those words were then, as now, immediately followed (Mic 4[1-4]) by a glowing description of the future glory of Jerusalem? Would they not thereby have given the priests an opening to say that Micah's life was spared because he repented of his blasphemy against their city and spoke of its glory?

Chs. 4. 5 appear to be a cento of brief prophecies, several of them being fragments as follows: 4[1-4. 5. 6-8. 9. 10. 11-13.] 5[1. 2-6. 7-9. 10-14]. The first of these (4[1-4]) stands also in the Book of Isaiah (2[2-4]). Neither in Isaiah nor in Micah is the passage connected either with what precedes or with what follows; owing to mistranslation, RV indeed suggests that 4[1-4] is the contrast to 3[12]; but for 'but' in 4[1] must be substituted 'and' as in RV itself in Is 2[2]. The verses contain a prophetic poem of 20 short lines (two of which were omitted in Isaiah); as the same Psalm (14 = 53) was included in two separate collections of Psalms, so this poem was not unreasonably thought worthy by two editors of prophetic literature to be included in their collections. It is impossible to examine here in detail the remaining sections of these chapters; some seem, if naturally interpreted, to presuppose the dispersion of Israel at the Exile; see *e.g.* 4[6-8] 5[7], where promises of a bright future are made to Israel, who has already been reduced to a remnant; some passages contain the expectation of a judgment on the nations in general (4[13] 5[15]), which is certainly *more* conspicuous in the later prophets than in those of the age of Micah; in 4[11-13] Zion seems to be regarded as inviolable—a point of view strikingly different from that with which Micah was popularly identified (Mic 3[12], Jer 26[18]). In 5[10-14] there is little or nothing inconsistent with an eighth century origin; read by themselves, without v.[15], they are not necessarily a prophecy of promise, but rather of judgment. Here (and perchance in 5[1]), if anywhere in chs. 4. 5, we may look for Micah's work; for though so early an origin of these verses is not certain, neither is it certain that they are a piece of late reproductive prophecy.

Turning next to chs. 6. 7, we remark first that since Ewald the allusion to sacrificing the firstborn, and certain other features, have been commonly considered to point to the period of Manasseh as that in which chs. 6. 7 were written—a date which would not quite necessarily exclude Micah's authorship, for Manasseh began to reign about 695 B.C.

In 6[1-8] some points, such as the use of 'burnt-offering' (not 'sin-offering') and the nature of the allusion to Balaam, may be more easily explained if the passage be at least pre-exilic. The classical prophetic definition of religion with which this section closes (6[8]), though it embraces and summarizes the fundamental teaching of Amos, Hosea, and Isaiah, does not pass beyond it—a fact which is thoroughly compatible with Ewald's theory, though not, of course, in itself a proof of its correctness.

But it is more than doubtful whether chs. 6. 7 should be treated as a single prophecy; 6[9-16] and 7[1-6], though scarcely a continuation of 6[1-8], are not obviously separated from it at all widely in situation or time. On the other hand, as compared with 7[1-6. 7-20] show a marked difference. Wellhausen (cited by Driver, *LOT*[6] 332 f.) has tersely summed this up.

'7[1-6] consists of a bitter lamentation uttered by Zion over the corruption of her children: and the day of retribution, though ready, is yet future, 7[4].' In 7[7-20] 'Zion, indeed, is still the speaker; but here she has already been overpowered by her foe, the heathen world, which is persuaded that by its victory over Israel it has at the same time vanquished Jahweh (7[10]). The city has fallen, its walls are destroyed, its inhabitants pine away in darkness, *i.e.* in the darkness of captivity (7[8. 11]). Nevertheless, Zion is still confident, and though she may have to wait long, she does not question her final triumph over the foe (7[7. 8. 10a. 11]). She endures patiently the punishment merited by her past sins, assured that when she has atoned for them, God will take up her cause and lead her to victory (7[9]). What was *present* in 7[1-6], viz., moral disorder and confusion in the existing Jewish State, is in 7[7-20] *past*: what is there *future*, viz., the retribution of 7[4b], has here come to pass, and has been continuing for some time. Between 7[6] and 7[7] yawns a century.'

Briefly, then, the history of the Book of Micah seems to have been this: a summary of the teaching of the prophet Micah, not improbably prepared and written by himself, was well known in Jerusalem at the end of the seventh century—a century after the lifetime of the prophet. This small book was re-edited and provided with its present expanded title, and enlarged by the addition of a collection of prophetic pieces, some of pre-exilic, and several of post-exilic, origin. It is not necessary to suppose that this added matter was originally attributed to Micah, though subsequently it came to be regarded as his work in the same way as Isaiah 40–66 and Zec 9–14 came to be looked upon as writings of Isaiah and Zechariah respectively. The final stage in the history of the book was its incorporation, probably towards the close of the 3rd cent. B.C., in the great prophetic work 'The Book of the Twelve.' It is impossible to determine through how many stages of editorial treatment the book passed, but some of these stages certainly fell within the post-exilic period.

The most convenient English commentaries are those by T. K. Cheyne in the *Cambridge Bible*, and R. F. Horton in the *Century Bible*. The discussion and new translation from an emended text in G. A. Smith, *Book of the Twelve Prophets*, i. 355 ff., will be found most valuable and helpful.

G. B. Gray.

MICAIAH.—See Micah.

MICE.—See Mouse, and Magic, 569[b].

MICHAEL ('Who is like God?').—**1.** Father of the Asherite spy (Nu 13[13]). **2. 3.** Two Gadites (1 Ch 5[13f.]). **4.** The eponym of a Levitical guild of singers (1 Ch 6[40]). **5.** Name of a family in Issachar (1 Ch 7[3] 27[18]). **6.** Eponym of a family of Benjamites (1 Ch 8[16]). **7.** A Manassite chief who joined David at Ziklag (1 Ch 12[20]). **8.** A son of king Jehoshaphat (2 Ch 21[2]). **9.** The

father of Zebadiah (Ezr 8^{8}, 1 Es 8^{34}). **10.** The archangel. See next article.

MICHAEL ('the archangel').—Although reference to angels and their visitations is common in the OT, especially during transition periods (*e.g.* the period of the Judges and that of the Captivity are specially noticeable for angelic appearances), the name *Michael* is not found until the later period, when the angelic office was divided into two parts, which were assigned to individual angels. In the Rabbinical traditions Michael figures considerably. He is connected with many incidents in the history of Moses, especially his burial (cf. Dt 34^{6}), when he disputed with Satan, who claimed the body by reason of the murder of the Egyptian (Ex 2^{12}). In the OT he is alluded to several times in the Book of Daniel ($10^{13.\ 21}$ 12^{1}) as 'one of the chief princes,' 'the prince,' and 'the prince which standeth for the people,' and he is opposed to the prince-angels of Persia and of Greece. He is here regarded as the guardian of the Israelites in their opposition to polytheism and foreign innovations.

In the NT Michael is found fighting in heaven (Rev 12^{7}) against the dragon, 'him that is called the devil and Satan,' and is typical of the warfare which is the special work of the Church on earth. In the passage in Jude (v.^{9}) a definite reference is made to the tradition already mentioned, 'Michael the archangel, when contending with the devil he disputed about the body of Moses, durst not bring against him a railing accusation, but said, The Lord rebuke thee' (cf. Zec 3^{1} for a similar incident). T. A. Moxon.

MICHAL.—Younger daughter of Saul, offered to David, as a snare, on condition that he would slay one hundred Philistines. The popularity of David led Saul to seek his life. He had David's house surrounded, but Michal deceived the messengers, and contrived David's escape by the window (1 S $19^{11\text{-}17}$). Saul then gave Michal to **Paltiel.** When Abner negotiated with David to deliver Israel to him, the king stipulated for Michal's return. This was accomplished, though the record does not make it clear whether directly from Ishbaal (Ishbosheth) at the instance of David, or through Abner (2 S $3^{14\text{f.}}$). Paltiel followed weeping, but was rudely dismissed by Abner. The closing scene between Michal and David is pathetic. David's dance before the ark was unseemly in the eyes of Michal, and she rebuked him. His answer was equally curt. The statement that Michal died childless may mean that she was divorced (2 S $6^{16\text{f.}}$). The estrangement was probably due to the numerous wives that now shared David's prosperity and Michal's authority. J. H. Stevenson.

MICHEAS (2 Es 1^{39}) =the prophet Micah.

MICHMAS.—See next article.

MICHMASH.—A place (not enumerated as a town) in the territory of Benjamin, and in the mountains of Bethel. It comes into prominence in connexion with the daring raid made by Jonathan and his armour-bearer upon the Philistines there encamped (1 S 13. 14). It was one of the smaller places to which the returning exiles belonged, contributing only 122 men to the enumeration of Ezra (Ezr 2^{27}) and Nehemiah (7^{31}) [in both these last two passages **Michmas**]. Nehemiah further alludes to it as a border city of Benjamin (11[31]). Indications of its position may be obtained from the Jonathan story and also from Isaiah's picture of the course of an Assyrian raid (Is 10^{28}). These indications permit an identification of the site with the modern village of *Mukhmās*, situated in a wild and desolate region near the head of the Wady Kelt. In 1 K 4^{9} for *Makaz* the LXX erroneously reads *Michmash*. For a time it was the seat of the government of Jonathan Maccabæus (1 Mac 9^{73}). R. A. S. Macalister.

MICHMETHAH.—The word occurs only in Jos 16^{6} 17^{7}, in each case with the article, therefore probably not a proper name. Of the meaning of the word we are entirely ignorant. It indicated a place or some natural feature on the boundary of Manasseh. An echo of the old name may perhaps be heard in *el-Mukhneh*, the plain which lies to the east of Nāblus. W. Ewing.

MICHRI.—Eponym of a Benjamite family (1 Ch 9^{8}).

MICHTAM.—See Psalms, p. 772[a].

MIDDIN.—A town in the wilderness of Judah (Jos 15^{61}). The site has not been recovered.

MIDIAN, MIDIANITES.—A nomadic tribe or group of tribes, said by an early genealogy (Gn 25^{2}) to be descended from Abraham by Keturah, of which the **Kenites** (wh. see) were a part. They lived in ancient times in northern Arabia, but vanished at an early date from history.

According to E they were traders, who sold Joseph into Egypt (Gn $37^{28.\ 36}$). They roamed about Sinai (Ex $3^{1\text{ff.}}$, Hab 3^{7}). **Jethro** (E) or **Hobab** (J), Moses' father-in-law, was their priest. As Jethro is also said to be a Kenite (Jg 1^{16}), probably the Kenites were a part of the Midianites. They were afterwards absorbed by the tribe of Judah (Jg 1^{16}, 1 S 15^{6}). The Prophetic source (J) also shows that in an early form of the narrative it was Midian, not Moab, that was said to have hired Balaam to curse Israel (cf. Nu $22^{4.\ 7}$). If this is so, it was a different branch of Midianites from the Kenites. The same source informs us (Gn 36^{35}) that a king of Edom smote Midian in the field of Moab. The references point to an activity of Midian in this region of which we have no other trace.

The next we hear of the Midianites is in the period of the Judges, when they invaded the territory of central Palestine in hordes, and were put to rout by Gideon and his three hundred men (Jg 6–8). These Midianites seem to have lived to the east of Palestine, and to have gained access to the west Jordan lands through the valley of the Jabbok. This corresponds with the statement of Gn 25^{6} (JE), that the sons of Abraham by Keturah, of whom Midian was one, lived to the eastward. At the time of Gideon the Midianites were led by two chiefs, whose names J preserves as Zebah and Zalmunna (Jg 8^{18}), while E calls them Oreb and Zeeb (Jg 7^{25}). Gideon so completely ruined the power of the Midianites that his victory was long remembered (cf. Is 9^{4} 10^{26}, Ps 83^{9}). From this blow the tribe never recovered, and disappears from history.

According to a late Priestly passage (Nu $31^{2\text{-}18}$), Moses is said to have gained a great victory over the Midianites. Perhaps, as some scholars think, this is a later version of the victory of Gideon. Possibly it is another version of the victory of the king of Edom.

The genealogy given in Gn $25^{1\text{-}4}$ calls Ephah a son of Midian. Is $60^{6\text{ff.}}$ mentions both Midian and Ephah in connexion with Kedar. Tiglath-pileser III. (*KIB* ii. 21) mentions a *Khayapa* in connexion with Taima, which Delitzsch (*Paradies*, 304) identifies with Ephah. This would correspond with the location given in the genealogy.

Ptolemy (*Geog.* vi. 7) mentions a place, *Modiana*, on the coast of Arabia, which is probably the same as *Madyan* on the Haj road to Mecca. Nöldeke (*EBi* iii. col. 3081) thinks that the name has survived from an old *habitat* of the Midianites. George A. Barton.

MIDRASH.—See Commentary.

MIDWIFE.—See Medicine, p. 600[b].

MIGDAL-EDER.—See Eder, No. **1.**

MIGDAL-EL.—A town of Naphtali (Jos 19^{38}) between Iron and Horem. The site is uncertain.

MIGDAL-GAD.—A town in the Shephēlah, in the territory of Judah (Jos 15^{37}), which cannot be identified with any certainty. Guthe suggests *Khirbet el-Mejdeleh*, about 5 miles S. of Beit Jibrīn, with remains of buildings, cisterns, and rock-hewn tombs; or *Khirbet el-Mejdel*, about 14 miles S. of Beit Jibrīn, with extensive ruins, etc. Warren (Hastings' *DB*) suggests

el-Mejdel, a thriving village 2½ miles N.E. of Ashkelon. The name 'Tower of Gad' probably points to its having been a seat of idolatry, where the Canaanites worshipped Gad—'Good Luck' or 'Fortune.' W. Ewing.

MIGDOL.—A Semitic word meaning 'tower,' borrowed by the Egyptians of the New Kingdom, and common as a word and in place-names. **1.** Ex 14², Nu 33⁷, on the border of Egypt, near the spot where the Israelites crossed the Red Sea: probably a mere guardhouse on the road. **2.** Ezk 29¹⁰ 30⁶, where 'from Migdol to Syene' is the true reading, instead of 'from the tower of Seveneh.' Here Migdol is the N.E. extremity of Egypt, as Seveneh is the S. It may be identical with *Magdolo* in a Roman itinerary, perhaps at the now deserted site of Tell el-Her, 12 miles south of Pelusium. **3.** In Jer 44¹ 46¹⁴ Migdol is mentioned with Tahpanhes and Noph (Memphis) as a habitation of the Jews, and is probably the same as No. **2.** F. Ll. Griffith.

MIGRON.—One of the places mentioned in Isaiah's description of the march of the Assyrians on Jerusalem. The direction of the march is from north to south: hence Migron (Is 10²⁸) lay north of Michmash (wh. see), and north of the *Wady es-Suwēnīt*, which is the 'pass' of Is 10²⁹. The name perhaps survives in *Makrūn*, a ruined site situated a mile or two N.W. of *Makhmās* (Michmash). In 1 S 14² Saul, whose army was encamped *south* of the *Wady es-Suwēnīt*, is said to have dwelt in 'the uttermost part of Geba (so read) under the pomegranate tree which is in Migron.' Probably 'in Migron' should rather be translated 'in the threshing-floor'; if not, we must infer that there were two places not many miles apart, one north and the other south of the *Wady es-Suwēnīt*, bearing the same name. This southern Migron has not been identified.

G. B. Gray.

MIJAMIN.—**1.** One of those who had married a foreign wife (Ezr 10²⁵); called in 1 Es 9²⁶ **Maelus.** **2.** Eponym of the 6th of the priestly courses (1 Ch 24⁹). This family returned with Zerub. (Neh 12⁵), and was represented at the sealing of the covenant (10⁷) = **Miniamin** of Neh 12¹⁷.

MIKLOTH.—**1.** A son of Jeiel (1 Ch 8³² = 9³⁷ᶠ.). **2.** An officer of David (1 Ch 27⁴).

MIKNEIAH.—A gate-keeper of the ark (1 Ch 15¹⁸).

MILALAI.—The eponym of a priestly family (Neh 12³⁶).

MILCAH.—**1.** Daughter of Haran and wife of Nahor (Gn 11²⁹). The names of her children are given in 22²⁰ᶠᶠ. Rebekah was her granddaughter (24¹⁵. ²⁴. ⁴⁷). **2.** Daughter of Zelophehad, Nu 26³³ 27¹ 36¹¹, Jos 17³ (all P).

MILCOM.—The national deity of Ammon. Solomon established a sanctuary for him on the Mount of Olives, which seems to have continued till it was destroyed by Josiah (1 K 11⁵. ³³, 2 K 23¹³). In 2 S 12³⁰, 1 Ch 20², Jer 49³, and Zeph 1⁵ **Malcam** ('their king') is probably an incorrect vocalization of *Milcom*. The name is from the common Semitic root *malk, melek* ('king' or 'prince'), probably with an inflectional termination. The traditional identification of Milcom with **Molech** is based only upon 1 K 11⁷, a verse which is probably corrupt. See Molech. W. M. Nesbit.

MILDEW (*yērāqōn*, Dt 28²², 1 K 8³⁷, 2 Ch 6²⁸, Am 4⁹, Hag 2¹⁷) is a disease of grain due to various fungi: it is produced by damp, and is in the above passages associated with *shiddāphōn*, **'blasting,'** the opposite condition produced by excessive drought.

E. W. G. Masterman.

MILE.—See Weights and Measures.

MILETUS.—The southernmost of the twelve colonies forming the Ionian confederacy of Asia Minor. It lay on the S. coast of the Latonian Gulf, which penetrated Caria S. of the peninsula of Mycale, and received the waters of the Mæander. The silt of this river filled up the gulf, and Miletus is now 5 miles from the sea, while the former island of Lade, which helped to make its harbour, is now a hill rising in the alluvial plain.

Two visits of St. Paul to Miletus are mentioned. The first (Ac 20¹⁵) took place when he was returning to Jerusalem at the end of the Third Missionary Journey. He stayed long enough to send for the elders of Ephesus, and give them the farewell charge recorded in Ac 20. This probably needed two days. The second visit is mentioned in 2 Ti 4²⁰ 'Trophimus I left at Miletus sick.' This must have been between St. Paul's first and second imprisonment at Rome. In neither case are we told of any attempt to found a church at Miletus. Miletus was already unimportant by comparison with Ephesus, which now received the trade of the Mæander valley, and shared with Smyrna the trade that came along the great road through the centre of Asia Minor. Ephesus was recognized by the Romans as the southern capital of the province of Asia. Formerly Miletus had led Ionia. Its trade was mainly in wool, and it had founded numerous colonies on the Black Sea and Propontis (Sinope, Trapezus, Abydos, Cyzicus), besides Naucratis in Egypt. It had led the Ionian revolt, the fate of which was determined by the battle of Lade and the capture of Miletus, B.C. 494. It had defended itself on behalf of the Persian power against Alexander in B.C. 334. Its ruins are now called *Palatia*. They seem to include few Christian remains, but Miletus was a bishopric, and from the 5th cent. an archbishopric.

A. E. Hillard.

MILK.—Milk was at all times an important article of diet among the Hebrews, and by ben-Sira is rightly assigned a prominent place among the principal things necessary for man's life (Sir 39²⁶). It was supplied by the females of the 'herd' and of the 'flock,' the latter term including both sheep and goats (Dt 32¹⁴, where render 'sour milk [*chem'āh*] of the herd, and milk [*chālāb*] of the flock'), probably also by the milch camels (Gn 32¹⁵). At the present day goats' milk is preferred to every other.

In Bible times, as now, milk slightly soured or fermented was a favourite beverage. The modern Bedouin prepares this sour milk, or *leben*, as it is called, by pouring the fresh milk into a skin (cf. Jg 4¹⁹ 'she opened the milk-skin (EV 'a bottle of milk'), and gave him drink'), to the sides of which clots of sour milk from a previous milking still adhere. The skin is shaken for a little, when the process of fermentation speedily commences, and the milk is served 'with that now gathered sourness which they think the more refreshing' (Doughty, *Arabia Deserta*, i. 263). Such was the refreshment with which Jael supplied Sisera. 'He asked water, she gave him milk; she brought him sour milk (*chem'āh*) in a lordly dish' (Jg 5²⁵, where EV has 'butter,' but one does not *drink* butter; cf. 4¹⁹ cited above).

In several OT passages, however, this word, *chem'āh*, does evidently signify **butter,** as in Pr 30³³ 'the churning (lit. as RVm 'pressing') of milk bringeth forth butter.' So Ps 55²¹ RV, 'his mouth was smooth as butter,' where 'sour milk' is clearly out of place. The former passage suggests the procedure of the Arab housewife whom Doughty describes (*op. cit.* ii. 67) as 'rocking her blown-up milk-skin upon her knees till the butter came; they find it in a clot at the mouth of the skin.' Butter cannot be kept sweet under the climatic conditions of Palestine, but must be boiled, producing the *samn* or clarified butter universally prized throughout the East.

Cheese is mentioned three times in our AV (1 S 17¹⁸, 2 S 17²⁹, Job 10¹⁰); in each case the original has a different word. The clearest case is the last cited; the text of 2 S 17²⁹, on the other hand, is admittedly in disorder, and we should perhaps read, by a slight change of consonants, 'dried **curds**'; these, when rubbed down and mixed with water, yield a refreshing

drink much esteemed at the present day. From the Mishna we learn that rennet and the acid juices of various trees and plants were used to curdle (Job 10^{10}) milk. After being drained of the whey—'the water of milk'—the curds were salted, shaped into round discs, and dried in the sun. The Tyropœon valley in Jerusalem received its name, 'the valley of the cheesemakers,' from the industry there carried on.

There has been much discussion of late as to the origin of the popular expression '**flowing with milk and honey,**' so frequently used in OT to describe Palestine as an ideal land abounding in the necessaries and delicacies of life. Many recent scholars demur to the traditional view that this is expressed by the words 'milk and honey,' on the principle of the part for the whole, and favour a more recondite origin in a forgotten Palestinian mythology. This explanation would bring the phrase in question into line with the equally familiar 'nectar and ambrosia' of Greek mythology.

Even more obscure is the significance of the thrice-repeated command: 'Thou shalt not **seethe a kid in his mother's milk**' (Ex 23^{19} 34^{26} Dt 14^{21}). Opinion is still divided as to whether we have here a piece of purely humanitarian—some would say sentimental—legislation, or the prohibition of a magical rite incompatible with the religion of J". For the latest exposition of this view, see J. G. Frazer, 'Folk-lore in the OT,' in *Anthropological Essays*, etc. (1907), 151 ff.

A. R. S. Kennedy.

MILL, MILLSTONE.—**1.** Three methods of preparing **flour** were in use in Palestine in Bible times, associated with the **mortar** and pestle (see Mortar and Pestle), the **rubbing-stone**, and the quern or **handmill**. The most primitive apparatus was the rubbing-stone or corn-rubber, which consisted really of two stones. The one on which the corn was ground was a substantial slab, often 2½ feet long, and about a foot wide, slightly concave and curving upwards, like a saddle, at both ends (illust. in Macalister, *Bible Sidelights*, etc., fig. 28). The other, the rubbing-stone proper, was a narrow stone from 12 to 18 inches long, pointed at both ends and also slightly curved, one side being plain and the other convex. In manipulating the rubber, the woman grasped it by both ends and ground the grains of wheat or barley with the convex side. Cf. Macalister's description in *PEFSt*, 1903, p. 118, with Schumacher's photograph reproduced by Benzinger, *Heb. Arch.*² (1907) 63, and the Egyptian statuette in Erman's *Ancient Egypt*, 190. Vincent in his *Canaan d'après l'exploration récente* (405, fig. 282) shows a corn-rubber of flint from the palæolithic age!

2. The more familiar apparatus for the same purpose was the handmill or quern. As in so many instances (see, *e.g.*, Lamp), the recent excavations enable us to trace two distinct stages in the evolution of the Palestinian handmill. The Gezer specimens described in detail in *PEFSt*, 1903, 119, belong to the earlier type, which is distinguished from the later form by the absence of a handle for rotating the upper stone. The quern-stones 'are always small, rarely being as much as a foot across.' The lower stone, the 'nether millstone' of Job 41^{24}, was always more massive than the 'upper millstone' (Dt 24^{6}), and was apparently fitted with 'a narrow spindle' sunk into the stone. The upper stone was pierced right through, and by this hole the mill was fed. According to Mr. Macalister, 'the upper stone was grasped with both hands (the fingers clasping the edge, the thumbs being between the spindle and the stone), and worked through about one-third of a rotation, backward and forward.' For varieties of this type, see *PEFSt*, 1903, p. 119 f.

In the later and more effective type of handmill, which was that in use in NT times, the stones were larger, although the lower stone was still considerably wider than the upper (*Baba bathra*, ii. 1). As in the querns of the present day, the latter was fitted with a wooden handle (*yād* in the Mishna) in the shape of an upright peg inserted near the outer edge. The mill was fed, as before, through a funnel-shaped cavity pierced through the upper stone, which was rotated by the handle through a complete circle. Sometimes, as appears from Mt 24^{41}, two women worked the mill, seated opposite each other, and each turning the upper stone through half a revolution, as may still be seen in the East.

By the first century of our era a larger and different form of mill had been introduced, apparently, to judge by the names of the various parts in the Mishna (see art. 'Mill' in *EBi* iii. 3093), under Græco-Roman influence. In the larger specimens of this type, the upper millstone, in the shape of two hollow cones, as described in detail, *loc. cit.*, was turned by an ass, and is the 'great millstone' of Mt 18^{6} RV (lit. as RVm 'a millstone turned by an ass').

3. The work of the mill belonged at all times to the special province of the women of the household (Mt 24^{41}). In large establishments, it fell to the slaves, male (Jg 16^{21}) and female (Ex 11^{5}), particularly the latter, hence the figure for the slavery of captivity in Is 47^{2}.

The finer varieties of meal, the 'fine flour' of OT, were got by repeated grinding, or by sifting with sieves, or by a combination of both processes.

How indispensable the handmill was considered for the daily life of the family may be seen from the provision of the Deuteronomic legislation forbidding the creditor to take in pledge the household mill (so rightly RV), or even the upper millstone, 'for he taketh a man's life to pledge' (Dt 24^{6}).

A. R. S. Kennedy.

MILLENNIUM.—A period of a thousand years, during which, according to Rev 20^{2-7}, the Dragon (*i.e.* the devil) is to be confined in the abyss, while the martyrs, having been raised from the dead, are to reign with Christ. The period begins with this first resurrection, and at its end, Satan, prior to his destruction, is to be released for a time to deceive the nations.

This reference in Revelation is unique in the NT. The Millennium was, however, present in the Jewish apocalyptic literature. In Slavonic Enoch (chs. 32 and 33), time is described as a week of seven days, each of one thousand years in length. These six days (*i.e.* 6000 years) are said to have elapsed from the time of the Creation to the Judgment. Then will come a 'sabbath of rest' of a thousand years, and then an eighth day which shall be timeless. A similar expectation is to be found in the Talmud (*Sanh.* 97*a*), and it is not impossible that this conception can be traced back to Babylonia or Persia.

In the history of the Christian Church the doctrine of the Millennium has played a considerable rôle, but **Chiliasm** (wh. see) has been opposed by most of the great theologians from Augustine down. In the *Epistle of Barnabas* (ch. 15) we have a view very similar to that of the Slavonic Enoch, while Justin Martyr (*Dial.* 80) regards a chiliastic view of the future as an essential part of Christian faith, although he knows that it is not held by all the orthodox. At the present time, in addition to the Second Adventists, millennial views are held strongly by a number of earnest Christians commonly called **pre-millenarians** because of their belief that Christ will return before the period of a thousand years begins and establish an earthly reign. In accordance with this theory (see Chiliasm, Parousia), the resurrection is to be limited not to martyrs but to all Christians. Such an interpretation obviously does violence to the connexion between the nineteenth and twentieth chapters of Revelation, and gives undue prominence to an expectation which was held by neither Jesus nor St. Paul, nor, in fact, by any writer of the NT except the author of Revelation. At the same time, there is little question that this pre-millennial view is germane to the literalistic Messianic hope which controlled the NT Church, and is not beyond a possible harmonization with 1 Co 15^{23}

The fundamental difficulty in erecting it into a doctrine of essential Christianity is that it presupposes conditions and expectations, carried over from Judaism, which the course of history has shown to be without foundation.

SHAILER MATHEWS.

MILLET (probably *Panicum miliaceum* or perhaps *Andropogon sorghum*) is mentioned in Ezk 4^9 (only) as an ingredient in bread. See FOOD, § 2.

MILLO.—A place near Shechem (the name of which would be better rendered **Beth-millo,** without translating the first element ['house of Millo,' AV and RV]), quite unknown, the inhabitants of which were associated in the coronation of Abimelech (Jg $9^{6.\ 20}$). Joash was slain at a 'Beth-millo, on the way that goeth down to Silla' (2 K 12^{20}). Whether this be the same place, or whether (perhaps more likely) it was somewhere near Jerusalem, and (if so) where or what it may have been, are questions to which no answer can be given. On the 'Millo' of 2 S 5^9, 1 K 11^{27} etc., see JERUSALEM, II, § 2.

R. A. S. MACALISTER.

MINÆANS.—The name of a S.W. Arabian people dwelling north of the Sabæans (Sheba), who in the 9th and 8th cents. B.C. became a powerful nation with a dominion stretching north to the peninsula of Sinai. It is supposed by recent scholars that they are meant by the **Me'unim** or (better) *Me'inim*, who are named in 1 Ch 4^{41} as dwelling in the Negeb, in 2 Ch 26^7 along with Arabians, and in 2 Ch 20^1 (by correction) along with the Ammonites. In all these passages the LXX understand Minæans.

J. F. M'CURDY.

MIND.—See PSYCHOLOGY.

MINIAMIN.—**1.** A Levite (2 Ch 31^{15}). **2.** Neh 12^{17} = **Mijamin** of 1 Ch 24^9, Neh 10^7 12^5. **3.** A priest who took part in the ceremony of the dedication of the walls (Neh 12^{41}).

MINING AND METALS.—Though Palestine proper is deficient in mineral resources, yet these were present to some extent on its borders, and were not only abundantly found, but even largely developed, in other parts of the ancient East. The Scripture references to mining, accordingly, though not very numerous, are sufficiently definite. Such a passage as Dt 8^9 (cf. 33^{25}), though inapplicable to Palestine proper, may hold good of the Lebanon district or (as has been suggested by some) of the Sinaitic region. The classical description of the miner's life in Job 28 is evidently based on observation. It depicts the adventurous and toilsome character of the quest, the shafts sunk and the galleries tunnelled in the rock, the darkness, the waters that have to be drained away, the hidden treasures of precious stones and metals that reward the effort and the ingenuity of man.

The list of metals in Nu 31^{22} includes all those that are mentioned in Scripture, viz. gold, silver, 'brass,' iron, tin, and lead. All these are again enumerated in Ezk $27^{12.\ 13.\ 22}$ as articles of Tyrian commerce.

Brass.—This English word, as late as 1611, denoted **copper** or **bronze** (an alloy of copper and tin) rather than the modern brass (an alloy of copper and zinc). Hence, where 'brass' occurs in EV, copper or bronze is to be understood (see RVm on Gn 4^{22}, and art. BRASS).

Copper occurs once in AV (Ezr 8^{27}, RV 'bright brass'). But see on 'Brass' above and 'Steel' below.

Gold is a metal the use of which can be traced back to the earliest times of civilization. As a medium of currency it was reckoned by weight, in shekels and talents, coinage being unknown among the Jews before the Exile. While it figured in the history of Israel from the beginning (see the spoils of Egypt [Ex 12^{35}], Midian [Nu 32^{52}, Jg 8^{26}], and Jericho [Jos 7^{21}]), it became specially plentiful in Palestine in the time of Solomon (1 K $10^{14.\ 21}$), the main sources of it being Ophir (1 K 9^{28} 10^{11}), Tarshish (1 K 10^{22}), and Sheba (1 K 11^2, Ps 72^{15}). Another gold-producing country was Havilah (Gn 2^{11}). Of these localities Havilah and Sheba were Arabian. Ophir (wh. see) may have been the same, though its situation has also been sought in India and S. Africa. For **goldsmiths** see Neh $3^{18.\ 21.\ 32}$, Is 40^{19} 41^7 46^6, also (RV) Jer $10^{9.\ 14}$ 51^{17}. The products of their art comprised beaten work (Ex 25^{18} $37^{17.\ 22}$, Nu 8^{14} 37^7, 1 K $10^{16\text{f.}}$, 2 Ch $9^{15\text{f.}}$), plating (Ex $25^{11.\ 24}$ $26^{29.\ 32}$ 30^3), and wire or thread for embroidery (Ex 39^3).

Iron appears to have come into use later than copper or bronze. Its ores are found in the Lebanon district, in the region of Sinai, and sparsely in Egypt. The most famous ancient seat of its manufacture was among the Chalybes in the Highlands of Assyria. Mining for the ore is mentioned in Job 28^2; the 'iron furnace' in Dt 4^{20}, 1 K 8^{51}, Jer 11^4; and the forge in Is 44^{12}. In modern times iron is separated from its ores as cast iron, from which wrought iron and steel are subsequently prepared. But in ancient times the temperature necessary to melt iron was unavailable, and it must have been produced as wrought iron, which is still obtained by primitive smelting processes in various parts of the world. The uses of iron alluded to in Scripture are very varied, but call for no special comment. In Dt 3^{11} and possibly in Am 1^3 'iron' means black basalt.

Lead is mentioned in Jer 6^{29}, Ezk $22^{18\text{-}22}$ in connexion with the smelting of silver (see 'Silver' below). Its weight is referred to in Ex 15^{10}. The 'ephah' in Zec $5^{7.\ 8}$ has a leaden covering. Rock-cut inscriptions were made more durable by having the chiselled letters filled up with lead (Job 19^{24}).

Silver, like gold, was a very early medium of exchange (Gn $23^{15.\ 16}$). The Heb. and Gr. words for silver are often rendered 'money' in EV. There are frequent references in OT to the use of this metal for vessels and ornamental work. In NT there is special mention of the guild of **silversmiths** at Ephesus, and of the 'shrines' or models of the temple of Diana which were their most profitable article of trade (Ac 19^{24}). Among the sources of the metal, Arabia (2 Ch 9^{14}) and Tarshish (2 Ch 9^{21}, Jer 10^9, Ezk 27^{12}) are named. The commonest ore of silver is argentiferous galena, which contains a large quantity of lead, and in which other metals may also be present. In the course of smelting the lead combines with the other impurities to form a heavy 'slag,' which separates by its weight from the molten silver, leaving the latter pure. This process is referred to, usually in a figurative moral sense, in Ps 66^{10} (cf. Is 48^{10}), Pr 17^3 25^4 27^{21}, Zec 13^9, Mal 3^3, and especially in Jer $6^{28\text{-}30}$ and Ezk $22^{17\text{-}22}$. In the last two passages lead is the most prominent impurity, the others being 'brass,' iron, and tin. The mixture of these was the refuse or 'dross' of silver (see also Is $1^{22.\ 25}$).

Steel (2 S 22^{35}, Job 20^{24}, Ps 18^{34}, Jer 15^{12}) is a mistaken translation in AV of the words elsewhere rendered 'brass.' RV has 'brass' in these passages, and copper or bronze is to be understood. Only in Nah 2^3 (RV) is 'steel' possibly a correct rendering. Steel is a form of iron containing more carbon than wrought iron. It is capable not only of being welded but also cast, and tempered to various degrees of hardness and elasticity.

Tin derived its importance from its use as a constituent of bronze (an alloy of copper and tin). It is mentioned as an article of Tyrian commerce in Ezk 27^{12}, and as an impurity in silver in Ezk 22^{18} (cf. Is 1^{25}, RVm **'alloy'**). Its earliest sources are uncertain, but it appears to have come to the East from the West. It is known that the Phœnicians obtained it from the Scilly Isles and Cornwall.

Flint is a form of silica, and occurs abundantly, in the form of nodules, in many of the limestone rocks of Palestine. It is exceedingly hard, and its property of sparking when struck on steel or on another flint provided a very ancient and common means of obtaining fire (2 Mac 10^3). Flint has a sharp edge when broken or chipped, and was used for primitive weapons and instruments of many kinds—arrow-heads, knives,

etc. For the latter see Ex 4^{25} RV, Jos $5^{2.\ 3}$ RV. In other Scripture references to flint its hardness is chiefly in view (Dt 32^{13}, Job 28^{9} RV, Is 5^{28} 50^{7}, Ezk 3^{9}).

Marble is limestone (carbonate of lime), hard and close-grained enough to be polished. The purest forms are white, but many coloured varieties are highly valued. Marble was among the materials prepared by David for the Temple (1 Ch 29^{2}). Josephus (*Ant.* VIII. iii. 2, 9) says that Solomon's Temple was built of white stone from Lebanon, but the stones exposed in the Jews' Wailing Place appear to be from the neighbourhood of Jerusalem, probably from the quarries under Bezetha. Marble supplies a simile in Ca 5^{15}, and is mentioned among the merchandise of 'Babylon' in Rev 18^{12}.

JAMES PATRICK.

MINISH.—The mod. form is 'diminish.' 'Minish' occurs in AV in Ex 5^{19}, Ps 107^{39}, and RV introduces it at Is 19^{6}, Hos 8^{10}; but Amer. RV prefers 'diminish' everywhere.

MINISTER.—The word 'minister' comes from the Lat. *minister* = 'servant,' and generally it may be said that wherever it is found in the Bible, whether in OT or in NT, its original meaning is its primary one, service being the idea it is specially meant to convey.

1. In OT it is used (corresponding to the same Heb. word in each case) of Joshua as the personal attendant of Moses (Ex 24^{13}, Jos 1^{1}), of the servants in the court of Solomon (1 K 10^{5}), of angels and the elemental forces of nature as the messengers and agents of the Divine will (Ps 103^{21} 104^{4}; cf. He $1^{7.\ 14}$), but, above all, of the priests and Levites as the servants of Jehovah in Tabernacle and Temple (Ex 28^{35}, 1 K 8^{11}, Ezr 8^{17}, and constantly). The secular uses of the Heb. word, standing side by side with the sacred, show that it was not in itself a priestly term. Ministry was not necessarily a priestly thing, though priesthood was one form of ministry.

2. In NT several Gr. words are tr. 'minister,' three of which call for notice. (1) *hypēretēs* is found in Lk 1^{2} 4^{20}, Ac 13^{5} 26^{16}, 1 Co 4^{1}. In two of these cases RV has properly substituted **'attendant'** for 'minister' to avoid misconception. The 'minister' (Lk 4^{20}) to whom Jesus handed the roll in the synagogue at Nazareth was the *hazzan*, corresponding to the English verger or Scotch beadle. John Mark (Ac 13^{5}) was the minister of Barnabas and Saul in the same sense as Joshua was of Moses,—he was their attendant and assistant. In the other cases *hypēretēs* is used of the minister of Christ or of the word in a sense that is hardly distinguishable from that of *diakonos* as under.

(2) *leitourgos.*—In classical Gr. this word with its cognates is applied to one who renders special services to the commonwealth, without any suggestion of a priestly ministry. But in the LXX it was regularly applied, especially in its verbal form, to the ritual ministry of priests and Levites in the sanctuary, and so by NT times had come to connote the idea of a priestly function. What we have to notice, however, is that no NT writer uses it so as to suggest the discharge of special priestly functions on the part of an official Christian ministry. Either the reference is to the old Jewish ritual (Lk 1^{23}, He 9^{21} 10^{11}), or the word is employed in a sense that is purely figurative (Ro 15^{16}, Ph 2^{17}); or, again, is applied to a ministration of Christian charity (2 Co 9^{12}, Ph $2^{25.\ 30}$) or of prayer (Ac 13^{2}; cf. v.^{3}), from which all ideas of priestly ritual are clearly absent.

(3) *diakonos.*—Even more significant than the uses to which *leitourgos* and its cognates are put in the NT is the fact that they are used so seldom, and that *diakonos* and *diakonia* are found instead when the ideas of minister and ministry are to be expressed. This corresponds with the other fact that the priesthood of a selected class has been superseded by a universal Christian priesthood, and that a ministry of lowliness and serviceableness (which *diakonos* specially implies) has taken the place of the old ministry of exclusive privilege and ritual performance. *diakonia* is the distinctive Christian word for 'ministry,' and *diakonos* for 'minister.' But these nouns and the related verb are used in the NT with a wide range of application. The personal services rendered to Jesus by Martha, Mary, and other women (Lk 10^{40}, Jn 12^{2}, Mt 27^{55}), and to St. Paul by Timothy, Erastus, and Onesimus (Ac 19^{22}, Philem ^{13}), are described as forms of ministry. The man who serves and follows Christ is His minister (Jn 12^{26}; 'my *diakonos*' is the expression in the original); and the minister of Christ will not fail to minister also to the brethren (1 Co 12^{5}, 1 P 4^{10}). But while every true Christian is a minister of Christ and of the brethren, there is a ministry of particular service out of which there gradually emerges the idea of a special Christian ministry. We may find the roots of the idea in our Lord's words to His disciples, 'Whosoever would become great among you shall be your minister, . . . even as the Son of man came not to be ministered unto, but to minister, and to give his life a ransom for many' (Mt $20^{26ff.}$). The minister at first was one who was distinguished from others by his larger services. He did not hold an office, but discharged a function. There were differences of function, indeed, and, above all, the distinction between those who were ministers of the word (Ac 6^{4}, 2 Co 3^{6}, Eph $3^{6.\ 7}$) and those who ministered by gracious deed (Ac $6^{1ff.}$). But whatever might be the 'diversities of ministrations' (1 Co 12^{5}), the word *diakonos* covered them all. At a later stage, when differences of function have begun to harden into distinctions of office, the name *diakonos* is specially appropriated to the **deacon** (wh. see) as distinguished from the presbyter or bishop (Ph 1^{1}, 1 Ti 3^{1-13}). But *diakonos* still continues to be used in its wider sense, for Timothy, who was much more than a deacon, is exhorted to be 'a good minister (*diakonos*) of Jesus Christ' (1 Ti 4^{6}). See following article.

J. C. LAMBERT.

MINISTRY.—The foregoing art. has sufficiently dealt with the general idea of ministry, but something remains to be said more particularly of the foreshadowings and beginnings of an official Christian ministry as these are found in the NT. The earliest historical datum is the distinction drawn by the Twelve between the '*diakonia* of the word' and the '*diakonia* of tables' (Ac $6^{2.\ 4}$)—a distinction that constantly reappears in the writings of St. Paul (*e.g.* Ro 12^{6-8}, 1 Co 1^{17} 9^{14} 12^{28}), though by and by the latter of these two ministries widens out so as to include many other matters besides the care of the poor. These two forms may be broadly distinguished as a general and prophetic ministry on the one hand, a local and practical on the other.

1. General and prophetic.—Ac $6^{1ff.}$ shows that from the first the Twelve recognized that they were Divinely called to be ministers of the word, *i.e.* preachers of the gospel; and St. Paul repeatedly affirms the same thing regarding himself (1 Co 1^{17} 9^{16}, 2 Co 3^{6} 4^{1}, Col 1^{23}). But it was not the *Apostles* only who discharged this high spiritual function. Besides Apostles, a word which is used in a wider as well as a narrower sense (see Ac 14^{14}, Ro 16^{7}; cf. *Didache*, xi. 4 ff.), the Church had also *prophets* and *evangelists* and *teachers*, all of them, in somewhat different ways no doubt, fulfilling this same task of proclaiming the word (1 Co $12^{28.\ 29}$, Eph 4^{11}; for prophets, see also Ac 11^{27} 15^{32} 21^{10}; for evangelists, Ac 21^{8}, 2 Ti 4^{5}; for teachers, Ac 13^{1}, 1 Ti 2^{7}, 2 Ti 1^{11}), and moving about from place to place in order to do so. That the prophetic ministry in its various forms was a ministry of function and not of stated office, is shown by the fact that the same person might be at once apostle, prophet, and teacher (cf. Ac 13^{1} 14^{14}, 1 Ti 2^{7}, 2 Ti 1^{11}).

2. Local and practical.—Of this the Seven of Jerusalem furnish the earliest examples. Their special duties, when we first meet them, are restricted to the care of the poor, and in particular to the charge of the 'daily

ministration.' But, as the local Churches grew in size and Church life became more complex, other needs arose. There was the need of government and discipline, of pastoral counsel and comfort, of stated instruction by regular teachers as well as of occasional visits from wandering apostles and prophets. In the **'helps'** and **'governments'** of 1 Co 12[28] we have a reference to some of these needs. And by and by we find that to meet the necessities of the situation the local ministry has blossomed out into two separate forms. (*a*) First there is the *presbyter* or elder, otherwise known as the *bishop* or overseer (for the substantial identity between the presbyter and the bishop, see art. Bishop), whose duties are to feed the flock and help the weak (Ac 20[17. 28. 35], 1 P 5[2]), to visit and pray for the sick (Ja 5[14]), to rule and teach (1 Ti 3[2. 5]). (*b*) Next there are the *deacon*, and his companion the *deaconess* (Ph 1[1], 1 Ti 3[8-13]), whose duties are not clearly defined, but the description of whose qualifications suggests that their work lay largely in visitation from house to house and ministration to the poor (1 Ti 5[8-11]). The local ministry, it thus appears, came to discharge some of the functions that had originally belonged to the general ministry of Apostles and prophets. The latter, however, was still recognized to be the higher of the two. St. Paul summons the presbyter-bishops of the Church in Ephesus to meet him at Miletus, and addresses them in a tone of high spiritual authority (Ac 20[17-35]). And even in the *Didache*, which belongs probably to about the end of the 1st cent., we find that when a wandering prophet visits a Church and is recognized as a true prophet, precedence is given him over the resident bishops and deacons (*Did.* x. 7, xiii. 3). See, further, Apostle, Bishop, Deacon, Evangelist, Laying on of Hands, Prophet in NT.

J. C. Lambert.

MINNI.—A people named in Jer 51[27] along with the Armenians ('Ararat') and Scythians ('Ashkenaz') as coming assailants of Babylon. They are the *Mannai* of the Assyrian inscriptions, who dwelt between the lakes Van and Urmia.

J. F. M'Curdy.

MINNITH marks the direction in which Jephthah pursued the defeated Ammonites from Aroer (Jg 11[33]), *i.e.* 'Aroer which is in front of Rabbah' (Jos 13[25]). The site has not been recovered. That indicated in the *Onomasticon*, 4 miles from Heshbon on the way to Philadelphia, seems too far to the south. The place appears to have been famous for the high quality of its wheat (Ezk 27[17], cf. 2 Ch 27[5]). It must be added that in both passages there are strong reasons for suspecting the correctness of the text.

W. Ewing.

MINT (Gr. *hēdyosmon*, Mt 23[23], Lk 11[42]).—One of the trifles which were tithed; primarily, perhaps, peppermint (*Mentha piperita*), but including also allied plants, such as the horse mint (*M. sylvestris*), which grows wild all over Palestine.

E. W. G. Masterman.

MIPHKAD.—A gate somewhere near the northern end of the East wall of Jerusalem, as may be deduced from the one reference to it (Neh 3[31] AV 'the gate Miphkad,' RV 'the gate of **Hammiphkad**') describing its restoration after the Exile. Many attempts have been made to identify it more exactly; but as the course of this part of Nehemiah's wall has not been revealed by excavation, and consequently the positions of its gates are not known with certainty, such attempts are mere guesswork. See the note on the gates in art. Jerusalem, II, § 4.

R. A. S. Macalister.

MIRACLES.—1. The narratives.—(*a*) In the Gospels Jesus is recorded to have cast out devils (Mt 8[28] 15[28] 17[18], Mk 1[25]), restored paralytics (Mt 8[13] 9[6], Jn 5[9]), revived the withered hand (Mt 12[13]), released from the spirit of infirmity (Lk 13[12]), stanched an issue of blood (Mt 9[22]), cured dropsy (Lk 14[2]), allayed fever with a touch (Mt 8[15]), given speech to the dumb, hearing to the deaf, and sight to the blind (Mt 9[33] 12[22], Mk 7[35], Mt 9[29] 20[34], Mk 8[25], Jn 9[7]), cleansed leprosy (Mt 8[3], Lk 17[19]), and even raised from the dead (Mt 9[25], Lk 7[15], Jn 11[44]). Besides these miracles of healing there are ascribed to Him other extraordinary acts, such as the Stilling of the Storm (Mt 8[26]), the Feeding of Five Thousand (Mt 14[19]) and Four Thousand (15[36]), the Walking on the Sea (14[26]), the Change of Water into Wine (Jn 2[9]). The blasting of the Fig Tree (Mt 21[19]), and the finding of the Coin in the Fish's Mouth (17[27]), may possibly be figurative sayings misunderstood. The Two Draughts of Fishes (Lk 5[6] and Jn 21[6]) may be variant traditions of one occurrence, and, like the recovery of the Nobleman's Son of Capernaum (Jn 4[50]), may be regarded as proof of superhuman wisdom, and not of supernatural power. These miracles are presented to us as the acts of a Person supernatural both in the moral character as sinless and perfect, and in the religious consciousness as alone knowing and revealing the Father. It was the universal conviction of the early Christian Church that after three days He rose from the dead (1 Co 15[4]), and was universally present in supreme power (Mt 28[18. 20]).

Regarding the miracles of Jesus the following general considerations should be kept in view. (*a*) It is impossible to remove the records of miracles from the Gospels without tearing them to pieces, as these works of Jesus are so wrought into the very texture of His ministry. (*b*) The character of the miracles is absolutely harmonious with the power of Jesus; with only two apparent exceptions they are beneficent. The blasting of the fig tree (Mt 21[19]), even if the record is taken literally, may be explained as a symbolic prophetic act, a solemn warning to His disciples of the doom of impenitent Israel. The finding of the coin in the fish's mouth (Mt 17[27]) would be an exception to the rule of Jesus never to use His supernatural power on His own behalf, and the narrative itself allows us to explain it as a misunderstanding of figurative language. (*c*) The miracles were not wrought for display, or to prove His claims. Jesus rejected such use as a temptation (Mt 4[6. 7]), and always refused to work a sign to meet the demands of unbelief (Mt 16[4]). He did not highly esteem the faith that was produced by His miracles (Jn 4[48]). The cure of the paralytic, which He wrought to confirm His claim to forgive sins, was necessary to assure the sufferer of the reality of His forgiveness (Mt 9[6]). The miracles are not evidential accessories, but essential constituents of Jesus' ministry of grace. (*d*) While faith in the petitioner for, or recipient of, the act of healing was a condition Jesus seemingly required in all cases, while He was prevented doing His mighty works, as at Nazareth, by unbelief (Mt 13[58]), while the exercise of His power was accompanied by prayer to God (Jn 11[41. 42]), His healing acts were never tentative; there is in the records no trace of a failure. (*e*) In view of one of the explanations offered, attention must be called to the variety of the diseases cured; nervous disorders and their consequences did not limit the range of His activity.

(*b*) In the Acts the record of miracles is continued. The promise of Jesus to His Apostles (Mt 10[8], cf. Mk 16[17. 18]) is represented as abundantly fulfilled. In addition to the charisms of *tongues* and *prophecy* (wh. see), there were signs and wonders wrought by the Apostles and others (Ac 2[43] 5[12. 16] 6[8] 8[13]). Miracles of which further details are given are the restoration of the lame man at the gate Beautiful (3[7]), and of the cripple at Lystra (14[9]), the cure of the palsied Æneas (9[34]), the expulsion of the spirit of divination at Philippi (16[18]), the healing of the father of Publius in Melita (28[8]), the restoration to life of Dorcas (9[40]) and Eutychus (20[10], the narrative does not distinctly affirm death). This supernatural power is exercised in judgment on Ananias and Sapphira (5[5. 10]), and on Elymas (13[11])—acts the moral justification of which must be sought in the estimate formed of the danger threatening the Church and the gospel, but which do present an undoubted

difficulty. One may hesitate about accepting the statement about the miracles wrought by Peter's shadow (5[15]) or Paul's aprons (19[12]). What are represented as miraculous deliverances from imprisonment are reported both of Peter (12[8]) and of Paul (16[26]). Paul's escape from the viper (28[3]) does not necessarily involve a miracle. These miracles, which, taken by themselves as reported in Acts, there might be some hesitation in believing, become more credible when viewed as the continuation of the supernatural power of Christ in His Church for the confirmation of the faith of those to whom the gospel was entrusted, and also those to whom its appeal was first addressed. In this matter the Epistles of Paul confirm the record of Acts (1 Co 12[10. 28], 2 Co 12[12]). Paul claims this supernatural power for himself, and recognizes its presence in the Church.

(*c*) We cannot claim to have contemporary evidence of the miracles of the OT, as we have of those of the NT. The miracles are almost entirely connected either with the Exodus from Egypt, or with the ministry of Elijah and of Elisha. The majority of the miracles of the first group are not outside of the order of nature; what is extraordinary in them is their coincidence with the prophetic declaration, this constituting the events signs of the Divine revelation. While the miracles ascribed to Elijah and Elisha might be considered as their credentials, yet they cannot be regarded as essential to their prophetic ministry; and the variations with which they are recorded represent popular traditions which the compiler of the Books of Kings has incorporated without any substantial alteration. The record of the standing still of the sun in Gibeon is obviously a prosaic misinterpretation of a poetic phrase (Jos 10[12-14]); behind the record of the bringing back of the shadow on the dial of Ahaz (2 K 20[11]) we may assume some unusual atmospheric phenomenon, refracting the rays of the sun; the speech of Balaam's ass (Nu 22[27]) may be regarded as an objectifying by the seer of his own scruples, doubts, and fears; the Book of Jonah is now interpreted not literally, but figuratively; the Book of Daniel is not now generally taken as history, but rather as the embellishment of history for the purposes of edification. The revelation of Jehovah to Israel is seen in the providential guidance and guardianship of His people by God, and in the authoritative interpretation of God's works and ways by the prophets, and in it miracle, in the strict sense of the word, has a small place. While the moral and religious worth of the OT, as the literature of the Divine revelation completed in Christ, demands a respectful treatment of the narratives of miracles, we are bound to apply two tests: the sufficiency of the evidence, and the congruity of the miracle in character with the Divine revelation.

2. The evidence.—In dealing with the evidence for the miracles the starting-point should be *the Resurrection*. It is admitted that the belief that Jesus had risen prevailed in the Christian Church from the very beginning of its history; that without this belief the Church would never have come into existence. Harnack seeks to distinguish the Easter message about the empty grave and the appearances of Jesus from the Easter faith that Jesus lives: but he is not successful in showing how the former could have come to be, apart from the latter. No attempt to explain the conversion of Paul without admitting the objective manifestation of Christ as risen can be regarded as satisfactory. It may not be possible absolutely to harmonize in every detail the records of the appearances, but before these narratives were written it was the common belief of the Christian Church, as Paul testifies, 'that Christ died for our sins according to the Scriptures, and that he was buried, and that he hath been raised on the third day according to the Scriptures' (1 Co 15[3. 4]). If the Resurrection of Christ is proved, this fact, conjoined with His absolutely unique moral character and religious consciousness, invests the Person of Jesus with a supernaturalness which forbids our limiting the actions possible to Him by the normal human tests. His miracles are not *wonders*, for it is no wonder that He should so act, but *signs*, proofs of what He is, and *works*, congruous with His character as 'ever doing good,' and His purpose to reveal the grace of the Father. Harnack will not 'reject peremptorily as illusion that lame walked, blind saw, and deaf heard,' but he will not believe that 'a stormy sea was stilled by a word.' The miracles of healing are not all explicable, as he supposes, by what Matthew Arnold called *moral therapeutics*—the influence of a strong personality over those suffering from nerve disorders, as they embrace diseases of which the cure by any such means is quite incredible; and the evidence for the *cosmic* miracles, as the miracles showing power over nature apart from man have been called, is quite as good as for the healing miracles. If the Synoptic Gospels can be dated between A.D. 60 and 90, as is coming to be admitted by scholars generally, the evidence for the miracles of Jesus is thoroughly satisfactory; the mythical theory of Strauss must assume a much longer interval. Harnack regards as 'a demonstrated fact' that 'Luke, companion in travel and associate in evangelistic work of Paul,' is the author of the Third Gospel and the Acts; nevertheless he does not consider Luke's history as true; but Ramsay argues that the Lukan authorship carries with it substantial accuracy. In his various writings he has endeavoured to show how careful a historian Luke is, and if Luke's excellence in this respect is established, then we can place greater reliance on the evidence for miracles in the early Church, as well as in the ministry of Jesus. Harnack lays great stress on the credulity of the age in which the Gospels were written; but this credulity was not universal. The educated classes were sceptical; and, to judge Luke from the preface to his Gospel, he appears as one who recognized the duty of careful inquiry, and of testing evidence. The miracles of the Gospels and the Acts are closely connected with the Person of Jesus, as the Word Incarnate and the risen Lord, and the credulity of the age does not come into consideration unless it can be shown that among either the Jews or the Gentiles there was a prejudice favourable to belief in the Incarnation and the Resurrection. The character of the miracles, so harmonious with the Person, forbids our ascribing them to the wonder-loving, and therefore wonder-making, tendency of the times.

Some indications have already been given in regard to the evidence for the miracles of the OT. The frequent references to the deliverance from Egypt made in the subsequent literature attest the historical reality of that series of events; and it cannot be said to be improbable that signs should have accompanied such a Divine intervention in human history. Some of the miracles ascribed to Elisha are not of a character congruous with the function of prophecy; but it may be that we should very cautiously apply our sense of fitness as a test of truth to these ancient narratives. In the OT history, *Prophecy* (wh. see) was the supernatural feature of deepest significance and highest value.

3. Explanations.—Admitting that the evidence is satisfactory, and the miracles are real, what explanations can be offered of them? (*a*) One suggestion has already been considered; it is favoured by Harnack and Matthew Arnold: it is that one person may exercise over another so strong an influence as to cure nervous disorders. The inadequacy of this explanation has been shown; but even were it admissible, a reason would need to be given why Jesus used a means not known in His age, and thus anticipated modern developments of medical skill. It is certain that Jesus worked His miracles relying on the Divine powers in Himself;

whether in any cases this obscure psychic force was an unknown condition of His miracles is a matter of secondary importance.

(*b*) A second suggestion, made by the late Duke of Argyll (*Reign of Law*, p. 16), is that God chooses and uses laws unknown to man, or laws which, even if he knew, he could not use. He thinks that this would meet the prejudice of scientific thought against effects without causes. This explanation recognizes that miracles are not explicable by the laws of nature as known to man, and that it is of God's free choice that for certain ends He uses means otherwise unknown. As these laws are quite hypothetical, and as this use of them only occasionally is not at all probable, this explanation does not appear to make miracles any more credible.

(*c*) We may now attempt to define more closely what we mean by a miracle. It does seem, on the whole, desirable to restrict the term 'miracle' to an external event of which there is sensible evidence. Inward changes, such as in the prophetic inspiration, or the religious conversion of an individual, however manifest the Divine presence and action may be for the person having the experience, should not be described as miracles, unless with some qualification such as *spiritual* or *moral*. The negative feature of the external event which justifies our describing it as a *miracle* is that it is inexplicable by the natural forces and laws as known to us. The will of man is a force in nature with which we are familiar, and therefore the movements of the body under the control of the will are not to be described as miraculous. We say more than we are justified in saying if we describe a miracle as an interference with the laws and forces of nature, or a breach in the order of nature; for just as the physical forces and laws allow the exercise of human will in the movements of the body, so the power that produces the miracle may, nay must, be conceived as so closely related to nature that its exercise results in no disturbance or disorder in nature. The miracle need not interfere with the continuity of nature at all. The modern theory of Evolution is not less, but more, favourable to the belief in miracle. It is not a finished machine, but a growing organism, that the world appears. Life transcends, and yet combines and controls physical forces (Lodge's *Life and Matter*, p. 198). Mind is not explicable by the brain, and yet the will directs the movements of the body. There is a creative action of God in the stages of the evolution, which attaches itself to the conserving activity. Applying the argument from analogy, we may regard the Person of Christ and the miracles that cluster round His Person as such a creative action of God. If we adequately estimate the significance of the Exodus in the history of mankind, the providential events connected with it will assume greater credibility. But there is a final consideration. The purpose of God in Christ is not only perfective—the completion of the world's evolution; it is also redemptive—the correction of the evil sin had brought on the human race. It was fitting that the redemption of man from sin should be accompanied by outward remedial signs, the relief of his need and removal of his sufferings. God is without variation and shadow that is cast by turning in His purpose, but His action is conditioned, and must necessarily be conditioned, by the results of man's use of the freedom which for His wise and holy ends He bestowed. He may in His action transcend His normal activity by a more direct manifestation of Himself than the natural processes of the world afford. The consistency of character of a human personality is not disproved by an exceptional act when a crisis arises; and so, to deal effectively with sin for man's salvation, God may use miracles as means to His ends without any break in the continuity of His wisdom, righteousness, and grace.

4. Objections.—It seemed desirable to state the facts, the proofs for them, and the reasonableness of them, before taking up the objections that are made. These objections refer to two points,—the possibility of miracle at all, and the sufficiency of the evidence for the miracles of the Bible. Each of these may be very briefly dealt with. (*a*) For *materialism*, which recognizes only physical forces; and *pantheism*, which so identifies God and man that the order of nature is fixed by the necessity of the nature of God; and even for *deism*, which confines the direct Divine activity to the beginning, and excludes it from the course of the world, miracles are impossible. *Agnosticism*, which regards the ultimate reality as an inscrutable mystery, is under no logical compulsion to deny the possibility of miracles; Huxley, for instance, pronounces such denial unjustifiable. Two reasons against the possibility of miracles may be advanced from a *theistic* standpoint. In the interests of science it may be maintained that the *uniformity of nature excludes miracle*; but, as has just been shown, the theory of Evolution has so modified the conception of uniformity that this argument has lost its force. Life and mind, when first appearing in the process of evolution, were breaches in the uniformity. The uniformity of nature is consistent with fresh stages of development, inexplicable by their antecedents; and only when science has resolved life and mind into matter will the argument regain any validity. In the interests of philosophy, it may be argued that *miracles interrupt the continuity of thought*: the world as it is is so reasonable (idealism) or so good (optimism) that any change is unthinkable. But the affirmation ignores many of the problems the world as it is presents: sin, sorrow, death are real; would not the solution of these problems give both a more reasonable and a better world? and if miracles should be necessary to such a solution, they are thinkable. Again, is it not somewhat arrogant to make man's estimate of what is reasonable and good the measure of God's wisdom and grace?

(*b*) The more usual objection is the *insufficiency of the evidence*. Hume laid down this criterion: 'No testimony is sufficient to establish a miracle unless the testimony be of such a kind that its falsehood would be more miraculous than the fact which it endeavours to establish. Or briefly, it is contrary to experience that a miracle should be true, but not contrary to experience that testimony should be false.' But to this statement it may properly be objected, that it assumes what is to be proved; for, while it may be contrary to ordinary experience that miracles happen, what the defenders of miracles maintain is that there have been exceptional experiences of miracles. If miracles were common, they would cease to be so described; their uncommonness does not prove their incredibility. Although the test is one that has no warrant, yet it may be argued that Christ's character and resurrection would stand it. It is less credible that the portrait of Jesus given in the Gospels was invented, than that Jesus lived as there depicted. It is less credible that the Apostolic faith in the risen Lord, and all it accomplished, should have its origin in illusion, than that He rose from the dead. The improbability of miracle is usually the tacit assumption when the sufficiency of the evidence is denied. If the relation of God to the world is conceived as a constant, immanent, progressive, perfective, redemptive activity, the probability of miracles will be so great that the evidence sufficient to prove an ordinary event will be regarded as satisfactory, provided always that this test is met, that the miracle is connected with the fulfilment of the Divine purpose, and is congruous in its character with the wisdom, righteousness, and grace of God.

5. Value.—A few words may in conclusion be added regarding the value of the miracles. The old apologetic view of miracles as the credentials of the doctrines of Christianity is altogether discredited. It is the truth of the doctrines that makes the fact of the miracles

credible. It is Christ's moral character and religious consciousness that help us to believe that He wrought wonderful works. The NT recognizes that a miracle proves only superhuman power (2 Th 2^{9}); only if its character is good, is it proved Divine. In the OT prophecy is declared false, not only when unfulfilled (Dt 18^{22}), but also when it leads to idolatry (13^{3}). The moral test, which can be applied to the miracles of the Gospels, shows the irrelevancy, not to say the flippancy, of Matthew Arnold's sneer about the turning of a pen into a pen-wiper as the proof of a doctrine. The miracles of the Gospels are constituent elements of Christ's moral perfection, His grace towards men. While the miracles are represented in the Gospels as not in themselves sufficient to generate faith (Jn 11^{46} 12^{37}), yet it is affirmed that they arrested attention and strengthened faith (Mt 8^{27}, Lk 5^{8} 7^{16}, Jn 2^{11} 6^{14}). Christ Himself is reported as appealing to them as witness (Jn 5^{36}), but the appeal seems deprecatory, as elsewhere He rates low the faith that rests on seeing miracles (Jn 4^{48} 14^{11}), while condemning the unbelief that resists even this evidence (Mt 11^{20}). At the beginning of the Christian Church the miracles had some value as evidence. Today the change Christ has wrought in human history is the most convincing proof of His claim; but we must not ignore the value the miracles had when they occurred, and their value to us still as works of Christ, showing as signs His grace. ALFRED E. GARVIE.

MIRIAM.—**1.** The sister of Moses and Aaron, probably older than either. It was she who watched Moses in the ark of bulrushes (Ex $2^{4ff.}$). She is called 'the prophetess,' and led the women in the song of victory at the Red Sea (Ex $15^{20f.}$). In the course of the wilderness wanderings she combined with Aaron against Moses, and was punished by leprosy, which was healed in answer to the prayer of Moses (Nu 12^{1-15}). She died in Kadesh towards the end of the wilderness journey (Nu 20^{1}). Her story is referred to in Dt 24^{8-9} in connexion with the ceremonial law of leprosy, and in Mic 6^{4} she is spoken of along with Moses and Aaron as a leader of the people.

The name Miriam becomes in Greek Mariam and Mariamne, also Maria, our Mary and is probably of Egyptian derivation (*mer Amon*, 'beloved of Amon').

2. A man (or woman) of the family of Caleb (1 Ch 4^{17}). W. F. BOYD.

MIRMAH.—Eponym of a Benjamite family (1 Ch 8^{10}).

MIRROR.—See GLASS.

MISAEL.—**1.** 1 Es 9^{44} = **Mishael,** Neh 8^{4}. **2.** Three ^{66} = **Mishael,** No. **3.**

MISGAB.—Mentioned along with Nebo and Kiriathaim in the oracle against Moab (Jer 48^{1}). Perhaps it is not intended as a proper name. The same Heb. term occurs in Is 25^{12}, where both AV and RV tr. 'high fort' (cf. 2 S 22^{3}, Ps 9^{9} *bis* 18^{2} $46^{7.\ 11}$ 48^{3} $59^{9.\ 16.\ 17}$ $62^{2.\ 6}$ 94^{22} 144^{2}, Is 33^{16}).

MISHAEL.—**1.** A Kohathite (Ex 6^{22}, Lv 10^{4}). **2.** One of Ezra's supporters (Neh 8^{4}); called in 1 Es 9^{44} **Misael. 3.** See MESHACH.

MISHAL.—A town of Asher (Jos 19^{26}), given to the Gershonite Levites (21^{30}) = 1 Ch 6^{74} **Mashal.** The site is unknown.

MISHAM.—Eponym of a Benjamite family (1 Ch 8^{12})

MISHMA.—**1.** A son of Ishmael (Gn 25^{14} = 1 Ch 1^{30}). **2.** The eponym of a Simeonite family (1 Ch 4^{25}).

MISHMANNAH.—A Gadite chief (1 Ch 12^{10}).

MISHNA.—See TALMUD.

MISHRAITES.—A family of Kiriath-jearim (1 Ch 2^{53}).

MISPAR.—One of the exiles who returned with Zerub. (Ezr 2^{2}) = Neh 7^{7} **Mispereth,** 1 Es 5^{8} **Aspharasus.**

MISPERETH.—See preceding article.

MISREPHOTH-MAIM.—From the Waters of Merom the defeated Canaanites fled to Great Zidon, and unto Misrephoth-maim (Jos 11^{8}). It marks the S. boundary of the Zidonians, who had not been driven out by Joshua (13^{6}). The Ladder of Tyre formed a natural limit to the territory of the Zidonians. On the slope of *Ras en-Naqūrah*, the most southerly of the promontories forming the 'Ladder,' is found a site called *Musheirîfeh*, which Thomson (*LB*) with great probability identifies with Misrephoth-maim. W. EWING.

MITE.—See MONEY, § **7.**

MITHKAH.—One of the 12 'stations' (Nu $33^{28.\ 29}$).

MITHNITE.—A gentilic name applied to one of David's officers in 1 Ch 11^{43}. The text is doubtful.

MITHRADATES.—**1.** 1 Es 2^{11} = **Mithredath,** Ezr 1^{8}. **2.** (AV Mithridates) 1 Es 2^{16} = **Mithredath,** Ezr 4^{7}.

MITHREDATH (Pers. = 'given by Mithra, *or* the sun').—**1.** The Persian treasurer, whom Cyrus commanded to deliver to Sheshbazzar the sacred vessels (Ezr 1^{8} = 1 Es 2^{11} **Mithradates**). **2.** Apparently a Persian officer stationed in Samaria. Together with his colleagues he wrote to Artaxerxes (Longimanus) to hinder the re-building of the walls of Jerusalem (Ezr 4^{7} = 1 Es 2^{16} **Mithradates**).

MITRE.—With the exception of Zec 3^{5} where it represents the Heb. *tsānîph* or **turban** (for which see DRESS, § **5** *a*), and Ezk 21^{26} RV (see below), 'mitre' in EV is used exclusively of the characteristic headdress of the Jewish high priest. The 'mitre' (Heb. *mitsnepheth*, from the same root, signifying to 'wind round,' as *tsanîph*) was an elaborate species of turban, composed of a long swathe of 'fine linen' (Ex 28^{39}), 16 cubits in length, according to the Talmud. Its precise form, however, is uncertain; the descriptions given by Josephus of the high-priestly mitre of his day, besides being obscure in themselves, agree neither with one another nor with the OT text.

On the now common assumption that the Priests' Code originated in Babylonia, it is probable that the mitre was intended to have the conical form characteristic of the tiara of the Babylonian kings. For ornament it had 'a plate of gold,' on which were engraved two Hebrew words signifying 'holiness to J"' (Ex 28^{36}, Lv 8^{9}: cf. Sir 45^{12}). The plate rested on the front of the mitre, and was kept in position by a blue-purple ribbon (Ex 28^{37} 39^{31}), which probably served as a fillet and was tied behind, perhaps with the ends hanging down, as in the case of the jewelled diadem or fillet worn by the Assyrian kings. Hence the fillet could be described as 'the holy crown' (Lv 8^{9}), and by ben-Sira as 'a diadem (EV 'crown') of gold upon the mitre' (Sir 45^{12}). The royal crown of Judah, according to Ezekiel (21^{26}), consisted of the same two parts (see Heb. text in each case): 'remove the mitre (RV), and take off the diadem (EV 'crown').' This passage is our warrant for saying that the headdress prescribed for the high priest in the Priests' Code, consisting of mitre and diadem, is intended to signify that the high priest shall unite in his person the highest office in both Church and State.

The headdress of the high priest is always distinguished from that of his subordinates, for which see BONNET.

A. R. S. KENNEDY.

MITYLENE was the chief town of Lesbos on its E. coast, subsequently giving its name to the whole island. It was one of the early Æolian colonies, and one of the earliest homes of Greek lyric poetry—the birthplace of Sappho and Alcæus. It attained great naval power, and founded colonies such as Sigeum and Assos. It took a prominent part in the Ionian revolt, but helped Xerxes against Greece. It joined the Athenian alliance, but revolted in B.C. 428 and was nearly annihilated. After opposing Rome in the Mithradatic War, it was made a free city. It has belonged to the Turks since A.D. 1462. Its mention in Ac 20^{14} is merely incidental,—St. Paul's ship spent a night there. A. E. HILLARD.

MIXED MULTITUDE.—A description given (1) to certain persons who joined Israel in the Exodus from Egypt (Ex 12^{38}), and who fell a lusting at Kibroth-hattaavah (Nu 11^{4}); (2) to those who were separated from the Israelites after the return from the Captivity (Neh 13^{3}).

In Ex 12^{38} those referred to are probably strangers of non-Israelitic or half-Israelitic origin. The Hebrew consonants (differently pointed) mean either 'mixed' or 'Arabian,' and some have suggested that we ought here to translate 'Arabians.' In Jer 25^{20} 50^{37}, Ezk 30^{5}, the same Hebrew word is translated by the expression 'mingled people,' where it has been supposed by some to refer to foreign mercenaries. In Ezk 30^{5} at least 'Arabians' gives a better meaning. The Hebrew word in Nu 11^{4} is a different one, and is probably a contemptuous term signifying the mob, the rabble.

The context in Neh 13^{3} leaves no doubt as to the meaning. The reference is to the strangers with whom the Israelites had intermarried and the children of such alliances. W. F. Boyd.

MIZAR.—Ps 42^{6b} runs: 'I remember thee from the land of Jordan and the Hermons, from the hill Mizar.' It is a question whether Mizar is a proper name or an appellative—'the little' (?). If the former, Mizar must be a peak of the Hermons, and is otherwise unknown. If the latter, the text must in some way be corrected. The simplest and most satisfactory expedient is to remove the initial *m* from *mēhar* in the phrase *mēhar mizar*, and render 'O, thou little hill.' The reference will then be to Zion. As the whole Psalm reads like the cry of an exile from Zion, expressive of his home-sickness, this rendering makes admirable sense. 'O, my God, my soul is cast down within me; for I remember thee from the land of Jordan and of the Hermons, O, thou little hill (of Zion).' The initial *m* in *mēhar* might well have crept in from the final *m* of the preceding word, *Hermonim*.
W. F. Cobb.

MIZPAH, MIZPEH.—These words (from *tsāphāh*, to 'look out,' esp. as a watchman) mean 'outlook-point'; and they are the names of several places and towns in Palestine, all presumably situated on elevated spots, and all probably ancient sacred places. The sites of several are, however, uncertain. As both names are significant, they nearly always in the Heb. have the article.

1. Mizpah in Gn 31^{49}, where Jacob and Laban made their compact together, and where the name is explained, by a popular etymology, from the words used by Laban, 'J" *watch* between me and thee, when we are absent one from another' (and interpose, it is implied, if either attempts to take an advantage of the other). The name has not been preserved, and hence the site cannot be fixed, except conjecturally. Improbable sites have been suggested: to judge from the general line of Jacob's route from Haran, the 'Mizpah' here referred to will have been some eminence on the N.E. of the **Jebel Ajlun,** some 40 miles S.E. of the Lake of Gennesaret (cf. Driver, *Genesis*, pp. 288, 301 f.).

2. The 'land of Mizpah,' at the foot of Hermon, in Jos 11^{3}, probably the same as the 'cleft (or plain between mountains) of Mizpeh' in v.^{8}. This 'Mizpah,' or 'Mizpeh,' has been identified with the Druse village *Mutelle'* (the 'climbed up to'), on a hill 200 ft. high, at the S. end of the broad and fertile plain called the Merj 'Ayūn (the 'meadow of 'Ayūn'), overlooking the basin of the Huleh sea, a little N. of *Abil*, and 8 m. W.N.W. of Bāniās (Rob. iii. 372 f.). This, however, is thought by some to be not enough to the E. (notice 'under Hermon' v.^{3}, and 'eastward' v.^{8}); and Buhl (*GAP* 240) conjectures that it may have been the height on which are now the ruins of the Saracenic castle *Kal'at es-Subēbē*, 2 m. above Bāniās, on the N.E. In the former case the 'land' of M. would be the Merj 'Ayūn itself, between the rivers Litani and Hasbāni; in the latter it would be the plain stretching down from Bāniās towards Lake Huleh.

3. Mizpeh in Jos 15^{38}, in the Shephēlah, or 'lowland' of Judah, mentioned in the same group of cities as Lachish (*Tell el-Hesy*, 34 miles S.W. of Jerusalem). According to Eusebius (*Onom.* 279), there was a Mizpeh in the district of Eleutheropolis (*Beit-Jibrīn*, 23 m. S.W. of Jerus.), on the N., and another on the road from Eleutheropolis to Jerusalem. The former of these descriptions would suit *Tell es-Safiyeh*, on a hill of white chalk 7½ m. N.N.W. of Beit-Jibrīn, with a commanding view, which, however, is now identified by many with Gath; the latter is too indefinite to permit of any identification being made with confidence.

4. The Mizpah of Jg 10^{17} $11^{11.\ 34}$, Jephthah's home,—apparently, to judge from the narrative, not very far from the Ammonite territory, and (11^{33}) the Aroer in front of Rabbath-ammon (Jos 13^{25}). The site can only be fixed conjecturally. Moore suggests the *Jebel Osha'*, 16 m. N.W. of Rabbath-ammon, the highest point of the mountains S. of the Jabbok (3597 ft.), commanding a view of almost the whole Jordan Valley, as well as of much of the country opposite, on the W. of Jordan (Conder, *Heth and Moab*, 186 f.). Whether the 'Mizpeh of Gilead' of Jg 11^{29} is the same spot is uncertain; from the difference of name, it would rather seem that it is not. The Mizpah of Hos 5^{1} is, however, very probably the same as Jephthah's Mizpah. The **Ramath-mizpeh** ('height of the outlook-point') of Jos 13^{26}, on the N. border of Gad, has also been supposed to be the same as Jephthah's Mizpah; but this is uncertain; a point further to the N. seems to be required.

5. The Mizpah, on the W. of Jordan, mentioned in Jg $20^{1.\ 3}$ $21^{1.\ 5.\ 8}$, 1 S $7^{5ff.}$ 10^{17} as a meeting-place of Israelites on important occasions; in 1 K 15^{22} (=2 Ch 16^{6}) as fortified by Asa; in 2 K $23^{23.\ 25}$, Jer $40^{6.\ 8}$, and several times besides in Jer 40. 41, as the residence of Gedaliah, the governor appointed by Nebuchadnezzar over Judah after the capture of Jerusalem in 586; and in Neh $3^{7.\ 15.\ 19}$. The same place appears to be intended by the 'Mizpeh' of 1 Mac 3^{46} (Gr. *Massēpha*, as often in LXX for 'Mizpah,' *e.g.* Jg $20^{1.\ 3}$), 'over against Jerusalem,' a former 'place of prayer' (*i.e.* sanctuary) for Israel, at which the faithful Israelites assembled after Antiochus Epiphanes had desecrated the Temple and stopped all worship in it. This Mizpah was identified with much probability by Robinson (i. 460) with *Nebi Samwil*, a height 4½ m. N.W. of Jerusalem, 2935 ft. above the sea, and some 500 ft. above the surrounding plain (notice 'gone *or* came up' in Jg 20^{3} $21^{5.\ 8}$), with a commanding view of the country round (*ib.* 457 f.). Nebi Samwil is 3 m. W.N.W. of Gibeah (cf. Jg $20^{1.\ 3}$ with the sequel), 2 m. S. of Gibeon (cf. Neh 3^{7}), and a little N. of the present road from Joppa to Jerusalem. It is the actual point from which travellers ascending by the ancient route through the pass of Beth-horon caught their first glimpse of the interior of the hills of Palestine. 'It is a very fair and delicious place, and it is called Mount Joy, because it gives joy to pilgrims' hearts; for from that place men first see Jerusalem' (Maundeville, cited in *SP*, p. 214). Its present name, Nebi Samwil (the 'Prophet Samuel'), is due to the Moslem tradition that it was Samuel's burial-place (cf. 1 S $7^{6.\ 16}$, where Mizpah is mentioned as one of Samuel's residences); and the mosque there—once a Crusaders' church—contains a cenotaph revered by the Moslems as his tomb.

6. Mizpeh of Moab (1 S 22^{3},—'Mizpeh' is perhaps also to be read in v.^{5} for 'the hold'), the residence of the king of Moab when David consigned his parents to his care. It must have been situated on some eminence in Moab; but we have no further clue to its site.
S. R. Driver.

MIZRAIM.—The name of **Egypt** (wh. see), and especially of Lower Egypt. Mizraim was son of Ham and father of Ludim, Anamim, Lehabim, Naphtuhim, Pathrusim

(*i.e.* the inhabitants of Upper Egypt), Casluhim, and Caphtorim (Gn $10^{6.\ 13.\ 14}$). Cf. also art. PATHROS.

F. Ll. GRIFFITH.

MIZZAH.—A 'duke' of Edom (Gn $36^{13.\ 17}$ = 1 Ch 1^{37}).

MNASON of Cyprus, mentioned in Ac 21^{16} as one who entertained Paul and his companions on their journey from Cæsarea to Jerusalem. The Greek in this passage admits of two constructions, either 'bringing with them one Mnason,' or 'bringing us to Mnason.' The most probable explanation is that Mnason lived in some village between Cæsarea and Jerusalem, and that Paul broke his journey there and stayed the night with him. The distance was between 60 and 70 miles, too great for a day's journey.

He is called 'an old (RV 'early') disciple,' that is, one of the first disciples, probably one of those converted on the day of Pentecost. MORLEY STEVENSON.

MOAB, MOABITES.—Moab occupied the lofty table-land to the east of the Dead Sea. It was bounded on the E. by the Arabian desert, on the S. by the land of Edom, on the W. by the Dead Sea and Jordan Valley. Its N. boundary fluctuated at different periods between the Arnon and an indistinct line some distance north of Heshbon. This table-land is elevated some 3000 feet above the level of the Mediterranean, and 4300 feet above the Dead Sea. It is traversed by three deep valleys, the middle one of which, the Arnon, is the deepest, and is often mentioned in the Bible. The northern portion consists of broad stretches of rolling country, the reddish soil of which is fertile, while in the southern portion more hills are found, and the deep wrinkles interfere more with agriculture. In the winter months the rainfall is adequate, and renders the country very desirable in comparison with the deserts on its border.

In the earliest times known to us this land was called *Lotan* (Egyp. *Ruten*), or *Lot*. The narrative of Gn. 19, which makes **Lot** (wh. see) the father of Moab, apparently means that the Moabites settled in this land of Lot. The meaning of *Moab* is undetermined. The etymology of Gn 19^{37} (LXX) is not philological, and modern guesses are uncertain.

The narrative of Gn 19 shows that the Israelites recognized the Moabites as their kinsmen. That they really were such, their language, religion, and customs, so far as known to us, also testify. Probably, then, the Moabites came with the wave of Aramæan migration which brought the Israelites, secured a foothold in the land of Lotan while the Israelites were still nomads, and adopted the Canaanitish speech of the people among whom they settled. Sayce believes they were settled in this territory by *c.* B.C. 1300, for Rameses II., he thinks, alludes to the country Moab (cf. *Patriarchal Palestine*, p. 22), but this lacks confirmation.

At the time of the approach of the Hebrews to Palestine the Moabites were so strongly intrenched in their land that the invaders avoided all conflict with them (Dt 2^{9}, Jg 11^{15}, 2 Ch 20^{10}), although they conquered king Sihon, who had subdued all of Moab north of the Arnon (Nu 21^{21-31}, Dt 2^{24-35}). The Moabites viewed the coming of Israel with alarm, and desired to attack them, but did not dare (Nu 22–24, Dt 23^{4}, Jg 11^{25}).

According to the Priestly narratives, the Israelites secured at this time the territory north of the Arnon; but the narratives differ as to whether its cities were all assigned to Reuben (so Jos 13^{15-21}), or whether some of the most southerly (Dibon, Ataroth, and Aroer) were assigned to Gad (Nu $32^{34ff.}$). Perhaps the latter view represents the fact. The Gadites obtained some of the southern cities, and the Reubenites some of the northern. Probably the conquest was not very complete.

Early in the period of the Judges, the Moabites not only had regained control of all this territory, but had extended their power into western Palestine so as to oppress the Benjamites (Jg 3^{12-30}). This led to the assassination of Eglon, king of Moab, by Ehud. In course of time the Moabites absorbed the tribe of Reuben, though the latter maintained their identity for a considerable period.

According to the Book of Ruth, friendly intercourse existed between Moab and Israel at this period. Saul fought with the Moabites (1 S 14^{47}), but with what result we do not know. Towards the end of his reign they aided David against him (1 S $22^{3ff.}$). David subjugated Moab, and rendered the country tributary to Israel (2 S $8^{1.\ 2.\ 12}$). This subjugation apparently continued during the reign of Solomon, for he had Moabitish women in his harem, and built a shrine for Chemosh, the god of Moab (1 K $11^{1.\ 7}$).

After the reign of Solomon, Moab apparently gained its independence. Our next information comes from the so-called '**Moabite Stone,**' an inscription of Mesha, king of Moab, found at the ancient Dibon, and now preserved in the Louvre. Mesha states that Omri, king of Israel, conquered Moab, and that Moab continued subject to Israel till the middle of the reign of Ahab, when Chemosh enabled him (Mesha) to win victories over Israel, which secured Moabitish independence, and which he describes in detail. A somewhat confused allusion to this is found in 2 K $3^{1ff.}$. Jehoram, Ahab's successor, undertook, with the aid of Jehoshaphat and the king of Edom, to reduce Moab once more, and almost succeeded. The country was overrun, the capital besieged and reduced to great extremity, when the king of Moab sacrificed to Chemosh his firstborn son on the city wall in sight of both armies (2 K 3^{27}). The courage which this aroused in the Moabites, and the superstitious dread which it excited in the besieging army, secured a victory for the former. It appears from 2 K 13^{20} that after this, Moabites frequently invaded Israel.

Amos (2^{1-3}) in the next century reproved Moab for barbarities to Edom, and Tiglath-pileser III. of Assyria enumerates the king of Moab among his tribute-payers (*KIB* ii. 20). Sennacherib, about B.C. 700, received tribute from Chemosh-nadab, king of Moab (*KIB* ii. 91), and the country remained vassal to Assyria during the following reigns of Esarhaddon and Ashurbanipal (cf. *KIB* ii. 148, 238).

Moabites aided Nebuchadnezzar against Jehoiakim at the very end of the same century (2 K 24^{2}). Is 15. 16, Zeph 2^{8-11}, Jer 48, and Ezk $25^{8ff.}$ contain prophecies against Moab, but do not add to our knowledge of the history. Jer 48 indicates that a great calamity was impending over them. In Neh 4^{7} Arabians rather than Moabites are allies of the Ammonites (cf. also 1 Mac 9^{32-42} and Jos. *Ant.* XIII. xiii. 5, XIV. i. 4). We know that the Nabatæans were in possession of this country a little later, and it is probable that by the time of Nehemiah they had for ever brought the Moabite power to an end. Some infer from Jeremiah's prophecy that Moab rebelled against Nebuchadnezzar as Israel and Ammon did, and that he carried enough of them captive to weaken them and render them an easy prey to the Nabatæans. Possibly this is true, but we know nothing of it.

The language of the Moabites was, as the Moabite Stone shows, identical with that of Israel. That peculiar construction known as *Waw Consecutive* is found, outside of Biblical Hebrew, only in the Moabite Stone and one or two Phœnician inscriptions.

The religion of the Moabites was very similar to that of early Israel. The references to Chemosh in Mesha's inscription are very similar to references to Jahweh in Israelitish writings of the same period. The Divine name Ashtar-Chemosh indicates that the worship of the feminine divinity known to the Babylonians as Ishtar, and to the Phœnicians as Astart, was also mingled with the worship of Chemosh. Traces of the repellent nature of this worship appear in the OT (Nu 25^{5} 31^{16}, Jos 22^{7}, Ps 106^{28}). No great ethical prophets, such as elevated the religion of Israel, rescued the religion of Moab from the level of its barbaric Semitic origin.

GEORGE A. BARTON.

MOADIAH.—See Maadiah.

MOCHMUR.—A wady apparently S.E. of Dothan (Jth 7^{18}).

MODIN.—A village in the Shephēlah, never mentioned in the OT, but of great importance as the home of the Maccabees. Here Mattathias, by slaying a Jew who conformed to the paganizing commands of Antiochus, struck the first blow for Jewish religious freedom (1 Mac 2^{1-28}). He was buried at Modin (2^{70}), as were his illustrious sons Judas (9^{19}) and Jonathan (13^{25}). Simon here built an elaborate monument with seven pyramids, commemorative of his father, mother, and four brethren, with great pillars around, and bas-reliefs of military and naval triumphs. This splendid monument could be seen at sea. It stood for about 500 years, after which it seems to have disappeared; and with it was lost all recollection of the site of Modin. This has been recovered in recent years in the little village of *el-Medyeh*, near Lydd. There are numerous rock-tombs about, some of them traditionally known as *Qabūr el-Yehūd*, or 'the Jews' tombs,' but nothing is to be seen in any way suggestive of the Maccabæan mausoleum.

R. A. S. Macalister.

MOETH (1 Es 8^{63}) = **Noadiah** of Ezr 8^{33}.

MOLADAH.—A city reckoned to Judah in Jos 15^{26}, and to Simeon in Jos 19^{2}, 1 Ch 4^{28}. It is in no way related to *Tell el-Milh*, 'hill of salt,' with which Robinson and others have identified it. Probably it lay near Beersheba, but the site has not been recovered.

W. Ewing.

MOLE.—**1.** *tinshemeth*, Lv 11^{30} (AV 'mole,' RV **'chameleon'**; but same word is in Lv 11^{18} and Dt 14^{16} tr. AV 'swan,' RV 'horned owl'). See Chameleon.

2. *chaphōr-pērōth* (?'*burrowing* animals'), Is 2^{20}, may apply to rats, mice, jerboas, etc., as well as 'moles.' The true insectivorous mole does not occur in Palestine, but the rodent *Spalax typhlus*, the mole rat, is very common. It lives entirely underground, has most rudimentary eyes, and makes very long burrows. It is gregarious, and large areas are sometimes covered thick with its hillocks. E. W. G. Masterman.

MOLECH, MOLOCH.—A deity worshipped by the Israelites, especially by the people of Judah, towards the close of the monarchy. **Melech** ('king') was evidently the title of this god; and the present form is due to the combination of the original consonants with the vowels of *bōsheth* ('shame'). The passages in which reference to this divinity is probably found are Lv 18^{21} 20^{2-5}, 1 K 11^{7}, 2 K 23^{10}, Is 30^{33} 57^{9}, Jer 32^{35}. The chief feature of the worship seems to have been the sacrifice of children. Its special centre was just outside Jerusalem, at a place in the Valley of Hinnom called the **Topheth** (which see). The cult was introduced, according to 1 K 11^{7}, by Solomon. If the reference here is an error (see below), Ahaz may have been the innovator (2 K 16^{3}). At any rate, it flourished in the 7th cent. B.C., as we gather from prophetic denunciation and the legislation of Deuteronomy. Manasseh sacrificed his son (2 K 21^{6}). Josiah suppressed the worship and defiled Topheth. But under Jehoiakim this worship revived, and continued till the Captivity.

As to the identity of Melech, there is an interesting question. Very ancient tradition identifies him with **Milcom** (wh. see), the national god of Ammon. But the only basis for this view which the Heb. text of the OT furnishes is 1 K 11^{7}, and the Gr. VSS offer evidence that the original reading in this passage may have been 'Milcom,' as in v.^{5} and v.^{33}. On the other hand, we are told that, while Melech was worshipped at Topheth, the sanctuary of Milcom was on the Mount of Olives (2 K 23^{13}). Moreover, this cult seems to have been regarded as Canaanitish in origin (Dt 12^{29-31} 18^{9-14}). Again, we learn from many sources that the most atrocious child-sacrifice was a prominent feature in the public religion of the Phœnicians, both in their Palestinian homeland and in Carthage; and in this connexion we find constant reference to the pit of fire into which the victims were cast (see Topheth). Among other Semitic peoples also there are occasional instances of the offering of children, but not as a regular practice such as we are considering.

Melech is a title of many Semitic deities, and in the OT is frequently applied to Jahweh. We find that the object of this worship is also called *Baal* ('master') (Jer 19^{5} 32^{35}). This is likewise a title of numerous Semitic divinities, and is sometimes used of Jahweh (see Baal). When the name 'Baal' is used in the OT with specific reference to a particular god, it means Melkarth of Tyre (1 K 16^{32}, 2 K 3^{2} $8^{18.\ 27}$ 10^{18-27} 11^{18}). The prophets undoubtedly regarded the cult as foreign, and as an apostasy to heathenism. But does this necessarily prove that Melech was a false god? Jeremiah's protest that Jahweh had not required these sacrifices (7^{31} 19^{5} 32^{35}) would seem to imply that the people did not regard this as the worship of another god. Indeed, Ezekiel goes further, and claims that Jahweh Himself gave them these 'statutes that are not good,' and sacrifices of the firstborn, because they had rejected purer worship (Ezk $20^{25f.\ 31}$). On the whole, the evidence seems to indicate that this cultus was due to Phœnician influence, and was introduced because of popular misunderstanding of the laws relating to the giving of the firstborn to Jahweh. The origin of such a cult, together with a possible more or less complete identification with Melkarth, would explain the constant use of the titles 'Melech' and 'Baal' rather than the name 'Jahweh.'

W. M. Nesbit.

MOLID.—The name of a Judahite family (1 Ch 2^{29}).

MOLOCH.—See Molech.

MOLTEN SEA.—See Temple, § 6 (*c*) 'Brazen Sea.'

MOMDIS (1 Es 9^{34}) = **Maadai**, Ezr 10^{34}.

MONEY.—**1.** *Antiquity of a metallic currency: weights and values.*—That the precious metals, gold and silver, and to a less extent copper, were the ordinary media of exchange in Palestine from a time long prior to the appearance there of the Hebrews, is now amply attested by evidence from Egypt and Babylonia, and even from the soil of Palestine itself. The predominance of silver as the metal currency for everyday transactions is further shown by the constant use in Hebrew literature of the word for 'silver' (*keseph*) in the sense of 'money.'

As there can be no question of the existence of coined money in Palestine until the Persian period, the first step in the study of the money of OT is to master the system of weights adopted for the weighing of the precious metals. Money might indeed be 'told' or counted, but the accuracy of the 'tale' had to be tested by means of the balance; or rather, as we see from such passages as 2 K $12^{10.\ 11}$ (RV), money was told by being *weighed*. Now, all the weight-systems of Western Asia, and even of Europe, had, their origin in Babylonia (for details see Weights and Measures). There, as required by the sexagesimal system of reckoning, the ancient unit of weight, the *manu* (Heb. **maneh** as in Ezk 45^{12}—elsewhere in EV **'pound'**) or **mina**, which weighed 7580 grains on the light, and 15,160 on the heavy standard, was divided into 60 **shekels**, while 60 minas went to the higher denomination, the **talent**. It will thus be seen that the light Babylonian trade shekel weighed, neglecting fractions, 126 grains troy, and the heavy shekel 252. The former, it will be useful to remember, was but three grains heavier than a British gold sovereign.

As this weight-system spread westwards with the march of Babylonian civilization and commerce, it came into conflict with the decimal system of calculation, and a compromise was effected, which resulted in the mina being reduced to 50 shekels, while the talent remained at 60 minas, although reduced in weight to 3000 shekels. That the Hebrew talent by which the precious metals were weighed contained 3000, not 3600, shekels may be seen by a simple calculation from the data of Ex $38^{25ff.}$. Further, the heavy Babylonian shekel of 252 grains remained in use among the Hebrews for the weighing of gold until NT times. For this we have the express testimony of Josephus, who tells us (*Ant.* xiv. vii. 1) that the Hebrew gold mina was equal to $2\frac{1}{2}$ Roman pounds. On the basis of 5053 grains to the *libra* or pound, this gives a shekel of $252\frac{2}{3}$ grains, the

exact weight of the heavy Babylonian shekel of the common or trade standard.

For the weighing of silver, on the other hand, this shekel was discarded for practical reasons. Throughout the East in ancient times the ratio of gold to silver was $13\frac{1}{3}:1$, which means that a shekel of gold could buy $13\frac{1}{3}$ times the same weight of silver.

The latest explanation of this invariable ratio, it may be added in passing, is that advocated by Winckler and his followers. On this, the so-called 'astral mythology' theory of the origin of Babylonian culture, gold, the yellow metal, was specially associated with the sun, while the paler silver was the special 'moon-metal.' Accordingly it was natural to fix the ratio between them as that which existed between the year and the month, viz. 360 : 27 or 40 : 3.

In ordinary commerce, however, this ratio between the two chief media of exchange was extremely inconvenient, and to obviate this inconvenience, the weight of the shekel for weighing silver was altered so that a gold shekel might be exchanged for a whole number of silver shekels. This alteration was effected in two ways. On the one hand, along the Babylonian trade-routes into Asia Minor the light Babylonian shekel of 126 grains was raised to 168 grains, so that 10 such shekels of silver now represented a single gold shekel, since $126\times13\frac{1}{3}=168\times10$. On the other hand, the great commercial cities of Phœnicia introduced a silver shekel of 224 grains, 15 of which were equivalent to one heavy Babylonian gold shekel of 252 grains, since $252\times13\frac{1}{3}=224\times15$. This 224-grain shekel is accordingly known as the Phœnician standard. It was on this standard that the sacred dues of the Hebrews were calculated (see § 3); on it also the famous silver shekels and half-shekels were struck at a later period (§ 5).

With regard, now, to the intrinsic value of the above gold and silver shekels, all calculations must start from the mint price of gold, which in Great Britain is £3, 17s. $10\frac{1}{2}$d. per ounce of 480 grains. This gives £2, 1s. as the value of the Hebrew **gold shekel** of 252 grs., and since the latter was the equivalent of 15 heavy Phœnician shekels, 2s. 9d. represents the value as bullion of the Hebrew **silver shekel.** Of course the purchasing power of both in Bible times, which is the real test of the value of money, was many times greater than their equivalents in sterling money at the present day.

The results as to weights and values above set forth may be presented in tabular form as follows:—

Denomination.	Weight.	Intrinsic Value.
GOLD—		
Shekel . . .	252$\frac{3}{4}$ grs. troy.	£2 1 0
Mina = 50 shekels	12,630 " "	102 10 0
Talent=3000 "	758,000 " "	6150 0 0
	(*circa* 108 lbs. avoir.)	
SILVER—		
Shekel . . .	224$\frac{1}{2}$ grs. troy.	0 2 9
Mina . . .	11,225 " "	6 16 8
	(*circa* 1 lb. 10 oz. avoir.)	
Talent . . .	673,500 grs. troy.	410 0 0
	(*circa* 96 lbs. avoir.)	

Since the effective weight of the extant shekels is somewhat under the theoretical weight above given, the intrinsic value of any number of shekels of silver may be found with sufficient accuracy by equating the shekel roughly with our half-crown (2s. 6d.).

Although we have literary and numismatic evidence for the gold and silver shekels of these tables only, it may now be regarded as certain that other standards were in use in Palestine in historic times for weighing the precious metals. The best attested is that which the present writer, in his article 'Weights and Measures' in Hastings' *DB* iv. 904 f., termed the 'Syrian 320-grain unit,' a shekel which is $\frac{1}{50}$th of a heavy Babylonian mina of 16,000 grains. That the light shekel of this standard, represented by the now familiar weights of 160 grains or thereby, inscribed *netseph*, was used for weighing silver or gold or both is evident from the small denominations which have been recovered, such as the quarter *netseph* of 40 grs., known as the Chaplin weight (see *op. cit.* and *PEFSt*, 1903, p. 197, 1904, p. 209 ff., and later years).

2. *Money in the pre-exilic period.*—Throughout the whole of this period, as has already been emphasized, in every transaction involving the payment of sums of considerable value, the money was reckoned by weight. Accordingly, when Abraham bought the field and cave of Machpelah he 'weighed to Ephron the silver . . . four hundred shekels of silver, current money with the merchant' (Gn 23^{16}). In view of what has just been said regarding the variety of standards in use in Palestine in early times, it would be unwise, in the present state of our knowledge, to pronounce as to the value of the price paid in this transaction. On the Phœnician standard it would be approximately £55 sterling; on the *netseph* standard, which stands to the Phœnician in the ratio of 5 : 7, it would be under £40. Similarly, the price which David paid for the threshing-floor of Araunah the Jebusite, 50 shekels of silver (2 S 24^{24}), will vary from £5 to £7 according to the standard adopted. On the other hand, where gold is concerned, as in the case of the 30 talents which Sennacherib 'appointed unto Hezekiah' (2 K 18^{14}), we may with some confidence assume the gold standard common to Palestine and Assyria. In this case Hezekiah's tribute will represent the respectable sum of £184,500.

A noteworthy feature of the entries of prices in the pre-exilic writings of the Hebrews is the disappearance of the mina, the sums being stated in terms of shekels and talents exclusively. Thus Abraham, as we have seen, paid 400 shekels, not 8 minas, to the children of Heth; the weight, and therefore the value, of Achan's 'wedge of gold' (see next paragraph) is given as 50 shekels, not as 1 mina, and so throughout.

In this period the precious metals circulated in three forms. The shekel, its subdivisions (cf. the quarter-shekel of 1 S 9^{8}) and smaller multiples, had the form of ingots of metal, without any stamp or other mark, so far as our evidence goes, as a guarantee of their purity and weight. Larger values were made up in the shape of bars, such as Schliemann discovered at Troy and Macalister found at Gezer (illust. *Bible Sidelights*, etc., fig. 36). The '**wedge** (lit. 'tongue') **of gold**' which Achan appropriated from the loot of Jericho (Jos 7^{21}) was probably such a thin bar of gold. Further, Rebekah's nose-ring of half a shekel of gold, and her bracelets of ten shekels (Gn 24^{22}), represent a third form which the metal currency of the early period might assume. The vases and other vessels of gold and silver which are so frequently mentioned in ancient tribute lists also, in all probability, represented definite weights and values.

To such an extent was the shekel the exclusive unit in all ordinary transactions, that the Hebrew writers frequently omit it in their statements of prices. This applies to gold as well as to silver, *e.g.* 2 K 5^{5} 'six thousand' of gold, where AV and RV supply 'pieces,' but RVm has the correct 'shekels' (cf. **silverling** [wh. see] in Is 7^{23}).

3. *Money in the Persian period: introduction of coins.*—In this period the money of the small Jewish community was still, as before the Exile, chiefly ingots and bars of the precious metals, without official mark of any kind. The addition of such a mark by the issuing authority serves as a public guarantee of the purity of the metal and the weight of the ingot, and transforms the latter into a coin. Coined money is usually regarded as the invention of the Lydians early in the 7th cent. B.C., but it is very improbable that any 'coins' reached Palestine before the fall of the Jewish State in B.C. 587. The first actual coins to reach Jeru-

salem were more probably those of Darius Hystaspis (B.C. 522–485), who struck two coins, the **daric** in gold, and the **siglos** or *síklos* (from *shekel*) in silver. The daric was a light shekel of 130 grains—7 grains heavier than our 'sovereign'—worth twenty-one shillings sterling. The siglos was really a half-shekel of 86½ grains, equal therefore to $\frac{1}{20}$th of the daric, on the ten-shekel basis set forth in § **1**, or a fraction more than a shilling.

In several passages of Chron., Ezr., and Neh. the RV has substituted 'darics' for AV '**drams**' (1 Ch 29^{7}, Ezr 2^{69}, Neh $7^{70ff.}$ etc.). But there are valid reasons (see 'Money' in Hastings' *DB* iii. 421) for retaining the older rendering in the sense, not of coins, but of weights. On the other hand, since Nehemiah was a Persian official, the 'forty shekels of silver' of Neh 5^{15} may be Persian sigloi, although they may with equal probability be regarded as shekels of the usual Phœnician standard. There is, of course, no question of the Jewish community striking silver coins of their own, this jealously guarded right being then, as always, 'the touchstone of sovereignty.'

In this period, however, the wealthy commercial cities on the Phœnician seaboard—Aradus, Sidon, Tyre, and others—acquired the right of issuing silver coins, which they naturally did on the native standard. The effective weight of these shekels or **tetradrachms**, as they are usually termed, averages about 220 grains, a few grains short of the normal 224. These coins have a special interest for the Bible student, from the fact that they are the numismatic representatives of '**the shekel of the sanctuary**,' which is prescribed in the Priests' Code as the monetary unit of the post-exilic community (see Lv 27^{25} 'all thy estimations shall be according to the shekel of the sanctuary'). In Ex 30^{13} and elsewhere this shekel is said to consist of 20 **gerahs**, which the Greek translators identified with the small silver obol of the Gr. coinage, 20 of which yield a shekel of 224 grains. Moreover, it is repeatedly stated in the Talmud that 'all payments according to the shekel of the sanctuary are to be made in Phœnician currency' (Mishna, *Bekhoroth*, viii. 7). For the mode of payment of the half-shekel tax for the Temple services see § **7**.

4. *Money in the period from Alexander to the Maccabees.*—Alexander's conquest of Syria was naturally followed by the introduction of his coinage in gold, silver, and bronze. On his death, Ptolemy I. established himself in Egypt, to which he soon added Palestine. During the following century (B.C. 301–198) the Jews had at their command the coins of the Ptolemaic dynasty, struck at Alexandria on the Phœnician standard, as well as those of the flourishing cities on the Mediterranean. The tribute paid by the Jews to the third Ptolemy did not exceed the modest sum of 20 talents of silver, or *circa* £4360.

In B.C. 198 Antiochus III. wrested Palestine from the Ptolemys. Now the Seleucids had continued Alexander's silver coinage on the Attic standard, the basis of which was the **drachm** of, originally, 67 grs., but the effective weight of the Syrian drachms and tetradrachms of this period is slightly below this standard, and may be valued at 11d. and 3s. 8d. respectively. The drachms (To 5^{14}, 2 Mac 4^{19} 12^{43}) and talents (6000 drachms) of the Books of Maccabees are to be regarded as on this Syrian-Attic standard.

5. *The first native coinage: the problem of the 'shekel of Israel.'*—In B.C. 139–138 Antiochus Sidetes granted to Simon Maccabæus the right to coin money (see 1 Mac $15^{5f.}$). 'The thorniest question of all Jewish numismatics,' as it has been called, is the question whether and to what extent Simon availed himself of this privilege. A series of silver shekels and half-shekels on the Phœnician standard, bearing dates from 'year 1' to 'year 5,' has long been known to students. They show on the obverse and reverse respectively a cup or chalice and a spike of a lily with three flowers. The legends in old Hebrew letters on the shekels are: obv. 'Shekel of Israel'; rev. 'Jerusalem the holy' (see illust. in plate accompanying art. 'Money' in Hastings' *DB* iii. Nos. 14, 15; Reinach, *Jewish Coins*, pl. ii.; and more fully in Madden's *Coins of the Jews*—the standard work on Jewish numismatics, 67 ff.). Only two alternatives are possible regarding the date of these famous coins. Either they belong to the governorship of Simon Maccabæus who died B.C. 135, or to the period of the great revolt against Rome, A.D. 66–70. The latest presentation of the arguments for the earlier date will be found in M. Theodore Reinach's book cited above. It is not a point in his favour, however, that he is compelled to assign the shekels of the year 5 to John Hyrcanus, Simon's son and successor.

The present writer is of opinion that the arguments he has advanced elsewhere in favour of the later date (*DB* iii. 424 f., 429 f.) still hold good. In this case the earliest Jewish coins will be certain small bronze coins struck by the above-mentioned Hyrcanus (B.C. 135–104), with the legend in minute old Hebrew characters: 'John, the high priest, and the commonwealth (*or* the executive) of the Jews.' The title of 'king' first appears on bronze coins of Alexander Jannæus—'Jonathan the king'—who also first introduced a Greek, in addition to a Hebrew, legend. No silver coins, it may be added, were struck by any of Simon's successors, or even by the more powerful and wealthier Herod. The bronzes of the latter present no new feature of interest.

6. *Money in Palestine under the Romans.*—From a numismatic point of view Judæa may be said to have formed a part of the Roman dominions from B.C. 53, from which date the Roman monetary unit, the silver **denarius**, with its subdivisions in copper, as quadrans, etc., was legal tender in Jerusalem. Since the denarius was almost equal in weight to the Syrian-Attic drachm (§ **4**)—the silver unit throughout the Seleucid empire—the two coins were regarded as of equal value, and four denarii were in ordinary business the equivalent of a tetradrachm of Antioch.

The Roman gold coin, the **aureus**, representing 25 denarii, varied in weight in NT times from 126 to 120 grains. Since a British 'sovereign' weighs a little over 123 grains, the aureus may for approximate calculations be reckoned at £1. Similarly the denarius from Augustus to Nero weighed 60 grs.—our sixpenny piece weighs 43.6 grs.—and was equal to 16 copper asses. To reach the monetary value of the denarius in sterling money, which is on a gold standard, we have only to divide the value of the gold aureus by 25, which gives 9⅜d., say *nine pence halfpenny* for convenience, or a French franc.

In addition to these two imperial coins, the system based on the Greek drachm was continued in the East, and both drachms and tetradrachms were issued from the imperial mint at Antioch. In our Lord's day Tyre still continued to issue silver and bronze coins, the former mainly tetradrachms or shekels on the old Phœnician standard (220–224 grs.). As the nearest equivalent of the Heb. shekel these Tyrian coins were much in demand for the payment of the Temple tax of one half-shekel (see next §). Besides all these, the procurators issued small bronze coins, probably the quadrans (¼ of an as), from their mint at Cæsarea, not to mention the numerous cities, such as Samaria-Sebaste, which had similar rights.

7. *The money of NT.*—This article may fitly close with a few notes on each of the various denominations mentioned in NT. The currency was in three metals: 'get you no gold nor silver nor brass (copper) in your purses' (Mt 10^{9} RV). Following this order we have (*a*) the gold **aureus** here referred to only indirectly. Its value was £1 (see § **6**). (*b*) The silver coin most frequently mentioned is the Roman **denarius** (AV and RV '**penny**,' Amer. RV, more correctly, 'shilling').

In value equal to a franc or 9½d., it was the day's wage of a Jewish labourer (Mt 20[2]). A typical denarius of our Lord's day, with which the Roman dues were paid (22[19]), would have on its obverse the head of the Emperor Tiberius, and for **'superscription'** the following legend in Latin: 'Tiberius Cæsar, the son of the deified Augustus, (himself) Augustus' (illust. No. 13 of plate in 'Money,' *DB* iii.). (*c*) The **drachm** on the Attic standard (§ **5**) is named only Lk 15[8]: 'what woman having ten drachms (EV **'pieces of silver'**), if she lose one drachm,' etc. In ordinary usage, as we have seen, it was the equivalent of the denarius, but for Government purposes it was tariffed at only ¾ of the denarius. The 50,000 'pieces of silver' (lit. **'silverlings'**) of Ac 19[19] were denarius-drachms. (*d*) Once there is mention of a **didrachm** (Mt 17[24] AV 'tribute money,' RV 'the half-shekel'), but this was a two-drachm piece on the Phœnician standard, and was now very rare. Accordingly it was usual for two persons to join forces in paying the Temple tax of a half-shekel by presenting a Phœnician tetradrachm. This is (*e*) the 'piece of money' of v.[27], which RV has properly rendered by 'shekel,' with the word of the original, **stater,** in the margin. The thirty 'pieces of silver' for which Judas betrayed his Lord were also most probably Tyrian tetradrachms. Although these by Government tariff would be equal to only 90 denarii, their ordinary purchasing power was then equal to 120 denarii or francs, say **£4,** 16s. of our money.

Passing to the copper coins of the Gospels, we find three denominations in the original, the *lepton,* the *kodrantes,* and the *assarion,* rendered in Amer. RV by 'mite,' 'farthing,' and 'penny' respectively. Our EV, unfortunately, renders both the two last by 'farthing,' having used 'penny' for the denarius. There are great difficulties in the way of identifying these among the copper coins that have come down to us (for details see Hastings' *DB* iii. 428 f., *EBi* iii. 3647). (*f*) The *lepton,* the widow's **mite** (Mk 12[42], Lk 21[2]), was the smallest coin in circulation, probably one of the minute Maccabæan bronzes. Its value was between ¼ and ⅛ of an English farthing. (*g*) Two mites made a *kodrantes* (Lat. *quadrans*), the 'uttermost **farthing'** of Mt 5[26], which was either the actual Roman quadrans or its equivalent among the local bronze coins. As ¼ of the denarius, it was worth a trifle more than half a farthing. (*h*) The *assarion* is the **'farthing'** (Amer. RV **'penny'**) associated with the price of sparrows (Mt 10[29], Lk 12[6]), and was a copper coin on the Greek system, probably the *dichalkus,* of which in ordinary business 24 went to the denarius-drachm. Its value would thus be about ½ of a penny. The relative values of the three coins may be represented by ⅛, ¼, and ½ of a penny respectively.

There remain the two larger denominations, the talent and the pound or mina, neither of which was any longer, as in the earlier period, a specific weight of bullion, but a definite sum of money. (*i*) The **talent** now contained 6000 denarius-drachms, which made 240 aurei or £240 (so Mt 18[24] RVm). It is not always realized, perhaps, how vast was the difference in the amounts owing in this parable (18[23ff.]). The one servant owed 100 denarii, the other 10,000 talents or sixty million denarii. The one debt, occupying little more space than 100 sixpences, could be carried in the pocket; for the payment of the other, an army of nearly 8600 carriers, each with a sack 60 lbs. in weight, would be required. If these were placed in single file, a yard apart, the train would be almost five miles in length! (*j*) The **pound,** finally, of another parable (Lk 19[12ff.]) was a mina, the sixtieth part of a talent, in other words 100 denarius-drachms or £4 sterling.

For the later coinage of the Jews, which was confined to the two periods of revolt against the Roman power, in A.D. 66–70 and 132–135, in addition to what has been said above (§ **5**) regarding the shekels and half-shekels here assumed to belong to the first revolt, see Madden and Reinach, *opp. citt.*; Schürer, *GJV*[3] i. 761 ff.; and Hastings' *DB* iii. 429–431. A. R. S. Kennedy.

MONEY-CHANGERS.—How indispensable were the services of the 'money-changers' (Mt 21[12], Mk 11[15]), 'changers of money' (Jn 2[14]), 'changers' (v.[15]), and 'exchangers' (Mt 25[27] AV, RV **'bankers'**) in the first century of our era in Palestine may be seen from the summary of the varied currencies of the period in the preceding article (§§ **6. 7**). The Jewish money-changer, like his modern counterpart the *sarrâf* (for whom see *PEFSt,* 1904, p. 49 ff., where the complexity of exchange in the Palestine of to-day is graphically set forth), changed the large denominations into the smaller, giving denarii, for example, for tetradrachms, and gave silver for gold, copper for silver. An important department of his business was the exchange of foreign money and even money of the country of a non-Phœnician standard for shekels and half-shekels on this standard, the latter alone being accepted in payment of the Temple dues (cf. money, §§ **4. 6. 7**). It was mainly for the convenience of the Jews of the Dispersion that the changers were allowed to set up their tables in the outer court of the Temple (Mt 21[12ff.]). The wealthier members of the profession, the **'exchangers'** (RV **'bankers'**) of Mt 25[27] (cf. Lk 19[23]), received money on deposit for purposes of investment, on which interest was paid (see Usury).

The money-changers had constantly to be on their guard against false money. This gives point to the frequently quoted unwritten saying (*agraphon*) of our Lord to His disciples: 'Be ye expert money-changers'—be skilful in distinguishing true doctrine from false.

A. R. S. Kennedy.

MONTH.—See Time.

MONUMENT.—Is 65[4], 'which remain among the graves and lodge in the monuments,' that is, among the tombs. In the Rhemish Version 'monument' is the usual word for tomb or sepulchre, after Vulg. *monumentum.* The reference in Is. is to the custom of obtaining oracles by incubation, that is, spending the night in subterranean sacred places.

MOOLI (1 Es 8[47]) =**Mahli,** Ezr 8[18].

MOON.—The moon is 'the lesser light to rule the night' of the cosmogony of Genesis (1[16]). Its importance was in part due to the recurrence of its phases, which formed a measure for time. Each **new moon,** as it appeared, marked the commencement of a new period, and so in Hebrew the word for 'moon' and 'month' is the same. Sun and moon occur side by side in passages of Scripture, and to the moon as well as to the sun is ascribed a fertilizing power over and above the gift of light which comes from them to the earth. Just as we have in Dt 33[14] 'the precious things of the fruits of the sun,' so we have there 'the precious things of the growth of the moons.' As a consequence of this, the re-appearance of the new moon was eagerly looked for, and trumpets were blown and sacrifices offered on the day of the new moon. We gather also from Ps 81[3] (RV) that something of a similar kind took place at the **full moon.** The moon took its part with the sun in one of Joseph's dreams when it 'made obeisance' to him (Gn 37[9]); and it stood still, 'in the valley of Aijalon,' at the command of Joshua, at the battle of Gibeon (Jos 10[12. 13]; cf. Hab 3[11]). Language which must have been derived from the appearance of the moon during **eclipses** is used by the prophets. The moon is to be darkened or turned into blood (Jl 2[10. 31]) before 'the day of the Lord'; and similar language is used by our Lord (*e.g.* Mk 13[24]). We are told of the redeemed Zion that the light of the moon is to be as the light of the sun (Is 30[26]), and that there is to be no need of the moon, because the glory of God is to be the light of His people (Is 60[19]; cf. Rev 21[23]). Cautions against the worship of the moon, and punishment by death for the convicted worshippers, are to be found in Dt 4[19] 17[3];

whilst a superstitious salutation of the moon by kissing the hand, not quite unheard of even in our own day, is mentioned in Job 31[26. 27]. Moon-worship by the burning of incense was offered in Jerusalem, and put down by Josiah (2 K 23[5]).

Mount Sinai is supposed to have derived its name from the moon-god *Sin*, to whom worship was paid there.

For the worship of the **'queen of heaven,'** see under Stars.

In the OT we meet more than once with crescent-shaped ornaments (Jg 8[21], Is 3[18]); whether these are an indication of the worship of the moon is uncertain.

It has been always considered baneful in the bright clear atmosphere of the warmer regions of the earth to sleep exposed to the rays of the moon (Ps 121[6]). The influence of the earth's satellite has long been considered hurtful. Our word **'lunatic'** reproduces the idea of the Western world of our Lord's time, that lunacy was due to the influence of the moon: the Greek word used in Mt 4[24] 17[15] shows this. In the RV the word is translated 'epileptic.' There are many still to be found who believe that the violence and recurrence of epileptic fits vary with the phases of the moon. H. A. Redpath.

MOOSSIAS (1 Es 9[31]) = **Maaseiah,** Ezr 10[30].

MOPH.—See Memphis.

MORALITY.—See Ethics.

MORASHTITE.—A gentilic adjective used to designate the prophet Micah (Mic 1[1], Jer 26[18]), probably derived from Moresheth-gath (wh. see). Cf. Micah, p. 614[a] f.

MORDECAI.—**1.** A cousin (?) of queen Esther, who thwarted Haman's plot against the Jews. See Esther and Esther [Book of]. **2.** One of those who returned with Zerub. (Ezr 2[2], Neh 7[7]); called in 1 Es 5[8] **Mardocheus.**

MOREH, the Hiphil participle from *yārāh*, means 'teacher' or 'one who gives direction' (2 K 17[28], Is 30[20] etc.), and so is applied to a prophet (Is 9[15]). Sitting in the shelter of a sacred tree, the priest or seer delivered his direction or 'oracles.' **1. The terebinth** (AV, wrongly, 'plain') of **Moreh** (Gn 12[6]) may have been so named from the theophany vouchsafed to Abraham there. The same spot may be indicated by the terebinths of Moreh (Dt 11[30]), mentioned as indicating the position of Ebal and Gerizim. From their conjunction with Gilgal it has been suggested that the *gilgal* ('stone circle') and the terebinths were parts of the same sanctuary. There may be a reference to this place in Gn 35[4], in Jos 24[26], possibly also in Jg 9[6]. Gilgal (Dt 11[30]) may be *Khirbet Juleijel*, fully 1½ mile E. of Jacob's Well. But this would not fix with certainty the position of the sanctuary of the terebinth.

2. The hill of Moreh (Jg 7[1]) seems to have lain to the N. of the position occupied by Gideon, in the direction of the camp of the Midianites. Taking the narrative as it stands, the Midianites 'pitched in the valley of Jezreel' (6[33]), while Gideon held the lower spurs of Gilboa towards Jezreel. 'The spring of Harod' is with some probability identified with *'Ain Jalūd*. The conspicuous hill on the other side of the vale, *Jebel ed-Duhy*, popularly now called Little Hermon, round the W. flanks of which, and northward in the plain, the Midianites would spread, may be almost certainly identified with the Hill of Moreh. The article with Moreh suggests the presence of a sanctuary on the hill. This may be represented by the modern shrine of *Neby Duhy*. Questions have been raised by the condition of the Heb. text, but no more probable identification has been suggested. Cf. Moreh. W. Ewing.

MORESHETH-GATH.—Mic 1[14] only. It was probably the birth-place of the prophet Micah (Mic 1[1], Jer 26[18]), and must have been in the Shephēlah. The *Onomasticon* locates it east of, and near to, Eleutheropolis.

MORIAH.—**1. The name.**—In Gn 22[2] Abraham was commanded to go 'into *the land of the Moriah*,' and to sacrifice Isaac upon 'one of the mountains' which God would tell him of. The derivation of the name is obscure. The Peshitta (Syriac) version reads 'of the Amorites,' which may possibly be the true reading. The narrator (E), however, in v.[14] appears to connect it with the verb 'to see' (which is etymologically impossible), and some of the early translators do the same in their rendering of the name in v.[2]. The Targumists emphasized the *worship* of Abraham at the spot, perhaps connecting the name with the verb 'to fear'—which is equally impossible.

2. The place.—The proverb recorded in v.[14] clearly implies that the writer thought that Isaac was offered on the Temple mount at Jerusalem. And hence the Chronicler (2 Ch 3[1]) names the Temple hill 'Mount Moriah.' From a spiritual point of view, the analogy often drawn between the offering of Isaac and the death of Christ makes the identification very suggestive. But Gn 22[4] certainly contemplates a mountain at a much greater distance from the Philistine country, and much more conspicuous, than the Jerusalem hill. There is some similarity between the names Moriah and **Moreh,** the latter of which was at Shechem (Gn 12[6], Dt 11[30]), close to the hills Gerizim and Ebal. And it may have been owing to this that the Samaritans claimed Gerizim as Abraham's mountain (cf. Jn 4[20]). Geographically, it would suit the description in Gn 22[4]; but there is no real evidence for the identification. If the Syriac reading 'Amorites' be adopted, the locality of the mountain is entirely unknown, since the name is a general term employed by E to denote the Canaanite natives of Palestine. A. H. M'Neile.

MORNING.—See Time.

MORTAR (AV 'morter').—See House, §§ **1. 4**, and cf. Bitumen.

MORTAR AND PESTLE.—The use, from the earliest times, of the mortar and pestle for crushing the grains of the cultivated cereals, for the preparation of spices, and probably, as at the present day, for pounding meat and vegetables (see the Comm. on Pr 27[22]) is attested by the constant occurrence of these articles in the remains of places recently excavated in Palestine. The mortars found at Gezer, as elsewhere, 'are simply heavy stones, a foot or two across, in whose upper surface a hemispherical hollow is cut. The pestles are cylindrical with [convex] bases, which not infrequently display marks of rough treatment (*PEFSt*, 1903, 118; illus. in Bliss, *Mound of Many Cities*, 85; Bliss and Macalister, *Excavations in Palestine*, Plates 72, 73).

The manna is expressly said to have been beaten in mortars as well as ground in mills (Nu 11[8]). Their use is implied for pounding certain spices (Ex 30[36]) and for the 'bruised corn' for the meal-offering of the first-fruits (Lv 2[14] RV). Copper mortars are also mentioned in later literature, and in Herod's Temple the incense was pounded in mortars of gold. From the Mishna (*Baba bathra*, iv. 3) we learn that it was customary to have larger mortars fixed into the floor of the house.

In Babylon, when a house was built, the seller handed the pestle of the house-mortar to the purchaser, in token of the conveyance of the house to its new owner. Hence the frequent occurrence, in deeds of sale, of the words 'the pestle has been handed over.' Cf. art. Shoe.

A. R. S. Kennedy.

MORTIFY.—'To mortify' is in AV metaphorically 'to put to death.' Early writers could use it literally also, as Erasmus, *Commune Crede*, 81, 'Christ was mortified, and killed in dede, as touchynge to his fleshe; but was quickened in spirite.'

MOSERAH, MOSEROTH.—Moserah is named in Dt 10[6] as the place where Aaron died and was buried: Moseroth in Nu 33[30. 31] as a 'station' on the route to Mt. Hor. Its location is quite uncertain.

MOSES.—1. Name.—The Hebrew narrator regards *Mōsheh* as a participle from the vb. *māshāh*, 'to draw' Ex (2^{10}). Jos. and Philo derive it from the Copt. *mo* 'water,' and *ushe* 'saved'; this is implied in their spelling *Mouses*, also found in LXX and NT. It is more plausible to connect the name with the Egyptian *mes, mesu*, 'son.' Perhaps it was originally coupled with the name of an Egyp. deity—cf. *Ra-mesu, Thoth-mes*, and others—which was omitted under the influence of Israelite monotheism.

2. History.—(i.) *The narrative of J.*—Moses killed an Egyptian, and rebuked one of two Israelites who were striving together, and then he fled to Midian. There he helped seven daughters of the priest of Midian to water their flocks, dwelt with him, married his daughter Zipporah, and had one son by her, named Gershom (Ex 2$^{11-22}$). The king of Egypt died (2^{23a}), and at J″'s bidding Moses returned. On the way, J″ smote him because he had not been circumcised before marriage; but Zipporah saved him by circumcising the child, and thus circumcising Moses by proxy (4$^{19.\ 24-26}$. These verses must be put back to this point). J″ appeared in the burning bush and spoke to Moses. Moses was to gather the elders, give them J″'s message, and demand permission from Pharaoh to sacrifice in the wilderness. Moses was given two signs to persuade the Israelites, and yet a third if the two were insufficient (3$^{2-4a.\ 5.\ 7.\ 8a.\ 16-18}$ 4$^{1-9}$). J″ was angry at his continued diffidence. Moses spoke to the elders and they believed; and then they made their demand to Pharaoh, which led to his increased severity (4$^{10-12.\ 29-31}$ 5$^{3.\ 5.\ 23}$ 6^{1}). Plagues were sent, the death of the fish in the river (7$^{14.\ 16.\ 17a.\ 18.\ 21a.\ 24f.}$), frogs (8$^{1-4.\ 8-15a}$), flies ($^{20-32}$), murrain (9$^{1-7}$), hail ($^{13.\ 17f.\ 23b.\ 24b.\ 25b-34}$), locusts (10$^{1a.\ 3-11.\ 13b.\ 14b.\ 15a.\ c.\ 16-19}$). See PLAGUES OF EGYPT. Pharaoh bade Israel go with their families, but refused to allow them animals for sacrifice; so Moses announced the death of the firstborn (10$^{24-26.\ 28f.}$ 11$^{4-8}$). At a later time Israelite thought connected with the Exodus certain existing institutions. The ordinances relating to them were preserved by J, but their present position is due to redaction, and the result is a tangled combination in chs. 12. 13 of ordinance and narrative: the ritual of the Passover (12$^{21-23.\ 27b}$), the death of the firstborn and the hurried flight of the Israelites ($^{29-34.\ 37-39}$), commands concerning the Feast of Unleavened Cakes (13$^{3a.\ 4.\ 6f.\ 10}$), and the offering of firstlings (13$^{11-13}$). J″ went before the people in a pillar of cloud and fire (13$^{21f.}$), the water was crossed (14$^{5f.\ 7b.\ 10a.\ 11-14.\ 19b.\ 21b.\ 24.\ 25b.\ 27b.\ 28b.\ 30}$), and Moses sang praise (15^{1}). Moses made the water at Marah fresh (15^{22-25a}), and thence they moved to Elim (^{27}). Fragments of J's story of Massah are preserved (17$^{3.\ 2c.\ 7a.\ c}$), and parts of the account of the visit of Moses' father-in-law, which it is difficult to separate from E (18$^{7-11}$). The narratives attached to the delivery of the laws of Sinai are in an extraordinarily confused state, but with a few exceptions the parts which are due to J can be recognized with some confidence. The theophany occurred (19^{18}), and Moses was bidden to ascend the mountain, where J″ gave him directions respecting precautions to be taken (19$^{20-22.\ 24.\ 11b-13.\ 25}$) [v.^{23} is a redactional addition of a remarkable character; due to $^{11b-13}$ having been misplaced]. Moses stayed forty days and nights on the mountain (34^{28a}); J″ descended, and Moses 'invoked the name of J″' (^{5}). The laws given to him are fragmentarily preserved ($^{10-26}$). J″ commanded him to write them down (^{27}), and he obeyed (^{28b}).

The reason for the insertion of the laws so late in the book was that the compiler of JE, finding laws in both J and E, and noticing the strong similarity between them, considered the J laws to be the *renewal* of the covenant broken by the people's apostasy. Hence the editorial additions in 34^{1} (from 'like unto the first') and in v.^{4} ('like unto the first').

A solemn ceremony sealed the covenant (24$^{1f.\ 9-11}$). Something then occurred which roused the wrath of J″; it is doubtful if the original narrative has been preserved; but J has inserted a narrative which apparently explains the reason for the choice of Levites for Divine service (32$^{25-29}$). Moses interceded for the people (the vv. to be read in the following order, 33$^{1-4a.\ 17.\ 12f.\ 18-23}$ 34$^{6-9}$ 33$^{14-16}$). J″ having been propitiated, Israel left the mountain, and Moses asked Hobab to accompany them (Nu 10$^{29-36}$). Being weary of manna, they were given quails, which caused a plague (11$^{4-15.\ 18-24a.\ 31-35}$). Dathan and Abiram rebelled (ascribed by different comm. to J and to E, 16$^{1b.\ 2a.\ 12-15.\ 25f.\ 27b-32a.\ 33f.}$). Fragments of the Meribah narrative at Kadesh appear to belong to J (20$^{3a.\ 5.\ 8b}$). Moses sent spies through the S. of Palestine as far as Hebron. Caleb alone encouraged the people, and he alone was allowed to enter Canaan (13$^{17b.\ 18b.\ 19.\ 22.\ 27a.\ 28.\ 30.\ 31}$ 14$^{1b.\ 8.\ 9.\ 11-24.\ 31}$). Moses promised that Hebron should be Caleb's possession (Jos 14$^{6-14}$). The Canaanites were defeated at Hormah (perh. a later stratum of J, Nu 21$^{1-3}$). Israel marched by Edom to Moab, and conquered Heshbon and other cities (21$^{16-20.\ 24b.\ 25.\ 31.\ 32}$). The story of Balaam (parts of 22–24). Israel sinned with the Moabite women, and Moses hanged the chiefs (25$^{1b.\ 2.\ 3b.\ 4}$). Moses viewed the land from the top of Pisgah, and was buried in Moab (parts of Dt 34$^{1-6}$).

(ii.) *The narrative of E.*—The midwives rescued Israelite infants (Ex 1$^{15-20a.\ 21}$). Moses' birth; his discovery and adoption by Pharaoh's daughter (2$^{1-10}$). Moses was feeding Jethro's sheep in Midian, when God called to him from a bush at Horeb, and told him to deliver Israel. He revealed His name 'Ehyeh,' and promised that Israel should triumphantly leave Egypt (3$^{1.\ 4b.\ 6.\ 9-12.\ 13f.\ 21f.}$). Moses returned to Egypt, meeting Aaron on the way; they made their demand to Pharaoh, and were refused (4$^{17f.\ 20b.\ 27f.}$ 5$^{1f.\ 4}$). Moses, by means of his Divinely given staff, brought plagues—the turning of the river to blood (7$^{15.\ 17b.\ 20b.\ 23}$), the hail (9$^{22.\ 23a.\ 24a.\ 25a.\ 35}$), the locusts (10$^{12.\ 13a.\ 14a.\ 15b.\ 20}$), the darkness ($^{21-23.\ 27}$). Moses was bidden to advise the Israelites to obtain gold, etc., from the Egyptians (11$^{1-3}$), which they did (12$^{35f.}$). They departed, taking with them Joseph's mummy (13$^{17-19}$). They crossed the water (fragments are preserved from E's account, 13$^{7a.\ c.\ 10b.\ 15a.\ 16a.\ 19a.\ 25a}$), and Miriam sang praise (15$^{20.\ 21}$). On emerging into the desert, they were given manna; it is possible that E originally connected this event with the name *massah*, 'proving' (15$^{25b.}$ 16$^{4.\ 15}$) Then follows E's Meribah narrative, combined with J's Massah narrative (17$^{1b.\ 2a.\ 4-6.\ 7b}$). Israel fought with Amalek under Joshua's leadership, while Aaron and Hur held up Moses' hands with the sacred staff (17$^{8-16}$). Jethro visited the Israelites with Moses' wife and two sons; he arranged sacrifices, and a sacrificial feast, in which the elders of Israel took part (18$^{1a.\ 5f.\ 12}$). Seeing Moses overburdened with the duty of giving decisions, he advised him to delegate smaller matters to inferior officers; and Moses followed his advice. Jethro departed to his own home (18$^{12-27}$). Preparations were made for the theophany (19$^{2b.\ 3a.\ 9a.\ 10.\ 11a.\ 14f.}$), which then took place ($^{16f.\ 19}$ 20$^{18-21}$). Laws preserved by E and later members of his school of thought are grouped together in chs. 20–23 (see EXODUS, LAW). In the narratives in which the laws are set, two strata, E and E$_2$, are perceptible, the latter supplying the narrative portions connected with the Ten Words of 20$^{1-17}$. E relates the ceremony which sealed the covenant (24$^{3-8}$); the usual practice of Moses with regard to the 'Tent of Tryst,' where God used to meet with any one who wished to inquire of Him (33$^{7-11}$); and the people's act of repentance for some sin which E has not preserved (33^{6}). E$_2$ relates as follows: Moses told the people the Ten Words, and they promised obedience (19$^{7f.}$; this must follow 20$^{1-17}$). Moses ascended the mountain to receive the written Words, leaving the people in the charge of Aaron and Hur (24^{13-15a} 31^{18b}). During his absence Aaron made the

golden bull, and Moses, when he saw it, brake the tablets of stone and destroyed the image; Aaron offered a feeble excuse, and J″ smote the people (32[1-6. 15a. 16-24. 35]). Moses' intercession has not been preserved in E, but it is supplied by a late hand in 32[30-34]. We here resume the narrative of E. After the departure from Horeb a fire from J″ punished the people for murmuring (Nu 11[1-3]). At the 'Tent of Tryst' J″ took of Moses' spirit and put it upon 70 elders who prophesied, including Eldad and Medad, who did not leave the camp; Joshua objected to the two being thus favoured, but was rebuked by Moses ([16f. 24-30]). Miriam and Aaron spoke against Moses for having married a foreign woman and then for claiming to have received Divine revelations; Miriam became leprous, but was healed at Moses' intercession (12). On Dathan and Abiram (16) see above, under J. Miriam died at Kadesh (20[1]). Twelve spies were sent, who brought back a large cluster of grapes, but said that the natives were numerous and powerful (13[18a. c. 20. 23f. 26b. 27b. 29. 33]). The people determined to return to Egypt under another captain (14[1b. 3f.]). [Here occurs a lacuna, which is partially supplied by Dt 1[19-46], probably based on E.] Against Moses' wish the people advanced towards Canaan, but were routed by the Amalekites and other natives (14[39-45]). Edom refused passage through their territory (20[14-21]). Aaron died at Moserah, and was succeeded by Eleazar (Dt 10[6]). Serpents plagued the people for their murmuring, and Moses made the serpent of bronze (Nu 21[4b-9]). Israel marched by Edom to Moab, and vanquished Sihon (21[11b-15. 21-24a. 27-30]); the story of Balaam (part 22–24). Israel worshipped Baal-peor, and Moses bade the judges hang the offenders (25[1a. 3a. 5]). J″ warned Moses that he was about to die, and Moses appointed Joshua to succeed him (Dt 31[14f. 23]). Moses died in Moab, and his tomb was unknown. He was the greatest prophet in Israel (Dt 34[5. 6b. 10]).

(iii.) *The narrative of D* is based upon the earlier sources, which it treats in a hortatory manner, dwelling upon the religious meaning of history, and its bearing upon life and morals, and Israel's attitude to God. There are a few additional details, such as are suitable to a retrospect (*e.g.* 1[6-8. 16f. 20f. 29-31 3[21f. 23-28]]), and there are certain points on which the tradition differs more or less widely from those of JE; see Driver, *Deut.* p. xxxv f. But D supplies nothing of importance to our knowledge of Moses' life and character.

(iv.) *The narrative of P.*—Israel was made to serve the Egyptians 'with rigour' (Ex 1[7. 13. 14b]). When the king died, J″ heard their sighing, and remembered His covenant (2[23-25]). He revealed to Moses His name Jahweh, and bade him tell the Israelites that they were to be delivered (6[2-9]). Moses being diffident, Aaron his brother was given to be his 'prophet' (6[10-12] 7[1-7]). [The genealogy of Moses and Aaron is given in a later stratum of P, 6[14-25].] Aaron turned his staff into a 'reptile' before Pharaoh (7[8-13]). By Aaron's instrumentality with Moses plagues were sent—all the water in Egypt turned into blood (7[19. 20a. 21b. 22]); frogs (8[5-7. 15b]); gnats or mosquitoes ([16-19]); boils (9[8-12]). [As in J, commands respecting religious institutions are inserted in connexion with the Exodus: Passover (12[1-13. 24. 28. 43-50]), Unleavened cakes ([14-20]), Dedication of firstborn (13[1f.]).] The Israelites went to Etham (13[20]) and thence to the Red Sea. The marvel of the crossing is heightened, the waters standing up in a double wall (14[1-4. 8f. 15b. 16b-18. 21a. c. 22f. 26. 27a. 28a]). In the wilderness of Sin the people murmured, and manna was sent; embedded in the narrative are fragments of P's story of the quails (16, exc. vv.[4. 15]). They moved to Rephidim (17[1a]), and thence to Sinai (19[1. 2a]). After seven days J″ called Moses into the cloud (24[15b-18a]) and gave him instructions with regard to the Tabernacle and its worship (25–31[17]), and also gave him the Tablets of the Testimony (31[18a]). [Other laws ascribed to Divine communication with Moses are collected in Lev. and parts of Num.] When Moses descended, his face shone, so that he veiled it when he was not alone in J″'s presence (34[29-35]). A census was taken of the fighting men preparatory to the march, and the writer takes occasion to enlarge upon the organization of the priestly and Levitical families (Nu 1–4). The cloud which descended upon the Tabernacle was the signal for marching and camping (9[15-23]), and the journey began (10[11-28]). With the story of Dathan and Abiram (see above) there are entwined two versions of a priestly story of rebellion—(1) *Korah* and 250 princes, all of them laymen, spoke against Moses and Aaron for claiming, in their capacity of Levites, a sanctity superior to that of the rest of the congregation. (2) *Korah* and the princes were Levites, and they attacked Aaron for exalting priests above Levites (parts of 16). The former version has its sequel in 17; Moses and Aaron were vindicated by the budding of the staff for the tribe of Levi. In the wilderness of Zin Moses struck the rock, with an angry exclamation to the murmuring people, and water flowed; Moses and Aaron were rebuked for *lack of faith* [the fragments of the story do not make it clear wherein this consisted], and they were forbidden to enter Canaan (parts of 20[1a. 2-13]). Joshua, Caleb, and ten other spies were sent from the wilderness of Paran; the two former alone brought a good account of the land, and they alone were permitted to enter Canaan; the other ten died by a plague (parts of 13. 14; see above under J and E). Aaron died at Mt. Hor (20[22b-29]). Israel marched by Edom to Moab (20[22] 21[4a. 10. 11a]). Phinehas was promised 'an everlasting priesthood' for his zeal in punishing an Israelite who had brought a Midianite woman into the camp (25[6-15]). All the last generation having died except Joshua and Caleb, a second census was taken by Moses and Eleazar (26). Moses appointed Joshua to succeed him (27). The Midianites were defeated and Balaam was slain (31). Moses died on Mt. Nebo, aged 120 (Dt 34[1a. 7-9]).

3. Historicity.—In the OT, there are presented to us the varying fortunes of a Semitic people who found their way into Palestine, and were strong enough to settle in the country in defiance of the native population. Although the invaders were greatly in the minority as regards numbers, they were knit together by an *esprit de corps* which made them formidable. And this was the outcome of a strong religious belief which was common to all the branches of the tribe—the belief that every member of the tribe was under the protection of the same God, Jahweh. And when it is asked from what source they gained this united belief, the analogy of other religions suggests that it probably resulted from the influence of some strong personality. *The existence and character of the Hebrew race require such a person as Moses to account for them.* But while the denial that Moses was a real person is scarcely within the bounds of sober criticism, it does not follow that all the *details* related of him are literally true to history. What Prof. Driver says of the patriarchs in Genesis is equally true of Moses in Ex., Nu.: 'The basis of the narratives in Genesis is in fact *popular oral tradition*; and that being so, we may expect them to display the characteristics which popular oral tradition does in other cases. They may well include a substantial historical nucleus; but details may be due to the involuntary action of popular invention or imagination, operating during a long period of time; characteristic anecdotes, reflecting the feelings, and explaining the relations, of a later age may thus have become attached to the patriarchs; phraseology and expression will nearly always be ascribed rightly to the narrators who cast these traditions into their present literary shape' (art. 'Jacob' in *DB* ii. 534[b]).

Moses is portrayed under three chief aspects—as (i.) a Leader, (ii.) the Promoter of the religion of J″, (iii.) Lawgiver, and 'Prophet' or moral teacher.

(i.) *Moses as Leader.*—Some writers think that there

is evidence which shows that the Israelites who went to Egypt at the time of the famine did not comprise the whole nation. Whether this be so or not, however, there is no sufficient reason for doubting the Hebrew tradition of an emigration to Egypt. Again, if Israelites obtained permission—as foreign tribes are known to have done—to occupy pasture land within the Egyptian frontier, there could be nothing surprising if some of them were pressed into compulsory building labour; for it was a common practice to employ foreigners and prisoners in this manner. But in order to rouse them, and knit them together, and persuade them to escape, a leader was necessary. If, therefore, it is an historical fact that they were in Egypt, and partially enslaved, it is more likely than not that the account of their deliverance by Moses also has an historical basis. It is impossible, in a short article, to discuss the evidence in detail. It is in the last degree unsafe to dogmatize on the extent to which the narratives of Moses' life are historically accurate. In each particular the decision resolves itself into a balance of probabilities. But that Moses was not an individual, but stands for a tribe or group of tribes, and that the narratives which centre round him are entirely legendary, are to the present writer pure assumptions, unscientific and uncritical. The minuteness of personal details, the picturesqueness of the scenes described, the true touches of character, and the necessity of accounting for the emergence of Israel from a state of scattered nomads into that of an organized tribal community, are all on the side of those who maintain that *in its broad outlines* the account of Moses' leadership is based upon fact.

(ii.) *Moses as the Promoter of the religion of Jahweh.*—Throughout the OT, with the exception of Ezk 40–48, the forms and ceremonies of J″ worship observed in every age are attributed to the teaching of Moses. It is to be noticed that the earliest writer (J) uses the name 'Jahweh' from his very first sentence (Gn 2^{4b}) and onwards, and assumes that J″ was known and worshipped by the ancestors of the race; and in Ex. he frequently employs the expression 'J″ the God of the Hebrews' (3^{18} 5^{3} 7^{16} $9^{1.\ 13}$ 10^{3}). But, in agreement with E and P, he ascribes to Moses a new departure in J″ worship inaugurated at Sinai. E and P relate that the Name was a new revelation to Moses when he was exiled in Midian, and that he taught it to the Israelites in Egypt. And yet in 3^{6} E represents J″ as saying to Moses, 'I am the God of thy father' [the God of Abraham, the God of Isaac, and the God of Jacob (unless this clause is a later insertion, as in $15^{f.}$ 4^{5})]. And in 6^{3} P states categorically that God appeared unto Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, but He was not known to them by His name 'Jahweh.' All the sources, therefore, imply that Moses did not teach a totally new religion; but he put before the Israelites a new aspect of their religion; he defined more clearly the relation in which they were to stand to God: they were to think of Him in a peculiar sense as *their* God. When we go further and inquire whence Moses derived the name **'Jahweh,'** we are landed in the region of conjectures. Two points, however, are clear: (1) that the God whose name was 'Jahweh' had, before Moses' time, been conceived of as dwelling on the sacred mountain Horeb or Sinai ($3^{1-5.\ 12}$ 19^{4}); (2) that He was worshipped by a branch of the Midianites named Kenites (Jg 1^{16} 4^{11}), of whom Jethro was a priest (Ex 3^{1} 18^{1}). From these facts two conjectures have been made. Some have supposed that Moses learned the name 'Jahweh' from the Midianites; that He was therefore a foreign God as far as the Israelites were concerned; and that, after hearing His name for the first time from Moses in Egypt, they journeyed to the sacred mountain and were there admitted by Jethro into the Kenite worship by a sacrificial feast at which Jethro officiated. But it is hardly likely that the Israelites, enslaved in Egypt, could have been so rapidly roused and convinced by Moses' proclamation of an entirely new and foreign deity. The action taken by Jethro in organizing the sacrifice might easily arise from the fact that he was in his own territory, and naturally acted as host towards the strangers. The other conjecture, which can claim a certain plausibility, is that J″ was a God recognized by Moses' own tribe of Levi. From Ex $4^{24.\ 27}$ it is possible to suppose that Aaron was not in Egypt, but in the vicinity of Horeb, which he already knew as the 'mountain of God.' If Moses' family, or the tribe of Levi, and perhaps (as some conjecture) the Rachel tribes, together with the Midianite branch of Semites, were already worshippers of J″, Moses' work would consist in proclaiming as the God of the whole body of Israelites Him whose help and guidance a small portion of them had already experienced. If either of these conjectures is valid, it only puts back a stage the question as to the ultimate origin of the name 'Jahweh.' But whatever the origin may have been, it is difficult to deny to Moses the glory of having united the whole body of Israelites in the single cult which excluded all other deities.

(iii.) *Moses as Prophet and Lawgiver.*—If Moses taught the Israelites to worship J″, it may safely be assumed that he laid down some rules as to the method and ritual of His worship. But there is abundant justification for the belief that he also gave them injunctions which were not merely ritual. It is quite arbitrary to assume that the prophets of the 8th cent. and onwards, who preached an ethical standard of religion, preached something entirely new, though it is probable enough that their own ethical feeling was purer and deeper than any to which the nation had hitherto attained. The prophets always held up a lofty ideal as something which the nation had *failed to reach*, and proclaimed that for this failure the sinful people were answerable to a holy God. And since human nature is alike in all ages, there must have been at least isolated individuals, more high-souled than the masses around them, who strove to live up to the light they possessed. And as the national history of Israel postulates a leader, and their religion postulates a great personality who drew them, as a body, into the acceptance of it, so the ethical morality which appears in the laws of Exodus, and in a deeper and intenser form in the prophets, postulates a teacher who instilled into the nucleus of the nation the germs of social justice, purity, and honour. Moses would have been below the standard of an ordinary sheik if he had not given decisions on social matters, and Ex 18 pictures him as so doing, and 33^{7-11} shows that it was usual for the people to go to him for oracular answers from God. It is in itself probable that the man who founded the nation and taught them their religion, would plant in them the seeds of social morality. But the question whether any of the codified laws, as we have them, were directly due to Moses is quite another matter. In the life of a nomad tribe the controlling factor is not a *corpus* of specific prescriptions, but the power of custom. An immoral act is condemned because 'it is not wont so to be done' (Gn 34^{7}, 2 S 13^{12}). The stereotyping of custom in written codes is the product of a comparatively late stage in national life. And a study of the history and development of the Hebrew laws leads unavoidably to the conclusion that while some few elements in them are very ancient, it is impossible to say of any particular detail that it is certainly derived from Moses himself; and it is further clear that many are certainly later than his time.

4. Moses in the NT.—(i.) All Jews and Christians in Apostolic times (including our Lord Himself) held that Moses was the *author* of the Pentateuch. Besides such expressions as 'The law of Moses' (Lk 2^{22}), 'Moses enjoined' (Mt 8^{4}), 'Moses commanded' (Mt 19^{7}), 'Moses wrote' (Mk 12^{19}), 'Moses said' (Mk 7^{10}), and so on, his name could be used alone as synonymous with that which he wrote (Lk $16^{20.\ 31}$ 24^{27}).

(ii.) But because Moses was the representative of the

Old Dispensation, Jesus and the NT writers thought of him as something more. He was an historical personage of such unique prominence in Israel's history, that his whole career appeared to them to afford parallels to spiritual factors in the New Covenant. The following form an interesting study, as illustrating points which cover a wide range of Christian truth: The 'glory' on Moses' face (2 Co 3^{7-18}), the brazen serpent (Jn 3^{14}), the Passover (Jn 19^{36}, He 11^{28}, 1 Co $5^{7f.}$), the covenant sacrifice at Horeb (Mt 26^{28}, Mk 14^{24}, Lk 22^{20}, 1 Co 11^{25}; see also He 9^{18-20}, 1 P 1^{2} with Hort's note), the terrors of the Sinai covenant (He 12^{18-24}), the crossing of the sea (1 Co 10^{2}), the manna (Jn $6^{30-35.\ 41-58}$), the water from the rock (1 Co $10^{3.\ 4}$), Moses as a prophet (Ac 3^{22} 7^{37}, Jn 1^{21-23}; and see Jn 6^{14} 7^{40} [Lk 7^{39}]), the magicians of Egypt (2 Ti 3^{8}), the plagues (Rev $8^{5.\ 7.\ 8}$ 9^{2-4} 15^{6-8} $16^{2-4.\ 10.\ 13.\ 18.\ 21}$), and 'the song of Moses the servant of God' (Rev 15^{3}). A. H. M'Neile.

MOSOLLAMUS.—**1.** 1 Es 8^{44} = **Meshullam,** Ezr 8^{16}. **2.** 1 Es 9^{14} = **Meshullam,** Ezr 10^{15}.

MOST HIGH (*Elyōn*) occurs as an epithet of *El*, 'God' (Gn $14^{18f.\ 20.\ 22}$, Ps 78^{35}), or *Jahweh* (Ps 7^{17}); or it stands by itself as a title of God (Nu 24^{16}, Dt 32^{8}, Ps 21^{8} etc.). We find it first in a somewhat mysterious chapter (Gn 14) which cannot be traced to any identified source; the date is also uncertain. In this chapter **Melchizedek** is described as 'priest to the Most High God' (*El Elyon*), and since in later times the Salem where he lived was generally identified with Jerusalem, the double function of priest and king ascribed to him caused him to be regarded by the Jews as a type of the ideal king, and by the Christians as the type of Christ. Hence the name of the God whom he worshipped (*El Elyon*), which may possibly, in the first instance, have had reference merely to the lofty situation of Jerusalem, became in later generations a mysterious and exalted title of Jahweh. At the same time there is the possibility that the title *Elyon* came originally from the Phœnicians: Philo of Byblus (quoted by Driver, *Genesis*, p. 165) mentions a deity of this name in the Phœnician theogony, and the corresponding Greek word is frequent in inscriptions of the Græco-Roman period, especially in the neighbourhood of the Bosporus. Whatever the origin of the title *Elyon*, it never occurs in strictly prose passages of the OT, though we find it in the Songs of Balaam (Nu 24^{16}), Moses (Dt 32^{8}), and David (2 S 22^{14}). The Aramaic equivalents are fairly frequent in Daniel.

The uses of the Greek rendering in the NT are instructive. In the story of the Annunciation it is ordained that the child whom Mary is to bear shall be called Son of the Most High (Lk 1^{32}); and a little later on (v.^{76}) John the Baptist is spoken of as prophet of the Most High. The contrast is completed in the Ep. to the Hebrews, where Melchizedek is brought forward as priest of the Most High (cf. 7^{1} with v.^{28}). It is worth noting, too, that the title is twice found in the mouth of demoniacs (Mk 5^{7} = Lk 8^{28}, Ac 16^{17}). The word, then, does not belong to the language of everyday life: it is reserved for poetry and elevated style, and it seems by its origin to have suggested something archaic and mysterious, whether it referred to the lofty dwelling-place or to the majestic nature and attributes of God. H. C. O. Lanchester.

MOTE.—The word chosen by Wyclif and Tindale, and accepted by all the subsequent versions as the tr. of Gr. *karphos* in Mt $7^{3.\ 4.\ 5}$, Lk $6^{41.\ 42bis}$. The root of *karphos* is *karphō* 'to dry up,' and it signifies a bit of dried stick, straw, or wool, such as, in the illustration, might be flying about and enter the eye. In its minuteness it is contrasted by our Lord with *dokos*, the **beam** that supports (*dechomai*) the roof of a building.

MOTH (*'āsh*, Job 4^{19} 13^{28} 27^{18}, Ps 39^{12}, Is 50^{9} 51^{8}, Hos 5^{12}; Gr. *sēs*, Mt $6^{19.\ 20}$, Lk 12^{33}, Ja 5^{2}).—All the references are to the clothes-moth, which is ubiquitous and extremely plentiful in Palestine. It is almost impossible to guard against its destructiveness, except by constantly using clothes, shawls, carpets, etc. Such goods, when stored for long, are found to be reduced almost to powder on being removed (cf. Job 4^{19} etc.). The fragile cases of these moths are referred to in Job 27^{18}, if the MT be correct.

E. W. G. Masterman.

MOTHER.—See Family, **3.**

MOUNT.—An earthwork in connexion with siegecraft (Jer 6^{6} and oft.), also rendered **'bank'** (2 S 20^{15} RV). In 1 Mac 12^{36} RV has the modern form **'mound,'** which Amer. RV has substituted throughout. See, further, Fortification and Siegecraft, § 6 (*c*).

MOUNT, MOUNTAIN.—Although on the whole a mountainous country, Palestine has few striking or commanding peaks to show; consequently, though we find frequent mention of mountains in the Bible, there are comparatively few names of individual summits. 'Mountain,' as well as its cognate 'mount,' is used both of isolated elevations and of extensive districts of lofty ground—such as Sinai, Horeb, Carmel on the one hand, Mount Seir or the Mountain of Gilead on the other.

Mountains served various functions to the ancient inhabitants of the land. (1) They were *dwelling-places*, for which the numerous caves, natural and artificial, excavated in their soft limestone sides, well fitted them: thus Esau dwelt in Mount Seir (Gn 36^{8}). (2) They served the purpose of *landmarks*: thus Mount Hor was indicated (Nu 34^{7}) as a boundary of the Promised Land. (3) They were used as *platforms*, for addressing large crowds of people, as in the famous ceremony at Ebal and Gerizim (Jos $8^{30ff.}$), in the address of Jotham to the Shechemites (Jg 9^{7}), and that of Abijah to the Ephraimites (2 Ch 13^{4}). (4) They were *burial-places* ('sepulchres that were in the mount,' 2 K 23^{16}). (5) They served as *refuges* (Gn 14^{10}, Mt 24^{16}); (6) as *military camps* (1 S 17^{3}); (7) as *sources of wood and plants* (2 Ch 2^{18}, Neh 8^{15}, Hag 1^{8}); (8) as *watch-towers and look-out stations* (Ezk 40^{2}, Mt 4^{8}); (9) as *pasturage* (Ps 50^{10}, Lk 8^{32}); (10) as *fortresses* (Ps 125^{2}). Their obvious fitness for typifying strength and endurance gives rise to metaphors and comparisons to be found in almost every book of both Testaments.

But it is in their aspect as *holy places* that mountains are of the deepest interest to the student of the Scriptures or of Palestine. In modern Palestine almost every hill a little loftier or more striking than its fellows is crowned by a domed shrine, *now* regarded as the tomb of a Moslem saint, but no doubt the representative of a sacred precinct that goes back to the earliest Semitic inhabitants of the land. Sinai, Horeb, Carmel occur to the memory at once as mountains consecrated by a theophany. The worship at **'high places'** was so deeply engrained in the Hebrews that no amount of legislation could eradicate it; the severe discipline of the Exile was needed for its destruction. R. A. S. Macalister.

MOUNT OF THE CONGREGATION.—See Congregation.

MOURNING CUSTOMS.—The Oriental expression of grief has a twofold relationship. Towards God it is marked by silent and reverent submission symbolized by placing the hand on the mouth. 'The Lord gave and the Lord hath taken away' (Job 1^{21}); 'I was dumb . . . because thou didst it' (Ps 39^{9}). But towards the relatives and neighbours the case is altogether different. It is now an event that has to be announced as quickly and publicly as possible, and a loss which love has to deplore with passionate abandonment and an accumulation of conventional ceremony. At the moment of death a loud shrill **wail** is raised by those present. Its meaning is understood only too well. As the piercing, tremulous shrieks are repeated, a few inquiries are made as to the locality and circumstances, and the rapidly increasing cry is accepted as an invitation and claim to proceed to the

house of mourning. Immediately after death the body is washed and robed for the **burial,** which usually takes place within twenty-four hours. In addition to the successive outbursts of grief by members of the family, who have to be comforted and pleaded with and led away from the prostrate figure of the dead, the sustained ceremony of mourning is attended to by the neighbours. These, usually assisted by **hired mourners,** arrange themselves around the **bier,** or on opposite sides of the room, and keep up the lamentation without intermission. In this way they afford the preoccupation of a recognized routine, and give the relief of physical outlet to feelings that either are, or are considered to be, beyond control. At times one of the chief mourners leans over the body, wringing her hands or wiping away the fast falling tears, and asking why he has left them, and who will discharge the duties that belonged to him alone, pleading for love's sake to hear only once more the music of the voice now silent, or begging forgiveness on account of selfishness and imperfect service in the days that will never return. Meanwhile the band of mourners redouble their wailing, with beating of the breast and frantic clutching at their hair and clothes. As such paroxysms cannot last, the skilled mourners, usually women, endeavour to moderate and sustain the feeling of desolation by a plaintively descending chant. Among the singers there are usually one or two who are specially skilful in leading off with metrical phrases and rhymes of sympathetic appeal, which the others take up and repeat in concert. The invariable subject is the good qualities of the departed, and the extent of the loss which the family has been called upon to bear. In addition to the above allusions, new springs of tenderness are opened by referring to other members of the same family recently departed, and the loved one whose death they are lamenting is asked to bear messages of greeting to them. As the intimation of the bereavement reaches more distant parts of the town, or is carried to the neighbouring villages, companies of sympathizing friends come to show their regard for the dead. They announce their arrival by loud weeping and exclamations of grief; and as they enter the house the lamentation of the mourners in the room breaks out afresh. To the Western visitor unacquainted with the temperament and traditions of Oriental people, the whole scene is deeply distressing, and he has to check the feeling of repugnance by reminding himself that they would be equally shocked by the apparent callousness and ordered formality of our procedure on similar occasions. With cruel yet merciful swiftness the hour arrives for interment. The lamentation that was passionate before now becomes tumultuously defiant. Relatives lose all self-control, and, refusing to let the bearers discharge their sad office, have to be forcibly removed. The procession is then formed, and on the way to the cemetery is increased by those who join it to show their respect towards the family, and also to share the merit which the Lord attaches to service performed for those who can no longer reward it. Among the Jews, during the prescribed days of separation following upon a death in the family, the mourners are daily visited by the Rabbi, who reads the portions of Scripture and the prayers appointed by the synagogue. Over the door of the cemetery is inscribed in Hebrew 'The House of Eternity' or 'The House of the Living.' The explanation given in regard to the latter term is either that the life beyond the grave is the real life, or, according to others, that the grave is the place of habitation to which all the living must come.

The references to mourning in the Bible show that the custom of to-day in Palestine is the same as in ancient times with regard to the house of mourning, although special features of liturgical form now belong to the Synagogue, the Church, and the Mosque. There is the same announcement by wailing (Mic 1^{8}, Mk 5^{38}). Friends come to condole (Job $2^{11\text{-}13}$), and there is the same language of commendation and affectionate regret (2 S $1^{17\text{-}27}$ $3^{33.\ 34}$). The exclamations of to-day were then used (1 K 13^{30}, Jer 22^{18}). Hired mourners are alluded to (Jer $9^{17.\ 18}$, Am 5^{16}); and such manifestations as the **beating of the breast** (Is 32^{12}), **tearing of the garments** (2 S 3^{31}), **fasting** (1 S 31^{13}, 2 S 3^{35}), the putting of **ashes** on the head, and the wearing of **sackcloth** (2 S 12^{20}). The form of lamentation for the individual is applied to afflicted Israel (Jer 9^{1}, La 1^{16} $3^{48.\ 49}$), to the historical extinction of Tyre (Ezk $27^{28\text{-}36}$), and to the worship of Tammuz (Ezk 8^{14}). Such a rich and widely recognized symbolism of sorrow might easily be pressed into the services of religious imposture by those who wish to appear bowed down by their own devout contemplations, or as bearing upon their hearts the sins of others. Hence Christ's note of warning (Mt $6^{16\text{-}18}$).

The Apostle Paul commends as a Christian duty the showing of sympathy towards those in affliction (Ro 12^{15}), but intimates that in Christ the familiar phrase of greeting to the afflicted, 'Hope is cut off!' has been made obsolete by the resurrection of the Lord Jesus (1 Th 4^{13}). One of the features to which the New Jerusalem owes its title is the absence of mourning and tears (Rev 7^{17}).

G. M. Mackie.

MOUSE (*'akbār*).—Probably a generic term including field-mice, hamsters, dormice, and even jerboas. The male of the last named is called *'akbār* by the Arabs. All these small rodents are exceedingly plentiful in Palestine. The hamster (*Cricetus phœus*) and the jerboa, of which three varieties have been found in the land, are eaten by the Arabs (cf. Is 66^{17}). Metal mice as amulets have been found in the Palestine plain (cf. 1 S $6^{4.\ 5}$). The mouse was forbidden food to the Israelites (Lv 11^{29}).

E. W. G. Masterman.

MOUTH.—Several Heb. words are so tr. **1.** *gārōn* (Ps 149^{6}) lit. 'throat.' **2.** *chēk* (Job 12^{11} etc.) is the inward part of the mouth, the palate, or 'roof of the mouth' (Job 29^{10} etc.). **3.** *'ādī*, twice in AV (Ps 32^{9} RV 'trappings,' 103^{5} RVm 'years' or 'prime'), signifies properly 'ornament.' **4.** *peh*, the most usual word for 'mouth,' meaning also 'edge,' *e.g.* of the sword (Gn 34^{26} etc.), or 'border,' *e.g.* of a garment (Ps 133^{2}). **5.** *pūm*, Aram. = Heb. *peh* (Dn 7^{5} etc.). **6.** *pānīm* (Pr 15^{14}) lit. 'face.' **7.** *tĕra'*, Aram. lit. 'door' (Dn 3^{26}). In the NT the Gr. word *stoma*. Frequently in Scripture 'mouth' is used fig. for 'speech,' of which it is the organ.

W. Ewing.

MOZA.—**1.** Son of Caleb (1 Ch 2^{46}). **2.** A descendant of Saul (1 Ch $8^{36.\ 37}$ $9^{42.\ 43}$).

MOZAH.—A town of Benjamin (Jos 18^{26}). A possible site is the ruin *Beit Mizzeh*, close to *Kulonieh*, west of Jerusalem.

MUFFLERS.—The word so rendered occurs only in Is 3^{19}, as an article of female attire. The cognate verb, in the sense of 'veiled,' is applied in the Mishna (*Shabbath*, vi. 6) to Jewesses from Arabia. A close veil of some sort, therefore, is evidently intended by Isaiah.

A. R. S. Kennedy.

MULBERRY TREES (*bĕkā'īm*, 2 S $5^{23f.}$, 1 Ch $14^{14f.}$, Ps 84^{6} mg.).—These trees have on philological grounds been supposed to be a variety of balsam, and on grounds of appropriateness to the story (2 S $5^{23f.}$) to be poplars, whose leaves readily quiver with the slightest breath of air. Their identity is, however, quite uncertain. Mulberries they cannot be; for though plentiful to-day in Palestine, and still more so in the Lebanon, these trees were introduced to the land later than OT times. See, however, Sycamine.

E. W. G. Masterman.

MULE.—

(1) *pered* (m.) and *pirdāh* (f.)—in all passages except three.

(2) *rekesh*, RV 'swift steeds' (Est $8^{10.14}$). The tr. 'swift' is purely conjectural.

(3) *yēmīm*, Gn 36[24], where 'mules' is certainly a mistranslation; RV 'hot springs.'

The breeding of mules was forbidden to the Israelites (Lv 19[19]), but from David's time (2 S 13[29] 18[9]) onwards (1 K 1[33] 10[25] 18[5]) they appear to have been increasingly used. The returning Israelites brought 245 mules with them (Ezr 2[66]). Mules are preferred in Palestine to-day as pack animals (cf. 1 Ch 12[40], 2 K 5[17]), they are hardier, subsist on less food, and travel better on rough roads. A well-trained mule is a favourite riding animal with the highest officials in the land.

E. W. G. Masterman.

MUNITION occurs in a few passages of AV in the sense of a fortified place, *e.g.* Is 29[7], where RV has 'stronghold.' The word is retained in Nah 2[1], where, however, Amer. RV has the more intelligible 'fortress.' In 1 Mac 14[10] 'all manner of munition' is literally 'with implements of defence' (cf. RVm), as the same original is rendered in 10[11].

A. R. S. Kennedy.

MUPPIM.—A son of Benjamin (Gn 46[21]); called in 1 Ch 7[12. 15] 26[16] **Shuppim**, in Nu 26[39] **Shephupham**, and in 1 Ch 8[5] **Shephuphan.**

MURDER.—See Crimes, § 7; Refuge [Cities of].

MURRAIN.—See Plagues of Egypt.

MUSHI.—A son of Merari (Ex 6[19], Nu 3[20], 1 Ch 6[19. 47] 23[21. 23] 24[26. 30]). The patronymic **Mushites** occurs in Nu 3[33] 26[58]. See Merari, **1.**

MUSIC AND MUSICAL INSTRUMENTS.—1. Probable character of early Hebrew music.—Since the Dispersion, the music of the Jews has always borne the impress of the peoples among whom they have settled. Synagogue ritual thus affords us no clue to the music of early times, and we must accordingly fall back on Scripture and tradition. From these we gather that Hebrew music was of a loud and piercing nature, far removed from the sweetness which modern taste demands. There is no real evidence that the players ever advanced beyond unison in their combinations of notes, apparently reproducing the air on successively rising or falling octaves of the scale. We may suppose, however, that they would hardly fail to discover that certain combinations were pleasing to the ear, and would thus learn to strike them either simultaneously or successively (*arpeggio*). How far, however, they grasped the nature of a chord or of harmony must remain obscure, in spite of the attempts to solve this question, some of them altogether baseless guesses. For example, even the Hebrew accents, though of comparatively late origin, and always confined in Jewish use to acting as guides in the proper recitation of the text, have been pressed into the service, as though employed for the purpose of a kind of 'figured bass,' and thus indicating an acquaintance with musical harmony. Unfortunately, even those who have maintained this theory differ considerably as to the details of its application.

2. Rendering of Hebrew music.—It seems clear at any rate that an antiphonal setting was in use for many of the Psalms (*e.g.* 13. 20. 38. 68. 89); but the chanting must not be taken as resembling what we now understand by that term. The account we have in 1 Ch 15[16ff.] of the elaborate arrangements for conducting the musical services of the Temple, appears to indicate a somewhat complicated system, and to suggest that there entered a considerable element of flexibility into the composition. It is, for instance, quite possible that the long reciting note which with us may do duty on occasion for as many as twenty, thirty, or even more syllables, played no such monotonous part, but was broken up and varied to an extent suggested by the length of the verse as well as by the character of the sentiment to be conveyed.

3. Occasions on which music was used.—Hebrew religious melody had a popular origin, and was thus closely connected with the religious life of the na on. Apart from such references to song as those in Gn 31[27] and Job 21[12], we find in the headings of certain Psalms (*e.g.* 22, '*Ayyeleth hash-Shahar*, 'the hind of the morning') traces of what are in all probability in some, if not in all, cases secular songs. So *Al Tashheth*, 'Destroy not,' prefixed to Pss 57. 58. 59. 75, may well be the first words of a vintage song (cf. Is 65[8]). A parallel may be found in directions prefixed to Gabirol's hymns and those of other celebrated Jewish poets, when these compositions were adapted to music in the Spanish (Sephardic) ritual (see D. J. Sola, *Ancient Melodies, etc.*, London, 1857, Pref. p. 13). Amos (6[5]) speaks of music performed at feasts, and in 1 S 18[6] we read of its use in Saul's time in connexion with processions. As in this last case, so in general it may be supposed that music and dancing were closely connected and had a parallel development. David's careful elaboration of the Levitical music, vocal and instrumental, was employed, according to 2 Ch 5[12], with impressive effect at the dedication of Solomon's Temple. The reformations under both Hezekiah and Josiah included the restoring of the musical ritual belonging to David's time (2 Ch 29[25ff.] 35[15]). Later, the descendants of Heman and other Levitical leaders of music were among the exiles of the Return from Babylon, and under them the services were reconstituted as of old (Neh 12[27. 45ff.]).

4. Hebrew musical instruments.—Here our information is somewhat fuller, though involving a good deal of uncertainty in details. We may for clearness' sake divide under three heads, viz. stringed, wind, and percussion instruments.

(1) *Stringed instruments.*—Chief among these are the *kinnōr* and the *nēbel* (RV **'harp'** and **'psaltery'**), which were evidently favourites among the Jews. It is plain, in spite of doubts which have been expressed upon the point, that the two names were not used indifferently for the same instrument. The LXX in nearly all cases is careful to distinguish them (*kithara* or *kinyra*, and *psaltērion*, *nablē*, or *nabla* respectively). Both, however, were used in the main, and perhaps exclusively, to accompany songs, and those of a joyous nature. (They were unsuitable for times of mourning; see Ps 137[2], a passage which further shows that the instrument must have been, unlike a modern harp, easily portable.) They were doubtless the chief, if not the sole, instruments employed in the Temple services. In Solomon's time they were made from almug (algum) trees, doubtfully identified with sandal wood. The strings, originally of twisted grass or fibres of plants, were afterwards formed of gut, and subsequently from silk or metal.

(*a*) The *kinnōr* (an onomatopoetic word, derived from the sound of the strings) is the only stringed instrument mentioned in the Hexateuch, where (Gn 4[21]) its invention is attributed to Jubal, son of Lamech. The *nebel* is first mentioned in 1 S 10[5], as used by the prophets who went to meet Saul. The *kinnōr* (*kithara* or **lyre** [in 1 Mac 4[54] the AV renders **'cithern,'** RV **'harp'**]) consisted of a sound-box at the base, with wooden side-arms and a crossbar connected by the strings with the box below. It was originally an Asiatic instrument, and the earliest known representation is pre-historic, in the form of a rude model found at Telloh in southern Babylonia. There is also a very ancient one shown on a tomb in Egypt, dating from about the 30th cent. B.C. (12th dynasty). A tomb at Thebes in the same country (dating between the 12th and 18th dynasties) exhibits a similar form, which was sometimes modified later in the direction of more artistic construction and sloping of the crossbar downwards, so as to vary the pitch of the strings. Jewish coins of Maccabæan date furnish us with a close resemblance to the Greek *kithara*. Josephus (*Ant.* VII. xii. 3) distinguishes the *kinnōr* as a ten-stringed instrument struck by a plectrum; the *nabla*, on the other hand, being, he says, played with the fingers. This need not necessarily conflict, as has been thought by some, with the statement (1 S 16[23]) that David played the

kinnōr 'with his hand'; and Josephus's evidence in such a matter should carry much weight.

(*b*) The *nebel*. It has been sought to identify this with various instruments; among them, the **lute** (so RV in Is 5[12] [AV viol]; '**lute**' is also RV tr. of Gr. *kinyra* in 1 Mac 4[54]), guitar, and **dulcimer**. In support of the last it is urged that the Arabic name for that instrument, *santīr*, is a corruption of the Greek *psaltērion*, by which, as has been said, the LXX sometimes render *nebel*. Having regard, however, to the testimony of Josephus (see above) that the *nebel* had twelve strings, and was played by the hand without a plectrum, we are safe in taking it to be a kind of **harp**, an instrument of larger size than the *kinnōr*, and used (Am 6[5], Is 5[12] 14[11]) at the feasts of the rich. We find, on the other hand, that it was not too large to be played by one who was walking (see 1 S 10[5], 2 S 6[5]). The above argument from *santīr* = *psaltērion* is weakened by the fact that the Greek word was used *generically* for stringed instruments played with one or both hands without a plectrum. We may note further that the *nabla* (see above for this as a LXX rendering of *nebel*), known to the Greeks as of Sidonian origin, was played according to Ovid (*Ars Amat.* iii. 327) with both hands.

Egyptian monuments show us portable harps, varying in form, bow-shaped, rectangular, or triangular, though all constructed on the same general principle, and having the sound-box above, not, as the *kinnōr*, below. Seven of these harps, of a triangular shape, and used by a Semitic people in Assyria, are to be seen on a bas-relief found at Kouyunjik. We may add that several early Church writers (Augustine on Ps 42; Jerome on Ps 149[3]; Isidore, *Etym.* iii. 22. 2) support the above identification of *nebel* with a harp.

(*c*) There is little that can be asserted with confidence as to the nature of other instruments of this class mentioned in the Bible. In Dn 3[5ff.], besides the *psantērīn* (Gr. *psaltērion*) and *kitharis* (Gr. *kithara*) with which we have already dealt, we have the *sabbĕkha* (Ev **sackbut**). This is evidently the Greek *sambykē*, but the latter has been variously described as a large harp of many strings and rich tone, similar to the grand Egyptian harp, and as a very small one of high pitch. After all, both descriptions may be true, if referring to different periods of its existence.

Nĕgīnōth has sometimes been taken as the name of an instrument, but is much more probably a general term for stringed music. So in Ps 68[25] (Heb. [26]), we have a contrast between the singers (*shārīm*) and the players on strings (*nōgĕnīm*).

Gittūth, the heading of Pss 8. 81. 84, has also, but somewhat doubtfully, been referred to instruments named after Gath: so the early Jewish paraphrase (Targum), 'the harp which David brought from Gath.'

(2) *Wind instruments.*—(*a*) The *chālīl* (EV **pipe**) seems to have been the instrument of this class in most common use. It was played in coming from and going to the high place (1 S 10[5], 1 K 1[40]). It accompanied festal processions of pilgrims (Is 30[29]). It was used in mourning (Jer 48[36], cf. Mt 9[23]), and in the ritual of twelve solemn annual occasions. According to Is 5[12], the feasts of the drunkards were enlivened by it. It may have been a simple **flute**, *i.e.* a mere tube with holes, played by blowing either into one end or into a hole in the side. It is possible, on the other hand, that it may have been a reed instrument, either, as the modern oboe, with a double and vibrating tongue, or, as the clarinet, with a single tongue. Neighbouring nations were, we know, familiar with **reed pipes**, as they also were with double flutes, which, for anything we know to the contrary, the *chālīl* may have been. On the other hand, the keyed flute is of decidedly later origin, and in the times with which we are dealing the fingers must have done all the work.

(*b*) The '*ūgāb*, rendered uniformly in the AV as '**organ**,' an instrument which was not known even in rudimentary form in OT days, seems to have become an obsolete word even in LXX times, as shown by the variety of renderings which it has there received. The instrument known as 'Pan's pipes' (Gr. *syrinx*, Lat. *fistula*) is perhaps the best conjecture that can be offered. (*c*) The *mashrōkītha* (EV **flute**) may have been similar; while (*d*) the *sumpōnya* (cf. the Italian *zampugna* or *sampogna* for 'bagpipes') may well have corresponded to the modern **bagpipes**, as developed from the double flute. (*e*) The *shōphār* (1 Ch 15[28], 2 Ch 15[14], Ps 98[6], Hos 5[8], EV **cornet**; the 'cornets' of 2 S 6[5] [AV; RV **castanets**'] are probably best represented by RVm 'sistra'; see (3) (*c*) below) was a curved **horn** of a cow or ram, used mainly, and till later OT times exclusively, for secular purposes, such as to give signals in war (*e.g.* Jg 3[27]) or to announce important events (*e.g.* 1 K 1[34. 39]). It is still employed by the Jews at solemn festivals. The *hatsōtsĕrāh*, on the other hand—the one instrument of which we have an undoubtedly authentic representation, viz. on the Arch of Titus at Rome in front of the table of shewbread—was a long, straight, metal **trumpet**, used mainly for religious purposes, especially in later times (2 K 12[13], 1 Ch 13[8]).

(3) *Percussion instruments.*—(*a*) The *tōph*, '**tabret**' or **timbrel**, was a small hand-drum, represented on Egyptian and Assyrian monuments. In these instruments, unlike the modern drum, the parchment was probably rigidly fixed, and thus incapable of being tightened or loosened so as to regulate the pitch. (*b*) *mĕtsiltaim* and *tseltsĕlīm* were **cymbals**. Two shapes are found in Egypt and Assyria, the one consisting of two flat plates, played by being clashed together sideways, the other of two cones with handles at the peak, one cone being brought down on top of the other. (*c*) *mĕna-'anīm* (RV '**castanets**,' marg. *sistra*, 2 S 6[5]) were formed of two thin metal plates with holes, through which were passed rods with loose metallic rings at their ends. (*d*) *shālīshīm* in 1 S 18[6] (RVm 'triangles, or three-stringed instruments') has been thought, from the apparent connexion of the word with the third Heb. numeral, to be a triangle, but this is quite uncertain. It is more probable that it was a particular kind of *sistrum*.

A. W. Streane.

MUSTARD (Gr. *sinapi*).—The seed of this plant is used proverbially for anything exceedingly small. In this sense it occurs in the Gospels (Mt 17[20] etc.), and in the Talmud (Buxtorf, *Lex. s.v.* 'Chardal'). Jesus compares the Kingdom of heaven to the mustard seed (Mt 13[31] etc.). The plant intended is the *Sinapis nigra* (Arab. *khardal*), which grows wild in Palestine, and is a familiar sight on the shores of Gennesaret. It is also found under cultivation, and in the gardens it reaches a great size, being often from 10 to 12 feet in height. An annual, growing from seed, it is naturally compared with other garden herbs, which, although it springs from the smallest seed, it quite outgrows. It bears a profusion of minute seeds, of which the birds are very fond, sitting ('lodging') on the branches as they eat. Although it is not properly 'a tree' (Lk 13[19]), it quite accords with Oriental use to describe as such a great plant like this.

W. Ewing.

MUTH-LABBEN.—See Psalms, p. 772[a].

MUTILATION.—See Crimes and Punishments, § 9.

MYNDUS was a city in Caria at the extremity of the peninsula on which Halicarnassus lay. It was strong enough to resist an assault of Alexander, but played no great part in history. It is mentioned separately in 1 Mac 15[23] as one of the places to which, in B.C. 139, the Romans sent messages on behalf of the Jews. Hence it is assumed that it was independent of the Carian confederacy; and its native population seems to have descended from the race of the Leleges, and to have always maintained its independence against the Carians.

A. E. Hillard.

MYRA was a city of Lycia situated 2½ miles from the coast, but the same name is often applied to its harbour of Andriaca. In Greek times **Patara** surpassed it, but

in Roman times Myra became the chief seaport of Lycia, and was recognized by Theodosius as the capital. It grew especially through the Alexandrian corn-trade with Italy. The Alexandrian ships did not coast round the Levant, but took advantage of the steady west winds to cross direct between Lycia and Egypt. These winds made it easier for a ship sailing from Egypt to make for Myra, but a ship sailing to Egypt would be sailing more before the wind by taking a line from Patara. Doubtless this was the usual custom. In Ac 27[6] we read that the centurion in charge of St. Paul found at Myra 'a ship of Alexandria sailing to Italy'; whereas in Ac 21[1] St. Paul took ship direct from Patara to Tyre (though the Bezan text makes this ship touch at Myra). Myra retained its importance into the Middle Ages. Its bishop in the time of Constantine was St. Nicolas, and he became the patron saint of sailors in the E. Mediterranean, doubtless taking the place of a Lycian god to whom the sailors paid their vows on landing at Myra. There are splendid ruins on the site of Myra. A. E. Hillard.

MYRRH.—**1.** *mōr* (Arab. *murr*), the dried gum of a species of balsam (*Balsamodendron myrrha*) growing in Arabia and India. It has a pleasant, though faint, smell (Ps 45[8], Pr 7[17], Ca 1[13] 3[6]). It is still used in medicine (Mk 15[23]). It was used in embalming (Jn 19[39]). According to Schweinfurth, the myrrh of the OT was a liquid product of the *Balsamodendron opobalsamum*, known as balsam of Mecca. Ex 30[23] and Ca 5[5. 13], where the 'myrrh' appears to have been liquid, support this view. See also Ointment.

2. *lōt*, tr. 'myrrh' in Gn 37[25] 43[11], is a fragrant resin from the *Cistus* or 'rock rose,' a common Palestine shrub. In Arab. this is called *lādhan* (Lat. **ladanum**, so RVm). As a product of Palestine it was a likely substance to send to Egypt.

E. W. G. Masterman

MYRTLE (*hădas*, Is 41[19] 55[13], Zec 1[8. 10], Neh 8[15]; also as a name *Hadassah* = 'Esther' [Est 2[7]]).—*Myrtus communis* is an evergreen shrub much prized in Palestine. It grows wild in the mountains, especially on Carmel and in Gilead, but is also widely cultivated. It sometimes reaches a height of ten feet, but is usually much less. Its dark green leaves, pretty white flowers, and dark berries, which are eaten, are all much admired. It is still regularly used by the Jews in the Feast of Tabernacles (Neh 8[15]). E. W. G. Masterman.

MYSIA was a district in the N.W. of Asia Minor, S. of the Propontis and Hellespont. It derived its name from the Mysi, a Thracian tribe who probably entered Asia with the Phrygians. At no period were its boundaries strictly defined. It formed part of the dominions of the Persians and of Alexander. From B.C. 280 it was part of the kingdom of Pergamus, and therefore fell to the Romans in B.C. 133, becoming part of the province of Asia. The only mention of it in the Bible is Ac 16[7. 8], where St. Paul passed through it on his second missionary journey. A tradition assigned the evangelization of part of Mysia to a certain Onesiphorus, who was martyred at Parium when Adrian was proconsul of Asia, A.D. 109–114. See Assos, Troas, Adramyttium, all of which places were reckoned to Mysia. A. E. Hillard.

MYSTERY.—

The Greek *mystērion* in Christian Latin became *mysterium*, and thus passed into modern languages. The kindred *mystic* and *mystagogue*, imported directly from the Greek, point to the primary significance of this word. In 8 NT passages the Latin Vulgate replaced *mysterium* by the alien rendering *sacramentum* (the soldier's oath of allegiance), which has taken on, with modifications, the meaning of the original.

In common parlance, 'mystery' has become synonymous with 'secret' (a usage peculiar to the LXX in extant Greek: see Sir 22[22], 2 Mac 13[21] etc.), signifying a baffling, recondite secret. Divine doctrines or dealings of Providence are said to be 'mysterious' when we fail to reconcile them with accepted principles, though presuming the reconciliation abstractly possible. Primarily, however, the NT *mystērion* is not something dark and difficult in its nature, but something reserved and hidden of set purpose,—as in Ro 16[25] 'the mystery *held in silence* for eternal ages.' It connotes that which 'can only be known on being imparted by some one already in possession of it, not by mere reason and research which are common to all.'

In its familiar classical use the word amounted almost to a proper noun. 'The Mysteries' were a body of sacred observances connected with the worship of certain Hellenic deities (chiefly those representing the primitive Nature-powers), which were practised in retreat, and which bound their initiates into a religious confraternity. The higher of these Mysteries conveyed, under their symbolic dress, a connected esoteric doctrine —vague, it may have been, but impressive—bearing on the origin of life, on sin and atonement, and the bliss or woe of man's future state, the basis of which was found in the course of the seasons, in the conflict of light and darkness, and the yearly parables of the seed-corn and the vine-juice. The **Eleusinian Mysteries,** annually celebrated in Attica, attracted visitors from the whole civilized world, and appear to have exerted a salutary influence on Pagan society. The distinctions of country, rank, or sex were no bar to participation; only slaves and criminals were excluded from the rites. These were the most famous of a host of Mysteries, many of them of a passionate and even frantic, some of a disgraceful, character, which were rife in the Græco-Roman world at the Christian era; they formed, says Renan, 'the serious part of Pagan religion.' The Greek Mysteries were already rivalled in popularity by the Egyptian cults of Isis and Serapis, and subsequently by the Persian Mithraism, which spread in the 3rd cent. to the bounds of the Empire. These associations supplied what was lacking in the civic and family worships of ancient heathendom,—viz. emotion, edification, and moral fellowship.

The term 'mystery,' with its allied expressions in the NT, must be read in the light of these institutions, which preoccupied the ground and were known wherever the Greek language was current. Christianity found its closest points of contact with Paganism, and the competition most dangerous to it, in 'the Mysteries'; its phraseology and customs—in the case of the Sacraments, possibly, its doctrinal conceptions as these took shape during the first five centuries—bear the marks of their influence. This influence betrays itself first in the Apocrypha, when the writer of *Wisdom* speaks in 2[22] of 'mysteries of God' hidden from the unworthy, and, like the Apostle Paul, promises to disclose 'the mysteries' of Divine wisdom (6[22]) to his readers; in 14[15. 23], the Gentile 'mysteries and initiatory rites' are mentioned with abhorrence. The NT affords 27 or (including the dubious reading of 1 Co 2[1]) 28 examples of the word,—3 of these in Mt 13[11] and the Synoptic parallels, 4 in Rev. (1[20] 10[7] 17[5. 7]), the other 20 (or 21) in Paul; of the latter, 10 belong to Eph. and Col., 5 (or 6) to 1 Cor.

The NT usages are distinguished as they are wider or narrower in application: (1) in Rev 10[7], 'the mystery of God' covers the entire process of revelation; in 1 Ti 3[16] 'the mystery of godliness,' and in 1 Co 2[7] 'the wisdom of God in a mystery,' embrace the whole incarnate manifestation hidden up to this epoch in the womb of time (Ro 16[25f.]), which is summed up by Col 2[2] as 'the mystery of God, even Christ.' 'The mystery of lawlessness' (2 Th 2[7]), culminating in the 'parousia' of Antichrist, presents the counterpart of the Divine mystery in the realm of evil.

Or (2) 'the mystery' consists in some specific revelation, some previously veiled design of God—as in the Eph.-Col. passages, where St. Paul thus describes God's plan for saving the Gentile world. He points out (Ro 11[25]) the shadow attending this great disclosure in 'the mystery' of the 'hardening' that has 'in part

befallen Israel.' The institution of marriage viewed as prophetic of the union between Christ and the Church (Eph 5^{32}), and the bodily transformation of the saints at the Second Advent (1 Co $15^{51f.}$), are Divine secrets now disclosed; they mark respectively the beginning and the end of revelation. These and such matters constitute 'the mysteries' of which the Apostle is 'steward' (1 Co 4^{1}), which enlightened Christians 'know' (1 Co 13^{2}) and dwell upon in hours of rapture (14^{2}). According to the Synoptics, our Lord speaks of His parables as containing, in a similar sense, 'the mysteries of the kingdom' (Mt 13^{11} etc.).

(3) Rev 1^{20} and $17^{5.\ 7}$ afford examples of a narrower reference in the term: 'the seven stars' and 'the harlot woman' are mystical symbols, patent to those who are 'in the Spirit,' of great realities operative in the kingdoms of God and of Satan.

This analysis brings out certain essential differences between the Christian and non-Christian employment of the word in question. In the first place, the new 'mysteries' are no human performances, ritual or dramatic; they are *Divine communications* embodied in Christ and His redemption, which God's stewards are commissioned to impart. In the second place, they *seek publicity* not concealment—'mystery' and 'revelation' become correlative terms. These are not secrets reserved for and guarded in silence by the few; 'the unsearchable riches of Christ,' long concealed from all, is now thrown open to all—'hidden from the ages and generations,' but to-day 'preached to the nations.' Most emphatic is St. Paul's insistence on the frankness of the gospel revelation; most earnest his disclaimer of any esoteric doctrine, such as the vendors of foreign 'mysteries' commonly professed. Nothing but moral insensibility or the false pride of the world's wisdom, he asserts, bars any man from receiving his gospel—it is 'hid amongst the perishing, those whose thoughts the god of this world blinded' (2 Co $4^{3f.}$; cf. 1 Co 2^{14}, Lk 10^{21}). The communication of the gospel mystery is limited by the receptivity of the hearer, not the reserve of the speaker; addressed to all men, it is 'worthy of all acceptation' (1 Ti 1^{15} 2^{4}; cf. Ro 1^{14}, Ac 26^{22}, Col 1^{28}). 'The mystery of iniquity' (2 Th 2^{7}) and that of Israel's 'hardening' (Ro 11^{25}), however, still await solution; these will be disclosed before 'the mystery of God is finished' (Rev 10^{7}).

Several other NT words had been associated in Greek usage, more or less definitely, with the Mysteries: *illumination* (2 Co $4^{6ff.}$, Eph 1^{18}, He 6^{4} etc.); *seal* (2 Co 1^{22}, Eph 1^{13}, Rev 7^{3} etc.); *perfect* (scil. *initiated*: 1 Co 2^{6}, Ph 3^{15} etc.); 'I have *learnt the secret*' ('have been *initiated*,' Ph 4^{11}); and the original (cognate) words for 'behold' and 'eye-witnesses' in 1 P 2^{12} 3^{2} and 2 P 1^{16}. The association is unmistakable, and the allusion highly probable, in the last two, as well as in the other instances. In these Petrine passages the thought of the spectators being favoured with the sight of *a holy secret* was, seemingly, in the writer's mind. G. G. Findlay.

N

NAAM.—A Calebite family (1 Ch 4^{15}).

NAAMAH.—**1.** Sister of Tubal-cain (Gn 4^{22}). **2.** Mother of Rehoboam (1 K $14^{21.\ 31}$, 2 Ch 12^{13}). **3.** A town of Judah in the Shephēlah (Jos 15^{37-41}). There is no notice of it elsewhere. Zophar the **Naamathite** is mentioned in Job (2^{11} etc.), but there is nothing to connect him with this town. Possibly we may identify Naamah with *Naneh*, a small mud village on low ground 6 miles south of *Ludd* (Lydda).

NAAMAN (the word means 'pleasantness,' or, as an epithet, as is probable, of Adonis or Tammuz, 'darling'; cf. the Adonis plantations referred to in Is 17^{10} [Heb.]. The Arabs of the present day still call the red anemone, which blooms in the spring, at the time at which one of the Adonis festivals used to be held, the 'wounds of the darling, or Naaman'; the name of the flower probably comes from 'Naaman'; see W. R. Smith in the *English Historical Review*, April 1887).—**1.** One of the sons of Benjamin (Gn 46^{21}), though in Nu 26^{40} and 1 Ch 8^{4} he is referred to as Benjamin's grandson; in Nu 26^{40} the 'family of the **Naamites**' is spoken of, they therefore probably formed a clan belonging to the tribe of Benjamin.

2. A Syrian general who came to **Elisha** to be healed of leprosy. The story is told in 2 K 5, where it appears in entire independence of the context. Through an Israelite slave-girl Naaman hears of the man of God who works miracles, and in the hope of being cured of his leprosy he comes to Elisha; it is, however, noteworthy that he comes at Elisha's request (v.^{8}) in order that he may learn that 'there is a prophet in Israel.' On his arrival Naaman receives a message to the effect that he is to wash in the river Jordan seven times; his objection that the prophet ought to work the miracle 'in the name of the Lord his God' seems very justifiable; upon the advice, however, of his servants he dips himself seven times in the Jordan, and is healed. His first words to the prophet, thereupon, are, 'Behold now, I know that there is no God in all the earth, but in Israel.' On Elisha's refusing the gift offered to him, Naaman asks for two mules' burden of Israelitish soil upon which to worship the God of Israel; this is in entire accordance with the ideas of the time that a god of a country cannot be worshipped properly excepting upon his own soil (cf. 1 S $26^{19.\ 20}$). Quite natural, too, according to the beliefs of the time, is his wish to bow down in the house of Rimmon; for apart from the necessity of this on account of his attendance on the king, there is the fact that religious syncretism was considered not only permissible, but, under various circumstances, commendable. [For the unworthy conduct of the prophet's servant **Gehazi**, and the punishment inflicted on him, see Gehazi.] W. O. E. Oesterley.

NAAMATHITE.—See Naamah, **3.**

NAAMITES.—See Naaman, **1.**

NAARAH ('girl').—**1.** One of the wives of Ashhur the 'father' of Tekoa (1 Ch $4^{5f.}$). **2.** A town of Ephraim (Jos 16^{7}; called in 1 Ch 7^{28} **Naaran**). It is perhaps the ruin *el-'Aujeh*, 6 miles N. of Jericho.

NAARAI.—One of David's heroes (1 Ch 11^{37}). In the parallel passage, 2 S 23^{35}, the name is **Paarai**, who is called 'the Arbite.' It is impossible to decide with any confidence between the rival readings.

NAARAN.—See Naarah, **2.**

NAATHUS (1 Es 9^{31}) =Ezr 10^{30} **Adna.**

NABAL.—A wealthy but churlish sheep-owner 'in Maon, whose business was in Carmel' (1 S 25^{2} RVm). David, while living as an outlaw and freebooter, demanded at Nabal's sheepshearing his reward for defending his flocks (1 S $25^{5ff.}$). Nabal, inflamed with wine, returned an insolent answer, and David was prevented from wreaking terrible vengeance only by the timely arrival of Abigail, Nabal's wife, with large gifts and abundant flattery. The word *Nabal* means 'fool,' and Abigail, with wifely candour, says to David, 'Fool is

his name and fool is he.' The next day Nabal was informed of all that had happened, and the shock of discovery brought on an apoplectic seizure, which caused his death. Abigail then became David's wife.

W. F. Boyd.

NABARIAS (1 Es 9^{44}) = Neh 8^{4}, **Hashbaddanah.**

NABAT(H)ÆANS (1 Mac 5^{25} 9^{35}).—See Arabia, Aretas, Edom, Nebaioth.

NABOTH.—A man of Jezreel, owner of a vineyard adjoining the palace of Ahab (1 K 21^{1}). The king, desiring to add the vineyard to his lands, offered to buy it or exchange it for another. Naboth, however, refused to give up 'the inheritance of his fathers.' Jezebel, Ahab's wife, by using the royal authority with the elders of the city, had Naboth accused of treason and blasphemy, and stoned to death. As Ahab went to take possession of the vineyard, he was met by Elijah, the prophet, who pronounced doom on him and his house. The murder of Naboth seems to have deeply impressed the popular mind, and the deaths of Joram and Jezebel near the spot were regarded as Divine retribution on the act (2 K $9^{25.\ 36}$). W. F. Boyd.

NABUCHODONOSOR, the Gr. form of the name Nebuchadrezzar (wh. see), is retained by RV in 1 Es $1^{40ff.}$, Ad. Est 11^{4}, Bar $1^{9ff.}$

NACON.—See Chidon.

NADAB.—**1.** The eldest son of Aaron (Ex 6^{23}, Nu 3^{2} 26^{60}, 1 Ch 6^{3} 24^{1}); accompanied Moses to Sinai (Ex $24^{1.\ 9f.}$); was admitted to the priestly office (Ex 28^{1}); and on the very day of his consecration (Lv $10^{12ff.}$ compared with ch. 9) he and Abihu perished (Lv $10^{1.\ 2}$, Nu 3^{4} 26^{61}, 1 Ch 24^{2}) for offering **'strange fire.'** Wherein the transgression of Nadab and Abihu is supposed to have consisted is not clear. It is often suggested that 'strange' fire means fire taken from a common source instead of from the altar (cf. Lv 16^{12}, Nu 16^{46}). **2.** A Jerahmeelite (1 Ch $2^{28.\ 30}$). **3.** A Benjamite (1 Ch 8^{30} = 9^{36}). **4.** See next article.

NADAB was king of Israel two years or parts of years after his father Jeroboam I. He was assassinated by one of his generals, Baasha, who became king in his place (1 K 14^{20} $15^{25ff.}$). H. P. Smith.

NADABATH.—An unidentified town (?), east of the Jordan, in the neighbourhood of which a wedding party of the sons of Jambri was attacked, and many of them slain, by Jonathan and Simon (1 Mac $9^{37ff.}$).

NAGGAI.—An ancestor of Jesus (Lk 3^{25}); cf. the Heb. name **Nogah.**

NAHALAL (in Jg 1^{30} **Nahalol**).—A town of Zebulun (Jos 19^{15}), given to the Levites (21^{35}). Its inhabitants were not expelled by the Zebulunites, but were made tributary (Jg 1^{30}). A possible site is '*Ain Mahil*, north of Nazareth, on the hill which formed the limit of Zebulun to the east. Another is *Ma'lul*, a village west of Nazareth, and on the south border of Zebulun.

NAHALIEL.—A station in the journey from the Arnon to Jericho (Nu 21^{19}), either *Wâdy Waleh*, a N.E. tributary of the Arnon, or the *Wâdy Zerka Ma'in*, farther north, which runs into the Dead Sea.

NAHALOL.—See Nahalal.

NAHAM.—The father of Keilah (1 Ch 4^{19}).

NAHAMANI.—One of the twelve heads of the Jewish community (Neh 7^{7}); omitted in Ezr 2^{2}; called in 1 Es 5^{8} **Eneneus.**

NAHARAI.—The armourbearer of Joab (2 S 23^{37}, 1 Ch 11^{39}).

NAHASH.—**1.** A king of Ammon, who demanded the surrender of the men of Jabesh-gilead, with the loss of the right eye of each (1 S $11^{1f.}$). So sure was he of their helplessness that he allowed them seven days' respite in which to appeal for help. Saul, newly designated as Israel's future king, was ploughing in the fields when the news was brought to him. He sacrificed the oxen, sent parts of the sacrifice to his fellow-countrymen with a command to muster, and promptly destroyed the Ammonites. Probably this is the Nahash who was kind to Saul's enemy David (2 S 10^{2}, 1 Ch 19^{1}), and whose son Shobi (2 S 17^{27}) brought supplies to David at Mahanaim. **2.** Father of David's half-sisters, Abigail and Zeruiah, if the text of 2 S 17^{25} is correct, which is doubtful. According to Buchanan Gray, 'daughter of Nahash' may have crept into the text from 'son of Nahash' in v.^{27}; cf. 1 Ch 2^{16}. J. H. Stevenson.

NAHATH.—**1.** A 'duke' of Edom (Gn 36^{13}, 1 Ch 1^{37}). **2.** A Kohathite Levite (1 Ch 6^{26}, called in v. ^{34} **Toah,** and in 1 S 1^{1} **Tohu**). **3.** A Levite in the time of Hezekiah (2 Ch 31^{13}).

NAHBI.—The Naphtalite spy (Nu 13^{14}).

NAHOR.—**1.** Father of Terah and grandfather of Abraham (Gn 11^{22-25}, 1 Ch 1^{26}, Lk 3^{34}). **2.** Grandson of the preceding and brother of Abraham and Haran (Gn 11^{26-27}, cf. Jos 24^{2}). He is said to have married Milcah, daughter of Haran (Gn 11^{29}), and twelve sons are enumerated, eight by Milcah and four by Re'umah his concubine (Gn 22^{20-24}). In Gn 24^{10} we read of 'the city of Nahor' *i.e.* Haran, where Rebekah was found. Laban, in making a covenant with Jacob, swears by the 'God of Abraham and the God of Nahor' (Gn 31^{53}). The sons ascribed to Nahor (Buz, Uz, Aram, etc.) are for the most part names of tribes. It has been questioned if Nahor is a historical character at all. Some think we have, instead, the name of a lost tribe once resident in the neighbourhood of Haran, from which the Aramæan tribes were descended. While Abraham appears as the common ancestor of the Israelites and Edomites, Nahor is represented as the father of the Aramæans.

W. F. Boyd.

NAHSHON.—Brother-in-law of Aaron (Ex 6^{23}), descendant in the 5th generation from Judah (1 Ch $2^{10f.}$), and prince of the tribe of Judah (Nu 1^{7} 2^{3} $7^{12.\ 17}$ 10^{14}); mentioned as one of the ancestors of David (Ru 4^{20}, 1 Ch $2^{10f.}$), and of Christ (Mt 1^{4}, Lk 3^{32}).

NAHUM.—I. The Man.—The word *Nahum* means 'full of comfort' and is probably a contraction of a longer Heb. term meaning 'God is a comforter.' Of the man so named nothing is certainly known. He is called 'the **Elkoshite,**' but the exact meaning of the term cannot at present be determined. It is made in the Targum a kind of patronymic, recording the assumed descent of the prophet from an unknown ancestor *Koshi*. It is more likely to preserve the name of the prophet's birthplace or place of residence, of which the identification is still lacking. Three or four conjectures have been made.

(1) The prophet's tomb is shown at *Elkosh*, 24 miles to the N. of Nineveh; and accordingly he is said to have lived there, a descendant of a member of the ten tribes who was deported in B.C. 721. But the tradition that buries Nahum there is not met with before the 16th cent., and is sufficiently accounted for by the interest in the city shewn by the prophet.

(2) *Capernaum* is really a transliteration of Heb. words which mean 'village of Nahum.' But a Galilæan origin for our prophet is unlikely (Jn 7^{52}), and is not supported by any allusions in the prophecy.

(3) The same objection applies to Jerome's identification of *Elkosh* with a village *Elkozeh* in N. Galilee, which on other grounds is precarious.

(4) The most probable tradition associates Nahum with *Elkosh* 'of the tribe of Simeon,' and locates the hamlet near *Beth-Gabre*, the modern *Beit-Jibrîn*, about half-way between Jerusalem and Gaza. The tradition occurs in a Syriac version of the biographies of the prophets, ascribed to Epiphanius, bishop of Salamis in Cyprus towards the close of the 4th cent., but probably of much later date.

II. The Book.—**1. Analysis of contents.**—In the analysis of the book, a line of division can be best drawn at the close of 2^{2}. The latter section is the actual prophecy or oracle. It is preceded by a psalm or proem consisting

of two parts, of which the one is general in its assertion of God's universal judgment, the other particular in its specific messages to Judah and to Assyria. Jehovah as the jealous Avenger is the opening theme. This fact holds good of His administration (1^{3}); and as He passes on to the overthrow of the wicked, physical proofs of His power become evident everywhere (1^{4-6}). Tenderness towards those who wait upon Him, but an overwhelming flood upon His enemies (1^{7-10}), are the two great characteristics of His rule. 'What think ye of Jehovah?' (1^{9}, where RV does not preserve the sequence of thought) is the point of passage to the section dealing with His particular acts, in which section either the text is corrupt through the displacement of some of the verses, or the two messages, of deliverance to Judah ($1^{13.\ 15}$ 2^{2}) and of vengeance upon Israel ($1^{11f.\ 14}$ 2^{1}), were meant to be entangled in repeated antitheses. Already the bearer of the good news is speeding over the hills (1^{15}; cf. Is 52^{7}, Ro 10^{15}).

The oracle proper consists also of two sections, corresponding with the division into chapters. The second chapter is a swift and vivid description of the siege of Nineveh, its capture and sack, with the complete desolation that followed.

A second oracle is contained in the third chapter, which there is no need to regard as compacted of several prophecies, but of which the unity in theme and sequence of thought is conspicuous. The mention of the city of blood, full of lies and rapine, is followed by one of the most vivid battle-pictures in Heb. literature ($3^{2f.}$). The cause of destruction is to be found in the diplomatic harlotry, whereby nations and races had been lured and sold; and so richly merited will be the woe, that none will be left or disposed to pity or bemoan Nineveh (3^{7}). The analogy of No-amon (Thebes) makes it certain that a similar fate is awaiting the Assyrian city ($3^{8ff.}$). Her outposts and defences are already falling before the invader, just as the first-ripe figs fall at the mere shaking of a fig-tree; and her people have become women ($3^{12f.}$). The time to prepare for the siege is past, adds the prophet, with his sarcastic appeal, 'Tread the mortar, lay hold of the brick-mould.' The swarming merchants, the 'crowned ones' (floating foreign population, according to Wellhausen; more probably the princes and prosperous men, cf. Is 10^{8}), the 'marshals' or high officials, are like locusts or grasshoppers, that camp in the hedges and walls, but vanish with the sunrise. Finally, the prophet addresses the king himself, and on the eve of the destruction of the city proclaims her disappearance from history amidst the joy of all who had suffered under her tyranny: 'There is no assuaging of thy hurt . . . all that hear the bruit of thee clap the hands over thee.'

2. Authenticity of the first chapter.—That Nahum was the author of the two oracles is hardly open to question, but of late years some doubt has been thrown upon the authenticity of the prologue. Against Nahum's authorship the plea is of a technical character, that the first chapter is really, in Heb., an alphabetic poem, and that its right metrical division yields, with a few alterations and transpositions, a series of stanzas, of which the first words commence with the letters of the Heb. alphabet in order. This plea is followed by the statement that such a literary form points to a late origin; and consequently the prologue is held to have been composed or constructed in the post-exilic period, and prefixed as an appropriate introduction to the oracle of Nahum on account of its expression of the general principle of God's avenging justice, of which the drama of Nineveh was supposed to afford a striking illustration.

On the other side, the re-arrangements necessary to restore an alphabetical form are difficult, though perhaps possible as far as 1^{9}, after which resort has to be had to processes that are scientifically indefensible. The order of the verses and of the words within the verses has to be altered, words are omitted or introduced with freedom, and on the whole A. B. Davidson's verdict stands—that the attempt to restore the alphabetical form 'can never be more than an academical exercise.'

Even if an alphabetical form be conceded, a necessary lateness of date cannot be successfully inferred. Instances of the use of such a form occur, *e.g.*, in Pss 9.10, where the tone and teaching are distinctly pre-exilic; and history would allow of the appearance of such a form, or at least of tentative efforts at its construction, at a comparatively early period in the development of a literature. The language and atmosphere of the prologue are those of the succeeding oracles. Alleged parallels with the post-exilic psalms are in reality parallels with earlier writings, which possibly supplied both Nahum and the writers of the psalms in question with their common phrases. Vividness and force, severity towards sin, fervent confidence in God, are features of all three chapters, which are further knit together by their theme, the first setting up God's throne of judgment and announcing His sentence on Nineveh, the others portraying the execution of that sentence. And the attempts to destroy the unity of the book, able as they have been and full of valuable contributions to its exegesis and to Biblical science generally, must be regarded as having so far failed.

3. Date.—The question of the authenticity of the first chapter does not seriously affect the further question of the date at which Nahum composed the two oracles by general consent ascribed to him. Two points may be fixed at once; and in the period between them the actual date must be found. Nahum prophesied after the capture of No-amon or Thebes (3^{8-10}) by Ashurbanipal in B.C. 664–663, but before the fall of Nineveh in B.C. 606. The interval, within which the exact date must be sought, may be shortened with great probability. Ashurbanipal's brilliant reign terminated in B.C. 626, and before that date there cannot be said to have been any great decline in the strength of Assyria. The Medes and the Scythians were beginning to threaten the empire, but its most serious difficulties arose from dynastic rivalries and the revolt of Ashurbanipal's brother. Had that revolt been the occasion of Nahum's prophecy, he would have directed his words against the king in person and not against the city. After the death of Ashurbanipal the Medes rapidly grew in strength, and laid siege to Nineveh, but were called away by an invasion of their own country; and the city was spared for nearly twenty years. The right date for Nahum seems to be a little after the death of Ashurbanipal, when the signs of Assyrian weakness were multiplying, and the outlying parts of the empire had already recovered their independence or been appropriated by other powers. At a later date the language of a prophet in Judah would be likely to be affected by the Deuteronomic style, of which there are no traces in Nahum; an earlier date would fail to supply the historic conditions, which are always an essential feature of Jewish prophecy. About 623 or 624 Nahum would need no great discernment to see the approaching fall of Assyria, and in the equipment and quick movements of the Medes and Scythians he would find the imagery which he uses to such good effect in his oracles.

4. Literary character and religious value.—Picturesqueness and force have been described as the most prominent characteristics of Nahum's poety. Compact thought, vivid description (2^{3-5} $3^{2f.}$), effective imagery ($2^{11f.}$ $3^{17f.}$) separate him sufficiently from the prophets of the Chaldæan period, and give him a position not far behind that of Isaiah. Obscurity is sometimes met with (*e.g.* 1^{10} 2^{8}), but the cause is probably quite as often the high specific gravity of the sentence as an error in transcription. Findlay says (*Books of the Prophets*, ii. 191) that Nahum is neglected by the

Bible-reader, as though the story of Nineveh had little connexion with the progress of the Kingdom of God, and were merely a complete and isolated fact of the past with no relation to present needs. Yet if Nahum is not a religious teacher like Micah or Isaiah, he focuses the truth of God's moral government of the world, concentrating the light upon a single typical instance; and he does not fail to defend confidence in God as the eventual Avenger of wrong and the perpetual defence of those who love Him. Where he differs chiefly from the other prophets is in the complete outwardness of his gaze. He has no eye for the shortcoming or sin of Judah, and no revelation to make of the inner history or moral character of his own generation. In this respect he contrasts especially with his contemporary Zephaniah, who also looked for the collapse of the Assyrian kingdom, but saw clearly a similar fate about to overtake the sinners of Israel. For Nahum, Nineveh fills up the whole canvas. The prophecy is a stern song of war, a shout of triumph over the conquered and slain; and though thereby it stands in contrast with the kindlier temper and spirit of the NT, in which no citation from the book occurs, it accords well with the traditions of its own age. And its great lesson, from which attention is not allowed to be diverted, is that the mills of God grind 'exceeding small,' and for nations as for individuals 'sin, when it is full grown, bringeth forth death' (Ja 1^{15}).

R. W. Moss.

NAIDUS (1 Es 9^{31}) apparently = **Benaiah**, Ezr 10^{30}.

NAIL.—1. Among the ancient Arabs it was the custom for a widow to allow her nails to grow during her term of mourning. To pare them was a formal indication that this period was at an end. From Dt 21^{12} and 2 S 19^{24} (LXX) it may be inferred that such was also the custom among the Hebrews. The former passage, however, refers only to the case of a foreign captive whom a Hebrew might take to wife after a month's seclusion, during which the care of the person was neglected in token of mourning for the captive's condition. The latter passage in its better Gr. form (see *Cent. Bible, in loc.*) tells us that Mephibosheth showed his sympathy with David by, *inter alia*, omitting to trim his 'toe-nails and his finger-nails' during the latter's absence from Jerusalem.

2. The Heb. word most frequently rendered 'nail' is properly a tent-peg, or, as Jg 4^{21} RV, **tent-pin.** This is also the better rendering in Zec 10^{4}, where it is synonymous with 'corner-stone,' both terms signifying the princes or leading men of the State as its supports. The figure of Is $22^{23.\ 25}$, on the other hand, is derived from the custom of driving a nail into the house-wall upon which to hang (v.^{22}) domestic utensils or the like.

A. R. S. Kennedy.

NAIN.—The town where Jesus raised the widow's son to life (Lk 7^{11}). The name is found in the modern *Nein*, a small, squalid village, 6 miles S.E. of Nazareth, on the N. slope of the Hill of Moreh, the so-called 'Little Hermon.' The summit of the hill is 1690 feet high, with a white-domed sanctuary, the tomb of the saint from whom the mountain takes its modern name, *Jebel ed-Duhy*. The village is 744 feet above the sea. Sir W. M. Ramsay thinks 'there can be little doubt that the ancient city was on the top' of the hill (*The Education of Christ*, Preface, ix), but the evidence is not stated. The present village is insignificant. Ruins stretch to the north, showing that the place was once of some importance; but they are comparatively modern. The rock-cut tombs to the East, however, bespeak a much higher antiquity. The small sanctuary, *Maqām Sīdna 'Isa*, 'Place of our Lord Jesus,' on the north, doubtless commemorates the visit of the Saviour. There is no trace of city walls. Tristram was misled by the shape of the ruins (*Land of Israel*, 125). 'The Gate' was probably the usual entrance from that direction. The site commands an interesting view. Across a narrow bay of Esdraelon rises Mt. Tabor, over the eastern shoulder of which the white summit of Hermon is visible; while to the N.W. and W. the eye ranges over the hills of Lower Galilee, and the rolling breadths of the great plain, to Mt. Carmel by the sea.

W. Ewing.

NAIOTH.—A place 'in Ramah,' where was a 'company of the prophets.' Here David fled to Samuel after Saul had attacked him with a javelin; hither Saul pursued him, and was seized with an ecstatic fit of some kind (1 S 19^{18-24}). Nothing is known of the situation of the place. It is not even absolutely certain that *Naioth* is a proper name; but opinions differ respecting its possible meaning.

R. A. S. Macalister.

NAME, NAMES.—1. The names of God.—See God, p. 299 f.

2. Personal names.—From the earliest times the name given to a child was supposed to indicate some characteristic of the person; of the circumstances, trivial or momentous, connected with his or her birth; of the hopes, beliefs, or feelings of the parents. This is evident from the etymologies (Gn $21^{3.\ 6}$ 27^{36}, Ex 2^{10}, 1 S 4^{21} 25^{25} etc.), not always reliable, but testifying to the impression that name and facts should correspond. There are many indications of the persistence of this idea. For instance, there is the frequency of names denoting personal qualities, *Adin*, *Amasai*, *Jaddua*, *Korah*, *Solomon*, etc.; or pointing to occupations, *Asa*, *Sophereth*, etc. Again, an Isaiah (7^{3} 8^{3}) or a Hosea ($2^{4.\ 6.\ 9}$) is quite ready to bestow symbolical names on his children; a Jeremiah (20^{3}) predicts the change from *Pashhur* to *Magor-missabib*, because the latter will more accurately correspond to the surroundings; and the same prophet sums up all his hopes for the future in the title which he bestows on the Messianic King and the holy city (23^{6} 33^{16}; cf. Rev 19^{13}). The new name promised to the faithful (Rev 2^{17}) corresponds to the fresh glory bestowed on him, which differs in each recipient and is known only to himself (Rev 14^{1}).

Analogous convictions prevailed among other Eastern nations. *Nomen et omen* was an influential conception. When a man was wanted to milk a camel, Mohammed disqualified one applicant after another till a man came whose name meant 'Long Life'; if one of his converts was called 'Rough,' he called him 'Smooth'; he was even guided in his strategy by the names of the places *en route* (Margoliouth, *Mohammed*, p. 61 f.).

Generally the name was fixed immediately after birth, as it still is with the Arabs. The mother usually exercised this privilege (Gn 4^{25} $19^{37\,f.}$ $29^{32ff.}$ $30^{6ff.\ 18ff.}$ 35^{18}, 1 S 1^{20} 4^{21}, Is 7^{14}), sometimes the father (Gn 4^{26} 16^{15} 17^{19} 21^{3}, Ex 2^{22}, 2 S 12^{24}, Hos $1^{4ff.}$), occasionally other interested persons (Ru 4^{17}, Lk 1^{57-63}). Some names were bestowed indifferently on men and women: *Abiah*, (1 K 14^{31}, 1 Ch 2^{24}); *Abihail* (Nu 3^{35}, 1 Ch 2^{29}); *Zibiah* (2 K 12^{2}, 1 Ch 8^{9}).

Beginning at a fairly early date, there are a moderate number of names derived from the vegetable world: *Elah* ('terebinth'), *Zuph* ('sedge'), *Tamar* ('palm-tree'), etc. The majority, however, belong to more recent documents: *Asnah* ('bramble'), *Coz* ('thorn'), *Hadassah* ('myrtle'), *Susannah* ('lily'), *Shamir* ('thorn'), etc. Other natural objects are also drawn upon: *Geshem* ('rain'), *Barak* ('lightning'), etc.; curiously enough, *Jorah* ('autumn-rain,' Ezr 2^{18}) is identical with *Hariph* ('autumn,' Neh 7^{24}). A few, of peculiarly difficult interpretation, point to family relationships: *Ahab* = 'father's brother,' but the question is whether it signifies 'uncle' or whether it is an indication that the child closely resembles his father or is to be as a brother to him. *Ahban* = 'brother is son,' *Ahiam* = 'a maternal uncle,' belong to this class. But *Moses*, if, as is most probable, of Egyptian origin and signifying 'son,' is a shortened form of a theophorous name; cf. Moses, *ad init.*

Names which have a religious import are more char-

acteristic of the Semite races than of ours, and this is especially true of the Israelites all through their national life. A certain number of those found in the OT have heathen associations: *Anath* (transferred to a man from a well-known goddess worshipped in Syria, etc.), *Ahi-shahar* ('Shahar [*i.e.* 'Dawn'] is brother'), *Baal* (1 Ch 5^5 8^{30}), *Bildad* (Job 2^{11}), *Balaam*, *Obed-edom* ('servant of [the god] Edom'), *Reu* and *Reuel* (Gn 11^{18}, Ex 2^{18}). Among the earliest clan names are those of animals: *Rachel* ('ewe'), *Hamor* ('ass'), *Caleb* ('dog'), etc. This may well be a survival from a pre-historic age of totemism. In David's day we find individuals, possibly members of such clans, called *Eglah* ('calf'), *Laish* ('lion'), *Bichri* (from *becher*, 'a young camel'). And the curious recrudescence of words of this class in and about the reign of Josiah (*Huldah*, 'weasel,' *Shaphan*, 'rock-badger,' etc.), might be accounted for on the supposition that animal-worship had considerable vogue during that age of religious syncretism (cf. Ezk 8^{10-12}). Names like *Hezir* ('swine'), *Achbor* ('mouse'), *Parosh* ('flea') favour this explanation. At the same time, it must be admitted that animal-names were in many instances bestowed as terms of endearment, or as expressions of a wish that the child might have swiftness, strength, gracefulness, or whatever might be the creature's peculiar quality.

There is an important class of compounds in which relationship—originally conceived as physical—with the god of the nation or clan is asserted: *Ammiel* ('kinsman is El'), *Abijah* ('father is Jah'), *Ahijah* ('brother is Jah'). These compounds ceased to be formed long before the Exile, owing, no doubt, to the sense that they infringed on the Divine dignity. Others now appear, containing an element which referred to the Divine sovereignty: *Adonijah* ('Jah is lord,' like the Phœn. *Adoneshmun*, 'Eshmun is lord'), *Malchiah* ('Jah is king'), *Baaliah* ('Jah is *baal*' [or 'lord']). Turning now to the two great groups in which *El* or *Jahweh* forms part of the name, it is to be noted that the former had the first run of popularity. From David until after the Exile, *Jah*, *Je*, or *Jeho* is more common. From the 7th cent. B.C. onwards *El* is seen to be recovering its ground. Altogether there are 135 names in *El*, and, according to Gray (*HPN*, p. 163), 157 in one of the abbreviations of *Jahweh* [Jastrow (*ZATW* XVI. p. 2) has sought to reduce the latter number to about 80]. Abbreviations of both these classes are fairly common: *Abi*, for *Abijah; Palti*, for *Paltiel; Nathan*, for *Jonathan* or *Nathanael*, etc. The nations which were related to the Hebrews acknowledged or invoked their gods in the same fashion: Babylonian and Assyrian proper names containing the elements, *Bel*, *Asshur*, *Nebo*, *Merodach*, etc.; Phœnician having *Ashtoreth*, *Bel*, *Eshmun*, *Melech*, etc.; Aramaic *Hadad*, *Rimmon*, etc.; Palmyrene, Sabæan, and Nabatæan exhibit the same features.

Special mention ought perhaps to be made of the curious words found in the Books of Chronicles. Ewald observes that they remind us of the nomenclature affected by the English Puritans of the 17th century. They were meant to express the religious sentiments of the Chronicler and those like-minded. Thus we have *Jushab-hesed* ('kindness is requited'), *Tob-adonijah* ('good is the Lord Jahweh'), *Elioenai* ('to Jahweh are mine eyes'), *Hazzelelponi* ('Give shade, Thou who turnest to me'; cf. the Assyr. *Pān-Bēl-adagal* ['I look to Bel'] and *Pān-Asshūr-lāmur* ['I will look to Asshur']). But the climax is reached in 1 Ch 25^4, where, with very slight alteration, the list which begins with *Hananiah* reads, 'Be gracious unto me, Jahweh! Be gracious unto me! Thou art my God! Thou hast given great and exalted help to him who sat in hardship. Thou hast given judgments in multitudes and abundance.' These phenomena differ from the *Shear-jashub* and *Maher-shalal-hash-baz* of Isaiah, in that the latter were formed for the express purpose of symbolical prediction. We have, however, something resembling them in other late documents. P gives us *Bezalel* ('in the shadow of God'; cf. Bab. *Ina-silli-Bēl*, 'under the protection of Bel'), Ex 31^2, and *Lael* ('to God'; cf. Bab. *Sha-Bēl-at-ta*, 'thou belongest to Bel'), Nu 3^{24}. And Neh 3^6 has *Besodeiah* ('in the counsel of God').

From about the close of the 4th cent. B.C. it was a common practice to call children after their relatives (Lk 1^{59-61}). When we read such a list as this: *Hillel*, *Simon*, *Gamaliel*, *Simon*, *Gamaliel*, *Simon*, *Judah*, *Gamaliel*, *Judah*, we get the impression that the grandfather's name was more often adopted than the father's (cf. To 1^9, Lk 1^{59}; Jos. *Ant.* XIV. i. 3, *BJ* V. xi i. 21). To the same period belong the Aramaic names *Martha*, *Tabitha*, *Meshezabel* (Bab. *Mushizib-ilu*), and those with the prefix *bar*, of which we have many examples in the NT. Foreign names abound in Josephus, the Apocrypha, and the NT. In some instances a person has two separate designations: *Alcimus*, *Jacimus; John*, *Gaddis; Diodotus*, *Tryphon*, etc. 'Saul, who is called Paul' (Ac 13^9), is a typical case. In some of the examples the reason for the second choice is obscure; in others there is an obvious similarity of sound or meaning. Double names were now frequent: *Judas Maccabæus*, *Simon Zelotes*, etc. Non-Jewish names were substituted for Jewish: *Jason* for *Jesus; Simon* for *Simeon* (Deissmann, *Bible Studies*, p. 315, note).

After the birth of a son an Arab father will adopt an honorific name (*kunya*). If he had been called *Abdallah*, he is henceforth *Abu Omar*, or the like. There is no trace of this custom in Heb. family life, but the idea of a distinguishing and honourable surname is not altogether wanting; see Is 44^5 45^4, Job 32^{21}, and some of the familiar double names. It is also possible that the Heb. original of Sir 44^{23} signified 'I gave him the surname Birthright.' And the sense of Sir 47^6 is 'They gave him the surname The Ten Thousand.'

3. Place Names.—The majority of these were no doubt fixed by the tribes whom the Hebrews dispossessed. From their great antiquity and the alterations to which they have been subjected, it is sometimes impossible to determine the meaning. Many places, however, got their designation from a salient natural feature, a well (*beer*), a fountain (*en*, in *En-gedi*), a meadow (*abel*), a vineyard (*karmel*), woods (*jearim*), in *Kirath-jearim*), a hill (*Gibeah*, *Gibeon*, *Ramah*), trees (*Bethphage*, *Beth-tappuah*, *Anab*, *Abel-hasshittim*, *Elah*, *Allon-bacuth*); from some circumstance belonging to the history or legends of the locality, an encampment (*Mahanaim*), a watch-tower (*Migdal*, *Megiddo*, *Mizpah*), a village (*Hazer*), a temporary abode of shepherds (*Succoth*), a place of refuge (*Adullam*), a vision (*Beer-lahai-roi*); from the clan which dwelt there (*Samaria*). Of the fifty-three names of animals in Gray's list (pp. 88–96), twenty-four are applied to towns or districts. On the totem-theory this would mean that the clan bestowed the name of its totem-animal on the place of its abode. Other names evidently imply the existence of local sanctuaries, some of which must have been pre-Israelite: *Beth-anath*, *Anathoth*, *Bethel*, *Gilgal*, *Kedesh-naphtali*, *Migdal-el*, *Migdal-gad*, *Neiel*, *Penuel*, *Beth-shemesh*. Almost all the compounds with *Baal* belong to this class: *Baal-beer*, *Bamoth-baal*, *B.-dagon*, *B.-hamon*, *B.-hazor*, *B.-meon*, *B.-perazim*, *B.-sha'isha*, *B.-tamar*. One, *Baal-judah* (the correct reading of 2 S 6^2; cf. 1 Ch 13^6), is clearly of Heb. origin, *Baal* here being a name for Jahweh. Special interest attaches to the names of two clans in the S. and centre of Palestine, *Jacob-el* and *Joseph-el*, mentioned by Thothmes III. (*c.* 1500 B.C.) in his inscription at Thebes. Corresponding with these forms are *Israel*, *Ishmael*, *Jezreel*, *Jabneel*, *Jiphthah-el*, *Jekabzeel*, *Joktheel*, in the OT. The *el* of the termination was the local deity, invoked (Gray, p. 214 ff.), or declared to have conferred some boon on his worshippers (Meyer, *ZATW*, 1886, p. 5).

J. TAYLOR.

NANÆA (2 Mac $1^{13.\ 15}$).—A goddess worshipped in

Syria, Persia, Armenia, and other parts of Asia. By the Greeks this goddess was identified sometimes with Artemis, sometimes with Aphrodite. She seems to have represented the productive powers of nature. In 2 Mac 1[10-17] we have a legendary account of the death of Antiochus Epiphanes, who is said to have attempted to plunder a temple of Nanæa in Persia, and to have been treacherously killed in the temple by the priests.

NAOMI.—The wife of Elimelech the Ephrathite, of Beth-lehem-judah, who was driven by famine into the land of Moab. After the death of her husband and her two sons, she returned, accompanied by Ruth, to her own land. Her return was a matter of surprise to the people of Bethlehem, and they said, 'Is this Naomi?' Her answer included a double play of words on her own name, 'Call me not Naomi ('pleasant'), call me Mara ('bitter'): for the Almighty hath dealt very bitterly with me . . . why call ye me Naomi, seeing the Lord hath testified ('*ānāh*) against me?' (Ru 1[2-21]).

NAPHISH.—A son of Ishmael (Gn 25[15] = 1 Ch 1[31]). In all probability it is his descendants who are mentioned in Ezr 2[50] as 'the children of **Nephisim**' (RV) or **Nephusim** (AV and RVm). In the parallel passage (Neh 7[52]) the reading is **Nephushesim** (RV) or **Nephishesim** (AV and RVm). The reading in 1 Es 5[31] is **Nephisi.**

NAPHISI (1 Es 5[31]) = **Nephisim,** Ezr 2[50]; **Nephushesim,** Neh 7[52].

NAPHTALI.—The second son of Bilhah, Rachel's handmaid, and the sixth son of Jacob (Gn 30[7f.] [J]). The tradition connects the story in a vague way with the word 'twist, wrestle': *Naphtūlē 'elōhīm niphtalti*—Wrestlings of God (or mighty wrestlings)—'I have wrestled with my sister and I have prevailed,' Rachel exclaimed when Naphtali was born, 'and she called his name Naphtali.'

The information which we have of Naphtali is very meagre. P ascribes to him four sons when Jacob and his family entered Egypt (Gn 46[24]). These four have developed into 'families' at the time of the Exodus, and their number is given as 53,400 in the Sinai census (Nu 1[42]). At Moab, however, they had decreased to 45,000 (26[48]). None of these clan-names given here, except Guni, appears again outside of the genealogy repeated in 1 Ch 7[13]. In the march through the desert Naphtali formed with Dan and Asher the 'Camp of Dan,' which constituted a total of 157,000 men of war.

While the genealogical lists cannot be relied on, there is no apparent reason for linking together Dan and Naphtali. But that they are both traced to Bilhah indicates that they were tribes of minor importance, inferior in strength, and of less consequence in the national development at the time when these relationships were created, than the tribes which sprang from Rachel.

Naphtali was the sixth in order to receive its lot (Jos 19[32-39]). It is somewhat more definitely defined than the others, though few of the places mentioned can be identified. No fewer than nineteen cities are said to lie within its territory, the most of which are not found again in the OT, doubtless because the history of Israel was wrought out mainly in the regions to the south. The territory reached on the north almost to the Lebanon. Southward it extended along the Jordan until it reached the point below the Sea of Galilee where the *Wady el-Bireh* joins the Jordan. The greater part lay to the north-west of the Sea, and in this direction (N. and W.) its boundaries appear to have been shifting. 'Ancient and modern writers' (writes Driver, *Deut.* 413) 'vie with one another in praising the soil and climate of the territory owned by Naphtali: it was abundantly irrigated; and its productions rich and varied. Lower Galilee was, however, yet more fertile and beautiful than Upper Galilee. The vegetation in the neighbourhood of the lake is semi-tropical.' Modern writers join with Josephus in praising it, and Neubauer (*Géog. du Talm.* p. 180) quotes a saying from the Talmud: 'It is easier to raise a legion of olives in Galilee than to bring up a child in Palestine.' No wonder that Naphtali was 'like a hind let loose' (Gn 49[21], if this be the correct translation; see the Comm.). Besides these advantages, it was fortunate in location in times of peace. Roads ran in every direction, connecting it with the outer world.

The heroism and warlike daring of the tribe is sung in Jg 5. In that decisive struggle with the Canaanites the tribe wrote its name high on the roll of Israelitish fame. But this was in the days of its pristine vigour. At a later period it performed nothing worthy of record. The Blessings of Jacob (Gn 49[21]) and of Moses (Dt 33[23], 'Satisfied with favour, and full with the blessing of Jahweh') dwell only upon its productivity. The captain to whom the honour of leading the Israelites to victory over the hosts of Sisera is ascribed in the prose narrative, Jg 4, was Barak of Kedesn-naphtali. This is probable in view of the readiness with which Naphtali and Zebulun its neighbour responded to his call, though Jg 5[15] points rather to a connexion with Issachar. According to 1 K 7[14], Hiram, the worker in metals, etc., whom Solomon brought from Tyre to work on the house of Jahweh, was the son of a widow of the tribe of Naphtali [2 Ch 2[14], it is true, says she was of Dan. The shifting of boundaries may be the cause of the divergence]. Few names of prominence, however, from members of this tribe appear in connexion with the national life.

According to the Chronicler (1 Ch 12[34]) 37,000 warriors with 1000 captains went to the support of David at Hebron. Under the Syrian king Bir-idri (Benhadad), 'all the land of Naphtali,' together with certain cities of Israel, were smitten with the sword (1 K 15[20]). When the Syrian kingdom fell before the Assyrian armies, northern Israel was exposed, as never before, to the relentless legions of the East; and 'in the days of Pekah, king of Israel, came Tiglath-pileser [III. B.C. 734], king of Assyria, and took Ijon, and Abel-beth-maacah, and Janoah, and Kedesh, and Hazor, and Gilead, and Galilee, and all the land of Naphtali, and he carried them captive to Assyria' (2 K 15[29]). See also TRIBES.

JAMES A. CRAIG.

NAPHTUHIM.—Fourth son of Mizraim (Gn 10[13], 1 Ch 1[11]). Many suggestions have been made to account for the name, which does not appear exactly in Egyptian or Assyrian inscriptions, but in Ashurbanipal's *Annals* (col. 1[94. 99]) a district *Nathu*, probably in Lower Egypt, occurs, which may be the same. An Egyptian *n-idhw*, 'the marshes,' used in contrast to Pathros, may be intended; but the discovery of Caphtor, so long a puzzle, may warn us to wait for further evidence.

C. H. W. JOHNS.

NAPKIN (*soudarion*).—The cloth in which the unprofitable servant wrapped the money of his lord (Lk 19[20]); used to bind the face of the dead (Jn 11[44] 20[7]); carried, possibly as indicated by the name (Lat. *sudarium*), to wipe off perspiration (Ac 19[12]). The Arabic renders *mandīl*, which may be either 'towel,' 'napkin,' 'veil,' or 'head-band.' See also DRESS, §§ 5 (*a*), 8.

W. EWING.

NARCISSUS.—St. Paul in his Epistle to the Romans (ch. 16[11]) salutes, among others, 'them that be of the household of Narcissus that are in the Lord.' The name was not uncommon, but many have identified the person mentioned here with the secretary of the Emperor Claudius, who was put to death by Agrippina in the first year of Nero's reign, about three years before this Epistle was written. According to the custom of those times, the household of the freedman of Claudius would pass into the possession of Nero, retaining the name of their

deceased owner. It will be noted that the salutation is not addressed to Narcissus himself, but to the members of his household. MORLEY STEVENSON.

NASBAS.—Apparently the nephew of Achiacharus, who was the nephew of Tobit (To 11[18]). He came with Achiacharus to the wedding of Tobias. About his identity there is some little uncertainty. The Vulgate speaks of him as brother of Achiacharus, while others have regarded the two as identical. It has been suggested also that he is the same as Aman or Nadan, the ward of Achiacharus (To 14[10]), in which case the uncle adopted the nephew and brought him up as his son. T. A. MOXON.

NASI (1 Es 5[32]) = **Neziah,** Ezr 2[54], Neh 7[56].

NATHAN.—**1.** Third son of David by Bath-sheba (2 S 5[14], but note 2 S 12[24]). In Zec 12[12] the Nathan who is recognized as head of a house is probably David's son. In Lk 3[31] the genealogy of Jesus is traced through Nathan to David. **2.** The prophet, a confidential adviser of David. The king desired to build the Temple, and Nathan at first agreed, but later received a revelation forbidding the enterprise (2 S 7). The next appearance of Nathan is in connexion with the parable of the ewe lamb, by which David was self-convicted of his sin with Bath-sheba (2 S 12[1-15]). Later, in token that an atonement has been made, he adds to Solomon's name the significant title *Jedidiah* ('beloved of Jah'). The third service was rendered alike to David and to Solomon. Adonijah had planned a *coup* by which to grasp the sceptre, now falling from the hands of his aged father. It was Nathan's watchfulness that discovered the plot, and his ingenuity that saved the kingdom for Solomon (1 K 1). It was fitting that a Life of David should come from this friendly hand (1 Ch 29[29]). His service to Solomon was recognized by the king, who appointed his sons, Azariah and Zabud, to important offices (1 K 4[5]). **3.** Father of Igal, one of David's heroes (2 S 23[36]). The text of 1 Ch 11[38] reads, 'Joel brother of Nathan.' **4.** One of the chief men who returned with Ezra (Ezr 8[16], 1 Es 8[44]). **5.** One of the Bani family, who had taken strange wives (Ezr 10[39]); called in 1 Es 9[34] **Nathanias.** **6.** A Judahite (1 Ch 2[36]). J. H. STEVENSON.

NATHANAEL.—**1.** 1 Es 1[9] = 2 Ch 35[9] **Nethanel.** **2.** 1 Es 9[22] = Ezr 10[22] **Nethanel.** **3.** An ancestor of Judith (Jth 8[1]). **4.** Nathanael of Cana in Galilee (Jn 21[2]) appears twice in the Fourth Gospel. (1) When told by Philip, 'We have found him of whom Moses in the law and the prophets did write—Jesus of Nazareth, the son of Joseph,' Nathanael hesitated. 'Can any good thing come out of Nazareth?' he asked. Philip thereupon conducted him to meet Jesus, and, when he looked on that wondrous face, his doubt vanished, and he hailed Him as the Messiah, 'the Son of God, the King of Israel.' See Jn 1[43-51]. (2) Nathanael was one of the seven to whom the risen Lord manifested Himself at the Lake of Galilee (Jn 21[2]). His name occurs only in Jn. but the following are reasons for believing that he was identical with **Bartholomew,** who is never mentioned by St. John, and by the other Evangelists only in their catalogues of the Apostles (Mt 10[3] = Mk 3[18] = Lk 6[14]). (*a*) Bartholomew is not a name, but a patronymic—*Bar Talmai*, 'the son of Talmai.' (*b*) Nathanael appears in St. John's narrative as a friend of Philip, and Bartholomew is coupled with Philip in the lists of the Apostles. (*c*) Since the others of the seven at the Lake whose names are indicated by St. John were Apostles, it is probable that Nathanael also was an Apostle. His title would thus be Nathanael bar Talmai. DAVID SMITH.

NATHANIAS (1 Es 9[34]) = **Nathan,** Ezr 10[39].

NATHAN-MELECH.—An official in the reign of Josiah, whose name is used to designate one of the halls or chambers of the Temple (2 K 23[11]).

NATIONS.—In many places where in the AV we have **'Gentiles'** and **'heathen'** the RV has rightly substituted 'nations,' and it might with advantage have carried out the change consistently.

The Heb. (*goi*) and Greek (*ethnos*) words denote invariably a nation or a people, never a person. Where in the AV (only NT) we find 'Gentile' in the singular (Ro 2[9f.]) the RV has 'Greek,' following the original. In nearly every example the singular 'nation' stands for 'Israel,' though we have a few exceptions, as in Ex 9[24] (of Egypt), Pr 14[34] (general), and Mt 21[43]. It is often applied to Israel and Judah when there is an implication of disobedience to God, sinfulness and the like: see Dt 32[28], Jg 2[10], Is 1[4] etc. This shade of meaning became very common in the later writings of the OT. Quite early in Israelitish history the singular as a term for Israel was discarded for the word translated **'people'** (*'am*), so that *'am* ('people') and *goi* ('nation') came to be almost antithetic terms = 'Israelites' and 'non-Israelites,' as in Rabbinical Hebrew. For the reason of the change in the use of *goi* ('nation'), see below.

In the AV **'Gentiles'** often corresponds to 'Greeks' in the original, as in Jn 7[35], Ro 3[9] etc. In the RV the word 'Greeks' is rightly substituted, though the sense is the same, for to the Jews of the time Greek culture and religion stood for the culture and religion of the non-Jewish world.

The two words (Heb. and Greek) translated 'nation' have their original and literal sense in many parts of the OT and NT, as in Gn 10[5. 10] etc., Is 2[4] (= Mic 4[2f.]), Job 12[23] 34[20], Ac 17[26], Gal 3[14]. In other passages this general meaning is narrowed so as to embrace the descendants of Abraham, *e.g.* in Gn 12[2] 18[18] 17[4. 5. 6. 16]. But it is the plural that occurs by far the most frequently, standing almost invariably for non-Israelitish nations, generally with the added notion of their being idolatrous and immoral: see Ex 9[24] 34[10], Lv 25[44ff.], Nu 14[15], Dt 15[6], 1 K 4[31], Is 11[10. 12], and often. These are contrasted with Israel 'the people of Jahweh' in 2 S 7[22], 1 Ch 17[21] etc.

This contrast between Israel (united or divided into the kingdoms of Israel and Judah) as Jahweh's people, and all the rest of the human race designated 'nations,' runs right through the OT. Such a conception could have arisen only after the Israelites had developed the consciousness of national unity. At first, even among the Israelites, each nation was thought to be justified in worshipping its deity (see Dt 3[24] 10[17], 1 K 8[23], Is 19[1] etc.). As long as this idea prevailed there could be no necessary antagonism between Israelites and **foreign nations,** except that which was national, for the nation's god was identified with the national interests. But when the belief in Jahweh's absolute and exclusive claims possessed the mind of Israel, as it began to do in the time of the earliest literary prophets (see Am 9[ff.], Mic 7[18] etc.), the nations came to be regarded as worshippers of idols (Lv 18[20]), and in Ps 9[5. 15. 17] (cf. Ezk 7[21]) 'nations' and 'wicked people' are, as being identical, put in parallelism. It will be gathered from what has been said, that the hostile feelings with which Israelites regarded other peoples varied at various times. At all periods it would be modified by the laws of hospitality (see art. STRANGER), by political alliances (cf. Is 7[1ff.], and 2 K 16[5ff.], Ahaz and Assyria against Israel and Syria), and by the needs of commerce (see Ezk 27[11] [Tyre], 1 K 9[28] 10[11] 22[28] etc.).

The reforms instituted by king Josiah in the Southern Kingdom (2 K 22[1ff.]), based upon the Deuteronomic law newly found in the Temple, aimed at stamping out all syncretism in religion and establishing the pure religion of Jahweh. This reformation, as also the Rechabite movement (Jer 35), had a profound influence upon the thoughts and feelings of Jews, widening the gulf between them and **alien** nations. The teaching of the oldest prophets looked in the same direction (see Am 2[11] 3[15] 5[11. 25] 6[8] 8[5], Hos 2[19] 8[14] 9[10] 10[13] 12[7ff.] 14[4], Is 2[6] 10[4] 17[10], Zeph 1[8. 11], Jer 35[1ff.] 37[6f.] etc.).

But the Deuteronomic law (about B.C. 620) made legally obligatory what earlier teachers had inculcated. Israelites were not to marry non-Israelites (Dt 7[3]), or to have any except unavoidable dealings with them.

The feeling of national exclusiveness and antipathy

was intensified by the captivity in Babylon, when the prophetic and priestly instructors of the exiled Jews taught them that their calamities came upon them on account of their disloyalty to Jahweh and the ordinances of His religion, and because they compromised with idolatrous practices and heathen nations. It was in Babylon that Ezekiel drew up the programme of worship and organization for the nation after the Return, laying stress on the doctrine that Israel was to be a holy people, separated from other nations (see Ezk 40–48). Some time after the Return, Ezra and Nehemiah had to contend with the laxity to which Jews who had remained in the home land and others had yielded; but they were uncompromising, and won the battle for nationalism in religion.

Judaism was in even greater danger of being lost in the world-currents of speculation and religion soon after the time of Alexander the Great. Indeed, but for the brave Maccabæan rising in the earlier half of the 2nd cent. B.C., both the religion and the language of the Jew might, humanly speaking, have perished.

The Apocrypha speaks of the 'nations' just as do the later writings of the OT. They are 'uncircumcised,' 'having sold themselves to do evil' (1 Mac 1^{15}); they break the Sabbath, offer no sacrifice to Jahweh, eat unclean food and such as has been offered to idols (2 Mac $5^{6.\ 9.\ 18}$ $15^{1f.}$ etc. etc.).

The NT reveals the same attitude towards foreign nations on the part of the Jews (see Ac 10^{45} *et passim*). In Rabbinical writings Jewish exclusiveness manifested itself even more decisively (see Eisenmenger, *Entdecktes Judenthum*, vol. I., esp. ch. xvi.). But, as in the OT a broader spirit shows itself constantly, culminating in the universalism of Christianity, so enlightened and broadminded Jews in all ages have deprecated the fanatical race-hatred which many of their compatriots have displayed. T. Witton Davies.

NATURAL.—The contrast between 'natural' (Gr. *psychikos*) and 'spiritual' (*pneumatikos*) is drawn out by St. Paul in 1 Co 15^{44-46}. The natural body is derived from the first Adam, and is our body in so far as it is accommodated to, and limited by, the needs of the animal side of the human nature. In such a sense it is especially true that 'the natural man receiveth not the things of the Spirit of God' (1 Co 2^{14}). Man derives his spiritual life from union with Christ ('the last Adam'), but his present body is not adapted to the needs of this spiritual existence; hence the distinction made by St. Paul between the natural body (called the 'body of death,' Ro 7^{24}) and the spiritual body of the resurrection. The transference from the one to the other begins in this life, and the two beings are identical in so far as continuity creates an identity, but otherwise, owing to the operation of the union with Christ, distinct. T. A. Moxon.

NATURE.—The term 'nature' is not used in the OT, nor was the conception current in Hebrew thought, as God alone is seen in all, through all, and over all. The idea came from the word *physis* from Hellenism. Swine's flesh is commended for food as a gift of *nature* in 4 Mac 5^{7}. In the NT the term is used in various senses: (1) the forces, laws, and order of the world, including man (Ro 1^{26} $11^{21.\ 24}$, Gal 4^{8}); (2) the inborn sense of propriety or morality (1 Co 11^{14}, Ro 2^{14}); (3) birth or physical origin (Gal 2^{15}, Ro 2^{27}); (4) the sum of characteristics of a species or person, human (Ja 3^{7}), or Divine (2 P 1^{4}); (5) a condition acquired or inherited (Eph 2^{3}, 'by nature children of wrath'). What is contrary to nature is condemned. While the term is not found or the conception made explicit in the OT, Schultz (*OT Theol.* ii. 74) finds in the Law 'the general rule that nothing is to be permitted contrary to the delicate sense of the inviolable proprieties of nature,' and gives a number of instances (Ex 23^{19} 34^{26}, Lv 22^{28} 19^{19}, Dt 22^{9-11}, Lv 10^{9} 19^{28} 21^{5} 22^{24}, Dt 14^{1} 23^{2}). The beauty and the order of the world are recognized as evidences of Divine wisdom and power (Ps 8^{1} 19^{1} $33^{6.\ 7}$ 90^{2} $104.$ $136^{6ff.}$ $147.$, Pr 8^{22-30}, Job 38. 39); but the sum of created things is not hypostatized and personified apart from God, as in much current modern thinking. God is Creator, Preserver, and Ruler: He makes all (Is 44^{24}, Am 4^{13}), and is in all (Ps 139). His immanence is by His Spirit (Gn 1^{2}). Jesus recognizes God's bounty and care in the flowers of the field and the birds of the air (Mt $6^{26.\ 28}$); He uses natural processes to illustrate spiritual, in salt (5^{13}), seed and soil (13^{3-9}), and leaven (13^{33}). The growth of the seed is also used as an illustration by Paul (1 Co $15^{37.\ 38}$). There is in the Bible no interest in nature apart from God, and the problem of the relation of God to nature has not yet risen on the horizon of the thought of the writers. Alfred E. Garvie.

NAUGHT.—'Naught' is 'nothing' (from A.S. *na* 'not,' and *wiht* 'a whit *or* a thing'). Sometimes the spelling became 'nought' (perhaps under the influence of 'ought'). In the earliest editions of AV there is no difference between 'naught' and 'nought'; but in the ed. of 1638 a difference was introduced, 'naught' being used in 2 K 2^{19}, Pr 20^{14}, because there the meaning is 'bad'; 'nought' everywhere else, but with the meaning 'worthlessness.' This distinction was preserved by Scrivener, in his *Cambr. Par. Bible*, and is found in most modern English Bibles.

'Naughty,' however, is simply 'worthless,' as Jer 24^{2} 'very naughty figs.' But **'naughtiness'** always means 'wickedness,' as Pr 11^{6} 'transgressors shall be taken in their own naughtiness.'

NAVE.—The form in which (possibly by a primitive error in transcription of the Greek) the Heb. name **Nun** appears in AV of Sir 46^{1}.

NAVY.—See Ships and Boats, p. 849b.

NAZARENE.—A title applied to Christ in Mt 2^{23}, apparently as a quotation from a phrophecy. Its signification is a matter of controversy. Apart from the primary meaning of the word, 'an inhabitant of Nazareth,' there may have been, as is often the case in prophetic quotations, a secondary meaning in allusion to the Heb. word *nētser*, 'a branch,' in which case the reference may have been to the Messianic passage Is 11^{1}; or possibly the reference may have been to the word *nātsar*, 'to save.' The epithet, applied often in scorn (cf. Jn 1^{46}), was used of Christ by demoniacs (Mk 1^{24}, Lk 4^{34}), by the people generally (Mk 10^{47}, Lk 18^{37}), by the soldiers (Jn $18^{5.\ 7}$), by the servants (Mt 26^{71}, Mk 14^{67}), by Pilate (Jn 19^{19}), as well as by His own followers on various occasions (Lk 24^{19} etc.). The attempt to connect the word with 'Nazirite' is etymologically impossible, and has no meaning as applied to Jesus Christ. T. A. Moxon.

NAZARETH (mod. *en-Nāsira*).—A town in the north border of the Plain of Esdraelon. It was a place of no history (being entirely unmentioned in the OT, Josephus, or the Talmud), no importance, and, possibly, of bad reputation (Jn 1^{46}). Here, however, lived Mary and Joseph. Hither, before their marriage, was the angel Gabriel sent to announce the coming birth of Christ (Lk 1^{26-38}), and hither the Holy Family retired after the flight to Egypt (Mt 2^{23}). The obscure years of Christ's boyhood were spent here, and in its synagogue He preached the sermon for which He was rejected by His fellow-townsmen (Mt 13^{54}, Lk 4^{29}). After this, save as a centre of pilgrimage, Nazareth sank into obscurity. The Crusaders made it a bishopric; it is now the seat of a Turkish lieutenant-governor. Many traditional sites are pointed out to pilgrims and tourists, for not one of which, with the possible exception of the 'Virgin's Well' (which, being the only spring known in the neighbourhood, was not improbably that used by the Holy Family), is there any justification. R. A. S. Macalister.

NAZIRITE (AV **Nazarite**).—The primary meaning of the Heb. verb *nāzar* is to separate. Hence the *nāzīr*

is 'the separated,' 'consecrated,' 'devoted.' Joseph is 'the Nazirite,' *i.e.*, the consecrated prince, among his brethren (Gn 49[26]); the nobles of Jerusalem bear the same title (La 4[7]); the untrimmed vine, whose branches recall the long hair of the Nazirite proper, is called 'thy Nazirite' (Lv 25[5. 11]). But, above all, the name belongs to a class of persons devoted by a special vow to Jahweh (Am 2[11f.], Jg 13[5. 7] 16[17], Nu 6, Sir 46[13], 1 Mac 3[49-53]). According to Jg 13 and Nu 6, the details of outward observance covered by the vow were: (1) abstinence from the fruit of the vine, (2) leaving the hair uncut, (3) avoidance of contact with the dead, and (4) of all unclean food.

Opinions differ as to whether the abstinence from wine or the untrimmed hair was the more important. Am 2[11f.] mentions only the former. 1 S 1[11], on the other hand, refers only to the latter (the LXX 'and he shall drink no wine or strong drink' being an interpolation). If we look outside the OT, we see that among the ancients generally the hair was regarded as so important an outcome of the physical life as to be a fit offering to the deity, and a means of initiating or restoring communion with Him. There is evidence for this from Syria, Arabia, Egypt, Greece, Rome, and, in recent times, even among the Maoris. This, then, seems to have been the original observance. If Am 2[11f.] does not mention it, the reason is that the most attractive temptation was found in the wine. Jg 13[7] states that Samson's mother was bidden to abstain, but the same is not affirmed of Samson himself; all the stress, in his case, is laid on the hair being untouched (Jg 16[17]). Nu 6[3. 4] puts the abstinence first, but even here the significance of the other point appears in the directions for the ceremonial shaving and oblation of the hair (Nu 6[18]). The vine stood for the culture and civilization of Canaan, and was specially associated with the worship of the nature-gods. Hence it was a point of honour with the zealots of Jahweh to turn away from it utterly. The luxury and immorality connected with a more advanced civilization threatened the simplicity of Israel's life and faith. Martial devotion coalesced with the ascetic spirit to produce such men as Jonadab, son of Rechab, who resembled the Nazirites very closely (2 K 10[15], Jer 35[6f.]).

The Nazirite vow was originally a life-long obligation. Young and enthusiastic men were moved by the Spirit of God to take it up, as others were inspired to be prophets, and it was an offence against Him to tempt them to break it (Am 2[11f.]). Women were divinely bidden to devote their promised offspring (Jg 13[7]). Others prayed for children and promised that they should then be consecrated to this service (1 S 1[11]; it is noteworthy that in the Heb. and Syr. of Sir 46[13], Samuel is expressly called a Nazirite). In course of time, however, a great change came over the purpose and spirit of the institution. The vow was now taken to gain some personal end—protection on a journey, deliverance from sickness, etc. Women, too, became Nazirites. And the restrictions were only for a certain period. Nu 6 represents this stage, but the information which it gives needs supplementing. For instance, it fails to prescribe the manner in which the vow should be entered on. The Talmud asserts that this was done in private, and was binding if one simply said, 'Behold, I am a Nazirite,' or repeated after another, 'I also become one' (*Nazir*, i. 3, iii. 1, iv. 1). Nu 6 does not determine the length of these temporary vows. Here, again, a rule had to be made, and it was decided that the person himself might fix the period; otherwise, it should be thirty days (*Nazir*, i. 3, iii. 1; Jos. *BJ* II. xv. 1). In case of accidental defilement, the Nazirite had to undergo seven days' purification, cut off his hair on the seventh day and have it buried (*Temura*, vi. 4), on the eighth day bring two turtle-doves or two young pigeons, one for a sin-, one for a burnt-offering, as well as a lamb for a guilt-offering, and thus begin the course of his vow afresh (cf. *Nazir*, iii. 6; Jos. *Ant.* XX. ii. 5). At the expiration of the time he was brought to the door of the sanctuary, with a he-lamb for a burnt-offering, a ewe-lamb for a sin-offering, a ram for a peace-offering, ten unleavened cakes and ten unleavened wafers anointed with oil, a meat-offering, and a drink-offering. When the sacrifices had been offered his hair was shaved and he put it in the fire which was under the peace-offering, or under the caldron in which the latter was boiled (*Nazir*, vi. 8). Then a wave-offering was made, consisting of the sodden shoulder of the ram, a cake, and a wafer. The fat was then salted and burned on the altar, and the breast and the fore-leg were eaten by the priests, who also ate the waved cake and the boiled shoulder; the rest of the bread and meat belonged to the offerer (Maimonides, *Hilchoth Maase ha-Corbanoth*, ix. 9–11). A free-will offering followed (Nu 6[21]). In the second Temple there was a chamber in the S.E. corner of the women's court, where the Nazirites boiled their peace-offerings, cut off their hair and cast it into the caldron.

The following historical notices are of some interest: (1) 1 Mac 3[49-53] enables us to realize the importance which came to be attached to the punctilious performance of every one of the ceremonies. Just before the battle of Emmaus, the Nazirites, being shut out of Jerusalem, could not offer the concluding sacrifices there. Evidently this was regarded as a serious public calamity. (2) The important tractate of the Talmud entitled *Berakhoth* tells a story of slightly later date than the above, which illustrates the ingenuity which the Rabbis displayed in finding reasons for releasing from their vows persons who had rashly undertaken them (vii. 2). (3) John the Baptist has been claimed as a Nazirite, but this is doubtful; we read nothing about his hair being untouched. (4) A custom grew up for wealthy people to provide the requisite sacrifices for their poorer brethren. Thus, when Agrippa came from Rome to Jerusalem to enter on his kingdom, 'he offered many sacrifices of thanksgiving; wherefore also he ordered that many of the Nazirites should have their heads shaven' (Jos. *Ant.* XIX. vi. 1). This throws light on Ac 21[23-26]. (5) Eusebius (*HE* ii. 23) appears to represent James the Just as a lifelong Nazirite: 'He was holy from his mother's womb. Wine and strong drink he drank not, neither did he eat flesh. A razor passed not over his head.' But the further statement that he alone was permitted to enter the Holy of Holies is so improbable as to lessen our confidence in the narrator.

JOHN TAYLOR.

NEAH.—Named only in Jos 19[13]. The name has not been recovered. It is prob. identical with **Neiel** of v.[27].

NEAPOLIS.—The harbour of Philippi, at which St. Paul landed (Ac 16[11]) after sailing from Troas. It lay on the coast of Macedonia opposite Thasos, being situated on a promontory with a harbour on each side. It was about 10 miles from Philippi. The Via Egnatia from Dyrrhachium, after passing through Thessalonica, Amphipolis, and Philippi, reached the coast again at Neapolis, and the regular course of travellers to Asia was not to continue farther by land, but to cross by ship to Troas. The modern name of Neapolis is *Kavalla*.

A. E. HILLARD.

NEARIAH.—**1.** A descendant of David (1 Ch 3[22f.]). **2.** A Simeonite (1 Ch 4[42]).

NEBAIOTH.—An important tribe of North Arabians. In Gn 25[13] (=1 Ch 1[29]) Nebaioth is the eldest son of **Ishmael**; also the representative of the Ishmaelite tribes in Gn 28[9] 36[3]. The people of Nebaioth have an important place among the Arabian tribes subdued by Ashurbanipal of Assyria, named by him along with the people of **Kedar** (wh. see), just as in the genealogy of Genesis. It is about this date (B.C. 650) that they come into prominence among the competing tribes of the peninsula—a position which they retained for centuries.

Their exact location cannot be definitely determined, but the inscriptions tell us that they were very remote from Assyria, and their place at the head of the tribes of Ishmael, as well as their affiliation with the **Edomites** (Gn 28 and 36), makes it probable that they were well known to the Hebrews. Hence they are to be sought for not far from the south-eastern borders of Palestine. The time when they flourished agrees with the fact that in the Bible they are mentioned only in the late Priestly Code and by the 'Third Isaiah' (Is 60^{7}). They are usually, but wrongly, identified with the **Nabatæans** (the Nabathæans of 1 Mac 5^{25} 9^{35}). J. F. M'Curdy.

NEBALLAT.—A town inhabited by Benjamites (Neh 11^{34}); prob. the modern *Beit Nebālā*, 3½ miles N.E. of Lydda.

NEBAT.—Father of Jeroboam I. (1 K 11^{26} and onwards). The constant designation of Jeroboam I. as 'ben-Nebat' is probably the usage of a writer later than Jeroboam ben-Joash. It is intended, doubtless, to distinguish the two kings.

NEBO (Assyr. *Nabū*, 'Announcer').—A Bab. deity who presided over literature and science. The cuneiform system of writing was credited to his invention. He was the son and messenger of Bel-Marduk; whose will to mortals he interpreted. The planet Mercury was sacred to Nebo. The chief centre of his worship was the temple of E-Zida in Borsippa, between which and the temple of Marduk in Babylon took place the great annual processions of which we find a reminiscence in Is $46^{1f.}$ The name Nebo appears as an element in many Babylonian names—Nebuchadrezzar, Nebuzaradan, Abed-nego (properly Abed-nebo), etc.

W. M. Nesbit.

NEBO.—The name of a Moabite town, a mountain in Moab, and (according to the Hebrew text) of a city of Judah. It is probable, though not quite certain, that these places were named after the Babylonian deity Nebo (see preced. art.), and thus point to the influence of the Babylonian cult at a remote period both E. and W. of the Jordan.

1. Nebo, a city of *Judah* (Ezr 2^{29} 10^{43} [1 Es 9^{35} **Noomias**], Neh 7^{29}), identified by some with *Beit Nubā*, 12 miles N.W. of Jerusalem. This Nebo is the **Nobai** (a signatory to the covenant) of Neh 10^{20}. Whether either form exactly corresponds to the original name is uncertain.

2. The *Moabite* town called Nebo is mentioned in Nu $32^{3.\ 38}$ 33^{47}, Is 15^{2}, Jer $48^{1.\ 22}$, 1 Ch 5^{8}, and also in the inscription of Mesha, who says: 'And Chemosh said unto me, Go take Nebo against Israel.' The exact site is unknown, but the town probably lay on, or near, Mt. Nebo.

3. **Mount Nebo** is the traditional site of Moses' view of Canaan (Dt $34^{1f.}$) and of his death (Dt 32^{50}). It is described as being 'in the land of Moab over against Jericho' and as reached from the 'steppes of Moab' (Dt 34^{1}). There can be no question that this description implies some point on the edge of the great plateau of Moab, which drops steeply some 4000 feet to the Jordan Valley or the Dead Sea. Two related problems call for solution: Which point in particular on this edge of the plateau is Mt. Nebo? How does the actual view thence agree with the terms of Dt $34^{1f.}$? There appears to be most reason for identifying Mt. Nebo with the point now called *Nebā*, and the identification might be regarded as certain if we could feel sure that *Nebā* is really an ancient name, and not merely (as it may be) the name attached to the summit after tradition had claimed it as the Nebo of the Bible. Nebā lies about 12 miles almost due E. of the Jordan at the point where the river enters the Dead Sea, and is one of the summits most easily ascended from the steppes of Moab. In this respect it satisfies the description better than the other sites which have been proposed, (1) the somewhat loftier Mt. Attārus 10 miles farther south, and (2) Mt. Oshā some 20 miles north of Mt. Nebā and a finer point of view, but *outside Moab*. The view from each of these great points and from several others along the great mountain wall which encloses the Jordan Valley on the E. is extensive and impressive; but its limitations in some directions are also sharply defined. Northward (or, strictly, between N. and N.N.W.) the view extends far; from Mt. Nebā, for example, it is possible to see Mt. Tabor, 70 miles away. Westwards, on the other hand, it is blocked at from 30 to 40 miles by the great wall formed by the sharp declivity of the Judæan plateau to the Jordan Valley. This western mountain wall is of approximately the same height as the Moabite wall on the E. Consequently *from no point in Moab* is it possible to see the 'hinder sea,' *i.e.* the Mediterranean; nor is it possible to see more than about one-third of the country between Jordan and the Mediterranean. It follows that the description in Dt $34^{1f.}$ is inaccurate not only in mentioning specific features (the Mediterranean, Dan, probably Zoar) which are out of sight, but in giving the general impression that the view commanded the whole of Western Palestine, whereas it actually commands but a third. The difficulty could be in part overcome by considering Dt $34^{2.\ 3}$ (together with the words 'of Gilead unto Dan' in v.[1]) an editor's note explaining the phrase 'all the land.' It is significant that this detailed description is absent from the Samaritan text, which has, instead, a shorter description which defines the land of Israel but not the view. For a further discussion of the view from Nebā, see *Expositor*, Nov. 1904, pp. 321–341. See also art. Pisgah. G. B. Gray.

NEBUCHADNEZZAR.—See next article.

NEBUCHADREZZAR.—The *Nabū-kudur-uzur* of the Babylonians, for which 'Nebuchad*n*ezzar' (the familiar form often retained in the present work) is an error, was son and successor of Nabopolassar, founder of the New Bab. empire (B.C. 604–561). The fall of Nineveh gave Egypt a chance to reclaim Syria, and Pharaoh-Necho made an attempt to regain it. Josiah fell in a vain effort to repel him (2 K 23^{29}), but Nebuchadrezzar defeated him at Carchemish (B.C. 605). He then recovered the whole of the West, and seems to have been threatening Egypt when recalled to Babylon by news of his father's death. At this time he first captured Jerusalem (Dn $1^{1.\ 2}$). We know little of his wars from his own inscriptions, which deal almost entirely with his buildings and pious acts at home. According to classical historians, he made Babylon one of the wonders of the world. He fortified it with a triple line of walls and a moat; he restored temples and cities throughout his kingdom. A fragment of his annals records that in his 37th year he fought against Amasis in Egypt (cf. Jer 46^{13-26}, Ezk 29^{2-20}). For his relations with Judah, see Jehoiakim, Jehoiachin, Zedekiah, Gedaliah. He certainly was the greatest king of Babylon since Hammurabi. For his madness, see Medicine, p. 599[a]. C. H. W. Johns.

NEBUSHAZBAN (Jer 39^{13}).—The Bab. *Nabū-shezib-anni*, 'Nabu save me,' was Rab-saris (wh. see) at the capture of Jerusalem by Nebuchadrezzar.

C. H. W. Johns.

NEBUZARADAN.—The Bab. *Nabū-zer-iddin*, 'Nabū has given seed,' 'the chief of the bodyguard' to Nebuchadrezzar (2 K 25^{8-20}, Jer 52^{30}). He was charged with the pacification of Judah after the fall of Jerusalem.

C. H. W. Johns.

NEC(H)O.—2 K $23^{29.\ 33}$, 2 Ch 35^{20}–36^{4}, Jer 46^{2}, Egyp. *Neko* or *Nekoou*, son of Psammetichus I. and second king of the 26th Dyn. (B.C. 610–594). Continuing the development of Egypt that had gone on in his father's long reign, Necho commenced a canal joining the Nile and the Red Sea, but abandoned it unfinished. Early in his reign he also endeavoured to revive the dominion of Egypt in Syria, seizing the opportunity afforded by the collapse of Assyria; his army reached the Euphrates,

having brushed aside the force with which Josiah endeavoured to oppose him at **Megiddo**, and slain that king. Returning, he deposed Jehoahaz, the son and successor of Josiah, at Riblah, substituted for him his elder brother Eliakim, whose name he changed to Jehoiakim, and exacted tribute from the new king at the expense of the people. But Nabopolassar, king of Babylon, was now secure enough in the east to send his son Nebuchadrezzar to dispute the prize with the Egyptian king. Nebuchadrezzar routed Necho's forces at **Carchemish** (in B.C. 605), and took from him all his Syrian possessions, from 'the brook of Egypt unto the river Euphrates.' F. Ll. Griffith.

NECK.—The most usual words are '*ōreph* and *tsavvār* in Heb., and *trachēlos* in Greek. Chains upon the neck were a common ornament (Pr 1^{9} etc., Ezk 16^{11}). To fall upon one another's neck has from old time been an affectionate form of greeting in the East (Gn 33^{4} etc.). The neck under yoke meant subjection and servitude (Dt 28^{48} etc.); breaking of the yoke meant deliverance (Gn 27^{40}, Jer 30^{8}). Stiff or hard of neck (Dt 31^{27} etc.) signified one difficult to guide, like a hard-necked bullock in the furrow. To put the foot upon the neck of a foe, meant his utter overthrow (Jos 10^{24} etc.). To put the neck to work (Neh 3^{5}) was a phrase equivalent to our own 'put a hand to.' W. Ewing.

NECKLACE.—See Ornaments, § 3.

NECROMANCY.—See Magic Divination and Sorcery.

NEDABIAH.—A descendant of David (1 Ch 3^{18}).

NEEDLE'S EYE.—See Camel, *ad fin.*

NEEDLEWORK.—See Embroidery.

NEESING.—The vb. 'to neese' (mod. 'sneeze') occurs in the 1611 ed. of AV at 2 K 4^{35}, 'the child neesed seven times.' But the 'neesing' (Job 41^{18}) of leviathan (the crocodile) means hard breathing, snorting, and does not come from the same A.S. verb as 'neese' meaning 'to sneeze.'

NEGEB, originally meaning 'the dry land,' is in most passages in the OT the name of a definite geographical area (Dt 1^{7} 34^{3}, Jos 10^{40} 12^{8} etc.); the word is, however, used also in the sense of **'South'** (Gn 13^{14}). The Negeb was often the scene of Abraham's wanderings (Gn 12^{9} $13^{1.\ 3}$ 20^{1}); here Hagar was succoured by the angel (Gn $16^{7.\ 14}$); Isaac (Gn 24^{62}) and Jacob (Gn 37^{1} 46^{5}) both dwelt there; through this district passed the spies (Nu $13^{17.\ 22}$). In Nu 13^{29} the Negeb is described as belonging to the Amalekites. Later the land was allotted to Simeon, and its cities are enumerated (Jos. 19^{1-9}); later they reverted to Judah (Jos 15^{21-32}). David was stationed by Achish at Ziklag on the borders of the Negeb (1 S 27^{6}). At this time the Negeb is described as of several parts, the Negeb of Judah, of the Jerahmeelites, and of the Kenites (1 S 27^{10}); while in 1 S 30^{14} we read of the Negeb of the Cherethites and of Caleb. Jeremiah (13^{19}) prophesied trouble as coming on the cities of this region, but on the return from captivity they too were to participate in the blessings (32^{44} 33^{13}).

The district in question was an ill-defined tract of country lying S. of Hebron, and extending some 70 miles to the *Tih* or desert. It was bounded on the E. by the Dead Sea and the *'Arābāh*, while W. it faded away into the Maritime Plain. It was a pastoral region, wedged between the cultivated lands on the N. and the wilderness, and formed a most efficient barrier to the land of Israel towards the South. Attacks of large armed forces could not come from this direction, but only by the *'Arābāh* to the S.E. (Gn 14), *viâ* Gaza on S.W., or by the E. of the Jordan. The Israelites themselves were compelled to take the last route. The country consists of a series of mountainous ridges running in a general direction E. and W., with open wadys in which a certain amount of water collects even now; in ancient days dams were constructed in places to collect and store the rainfall, which to-day soon runs off. Though now little better than a wilderness, the numerous ruins of towns and broken terraces witness to days of large population and good cultivation; the OT, too, in the stories of Saul's and David's captures from the Amalekites (1 S 15^{9} 27^{9}), witnesses to a great wealth of cattle. In Byzantine times the land attained its highest prosperity. Under neglect it has become again little better than a desert: the Bedouin of these parts are known in Palestine for their skill in making rough cisterns on the hillsides to catch the surface water, and have in recent years been employed to construct many such in the 'wilderness of Judæa.' Beersheba and the district around have recently been greatly improved: a rough carriage road has been made from there to Gaza. E. W. G. Masterman.

NEGINAH, NEGINOTH.—See Psalms, p. 772[a].

NEHELAMITE.—An epithet applied to Shemaiah, a false prophet who opposed Jeremiah (Jer $29^{24.\ 31.\ 32}$). According to analogy the word should mean 'an inhabitant of Nehelam,' but there is no place of that name mentioned in the Bible.

NEHEMIAH.—**1.** One of the twelve heads of the Jewish community (Ezr 2^{2} = Neh 7^{7}), 1 Es 5^{8} **Nehemias.** **2.** One of those who helped to repair the wall of Jerusalem (Neh 3^{16}). **3.** See the following article.

NEHEMIAH.—Son of Hacaliah and cupbearer to king Artaxerxes. Our sole source of information regarding this great Jewish patriot is the book that bears his name. According to this, in the 20th year of Artaxerxes (*i.e.*, as usually understood, of Artaxerxes I. Longimanus, 464–424), B.C. 445–444, Nehemiah is at Susa, the chief city of Elam and the winter residence of the Persian court. Here, in consequence of a report that reaches him regarding the ruined condition of Jerusalem and its people, Nehemiah is, on his own initiative, appointed governor (*pechah*) of the province of Judæa by the king. He is granted a limited leave of absence by the latter, furnished with royal letters and an escort to assure his safe passage; and also with a royal rescript to Asaph, the keeper of the king's forests, commanding that he shall be furnished with sufficient supplies of timber. On arriving at Jerusalem, having satisfied himself as to the ruinous condition of the city walls, he energetically begins the task of rebuilding them, and, in spite of much opposition from without (from Sanballat and others), he, with the aid of the entire Jewish population drawn from the outlying villages, successfully accomplishes his undertaking within two months (Neh 1–7). All this, according to the usually accepted chronology, happened in the year 444. The wall was 'finished' on the 25th day of the 6th month (6^{15}), and on the first day of the following month the events of the religious reform described in chs. 8–10 apparently began. The Book of the Law was read by Ezra in the presence of Nehemiah before the people in solemn assembly; the Feast of Tabernacles was celebrated (8^{13-18}); national confession of sin was made (ch. 9); and the 'covenant' was sealed, the people pledging themselves to observe its obligations (ch. 10). In 12^{27-43} a description of the solemn dedication of the completed walls is given. If 2 Mac 1^{18} can be relied on as preserving a true tradition, the dedication took place on the 25th of Chisley (December), *i.e.* three months after the completion, and two months after the reading of the Law and the celebration of the Feast of Tabernacles.

The exact sequence of these events is uncertain. Some would place the reading of the Law, etc., subsequent to the Dedication, in the following year. Rawlinson proposed to place the Dedication 12 years later, in Nehemiah's second governorship. But this view is improbable.

Shortly after these events, it would seem, Nehemiah

returned to the Persian court, and was absent from Jerusalem for some years.

How long exactly Nehemiah's first governorship lasted, and for how great an interval he was absent from Jerusalem, are uncertain. In 5^{14} it seems to be stated definitely that he was governor in the first instance for 12 years. But in 13^{6} Nehemiah says: 'But all this time I was not at Jerusalem: for in the two-and-thirtieth year of Artaxerxes, king of Babylon, I went unto the king, and, after certain days, asked I leave of the king.' On the whole it seems probable that 5^{14} means that during the twelve years Nehemiah, though absent on court duty, was actually governor, ruling by deputies; and that in the 32nd year of the king's reign he again secured leave of absence, and came to Jerusalem (B.C. 433). The evils he found on his return must have taken some considerable time to develop.

On his return to Jerusalem in 433 Nehemiah found various abuses and internal disorders rampant in the community. Eliashib 'the priest' had provided Tobiah with quarters in one of the Temple-chambers ($13^{4f.}$), the Levites had not received their dues, the Sabbath was openly desecrated in and around Jerusalem ($13^{15f.}$), and, in spite of Ezra's great puritanical movement, mixed marriages were still common, and the children of such marriages spoke 'half' in their mothers' foreign speech ($13^{23f.}$). Possibly information as to these developments had impelled Nehemiah to return. At any rate, on his arrival he asserted himself with characteristic vigour, and inaugurated drastic measures of reform. One characteristic sentence vividly illustrates this relentless zeal: 'And one of the sons of Joiada, the son of Eliashib the high priest, was son-in-law to Sanballat the Horonite: therefore I chased him from me' (13^{28}). 'Thus cleansed I them'—he proceeds—'from every thing strange, and appointed wards for the priests and for the Levites, every one to his work: and for the wood offering at times appointed, and for the first-fruits' (13^{30}).

The Book of Nehemiah (see next article) is composite in character, and the narrative is in part fragmentary. Hence the actual course of events is by no means always clear and certain. Some scholars are of opinion that the Artaxerxes referred to is Artaxerxes II. Mnemon (reigned B.C. 404–358), and suppose that Nehemiah was governor for the 12 years 384–372, and again at a later period. Josephus places Nehemiah in the time of Xerxes.

The personality of Nehemiah, as revealed in his memoirs, is in many respects strangely attractive. He appears as a gifted and accomplished man of action, well versed in the ways of the world, and well equipped to meet difficult situations. The combination of strength and gracefulness, the generosity, fervent patriotism, and religious zeal of the man contributed to form a personality of striking force and power. He is a unique figure in the OT, and rendered services of incalculable value to the cause of Judaism. Even his limitations reveal a certain strength (*e.g.* his naïve prayer: 'Remember unto me, O my God, for good all that I have done for this people'). Like all great men, he has become the subject of legend (cf. 2 Mac $1^{18f.}$). But he deserves in every respect the eulogium pronounced upon him by ben-Sira (Sir 49^{13}) and by Josephus, who (*Ant.* XI. v. 8) says of him: 'He was a man of good and righteous character, and very ambitious to make his own nation happy; and he hath left the walls of Jerusalem as an eternal monument of himself.'

G. H. Box.

NEHEMIAH, BOOK OF.—The two books, separated in our Bible and appearing there as *Ezra* and *Nehemiah*, originally formed a single book (as appears from the Talmud, the LXX, and from internal evidence), which was the sequel to *Chronicles*. In fact *Ezra* verbally continues the narrative of 2 Ch 36 (cf. 2 Ch $36^{22.\ 23}$ with Ezr $1^{1.\ 2}$), and the whole work—1 and 2 Chron., Ezra, and Nehemiah—forms a single continuous narrative from Adam to Nehemiah's second visit to Jerusalem, and was probably compiled by the Chronicler. That part of this voluminous work which now bears the title *Nehemiah* is so called because it deals largely with the career of the Jewish patriot whose name it carries, and embodies excerpts of considerable extent from his personal memoirs.

1. Extracts from the memoirs embodied in Nehemiah.—(*a*) 1^{1}–7^{5}. At the outset we meet with a long section where the first person sing. is used throughout, viz. 1^{1}–7^{5}. These chapters are indubitably authentic extracts from Nehemiah's personal memoirs. They are distinguished by individual characteristics which help us to form a distinct idea of the writer's personality. Enthusiasm for a great idea, and unstinting and unselfish devotion to its realization, are marked features. From 5^{14} it is clear that the narrative can not have been put into its present form till some years after the events recounted. Doubts have been raised as to the authenticity of 6^{15} (the walls finished in 52 days), but the objection is not a fatal one. It should be noted, however, that according to Josephus (*Ant.* XI. v. 8) the building of the walls lasted 2 years and 8 months. On what authority Josephus bases this assertion is not known. (3^{1-32}, a list of persons who helped to rebuild the walls of Jerusalem, has also been the subject of doubt.)

(*b*) 7^{6-73a}. This section contains a list of the exiles who returned with Zerubbabel, which Nehemiah (7^{5}) says he 'found': it also appears in Ezra's memoirs (Ezr 2), with slight differences. It forms a natural and easy continuation to 7^{5}, and probably from the very first stood as a constituent element in Nehemiah's memoirs.

(*c*) Ch. **11.** This chapter, which contains a list of persons who drew lots to reside at Jerusalem, and other details regarding the settlement of the capital, probably also stood in the original memoirs. The list—which partly recurs in 1 Ch 9^{3-17}—is to be regarded as the immediate continuation of ch. 7 (with Ewald), and refers to measures taken by Zerubbabel. Doubtless it was followed in the memoirs by an account of what Nehemiah did to resume and complete these measures (cf. $7^{4.\ 5}$), but this has, unfortunately, not been preserved to us.

(*d*) 12^{27-43}. Account of the dedication of the walls. Notice the resumption of the 1st pers. sing. (vv.$^{31.\ 38.\ 40}$). This passage is an excerpt from the memoirs, but has been abridged and revised by the compiler.

(*e*) 13^{4-31}. Another extract from the memoirs, giving details of a time some 12 or more years later than that referred to in the earlier extracts. It deals with Nehemiah's second visit.

2. Passages in Nehemiah not derived from the memoirs.—(*a*) 7^{73b}–10^{40} (^{39}). This long section breaks the connexion which it is generally agreed exists between 7^{73a} and ch. 11. In its present form it is doubtless due to the compiler; but it contains so many details of an apparently authentic character, its representation is often so vivid, that it is probable that the work of an eye-witness has been used and worked up by the compiler in producing the present narrative. Probably 9^{6}–10^{40} has been taken over directly from the memoirs of Ezra (the LXX ascribes the prayer beginning in 9^{6} to Ezra: 'And Ezra said'). The whole section, therefore, can be regarded as of first-rate authority.

(*b*) 12^{1-26}. A list of priests and Levites who returned with Zerubbabel. Notice how the priestly genealogy is carried far down below Nehemiah's time, as far, in fact, as the reign of *Darius the Persian* (v.^{22}), *i.e.* Darius III. Codomannus (reigned B.C. 335–331). The high priest Jaddua mentioned in v.^{11} is known from Josephus to have been a contemporary of Alexander the Great.

3. Historical value of the Book.—On the whole, recent criticism has been favourable to the older view as to the essential trustworthiness of the narrative of events given in Ezra-Nehemiah. Reference has already been made in the previous article to the view that the Artaxerxes mentioned is the second of that name. If

this is accepted, Ezra's visit and work of reform fall in the year 398. Kosters goes much further than this.

'According to him, a return of exiles in the second year of Cyrus did not take place at all; the building of the Temple and the walls was rather the work of the population that had remained behind in the land (2 K 25^{12}), of whom Zerubbabel and Nehemiah were governors; Ezra's visit and work of reform fall in the second governorship of Nehemiah, after the events narrated in Neh 13^{4-31}. Ezra arrived for the first time after 433; first of all the community was reconstituted by the dissolution of the mixed marriages, and then solemnly bound to the observance of the Law which had been brought with him by Ezra: the first return-journey under Zerubbabel, with all those who joined themselves with him, has been invented by the Chronicler, who reversed the order of events. Finally, according to Torrey, the "I" passages, with the exception of Neh 1. 2 (mainly) and 3^{33}–6^{19} (mainly), have been fabricated by the Chronicler, who in them created his masterpiece; and Nehemiah also belongs to the reign of Artaxerxes II.' (Cornill).

Kosters' theory has been energetically opposed by Wellhausen, and since Ed. Meyer's demonstration of the essential authenticity of the documents embodied in Ezra 4–7, the extreme form of the critical theory may be regarded as having lost most of its plausibility.

G. H. Box.

NEHEMIAS.—**1.** 1 Es 5^{8} = **Nehemiah,** Ezr 2^{2} Neh 7^{7}. **2.** 1 Es 5^{40}, **Nehemiah** the contemporary of Ezra.

NEHILOTH.—See PSALMS, p. 772a.

NEHUM.—One of the twelve heads of the Jewish community (Neh 7^{7}); prob. a scribal error for **Rehum** of Ezr 2^{2}; called in 1 Es 5^{8} **Roimus.**

NEHUSHTA.—Wife of king Jehoiakim and mother of Jehoiachin (2 K 24^{8}). She was taken a prisoner to Babylon with her son in 597 (2 K 24^{12}).

NEHUSHTAN.—See SERPENT (BRAZEN).

NEIEL.—See NEAH.

NEKODA.—**1.** Eponym of a family of Nethinim (Ezr 2^{48} = Neh 7^{50}); called in 1 Es 5^{31} **Noeba.** **2.** Name of a family which returned from the Exile, but were unable to prove their Israelitish descent (Ezr 2^{60} = Neh 7^{62}); called in 1 Es 5^{37} **Nekodan.**

NEKODAN (1 Es 5^{37}) = **Nekoda,** Ezr 2^{60}, Neh 7^{62}.

NEMUEL.—**1.** See JEMUEL. The patronymic **Nemuelites** occurs in Nu 26^{12}. **2.** A Reubenite (Nu 26^{9})

NEPHEG.—**1.** Son of Izhar and brother of Korah (Ex 6^{21}). **2.** One of David's sons (2 S 5^{15} = 1 Ch 3^{7} 14^{6}).

NEPHEW.—In AV 'nephew' means 'grandson.' It occurs in Jg 12^{14}, Job 18^{19}, Is 14^{22}, 1 Ti 5^{4}.

NEPHILIM.—A Heb. word, of uncertain etymology, retained by RV in the only two places where it occurs in OT (AV 'giants'). In Gn 6^{4} we read: 'The Nephilim were in the earth in those days, and also afterwards, when the sons of God went in to the daughters of men and they bare to them; these are the heroes which were of old, the men of renown.' The verse has the appearance of an explanatory gloss to the obscure mythological fragment which precedes, and is very difficult to understand. But we can hardly be wrong in supposing that it bears witness to a current belief (to which there are many heathen parallels) in a race of heroes or demi-gods, produced by the union of divine beings ('sons of God') with mortal women. The other notice is Nu 13^{33}, where the name is applied to men of gigantic stature seen by the spies among the natives of Canaan. That these giants were popularly identified with the demi-gods of Gn 6^{4}, there is no reason to doubt. See also art. GIANT.

J. SKINNER.

NEPHISHESIM, NEPHISIM.—See NAPHISH.

NEPHTHAI.—See NEPHTHAR.

NEPHTHAR.—The name given by Nehemiah to a 'thick substance' which was found in a dry pit after the return from Babylon (2 Mac 1^{18-36}). The legend relates how certain priests, before the Captivity, took the sacred fire and hid it. On the Return, when a search was made, there was found in its place this highly inflammable substance, which seems not to have differed much from the naphtha of commerce. Some of it was poured over the sacrifice, and was ignited by the great heat of the sun and burned with a bright flame. The name *nephthar* or **nephthai** [v.36] has not been satisfactorily explained, although it is said by the writer to mean 'cleansing.'

T. A. MOXON.

NEPHTOAH.—A town on the boundary between Judah and Benjamin (Jos 15^{9} 18^{15}), usually identified with *Lifta*, about 2 miles N.W. of Jerusalem (so Tobler, Baedeker-Socin, Guthe, etc.). The Talmud identifies Nephtoah with **Etam,** the modern *'Ain 'Atām*, at what are popularly called the Pools of Solomon, S. of Bethlehem (Neubauer, *Géog. du Talm.* p. 146). This latter is favoured by Conder, who would place **Eleph** at *Lifta*. The phrase 'the fountain of the waters of Nephtoah' would lead us to expect abundant supplies of water. In this respect the claim of *'Ain 'Atām* is certainly stronger than that of *Lifta*.

W. EWING.

NEPHUSHESIM, NEPHUSIM.—See NAPHISI.

NER.—The father of Abner (1 S $14^{50f.}$ $26^{5.\ 14}$ etc.).

NEREUS.—A Roman Christian, to whom, along with his sister, St. Paul sends greeting in Ro 16^{15}. The expression 'and all the saints that are with them' seems to point to some community of Christians accustomed to meet together.

MORLEY STEVENSON.

NERGAL.—The god of the city of Cutha in Babylonia, hence worshipped by the captive Cuthæans who were transplanted to Samaria by Sargon (2 K 17^{30}). In the Bab.-Assyr. pantheon he was a god of war and pestilence, and of hunting, and the planet Mars was sacred to him.

The name Nergal is probably of Sumerian origin, namely, *Ner-gal*—'great warrior.' The god is sometimes in the non-Semitic texts called *Ner-unu-gal*, 'hero of the lower world,' evidently indicating his connexion with death and destruction.

W. M. NESBIT.

NERGAL-SHAREZER.—The Bab. *Nērgal-shar-uzur* 'Nergal preserve the king,' the Rab-mag (wh. see), who, with Nebuzaradan and Nebushazban, released Jeremiah from prison (Jer $39^{3.\ 13}$). It is tempting to suppose that he was the Nērgal-shar-uzur who married a daughter of Nebuchadrezzar, and later came to the throne of Babylon, and is known from classical writers as Neriglissar (B.C. 559–556).

C. H. W. JOHNS.

NERI.—An ancestor of Jesus (Lk 3^{27}).

NERIAH.—The father of Baruch (Jer $32^{12.\ 16}$ $36^{4.\ 8.\ 32}$ $43^{3.\ 6}$ 45^{1} 51^{59}). In Bar 1^{1} the Greek form of the name, **Nerias,** is retained.

NERIAS.—See NERIAH.

NERO is not mentioned by name in the NT, but his connexion with St. Paul's trial (Ac 25–28, where 'Cæsar' is Nero), the mention of his household (Ph 4^{22}), and the general consensus of opinion that the **number of the Beast** 666 (Rev 13^{18}) is a cypher indicating *Nero Kesar* (the Gr. way of pronouncing the Emperor's name), are sufficient reasons for including him here. Lucius Domitius Ahenobarbus, son of Gnaeus Domitius Ahenobarbus (consul 32 (died 40) A.D.) and Iulia Agrippina, daughter of Germanicus (the adopted son of the Emperor Tiberius), who became wife of the Emperor Claudius in 48 A.D., was born on 15 Dec. in the year 37 A.D. On adoption by his step-father on 25 Feb. 50 he received new names, by one of which, Nero, he has since been known. On the murder of Claudius his sole rule began in 54, and during it he was officially known as Imperator Nero Claudius Cæsar Augustus Germanicus. His death took place on 9 June, 68, in his thirty-first year.

Nero inherited evil qualities from his father and mother, which for the first five years of his reign, when

he was a mere youth, were kept in check by his two tutors, Burrus an experienced soldier, and Seneca the distinguished philosopher. His mother, a woman of very strong will, who had successfully schemed for his advancement, had no good influence on him, and, when of age to throw off all restraints, he plunged into follies and excesses which suggest that madness had unhinged his mind. His defects, however, seem to have done little more than scandalize and amuse Rome: the prosperity of the provinces, thanks to the excellence of the bureaucratic machine, continued. Space permits only a reference to some important events in his reign.

The question of the Eastern frontier, which was a problem ever present to the Emperors, demanded settlement from Nero. The safety of this frontier could be secured only if Armenia were under the suzerainty of Rome. It was therefore the object of their perpetual rivals, the Parthians, to obtain this suzerainty. The Romans dared not annex Armenia, because it would inevitably become necessary to annex also the whole of the country on the west of the Tigris. At the opening of Nero's reign, Tiridates, a Parthian, had established himself securely on the throne of Armenia, and the possession of Armenia by the Romans was thus seriously threatened. The ultimate intention of Rome was to offer Armenia to Tiridates as a gift, but as a necessary preliminary to this they made the most vigorous preparations for war. Cn. Domitius Corbulo, one of the ablest generals of the 1st cent., was appointed by Nero to conduct the campaign, and the governor of Syria and the other officials and client-princes in the neighbourhood of Armenia were instructed to co-operate with him. The condition of the Eastern troops caused a delay of two and a half years. After a terrible winter passed in tents in the uplying plain of Armenia, Corbulo was ready to strike in spring 58, and as the result of this first campaign Tiridates asked for terms. He was offered his kingdom as a gift from Rome, but refused to accept it, and in the second campaign (59) the Roman general marched upon Tiridates' capital Artaxata, which surrendered, and proceeded thence by a long and difficult march to Tigranocerta, the second capital, in the extreme south, which in its turn surrendered. In the year 60, which was occupied in pacification, Tigranes, who was educated in Rome, was placed on the throne by Nero. The folly of this king and the cowardice and incompetence of the Roman general Pætus threatened to undo all that Corbulo had achieved; but Corbulo, as supreme commander-in-chief for the whole Eastern frontier, retrieved the loss in the year 63 and following on this successful campaign Tiridates received the crown as the gift of Rome. The long peace with Armenia which followed is to the credit of Corbulo's consummate generalship and Nero's skilful diplomacy. The Roman hold on Britain, which his predecessor Claudius had obtained, was further strengthened under Nero. It was in his reign that the justly aroused rebellion under Boudicca (better known by the incorrect form Boadicea) in East Anglia was crushed, after terrible massacres by the Britons, by the governor Suetonius Paulinus (60). There was henceforth, for a considerable time, peace in Britain. The Germany and Danube frontiers also engaged attention in Nero's time.

In the city Nero exercised a wise care for the corn and water supplies. He also increased the power of the Senate, and may be said to have constituted an Imperial Cabinet. He was fond of the arts, especially music and poetry, but he never attained more than a respectable standard in either. On 19 July, 64, fire broke out in Rome, and raged for nine days in all, leaving great parts of the city in ashes. On the evidence Nero must be acquitted of all connexion with the fire, which was due to chance. The populace, however, suspected the Emperor, and were anxious to bring retribution on the originators of the fire. Nero selected the Christians as scapegoats, and he may have believed them guilty, as some of them were understood to have confessed their guilt. They were subjected to every imaginable variety of cruel death. These punishments did not remove suspicion from Nero, and, as the populace soon became sated, other charges had to be brought against them. Of these charges, hostility to civilized society was the chief. At a later stage in history we find evidence to justify the conclusion that the name 'Christian' was held to be a sufficient charge in itself. A conspiracy against the Emperor's life, in which some of the chief men in the State were implicated, failed of its purpose through treachery in 65; the effect on the Emperor's mind issued in a reign of terror, and a number of the noblest persons, particularly Stoics, were put to death. The later days of Nero saw the rise of the Jewish insurrection against the Roman power, which culminated in the destruction of Jerusalem and the massacre of countless Jews in A.D. 70. Two years before that, however, the revolt of Gaul under Vindex had been the prelude to Nero's death. His life of ease and luxury had weakened a nature never inured to hardship, and when the hour of danger came he sought a refuge in suicide. Not long after his death there arose a curious rumour in the East, that he had come to life again, or had not really died. The East had seen nothing but his best side, and this rumour, born of a desire to see him emperor again, seriously endangered the peace of the Empire, as more than one person came forward claiming to be Nero.

Of the trial or trials of St. Paul we know nothing certain. It is highly probable that his appeal was heard either before a committee of the Emperor's privy council, or before the Emperor's deputy, the prefect of the city.

A. SOUTER.

NEST (*qēn*).—Used literally of birds' nests (Dt 22^{6} 32^{11}, Job 39^{27}, Ps 84^{3} 104^{17}, Pr 27^{8}, Is 16^{2}); metaphorically for a lofty fortress (Nu 24^{21}, Jer 49^{16}, Ob ^{4}, Hab 2^{9}); Job refers to his lost home as a nest (29^{18}); in Gn 6^{14} the '**rooms**' of the ark are (see mg.) literally 'nests' (*qinnīm*). In Mt 8^{20}, Lk 9^{58} our Lord contrasts His wandering, homeless life with that of the birds which have their 'nests' (*kataskēnōseis*, RVm 'lodging-places').

E. W. G. MASTERMAN.

NETAIM.—A place situated probably in the Shephēlah of Judah. See GEDERAH.

NETHANEL.—**1.** The 'prince' of Issachar (Nu 1^{8} 2^{5} $7^{18.\ 23}$ 10^{15}). **2.** One of David's brothers (1 Ch 2^{14}). **3.** A priest in the time of David (1 Ch 15^{24}). **4.** A Levite (1 Ch 24^{6}). **5.** One of Obed-edom's sons (1 Ch 26^{4}). **6.** A 'prince' sent by Jehoshaphat to teach in the cities of Judah (2 Ch 17^{7}). **7.** A chief of the Levites under Josiah (2 Ch 35^{9} [1 Es 1^{9} **Nathanael**]). **8.** A priest who had married a foreign wife (Ezr 10^{22} [1 Es 9^{22} **Nathanael**]). **9.** A priest in time of Joiakim (Neh 12^{21}). **10.** A Levite musician (Neh 12^{36}).

NETHANIAH.—**1.** The father of Ishmael the murderer of Gedaliah (2 K $25^{23.\ 25}$, Jer $40^{8.\ 14.\ 15}$ $41^{1ff.\ 6f.\ 9.\ 10ff.\ 15f.\ 18}$). **2.** An Asaphite (1 Ch $25^{2.\ 12}$). **3.** A Levite (2 Ch 17^{8}). **4.** The father of Jehudi (Jer 36^{14}).

NETHINIM.—The word is a late form of a passive participle *nĕthūnīm*, and denotes 'men who are *given*.' In early days, when sacrifices were offered in the open air, there was little difficulty occasioned by the odour and dirt arising from the blood, fat, and ashes. But when they were offered within the walls of a temple, and offered with great frequency and with large numbers of victims, some very disagreeable drudgery was always necessary. The chopping of wood, lighting of fires, sharpening of knives, drawing of water, the cleansing not only of the altar and its surroundings and utensils, but of the whole of the Temple precincts, and the performance of many menial offices for the priests, required a large staff of servants. The analogy of other lands suggests that these offices would be performed by slaves, procured either by purchase or capture. The

Greeks had *hierodouloi*, 'temple slaves,' and the Mohammedans at Mecca similarly. It is not known at what date the practice arose in Israel; but there seem to have been three stages in the history of Temple servants. (1) They were slaves in the strict sense; (2) they were admitted to Israelite privileges, being circumcised, and treated as free men holding an official position in the Church; (3) they rose in standing and prestige so as to become practically equivalent to the Levites.

1. The name *Nethinim* is not used before the Exile. Ezr 8^{20} speaks of the Nethinim as those 'whom David and the princes had *given* for the service of the Levites,' which shows, at least, that common belief traced their origin back to David. A very similar class of persons, 'the children of **Solomon's servants,**' is mentioned in Ezr $2^{55.\ 58}$, Neh $7^{57.\ 60}$ 11^{3}; their descent was evidently traced to the non-Israelite slaves employed by Solomon in connexion with his buildings, some of whom must have laboured in the new royal sanctuary (cf. 1 K $9^{19\text{-}21}$). This employment of foreign slaves in the Temple continued till the beginning of the Exile (Ezk $44^{6\text{f.}}$).

2. A change in the status of these men was brought about by the Exile. When the people were far from the land, every one who had held any sort of position in the Temple must have gained a certain prestige. The former Temple-slaves seemed to have formed themselves into a guild. By the very fact of their exile, they were freed from their slavery to the Temple, and thus when they and their sons returned to Jerusalem, they returned as free men, who were recognized as part of the nation. As a guild, they acquired for themselves the title Nethinim, owing to their traditional origin. In Ezr $2^{43\text{-}58.\ 70}$ = Neh $7^{46\text{-}56.\ 73}$ are given the names of the Nethinim who are reported to have returned with Zerubbabel; and they are mentioned together with priests, Levites, singers, and porters. Some of the names in the list are undoubtedly of foreign origin. Again, Ezra relates (8^{20}) that on his return, 220 Nethinim from Casiphia accompanied him. After a time we find them so completely established as a sacred official class, that privileges are accorded to them. They shared with priests, Levites, singers, and porters, immunity from taxation (Ezr 7^{24}). They lived in a special quarter of the city, named Ophel, *i.e.* the southern and eastern slope of the Temple hill, or more particularly that part of it which reached to the **Water-gate** on the east, and to the tower projecting from the royal palace (Neh 3^{26}). They were thus near the Temple, and Bp. Ryle (*Ezra*, etc., p. lviii) points out the appropriateness of assigning to 'drawers of water' the position by the Water-gate, which communicated with the Virgin's Spring. And v.^{31} mentions 'the house of the Nethinim,' which must have been an official building used by them during their periods of duty. They were under the command of two chiefs—of whom one, at least, was a member of their own body—Ziha and Gishpa (Neh 11^{21}); the former is the first in the list, in Ezr 2^{43} = Neh 7^{46}, and Gishpa may possibly be the same as Hasupha, the second name. Further, only a portion of them, like the priests, Levites, singers, and porters, dwelt in Jerusalem; the others 'dwelt in their cities' (Ezr 2^{70} = Neh 7^{73}, 1 Ch 9^{2}). And so far were they from being regarded as foreign slaves, that they joined, as full members of the community, in the oath that they would not (among other things) allow their sons and daughters to marry any but Israelites (Neh $10^{28\text{-}30}$).

3. From this point the Nethinim gradually rose in official position, until they were indistinguishable from the **Levites.** In 1 Ch 23^{28} the Levites are spoken of in such a way as to suggest that the term included all Temple-servants. And conversely, since singers and doorkeepers (who are quite distinct from Levites in Ezr.-Neh.) were explicitly reckoned by the Chronicler as Levites (1 Ch 15^{16} $26^{1\text{-}19}$), it is probable that the same was the case with the Nethinim. Finally, in 1 Es 1^{3} the Levites, and in $8^{22.\ 48}$ the Nethinim, are described by the same term, *hierodouloi*.

A. H. M'Neile.

NETOPHAH.—A town, the name of which first occurs in the list of the exiles who returned under Zerubbabel (Ezr 2^{22} = Neh 7^{26} = 1 Es 5^{18} **Netophas**). Perhaps the name is preserved in the modern *Beit Nettif* at the entrance to the *Wady es-Sunt* or Vale of Elah. The gentilic name **the Netophathite**(s) occurs in 2 S $23^{28\text{f.}}$, 2 K 25^{23}, Jer 40^{8}.

NETOPHAS (1 Es 5^{18}) = **Netophah** of Ezr 2^{22} || Neh 7^{26}.

NETS were used in taking wild animals (see Hunting), and birds (see Snares); but their main use has always been in **fishing.** The ancient Hebrews were not fishermen, nor do they seem to have eaten much fish. There is no reference in OT to fishing in the inland waters of Palestine. The fishermen and the implements named are either Egyptian or Phœnician. The 'fisher-partners' of Job 41^{6} are Phœnicians; the fishermen of Is 19^{8} are Egyptians. Fish were taken along the Mediterranean coast with 'line and hook' (Job 41^{1}, Is 19^{8}, Am 4^{2}), and the 'fish-spear' or 'harpoon' (Job 41^{7}). But sufficient quantities for commercial purposes could be obtained only by means of nets. (*a*) Heb. *mikmār* (Is 51^{20}) and *makmōr* (Ps 141^{10}) and the fem. forms *mikmōreth* (Is 19^{8}) and *mikmereth* (Hab $1^{15.\ 16}$) is probably = Gr. *sagēnē* (Mt 13^{47}), the Arab. *jarf*, '**draw-net.**' It is as much as 400 metres long, 20 ft. deep, and of fine mesh, so that it sweeps everything before it. From the stern of a boat it is paid out in a great semicircle, the lower edge carried down by lead sinkers, the upper sustained by cork floats. It is then drawn ashore, with its contents, by ropes attached to the ends. Fishermen swim behind, diving to ease it over stones and other obstructions. This accounts for Simon Peter's condition (Jn 21^{7}). (*b*) Heb. *chērem* (Ezk 26^{5}, Hab 1^{15} etc.), Gr. *amphiblēstron* (Mt 14^{13} etc.), the mod. *shabakeh*, '**cast-net.**' It is circular, of close mesh, with a cord attached to the centre. The fisherman gathers it together, arranges it on his arm and shoulder, and moves, or wades, stealthily along the shore until he sees signs of fish within reach; then, with a skilful cast, the net flies out and drops full circle on the water; lead beads round the circumference carry it to the bottom, enclosing the fish, which are then secured at leisure. (*c*) A net used to-day, called *m'batten*, consists of three nets strung on a single rope, the two outer being of wide, the inner of close, mesh. It is let down in fairly deep water, parallel with the shore. The fish pass through the outer net, pushing the inner before them through the wide meshes on the other side, thus being entangled. The net is pulled up and emptied into the boats. (*d*) Gr. *diktyon* (Mt 4^{20} etc.) is a term used for nets in general. In the LXX *amphiblēstron* and *sagēnē* are used indiscriminately as tr. alike of *chērem* and *mikmār*, etc.

A tax is levied on all fish caught in the Sea of Galilee. The favourite fishing-grounds are near '*Ain el-Fulīyeh*, south of *el-Mejdel*; the bay at *et-Tābigha*; and the waters of *el-Bateihah* in the N.E. The Upper Jordan and *el-Hūleh* lie within the private lands of the Sultan, to whom payment is made for fishing rights. See an excellent account of 'The Fisheries of Galilee' in *PEFSt*, Jan. 1908, p. 40 ff., by Dr. Masterman of Jerusalem.

W. Ewing.

NETTLE.—**1.** *chārūl* (Job 30^{7}, Pr 24^{31}, Zeph 2^{9}), more probably a generic name for thorn bushes growing in the wilderness, such as the *Zizyphus* and varieties of acacia. **2.** *qimmōs* (Is 34^{13}, Hos 9^{6}), *qimmĕsōnīm* (Pr 24^{31} EV '**thorns**'). These words all refer probably to nettles, which are abundant in deserted places in Palestine.

E. W. G. Masterman.

NEW BIRTH.—See Regeneration.

NEW MOON.—See Feasts, § **2**, and Moon.

NEW TESTAMENT.—See Bible, Canon of NT, Text of NT.

NEZIAH.—The name of a family of Nethinim (Ezr 2^{54}, Neh 7^{56}); called in 1 Es 5^{32} **Nasi** or **Nasith** (the latter form in AV and RVm).

NEZIB.—A town in the Shephēlah of Judah (Jos 15^{43}); the present *Beit Nusîb*, 7 Roman miles from Eleutheropolis on the road to Hebron.

NIBHAZ.—An idol of the Avvites (2 K 17^{31}). But the Heb. text is corrupt, and no identification of this deity is possible.

NIBSHAN.—A city in the desert of Judah (Jos 15^{62}). The name has not been recovered.

NICANOR.—**1.** Son of Patroclus, a Syrian general who was engaged in the Jewish wars (1 Mac 3^{38}). He was sent by Lysias in B.C. 166 against Judas Maccabæus, but was defeated. Five years later he was sent on the same errand by Demetrius; this time he endeavoured to win by strategy what he had failed to gain by force. Again he was compelled to fight, and was twice defeated, once at Capharsalama (1 Mac 7^{26-32}), and again at Adasa, where he lost his life. The day of his death was ordained to be kept as a festival as **'Nicanor's Day.'** The account in 2 Mac (esp. 14^{12-30}) differs in several details. **2.** One of the 'Seven' (Ac 6^{5}).

T. A. Moxon.

NICODEMUS.—A Pharisee and a member of the Sanhedrin (Jn 3^{1} 7^{50}), elderly (3^{4}) and evidently well-to-do (19^{39}). He is mentioned only in the Fourth Gospel, and there he figures thrice. (1) At the outset of His ministry Jesus went up to Jerusalem to keep the Feast of the Passover, and His miracles made a deep impression on Nicodemus, half persuading him that He was the Messiah; insomuch that he interviewed Him secretly under cover of the darkness (Jn 3^{1-21}). He began by raising the question of the miracles, which, he allowed, proved Jesus at the least a God-commissioned teacher; but Jesus interrupted him and set him face to face with the urgent and personal matter of regeneration. Nicodemus went away bewildered, but a seed had been planted in his soul. (2) During the third year of His ministry, Jesus went up to the Feast of Tabernacles (October). The rulers were now His avowed enemies, and they convened a meeting of the Sanhedrin to devise measures against Him (7^{45-52}). Nicodemus was present, and, a disciple at heart but afraid to avow his faith, he merely raised a point of order: 'Doth our law judge a man, except it first hear himself and know what he doeth?' (RV). (3) At the meeting of the Sanhedrin which condemned Jesus to death Nicodemus made no protest; probably he absented himself. But after the Crucifixion, ashamed of his cowardice, he at last avowed himself and joined with Joseph of Arimathæa in giving the Lord's body a kingly burial (19^{39}). David Smith.

NICOLAITANS.—See next article.

NICOLAS (lit. 'conqueror of the people').—Among the Seven chosen in Ac 6 to minister to the Hellenists or Greek-speaking Jews, was Nicolas, a 'proselyte of Antioch.' The remaining six, we infer, were of Jewish birth, for **'proselyte'** is the emphatic word (6^{5}). At a later age the Jews divided converts to Judaism into two classes, 'proselytes of righteousness,' who were circumcised and who kept the whole Law, and 'proselytes of the gate,' who had only a somewhat undefined connexion with Israel. It is probable that this difference in its essence also holds in NT, where the latter class are called **'God-fearing'** or **'devout,'** a description which in Acts appears to be technical (so Lightfoot, Ramsay; this is disputed, however). If the view here stated be true, there were three stages in the advance towards the idea of a Catholic Church: (1) the admission of Nicolas, a full proselyte, to office in the Christian Church, followed by the baptism of the Ethiopian eunuch, also probably a full proselyte (8^{27}); (2) the baptism of Cornelius, a 'God-fearing' proselyte, *i.e.* of the latter class; (3) the direct admission of heathen to the Church without their having had any connexion with Judaism.

Nicolas is not further mentioned in NT, but Irenæus and Hippolytus assert that he was the founder of the **Nicolaitans** of Rev $2^{6.\ 15}$ (if indeed a real sect is there meant); and Lightfoot thinks that 'there might well be a heresiarch among the Seven' (*Galatians*^{5}, p. 297). It is, however, equally probable that this was only a vain claim of the late 2nd cent. sect of that name mentioned by Tertullian, for both heretics and orthodox of that and succeeding ages apocryphally claimed Apostolic authority for their opinions and writings; or it is not unlikely that the Nicolaitans of Rev 2 were so called because they exaggerated and distorted in an antinomian sense the doctrine of Nicolas, who probably preached the liberty of the gospel. Irenæus and Hippolytus are not likely to have known more about the matter than we do. A. J. Maclean.

NICOPOLIS, or the 'city of victory,' was founded by Augustus in B.C. 31, on the spot where he had had his camp before the battle of Actium. It was made a Roman colony, and was peopled by citizens drawn from various places in Acarnania and Ætolia.

In Tit 3^{12} St. Paul writes, 'Give diligence to come unto me to Nicopolis; for there I have determined to winter.' It may be taken as certain that this means Nicopolis in Epirus, from which doubtless St. Paul hoped to begin the evangelization of that province. No other city of the name was in such a position, or so important as to claim six months of the Apostle's time.

The importance of Nicopolis depended partly on the 'Actian games,' partly on some commerce and fisheries. It was destroyed by the Goths, and, though restored by Justinian, it was supplanted in the Middle Ages by Prevesa, which grew up a little farther south. There are extensive ruins on its site. A. E. Hillard.

NIGER.—The second name of **Symeon,** one of the prophets and teachers in the Church of Antioch (Ac 13^{1}). His name Symeon shows his Jewish origin, and Niger was probably the Gentile name which he assumed. Nothing further is known of him.

Morley Stevenson.

NIGHT.—See Time.

NIGHT-HAWK (*tachmās*).—An unclean bird (Lv 11^{16}, Dt 14^{15}). What the *tachmās* really was is merely a matter of speculation. A species of owl, the ostrich, and even the cuckoo, have all been suggested, but without any convincing reasons. 'Night-hawk' is merely another name for the familiar night-jar or goat-sucker (*Caprimulgus*), of which three species are known in Palestine. E. W. G. Masterman.

NIGHT MONSTER.—See Lilith.

NILE.—The Greek name of the river, of uncertain derivation. The Egyptian name was *Hopi*, later *Yer-'o*, 'Great River,' but the Hebrew generally designates the Nile by the plain Egyptian word for 'river,' *Ye'ōr*. The Nile was rich in fish, and the home of the crocodile and hippopotamus. It bore most of the internal traffic of Egypt; but it was pre-eminently the one source of water, and so of life and fertility, in a land which, without it, would have been desert. The White Nile sends down from the Central African lakes a steady stream, which is greatly increased in summer and autumn, when the half-dry beds of the Bahr el-Azrek and the Atbara are filled by the torrential rains annually poured on the mountains of Abyssinia. The waters of these tributaries are charged with organic matter washed down by the floods, and this is spread over the fields of Egypt by the inundation. The height of the Nile rise was measured and recorded by the Egyptians from the earliest times: on it depended almost wholly the harvest of the year, and a great excess might be as harmful as a deficiency. The rise begins about June 19, and after increasing slowly for a month the river gains rapidly till September; at the end of September it becomes stationary, but rises again, reaching its highest level about the middle of October. The crops were

sown as the water retreated, and on the lower ground a second crop was obtained by artificial **irrigation.** Canals and embankments regulated the waters in ancient times. The water was raised for the irrigation of the fields by *shadūfs*, i.e. buckets hung from the end of dipping poles, and handscoops, and carried by small channels which could be opened or stopped with a little mud and cut herbage: by this means the flow was directed to particular fields or parts of fields as might be required. Water-wheels were probably introduced in Greek times. In modern days, vast dams to store the water against the time of low Nile, and steam pumps (in Lower Egypt) to raise it, have changed the aspect of high Nile and revolutionized the system of irrigation; but for the smaller operations the old methods are still practised. The Nile had seven mouths, of which the western (the Canopic) and the eastern (the Pelusiac) were the most important. The former secured most of the traffic with Greece and the islands, the latter with the Phœnicians. The Pelusiac arm, on which Tahpanhes and Pi-beseth lay, would be best known to the inhabitants of Palestine. Now the ancient mouths are silted up; only a western (Rosetta branch) and a central one (Damietta branch) survive. The worship of the Nile-god must have been prominent in popular festivals, but has not left much monumental trace. The Nile was not one of the great gods, and his figure appears chiefly as emblematic of the river, *e.g.* bringing offerings to the gods; the figure is that of an obese man with water-plants on his head.

The Egyptians seem to have imagined a connexion of the Nile southwards with the Indian Ocean, and the priests taught the absurd notion that it gushed out north and south from two springs at the First Cataract. They also fancied a Nile in heaven producing rain, and another underground feeding the springs. The 'seven lean years' in Genesis is paralleled by an Egyptian tradition of a much earlier seven years' famine under the 3rd Dyn., and years of famine due to insufficient rise of the Nile are referred to in more than one hieroglyphic text. F. Ll. Griffith.

NIMRAH.—See Beth-nimrah.

NIMRIM, THE WATERS OF (Is 15^{6}, Jer 48^{34}).—Named along with Zoar and Horonaim, and must therefore be sought in the S. of Moab. The *Onomasticon* ('Nemerim') places it to the N. of Zoar. The name seems to be found in *Wādy N'meirah*, which opens on the E. shore, at *Burj en-N'meirah*, about three miles from the S. end of the Dead Sea. W. Ewing.

NIMROD (Gn 10^{8-12}, 1 Ch 1^{10}, Mic 5^{6}).—A legendary personage, described in Gn $10^{8ff.}$ as the first of the 'heroes,' 'a mighty hunter before the Lord,' the ruler of four ancient Babylonian cities, and the founder of the Assyrian Empire. In the statement that he was begotten by Cush, we have probably a reference to the *Kash* or *Kasshu* who conquered Babylonia about the 17th cent. B.C., and set up a dynasty which lasted 600 years: the rise of Assyria is said to date from the decline of Babylonia under the later Kassite kings. The nearest Babylonian parallel to the figure of Nimrod as yet discovered is **Gilgamesh,** the tyrant of Erech, whose adventures are recorded in the famous series of tablets to which the Deluge-story belongs, and who is supposed to be the hero so often represented on seals and palace-reliefs in victorious combat with a lion. It was at one time hoped that the actual name Nimrod might be recovered from the ideogram commonly read as Iz.du.bar; and though this expectation has been dispelled by the discovery of the true pronunciation *Gilgamesh*, there is enough general resemblance to warrant the belief that the original of the Biblical Nimrod belongs to Babylonian lore. The combination of warlike prowess with a passion for the chase is illustrated by the numerous hunting scenes sculptured on the monuments; and it may well be imagined that to the Hebrew mind Nimrod became an ideal personation of the proud monarchs who ruled the mighty empires on the Euphrates and the Tigris. J. Skinner.

NIMSHI.—Grandfather of king Jehu (1 K 9^{16}, 2 K $9^{2.\ 14.\ 20}$, 2 Ch 22^{7}).

NINEVEH (Assyr. *Ninā, Ninūa*) is said in Gn. 10^{11} to have been founded by Nimrod in Assyria. Nineveh was included in the dominions of Hammurabi, who restored the temple of Ishtar there. It was early an important city, and is frequently referred to in the royal inscriptions, but Sennacherib first raised it to the position of capital of Assyria. It lay on the E. of the Tigris, opposite the modern Mosul. Its chief remains are buried beneath the mounds of Kouyunjik and Nebi Yunus, but the outline of the old walls can be traced. They enclosed some 1,800 acres, with a circumference of about 8 miles. The mound of Kouyunjik is separated from the mound of Nebi Yunus by the Khoser, and overlies the palaces of Sennacherib to the S., and Ashurbanipal to the N. The southern mound, Nebi Yunus, covers palaces of Sennacherib and Esarhaddon. The Nineveh of Sennacherib's day lay largely outside this area, and included the *Rebit Ninūa*, or Rehoboth-ir, which extended as far as Khorsabad, where Sargon built a great city, Dūr-Sargon. The traditions of its great size may be due to a reminiscence of this outer girdle of inhabited country. The fall of Nineveh (B.C. 606) is referred to by Nahum and Zephaniah (2^{13-15}). 2 K 19^{36} and Is 37^{37} know it as the city of Sennacherib. For Jonah's mission, see Jonah. Later, Tobit ($1^{10.\ 17}$ etc.) and Judith (1^{1}) refer to it, and the Ninevites are named in Mt 12^{41}, Lk $11^{30.\ 32}$.

C. H. W. Johns.

NIPHIS (1 Es 5^{21}) perhaps =**Magbish** in Ezr 2^{30}.

NISAN.—See Time.

NISROCH.—An Assyr. deity in whose temple Sennacherib was worshipping when assassinated (2 K 19^{37}, Is 37^{38}).

Gesenius compared the name with the Arabic *nisr* ('eagle'), and conjectured that it referred to one of the eagle-headed divinities that appear in the bas-reliefs. In later times attempts have been made to identify Nisroch with Nusku (the fire-god)—whose name would naturally be most familiar in the construct form *Nusuk*,—and even with Marduk. But Nusku did not at this period occupy a sufficiently prominent position in the Assyr. pantheon; and the idea of Marduk, the great god of Babylon, being the patron of Sennacherib, the arch-enemy of that city, is manifestly incongruous. The deity that should logically hold this place is Ashur. Accordingly Prince suggests that *Nisroch* is a hybrid form due to a confusion of *Ashur* with *Nusku*. But comparison with the Greek forms seems to indicate that the original reading was something similar to *Asorach*. This Schrader explains as *Ashurach*, a hypothetical lenghtened form of Ashur. And Meinhold conjectures a compound (*Ashur-Aku*) of *Ashur* with *Aku*, the Sumerian name of the moon-god, whose Assyr. name *Sin* is an element in the name *Sennacherib*.

W. M. Nesbit.

NITRE, in its modern usage, denotes *saltpetre*, nitrate of potash, but the *nitron* or *nitrum* of the ancients was a different substance, *natron*, carbonate of soda. 'Nitre' occurs twice in AV. In Pr 25^{20} the effect of songs on a heavy heart is compared to the action of vinegar upon 'nitre' (RVm 'soda'). Vinegar has no effect upon saltpetre, but with carbonate of soda it produces effervescence. In Jer 2^{22} 'nitre' (RV **'lye'**) is referred to as a cleansing agent. Here, again, natron rather than modern nitre suits the connexion.

NO.—Jer 46^{25}, Ezk $30^{14.\ 15.\ 16}$, the name of **Thebes** (Diospolis Magna), Egyp. *Nē*: also **No-amon,** Nah 3^{8}, Amon (Ammon) being the god of the city. Nahum seems to imagine Thebes as resembling the cities of the less remote Delta surrounded by canals, which were their chief protection; in reality it lay on both banks of the Nile, with desert bounding it on either side, and water probably played little part in its defence. Thebes was of no importance until the Middle Kingdom

(Dyns. 11, 12), during which the royal families were much connected with it. It was the capital of the local 17th Dyn., struggling against the Hyksos in the name of its god Ammon; and the great warriors of the succeeding 18th Dyn. enriched Thebes with the spoils of conquest, built temples there that surpassed all others in size and magnificence, and made it the greatest city of the Empire. Under the 19th and 20th Dynasties, Ammon was still the national god, and Thebes the capital of Egypt. Later, Memphis again took the first place, but Thebes was at least the religious centre of the wide-spread Ammon worship, and the temples retained much of their wealth until the sack of the city by king Ashurbanipal (about B.C. 666), referred to in Nahum. The temples of Thebes continued to be added to until insurrections under the Ptolemys led to its destruction and final abandonment as a city. In Jer 46^{25} (RV) 'I will punish Amon of No and Pharaoh and Egypt with her gods and their kings,' Amon is probably not taken as the representative god of Egypt, a position which he no longer held in the 6th cent. B.C.: the passage rather indicates the completeness of Egypt's fall by the punishment of the remote Thebes, which could not be accomplished till Lower Egypt was prostrate. The Theban Ammon was often entitled 'Amen-Rē, king of the gods,' being identified with the sun-god Rē. His figure is that of a man, generally coloured green. The ram was his sacred animal. In Ethiopia he was adopted as the national god, and his worship was established in the Oases, especially in the Oasis of Ammon (Siwa), where his oracle was visited by Alexander.

F. Ll. Griffith.

NOADIAH.—**1.** A Levite in time of Ezra (Ezr 8^{33}); called in 1 Es 8^{63} **Moeth.** **2.** A prophetess, who opposed Nehemiah (Neh 6^{14}).

NOAH.—**1.** *Nōach*, 'rest.' The name is explained in Gn 5^{29} by a play on *nicham*, 'to comfort'; but perhaps the reading supported by the LXX should be adopted, 'This same shall *give us rest*.' In one tradition Noah is the hero of the Flood, and answers to **Ut-napishtim** in the Bab. legend. See Deluge. Ut-napishtim was translated to immortality; and this is perhaps referred to in 6^{9b} (cf. 5^{24} and see Enoch). In another tradition he is the discoverer of the art of making wine (9^{20-27}). Elsewhere in the Bible, besides the references to the Flood, Noah is mentioned in 1 Ch 1^{4}, Ezk $14^{14.\ 20}$, Lk 3^{36}. **2.** *Nō'āh* (Nu 26^{33} 27^{1} 36^{11}, Jos 17^{3}). One of the daughters of Zelophehad, of the tribe of Manasseh. They claimed their father's inheritance because he had died leaving no sons. It was given to them, on condition that they were not married into another tribe.

A. H. M'Neile.

NO-AMON.—See No.

NOB.—A place of this name is mentioned in three passages—1 S 21. 22, Neh 11^{33}, Is 10^{32} (text not quite certain). The context in the two latter passages points to a place near Jerusalem. In 1 Sam., David passes Nob, which has become 'the city of priests' after the destruction of Shiloh, on his way from Saul (in Gibeah, wh. see) to Gath; this would suit a site near Jerusalem, though it does not demand such a position, unless, indeed, we infer (cf. 1 S 20^{6}) that David went to Nob with the intention of proceeding to Bethlehem (5 miles S. of Jerusalem). There is no strong reason against assuming that in all three passages the same place is referred to. In Neh 11^{33} and Is 10^{32} Nob is closely connected with Anathoth, 2½ miles N. of Jerusalem. Since in Is 10^{32} Nob is the last point reached by the Assyrian army and the place from which it threatens Jerusalem, the site is best sought for on an eminence a little N. of the city, perhaps in particular (with Driver) on 'the *Ras el-Meshārif*, about 1½ miles S.W. of Anathoth, the ridge from the brow of which the pilgrim along the north road still catches his first view of the holy city.' The name has not survived; and the identification suggested stands or falls with the correctness of the Hebrew text in Is 10^{32}.

G. B. Gray.

NOBAH.—**1.** The clan name of the Israelites who conquered the city of Kenath (wh. see). **2.** A place named with Jogbehah in the account of Gideon's pursuit of Zebah and Zalmunna (Jg 8^{11}), possibly also in Nu 21^{30}, where the Syr. reads 'Nobah which is on the desert,' instead of '**Nophah** which reacheth unto Medeba.' This may have been the original settlement of the clan of that name. It should be sought, probably, near the upper reaches of the Jabbok; but the site has not been recovered.

W. Ewing.

NOBAI.—One of those who sealed the covenant (Neh 10^{19}). Cf. Nebo, **1.**

NOD.—According to Gn 4^{16}, the country in which Cain the fratricide took up his abode after his sentence of banishment. The place is unknown. It is probably connected in some way etymologically with the epithet *nād* of v.^{14} (RV 'wanderer'). The addition 'eastward of Eden' is of little help for its location.

J. F. M'Curdy.

NODAB.—The name of a tribe mentioned in 1 Ch 5^{19}, along with Naphish and Jetur, as among the foes encountered and subdued by the Reubenites. A comparison with various readings of LXX shows that the vowels of the word are uncertain. An identification with the Nabatæans is excluded both on phonological grounds and by the fact that the latter, whose position was in any case too remote from Reuben, did not appear in history till long after the tribal period of the Hebrews had come to an end. Somewhat more plausible is a combination with a modern village *Nudēbe* in the Hauran.

J. F. M'Curdy.

NOEBA (1 Es 5^{31}) = **Nekoda** Ezr 2^{48}, **Nekodan** 1 Es 5^{37}.

NOGAH.—One of David's sons, born at Jerusalem (1 Ch 3^{7} 14^{6}).

NOHAH.—Fourth 'son' of Benjamin (1 Ch 8^{2}). See also Menuhah.

NOISOME.—'Noisome' is literally 'annoy-some.' The adj. means 'offensive,' 'injurious' in AV; the word is now rather rarely used, but when it is used it means 'loathsome' rather than 'hurtful.'

NOOMA (1 Es 9^{35}) = **Nebo** in Ezr 10^{43}.

NOPH.—See Memphis.

NOPHAH.—See Nobah.

NORTH COUNTRY, LAND OF THE NORTH.—A phrase of somewhat vague application, but denoting in a general fashion—**1.** The source or region from which dangerous foes were to come upon Palestine (so in Jer 6^{22} 10^{22}, Zec $6^{6.\ 8}$). **2.** The regions to which the people of Israel or Judah had been exiled, and whence they were to be restored (so in Jer 3^{18} 16^{15} 23^{8} 31^{8}, Zec 2^{6}). **3.** Northern Syria (so Jer 46^{10}). The last-named instance explains itself. The other applications of the term may be further illustrated by the usage of the word 'north' generally in OT. Here it is sufficient to recall the general fact that, while in the early history of Israel the land was invaded by many small peoples from the east and south, after the rise of the Assyrian and Chaldæan powers the attacks were made by larger armies which came in the course of their march down through Syria or the Mediterranean coast-land, the eastern desert route being impossible. Deportations of captives were naturally effected by the same routes, and by the same routes they would return. Thus, though Babylonia was in the same latitude as Palestine, it was included among the countries of the 'north.'

J. F. M'Curdy.

NOSE, NOSTRILS (*'aph* is the usual word; *nĕchīrīm* only in Job 41^{20}; *nachar* in Job 39^{20}, AV 'nostrils,' RV, correctly, 'snorting').—To have a flat, or more probably 'slit' nose (Lv 21^{18}), disqualified a man for the making

of offerings. The nose is the organ of the breath by which men live (Gn 2^{7} etc.). The breath is easily stopped or expelled, hence the fact signifies the transiency of human life (Is 2^{22}). Excited breathing, with distention of the nostrils when moved by indignation, led to the nose being used fig. for anger (Gn 27^{45}, and very often). Ezk 8^{17} refers to the custom of putting a twig to the nose, apparently in idolatrous worship, the significance of which is now obscure. For 'nose-ring,' see ORNAMENTS, § 2. W. EWING.

NOUGHT.—See NAUGHT; and notice, further, the phrase 'set at nought' (Pr 1^{25}, Mk 9^{12}). 'To set' is 'to value,' and 'nought' is 'nothing,' so the phrase means to reckon of no value.

NOVICE.—In 1 Ti 3^{6} it is enjoined that the bishop must not be a novice. The Gr. word (*neophytos*, lit. 'newly planted') was afterwards used in the technical sense of one who has not yet taken religious vows. Here it is general—one newly introduced into the Christian community.

NUMBER.—1. Notation.—The decimal scale of notation was used by the Israelites, Assyrians, Babylonians, Egyptians, Greeks, Romans, and, so far as we know, by the other nations mentioned in the Bible, *i.e.* they reckoned by units, tens, hundreds, etc.

2. Variety and range of numerical terminology.—The Heb. language expressed the integers from one to any amount by words denoting units, tens, a hundred, two hundred, a thousand, two thousand, ten thousand, twenty thousand, and by combinations of these words. Thus the highest number expressed by a single word is twenty thousand, the word used meaning double ten thousand. The word 'millions' in AV of Gn 24^{60} is a mistranslation; it should be 'ten thousands' as in RV. The number referred to in this verse, 'thousands of ten thousands,' for the descendants hoped for from Rebekah, and the number of the angels in Dn 7^{10}, Rev 5^{11}, 'thousand thousands ministered unto him, and ten thousand times ten thousand stood before him,' if taken literally, would be the largest numbers mentioned in the Bible, but they are merely rhetorical phrases for countless, indefinitely large numbers. In Rev 7^{9} the redeemed are 'a great multitude which no man could number' (cf. Gn 13^{16})—the nearest approach which the Bible makes to the mathematical idea of infinity.

The largest literal number in the Bible is the number of Israelites fit for warlike service, ascertained by David's census as 1,100,000, in addition to the men of Judah 470,000 (1 Ch 21^{5}). In 2 S 24^{9}, however, the numbers are 800,000 and 500,000 respectively. Close to this comes the army of Zerah (2 Ch 14^{9}), 'a thousand thousand,' *i.e.* 1,000,000; and in 2 Ch $17^{12ff.}$, Jehoshaphat has an army in five divisions, of 300,000, 280,000, 200,000, 200,000, 180,000 respectively. The number of fighting men amongst the Israelites is given in Nu 2^{32} as 603,550; and later on in Nu 26^{51} as 601,730.

Hebrew also possessed a few special forms for the ordinals, first, second, etc., and to denote 'seven times,' etc.; in other cases, especially for the higher numbers, the cardinals are used. There are also a few words for fractions, 'a third,' 'a quarter.'

The Biblical Greek calls for no special comment; the writers had at their disposal the ordinary resources of Hellenistic Greek. We may, however, call attention to the disputed rendering in Mt 18^{22}, where RV has 'seventy times seven,' RVm 'seventy times and seven.'

3. Symbols.—In the Heb. text of the OT, and also for the most part in the Gr. text of the NT, numbers are denoted by words. This method is also the only one used in the two ancient Heb. inscriptions—the Moabite Stone (rather later than Ahab), and the Siloam inscription (usually ascribed to the time of Hezekiah). As the Assyrians, Egyptians, and Phœnicians used figures as well as words to denote numbers, it is possible that the Israelites also had arithmetical figures; but at present there is no positive evidence of such a usage.

In later times the Jews used consonants as numerical signs; the units from one to nine were denoted by the first nine letters, the tens from ten to ninety by the next nine, and the hundreds from one hundred to four hundred by the remaining four letters. Other numbers were denoted by combinations of letters. A curious feature of this system is that the natural combination for 15, viz. *Yod* = 10, *He* = 5, was not used because '*Yod, He,*' or *Yah* was a form of the sacred name *Yahweh*, which might not be pronounced; accordingly *Teth* = 9 and *Waw* = 6 were substituted. This system is still commonly used to number the chapters and verses in Heb. Bibles. A similar system was also used by the Greeks, and is occasionally found in the NT; thus the Number of the Beast, 666, in Rev 13^{18}, is written by means of three letters.

4. Arithmetic.—There is no evidence of proficiency in arithmetic beyond the simplest operations, but we have examples of addition in connexion with the census in the wilderness, the numbers of the separate tribes being given first and then the total (Nu $1^{22ff.}$ $26^{7ff.}$); subtraction is referred to in Lv 27^{18}; an instance of multiplication is Lv 25^{8}, $7 \times 7 = 49$; and Lv 25^{50} implies a kind of rule of three sum.

5. Round Numbers.—As in other languages, 'round numbers,' exact tens, hundreds, thousands, etc., must often have been used by the Israelites, on the understanding that they were only approximately accurate; and in the same way smaller numbers were sometimes used indefinitely for 'a few'; cf. our 'half a dozen.' For instance, the exact ten thousands of Jehoshaphat's armies given above are doubtless round numbers. Again, in Lv 26^{8}, 'five of you shall chase a hundred,' merely means, 'a handful of you shall put to flight many times your own number.' This indefinite use of a small number is specially common where two consecutive units are given as alternatives, *e.g.* Is 17^{6}, 'two or three,' 'four or five.' A variety of this idiom is the use of two consecutive units to introduce emphatically the higher of the two; *e.g.* Pr 30^{21} 'For three things the earth doth tremble, and for four which it cannot bear'; then four things are enumerated. In addition to hundreds and thousands and ten thousands, the most common number used in this approximate way is 'forty': people constantly live or reign for 'forty years' or multiples of forty years. It is a matter of opinion how far the numerous 'sevens,' 'tens,' and 'twelves' were originally intended as exact numbers. Probably, however, in many cases what were originally round numbers were taken afterwards to be exact. For instance, David's reign is given as 40 years, 2 S 5^{4}; in the next verse this period is explained as made up of $7\frac{1}{2}$ years at Hebron and 33 at Jerusalem—an explanation which implies that, apart from some odd months, the 40 years were the actual length of the reign. There are some indications, too, that the various 40's and 80's were added in with other numbers to obtain a continuous chronology. Again, in Nu 3^{39} the census gives 22,000 Levites, which one would naturally understand as a round number; but in vv.$^{43\text{-}51}$ it is taken as an exact number, inasmuch as it is ordained that because the 22,273 firstborn exceed the Levites by 273, redemption-money shall be paid for the surplus.

In view of the references to captains of thousands, hundreds, fifties, and tens in Dt 1^{15}, it has been suggested that these terms are sometimes not numerals, but names corresponding to our regiment, company, squad, etc., and denoting bodies of men whose numbers varied. **'Thousand'** especially has been held to be a term denoting 'tribe' or 'clan' (see Jg 6^{15}, 1 S 10^{19}); so that 'a thousand' might contain comparatively few men. This view has been applied to make the census in the Bk. of Numbers more credible by reducing the

total amounts; but it is clear that the narrative as it stands intends 'thousand' to be a numeral, and does not use the word for a 'clan.'

6. Accuracy of numbers.—Without attempting an exhaustive consideration of the accuracy of numbers as given by the original authors, we may point out that we should not expect a large measure of mathematical accuracy even in original numbers. Often, as we have seen, they are apparently given as round numbers. Moreover, in the case of large numbers they would seldom be ascertained by careful enumeration. The numbers of armies—especially hostile armies—of slain, and so forth, would usually be given on a rough estimate; and such estimates are seldom accurate, but for the most part exaggerated. Moreover, primitive historical criticism revelled in constructing hypothetical statistics on the slightest data, or, to put the matter less prosaically, the Oriental imagination loved to play with figures, the larger the better.

But apart from any question as to the accuracy of the original figures, the transmission of the text by repeated copying for hundreds and thousands of years introduces a large element of uncertainty. If we assume that numbers were denoted by figures in early times, figures are far more easily altered, omitted, or added than words; but, as we have seen, we have at present no strong ground for such an assumption. But even when words are used, the words denoting numbers in Hebrew are easily confused with each other, as in English. Just as 'eight' and 'eighty' differ only by a single letter; so in Hebrew, especially in the older style of writing, the addition of a single letter would make 'three' into 'thirty, etc. etc. And, again, in copying numerals the scribe is not kept right by the context as he is with other words. It was quite possible, too, for a scribe to have views of his own as to what was probable in the way of numbers, and to correct what he considered erroneous.

A comparison of the various manuscripts, versions, etc., in which our books have been preserved, shows that numbers are specially subject to alteration, and that in very many cases we are quite uncertain as to what numbers were given in the original text, notably where the numbers are large. Even where the number of a body of men, the length of a period, etc., are given twice over or oftener in different passages of the Bible itself, the numbers are often different; those in Chronicles, for instance, sometimes differ from those in Samuel and Kings, as in the case of David's census mentioned above. Then, as regards manuscripts, etc., we may take one or two striking instances. The chief authorities for the text of the Pentateuch are the Heb. text in Jewish MSS, the Hebrew text in Samaritan MSS, and the Greek translation, the Septuagint. Now the numbers connected with the ages of the patriarchs are largely different in these three authorities; *e.g.* in the Jewish text Methuselah lives to the age of 969, and is the longest lived of the patriarchs; in the Samaritan he lives only to be 720, and is surpassed by many of the other patriarchs; and the interval from the Creation to the Flood is 2262 years in the Septuagint, 1656 in the Jewish text, 1307 in the Samaritan text. Again, the number of persons on board the ship on which St. Paul was shipwrecked is given in some MSS as 276, and in others as 76 (Ac 27^{37}); and similarly the number of the Beast is variously given as 666 and as 616 (Rev 13^{18}).

The probability that many mistakes in numbers have been introduced into the Bible by copyists in the course of the transmission of the text has long been admitted. For instance, in the fifth edition of Horne's *Introduction to the Critical Study and Knowledge of the Holy Scriptures*, published in 1825, a thoroughly old-fashioned apologetic work, we are told that 'Chronological differences,' *i.e.* discrepancies, 'do undoubtedly exist in the Scriptures. . . . Differences in chronology do not imply that the sacred historians were mistaken, but they arise from the mistakes of transcribers or expositors'; and again, 'It is reasonable to make abatements, and not always to insist rigorously on precise numbers, in adjusting the accounts of scriptural chronology' (i. 550 f.).

7. Favourite numbers and their symbolism.—Naturally the units, and after them some of the even tens, hundreds, and thousands, were most frequently in use, and came to have special associations and significance, and a fraction would in some measure share the importance of its corresponding unit, *e.g.* where 'four' occurred often we should also expect to meet with a 'fourth.'

One, suggesting the idea of uniqueness, self-sufficiency, and indivisibility, is specially emphasized in relation to the Divine Unity: 'Jahweh our God, Jahweh is one' (Dt 6^{4}); and similarly Eph $4^{5f.}$ 'one Lord, one faith, one baptism, one God and Father'; and other like passages.

Two.—There were two great lights; men frequently had two wives (Lamech, Jacob, Elkanah); two sons (Abraham, Isaac, Joseph); two daughters (Lot, Laban, Saul). Or again, where a man had one wife, there was a natural couple; and so with animals; in one account of the Flood they go in 'two by two.' Two men often went together, *e.g.* Joshua's spies (Jos 2^{1}); and the Twelve and the Seventy went out by twos. The fact that men have two eyes, hands, etc., also gave a special currency to the number. Two objects or animals are often required for ritual purposes (*e.g.* Lv 14^{22}). There were two tables of stone. Similarly, a half would be a familiar fraction; it is most common in 'the half tribe of Manasseh.'

As sets of two were common in nature and in human society, so in a somewhat less degree were sets of three, and in a continuously lessening degree sets of four, five, etc. etc. In each case we shall refer only to striking examples.

Three.—Three is common in periods; *e.g.* David is offered a choice between three days' pestilence, three months' defeat, and three years' famine (1 Ch 21^{12}; 2 S 24^{13} has seven years); Christ is 'three days and three nights' in the tomb (Mt 12^{40}, cf. Jn 2^{19}).

Deities often occur in groups of three, sometimes father, mother, and child; *e.g.* the Egyptian Osiris, Isis, and Horus. There are also the Babylonian triads, *e.g.* Bel, Anu, and Ea. Division into three is common; an attacking army is often divided into three parts, *e.g.* Gideon's (Jg 7^{16}; cf. also Rev $8^{10.\ 12}$).

Four.—The square, as the simplest plane figure, suggests four, and is a common shape for altars, rooms, etc.; hence four corners, pillars, the four winds, the four quarters of the earth, N., S., E., W. Irenæus argues that there must be four canonical Gospels because there are four cherubim, four winds, and four quarters of the earth.

Five, Ten, and multiples obtain their currency through the habit of reckoning in tens, which again is probably derived from counting on the ten fingers. The fraction tenth is conspicuous as the tithe; and fifth and tenth parts of measures occur in the ritual.

Six, Twelve, and multiples are specially frequent in reference to time: 12 months, and its half, six months, 12 hours, sixth hour, etc., partly in connexion with the 12 signs of the Zodiac, and the approximate division of the solar year into 12 lunar months. It is suggested that the number 12 for the tribes of Israel was fixed by the Zodiac; in the lists the number 12 is obtained only by omitting Levi or Dan, or by substituting Joseph for Ephraim and Manasseh. When the number 12 was established for the tribes, its currency and that of its multiples were thus further extended; *e.g.* the 12 Apostles, the 144,000 of the Apocalypse, etc.

Seven and multiples.—A specially sacred character is popularly ascribed to the number seven; and although the Bible does not expressly endorse this idea, yet it is supported by the frequent occurrence of the number in the ritual, the sacred seventh day, the Sabbath; the sacred seventh year, the Sabbatical year; the Jubilee year, the year following seven times seven years;

the seven-branched candlestick; sevenfold sprinkling (Lv 4^6 etc.); seven lambs offered (Nu $28^{11ff.}$); forgiveness till 70 times 7 (Mt 18^{22}); the seven churches of Asia; seven angels; seven stars, etc.; fourteen generations (Mt 1^{17}); 70 descendants of Jacob (Ex 1^5); 70 years' captivity, etc. (Jer 25^{11}, Dn 9^2, Zec 7^5); 70 missioners (Lk 10^1). A similar use of 'seven' is found in the Egyptian, Assyrian, and Persian religions, and is often derived from astral worship of the seven heavenly bodies, the sun, moon, and the five planets known to the ancients. It is also connected with the seven-day week as roughly a quarter of the lunar month, seven being the nearest integer to the quarter of $29\frac{1}{2}$. The Pleiades also were thought of as seven (cf. Am 5^8).

Eight.—There were eight persons in the ark; a boy was circumcised on the eighth day. Ezekiel's ritual has a certain predilection for the number eight.

Forty.—This number apparently owes its vogue to the view that 40 was the approximate or perhaps average length of a generation; at least this is a common view. It is a little difficult to reconcile with the well-known Oriental custom of early marriage. The number might perhaps be obtained by taking the average of the years of a man's age at which his children were born, though such an explanation does not appear very probable. Or the use of 40 for a generation might be a relic of the period when the youngest born succeeded to the family tent and *sacra*. At any rate 40 is well established as a moderate round number between 'a few' and 'a very great many.' Thus, in addition to the numerous reigns, oppressions, and deliverances of 40, 80 years, etc., Isaac and Esau marry at the age of 40; there are 40 years of the wandering; Ezekiel's 40 years' captivity (29^{11}); 40 days was the period Moses spent in the Mount, Elijah and Christ fasted in the wilderness, etc.

A certain mystical value is attached to numbers in later Jewish and Christian philosophy and superstition, perhaps due partly to the ideas suggested by the relations of numbers to each other, and to the practical power of arithmetic; the symbols which aided men so effectually seemed to have some inherent force of their own. Or, again, if 'seven' is sacred, to pronounce a formula seven times must be more effective than to pronounce it six or eight times.

Great importance is attached to numbers in the mediæval Jewish mystical system, the *Kabbala*. There are ten *sephiroth* or primary emanations from God, one original *sephira*, and three derivative triads; there are twelve channels of Divine grace; 613 commandments, etc.

8. Gematria, a Hebraized form of the Greek *geometria*, used to mean 'reckoning by numbers,' was a late development of which there are traces in the OT. It consisted in indicating a word by means of the number which would be obtained by adding together the numerical values of the consonants of the word. Thus in Gn 14^{14} Abraham has 318 'trained servants,' 318 is the sum of the consonants of the name of Abraham's steward Eliezer in its original Hebrew form. The number is apparently constructed from the name.

The Apocalyptic **number of the Beast** is often explained by Gematria, and 666 has been discovered to be the sum of the numerical values of the letters of some form or other of a large number of names written either in Hebrew, or Greek, or Latin. Thus the Beast has been identified with hundreds of persons, *e.g.* Mohammed, Luther, the Pope, Napoleon I., Napoleon III. etc., each of whom was specially obnoxious to the ingenious identifier. Probably by a little careful manipulation, any name in some form or other, in Hebrew, Greek, or Latin, could be made by *Gematria* to yield 666. The two favourite explanations are *Lateinos=Latinus* (the Roman Empire or Emperor), and *Nero Cæsar*. The latter has the special advantage that it accounts not only for 666, but also for the various reading 616 mentioned above; as *Neron Cæsar* it gives 666, and as *Nero Cæsar*, 616.

W. H. Bennett.

NUMBERS, BOOK OF.—1. The Book of Numbers forms the sequel to the Book of Exodus; it carries on the history of the Israelites from the stay at Sinai till the arrival at the borders of Moab. The name 'Numbers' is due to the repeated numberings in chs. 1. 3. 4. 26. The book is composed of writings from the prophetic schools of J and E, and the Priestly school of P. One passage is from D—21^{33-35} = Dt 3^{1-3}. A minute analysis of the sources, not only distinguishing J, E, and P, but also separating the different strata of P, is necessary for a full understanding of the book. The present article, however, can only accept in broad outline the results reached by scholars. The reader is referred to *The Hexateuch* ed. by Carpenter and Battersby, the art. 'Numbers' by the latter in Hastings' *DB* iii., and Gray's *Com. on Numbers*.

2. Although the narrative begins at Sinai and ends in Moab, the period of the 40 years' wanderings is a blank, and the events are confined to the two periods before and after it. The book consists of three parts: 1–10^{10}, 10^{11}–21^9, 21^{10}–36^{13}.

A. 1^1–10^{10}. Ordinances at Sinai.—The section is entirely from P.

Contents.—Chs. 1–4: (*a*) The census; (*b*) arrangement of the camp; (*c*) functions of the Levites. Chs. 5. 6: Laws concerning (*d*) three unclean classes of persons who must be excluded from the camp (5^{1-4}); (*e*) some priestly dues ($^{5-10}$); (*f*) the ordeal of jealousy ($^{11-31}$); (*g*) the law of the Nazirite (6^{1-21}); (*h*) the priests' formulas of blessing ($^{22-27}$). (*i*) Ch. 7: The offerings (identical in each case) of the twelve tribal princes. (*j*) Ch. 8^{1-4}: The golden lampstand. (*k*) Ch. 8^{5-26}: Dedication of the Levites, and age of their service. (*l*) Ch. 9^{1-14}: The supplementary Passover. (*m*) Ch. 9^{15-23}: The cloud over the Tabernacle. (*n*) Ch. 10^{1-10}: The two silver trumpets.

Notes.—Two passages in this section are retrospective, viz. 7 and 9^{1-14}. The rest cover the last 19 days (1^1 10^{11}) spent at Sinai.

(*a*) The census is referred to by anticipation in Ex 30^{12} 38^{26}. The strange position of Gad in the lists (1^{20-47} 26) is explained by the position assigned to it in ch. 2, next to Reuben and Simeon on the S. of the camp. The figures of the census are artificial and impossible; they are investigated by Gray, *Numbers*, pp. 10–15. (*b*) The arrangement of the camp is based upon the same principle as that in the ideal picture of Ezekiel (ch. 48). (*c*) The Levites are instituted as a class of priests' servants—a conception quite at variance with all earlier representations. They are accepted by J″ in lieu of the firstborn of Israel. The transport duties of the three Levitical families, Kohath, Gershon, and Merari, are detailed. Notice that the period of service in 4^{2-20} differs from that in 8^{23-26}. (*d*) The three classes are dealt with in detail in Lv 13. 15 and Nu 19 respectively. (*e*) The section is supplementary to Lv 5^{20-26}. It deals with the cases in which the injured party is dead, and there is no next-of-kin. It further lays down that every sacred gift is to belong to the particular priest to whom it is paid. (*f*) A woman suspected by her husband of adultery which cannot be proved, is made to drink a potion which will be harmful if she is guilty, but will result in fruitfulness if she is innocent. This and the Nazirite vow (*g*) are instances of very ancient practices which have survived, in the form of law, only in P. (*h*) The priestly blessing is probably earlier in origin than P, and may have been used in the Temple before the Exile. Ps 67 appears to be influenced by it. (*i*) See Ex 25^{31-40} $27^{20f.}$; (*j*) reads like a later expansion of the commands in chs. 3. 4.

B. 10^{11}–21^9. From Sinai to the desert W. of the 'Arabah.

Contents.—(*a*) 10^{11-28} P. The move to the Wilderness of Paran in marching order. (*b*) 10^{29-36} J. Departure from the mountain; Moses asked Hobab to accompany them. Words which Moses used to address to the ark. (*c*) 11^{1-3} E. Taberah. (*d*) 11^{4-35} JE. Kibroth-hattaavah; the 70 elders, Eldad and Medad; the quails; Hazeroth. (*e*) 12^{1-15} E. Aaron and Miriam attacked Moses; Miriam's leprosy. (*f*) 12^{16} J. The move to the wilderness of Paran. (*g*) 13. 14 JEP. The sending of the spies; their evil report, and its sequel. 15 P. Laws concerning: (*h*) Meal-offerings and libations ($^{1-16}$), (*i*) cake of first of *'ărîsôth* ($^{17-21}$),

(*j*) propitiation for sins of ignorance (22-31), (*k*) punishment for Sabbath-breaking (32-36), (*l*) tassels (37-41), (*m*) 16 JEP. Rebellion of Korah (P) and of Dathan, Abiram, and On (JE). (*n*) 17 P. Aaron's rod budded. (*o*) 18^{1-7} P. Levites to be the priests' servants. (*p*) 18^{8-32} P. Dues to the Levites. (*q*) 19 P. Ritual of the red cow, to remove defilement by the dead. (*r*) 20^{1-13} JEP. The move to the Wilderness of Zin (P); Miriam died at Kadesh (JE); want of water (JE); the sin of Moses and Aaron at Meribah (P). (*s*) 20^{14-21} JE. Edom refused passage through their territory. (*t*) 20^{22-29} P. Aaron died at Mt. Hor, and was succeeded by Eleazar. (*u*) 21^{1-3} JE. Hormah. (*v*) 21^{4-9} JEP. Departure from Mt. Hor (P); circuit round Edom; and the bronze serpent (JE).

Notes.—(*b*) Hobab, not Reuel, is Moses' father-in-law; cf. Jg 4^{11} (RVm). Hobab's answer after v.[32] has been lost; but Jg 1^{16} makes it probable that he consented to accompany them. (*d*) Into the story of the quails have been interpolated vv.[31ff.14f.], and also the account of the elders, vv.[16f. 24b-30]. Some think that the former should follow Ex 33^{1-3} and the latter Ex 33^{7-11}. (*g*) The narratives of JE and of P have been combined. In JE spies went to the S. of Canaan, as far as Hebron only. They brought back a cluster of grapes, and said that the land was fertile, but invincible with its giants and great cities. Caleb alone declared that they would be able to conquer it. The people determined to return to Egypt under another captain. Moses entreated J″ not to smite them with pestilence. J″ consented, but condemned all except Caleb to die in the wilderness. They were commanded to go by the Red Sea, whereupon they suddenly repented, and made an attack upon the Amalekites and Canaanites, but were repulsed with loss. In P, the spies, whose names are given, went through the whole of Canaan unmolested. They reported that the land was so barren [as it was in the days of P] that its inhabitants could not live. The people murmured, but Caleb *and Joshua* [here first mentioned in P] tried to encourage them. The glory of J″ appeared, and the people were condemned to wander 40 years, in which all over 20 years of age, except Caleb and Joshua, should die. (*h*) A scale of amounts of meal, oil, and wine to accompany various animals in sacrifice. It is a later, and more carefully graduated, system than that in Ezk $46^{5-7.\ 11.\ 14}$. (*i*) '*ărîsōth* perhaps means barley meal. 'First' appears to refer to the first lump of dough made from the material. (*m*) Distinct incidents from *JE* and from P have been woven together. In JE a rebellion was raised by some Reubenites—Dathan, Abiram, and On—against the civil authority of Moses. Moses warned the people to depart from the tents of the conspirators, who were then swallowed up in the earth. In P, Korah with 250 princes, who were representatives of all the secular tribes, rebelled against the claim for the special sanctity of the tribe of Levi. At J″'s challenge they burned incense on censers in front of the Tabernacle; the whole congregation were present, and the glory of J″ appeared. Moses told the mass of the people to depart from the Tabernacle, and the fire of J″ devoured the 250 men. On the next day the people assembled, and murmured against Moses and Aaron. A plague began, which was checked by Aaron's action in running among the people with a lighted censer. The superiority of the tribe of Levi was then vindicated by the budding of Aaron's staff (ch. 17), and the dues to be paid to the Levites were laid down (ch. 18). Into P's story, however, later passages have been interpolated ($16^{8-11.\ 16f.}$ 17^{1-5}), which represent Korah's company as *Levites*, who rebel against the claim of superior sanctity for the family of Aaron. (*r*) The events are at the *end* of the wanderings, but no movements have been recorded since the events before the 40 years (ch. 13). The difficulties with regard to Kadesh and the wanderings may be studied in Driver, *Deut.* pp. 31–33. The Meribah narrative in the present section is a combination of J and P. (A Meribah story from E is combined with a Massah story from J in Ex 17^{1-7}.) The sin of Moses and Aaron has not been fully preserved; v.[10] relates only ill-temper (referred to in Ps $106^{32f.}$), though v.[12] describes it as unbelief, and 27^{14} as rebellion. (*s*) The sequel of this is $21^{4b.\ 12f.}$ (JE). (*u*) Hormah is connected with *hērem*, 'ban,' because of the vow to destroy —ban—the Canaanite cities. The section appears to be misplaced, for it is difficult to understand why the Israelites should have turned away from Canaan immediately after such a striking victory. (*v*) The story was probably to explain the existence of the bronze serpent which Hezekiah afterwards destroyed; it is difficult to see how such a figure in bronze could have been manufactured in the desert with the rapid haste which the occasion would demand

C. 21^{10}–36. Marches and events E. of the 'Arabah and the Jordan.

Contents.—(*a*) 21^{10-20} JEP. Itinerary, and two songs. (*b*) 21^{21-32} JE. Amorites refused passage and were defeated. Song of triumph. (*c*) 21^{33-35} D. Defeat of Og. (*d*) 22^{1} P. Arrival at Moab. (*e*) 22^{2}–24^{25} JE. Balaam. (*f*) 25^{1-5} JE. Immorality and idolatry owing to seduction by the Moabite women; the worship of the Baal of Peor. (*g*) 25^{6-18} P. Perpetual priesthood promised to the line of Phinehas for his zeal in killing the Israelite and the Midianitess. (*h*) 26 P. The second census. (*i*) 27^{1-11} P. Case arising out of the daughters of Zelophehad. (*j*) 27^{12-23} P. Moses bidden to prepare for death; Joshua appointed to succeed him. (*k*) 28, 29 P. A scale of public offerings. (*l*) 30 P. Conditions of validity of a vow. (*m*) 31 P. The war with Midian. (*n*) 32 P. Gad and Reuben, and (J) Manasseh, settled on the E. of Jordan. (*o*) 33^{1-49} P. Itinerary from Egypt to Moab. 33^{50}–36 P. Laws relative to the settlement in Canaan, viz.: (*p*) 33^{50-56}. Destruction of Canaanitish objects of worship, and division of land by lot. (*q*) 34^{1-15}. The boundaries of Canaan. (*r*) 34^{16-29}. Persons to superintend the allotment. (*s*) 35^{1-8}. Levitical cities. (*t*) 35^{9-34}. Cities of refuge. (*u*) Ch. 36. Heiresses (Zelophehad's daughters) not to marry outside their own tribe.

Notes.—(*a*) vv.[10. 11a] P take the Israelites from Mt. Hor straight to a point on the E. of the 'Arabah, apparently disregarding the detour by the Red Sea and by the E. of Edom. Vv.[11b-20] E contain places on the northward march from Ezion-geber on the Gulf of Akabah; Dt 10^{6-8} gives the previous march southward from Kadesh. (*b*) The last clause of the song (29^{e}) may be a gloss. The whole interpretation of the song depends upon its presence or absence (see Gray on the passage). (*c*) Practically identical with Dt 3^{1-3}; the only passage from D in the book. (*g*) The introduction of a Midianitess can hardly have occurred in Moab. The mention of foreign wives in v.[1] may have caused the passage to be placed here. The narrative is only partially preserved, for nothing is said of the sending of 'the plague' ($3^{f.}$). (*j*) Vv.[12-13] are closely related to Dt 32^{48-50}; whether they are incorporated in, or derived from, Dt. is uncertain. (*k*) The scale of offerings incidentally contains a list of the fixed feasts or sacred seasons, viz. Sabbath ($28^{9f.}$), New Moon (11), Passover (16), Unleavened Cakes (17), Feast of Weeks (26), Feast of Trumpets (29^{1}), Day of Atonement (7), Feast of Booths (12-38). (*l*) These are concerned chiefly with women's vows, which are treated nowhere else. (*m*) The story is of the nature of a *midrash*; the numbers of the Israelites, and of the slain and the spoils, are artificial; nothing is said of the march to Midian, or of the place of fighting. The narrative appears mainly intended to illustrate the rules of the distribution of booty (25-30), and the removal of uncleanness by contact with the dead (10-24). (*n*) The term 'Gilead' is very elastic. In [1. 29] it refers to land *south* of the Jabbok, but in [39] to land *north* of it, while in Jos [$22^{9.\ 13}$] it covers the whole land E. of the Jordan. The towns assigned to Reuben and Gad conflict with P's theory in Jos 13^{15-38}, which is represented in most maps of Palestine, according to which Gad is to the north and Reuben to the south of the N. end of the Dead Sea. In the present passage the towns of Reuben lie *between* Gadite towns situated to the N. and the S. of them. Vv.[39-42] (J) represent the Manassite settlement on the W. of Jordan as older than that on the E. The verses are a fragment, similar to Jg 1 and the older parts of Joshua. (*o*) The itinerary falls into four parts: [5-15], Rameses to the Wilderness of Sinai; [16-35], thence to Ezion-geber on the E. arm of the Red Sea; [36], thence to Kadesh = Wilderness of Zin (one stage of 70 miles); [37-49], thence to the steppes of Moab. (*p*) The objects mentioned are 'figured stones' (if that is the right rendering; Lv 26^{1} only), molten images, and 'high places.' (*q*) The boundaries are ideal, at least on the west, for the Israelites never occupied a spot on the coast until Simon Maccabæus captured Joppa (1 Mac 14^{5}). (*s*) The Levites receive 48 plots of land, each of about 207 acres, and containing a town and pasture land. Jos 21 states the number of plots allotted in each tribe. Like Ezekiel's scheme (48^{8-14}), the arrangement is purely ideal—for (1) in a mountainous country like Palestine plots of 207 acres would be impossible; (2) earlier writings show that Levites had no landed property, but were commended to the charity of the rest of Israel; (3) priests are found living in such towns as Nob, Shiloh, and Bethel, which are not in the list of Levitical cities. (*t*) The earlier laws of asylum are given in Ex 21^{12-14}, Dt 19^{1-13}; the develop-

ment of the procedure is noteworthy. (*u*) A supplement to 27^{1-11}.

3. Broadly speaking, the value of JE's narratives lies in their portrayal of character, that of P's in its embodiment of ecclesiastical ideas. In JE the character of Moses is strongly marked, in its strength and its occasional weakness: *e.g.* his humble piety (12^{3}), his trust in J″ (10^{29-32}), his faithfulness to and intimacy with Him (12^{6-8}), his affection for his people ($11^{12.\ 10-15}$ 21^{7}), his generosity and public spirit (11^{27-29} 12); and with this his despondency (11^{10-15}) and provocation by the people (parts of 20^{1-13}). And no less vivid is the portrayal of the character of the people—their dislike of restraint, their selfish murmurings, their vehement repentance followed by wilful self-assertion. The narratives of JE were not compiled for the sake of recording history; the compiler was a prophet with a keen sense of the religious meaning of history. And his view of personal character revealed in events is not an incidental, but a primary, element in his work. And side by side with this is his conception of the relation between J″ and Israel. J″, as Israel's only God, commands every action and step in the drama; and obedience to Him is followed by prosperity, while disobedience always brings trouble.

The spontaneity and simplicity of the earlier narratives are in marked contrast with the artificial idealism of P. The writings which we know collectively as P extend over centuries, but they were one and all the work of ecclesiastics. Narratives and laws alike were methods of representing the hierocratic conditions either actually prevalent after the Exile, or contemplated by the writers as desirable. Ecclesiasticism entered also into their conceptions of J″. In early days any man might 'meet' with J″ and inquire of Him at the Tent, which was pitched outside the camp (Ex 33^{7-11} E). But now the presence of J″ is protected from pollution by the sacred barrier of the priests and Levites, 'that there be no wrath upon the congregation' (Nu 1^{53}). Real matters of abiding consequence to man—sin, and J″'s attitude towards it, and the means of forgiveness—are hardly touched. And if this description seems to leave in P little of spiritual value, it must be answered that its value lies partly in the very evidence that it affords of the deadening influence produced upon spiritual life, and even upon literary art, by a narrow ecclesiasticism which has itself as its only aim. The age and the writings of the Priestly school are an invaluable background, to show up all the more clearly the brightness of the age which followed it, when universal approach to God was thrown open by 'another priest, who hath been made, not after the law of a carnal commandment, but after the power of an indissoluble life' (He $7^{15f.}$).

A. H. M'NEILE.

NUMENIUS.—One of an embassy sent (*c.* B.C. 144) by the Jews to Rome and Sparta (1 Mac 12^{1-18}). He visited Rome on a similar errand a few years later (1 Mac 14^{24} 15^{15-24}).

NUN.—The fourteenth letter of the Hebrew alphabet, and as such employed in the 119th Psalm to designate the 14th part, each verse of which begins with this letter.

NUN.—The father of Joshua (Ex 33^{11}, Nu 11^{28}, Jos 1^{1} etc.).

NURSE.—Healthy women among the Hebrews in ancient times were accustomed to suckle their own children (Gn 21^{7}). As in Palestine to-day, the child was suckled for a long time, sometimes as much as three years (1 S $1^{23f.}$, 2 Mac 7^{27}). Weaning was the occasion of a joyful feast (Gn 21^{8}, 1 S 1^{24}). But the nurse was also found in olden times in Israel, and was often held in great affection and honour (Gn 24^{59} 35^{8}, Ex 2^{7}, 2 K 11^{2}, Is 49^{23}, 1 Th 2^{7}). The nurse, *mēneqeth*, must be distinguished from the *'ōmeneth*, tr. 'nurse' in Ru 4^{16}, 2 S 4^{4}, which means the attendant in charge of the child.

W. EWING.

NUTS.—**1.** *'ĕgōz* (Ca 6^{11}), without doubt the fruit of the walnut-tree (*Juglans regia*), called to-day in Arab. *jauz*. **2.** *botnīm* (Gn 43^{11}) means pistachio nuts, the fruit of *Pistacia vera*, a tree widely cultivated in Palestine. The nuts, known in Arab. as *fistuq*, are very great favourites; they are eaten raw, and also made into various sweets and confectionery.

E. W. G. MASTERMAN.

NYMPHA(S).—An influential Colossian Christian (Col 4^{15}). His house was used as a meeting-place for Christians. The question of the correct reading is a difficult one, and it is uncertain whether it should be Nymphas or **Nympha**, a man or a woman. Nothing further is known of the person named.

MORLEY STEVENSON.

O

OABDIUS (1 Es 9^{27}) = Ezr 10^{26}, **Abdi.**

OAK.—

(1) *'ēlāh*, Gn 35^{4}, Jg $6^{11.\ 19}$, 2 S $18^{9f.\ 14}$, 1 K 13^{14}, 1 Ch 10^{12}, Is 1^{30}, Ezk 6^{13}, Hos 4^{13}; (Vale of) Elah' [RVm 'terebinth'], 1 S $17^{2.\ 19}$ 21^{9}, Is 6^{13} [AV 'teil tree']; *'ēlāh* elsewhere always tr. 'oak' [RVm 'terebinth']; *'allāh*, a slight variant, Jos 24^{26}.

2. *'ēlīm*, perhaps pl. of *ēlāh*, Is 1^{29}, 'oaks' [RVm 'terebinths'] 57^{5} [AV 'idols,' mg. 'oaks,' RV 'oaks'] 61^{3} 'trees.' The meaning of *'ēlīm* in Ezk 31^{14} is obscure, if the text be correct. These words, *'ēlāh*, *'allāh*, and *'ēlīm*, all apparently refer to the terebinth (wh. see).

3. *'allōn*, cannot be the same as *'ēlāh*, because it occurs with it in Is 6^{13}, Hos 4^{13}; see also Gn 35^{8}, Is 44^{14}, Am 2^{9}. In Is 2^{13}, Ezk 27^{6}, Zec 11^{2} the *'allōnīm* ('oaks') of Bashan are mentioned. In Jos 19^{33} (AV) *'allōn* is treated as a proper name.

4. *'ēlōn*, probably merely a variation of *'allōn*, is in Gn 12^{6} 13^{18} 14^{13} 18^{1}, Dt 11^{30}, Jg 4^{11} $9^{6.\ 37}$, 1 S 10^{3} (AV) tr. 'plain' or 'plains,' but in RV 'oak' or 'oaks,' mg. 'terebinth' or 'terebinths.' *'allōn* and *'ēlōn* apparently refer to the oak.

Oaks have always been relatively plentiful in Palestine. Even to-day, in spite of the most reckless destruction, groves of oaks survive on Carmel, Tabor, around Banias, and in ancient Bashan; while whole miles of country are covered with shrub-like oaks produced from the roots of trees destroyed every few years for fuel. Among the nine recognized varieties of oak in Syria, the evergreen *Quercus coccifera* or 'holm oak' is the finest—it is often 30 to 35 feet high. Its preservation is usually due to its being situated at some sacred *wely*. **'Abraham's oak'** at Hebron is of this kind. Other common oaks are the Valonia oak (*Q. Ægilops*), which has large acorns with prickly cups, much valued for dyeing; and the Oriental gall oak (*Q. cerris*), a comparatively insignificant tree, especially noticeable for the variety of galls which grow on it. Both these latter are deciduous, the leaves falling from late autumn to early spring. Oak wood is used for tanning skin bottles and also as fuel, while the acorn cups of the Valonia oak and the galls of the various oak trees are both important articles of commerce in N. Syria.

E. W. G. MASTERMAN.

OAR.—See SHIPS AND BOATS.

OATHS.—How the need of oaths must first have arisen can be seen in such a passage as Ex 22[10. 11]: 'If a man deliver unto his neighbour an ass, or an ox, or a sheep, or a beast, to keep; and it die, or be hurt, or driven away, no man seeing it: the oath of the Lord shall be between them both, whether he hath not put his hand unto his neighbour's goods; and the owner thereof shall accept it, and he shall not make restitution.' As there is no witness to substantiate the innocence or prove the guilt of the suspected person—*no man seeing it*—God is called to witness. An oath is really a conditional curse, which a man calls down upon himself from God, in the case of his not speaking the truth or not keeping a promise. The use of oaths was not restricted to judicial procedure, but was also connected with a variety of everyday matters; to swear by the name of Jahweh was regarded as a sign of loyalty to Him (cf. Is 48[1], Jer 12[16], Dt 6[13]).

There are two words in Hebrew for an oath: (1) *shĕbū'ah*, which comes from the same root as the word for 'seven' (*sheba'*); the Heb. word for 'to swear' comes likewise from the same root, and means literally 'to come under the influence of seven things.' Seven was the most sacred number among the Hebrews (cf. *shābūa'*, 'week' of seven days), and among the Semites generally. Among the Babylonians the seven planets each represented a god. Originally, therefore, there must have been a direct connexion between this sacred number and the oath. (2) *'ālah*, which, strictly speaking, means a 'curse,' and was a stronger form of oath. The combination of both words was used on especially solemn occasions, *e.g.* Nu 5[21] (cf. Mt 26[72] of Peter's denial).

There were various forms used in taking an oath, *e.g.* 'God do so to me and more also if . . .' (1 K 2[23]); the punishment called down in the case of the oath not being observed is left indeterminate in this form; this is to be explained from the fact that there was a fear lest the *mention* of the curse should *ipso facto* bring it to pass; it is a remnant of animistic conceptions (*i.e.* there was the fear that a demon might think his services were required). In later times, however, the nature of the curse is sometimes mentioned, *e.g.* '. . . saying, The Lord make thee like Zedekiah and like Ahab, whom the king of Babylon roasted in the fire' . . . (Jer 29[22]; cf. Is 65[15], Zec 8[13]). Another form was: 'God is witness betwixt me and thee' (Gn 31[50]), or, 'The Lord be a true and faithful witness amongst us, if . . .' (Jer 42[5]); a more common form is: 'As the Lord liveth' (Jg 8[19]), which is sometimes varied by the addition of a reference to the person to whom the oath was made: 'As the Lord liveth, and as thy soul liveth' (1 S 20[3], cf. 2 S 15[21]). Another form was: 'God . . . judge between us' (Gn 31[53]). God Himself is conceived of as taking oaths: 'By myself have I sworn . . .' (Gn 22[16]). The usual gesture in taking an oath was to raise the arm towards heaven (Dt 32[40], Dn 12[7]), the motive being to point to the dwelling-place of God; to 'raise the hand' became an expression for 'to swear' (Ex 6[8], Nu 14[30]). Another gesture is referred to in Gn 24[2] 47[29], viz. putting the hand under the thigh; the organ of generation was regarded as peculiarly holy by the Hebrews.

With regard to the breaking of an oath see Lv 6[1-7]; and for the use of oaths in ratifying a covenant see Gn 21[27-31] 26[28] 31[53], Jos 9[15], 2 K 11[4].

W. O. E. Oesterley.

OBADIAH is a name of a type common among the Semitic peoples; it occurs frequently in the OT, for the most part as the name of persons of whom little or nothing is known. It has also been found on an ancient Hebrew seal. For the meaning of the name, 'servant of Jahweh,' see art. Servant of the Lord, § 2. The different persons thus named are—**1.** The author of the Vision of Obadiah: see following article. **2.** Ahab's steward, the protector of Jahweh's prophets against Jezebel (1 K 18[3-16]). This person lived in the 9th cent. B.C. **3.** A descendant of Saul (1 Ch 8[38]), who lived, to judge from his position in the genealogy, about B.C. 700. On the probable genuineness of the genealogy see G. B. Gray, *Studies in Heb. Proper Names*, p. 241 f. **4.** An Issacharite (1 Ch 7[3]). **5.** A descendant of David in the 5th cent. B.C., if the Hebrew text (1 Ch 3[21]) correctly makes him a grandson of Zerubbabel, but in the 4th if the LXX is right and he belonged to the sixth generation after Zerubbabel. **6.** The head of a family who returned with Ezra (Ezra 8[9] =**Abadias** of 1 Es 8[35]). **7.** A priestly contemporary of Nehemiah (Neh 10[5]). **8.** A door-keeper (Neh 12[25]). **9. 10. 11. 12. 13.** Various persons in the genealogies or stories of the Chronicler (1 Ch 9[16] [=**Abda**, Neh 11[17]] 12[9] 27[19], 2 Ch 17[7] 34[12]). On the Chronicler's use of such names, see G. B. Gray, *op. cit.*, pp. 170–190.

G. B. Gray.

OBADIAH, BOOK OF.—The questions as to the origin and interpretation of this, the shortest book of the OT, are numerous and difficult. The title describes the book as 'a vision' (cf. Is 1[1], Nah 1[1]) and ascribes it to Obadiah. Obadiah is one of the commonest of Hebrew names, and occurs both before and after the Exile: see preceding article. Some fruitless attempts have been made to identify the author of the book with one or other of the persons of the same name mentioned in the OT.

The book of Obadiah stands fourth in order (in the Greek version, fifth) of the prophets whose works were collected and edited in (probably) the 3rd cent. B.C.; the collection since the beginning of the 2nd cent. B.C. has been known as 'The Twelve' (see Canon of OT; cf. Micah [Bk. of], *ad init.*). By the place which he gave this small book in his collection the editor perhaps intended to indicate his belief that it was of early, *i.e.* pre-exilic, origin. But the belief of an editor of the 3rd cent. B.C. is not good evidence that a book was written earlier than the 6th century. The relative probabilities of the different theories of its origin must be judged by internal evidence; this, unfortunately, is itself uncertain on account of ambiguities of expression.

It will be convenient to state first what appears on the whole the most probable theory, and then to mention more briefly one or two others.

The book contains two themes: (1) a prophetic interpretation of an overwhelming *disaster which has already befallen* Edom (vv.[1-7. 10-14. 15b]); (2) a prediction of a *universal judgment* and specifically of judgment on Edom *which is now imminent* (vv.[8. 9. 15a. 16-21]).

1. *The prophetic interpretation of Edom's fall.*—The prophet describes the complete conquest of the Edomites and their expulsion from their land (v.[7]) by a number of nations (v.[1]) once their friends and allies (v.[7]). In this calamity the writer sees Jahweh's judgment on Edom for gloating over the fall of the Jews—described as Edom's brother (v.[12])—and participating with foreign and alien enemies (v.[11]) in the infliction of injuries on them. This interpretation is stated in simple and direct terms in vv.[10. 11], and dramatically in vv.[12-14], where the writer, throwing himself back to the time of the Edomites' ill-treatment of the Jews, adjures them not to do the things they actually did. The section closes with the effective assertion of the retributive character of the disasters that had befallen Edom and still affect it—'As thou hast done, is it done unto thee; thy dealing returns upon thine own head' (v.[15b]).

The verses thus summarized have these points in common: (*a*) the tenses are historical except in v.[10] ('shame doth cover thee, and thou art cut off for ever') and v.[15b], which may be rendered as presents, and interpreted as at the end of the preceding paragraph; and (*b*) after v.[1], where Edom, in the present text, is spoken of in the 3rd person, Edom is throughout addressed in the 2nd pers. sing. Among these verses are now interspersed others,—v.[6], which speaks of Esau (=Edom) in the 3rd person (pl. in clause *a*, sing. in *b*) and which may be an aside in the midst of the address, but is more probably

an interpolation; and vv.[8. 9] (together with the last clause of v.[7]), which speak of Edom in the 3rd person and unmistakably regard the disaster as still future: these verses are best regarded as an addition by an editor who wished the prophetic interpretation of past fact to be read as a prophetic description of the future.

If now vv.[1-7] (or vv.[1-5. 7]) [10-14. 15b], which are held together by the common features just noticed, be a unity; the prophecy is later than B.C. 586; for v.[11] cannot well be interpreted by any other disaster than the destruction of Jerusalem in that year. The prophecy also appears in vv.[5. 7] to allude to the extrusion of the Edomites from ancient Edom owing to the northward movement of Arabs—people who had often satisfied themselves with plundering expeditions (cf. v.[5]), but now permanently evicted settled populations from their lands (cf. v.[7]). This northward movement was already threatening at the beginning of the 6th cent. B.C. (Ezk 25[4. 5. 10]); before B.C. 312, as we learn from Diodorus Siculus, Arabs had occupied Petra, the ancient capital of Edom. Between those two dates, perhaps in the first half of the 5th cent. B.C. (cf. Mal 1[2-5]), the prophecy appears to have been written.

2. *The prediction of universal judgment.*—In contrast with vv.[1-7. 10-14], the tenses in vv.[15a. 16-21] are consistently imperfects (naturally suggesting the future), the persons addressed (2nd pl.) are Israelites, not Edomites, and Edom is referred to in the 3rd person. The prophecy predicts as imminent: (*a*) a universal judgment (vv.[15a. 16], in which the annihilation of Edom by the Jews (not [nomadic] nations as in vv. [1. 5. 7]) and Israelites forms an episode which is specially described (v.[18]), and (*b*) the restoration of the exiles alike of the Northern and of the Southern Kingdom (v.[19], cf. v.[17]), who are to re-occupy the whole of their ancient territory—the Negeb in the S., the Shephēlah in the W., Ephraim to the N., Gilead in the E. (v.[19], which after elimination of glosses reads, 'And they shall possess the Negeb and the Shephēlah, and the field of Ephraim and Gilead'); in particular, the Israelites will re-occupy as far N. as Zarephath (near Tyre), and the Jews as far south as the Negeb (v.[20]). The prophecy closes with the announcement of Jahweh's reign from Zion (v.[21]).

The prediction (vv.[15a. 16-21]) scarcely appears to be the original and immediate continuation of the former part of the chapter, but is, like vv.[8. 9], a subsequent addition. The theory of the origin and interpretation of the book just described is substantially that of Wellhausen; it has been adopted in the main by Nowack and Marti; and, so far as the separation of vv.[16-21] (with 15[b]) from the rest of the chapter is concerned, and the assignment of the whole to a date after the Exile, by Cheyne (*EBi*).

One fact has appeared to many scholars an insuperable difficulty in the way of assigning the whole book to a date after 586. It is admitted by all that the resemblances between Ob [1-4. 5. 6. 8] and Jer 49[14-16. 9. 10a. 7] are so close as to imply the literary dependence of one of the two passages on the other; it is further admitted by most, and should be admitted, that the common matter is in its more original form in Obadiah, and that therefore so much at least of Obadiah is prior to Jer 49[14-16. 9. 10a. 7], and therefore prior to the year B.C. 604, if the theory that was commonly held with regard to the date of Jer 46–49 be admitted. But of recent years many have questioned whether Jer 46–49, at least *in its present form*, is the work of Jeremiah at all, and consequently whether it was necessarily written before 586.

If the argument that Ob [1-6. 8] is pre-exilic be accepted, it is necessary to account for what are now generally admitted to be the allusions to the events of 586 in Ob [10-14]. This has been done by assuming that Ob. and Jer. alike quote from a pre-exilic prophecy, but that Obadiah himself prophesied after B.C. 586. As to the amount of matter cited by Obadiah, scholars differ: *e.g.* Driver considers that Ob [1-9] is derived from the old prophecy; G. A. Smith, that vv. [1-6. 8-10] are quotations, but that v.[7], which he admits presupposes later conditions, is by Obadiah himself. The weakness of these theories lies in the fact that the distribution of the parts to the two authors does not follow the concrete differences of style indicated above, and that v.[7] either receives no adequate interpretation, or is torn away from v.[5], with which it certainly seems closely connected. As to the more precise date of vv.[1-9] ([10]) or so much of the verses as may be pre-exilic, no agreement has been reached among those who hold them to be pre-exilic; no known circumstances explain the allusions. It is also very uncertain whether any inference can safely be drawn from the allusion to **Sepharad** (wh. see) in v.[20].

For further discussion of many details, some of which have of necessity been left unmentioned here, and for an account of other theories as well as those described above, the English reader will best consult Driver, *LOT*; G. A. Smith, *Book of the Twelve*, ii. 163–184 (with a critical translation); Selbie's art. in Hastings' *DB*, and Cheyne's in *EBi*.

G. B. Gray.

OBAL (Gn 10[28]).—See Ebal, No. **1**.

OBDIA (1 Es 5[38]) = **Habaiah** Ezr 2[61], **Hobaiah** Neh 7[63].

OBED.—**1.** The son of Boaz and Ruth, the father of Jesse and grandfather of David (Ru 4[17]), and an ancestor of our Lord (Mt 1[5], Lk 3[32]). **2.** A descendant of Sheshan (1 Ch 2[37ff.]). **3.** One of David's heroes (1 Ch 11[47]). **4.** A son of Shemaiah (1 Ch 26[7]). **5.** The father of Azariah (2 Ch 23[1]).

OBED-EDOM.—**1.** A Philistine, a native of Gath, who lived in or near Jerusalem. In his house David deposited the ark after the death of Uzzah, and here it remained three months, bringing a blessing by its presence (2 S 6[10f.], 1 Ch 13[14]). It is in all probability the same O. that appears as—**2.** The eponym of a family of door-keepers in the Temple (1 Ch 15[18. 24] 16[38] 26[4. 8. 15], 2 Ch 25[24]). **3.** The eponym of a post-exilic family of singers (1 Ch 15[21] 16[5]).

OBEDIENCE.—Occasionally this word occurs in Scripture to express the duty of one person to another, as in Dt 21[18. 19], 2 S 22[45], 2 Th 3[14], Ph 2[12], Eph 6[1. 5], 1 P 3[6]. Much more frequently it expresses the duty of man to God (1 S 15[22], Jer 11[7], Jn 14[15. 23]). The spirit of obedience is the primal and indispensable requirement for acceptance by the Father. The Son of God Himself was made perfect through obedience (He 5[8]), and only thus. It was the motto of His earthly life, 'I am come to do thy will, O God' (He 10[7]). The one lesson of the life of Jesus is the one lesson of the word of God from first to last—God must be obeyed. Absolute obedience was essential to the fulfilment of His mission. Absolute obedience is essential to our own salvation. Having learned obedience, He became a Saviour to those who obey (He 5[9]). Obedience is as necessary with us as it was with Him. Obedience is as possible with us as it was with Him. For He is able to work in us now the very same mind that was in Him, the same disposition and spirit He had upon earth. D. A. Hayes.

OBEISANCE.—Obeisance is obedience (coming into Eng. through the French). It occurs only in the phrases 'do obeisance' and 'make obeisance,' and only in the OT. The meaning of the Heb. so translated is to prostrate oneself in token of reverence or for worship.

OBELISK.—See Pillar, **2** (*c*).

OBETH (1 Es 8[32]) = **Ebed**, Ezr 8[6].

OBIL.—The overseer of David's camels (**1 Ch 27[30]**).

OBLATION.—See Sacrifice and Offering.

OBOTH.—A 'station' of the children of Israel (Nu 21[10. 11] 33[43f.]). Nothing definite is known as to its position.

OBSERVE.—Mk 6[20] 'Herod feared John, knowing that he was a just man and an holy, and observed him.'

The meaning of the Eng. word 'observed' is 'reverenced.' Tindale's translation is 'gave him reverence.' Cf. Shaks. *2 Henry IV.* iv. iv. 30, 'he is gracious, if he be observed.' But the more probable meaning of the Greek is 'protected him,' or, as RV, 'kept him safe.'

OCCUPY.—The 'occupier' of Ezk 27[27] is a 'trader,' and 'to occupy' (Ezk 27[9], Lk 19[13]) is 'to trade.' The original meaning of the Eng. word is to be engaged in anything.

OCHIELUS (1 Es 1[9]) = **Jeiel,** 2 Ch 35[9].

OCHRAN.—Father of Pagiel (Nu 1[13] 2[27] 7[72. 77] 10[26]).

OCIDELUS (1 Es 9[22]) = **Jozabad** in Ezr 10[22].

OCINA.—Taking the towns mentioned in order as fearing the advance of Holofernes (Jth 2[28]), Sidon and Tyre are well known. With some certainty Sur may be identified with *Umm el-'Amūd*, S. of *Iskanderūna*, which seems to have been formerly called *Turān*. The next step takes us naturally to Acre, in later times known as *Accon*, in which we may find an echo of the earlier Ocina. W. Ewing.

ODED.—**1.** The father of the prophet Azariah (2 Ch 15[1]). In v.[8] 'Oded' of MT is a mistake (through wrong marginal gloss or otherwise) for 'Azariah.' **2.** A prophet who successfully protested against the proposal to enslave Judahites (2 Ch 28[9ff.]).

ODOMERA.—A chief, slain by Jonathan (1 Mac 9[66]).

OF.—As already noted, under By, the prep. 'of' is generally used in AV for the agent, as Mt 2[16] 'He was mocked of the wise men.' But there are other obsolete or archaic uses of 'of,' which should be carefully observed. Thus (1) it sometimes means *from* (the proper meaning of the A.S. 'of'), as Mk 11[8] 'Others cut down branches of the trees,' Jn 15[15] 'All things that I have heard of my Father,' Jn 16[13] 'He shall not speak of himself'; (2) *concerning*, as Ac 5[24] 'They doubted of them, whereunto this would grow,' Mt 18[13] 'He rejoiceth more of that sheep than of the ninety and nine,' Jn 2[17] 'The zeal of thine house'; (3) *with*, Ca 2[5] 'I am sick of love.'

OFFENCE.—The Greek word *skandalon* is properly used of a 'stick in a trap on which the bait is placed, and which, when touched by the animal, springs up and shuts the trap' (Liddell and Scott). The word is used by Christ (Mt 18[7], Lk 17[1]) of offences in the form of hindrances to the faith of believers, especially of Christ's little ones. The context makes it clear what kind of **stumbling-blocks** are referred to. In the corresponding passage in the Sermon on the Mount (Mt 5[29. 30]; cf. Mk 9[45. 47]) the right eye and right hand are given as instances of the kind of offences that may arise. The members here cited are not only in themselves good and serviceable, but necessary, though they are capable, in certain circumstances, of becoming the occasion of sin to us. In the same way the Christian may find pursuits and pleasures, which in themselves are innocent, bringing unexpected temptations and involving him in sin. The possible applications of this are numerous, whether the warning be referred to artistic gifts (the 'hand' and 'eye'), or abuses of certain kinds of food and drink, or any other circumstances which may lead a man from the higher life or divert him from his aims. All these may be compared to the stumbling-blocks which cause a man to fall. Such things must be dispensed with, for the sake of entering the 'eternal life,' which is the Christian man's goal.

T. A. Moxon.

OFFERING.—See Sacrifice and Offering.

OFFICER.—By this somewhat indefinite expression are rendered some eight or ten different Heb. and Gr. words, several of which seem to have had an equally wide application. Of the Heb. words the commonest is *shōtēr*, from a root which in Assyrian means 'to write.' The *shōtēr*, accordingly, was originally, it would seem, a subordinate official attached to the higher military, civil, and judicial officers of the State for secretarial purposes (see Driver's summary of their duties in his *Com. on Dt* 1[15]). In the narrative of the oppression of the Hebrews in Egypt, the 'officers' are the Hebrew subordinates of the Egyptian taskmasters (see Ex 5[14]); one of their duties, it may be assumed, was to keep account of the tale of bricks made by each of their compatriots.

In Gn 37[36] and elsewhere 'officer' is the tr. of the usual word for **'eunuch'** (wh. see), but, as 39[1] shows, the original (*sārīs*) must here signify, more generally, a court official. Still another word, rendered 'officer' in 1 K 4[5. 7] etc., denotes the heads of the twelve administrative districts into which Solomon divided his kingdom, corresponding somewhat to the 'collectors' in our Indian administration.

In NT 'officer' is, with one exception (Lk 12[58]), the tr. of a Gr. word of equally wide application. In the account of our Lord's betrayal and capture the 'officers' are members of the Temple police (Jn 7[32] etc.), as also in the account of the imprisonment of Peter and John (Ac 5[22. 26]; cf. 4[1]). The same word is elsewhere rendered 'minister,' either in the more general sense of 'attendant' (so Ac 13[5] RV), or in the special sense of the 'minister' (RV 'attendant') or officer of the Jewish synagogue (Lk 4[20]), for whom see Synagogue.

A. R. S. Kennedy.

OG.—The king of Bashan, who, with his children and people, was defeated and destroyed by the Israelites at Edrei, directly after the defeat of Sihon. His rule extended over sixty cities, of which the two chief were Ashtaroth and Edrei (Jos 12[4]). The whole of his kingdom was assigned to the tribes of Reuben, Gad, and half-Manasseh (Dt 3[1-13], Nu 32[33]; see also Dt 1[4] 4[47] 31[4], Jos 2[10] 9[10] 13[12. 30]). The conquest of this powerful giant king lingered long in the imagination of the Israelites as one of the chief exploits of the conquest (Ps 135[11] 136[20]). The impression of the gigantic stature of Og is corroborated by the writer of Dt 3[11], who speaks of the huge 'iron bedstead' (or sarcophagus) belonging to him. According to the measurements there given, this sarcophagus was nine cubits long and four cubits broad. It is, however, impossible to estimate his stature from these dimensions, owing to the tendency to build tombs unnecessarily large in order to leave an impression of superhuman stature. The 'iron' of which the sarcophagus was made, probably means black basalt. Many basaltic sarcophagi have been found on the east of the Jordan. T. A. Moxon.

OHAD.—A son of Simeon (Gn 46[10], Ex 6[15]).

OHEL.—A son of Zerubbabel, 1 Ch 3[20] [text doubtful].

OHOLAH AND OHOLIBAH (AV **Aholah, Aholibah**). —Two sisters who were harlots (Ezk 23). The words appear to mean 'tent' and 'tent in her,' the allusion being to the tents used for idolatrous purposes. The passage is figurative, the two harlots representing, the one Samaria and the other Jerusalem. Though both were wedded to Jehovah, they were seduced by the gallant officers of the East, Samaria being led astray by Assyria and Jerusalem by Babylon. The whole of the allegory is a continuation of ideas already expounded in chs. 16 and 20, and is intended as a rebuke against Israel for her fondness for alliances with the great Oriental empires, which was the occasion of new forms and developments of idolatry. The main idea of the allegory seems to have been borrowed from Jer 3[6-13].

T. A. Moxon.

OHOLIAB (AV **Aholiab**).—The chief assistant of Bezalel (Ex 31[6] 35[34] 36[1. 2] 38[23]).

OHOLIBAH (AV **Aholibah**).—See Oholah.

OHOLIBAMAH (AV **Aholibamah**).—**1.** One of Esau's wives (Gn 36[2. 5. 14. 18. 25]). **2.** An Edomite 'duke' (Gn 36[41]).

OIL.—With one exception (Est 2[12] 'oil of myrrh') all the Scripture references to oil are to **'olive oil,'** as it is

expressly termed in Ex 27[20], Lv 24[2] etc., according to the more correct rendering of RV. Considering how very numerous these references are—some two hundred in all—it is surprising that there should be so few that throw light on the methods adopted in the preparation of this indispensable product of the olive tree.

1. *Preparation of oil.*—By combining these meagre references with the fuller data of the Mishna, as illustrated by the actual remains of oil-presses, either still above ground or recently recovered from the soil of Palestine, it is possible to follow with some minuteness the principal methods adopted. The **olives** were either shaken from the tree or beaten down by striking the branches with a light pole, as illustrated on Greek vases (illust. in Vigouroux, *Dict. de la Bible*, art. 'Huile'). The latter method supplies Isaiah with a pathetic figure of Israel (17[6] RVm).

The finest quality of oil was got by selecting the best berries before they were fully ripe. These were pounded in a mortar, after which the pulp was poured into a basket of rushes or wickerwork. From this, as a strainer, the liquid was allowed to run off into a receiving vessel. After the oil had floated and been purified, it formed **'beaten oil,'** such as had to be provided for the lighting of the Tabernacle (Ex 27[20], Lv 24[2]; cf. 1 K 5[11] RVm).

In the preparation of the oil required for ordinary domestic use, however, the methods adopted closely resembled those for the making of **wine.** Indeed, it is evident that the same apparatus served for the making both of wine and of oil (see WINE for the names of the parts, and note the phrase, Jl 2[24], 'the fats [vats] shall overflow with wine and oil'). From evidence, literary and archæological, it is clear that there were various kinds of oil-presses in use in different periods. A very common, if not quite the simplest, type consisted of a shallow trough hewn in the native rock, from which, as in the similar, if not identical, wine-press, a conducting channel carried the expressed liquid to a slightly lower trough or oil-vat. In early times it appears as if a preliminary pressing was made with the feet alone (Mic 6[15]).

In the absence of a suitable rock-surface, as would naturally be the case within a city of any antiquity, a solid block of limestone—circular, four-sided, and eight-sided (Megiddo) are the shapes recovered by recent explorers—was hollowed to the depth of a few inches, a rim being left all round save at one corner. Such presses were found at Taanach (illust. Sellin, *Tell Ta'annek*, 61, reproduced in Benzinger's *Heb. Arch.*[2] [1907] 144), and elsewhere. In these the olives were crushed by means of a large round stone. The liquid was either allowed to collect in a large cup-hollow in the surface of the trough, from which it was baled out by hand (*PEFSt*, 1903, p. 112), or it was run off into a vessel placed at the corner above mentioned (see Sellin's illust., and *op. cit.* 60 f., 93). At a later period, as we learn from the Mishna, a stone in the shape of the modern millstone was used. Through the centre a pole was inserted, by which it was made to revolve on its narrow side round the circular trough—a method still in use in Syria.

From the oil-mill, as this apparatus may be termed, the product of which naturally, after purification, produced the finer sort of oil, the pulp was transferred to the **oil-press** properly so called. Here it was placed in baskets piled one above the other. Pressure was then applied for the extraction of a second quality of oil, by means of a heavy wooden beam worked as a lever by ropes and heavy weights, or by a windlass. Details of the fittings of these 'press-houses,' as they are named in the Mishna, and of another type of press formed of two upright monoliths with a third laid across, the whole resembling the Gr. letter Π, have been collected by the present writer in the art. 'Oil' in *EBi* iii. 3467, and may now be controlled by the account of the elaborate underground 'press-house' described and illustrated by Bliss and Macalister in *Excavations in Palestine*, p. 208 f. and plate 92 (cf. *ib.* 196 f. and Index).

The expressed liquid, both from the oil-mill and from the oil-press, was collected either in a rock-cut vat or in separate jars. In these it was allowed to settle, when the oil rose to the top, leaving a bitter, watery liquid, the *amurca* of the Romans, and other refuse behind. Oil in this fresh state is distinguished in OT from the refined and purified product; the former is *yitshār*, so frequently named along with 'new wine' or must (*tīrōsh*, see WINE, § 1) and corn as one of the chief products of Canaan; the latter is always *shemen*, but the distinction is not observed in our versions. The fresh oil or *yitshār* was refined in the same manner as wine, by being poured from vessel to vessel, and was afterwards stored in jars and in skins. A smaller quantity for immediate use was kept in a small earthenware pot—the vial of 1 S 10[1] and of 2 K 9[1] RV (AV 'box')—or in a horn (1 S 16[1. 13], 1 K 1[39]).

2. *Uses of oil.*—Foremost among what may be called the secular uses of oil may be placed its daily employment as a **cosmetic,** already dealt with under ANOINTING (see also OINTMENT). This was the oil that made the face to shine (Ps 104[15]). As in all Eastern lands, oil was largely used in the **preparation of food**; familiarity with this use of it is presupposed in the comparison of the taste of the strange manna to that of the familiar 'cakes baked with oil' (Nu 11[8] RVm; see, further, MEALS, § 1. end). Oil was also indispensable for the **lighting** of the house after nightfall. In addition to the universal olive oil, the Mishna (*Shabbath*, ii. 1 f.) names a variety of other oils then in use, among them oil of sesame, fish oil, castor oil, and naphtha. That used in the Temple (1 Ch 9[29]) was no doubt of the finest quality, like the 'beaten oil' for the Tabernacle above described. The **medicinal** properties of oil were early recognized (Is 1[6] RV); the Good Samaritan mixed his with wine (Lk 10[34]), producing an antiseptic mentioned also in post-Biblical Jewish writings.

Oil has a prominent place in the **ritual** of the Priests' Code, particularly in the preparation of the 'meal-offering' (Lv 2[1. 4] etc.). It also appears in connexion with the leprosy-offering (14[10ff.]) and in other connexions, but is absent from the sin-offering (5[11ff.]) and the jealousy-offering (Nu 5[11ff.]). For the special case of the 'holy anointing oil' (Ex 30[23-25]), see OINTMENT.

As might have been expected from the extensive cultivation of the olive by the Hebrews, oil not only formed an important article of inland **commerce,** but was exported in large quantities both to the West, by way of Tyre (Ezk 27[17]), and to Egypt (Hos 12[1]).

This abundance of oil furnished the Hebrew poets with a figure for material prosperity in general, as in Dt 33[24] 'He shall dip his foot in oil.' From its being in daily use to anoint the heads of one's guests at a festive meal (Ps 23[5] etc.), oil became by association a symbol of joy and gladness (Ps 45[7] = He 1[9], Is 61[3]).

A. R. S. KENNEDY.

OIL TREE ('*ēts-shemen*, 1 K 6[23]] [31-33] [plur. '*ăts-shemen*], AV 'olive tree,' mg. 'trees of oil' or 'oily trees,' RV 'olive wood'; Neh 8[15] AV **'pine branches,'** RV 'branches of wild olive'; Is 41[19] AV and RV 'oil tree,' RVm 'oleaster'). Where there is such variation in translation, it is evident that what particular 'tree of oil' is here referred to is far from determined. The **olive** itself is improbable from Neh 8[15], where the olive tree is mentioned just before; and that the branches of 'wild olive' should be specially specified, where so like those of the cultivated variety, is improbable. The **oleaster** (*Eleagnus angustifolia*), a beautiful and common shrub, would suit, except that it is difficult to see how it could ever have furnished a block of wood sufficient for the two cherubim 'each ten cubits high' (1 K 6[23]); olive wood (as RV suggests) would certainly seem more appropriate. Perhaps Post's suggestion

that it was some kind of pine—the 'oil' or 'fat' being the resin—is as likely as any.

E. W. G. Masterman.

OINTMENT.—With two exceptions, 'ointment' in our EV is the rendering, in OT, of the ordinary word for 'oil,' and in some passages the ointment may have consisted of oil only. In most of the references, however, **perfumed oil** is undoubtedly meant. The two are distinguished in Lk 7^{46} 'My head with oil thou didst not anoint; but she hath anointed my feet with ointment (*myron*).' The extensive use of *myron* in NT in the sense of 'ointment' shows that **myrrh** was then the favourite perfume. The dead body, as well as the living subject, was anointed with this ointment (Lk 23^{56}). Another 'very costly' unguent is described as 'ointment of spikenard' (Mk 14^{3}, Jn 12^{3}), for which see Spikenard. These much-prized unguents were kept in pots of alabaster, as in Egypt, where they are said to retain their fragrance for 'several hundred years' (Wilkinson, *Anc. Egyp.* i. 426, with illust.).

In the Priests' Code there is repeated reference to a specially rich unguent, **'the holy anointing oil,'** the composition of which is minutely laid down in Ex 30^{23-25}. The ingredients, in addition to a basis of olive oil, are rendered in RV as 'flowing myrrh,' sweet cinnamon, sweet calamus, and cassia. The penalty for the unauthorized manufacture and sacrilegious use of this sacred chrism was excommunication.

A. R. S. Kennedy.

OLAMUS (1 Es 9^{30}) = **Meshullam** of Ezr 10^{29} and **Mosollamus** of 1 Es 8^{44} 9^{14}.

OLD GATE.—See Jerusalem, II. § 4.

OLD LATIN VERSIONS.—See Text (OT and NT).

OLD TESTAMENT.—See Bible, Canon of OT, Text of OT.

OLIVE (*zayith*, cf. Arab. *zeit* 'oil,' and *zeitūn* 'olive tree').—This tree (*Olea europea*) is the first-named 'king of the trees' (Jg $9^{8.\ 9}$), and is, in Palestine at any rate, by far the most important. The scantily covered terraced hillsides, the long rainless summer of blazing sunshine, and the heavy night moisture of late summer, afford climatic conditions which appear in a very special degree favourable to the olive. This has been so in all history: the children of Israel were to inherit 'olive-yards' which they planted not (Jos 24^{13}, Dt 6^{11}), and the wide-spread remains of ruined terraces and olive-presses in every part of the land witness to the extent of olive culture that existed in the past. A large proportion of the fuel consumed to-day consists of the roots of ancient olive trees. In recent years this cultivation has been largely revived, and extensive groves of olives may be found in many parts, notably near *Beit Jala* on the Bethlehem road, and near *Nāblus*. The peculiar grey-green foliage with its silver sheen, and the wonderful twisted and often hollow trunks of the tree, are very characteristic of Palestine scenery. The OT writers admired the beauty of the olive (see Hos 14^{6}, Ps 52^{8} 128^{3} Jer 11^{16}). In some parts, notably at *Nāblus*, a large proportion of the trees are invaded by parasitic mistletoe. The cultivation of the olive requires patience, and presupposes a certain degree of settlement and peace: perhaps for this reason it was the emblem of peace. Destruction of a harvest of cereals is a temporary loss, but when the vines and, still more, the olives are destroyed, the loss takes many years to make good (Rev. $6^{5.\ 6}$).

The olive tree, grown from a slip taken from below the grafted branches of a selected fruitful olive, has to be **grafted** when three years old, but it does not bear fruit for some three or four years more, and not plentifully until it is about seventeen or eighteen years old; it may then, when well cared for, continue bearing for many years. The soil, however, must be carefully ploughed and manured every spring, and on the hillsides the water of the early rains must be conducted to the very roots by carefully arranged channels. When, after some years, the stem becomes too hollow from rotting of the wood, and the crop fails, it is sometimes cut sharp off at the root, and new shoots are allowed to spring up, which, after re-grafting, become a fruitful tree. It has been stated by Prof. Ramsay (*Expositor*, Jan. and Feb. 1905) that it is a custom in Syria to graft a branch of wild olive into the stem of a cultivated tree (cf. Ro 11^{17-24}). How this can be of any benefit to the tree it is difficult to see. Nor can the present writer, after careful inquiries all over Palestine, find any knowledge of such a custom. Cf. art. Grafting.

The **wild olive** is a kind of reversion to the primitive plant—such as occurs also with the fig and the almond—and it takes place whenever the growth of the olive is neglected. Thus the little shoots which grow around the main trunk (perhaps the origin of Ps 128^{3}) are of the wild variety, and also those growing from the self-sown drupe. According to the *fellahīn* of Galilee, the drupe germinates in the soil only after passing through the alimentary canal of the hooded crow.

In most neglected olive groves numerous little bushes of the 'wild olive' may be seen, which, though very unlike the cultivated tree—having a shorter, smaller, and greener leaf and a stiffer, more prickly stem—are nevertheless derived from it. As a rule the wild olive is but a shrub, but it may grow into a tree and have small but useless 'berries.' Where groves of wild olives are found in Palestine, they are probably always the descendants of cultivated trees long ago destroyed.

The young wild olive trees, scattered over the mountains in Galilee, are gathered by the *fellahīn* and sold for olive plantations. Such plants are grafted three years after transplantation, and always in the late spring or early summer.

The **'olive berries'** (Ja 3^{12} AV) ripen in the autumn, and are harvested in November or December. They are beaten from the trees with a long pole (Dt 24^{20}) and collected in baskets. Olives are eaten pickled in brine, either when green and unripe or when soft and black. They are universally eaten by the *fellahīn* with bread—sometimes the oil is eaten instead, much as butter is used in our home lands. The oil is also used extensively for making soup, for frying meat, and for illumination. See Oil.

E. W. G. Masterman.

OLIVES, MOUNT OF.—The range of hills east of Jerusalem, separated from the Temple mountain by the Kidron Valley. It is scarcely mentioned in the OT. David crossed it when fleeing from Absalom (2 S 15^{30}). Here branches were cut to make booths for the Feast of Tabernacles (Neh 8^{15}). Ezekiel (11^{23}) and Zechariah (14^{4}) make it the scene of ideal theophanies: the literal interpretation of the latter prophecy has given rise to many curious and unprofitable speculations.

The chief interest of the mountain, however, is its connexion with the closing years of our Lord's life. Over this He rode on His triumphal entry to Jerusalem; and wept over the city as it came into view (Lk 19^{41}); and during the days when He lodged in Bethany and visited Jerusalem He must necessarily have passed over it daily (Lk 21^{37}). The fig-tree which He cursed (Mt 21^{19}) was most probably on the mountain slopes; and in one of these daily pilgrimages He delivered to His disciples the great eschatological discourse (Mt 24. 25). On the side of the mountain was Gethsemane, where took place the first scene of the final tragedy.

The ridge is formed of hard cretaceous limestone, surmounted by softer deposits of the same material. It is divided, by gentle undulations and one comparatively deep cleft, into a series of summits. There is no reason to apply the name **Olivet** (Ac 1^{12}, 2 S 15^{30} [AV only]) exclusively to any one of these summits. The southernmost, which is separated from the rest by the cleft just mentioned, on the slope of which stands the village of Siloam (*Silwān*), is traditionally known (by the

Franks) as the 'Mount of Offence,' and is considered to be the scene of Solomon's idolatry. The peak north of this is commonly called Olivet proper; it is unfortunately spoilt by a hideous bell-tower and some other modern monastic buildings. The next peak, the *Viri Galilæi*, is the traditional site of the Ascension; and the next is popularly, but erroneously, called *Scopus*.

Ecclesiastical tradition has, as might be expected, been busy with the Mount of Olives, and the places pointed out have by no means remained unaltered through the Christian centuries, as becomes evident from a study of the writings of the pilgrims. To-day are shown the tomb of the Virgin; the grotto of the Agony; the Garden of Gethsemane (two sites); the chapel of the Ascension (a mosque, with a mark in the floor said to be the 'footprint of Christ'); the tomb of Huldah; the site (an impossible one) of Christ's weeping over the city; the place where He taught the Lord's Prayer; the place where the Apostles' Creed was composed, etc. etc. Far more interesting than these ecclesiastical inventions are the numerous ancient Jewish and early Christian tombs (especially the tomb of Nicanor—the donor of the 'Beautiful Gate' of the Temple; the extraordinary labyrinth commonly known as the 'Tombs of the Prophets'); and the fragments of mosaic found here from time to time which testify to the pious regard in which the mount was naturally held from early times.

R. A. S. Macalister.

OLIVET.—See preceding article.

OLYMPAS.—The name of a member of the Roman Church greeted by St. Paul in Ro 16[15].

OLYMPIUS.—An epithet of Zeus derived from Mt. Olympus in Thessaly, the legendary home of the gods. Antiochus Epiphanes caused the Temple at Jerusalem to be dedicated to Zeus Olympius in B.C. 168 (2 Mac 6[2]), and the setting up of his image is the 'abomination of desolation' (Dn 9[27]). Cf. Jupiter.

A. E. Hillard.

OMAR (perhaps='eloquent').—A grandson of Esau (Gn 36[11. 15], 1 Ch 1[36]).

OMEGA.—See Alpha and Omega.

OMENS.—See Magic Divination and Sorcery.

OMER.—See Weights and Measures.

OMRI.—**1.** See following article. **2.** A descendant of Benjamin (1 Ch 7[8]). **3.** A Judahite (1 Ch 9[4]). **4.** A prince of Issachar (1 Ch 27[18]).

OMRI was one of the most important kings of Israel, and the founder of a dynasty. He was one of the generals of the army under Elah, son of Baasha. This king was assassinated by Zimri, another of the officers. Omri was at the siege of Gibbethon at the time, and his troops acclaimed him king instead of his rival. A civil war of some duration followed, in which (apparently after the death of Zimri) one Tibni took part, himself aspiring to the throne. Omri finally prevailed, and for a time occupied the old capital Tirzah (1 K 16[16ff.]). But he had the intelligence to perceive the advantages of Samaria as a site for the capital, and removed thither, enlarging and fortifying the city.

Omri's political measures included an alliance with the Phœnicians, in which he had the example of David and Solomon, though subsequent generations condemned him for it. The alliance was cemented by the marriage of Ahab and Jezebel, so important for the later history. Omri seems to have been an able soldier, and he subdued Moab to Israel. This is acknowledged by the Moabite king Mesha in an inscription which has come down to us. The wars with Damascus were not so successful. The Assyrians first became acquainted with Israel in the time of Omri, and they call the country 'the land of the house of Omri' even after the extinction of his dynasty. The length of this king's reign is given as twelve years, but some think it to have been more.

H. P. Smith.

ON.—A Reubenite associated with Dathan and Abiram (Nu 16[1]) [text doubtful].

ON.—The city of **Heliopolis**, *On* also in Egyptian, Gn 41[45. 50] 46[20]. The same name in Ezk 30[17] has been intentionally misvocalized as **Aven**, *i.e.* 'idolatry'; in Jer 43[13] it is called **Beth-shemesh**, meaning 'House of the Sun,' like its Egyp. sacred name P-Rē, and the Gr. *Heliopolis*. The city lay on the east border of the Delta, a little below the fork of the river. As the centre of sun-worship in Egypt, its temple was of the highest importance: it was favoured by the kings and served by the most learned priesthood in the land. Tradition makes Plato and other Greek philosophers study in Heliopolis; later, the foundation of the Alexandrian library, on the one hand, deprived Heliopolis of the glory of learning, and, on the other, the old traditions of royal descent from the Sun-god had little weight with the Ptolemys. Early in the Roman period Heliopolis is described by Strabo as almost deserted. Besides enclosure walls of crude brick and mounds of rubbish, the site of the temple is now marked by one conspicuous monument, an obelisk set up by Senwosri I. about B.C. 2000.

F. Ll. Griffith.

ONAM.—**1.** The eponym of a Horite clan (Gn 36[23]= 1 Ch 1[40]). **2.** A son of Jerahmeel (1 Ch 2[26. 28]).

ONAN.—A son of Judah (Gn 38[4] 46[12], Nu 26[19], 1 Ch 2[3]). After the decease of his elder brother, Er, he was instructed by his father to contract a levirate marriage with Tamar. The device by which he evaded the object of this marriage 'was evil in the sight of the Lord, and he slew him' (Gn 38[8-10]).

ONESIMUS.—The name of the slave in whose behalf St. Paul wrote the Epistle to Philemon. As in his Epistle to the Colossians, St. Paul speaks of Onesimus as 'one of you' (Col 4[9]), we may infer that he was a native of Colossæ. His name means 'profitable' or 'helpful'—not an uncommon name for slaves. The Apostle plays upon this word in his letter to **Philemon**: 'which in time past was unprofitable, but now profitable to thee and to me' (Philem [11]). He ran away from his master, probably after having robbed him (v.[18]). He fled to Rome, the common hiding-place of criminals. There in some way he came under the influence of St. Paul, and was by him converted to Christianity (v.[10]). There grew up a deep affection between the two (v.[12]). The Apostle would gladly have kept him to minister to him (v.[13]), but would not do so without the consent of Philemon, and therefore sends Onesimus back with the letter to obtain his master's forgiveness and his permission to return to St. Paul.

Morley Stevenson.

ONESIPHORUS.—The name of a Christian mentioned twice in St. Paul's Second Epistle to Timothy (2 Ti 1[16-18] and 4[19]). From the first reference we learn that he showed special kindness to the Apostle during his imprisonment at Rome, when others, from whom he might have expected sympathy and help, held aloof from him; from the second we infer that he and his family lived at Ephesus. From St. Paul's expression 'the household of Onesiphorus,' it has been inferred that Onesiphorus himself was dead, and this text has been urged in proof of the lawfulness of prayers for the dead. There is much probability in this view, but the breathing of such a pious wish has nothing in common with the later abuses which gathered round this practice.

Morley Stevenson.

ONIAS.—Four high priests bore this name. **Onias I.** was son of Jaddua and father of Simon the Just (Sir 50[1], where, however, the Heb. reads *John* in place of *Onias*). In his time a letter was said to have come from the Spartan king Areus I. claiming kinship and suggesting alliance (1 Mac 12[7f.] [RV. **Arius**]; cf. Jos. *Ant.* XII. iv. 10).—**Onias II.** was son of Simon the Just. His reluctance to pay the tribute of 20 talents to Egypt would have led to great trouble if his shrewd and self-seeking

nephew Joseph had not conciliated Ptolemy (*Ant.* xii. vi. 1).—**Onias III.** was son of Simon II., and entered on his office about B.C. 198. According to 2 Mac 3^{1}–4^{38}, he ruled the city well. A dispute arose between him and a man named Simon. The latter persuaded king Seleucus to send **Heliodorus** (4 Mac 4^{1-14} substitutes **Apollonius**) to seize the Temple treasury. Heliodorus being supernaturally repulsed, Onias went to Antioch to defend himself. He was deposed from his office. In B.C. 175 he was murdered (Dn 9^{26}). The esteem in which his memory was held appears from 2 Mac 15^{12-14}. —His son **Onias IV.** fled to Egypt and was welcomed by Ptolemy Philometor, who gave him a disused temple in Leontopolis, which he re-built after the model of the one in Jerusalem, to serve as a centre of unity for the Hellenistic Jews (*Ant.* xiii. iii. 1, 3, *BJ* i. i. 1, vii. x. 2).
J. Taylor.

ONIONS (*bĕtsālīm*, Nu 11^{5}).—The onion (*Allium cepa*, Arab. *basal*) is and always has been a prime favourite in Palestine and Egypt. E. W. G. Masterman.

ONO.—A Benjamite city (1 Ch 8^{12}) named with Lod and Hadid (Ezr 2^{33} etc.), to which his enemies invited Nehemiah to conference (6^{2}). It was reoccupied after the Exile. It is identified with *Kefr 'Ānā*, to the N. of *Ludd*, the ancient Lod or Lydda. W. Ewing.

ONUS (1 Es 5^{22}) = **Ono** (wh. see).

ONYCHA (*shĕchēleth*, Ex 30^{34}).—One of the ingredients of the sacred composition which gave a sweet smell when burned (cf. Sir 24^{15}, where apparently the same substance is referred to as **onyx**). Onycha was obtained from the claw-like [hence the name from Gr. *onyx* 'nail'] operculum of some mollusc of the genus *strombus*. A similar product is still used in Upper Egypt for fumigations. E. W. G. Masterman.

ONYX.—See Jewels and Precious Stones, Onycha.

OPHEL.—See Jerusalem, II. § 1. 2.

OPHIR.—A region most probably in Arabia (as it is mentioned between Sheba and Havilah in Gn 10^{29}), famous for the excellence of its gold, which was brought to Solomon by his Red Sea navy (1 K 9^{28}). Jehoshaphat, essaying to send to Ophir, lost his ships (1 K 22^{48}). It has been disputed whether South or East Arabia was the true Ophir; the only *datum* is the length of the voyage thither from Ezion-geber—eighteen months, as the double voyage took three years (1 K 10^{22}). As the vessels probably coasted from port to port, the journey would naturally occupy a considerable time. It need not be supposed that the other imports—sandalwood, ivory, apes, and peacocks—all came from the same place. The most careful study that has been given to the subject is that of Glaser (*Skizze der Gesch. und Geog. Arabiens*, ii. pp. 353–387), who has concluded that it was in *S.E. Arabia*, in the territory of the Gulfs of Oman and of Persia.

Other theories have been put forward in plenty. The most popular recent view sees in Ophir certain parts of *Mashonaland*. This theory, apart from other difficulties which it presents, stands or falls with the explanation of certain ruins at Zimbabwe, about 200 miles from Sofala. Like Stonehenge and the Great Pyramid, these remains have been made the centre of much visionary speculation, but their true character seems to have been settled by the recent researches of Randall-MacIver. who has shown that they are native structures of no great antiquity.

Besides S. Africa, various places in *India* have been fixed upon, such as the mouth of the Indus, Supara in Goa, and 'Mount Ophir' in Johore. Nothing convincing has been said in support of any of these views. For instance, we are reminded that the peacocks are confined to India and Malaya; but it is nowhere said that the peacocks came from Ophir, and even if they did, they may well have been brought thither by further Eastern trade quite independently of Solomon's Phœnician navigators.

On the whole, the view that Ophir was in Arabia (known to the Phœnicians as auriferous, Ezk 27^{22}) is the simplest and most in accordance with the scanty data.
R. A. S. Macalister.

OPHNI.—A town of Benjamin (Jos 18^{24}); unknown.

OPHRAH.—**1.** A town in Benjamin (Jos 18^{23}) which was somewhere near Michmash, and is only once elsewhere referred to, as an indication of the direction of a Philistine raid (1 S 13^{17}). The data for its identification are insufficient: Jerome states that it was 5 Roman miles east from Bethel. **2.** Ophrah 'that pertaineth unto Joash the Abiezrite'—*i.e.* to a member of a sept of the tribe of Manasseh (Jos 17^{2}), was the native village of Gideon. It is not mentioned except in connexion with the history of him and of his son Abimelech (Jg 6–9). No satisfactory identification has been proposed. **3.** A name in the genealogy of the tribe of Judah (1 Ch 4^{14}).
R. A. S. Macalister.

ORACLE.—See Magic, etc., Temple.

ORATOR.—The term applied in Ac 24^{1} to Tertullus, who was the advocate for the high priest and elders against St. Paul. Men of this class were to be found in most of the provincial towns of the Roman Empire, ready to plead or defend any cause, and generally possessed of a certain amount of glib eloquence, with a due admixture of flattery. Morley Stevenson.

ORCHARD (*pardēs* [a Pers. loan-word], Ec 2^{5} RV 'parks'; Ca 4^{13} RVm 'paradise'; Neh 2^{8} AV and RV 'forest,' RVm 'park').—See Paradise.
E. W. G. Masterman.

ORDEAL.—See Magic, p. 569b.

ORDER.—See Priest (in NT), 775a.

ORDINANCE.—See Decree.

ORDINATION.—See Laying on of Hands.

OREB AND ZEEB.—Two princes of Midian in the invasion of Israel, mentioned as inferior to the kings Zebah and Zalmunna (Jg 7^{25} 8^{3}, Ps 83^{11}; cf. also Is 10^{26}). The meaning of the names is 'raven' and 'wolf.' Associated with the invasion put down by Gideon, these two princes were killed by the men of Ephraim, who rose at Gideon's suggestion and intercepted the princes and their followers at the river Jordan. That their death, so briefly narrated in Judges, was accompanied by great slaughter may be inferred from the incidental references by the writers of Ps 83 and Is 10. Isaiah compares the destruction to that of the Egyptians in the Red Sea, while the Psalmist compares the flying Midianites to the whirling dust or chaff driven before the wind. The rock Oreb and the wine-press Zeeb took their names from this incident. T. A. Moxon.

OREN.—A son of Jerahmeel (1 Ch 2^{25}).

ORGAN.—See Music, etc., § 4 (2) (*b*).

ORION.—See Stars.

ORNAMENTS.—**1.** The custom of wearing ornaments, either as personal adornment or as amulets, or for both purposes combined, is almost coeval with the appearance of man himself. In historical times in Palestine, as elsewhere, these ornaments were chiefly of gold, silver, bronze, and paste, but the excavations have shown that in the neolithic age a favourite ornament was a string of sea-shells. The Hebrews, especially the Hebrew women, shared to the full the Oriental love of ornaments, which are denoted in OT by two comprehensive terms, *kĕlī*, generally rendered 'jewels' (Gn 24^{53}, Ex 3^{22} and oft.), and '*adī*, rendered 'ornaments' (Ex $33^{4.\ 6}$, Ezk 16^{11} etc.). Lists of individual ornaments are found in such passages as Ex 35^{22}, Nu 31^{50}, Is $3^{18ff.}$, Ezk $16^{11.\ 12}$, Jth 10^{4}, although the identification of each article is not always certain.

2. Ear-rings, always of gold or silver where the material is stated, are frequently named, from Gn 35^4 onwards. In this passage their character as amulets is clearly implied. Among the Hebrews ear-rings were apparently confined to women, and to children of both sexes (Ex 32^2), for the **'rings,'** of Job 42^{11} RV are not necessarily ear-rings as AV. The only men expressly mentioned as wearing them are Midianites (Jg $8^{24ff.}$). For illustrations of gold ear-rings found at Gezer see Macalister, *Bible Sidelights from Gezer*, Fig. 32, reproduced in Benzinger, *Heb. Arch.*^{2} (1907) 83. The 'ear-rings' of Is 3^{20} AV rightly appear in RV as **'amulets'** (see AMULET). The **pendants** of Jg 8^{26} RV (AV **'collars'**) and Is 3^{19} RV (AV **'chains'**), to judge from the etymology of the original term, had the form of drops or beads, although it is unknown whether they were worn in the ears or as a necklace.

The custom still observed by the Bedouin women of wearing a ring through the right nostril (Doughty, *Arab. Deserta*, i. 340; ii. 220, 297) was also in vogue among the Hebrew women. Such was the **nose-ring** presented to Rebekah, wrongly given in AV as an ear-ring (Gn 24^{22}, note v.^{47}), as also the **'nose-jewels'** worn by the ladies of Jerusalem (Is 3^{21}). Although Ezk 16^{12}, as correctly rendered by RV, cannot be cited in support of wearing ornaments on the forehead as AV suggests ('a jewel on thy forehead'), this practice is attested by the figure in Ex 13^{16}, Dt 6^8 11^{18}, where the word rendered **'frontlets'** (between the eyes) really denotes a jewel or amulet (see Hastings' *DB* iii. 872, now confirmed by Smend's reading of the Heb. text of Sir 36^3). For a real frontlet, see § **6** below.

3. Several varieties of neck ornament occur, but here again the precise nature of each escapes us. The **'chains'** of Pr 1^9, Ca 4^9 are clearly **necklaces**; the same word is used of the chains hung as amulets about the necks of the Midianite camels (Jg 8^{26}). The 'strings of jewels' of Ca 1^{10} RV were probably a necklace of beads. A special form of necklace or breast ornament was composed of **crescents** of gold (Jg 8^{26}, Is $3^{\,8}$, both RV). Cf. AMULET, § **4**, and illust. *PEFSt*, 1905, 314, Pl. IV. The wide-spread custom of wearing a gold chain of office on neck and breast is met with in Egypt (Gn 41^{42}) and Babylon (Dn $5^{7.\ 16.\ 29}$).

4. Like other Eastern peoples, the Hebrews were fond of decking the arms and hands with ornaments. The term most frequently used for the **finger-rings** (*tabba'at*) properly denotes a signet-ring, as in Gn 41^{42} RV, Est 3^{12}, for which see art. SEAL. From the use of an engraved **cylinder** for this purpose was developed a form of ring found in the excavations, consisting of a small cylinder of stone or paste, or of more than one, fitted into a ring of silver or gold (see illust. *PEFSt*, 1905, 314, Pl. IV., and Benzinger, *op. cit.* 83, from Sellin's work cited in § **6**). Ordinarily, however, *tabba'at* denotes a plain finger-ring (Ex 35^{22}, Nu 31^{50}, Is 3^{21}, Lk 15^{22}) such as those found at Taanach (§ **6**).

Of the various terms rendered **bracelet** in AV, the most common is *tsāmîd*; Rebekah's weighed 10 shekels, and was of gold (Gn $24^{22.\ 30.\ 47}$; cf. Nu 31^{50}, Ezk 16^{11} 23^{42}). The bracelets of Is 3^{19} seem to have been made of twisted strands of gold wire. The word 'bracelet' in 2 S 1^{10} more probably denotes an **armlet** or arm-band, worn on the upper arm. It is rendered **'ankle-chains'** in Nu 31^{50} RV, while a cognate word of the same meaning occurs in Is 3^{20} (AV 'ornaments of the legs'), and in the emended text of 2 K 11^{12}, where the crown and the arm-band (EV **'testimony'**) are named as insignia of royalty. Similarly, the bracelet worn 'upon the right arm' (Sir 21^{21} EV) is an armlet, as is seen from the list of Judith's ornaments, who 'decked herself bravely' with her armlets (EV 'chains'), 'and her bracelets, and her rings, and her ear-rings, and all her ornaments' (Jth 10^4). The nature of the ornament given in AV as **tablets** and in RV as 'armlets' (Ex 35^{22}, Nu 31^{50}), is quite uncertain. RV rightly finds **anklets** in Is 3^{18}; these the ladies of Jerusalem rattled as they walked (v.^{16} *end*).

5. In a separate category may be placed such articles as, in addition to being ornamental, served some useful purpose in connexion with dress. Among these may be reckoned the gold **brooches** of Ex 35^{22} RV (AV 'bracelets,' lit. hooks), and the **'buckle** of gold' of 1 Mac 10^{89} etc. There seems to be no reference in OT to the ornamental pins in gold, silver, and bronze which are found in considerable numbers at Gezer and elsewhere. For illustrations of typical pins and brooches found at Gezer, see Macalister, *op. cit.* Fig. 34.

6. This article would be incomplete without a fuller reference to the countless specimens of ancient jewelry, recovered from the sands of Egypt and the soil of Palestine, which serve to illustrate the ornaments above mentioned. The jewelry of the early Egyptian goldsmiths (Ex 3^{22}), as is well known, has never been surpassed in variety and delicacy of workmanship. The excavations at Gezer, Taanach, and Megiddo have revealed an unexpected wealth of gold and silver ornaments. One of the most remarkable of these recent finds is that described by its fortunate discoverer, Dr. Sellin, in his *Nachlese auf dem Tell Ta'annek*, 1906, 12 ff. (cf. *PEFSt*, 1905, 176). Beneath the débris of a Canaanite house were found a mother and her five children, and beside the former the following ornaments: a gold band for the forehead, 8 gold rings, of which 7 were simple bands of gold wire, while the eighth was of several strands of wire, 2 silver rings, 2 larger bronze rings, perhaps bracelets, 2 small cylinders of crystal, 5 pearls, a scarab of amethyst and another of crystal, and finally a silver fastener (all illustrated *op. cit.* Pl. IV. and Fig. 16).

The ornaments found in still greater variety in the mounds of Gezer are described and illustrated in the *PEFSt* from 1902 onwards. A special interest attaches to certain recently discovered graves, probably of Philistine origin and of a date *c.* B.C. 1000, in which a profusion of jewelry has been found similar in character and workmanship to the ornaments of the Mycenæan age found in Cyprus and Crete. For a description of the armlets, bracelets, anklets, rings, etc., found in these graves, see *PEFSt*, 1905, 318 ff. and Pl. VI.; 1907, 199 ff. and Pl. I., 240 ff.

A. R. S. KENNEDY.

ORNAN.—See ARAUNAH.

ORPAH.—A Moabitess, sister of Ruth and daughter-in-law of Naomi. When the latter was returning to her own country, Orpah, following Naomi's advice, elected to go back to her own people and to her god (or gods), while her sister went with her mother-in-law (Ru 1^{4-14}).

ORTHOSIA (1 Mac 15^{37}).—Placed by the Peutinger Tables 12 Roman miles N. of Tripoli, and 30 S. of Antaradus. The name has not been recovered.

OSAIAS (1 Es 8^{48}) = **Jeshaiah**, Ezr 8^{19}.

OSEA (2 Es 13^{40}) = king **Hoshea** (wh. see).

OSEAS = the prophet **Hosea** (wh. see).

OSNAPPAR (so written in RV of Ezr 4^{10}. **Asnapper** of AV is more correct; but the best reading of the Hebrew is *Asenappar*).—A curiously distorted form of **Ashurbanipal**, the name of the last great king of Assyria (B.C. 668–626), the son of Esarhaddon, and grandson of Sennacherib. He is distinguished chiefly as the great conserver of the ancient Babylonian literature, whose rich and varied collections have come to us from his own library in Nineveh. He succeeded by great efforts in keeping together the empire of his father; and he added thereto the country of Elam in a fierce campaign which ended with the capture of Susa (Shushan), about B.C. 645. It was after this event that the deportation, alluded to in Ezr $4^{9.\ 10}$, of 'Shushanchites' and 'Elamites' to Samaria and the vicinity took place. The

war against Elam was the conclusion of a great conflict with Babylonia, with which country Elam on the east and most of the western subject States, including Judah, were in alliance. And it was before Ashurbanipal, as victorious king of Babylonia, that the rebel Judahite Manasseh was brought in fetters to Babylonia, as related in 2 Ch 33[11]—an event whose historicity has been unnecessarily called in question. J. F. M'Curdy.

OSPRAY (*'oznīyyāh*, Lv 11[13], Dt 14[12]).—Probably the fish-eating *Pandion haliaetus*, which is still found in the Plain of Acre and at the Huleh. The Heb. name may have included also one or more of the smaller eagles.

E. W. G. Masterman.

OSSIFRAGE (*peres* = 'the breaker,' Lv 11[13], Dt 14[12], RV **gier eagle**).—This is the Lämmergeier (*Gypaetus barbatus*), a great bird with a spread of ten feet across, distinguished from the true vultures by its neck being covered by dirty-white feathers. It occurs in the ravines around the Dead Sea, but is apparently gradually becoming extinct in Palestine. The Heb. *peres* and Latin *ossifragus* are both due to its habit of carrying large bones, tortoises, etc., to a great height and then dropping them upon the ground in order that it may get access to the soft contents.

E. W. G. Masterman.

OSTRICH.—

1. *bath ya'ănāh*, Lv 11[16], Dt 14[15], Job 30[29], Is 13[21] 34[13] 43[20], Jer 50[39], and Mic 1[8]. In all these references AV has **'owl,'** but RV 'ostrich.' Lit. tr. of Heb. is 'daughter of greed.'

2. *yĕ'ēnīm*, 'ostriches,' La 4[3].

3. *rĕnānīm*, Job 39[13] AV **'peacocks,'** RV 'ostrich.' (In same verse *chăsīdāh* 'kindly' is in AV mistranslated 'ostrich.')

The ostrich (*Struthio camelus*) still exists in the deserts to E. and S.E. of Syria; a live specimen was brought into Jerusalem a few years ago, and their eggs are from time to time offered for sale by the Bedouin.

The popular view of the ostrich's neglect of her eggs appears in Job 39[14-15], but the following is her real habit. The ostrich is polygamous, and a group of three or four hens, jealously guarded by a cock, lay some thirty or forty eggs in a common nest in the ground, covering them over with sand. During the day the heat of the sun is a sufficient incubator, but at night the birds take turns in keeping the eggs warm. A few scattered eggs, said to be used for food for the young chicks, are laid after the nest is closed, and these have given rise to the popular view. The feathers (Job 39[13]), the swift pace (v.[18]), and the mournful cry (Mic 1[8]) of the ostrich are all referred to in Scripture, and in Job 30[29] its cry is associated with that other melancholy night-cry—the 'wailing' of the jackals.

E. W. G. Masterman.

OTHNI.—A son of Shemaiah (1 Ch 26[7]).

OTHNIEL (meaning unknown).—According to Jg 1[13] the son of Kenaz, Caleb's younger brother. As a reward for taking Kiriath-sepher, he receives Achsah, the daughter of Caleb, for his wife. Othniel is the first mentioned among the 'Judges' of Israel; Cushan-rishathaim, king of Mesopotamia, had oppressed the Israelites for eight years, when Jahweh 'raised up a saviour' in the person of Othniel, who fought against the oppressor and overcame him, thus bringing rest to the land. W. O. E. Oesterley.

OTHONIAS (1 Es 9[28]) = **Mattaniah** in Ezr 10[27].

OUCH.—The word 'ouch' is used in AV for the setting of a jewel, but it is also used in Old Eng. for the jewel itself. See Breastplate (of the High Priest).

OVEN.—See Bread.

OWL.—

1. *bath ya'ānāh*, RV **'ostrich'** (wh. see).

2. *yanshūph*, Lv 11[17], Dt 14[16], 'great owl'; [*yanshōph*], Is 34[11] 'owl,' RVm 'bittern'; commonly thought to be the ibis.

3. *kōs*, Lv 11[17], Dt 14[16], **'little owl'**; Ps 102[6] 'owl.'

4. *qippōz*, Is 34[15], AV 'great owl,' RV **'arrowsnake.'** The description 'make her nest, and lay, and hatch' certainly seems to point to some bird, but what kind is uncertain

5. *tinshemeth*, Lv 11[18], Dt 14[16], AV **'swan,'** RV 'horned owl.' See Swan.

6. *līlīth*, Is 34[14], AV **'screech owl,'** AVm and RV 'night monster,' RVm 'Lilith,' the fabulous monster which is in Jewish folklore such an enemy of children.

Owls are very plentiful in Palestine. Most common of all is the little *bōmeh* (*Athene glaux*), whose melancholy cry can be heard anywhere in the open country when twilight begins. It is a general favourite and very tame. The great Egyptian eagle-owl, the next most common species, is a large bird, nearly two feet long, with long ear tufts (see No. **5**). It haunts ruins, and has a prolonged and desolate cry.

E. W. G. Masterman.

OX.—An ancestor of Judith (Jth 8[1]).

OX, OXEN, HERD, CATTLE.—

1. *shōr*, Gn 32[5], 1 S 22[19] etc.; Aram. *tor* (cf. Arab. *thaur*) is used in Ezr 6[9. 17] 7[17] and Dn 4[25. 32. 33]; *shōr* is used collectively and also for a single member of the bovine species of any age and either sex.

2. *'ălāphīm* (only in pl.); a general term for 'oxen,' Dt 7[13] 28[4. 18. 51], Ps 8[7], Pr 14[4], Is 30[24].

3. *par* **'young bull,'** 'bullock'; and *pārāh* 'young cow.' See Heifer.

4. *'abbīr* (in plur.) **'bulls'** in Ps 22[12] 50[13], Is 34[7]; but 'strong ones' or 'horses' elsewhere.

5. *tē'ō*, Dt 14[5] AV 'wild ox,' RV **'antelope'**; *tō*, Is 51[20] AV 'wild bull,' RV 'antelope.'

6. *'ēdher* **herd**; in Jl 1[18] conjoined with *bāqār* = herds of **oxen**; and in same verse with *tsōn* = herds (EV 'flocks') of **small cattle** (sheep and goats).

7. *miqneh* usually tr. **'cattle'**; in Gn 47[17] conjoined with *bāqār* = **'herds'** (AV and RVm 'cattle of the herds').

8. *bĕhēmah* **'cattle'**; in Gn 47[18] conjoined with *miqneh* = 'herds of cattle.'

Oxen are specially valuable in Palestine for ploughing (Dt 22[10], 1 K 19[19]) and for threshing, *i.e.* 'treading out the corn' (Dt 25[4], Hos 10[11]). They were used for carts (Nu 7[3]); the Circassians, recently settled in Palestine, use them extensively in this way, but not the *fellahīn*. In 1 Ch 12[40] oxen are also mentioned as burden-bearers. Their use for sacrifice is repeatedly referred to (see 1 K 8[63], 2 Ch 29[33]). The **cattle** of Palestine are small and mostly lean, owing to poor food and much work. They are most plentiful in Galilee, where the pasturage is better; and a much larger breed, the cows of which give excellent milk, flourishes around Damascus. In several parts of the Jordan Valley, notably in *el-Batiha*, N. of Lake of Tiberias, and near Lake Huleh, the buffalo or *jamus* (*Bos bubalus*) is kept by the Bedouin; it yields excellent milk.

For the **'wild ox'** (RV tr. of *rē'ēm*), see Unicorn.

E. W. G. Masterman.

OX-GOAD.—See Agriculture, § **1.**

OZEM.—**1.** An elder brother of David (1 Ch 2[15]). **2.** A son of Jerahmeel (1 Ch 2[25]).

OZIAS.—**1.** 1 Es 8[2], 2 Es 1[2], an ancestor of Ezra. **2.** 1 Es 5[31] = **Uzza**, Ezr 2[49], Neh 7[51]. **3.** The son of Micah (Jth 6[15] 7[23] 8[10. 28. 35] 10[6]).

OZIEL.—An ancestor of Judith (Jth 8[1]).

OZNI.—See Ezbon, **1.**

P

PAARAI.—See Naarai.

PACE.—See Weights and Measures.

PACHON (month).—See Time.

PADDAN, PADDAN-ARAM (the former in Gn 48[7] only).—The name used by P for the region (or a part of it) designated by J **Aram-Naharaim** (see Aram): see Gn 28[2. 5. 7] 31[18] 33[18] 35[9. 26] 46[15]. *Padanu* in Assyr. denotes a measure of land (cf. 'field of Aram' in Hos. 12[12]).

PADDLE occurs only in Dt 23[13], where it is used of a wooden tool for digging, a spade. In earlier English a small spade used for cleaning the plough-share was called a 'paddle,' which explains the choice of this word in the Geneva Bible, whence it reached AV and RV.

PADON.—A family of Nethinim who returned with Zerub., Ezr 2[44] = Neh 7[47]; called in 1 Es 5[29] **Phaleas.**

PAGIEL.—Chief of the tribe of Asher (Nu 1[13] 2[27] 7[72. 77] 10[26]).

PAHATH-MOAB.—The name of a Jewish clan which consisted of two branches, Jeshua and Joab. Part of it returned with Zerubbabel, part with Ezra, and part remained in Babylon. The word has been read to mean 'governor of Moab,' and referred to a dominion once exercised over Moab. It is, however, more probable that we have a corrupted text. See Ezr 2[6] 8[4], Neh 7[11]; in 1 Es 5[11] 8[31] **Phaath Moab.** W. F. Cobb.

PAI.—The capital city of Hadad (1 Ch.) or Hadar (Gn.) (1 Ch 1[50]). In the parallel passage, Gn 36[39], the name occurs in the form **Pau.** The site is unknown.

PAINFULNESS.—In Ps 73[16] 'When I thought to know this, it was too painful for me' as well as in 2 Es 7[12], 2 Mac 2[26] 'painful' means 'laborious': and so 'painfulness' in 2 Co 11[27] means 'laboriousness.' Hooker says, 'The search of knowledge is a thing painful, and the painfulness of knowledge is that which maketh the will so hardly inclinable thereto.'

PAINT, PAINTING.—See Eye, Art.

PALACE.—Primarily 'palace' denotes simply a large house; so the Egyptian royal title *Pharaoh* or *Palace* (cf. *Sublime Porte*) means 'great house'; and the ordinary OT term for 'palace,' in its strict sense of 'royal residence,' is 'the king's house' or 'his house,' 1 K 7[1] 9[10]. The only royal residence of which we have any details in the Bible is Solomon's palace, 1 K 7[1-12], which took thirteen years to build. This included the 'House of the Forest of Lebanon,' a great hall, 100 cubits long, 50 broad, 30 high, with four rows of pillars; a 'porch of pillars,' 50 cubits by 30; the 'porch of the throne' for a court of justice; a dwelling-house for himself, and another for Pharaoh's daughter. Round about the whole was a great court of hewn stones and cedar beams.

In Egypt the palace was not only the royal residence, but also the seat of government. The royal apartments were in an inner, the halls of audience in an outer, court. If we include all the buildings required for courtiers and officials, the 'palace' becomes not a house, but a royal city. A characteristic feature was a balcony on which the king would show himself to his people.

The Assyrian and Babylonian palaces were large and magnificent. In Babylonia, the palaces, like the temples, were built on the top of artificial mounds of crude bricks; and were groups of buildings forming a great fortress.

PALAL.—The son of Uzai (Neh 3[25]).

PALESTINA.—See next art., § 1.

PALESTINE.—1. Situation and name.—The land of Palestine is the territory which lies between the Mediterranean Sea and the Arabian Desert as E. and W. boundaries, and whose N. and S. boundaries may be approximately stated at 31° and 33° 20′ N. Lat. respectively. These boundaries have not always been clearly fixed; but the convention is generally agreed upon that Palestine is separated from Egypt by the *Wady el-'Arîsh* or 'River of Egypt,' and from Syria by the *Kasmîyeh* or Litani River, the classical Leontes. Biblical writers fixed the limits of the territory by the towns Dan and Beersheba, which are constantly coupled when the author desires to express in a picturesque manner that a certain event affected the whole of the Israelite country (*e.g.* Jg 20[1]). The name 'Palestine' [AV in Jl 3[4]; in Ex 15[14], Is 14[29. 31] **Palestina**; RV **Philistia**], being derived from that of the *Philistines*, properly belongs only to the strip of coast-land south of Carmel, which was the ancient territory of that people. There is no ancient geographical term covering the whole region now known as Palestine: the different provinces—Canaan, Judah, Israel, Moab, Edom, etc.—are enumerated separately when necessary. The extension of the word to include the entire Holy Land, both west and east of the Jordan, is subsequent to the introduction of Christianity.

2. Geology and geography.—The greater part of the country is of a chalky limestone formation, which overlies a layer of red sandstone that appears on the E. shore of the Dead Sea and elsewhere. Under the red sandstone are the archæan granitic rocks which form a large part of the Sinai Peninsula. Above the chalk is a layer of nummulitic limestone, which appears on some mountains. Volcanic rock, the result of ancient eruptions, appears in the Hauran, Galilee (especially in the neighbourhood of Safed), and elsewhere. For fuller information on the geology of the country, see art. Geology. With respect to the surface, Palestine divides naturally into a series of narrow strips of country running from north to south, and differing materially from one another in character. (*a*) The first of these is the *Maritime Plain* running along the coast of the Mediterranean from the neighbourhood of Sidon and Tyre southward, and disappearing only at the promontory of Carmel. This plain widens southward from Carmel to a maximum breadth of about 20 miles, while to the north of that promontory it develops into the great plain of Esdraelon, which intersects the mountain region and affords the most easy passage into the heart of the country. This plain is covered with a most fertile alluvial soil. (*b*) The second strip is the mountainous ridge of Judæa and Samaria, on the summit of which are Hebron, Jerusalem, and other important towns and villages; and which, with the single interruption of the plain of Esdraelon, runs continuously from the south border of the country to join the system of the Lebanon. (*c*) The third strip is the deep depression known as the *Ghôr*, down which runs the Jordan with its lakes. (*d*) The fourth strip is the great plateau of Bashan, Moab, and Edom, with a lofty and precipitous face towards the west, and running eastward till it is lost in the desert.

3. Water supply, climate, natural products.—There is no conspicuous river in Palestine except the Jordan and its eastern tributaries, and these, being for the greater part of their course in a deep hollow, are of little or no service for irrigation. In consequence, Palestine is dependent as a whole for its water supply on springs, or on artificial means of storage of its winter rains. Countless examples of both exist, the former especially in Galilee, parts of which are abundantly

fertile by nature, and would probably repay beyond all expectation a judicious expenditure of capital. The case of Judæa is a little different, for here there are extensive tracts which are nearly or quite waterless, and are more or less desert in consequence.

The climate of Palestine is, on the whole, that of the sub-tropical zone, though, owing to the extraordinary variation of altitudes, there is probably a greater range of average local temperature than in any other region of its size on the world's surface. On the one hand, the summits of Hermon and of certain peaks of the Lebanon are covered with snow for the greater part of the year; on the other hand, the tremendous depression, in the bottom of which lies the Dead Sea, is practically tropical, both in climate and in vegetation. The mean local temperature is said to range from about 62° F. in the upland district to almost 100° F. in the region of Jericho.

Rainfall is confined to the winter months of the year. Usually in the end of October or November the rainy season is ushered in with a heavy thunderstorm, which softens the hard-baked surface of the land. This part of the rainy season is the **'former rain'** of the Bible (as in Jl 2^{23}). Ploughing commences immediately after the rains have thus begun. The following months have heavy showers, alternating with days of beautiful sunshine, till March or April, when the **'latter rain'** falls and gives the crops their final fertilization before the commencement of the dry season. During this part of the year, except by the rarest exception, no rain falls: its place is supplied by night dews, which in some years are extraordinarily heavy. Scantiness of the rainfall, however, is invariably succeeded by poverty or even destruction of the crops, and the rain is watched for as anxiously now as it was in the time of Ahab.

Soon after the cessation of the rains, the wild flowers, which in early spring decorate Palestine like a carpet, become rapidly burnt up, and the country assumes an appearance of barrenness that gives no true idea of its actual fertility. The dry summer is rendered further unpleasant by hot east winds, blowing from over the Arabian Desert, which have a depressing and enervating effect. The south wind is also dry, and the west wind damp (cf. 1 K 18^{45}, Lk 12^{54}). The north wind, which blows from over the Lebanon snows, is always cold, often piercingly so.

As already hinted, the *flora* displays an extraordinary range and richness, owing to the great varieties of the climate at different points. The plants of the S. and of the Jordan Valley resemble those found in Abyssinia or in Nubia: those of the upper levels of Lebanon are of the kinds peculiar to snow-clad regions. Wheat, barley, millet, maize, peas, beans, lentils, olives, figs, mulberries, vines, and other fruit; cotton, nuts of various species; the ordinary vegetables, and some (such as *solanum* or 'egg-plant') that do not, as a rule, find their way to western markets; sesame, and tobacco—which is grown in some districts—are the most characteristic crops produced by the country. The prickly pear and the orange, though of comparatively recent introduction, are now among its staple products. The *fauna* includes (among wild animals) the bat, hyæna, wolf, jackal, wild cat, ibex, gazelle, wild boar, hare, and other smaller animals. The bear is now confined to Hermon, and possibly one or two places in Lebanon; the cheetah is rare, and the lion (1 S 17^{34}, 1 K 13^{24} etc.) is extinct. So also is the hippopotamus, bones of which have been found in excavations. Among wild birds we may mention the eagle, vulture, stork, and partridge: there is a great variety of smaller birds. Snakes and lizards abound, and crocodiles are occasionally to be seen in the *Nahr ez-Zerka* near Cæsarea. The domesticated animals are the camel, cow, buffalo (only in the Jordan Valley), sheep, horse, donkey, swine (only among Christians), and domestic fowl. The dog can scarcely be called domesticated: it is kept by shepherds for their flocks, but otherwise prowls about the streets of towns and villages seeking a living among the rubbish thrown from the houses.

4. History, races, antiquities.—The earliest dawn of history in Palestine has left no trace in the country itself, so far as we can tell from the limited range of excavations hitherto carried out. There was, however, a Babylonian supremacy over the country in the fourth millennium B.C., of which the records left by the kings of Agade speak. These records are as yet only imperfectly known, and their discussion in a short article like the present would be out of place. A very full account of all that is as yet known of these remote waifs of history will be found in L. B. Paton's excellent *History of Syria and Palestine*.

About B.C. 3000 we first reach a period where excavation in Palestine has some information to give. It appears that the inhabitants were then still in the neolithic stage of culture, dwelling in caves, natural or artificial. The excavation of Gezer has shown that the site of that city was occupied by an extensive community of this race. They were non-Semitic; but as they practised cremation, the bones were too much destroyed to make it possible to assign them to their proper place among the Mediterranean races. Further discoveries may ultimately lead to this question being settled. It is possible that the *Horites* of Gn 14^{6} and elsewhere may have been the survivors of this race.

About B.C. 2500 the first Semitic settlers seem to have established themselves in the country. These were the people known to Bible students as *Canaanites* or *Amorites*. The success of attempts that have been made to distinguish these names as indicating two separate stocks must be considered doubtful, and it is perhaps safer to treat the two names as synonymous. About B.C. 2000, as appears by the reference to 'Amraphel, king of Shinar' (=Hammurabi), occurred the battle of the four kings and five recorded in Gn 14—the first event on Palestinian soil of which a Palestinian record is preserved.

The dominion of Egypt over S. Palestine, or at least the influence of Egyptian civilization, must early have been felt, though no definite records of Egyptian conquest older than Tahutmes III. (about B.C. 1500) have come to light. But scarabs and other objects referable to the Usertesens (about B.C. 2800–2500, according to the opinions of various chronologists) are not infrequently found in excavations, which speak of close intercourse between the Canaanites and the civilization of the Nile valley. Of the Canaanites very extensive remains yet await the spade of the excavator in the mounds that cover the remains of the ancient cities of Palestine. The modern peasantry of the country closely resemble the ancient Canaanites in physical character, to judge from the remains of the latter that excavation has revealed; indeed, in all probability the substratum of the population has remained unchanged in racial affinities throughout the vicissitudes that the country has suffered. By the conquests of Tahutmes III. (*c.* 1500), and Amenhotep III. (*c.* 1450), Palestine became virtually an Egyptian province, its urban communities governed by kings (*i.e.* local sheiks) answerable to the Pharaoh, but always quarrelling among themselves. The 'heretic king' Amenhotep IV. was too busy with his religious innovations to pay attention to his foreign possessions, and, city by city, his rule in Palestine crumbled away before the Aramæan tribes, named in the Tell el-Amarna tablets the *Khabiri*. This name is identical with that of the Biblical *Hebrews*; but it has not yet been possible to put the Khabiri and the Hebrews into their proper mutual relations. The Hebrews represent themselves as escaped slaves from Egypt who (about the 13th cent. B.C.) were led as a solid whole under a single leader (Joshua) to the complete conquest of Canaan—this is the account of the

Book of Joshua. According to the older tradition preserved in Jg 1, they entered the country without an individual leader, as a number of more or less independent tribes or clans, and effected only a partial conquest, being baffled by the superior strength of certain specified cities. This account is more in accordance with the events as related by the Tell el-Amarna tablets, but further discoveries must be made before the very obscure history of the Israelite immigration can be clearly made out.

The Israelite occupation was only partial. The important Maritime Plain was in the hands of a totally distinct people, the *Philistines*. The favourite, and most probable, modern theory regarding the Philistines is that they were of Cretan origin; but everything respecting that mysterious race is veiled in obscurity. As above mentioned, it is not likely that the change of ownership affected the peasants—the Gibeonites were probably not the only 'hewers of wood and drawers of water' (Jos 9^{21}) that survived of the older stock. And lastly, we cannot doubt that an extensive Canaanite occupation remained in the towns expressly mentioned in Jg 1, as those from which the various tribes 'drave not out' their original inhabitants. So far as we can infer from excavation—an inference thoroughly confirmed by a consideration of the barbarous history of the Judges—the effect of the Israelite entrance into Canaan was a retrogression in civilization, from which the country took centuries to recover.

The history of the development of these incoherent units into a kingdom is one of ever-fresh interest. It is recorded for us in the Books of Judges and 1 Samuel, and the course of events being known to every reader, it is unnecessary to recapitulate them here. It is not unimportant to notice that the split of the short-lived single kingdom into two, after the death of Solomon, was a rupture that had been foreshadowed from time to time—as in the brief reign of Abimelech over the northern province (Jg 9), and the attempt of the northerners to set up Ish-bosheth as king against David (2 S 2. 3), frustrated by Ish-bosheth's ill-timed insult to Abner (2 S 3^{7}): Abner's answer (v.^{10}) recognizes the dichotomy of Judah and Israel as already existing. This division must have had its roots in the original peopling of the country by the Hebrews, when the children of Judah went southward, and the children of Joseph northward (Jg $1^{3\text{-}21.\ 22\text{-}28}$).

Space will not permit us to trace at length the fortunes of the rival kingdoms, to their highest glory under the contemporary kings Uzziah and Jeroboam II., and their rapid decline and final extinction by the great Mesopotamian empires. We may, however, pause to notice that, as in the case of the Canaanites, many remains of the Israelite dominion await the excavator in such towns as lay within Israelite territory; and the Siloam Tunnel epigraph, and one or two of minor importance, promise the welcome addition of a few inscriptions. On the other hand, the remains of the population are scantier—for it need hardly be said that the modern Jewish inhabitants of Palestine are all more or less recent importations.

The Northern Kingdom fell before Assyria, and was never heard of again. Tangible remains of the Assyrian domination were found at Gezer, in the shape of a couple of contract-tablets written there in the Assyrian language and formulæ about B.C. 650; and the modern sect of Samaritans is a living testimony to the story of the re-settling of the Northern Kingdom under Assyrian auspices (2 K $17^{24\text{-}41}$).

The Southern Kingdom had a different fate. It was extinguished by Babylon about 135 years later, in B.C. 586. In 538 the captives were permitted to return to their land by Cyrus, after his conquest of Babylon. They re-built Jerusalem and the Temple: the Books of Ezra and Nehemiah are the record of this work of restoration.

In B.C. 333 Syria fell to Alexander the Great after the battle of Issus. After his death followed a distracting and complicated period of conflict between his successors, which, so far as Palestine was concerned, had the effect of opening the country for the first time to the influence of Greek culture, art, and religion. From this time onward we find evidence of the foundation of such buildings as theatres, previously quite unknown, and other novelties of Western origin. Although many of the Jews adopted the Greek tongue, there was a staunch puritan party who rigidly set their faces against all such Gentile contaminations. In this they found themselves opposed to the Seleucid princes of Syria, among whom Antiochus Epiphanes especially set himself deliberately to destroy the religion of Judaism. This led to the great revolt headed by Mattathias the priest and his sons, which secured for the Jews a brief period of independence that lasted during the second half of the 2nd cent. B.C., under John Hyrcanus (grandson of Mattathias) and his successors. The kingdom was weakened by family disputes; in the end Rome stepped in, Pompey captured Jerusalem in B.C. 63, and henceforth Palestine lay under Roman suzerainty. Several important tombs near Jerusalem, and elsewhere, and a large number of remains of cities and fortresses, survive from the age of the family of Mattathias. The conquest of Joppa, under the auspices of Simon Maccabæus, son of Mattathias (1 Mac 13^{11}), was the first capture of a seaport in S. Palestine throughout the whole of Israelite history.

The Hasmonæan dynasty gave place to the Idumæan dynasty of the Herods in the middle of the 1st cent. B.C., Herod the Great becoming sole governor of Judæa (under Roman suzerainty) in B.C. 40. It was into this political situation that Christ was born B.C. 4. Remains of the building activities of Herod are still to be seen in the sub-structures of the Temple, the Herodian towers of Jerusalem, and (possibly) a magnificent tomb near Jerusalem traditionally called the Tomb of Mariamme. Herod died shortly after Christ's birth, and his dominions were subdivided into provinces, each under a separate ruler: but the native rulers rapidly declined in power, and the Roman governors as rapidly advanced. The Jews became more and more embittered against the Roman yoke, and at last a violent rebellion broke out, which was quelled by Titus in A.D. 70, when Jerusalem was destroyed and a large part of the Jews slain or dispersed. A remnant remained, which about 60 years later again essayed to revolt under their leader Bar Cochba: the suppression of this rebellion was the final deathblow to Jewish nationality. After the destruction of Jerusalem many settled in Tiberias, and formed the nucleus of the important Galilæan Rabbinic schools, remains of which are still to be seen in the shape of the synagogues of Galilee. These interesting buildings appear to date from the second century A.D.

After the partition of the Roman Empire, Palestine formed part of the Empire of the East, and with it was Christianized. Many ancient settlements, with tombs and small churches—some of them with beautiful mosaic pavements—survive in various parts of the country: these are relics of the Byzantine Christians of the 5th and 6th centuries. The native Christians of Syria, whose families were never absorbed into Islam, are their representatives. These, though Aramæan by race, now habitually speak Arabic, except in Ma'lula and one or two other places in N. Lebanon, where a Syriac dialect survives.

This early Christianity received a severe blow in 611, when the country was ravaged by Chosroës II., king of Persia. Monastic settlements were massacred and plundered, and the whole country reduced to such a state of weakness that without much resistance it fell to Omar, the second Caliph of Islam. He became master of Syria and Palestine in the second quarter of the seventh century. Palestine thus became a Moslem

country, and its population received the Arab element which is still dominant within it. It may be mentioned in passing that coins of Chosroës are occasionally found in Palestine; and that of the early Arab domination many noteworthy buildings survive, chief of which is the glorious dome that occupies the site of the Hebrew Temple at Jerusalem.

The Moslem rule was at first by no means tyrannical; but, as the spirit of intolerance developed, the Christian inhabitants were compelled to undergo many sufferings and indignities. This, and the desire to wrest the holy places of Christendom from the hands of the infidel, were the ostensible reasons for the invasions of the brigands who called themselves Crusaders, and who established in Jerusalem a kingdom on a feudal basis that lasted throughout the 12th century. An institution so exotic, supported by men morally and physically unfit for life in a sub-tropical climate, could not outlast the first enthusiasm which called it into being. Worn out by immorality, by leprosy and other diseases, and by mutual dissensions, the unworthy champions of the Cross disappeared before the heroic Saladin, leaving as their legacy to the country a score or so of place names; a quantity of worthless ecclesiastical traditions; a number of castles and churches, few of which possess any special architectural interest, and many of which, by a strange irony, have been converted into mosques; and, among the Arab natives, an unquenchable hatred of Christianity.

We must pass over the barbarous *Mongolian* invasions, the last of which was under Timur or Tamerlane at the end of the 14th century. But we must not omit to mention the Turkish conquest in 1516, when Syria obtained the place which it still holds in the Ottoman Empire. R. A. S. Macalister.

PALLU.—One of the sons of Reuben (Gn 46^{9}, Ex 6^{14}, Nu $26^{5.\ 8}$, 1 Ch 5^{3}). The patronymic **Palluites** occurs in Nu 26^{5}. We should probably read *Pallu* for **Peleth** in Nu 16^{1}.

PALM TREE (*tāmār*).—The date palm (*Phœnix dactylifera*) is a tree essential to existence in the deserts of Arabia, and was therefore held sacred among the Semites from the earliest historic times. It flourishes in Egypt, Mesopotamia, and the oases of Arabia (Ex 15^{27}, Nu 33^{9}), but its cultivation has for long been much neglected in Palestine. It is still found in considerable numbers in the Maritime Plain, *e.g.* at the Bay of 'Akka and at Gaza; and small scattered groups occur all over the land in the neighbourhood of springs. In the valleys east of the Dead Sea, many sterile, dwarfed palms occur. Both in the OT (Dt 34^{3}, Jg 1^{16} 3^{13}, 2 Ch 28^{15}) and in Josephus (*BJ* IV. viii. 2–3), Jericho is famous for its vast groves of palms; to-day there are but few, and these quite modern trees. Not only are dates a staple diet in Arabia and an important article of export, but the plaited leaves furnish mats and baskets, the bark is made into ropes, and the seeds are ground up for cattle. From the dates is made a kind of syrup, date-honey or *dibs*, a valuable substitute for sugar. The method of fertilization of the female (pistillate) flowers by the pollen from the male (staminate) flowers was known in very ancient times, and nature was then, as now, assisted by shaking out the pollen over the female flowers. The palm tree is referred to (Ps 92^{12}) as a sign of prosperity and (Ca $7^{7.\ 8}$) of beauty. Figures of palm trees were used to ornament the Temple (1 K 6); at a later period they occur on Jewish coins and in the sculpture of the ancient Jewish synagogues, notably in the recently excavated synagogue at *Tell Hūm* (Capernaum). The sacredness of this tree thus persisted from the early Semite to late Jewish times. Palm branches were used at the rejoicings of the Feast of Tabernacles (Lv 23^{40}, Neh 8^{15}), as they are among the modern Jews, who daily, during this feast, wave branches of palms in their synagogues. In 1 Mac 13^{51} we read of the bearing of palm branches as the sign of triumphant rejoicing—an idea also implied in their use in Jn 12^{13} and Rev 7^{9}. To-day these branches are used by the Moslems especially at funeral processions, and to decorate graves. E. W. G. Masterman.

PALMER-WORM.—Old Eng. for 'caterpillar,' see Locust.

PALSY.—The modern form of this word is 'paralysis.' See Medicine, p. 599[a].

PALTI.—**1.** The Benjamite spy (Nu 13^{9}). **2.** The man to whom Michal, David's wife, was given by Saul (1 S 25^{44}). In 2 S 3^{15} he is called **Paltiel.** See following article under No. **2.**

PALTIEL.—**1.** The prince of Issachar (Nu 34^{26}). **2.** 2 S 3^{15}, the same as **Palti** of 1 S 25^{44}.

PALTITE, THE.—A native of **Beth-pelet** in the Negeb of Judah (Jos 15^{27}, Neh 11^{26}). To this town belonged Helez, one of David's thirty heroes (2 S 23^{26}). In the parallel lists (1 Ch 11^{27} 27^{10}) he is described, probably incorrectly, as 'the **Pelonite.**'

PAMPHYLIA.—The name of a district on the S. coast of Asia Minor, lying between Lycia and Cilicia. Strictly speaking, it consisted of a plain 80 miles long and (at its widest part) 20 miles broad, lying between Mt. Taurus and the sea. After A.D. 74 the name was applied to a Roman province which included the mountainous country to the N., more properly called Pisidia, but until that time it was used only in the narrower sense. The plain was shut in from all N. winds, but was well watered by springs from the Taurus ranges. Through lack of cultivation it has in modern times become very malarious, and in ancient times, though better cultivated, the district was never favourable to the development of a vigorous population. Moreover, it was very isolated except by sea, for the mountains to the N. had no good roads, and were infested by brigands. Even Alexander had to fight his way through them.

The name is probably derived from the *Pamphyli*, one of the three Dorian tribes, and it is likely that Dorian settlers entered Pamphylia at the time of the other Dorian migrations. But the Greek element never prevailed, and though Side and Aspendos were half-Greek cities in the 5th cent. B.C., the Greek that they spoke was very corrupt and was written in a corrupt alphabet. Side is said to have earned its prosperity as the market of Cilician pirates. The town of Attalia was founded in the 2nd century. But more important was the native town of **Perga,** situated inland and having apparently a port of its own on the river Cestrus at a distance of 5 miles. It was a religious centre, where a goddess 'Artemis of Perga' was worshipped, her rites corresponding to those associated with Diana of the Ephesians, and being therefore more Asiatic than Greek. The ruins of the city date from the period of the Seleucid kings of Syria. Pamphylia was in turn subject to Persia, Macedonia, Syria, Pergamus, and Rome.

Paul and Barnabas on their first missionary journey crossed from Cyprus to Perga, but seem to have gone straight on to Antioch without preaching. It was at Perga that John Mark left them (Ac 13^{13}). On the return journey, before taking ship at Attalia, they preached at Perga (Ac 14^{25}), but by this time they had definitely determined to 'turn to the Gentiles' (cf. 13^{46}). Christianity was slow in taking hold of Pamphylia,—there is no mention of it in 1 P 1^{1}—and this was probably due partly to the absence of Jewish centres, partly to the backwardness of the district. Christianity made way most quickly in the chief centres of thought. See Perga. A. E. Hillard.

PAN.—See House, § **9.**

PANELLED.—See Cieled.

PANNAG.—A word of doubtful genuineness occurring only in Ezk 27^{17}, in a list of articles which had a place in the commerce of Judah and Israel with Tyre. RV simply transliterates the word, with marg. note, 'perhaps a kind of confection.' AV had understood the word as a place name, 'wheat of Minnith and Pannag.' Of

the suggested emendations may be mentioned Cornill's 'wax' (*dōnag*), and Cheyne's 'grape-syrup,' for which see HONEY. A. R. S. KENNEDY.

PAPER.—See WRITING, § 6.

PAPER REEDS.—See MEADOW, REED.

PAPHOS was the name of two cities in the W. of Cyprus, Old Paphos about a mile from the sea, New Paphos (now Baffo) about seven miles N.W. of this. The Phœnician origin of the former need not be doubted; the latter was by tradition a Greek settlement, but in both the chief object of worship was the 'Paphian goddess,' undoubtedly of Syrian origin, and worshipped under the form of a conical stone, though identified by the Greeks with Aphrodite. Old Paphos was desolate in the time of Jerome. New Paphos was the centre of the Roman administration in Cyprus. It was here that St. Paul encountered the Roman proconsul Sergius Paulus in his first missionary journey—the first presentation of Christianity before Roman authorities (Ac 13^{6-12}). A. E. HILLARD.

PAPYRI AND OSTRACA.—Until almost the end of the 19th cent., the most important records of antiquity, apart from the authors, that had been preserved for literary reasons, were the inscriptions on stone and metal. Published in great collections, and utilized by scholars of all civilized countries, they have given new life to all branches of the study of antiquity, to history in the widest sense of the word, and in particular to the history of States, law, economics, language, and religion. The age of modern epigraphy has been extraordinarily productive of knowledge that never could have been discovered from the authors alone. And the end has not yet come. The researches and excavations of European and American archæological institutes and of special archæological expeditions, in which the Governments of almost all civilized countries and many wealthy individuals have taken part, bring to light innumerable inscribed stones every year. Then there are the engineering enterprises for opening up the countries of the Levant to traffic and commerce. In the construction of railways particularly, but also in other similar undertakings, a quantity of epigraphical material is discovered and made accessible to scholars.

These epigraphical records were reinforced in the last quarter of the 19th cent. by two quite new groups of records, both of which have ushered in a new epoch in the science of antiquity, viz. the *Papyri* and the *Ostraca*. Both have led to the development of entirely new branches of study. In comparison with the inscriptions they not only constitute an enormous quantitative increase of our materials, but also qualitatively they are of quite special importance: they allow us to see into the private life of the men of antiquity—their most private life, in fact—much deeper than we could ever have done by aid of the authors and the inscriptions.

Suppose for a moment that chance excavations in an absolutely dry mound of rubbish were to lead to the discovery of whole bundles of original private letters, contracts, wills, judicial reports, etc., relating to our own ancestors of the 10th cent. A.D.—what a wave of excitement would run through the whole of the learned world! How few are the documents that we do possess of the private life of those times! History preserves the old inscribed stones, the archives of kings, the chanceries of the great churches and municipalities, but suffers the written memorials of peasants, soldiers, women, artizans, to disappear after a few years without a trace. It was exactly the same in antiquity. The tradition that had come down to us was on the whole the tradition preserved in the history of what was great—the history of nations, potentates, the intellectual leaders in art, science, and religion; and that is true in great measure of the inscriptions, which for the most part owe their origin to princes, cities, and wealthy individuals.

Only those rare inscriptions that originated in the middle and lower classes of ancient society had to some extent counterbalanced the one-sidedness of the materials available as sources. The papyri and ostraca, however, have remedied the defect in a most unexpected manner. Rubbish mounds such as that which we just now assumed hypothetically to be discoverable in our own country, but which in reality, owing to the dampness of our climate, probably do not exist anywhere in the West, occur in large numbers in Egypt. In ancient times the dumping grounds for rubbish and refuse were on the outskirts of the cities, towns, and villages. Whole bundles of documents that were too old to be worth preserving were thrown on these rubbish heaps by the authorities, instead of being burned; and private persons did the same when they wished to get rid of written matter that had accumulated and was considered valueless. The centuries have covered these ancient rubbish-shoots with layers of dust and sand, and this covering has united with the great dryness of the climate to preserve most excellently the old sheets of papyrus and the inscribed fragments of pottery. Of course these texts, when re-discovered in our own day, throw a flood of light upon the upper cultivated class, but for the most part they are documents of the middle and lower classes.

It had long been known that **papyrus** was in antiquity a very popular writing material. The pith of the papyrus plant, which thrives excellently in the damp levels of the Nile, was cut into strips, and from these strips, laid cross-wise, horizontally and vertically, upon each other, the sheets of papyrus were manufactured by gumming and pressing. Perishable as the material seems, it is in reality excellent. We possess Egyptian papyri of the time of king Assa (*c.* B.C. 2600 according to Eduard Meyer's chronology); and most of the papyri now in our museums have lain more than 1500 years in the earth of Egypt. It is therefore not such a fantastic plan that has lately been suggested in Italy, viz., to re-introduce the manufacture of papyrus and establish it as a State monopoly in connexion with the making of bank notes. It is hoped in this way to obtain a material as durable as it would be difficult to counterfeit.

The first discoverers of written papyri must have been Egyptian *fellahīn*, digging in the old rubbish mounds for good earth and treasure. In the year 1778 a European noticed a number of papyrus documents in the hands of some of these peasants; he bought one, and watched them burn some fifty others in order that they might enjoy the aromatic smoke. The one document came to Europe; it is the Charta Borgiana, the decipherment of which marks the first beginning of papyrology. Though a good number of other papyri reached the European museums in the course of the 19th cent., only a few scholars took any trouble to cultivate papyrology further, until in 1877, a hundred years after the acquisition of the Charta Borgiana, many thousands of papyri came to light from the rubbish mounds near the 'City of Crocodiles' or 'City of the Arsenoites,' the old capital of the province of el-Fayyum in Middle Egypt.

This was the beginning of a new epoch that has led to a gigantic development of the infant science of papyri. The period of chance discoveries, the harvest of which used from merely financial considerations to be scattered hither and thither, has been succeeded by a period of systematic excavations carried out by highly trained specialists, who keep together the documents they discover and publish them in collected form. British scholars particularly have performed signal services by discovering and publishing papyri. Flinders Petrie has obtained magnificent specimens from mummy-wrappings which had been made by sticking papyri

PAPYRI AND OSTRACA

together. Grenfell and Hunt have carried out splendid excavations at Oxyrhynchus and other places, and have published their treasures with a rapidity and accuracy that place them in the front rank of editors, as the world of scholarship acknowledges. Besides these there are many other editors, and every year adds to the army of workers on the texts; philologists and historians, lawyers and theologians, all have found and are finding abundant work. The young and hopeful science has found a centre in the *Archiv für Papyrusforschung*, a journal edited by the leading German papyrologist, Ulrich Wilcken.

The papyri fall into two great classes according to the nature of their contents, viz. literary texts and non-literary texts.

Literary texts have come to light in large numbers, though generally only in fragments. They comprise not only very ancient MSS of well-known authors, but also a large number of lost authors; and lost writings by known authors have been partially recovered. These finds would suffice to show the extreme importance of the papyrus discoveries. And many scholars have considered these literary finds to be the most valuable.

But for scholarship as a whole the second group, the non-literary texts, is no doubt the more important. As regards their contents, they are as varied as life itself. Legal documents of the most various kinds, *e.g.* leases, accounts and receipts, contracts of marriage and divorce, wills, denunciations, notes of trials, and tax-papers, are there in innumerable examples; moreover, there are letters and notes, schoolboys' exercise-books, horoscopes, diaries, petitions, etc. Their value lies in the inimitable fidelity with which they reflect the actual life of ancient society, especially in its middle and lower strata.

The oldest papyri date from *c.* B.C. 2600, and are among the most precious Egyptological records. To the 5th cent. B.C. belong the Aramaic papyri from Assuan, published by Sayce and Cowley in 1906, and those from Elephantine, published by Sachau in 1907—documents that have furnished astonishing information relative to the history of Judaism. In the 4th cent. B.C. the main stream, as it were, begins, consisting of Greek papyri, and extending from the time of the Ptolemys till the first centuries of the Arab occupation, *i.e.* over a period of more than 1000 years. Associated with them there are Latin, Coptic, Arabic, Hebrew, Persian, and other papyri—so that, taken all together, they confer an immense benefit, and at the same time impose an immense obligation, upon the science of antiquity.

What is the importance of the papyri to Biblical science? It is twofold. In the first place, they increase our stock of Biblical MSS in a most gratifying manner; and secondly, they place new sources at the disposal of the philological student of the Greek Bible.

Beginning then with Biblical MSS, and first of all MSS of the Hebrew Bible, we have in the Nash Papyrus a very ancient copy of the Ten Commandments. As regards the Greek Old Testament, we have numerous Septuagint fragments (*e.g.* the Leipzig fragments of the Psalms, the Heidelberg fragments of the Minor Prophets), together with isolated remains of other translations. For the New Testament we possess an equally fine series of ancient fragments. But besides these we have acquired quite new material, in particular the various remains of lost Gospels and two papyrus fragments and one vellum fragment with sayings of Jesus, some of which are not to be found in the NT. Of course with such finds as these it is always a question how far they contain ancient and genuine material; and the opinions of specialists, *e.g.* with regard to these sayings of Jesus, are at variance. But in any case, even if, as is not at all likely, they should prove to be of quite secondary importance as regards the history of Jesus, they would be valuable documents in the history of Christianity. Quite a number of the papyri throw fresh light on early Christianity as a whole. Fragments of the Fathers, Apocryphal and Gnostic writings, liturgical texts, homiletic fragments, remains of early Christian poetry, have been recovered in large numbers, both in Greek and Coptic. But to these must be added the large number of non-literary documents, both Jewish and Early Christian, which are to be reckoned among the oldest relics of our religion. From the time of the persecution of the Christians under the Emperor Decius, we possess, for example, no fewer than five *libelli* issued to *libellatici*, *i.e.* official certificates by the authorities responsible for the pagan sacrifices, that the holder of the papyrus had performed the prescribed sacrifices. To the time of the Diocletian persecution belongs probably the letter of Psenosiris, a Christian presbyter in the Great Oasis, relating to a banished Christian woman named Politike. Then comes a long series of other early Christian original letters in Greek and Coptic, from the 3rd cent. until late in the Byzantine period. Centuries that had long been supposed to be knowable only from the folios of Fathers of the Church are made to live again by these original documents—documents of whose complete *naïveté* and singleness of purpose there can be no doubt.

The direct value of the papyri to Bible scholarship and ecclesiastical history is thus very considerable. Less obvious, however, but none the less great, is the indirect value of the papyri, and chiefly the non-literary documents of private life.

This value is discoverable in two directions. The papyri, as sources of popular, non-literary Late Greek, have placed the linguistic investigation of the Greek Bible on new foundations; and, as autograph memorials of the men of the ancient world from the age of the great religious revolution, they enable us better to understand these men—the public to whom the great world-mission of Primitive Christianity was addressed.

As regards the first, the philological value of the papyri, these new texts have caused more and more the rejection of the old prejudice that the Greek Bible (OT and NT) represents a linguistic entity clearly determinable by scholarship. On the contrary, the habit has arisen more and more of bringing 'Biblical' or 'New Testament' Greek into relation with popular Late Greek, and it has come to be realized that the Greek Bible is itself the grandest monument of that popular language.

The clearest distinctive features of a living language fall within the province of phonology and accidence. And in the phonology and accidence we see most readily that the assumption of a 'Biblical' Greek, capable of being isolated from other Greek for purposes of study, was wrong. The hundreds of morphological details that strike the philologist accustomed only to classical Attic, when he begins to read the Greek Bible, are found also in the contemporary records of the 'profane' popular language, especially in the papyri and ostraca. The recent *Grammars of the NT* by Winer-Schmiedel, Blass, and James Hope Moulton, have furnished an extremely copious collection of parallel phenomena. Helbing's *Grammar of the Greek Old Testament* (Septuagint) does the same. The Septuagint was produced in Egypt, and naturally employed the language of its surroundings; the Egyptian papyri are therefore magnificent as parallel texts, especially as we possess a great abundance of texts from the Ptolemaic period, *i.e.* the time when the Septuagint itself originated. The correspondence between them goes so far that Mayser's *Grammar of the Greek Papyri of the Ptolemaic Period* might in many particulars be used as a Septuagint Grammar.

Questions of Biblical orthography, which seem unimportant to the layman, but cause much worry to an editor of the Biblical text, are of course illumined by the contemporary papyri. The matter is not unimportant

to the scientific scholar, who must work with the fidelity of the wise steward.

In the same way problems of syntax and of style are considerably advanced by the papyri. It is possible, for example, to place the whole theory of the prepositions on a new basis. The use of the prepositions in Late Greek is very interesting. To mention but one small point, we are now able to make much more exact statements with regard to those prepositions in the NT which denote a vicarious relation—and how important these are in the Apostles' personal confessions of faith! The syntactical peculiarities of the NT, which used often to be traced back to Semitic influence, can also as a rule be paralleled from the papyri. The whole question of Semiticisms will now be able to be treated afresh. Formerly, when the NT used to be 'isolated' far too much, the question was generally answered in such a way that the influence of the so-called 'genius' of the Hebrew or Aramaic language, especially on the Primitive Christians, was greatly exaggerated. Linguistic phenomena that could not be found recorded in the ordinary Greek Grammars were described summarily as Semiticisms. It was forgotten that the NT and the Septuagint are for the most part documents of the popular language, and that the popular language in Greek and in Semitic has much in common. For example, the so-called 'paratactic' style of St. John's Gospel and St. John's Epistles, which used generally to be pronounced strongly Semitic, is in fact simply popular style, and has its parallels in inscriptions and papyri which certainly are not under Semitic influence. The existence of Semiticisms in the Greek Bible is of course not denied by recent Biblical investigators—in the books translated from Semitic originals they are really numerous—but the number of Semiticisms has been considerably reduced, and in proportion as the Semitic character of the NT recedes, its popular character is made to advance.

It is lexicography, perhaps, that derives most benefit from the new documents. Late Greek is rich in new words and new meanings of old words: the virgin soil of the life of the people is inexhaustible. Grammarians of a later age—the so-called Atticists—lured by Attic Greek of the classical period as by a phantom, fought against these new words and meanings, branded them as 'bad,' and tried to root them out. A number of *littérateurs* suffered themselves to be bound by the rules of the Atticists, as if they had been living in the 5th cent. B.C. This unhistorical, pedantic, and dogmatic tendency left the men of the NT practically untouched. Men of the people themselves, they spoke as the people spoke, and in the Gospels, for example, they for the first time introduced the language of the people with vigour into literature. By reason of its popular character, the language of the first Apostles is pre-eminently a missionary language, and this language it was that really enabled Christianity to rise to a world-religion. All this is confirmed most amply by the new discoveries. Words that we used formerly to regard as specifically 'Biblical' or 'New Testament,' we find now in the mouth of the people. Besides the papyri the inscriptions are also rich sources. Illustrative quotations from the papyri are for us particularly lifelike, because we can generally date them even to the day. 'Turn over the pages of the second volume of Oxyrhynchus Papyri published by Grenfell and Hunt, and you find that the non-literary examples are almost exclusively documents of the 1st cent. A.D., *i.e.* the exact time in which the NT grew up. It will be possible from these and other papyri to enrich very greatly the future Lexicon of the NT.

Thus we see the justification of the statement that the new texts of popular Late Greek have placed the linguistic investigation of the Greek Bible on new foundations. In yet another direction they yield an important harvest to theology. The more we realize the missionary character of Primitive Christianity, the more clearly we grasp the greatness of the Apostle Paul working among the proletariat of the great centres of the world's commerce—Ephesus, Corinth, etc.—the more we shall feel the necessity of studying the men to whom the gospel was preached, *i.e.* of obtaining, where possible, insight into their life, not only into their economic position and their family life, but into their very soul. As regards Egypt, we now possess wonderful documents among the papyri, especially in the numerous private letters, which were not intended for publicity, but reflect quite naïvely the mood of the moment. As they have made clearer to us the nature of the non-literary letters of St. Paul—and this alone constitutes a large part of the value of the papyri to NT study—so they make live again for us the men of the middle and lower classes of the age of the Primitive Christian mission to the world, especially for him who has ears to hear the softer notes between the lines. But we may assume that the civilization of the Imperial age was tolerably uniform throughout the whole range of the Mediterranean lands, and that if we know the Egyptians of the time of St. Paul, we are not far from knowing the Corinthians and the men of Asia Minor of the same period. And thus we possess in the papyri, as also in the inscriptions, excellent materials for the re-construction of the historical background of Primitive Christianity.

In conclusion, reference may be made once more to the fact that recently, in addition to the papyri, a great number of similar ancient texts, written on fragments of pottery, have been discovered in Egypt, viz. the *Ostraca*. As the potsherd cost nothing (anybody could fetch one from the nearest rubbish heap), it was the writing material of the poor man, and revenue officials were fond of using it in transactions with the poor. The ostraca, which are also numbered by thousands, are on the whole even more 'vulgar' than the papyri, but for that very reason valuable to us in all the respects already specified with regard to the papyri. The real founder of the study of ostraca on the great scale is Ulrich Wilcken, who has collected, deciphered, and historically elucidated the Greek ostraca. Next to him W. E. Crum has rendered similar services to the Coptic ostraca. To show that the ostraca, besides their indirect importance, have also a direct value for the history of Christianity, we may refer to the potsherds inscribed with texts from the Gospels, or the early Christian legal documents recently discovered at the town of Menas, but chiefly to the Coptic potsherds containing numerous Christian letters and illustrating particularly the inner history of Egyptian Christianity.

The whole study of papyri and ostraca is still in its infancy. The scholar still sees before him a large portion of the field of work uncultivated. The layman also who loves his Bible may still expect much light from the wonderful texts from the period of the origin of the Septuagint and the NT, and there is no need to fear that the Light of the world (Jn 8^{12}) will pale before the new lights kindled for us by research. The more we set the NT in its own contemporary world, the more we shall realize, on the one hand, the contact between it and the world, and the more we shall feel, on the other hand, the contrast in which it stands with the world, and for the sake of which it went out to fight with and to conquer that world.

ADOLF DEISSMANN.

PARABLE (IN OT).—1. *The word* represents Heb. *māshāl*, which is used with a wide range of meaning, and is very variously tr. both in LXX and in EV. The root means 'to be like,' and *Oxf. Heb. Lex.* refers the word to 'the sentences constructed in parallelism,' which are characteristic of Heb. poetry and gnomic literature; *i.e.* it refers to the literary form in which the sentence is cast, and not to any external comparison implied in the thought. Such a comparison, however, is often found in the *māshāl*, and, according to many

scholars, is the main idea underlying the word. We are concerned here with the cases where the EV tr. 'parable'; it is important to notice that in OT 'parable' has the varying senses of *māshāl*, and is never used in the narrow technical sense of the NT. In Nu 23[7] etc. it is used of the figurative discourse of Balaam (cf. Is 14[4] [RV], Mic 2[4], Hab 2[6]); in Job 27[1] 29[1] of Job's sentences of ethical wisdom, differing little from the **'proverbs'** of 1 K 4[32], Pr 1[1] 10[1] (the same word *māshāl*). So in Lk 4[23] (RV) it is used of a proverb. Pr 26[7-9] speaks of 'a parable in the mouth of fools,' which halts and is misapplied. In Ps 49[4] 78[2] 'parable' is coupled with **'dark saying'** and implies something of mystery; cf. the quotation in Mt 13[35] and Jn 16[25] AVm, RVm, where it represents a Gr. word usually tr. 'proverb.' In Wis 5[3] (AVm, RV), 'parable' means 'by-word,' a sense which *māshāl* often has. In Ezk 17[2] we have 'the parable' of the eagle, really an allegory (see below); cf. the use in Jn 10[6], He 9[9] RV, 11[19] RV, where it represents a figure or allegory. Closely connected is Ezk 24[3], the parabolic narrative of the caldron; the action described was probably not actually performed. Such mysterious figures are characteristic of Ezekiel, and he is reproached as 'a speaker of parables' (20[49]).

2. *The meaning of 'parable' in the technical sense.*—If Christ did not create the parabolic type of teaching, He at least developed it with high originality, and gave it a deeper spiritual import. His parables stand as a type, and it is convenient to attach a technical sense to the word, as describing this special type. As distinguished from **fable** (wh. see), it moves on a higher ethical and literary plane. Fables violate probability in introducing speech of animals, etc., in an unnatural way, and their moral is confined to lessons of worldly wisdom. The **allegory**, again, is more artificial. It represents something 'other' than itself (the Gr. word means 'speaking other'), the language of the spiritual life being translated into the language, *e.g.*, of a battle, or a journey. 'The qualities and properties of the first are transferred to the last, and the two thus blended together, instead of being kept quite distinct and placed side by side, as is the case in the parable' (Trench, *On Parables*, ch. 1). Hence each detail has its meaning, and exists for that meaning, not for the sake of the story. In the *parable*, particularly in those of the NT, the story is natural and self-sufficient as a story, but is seen to point to a deeper spiritual meaning. The details as a rule are not to be pressed, but are simply the picturesque setting of the story, their value being purely literary. In the allegory, each figure, king or soldier, servant or child, 'is' some one else without qualification; each detail, sword or shield, road or tree, 'means' something perfectly definite. It is not so in most of the parables; the lesson rests on the true analogy which exists between the natural and the spiritual world. Without requiring any fictitious 'licence,' the parable simply assumes that the Divine working in each sphere follows the same law. Like an analogy, it appeals to the reason no less than to the imagination.

3. *OT parables.*—There are five passages in the OT which are generally quoted as representing the nearest approach to 'parables' in the technical sense. It is noticeable that in none of them is the word used; as we have seen, where we have the word, we do not really have the thing; in the same way, where we have the thing, we do not find the word. The first two passages (2 S 12[1-4] [Nathan's parable], 14[6] [Joab's]) are very similar; we have a natural story with an application. The first is exactly parallel to such a parable as 'the Two Debtors,' but the second has no deep or spiritual significance. The same is true of 1 K 20[39] [the wounded prophet], where the story is helped out by a piece of acting. In all three cases the object is to convey the actual truth of the story, and by the unguarded comments of the listener to convict him out of his own mouth. The method has perhaps in the last two cases a suspicion of trickery, and was not employed by our Lord; the application of the parable of the Wicked Husbandmen (Mt 21[33]) was obvious from the first in the light of Is 5[1-6]. This passage is the fourth of those referred to, and is a true parable, though only slightly developed. It illustrates well the relation between a parable and a metaphor; and a comparison with Ps 80[8] shows how narrow is the border-line between parable and allegory. The last passage is Is 28[24-28], where we have a comparison between the natural and the spiritual world, but no story. It should be noted that post-Biblical Jewish literature makes a wide use of parable, showing sometimes, alike in spirit, form, and language, a remarkable resemblance to the parables of the NT.

C. W. Emmet.

PARABLE (IN NT).—1. *Meaning and form.*—(1) The constant use of a word, meaning *resemblance* both in Hebrew and in Greek, makes it evident that an essential feature of the parable lay in the bringing together of two different things so that the one helped to explain and to emphasize the other. In the parables of Christ the usual form is that of a complete story running parallel to the stages and divisions of a totally different subject. Thus in the parable of the Sower (Mt 13[1-8]) the kinds of soil in the narrative are related to certain distinctions of character in the interpretation (13[19-23]). The teaching value thus created came from an appeal to the uniformity of nature. In the Oriental thought of the Bible writers this contained a factor or field of illustration often grudgingly conceded by the materialistic provincialism of modern Western science. It was recognized and believed by them that the Lord of all had the right to do as He pleased with His own. Instead of being an element of disruption, this was to them the guarantee of all other sequences. He who gave to the frail grass its form of beauty could be relied upon with regard to higher forms of life. The attention given to the fall of the sparrow would not be withheld from the death of His saints. The conception gave solidarity to all phenomenal sequences, and forced into special notice whatever seemed to be subject to other influences. Such was the parable value of contrast between the behaviour of Israel towards God and the common sentiment of family relationship, and even the grateful instincts of the beasts of burden (Is 1[2. 3]). Thus also Christ spoke of His own homelessness as a privation unknown to the birds and the foxes (Mt 8[20]). This effect of contrasting couples formed a literary feature in some of Christ's parables where opposing types of character were introduced side by side (Mt 21[28] 25[2], Lk 18[10]).

(2) The use of the word *paroimia* in LXX and in the Gospel of John indicates that a proverb or parable, being drawn from common objects and incidents, was available and meant for public use. What was once said in any particular case could always be repeated under similar circumstances.

(3) Occasionally the public parable value was reached by making an individual represent all others of the same class. The parable then became an example in the ordinary sense of the term (Lk 14[8. 12. 13]). In Jn 10[1-6] 15[1-7], there is no independent introductory narrative dealing with shepherd life and the care of the vineyard. Certain points are merely selected and dwelt upon as in the interpretation of a parable story previously given. Here there is all the explanatory and persuasive efficiency of the appeal to nature and custom, but, as in this case the reference is to Christ Himself as Head of the Kingdom, the parable has not the general application of those belonging to its citizenship. It is nevertheless a parable, though 'the Door' and 'the Vine' are usually called emblems or symbols of Christ.

2. *Advantages and Disadvantages.*—In the parable two different planes of experience were brought together, one familiar, concrete, and definite, the other an area of abstractions, conjectures, and possibilities. At the

points of contact it was possible for those who desired to do so to pass from the known to the unknown. Imagination was exercised and the critical faculty appealed to, and sympathy was enlisted according to the merits of the case presented. A moral decision could thus be impartially arrived at without arousing the instinct of self-defence, and when the parallelism was once recognized, the hearer had either to make the desired application or act in contempt of his own judgment (2 S 12^{1-4}). In Christ's parables, as distinct from the ordinary fable which they otherwise completely resembled in form, the illustrations were always drawn from occurrences that were possible, and which might therefore have belonged to the experience of the hearer. When the meaning was perceived, this fact gave to the explanation the persuasive value of something sanctioned by the actualities of life. But, on the other hand, the meaning might not be understood. Its acceptance was limited by the power to discover it. Only he who could see the prophet's chariot could use the prophet's mantle. The transition of responsibility from the speaker to the hearer was sometimes indicated by the words, 'He that hath ears to hear, let him hear' (Mt 13^{9}). Christ's most solemn utterances were directed towards the insensibility that took its music without dancing, and sat silent where the wail for the dead was raised (Mt 11^{17}). His last act towards such imperviousness was to pray for it and to die for it (Lk $23^{34.\ 37}$, Ro 5^{8}).

3. *The special need of Parables in Christ's teaching.*— If the teaching of Christ had been devoted to matters already understood and accepted as authoritative, such as the conventional commentary on the law of Moses, such a presentation of moral and spiritual truth, while imparting the charm of freshness to things familiar, would not have been actually necessary. The Scribes and Pharisees did not require it. Even if, passing beyond the Jewish ceremonial observance and externalism, He had been content to speak of personal salvation and ethical ideas after the manner so prevalent in the Western Church of to-day, He would not have needed the vehicle of parable instruction. But the subject which, under all circumstances, privately and publicly, directly and indirectly, He sought to explain, commend, and impersonate, was that of a Kingdom that had for its destiny the conquest of the world. Alike in His preaching and in His miraculous works, His constant purpose was to reveal and glorify the Father (Jn 15^{8} 16^{25}) and to unfold the mysteries of the Kingdom of heaven (Mt 4^{23} 13^{11}, Lk 8^{10}). These mysteries were not in themselves obscure or remote (Mt 16^{1-4}, Lk 17^{21} 18^{16}), but its principles and motives and rewards were so opposed to all that had entered the mind of man, that it had to be characterized as a Kingdom that was not of this world (Jn 18^{36}). It was this Kingdom of Messianic expectation that united Christ with the historic past of the elected nation to which according to the flesh He belonged. Its appearance had been the chief burden of prophecy, and its expansion and attendant blessing to humanity had been dwelt upon as the recompense for the travail of Zion. The Messiah was to be the Prince of Peace in that Kingdom of exploded and exhausted evil, where in symbol the wolf and the lamb were to feed together (Is 65^{25}). The princes of the people of the earth were to be gathered together to be the people of the God of Abraham (Gn 12^{3}, Ps 47^{9}). But the same mysteries of the Kingdom, which connected Christ with the prophetic utterances and developed history of Israel, also brought Him into a relationship of antagonism towards the religious teaching of His own time. The people recognized in His words the authority that belonged to Moses' seat, but they saw very clearly that another than Moses was there. The point of distinction between Him and the Pharisees was that in His hands the Law was no longer an end in itself, but became a minister to what was beyond and greater than itself. While the Rabbinical teaching boasted that the world had been created only for the Torah, He taught that the Law had been created for the world. This radical opposition appeared in what He said about the proper use and observance of the Sabbath day, and in His condemnation of those who would neither enter the Kingdom nor allow others to do so. They taught with pride and complacency that the Kingdom of God had reached its final consummation and embodiment in their own exclusive circle, whereas the message of Christ was to be borne over new areas of progress and expansion until it reached and conquered the uttermost parts of the earth. It was a parting at the fountain-head. One teaching meant the extinction of the other. Of this Kingdom and its mysteries Christ spoke in parables. He thereby turned the thoughts of men from the Mosaic succession of Rabbinical precedents and their artificial mediation of the Law of God, and discovered a new source of illumination and authority in the phenomena of the seasons, the relationships of the family, and the industries of village life. Faith, obedience, and love took the place of technical knowledge and official position. The Kingdom of heaven was at hand, and the King's invitation to enter was always wider than the willingness to accept it. To His disciples He more intimately explained that it was a Kingdom of relationship to God, and of men's relationship, in consequence, towards one another. This, along with the story of His own life and ministry and resurrection, was to be the gospel they were to preach, by the power of the Spirit, as the message of God's salvation to the whole world. In the Sermon on the Mount those mysteries of the Kingdom were indicated in outline, and in the parables the theme was still the same, whether the story started from the initiative of the Teacher in the presence of the multitude, or was suggested by some incident of the hour. In the long warfare of the world's kingdoms men had grown familiar with the cry, 'Woe to the vanquished!' but, in that Kingdom of which He spoke, a new social instinct, created and nourished by its citizenship, was to inflict an intolerable pain on those who could relieve misery and uplift the down-trodden and cheer the despairing, and did it not. It was to take upon itself the world's estrangement from God and hardness of heart, and make its own the Christless shame of moral defeat, and social discord, and all unloveliness of life. In the citizenship of that Kingdom the sorest impoverishment would not be in the humble byways of the lame and the blind, but in the homes of selfish luxury and privileged exemption. The chief crime of the Kingdom, involving a complete negation of discipleship, would be an evaded cross. 'I was sick, and in prison, and ye visited me not' (Mt 25^{43}). Both from the novelty of the vision thus presented, and from its hostility to the spirit and authority of the religious leaders, it is evident that teaching by parable was the form best adapted to Christ's purpose and subject, and to the circumstances of the time. It was an efficient and illuminating method of instruction to those who were able to receive it. The petition once presented by two of His disciples indicates what might have become general if the rewards of the Kingdom had been announced to those who had not the true spirit of its service (Mt 20^{21}). By leaving altogether the traditions and controversies of the exhausted Church of that day, He gave a fresh positive re-statement of the nature and dimension of the Kingdom of God.

4. The following selection from Christ's parables indicates some of the points of relationship to the Kingdom. Whatever is stated generally applies also to the individual, and the latter should not regard anything as essential and vital which he cannot share with the whole membership. The humblest service is regarded as done directly to the King. (1) The parable of boundaries, the conditions and environment of the Kingdom: *the Sower and the Seed* (Mt 13^{1-23}); difficulties and dangers arising from inattention, superficiality,

and divided allegiance. Failure abnormal. (2) Accepted circumstance: *Wheat and Tares* (Mt 13^{24-30}); malignity progressively revealed in the advancing stages of the Kingdom; the patience of the Spirit. (3) Continuous development and adaptation: *Growing Seed* (Mk 4^{26-29}); union in the service of the Kingdom not an artificial pattern commending itself to a particular age, but a new circle of growth around the parent stem which moves onwards and upwards towards flower and fruit. (4) The appointed task: *Talents* (Mt 25^{14-30}), *Pounds* (Lk 19^{12-27}); faith accepting personal responsibility; the servant of the Kingdom, being relieved from the dangers of success and failure, labours so that he may present his account with joy in the presence of the King, being prepared for that which is prepared for him. (5) The parable of office: *The Husbandmen in the Vineyard* (Mt 21^{33-43}, Lk 12^{42-46}); names and claims in the Church that dispossess and dishonour Christ. (6) The King's interest: *Lost Sheep* (Lk 15^{3-7}), *Lost Coin* (15^{8-10}), *Lost Son* (15^{11-32}); forfeited ownership sorrowfully known to the owner; social relationship to the Kingdom indicated by the fact that the sheep was one of a hundred, the coin one of ten, and the son a member of a family. (7) Cost and recompense of citizenship: *Hid Treasure* (Mt 13^{44}), *Pearl of Great Price* (13^{45}); self is eliminated, but 'all things are yours.' (8) Fulfilment: *The Great Supper* (Lk 14^{15-24}): the King's purpose must be carried out; if individuals and nations of civilized pre-eminence hold back, others will be made worthy of the honour of the service. (9) Rejected membership and lost opportunity: *Rich Fool* (Lk 12^{16-21}), *Rich Man and Lazarus* (16^{19-31}). (10) Personality in the Kingdom: (*a*) *humility* (Mt 18^{1-4}, Lk 18^{9-14}); (*b*) *sincerity* (Mt 7^{15-27}); (*c*) *usefulness* (Lk 13^{6-9}); (*d*) *gratitude* (Mt 18^{23-35}, Lk 7^{41-43}); (*e*) *readiness to help* (Lk 10^{30-37}); (*f*) *assurance of faith* (Lk 11^{5-13} 18^{1-8}); (*g*) *patient hope* (Mk 13^{34-37}, Lk 12^{35-39}). G. M. MACKIE.

PARACLETE.—See ADVOCATE, PAUL, p. 693a.

PARADISE.—A Persian word for 'park' or 'garden' (see ORCHARD), used in later Jewish and Christian thought to represent the abode of the blessed dead.

1. In the OT.—While the word *pardēs* occurs only 3 times in the OT (Ca 4^{12}, Ec 2^5, Neh 2^8), and then with no reference to the **Garden of Eden**, it is unquestionable that Eden serves as the basis for the later conception. The transition from the usage of Genesis to one less literal is to be seen in Ezk 31, which is doubtless modified to a considerable degree by Babylonian conceptions. These, undoubtedly, are also to be seen in the Genesis picture of Eden. The significance of Ezekiel's conception is that it shows the anticipation of the apocalyptic conception of Eth. Enoch (chs. 23–28) and other apocalypses both Jewish and Christian.

2. In Jewish apocalyptic literature and in the NT.—In the apocalypses there are elaborate descriptions (particularly Eth. Enoch, Apoc. Bar 4, and 2 Es 8^{52}) of Paradise as the opposite of **Gehenna**. In the Rabbinical conception of the universe, Paradise is the abode of the blessed dead. There is the tree of life, and there also the righteous feast. Gehenna and Paradise are, according to the Rabbis, close together, being separated only by a handbreadth. This view, however, is difficult to harmonize with other conceptions, and the adjustment is probably to be made by the other view of a twofold Paradise, one in Sheol and the other in Heaven. Such a view would harmonize with the conception that the righteous would rise from the nether Paradise to the heavenly. The word is never used by Jesus or St. Paul except in Lk 23^{43} and 2 Co 12^4. From some points of view it would be more natural to make these two passages refer to the two Paradises respectively, but a final conclusion is prevented by lack of evidence. The reference of Paul (2 Co 12^4) is undoubtedly to the upper Paradise—that is, the third heaven. Here again, however, it is not safe to derive dogma from what may be a merely conventional expression.

3. In Christian theology the term is commonly used as identical with **'heaven,'** although in some cases it is distinguished as the 'temporary abode of the saints, either in some place on earth or above the earth. It has been particularly developed in connexion with the speculation as to **the intermediate state** as the place where the righteous live between their death and the Parousia. Lack of data, however, makes it impossible to reach certainty in the matter, and the most modern theology maintains an attitude of reverent agnosticism regarding the state of the dead, and uses the term 'Paradise' as a symbol rather than with precise definition. SHAILER MATHEWS.

PARAH.—A city in Benjamin (Jos 18^{23}). Now the ruin *Fārah*, near the head of the Valley of Michmash.

PARALYSIS, PARALYTIC.—See MEDICINE, p. 599a.

PARAN.—*El Pārān*, 'the oak *or* terebinth (LXX) of Paran' (Gn 14^6), is probably identical with Elath, the ancient seaport on the Gulf of Akabah. Perhaps in this region should be sought 'Paran' of Dt 33^2, Hab 3^3 (Driver, 'Deut.' [*ICC*], 392). Palmer (*Desert of the Exodus*, p. 510) identifies it with *Jebel Maqrah*, *c.* 29 miles S. of '*Ain Kadīs*. If Dt 2^8 refers to a place in Moab, no trace of it has yet been found. A city may be intended in 1 K 11^{18}, lying between Edom and Egypt, which cannot now be identified. The exiled Ishmael settled in the **'Wilderness of Paran,'** evidently S. of Beersheba (Gn 21^{21}). Israel's first march from Sinai brought them to this wilderness (Nu 10^{12}). Within it lay Taberah, Kibroth-hattaavah, Mazeroth, Kadesh, and what is called the **'Wilderness of Zin.'** The spies went from the 'Wilderness of Zin' (13^{21}), in which lay Kadesh (20^1 27^{14}, cf. 33^{36}), and this again is identified with the 'Wilderness of Paran' (13^{26}). It corresponds to the great limestone plateau of *et-Tīh*, stretching from the S. of Judah to the mountains of Sinai, having the Arabah on the E. and the desert of Shur on the W. Hither David fled after Samuel's death (1 S 25^1. LXX B here gives *Maan* = Heb. *Ma'ōn*. See Smith, 'Samuel' [*ICC*], 220 f.). W. EWING.

PARBAR.—A term identified with *parvārīm* (AV **'suburbs,'** RV 'precincts') of 2 K 23^{11} and applied to part of the Temple buildings lying on the W., where two Levites were stationed (1 Ch 26^{18}). The word is supposed to be of Persian origin and to have been taken over into Hebrew to indicate a colonnade or portico open to the light. The pl. form *parvārīm* (2 K 23^{11}) describes the situation of the 'chamber of Nathan-melech,' and might be translated 'in the colonnades,' but it is difficult to understand how a Persian word could occur so early. Either the word is a late explanatory addition to the text, or perhaps we have a different word altogether, describing the office of Nathan-melech. If we read *bappĕrādīm* instead of *bapparvārīm*, we get the meaning 'who was over the mules.' W. F. BOYD.

PARCHED CORN (*qālī*, or more fully *'ābīb qālui bā'ēsh* [Lv 2^{14}], Lv 23^{14}, Jos 5^{11}, Ru 2^{14}, 1 S 17^{17} 25^{18}, 2 S 17^{28}) is often made on the harvest field by holding a bundle of ears in a blazing fire or by roasting them over a piece of metal. Cf. FOOD, **2**. E. W. G. MASTERMAN.

PARCHMENT.—See PERGAMUM, WRITING, § **6**.

PARDON.—See FORGIVENESS.

PARENTS.—See FAMILY.

PARLOUR.—See HOUSE, § **5**.

PARMASHTA.—The seventh of the sons of Haman, put to death by the Jews (Est 9^9).

PARMENAS.—One of the 'Seven' (Ac 6^5).

PARNACH.—The father of Elizaphan (Nu 34^{25}).

PAROSH.—The name of a post-exilic family (Ezr 2^3= Neh 7^8) Ezr 8^3 10^{25}, Neh 3^{25} 10^{14}. The Gr. form **Phoros** is adopted in 1 Es 5^9 8^{30} 9^{26}.

PAROUSIA.—The 'appearance,' **Advent,** or **Second Coming** of Christ at the end of 'this age' in order to establish His Kingdom. **1. Origin of the expectation.**—The Messianic interpretation given to Jesus by the Apostles was essentially eschatological. No one of them understood Him to be engaged in the work of establishing the Kingdom of God during the period culminating in His death. He was the Christ in the sense that (*a*) He was anointed (empowered) by God to deliver men; (*b*) He was gathering and preparing men for His Kingdom; (*c*) He died and rose to manifest the justice and love of God, and thus save those who accepted Him as Christ; (*d*) He would return to conquer Satan, judge both the living and the dead, and establish His Kingdom either in heaven or on a renewed earth. How far we are to believe that this view was held or countenanced by Jesus Himself will be determined by the view taken as to the authorship of Mk 13 and other apocalyptic sections of the Synoptic Gospels. At this point Christain scholars are divided into three groups: first, those who believe that Jesus was thoroughly in sympathy with the eschatological views of His contemporaries; second, those who hold that He rejected those views, and that the eschatological sayings attributed to Him are the result of reading back into His word the admitted eschatological expectation of the Apostles and the early Church as a whole. There seems little likelihood at present of agreement between these two groups, for the reason that the second group uses as critical criteria dogmatic or highly subjective presuppositions concerning Jesus. The nearest approach to a compromise view is to be found in the position of the third group, who hold that Jesus to some extent utilized the eschatology of His day, but that His references have been developed and made specific by the Evangelists. However these larger questions may be answered, an impartial criticism and exegesis can hardly deny that Jesus referred to His future in terms which, if interpreted literally, would mean His return in judgment (cf. particularly Mk 14^{61-63}, Mt 23^{37-39}). As to the exact time at which He expected His return we have no information, except such sayings as Mk 8^{34-39} [Mt 16^{24-28}, Lk 9^{23-27} show influence of Apostolic interpretation] and Lk 17^{22}.

2. Expectation in the early Church.—The elements in the expectation of the Parousia found in the Gospels and in the Epistles can be formulated without serious difficulty. It was expected within the lifetime of the writers (except 2 P 3^{3-9}): 1 Th 4^{15}, 1 Co $15^{51 f.}$; or immediately: Ja 5^8, Ph 4^5, Ro 13^{11}, 1 Co 7^{29}, 1 P 4^7. The exact day is, however, not known (1 Th 5^2), but will be preceded by sorrows and the appearance of Antichrist (2 Th 2^8) and the conversion of the Jews (Ro $11^{25.\ 26}$). The order of events awaited is the descent of Jesus with His angels from the upper heavens to the lower; the sounding of the trumpet and the voice of the archangel which will summon the dead from Sheol; the giving to the saints of the body of the resurrection; the catching up of the living saints, who have been changed in the twinkling of an eye, to meet Jesus and the risen saints in the air; the general judgment of both living and dead; the establishment of the Messianic Kingdom, which, after a period of struggle, is to be victorious over the kingdom of Satan; and finally the fixing of the eternal supremacy of God. Among certain Christians this view was further elaborated, so that the appearance of Christ in the sky was followed by the resurrection of the martyrs, a thousand years of peace, during which Satan was to be bound, then the conquest of Satan, the general resurrection, and the establishment of the final conditions of eternity. This latter view, however, although popular in the 2nd cent., does not appear in the NT except in Rev 20^{2-7} (see MILLENNIUM). It easily passed over into the sensuous chiliastic views which were finally rejected from the main current of Christian thought largely through the influence of Augustine, but which have continued to exist among different sects or groups of Christians.

3. Various identifications of the Parousia.—(*a*) With *Christ's resurrection.* Such a view, however, disregards many of the elements of the NT expectation, and has never been widely accepted. (*b*) *The coming of the Holy Spirit at Pentecost*—a view commonly held by those who reject the literalistic interpretation of the apocalyptic elements of the NT, and identify the influence of the risen Jesus in the world with the Holy Spirit. This view makes such passages as Jn 14^{23} and $16^{7ff.}$ the exegetical point of approach to the entire question. (*c*) *The destruction of Jerusalem.* This is generally combined with (*b*) and said to be forecast in Mk 13 and 14^{61-63}. (*d*) The theory of *the successive comings of the Christ in judgment.* Thus various historical crises, such as the destruction of Jerusalem and the fall of the Roman Empire, are regarded as due to the immediate influence of the Christ and as a part of the new dispensation of the Spirit. (*e*) *The death of the believer*—a view exegetically untenable. (*f*) *The historical-critical view* sees in the expectations of the NT Christianity survivals of Jewish eschatology. Such a view does not deny an element of truth in the expectation, but regards the belief as due to the attachment to Jesus of Jewish expectations (cf. Eth. Enoch 48) now seen to be impossible of realization.

The view probably most generally held at the present time involves elements from several of these specific explanations, and is to the effect that, while the Apostles doubtless expected the eschatological cataclysm to occur in their day, they saw the future in prophetic rather than historical perspective. As a consequence the Second Coming with its attendant events is still to be expected. At different times men have endeavoured by the interpretation of the Book of Daniel to determine the precise date at which it will occur; but among those who still await a literal appearance of Christ in the air it is usual to regard the Parousia as likely to occur immediately, or at any time during an indefinite future period. SHAILER MATHEWS.

PARSHANDATHA.—The eldest of the sons of Haman, put to death by the Jews (Est 9^7).

PARTHIANS.—The founders of a powerful dynasty in Persia which overthrew the yoke of the Syrian Seleucidæ B.C. 250, and maintained itself against all external enemies till A.D. 226, defying even the Romans. They came from northern Iran, and their language or dialect greatly affected the cultivated speech of the empire, which was known as Pahlavi during their régime. But the exact form of the language of the Jews or proselytes who came to Jerusalem from Parthia, referred to in Ac 2^9, cannot be ascertained. J. F. M'CURDY.

PARTRIDGE (*qōrē'*, 1 S 26^{20}, Jer 17^{11}).—Two kinds of partridge abound in Palestine. The chukar or rock partridge (*Caccabis chukar*) is the commonest of game birds. Its cry may be heard all over the land, and large coveys may be encountered in the autumn. It is distinguished by its red legs. It is excellent eating. Hey's sand partridge (*Ammoperdix heyi*) occurs in enormous numbers around the Dead Sea. It is probably the partridge referred to in 1 S 26^{20}: its short flights from place to place when hunted; its hiding, trusting to its invisibility on account of its colour being so like the environment; its quick run from danger before taking to wing; and its final capture when too wearied to fly—must form a very suitable image of a poor human fugitive remorselessly pursued. The reference in Jer 17^{11} is hard to understand; it may perhaps refer to the fact that when disturbed from their nests such birds sometimes never return. In Sir 11^{30} the heart of a

proud man is compared to a decoy partridge in a cage. It is still customary in Palestine to hunt the red-legged partridge by the aid of such decoys.

E. W. G. Masterman.

PARUAH.—Father or clan of Jehoshaphat, Solomon's prefect in Issachar (1 K 4^{17}).

PARVAIM.—A region whence, according to 2 Ch 3^{6}, the gold was obtained which was used for ornamenting the Temple of Solomon. The name is most plausibly identified with *Farwa* in Yemen, or S. W. Arabia. It was possibly from this place that the 'gold of Sheba' (Ps 72^{15}; cf. Is 60^{6}) was in part derived.

J. F. M'Curdy.

PASACH.—An Asherite (1 Ch 7^{33}).

PAS-DAMMIM.—See Ephes-dammim.

PASEAH.—1. A descendant of Judah (1 Ch 4^{12}). **2.** The father of Joiada (Neh 3^{6}). **3.** The eponym of a family of Nethinim who returned with Zerubbabel (Ezr 2^{49} = Neh 7^{51}); in 1 Es 5^{31} **Phinoe.**

PASHHUR.—1. A son of Malchiah, a prince of Judæa in the time of Jeremiah (Jer 21^{1}), who was opposed to the prophet (Jer 38^{1-13}). Perhaps he is the father of Gedaliah (Jer 38^{1}), and likely identical with Pashhur, mentioned in 1 Ch 9^{12}, Neh 11^{12}, as the ancestor of Adaiah. **2.** The son of Immer, a Temple official and priest, who caused Jeremiah to be beaten and put in the stocks after he had predicted the fall of Jerusalem. The prophet told him his name was not Pashhur (probably 'peace,' lit. 'staying on every side') but **Magor-missabib** ('terror [or perhaps wandering] round about'), and added that he would die in Babylon (Jer 20^{1-6}). Perhaps he was the father of Gedaliah (Jer 38^{1}). **3.** The father of the Gedaliah mentioned in Jer 38^{1}, and may be either **1** or **2**, or neither. **4.** The head of a priestly family, 'the sons of Pashhur' mentioned in Ezr 2^{38}, Neh 7^{41}, Ezr 10^{22}, 1 Es 5^{25} (**Phassurus**) 9^{22} (**Phaisur**). **5.** A priest who signed the covenant with Nehemiah, probably identical with **4**, or used of the clan as a whole (Neh 10^{3}).

W. F. Boyd.

PASSION.—In Ac 14^{15} 'We also are men of like passions with you,' 'passion' means 'feeling *or* emotion.' But in Ac 1^{3} 'He showed himself alive after his passion,' the word means 'suffering,' as in Wyclif's translation of He 2^{9} 'Ihesus for the passioun of deeth, crowned with glorie and honour.'

PASSOVER AND FEAST OF UNLEAVENED BREAD.—1. OT references.—(1) *Law and Ezekiel.*—The allusions in Ex 34^{25} and 23^{18} are so dubious that they can hardly give any sure ground on which to base a consideration of the Passover festival. The first certain reference to the feast is in Ex 12^{21-27}. (This is probably an older account than 12^{1-13}, and differs from it in details.) We find that 'the passover' is assumed as known, and possibly it is the feast referred to in Ex 3^{18} 7^{15} etc. The characteristic features of the feast in Ex 12^{21-27} are: (*a*) a lamb is to be slain and its blood sprinkled on the lintel and side-posts of the houses; (*b*) the cause for this observance is found in the slaughter of the Egyptian firstborn.

In Dt 16^{1-8} the Passover is directed to be observed in the month Abib (April), in commemoration of the Exodus from Egypt. The sacrifice is not to be offered in private dwellings, but 'in the place which Jehovah shall choose to place his name there.' With the Passover meal, and during seven days, no leavened bread was to be eaten. None of the flesh was to be left till morning. After the meal the worshippers were to go to their homes; the seventh day was to be a solemn assembly, and this period (v.^{9}) was treated as opening the 7 weeks' 'joy of harvest,' commencing from Abib, when the corn would be coming into ear. We may notice here: (*a*) the Passover is regarded as part of the Feast of Unleavened Bread (**Mazzoth**), the two being apparently blended into one; (*b*) the sacrifice, though composed of individual sacrifices, is to be offered only at the Temple in Jerusalem; (*c*) the offering may be taken from flock or herd.

In Ezk 45^{21-24} the date is precisely assigned as 14th Abib. The feast lasts 7 days, and unleavened bread only is to be eaten. The prince is to offer a bullock as a sin-offering for himself and the people, and a he-goat on each of the 7 days, as well as 7 bullocks and 7 rams daily, with other offerings of meal and oil. All takes place at the central sanctuary; there is no mention of a lamb, and the Passover is part of the Unleavened Bread festival.

Lv 23^{5-14} ordains the Passover for the evening of 14th Abib. The Feast of Unleavened Bread is treated separately; it lasts 7 days, a holy convocation is to be held on the 1st and 7th days; and 'on the morrow after the sabbath' a sheaf of new corn is to be waved before the Lord, a he-lamb is to be offered as a burnt-offering with other offerings; and till this is done, no bread or parched corn or green ears may be eaten.

According to Ex 12^{1-13}, the current month of the Exodus is to be regarded as the 1st month of the year. On the 10th day a lamb or a kid is to be taken for each family or combination of families, according to their size. It is to be slain at even on the 14th, and the lintel is to be stained with its blood. It is to be roasted intact, and eaten with unleavened bread and **bitter herbs.** Nothing of it is to remain till morning. It is to be eaten in haste, the partakers prepared as for a journey; it is a sign of the Lord's 'pass-over.'

Ex 12^{43-49} forbids any foreigner or hired servant or sojourner to eat the Passover unless he first submits to circumcision.

Nu 9^{1-14} deals with a case recorded as arising on the first anniversary of the Exodus. It is declared that anybody who is unclean may celebrate the Passover on the 14th day of the 2nd month.

In Nu 28^{16-25} the Passover is distinguished from the Feast of Unleavened Bread. The 1st and 7th days of the latter are to be days of holy convocation. On each of the 7 days two bullocks, a ram, and 7 lambs (with special offerings of meal and oil) are to be sacrificed, and a goat for a sin-offering.

(2) *Historical and Prophetical books.*—No certain reference is found previous to the date of the discovery of Deuteronomy. Most of the allusions in the prophets are quite general in scope (cf. Hos 2^{11} 9^{5} $12^{9, 10}$, Am 5^{21} 8^{10}). The observance in 2 K 23^{21-23} is stated to have conformed to the regulations of Dt 16 and to have been novel in character. 2 Ch 30. 35^{1-19} perhaps reflects the later usages of the writer's own age. Of post-exilic witnesses Ezr 6^{19-22} may be quoted, where the priests and Levites play the prominent part in the sacrifice, and the Feast of Unleavened Bread is distinguished from the Passover.

Many of the Passover rites are undoubtedly very ancient; but Deuteronomy tends to emphasize the historical connexion of the festival with the Exodus. The various regulations and allusions in the OT are not consistent with each other, and different ideas were probably associated with the feast at different periods of the national history. Thus Ezk. lays most stress on its aim as a collective piacular sacrifice. It is likely that the feast was observed during the Exile, and that its commemorative significance was then made more emphatic. This would explain the underlying conception of the account in the Priestly Code. But the Chronicler shows preference for the Deuteronomic version, perhaps owing to the growing centralization of worship at one sanctuary in his time.

2. Origin and primitive significance.—The Passover was in all probability an institution already existing when the Jewish legislation was codified, but taken up and transformed by the Legislator. (*a*) The most widely accepted theory is that it was in origin the shepherd's offering of the first-fruits from his flocks,

the slaughter of the Egyptian firstborn being Pharaoh's punishment for hindering this observance. On this theory, later tradition would then have altered the sequence, and have regarded the slaughter of the Egyptians as the reason why the Israelites should offer the firstborn of their flocks. And, finally, the connexion with the pastoral sacrifice would have been forgotten, and the Passover would be treated as instituted in order to save the firstborn of Israel. (*b*) Another theory finds the central idea of the Passover in the piacular notion. The sacrifice would be offered as a substitute for the firstborn of man, and this conception is a common constituent of primitive spring festivals. (*c*) Other theories regard the observance as originating from domestic sacrifice to avert harm in times of pestilence, or from an ancient solemnization of a threshold covenant, when Jehovah was welcomed into a private dwelling.

It is quite possible that all these theories represent different parts of the truth. The Passover appears to date from very early times, and may have amalgamated features from an entire series of festivals. Thus it combines the notions of sin-offering (the sprinkling of the blood), of burnt-offering (the victim being roasted intact), and of peace-offering (the victim being eaten by the worshippers). Other noticeable features are: its date at the vernal equinox, the fact that the sacrifices were mostly or entirely of firstborn, and that an old tradition connected it with the Israelites' desire for a religious pilgrimage, which eventually led to the Exodus (cf. Ex 5^{1-3}). This variety of character suggests the inference that the Passover is the complex amalgamation of different feasts, in which these different elements existed separately. Its association with the Feast of Unleavened Bread is probably accidental, due to contiguity in time. The latter is plainly an agricultural festival, and falls into line with the feasts of Pentecost and Tabernacles.

3. Post-exilic observances.—The Samaritans continue to observe the detailed ordinances of Ex 12. But the Jews learned in time to disregard some of the details, as applicable only to the first or Egyptian Passover. Such details were the choice of the lamb on the 10th day, its slaughter at home, the sprinkling of the blood on the house-door, the admission of the unclean, the posture and attire of the partakers, etc. Various alterations and elaborations were introduced. The month Adar was devoted to a thorough purification of lands and houses, sepulchres being whitened, roads and bridges repaired. On the evening of 13th Abib all leaven was sought out. On the 14th the Passover was offered by indiscriminate companies of 10 to 20 people. It was slain in relays at the Temple, and the blood thrown before the altar by the priests. The lambs were then dressed, and the fat offered, while the Levites chanted the Hallel (Pss 113–118). The lambs were taken home and roasted; each of the guests brought 4 **cups of red wine,** and the meal was eaten with **bitter herbs** and **unleavened cakes.** The posture at the meal was recumbent (as a token, according to the Pharisees, of the rest which God had given to His people). A blessing was said over the first cup (perhaps implied in Lk $22^{17ff.}$). Then followed the washing of hands and offering a prayer. At the second cup came the son's question as to the significance of the feast, and the father's explanation. This was succeeded by the singing of Pss 113 and 114. Grace was said over the third cup, and with the fourth came the singing of Pss 115–118. Large numbers assembled at Jerusalem for this feast, and such occasions were always carefully supervised by the Romans for fear of insurrection. Hence perhaps would come the custom of releasing a selected prisoner; but we have no hint of the origin of the custom.

A. W. F. Blunt.

PATARA.—A great seaport on the coast of Lycia, a few miles E. of the mouth of the Xanthus. The valley of this river is the best part of Lycia, and doubtless from early times Patara had a local trade, but its importance depended on its convenient position for the trade between the West and the Levant. The prevailing winds in this part of the Mediterranean are from the west (especially in the autumn), and ships sailing from the Ægean or from Italy to Phœnicia or Egypt would often risk the voyage straight across the sea from Patara. Thus we find St. Paul on his last journey to Jerusalem (Ac 21^{2}), after coasting in a slow vessel along the Ægæan, taking a vessel that was sailing straight from Patara to Tyre. Cf. Myra.

Lycia was never definitely colonized by Greeks, and the Lycians spoke a non-Aryan language. But Patara had an early culture,—its coins date from B.C. 440, and the chief Lycian god was identified with Apollo, whose celebrated oracle at Patara gave him the title Patareus (Hor. *Od.* III. iv. 64).

A. E. Hillard.

PATHEUS (1 Es 9^{23}) = Ezr 10^{23} **Pethahiah.**

PATHROS (Is 11^{11}, Jer $44^{1.\ 15}$, Ezk 29^{14} 30^{14}).—The name of Upper Egypt, in Egyptian *Pteres*, 'the South Land,' comprising both the Thebaid and Middle Egypt from somewhat south of Memphis to Syene at the First Cataract. **'Mizraim'** was generally limited to Lower Egypt, *i.e.* the Delta and some distance up the valley to include the nome of Memphis. This division of Egypt was very ancient, corresponding, at least roughly, to the two kingdoms before Menes. While Lower Egypt was familiar to both Greeks and Hebrews, Upper Egypt was comparatively unknown, as witness Herodotus' woeful ignorance of Egypt above the Fayyum, and Nahum's description of No-amon (see No). Yet there is abundant evidence in papyri of an important settlement of Jews at the southernmost extremity at Syene before 525 B.C. (cf. art. Seveneh); and the passages in which Pathros is mentioned refer to Jews in the Upper Country more than half a century before that, after the destruction of Jerusalem. So also Greek and Phœnician mercenaries had reached Syene, and even Abu Simbel, far south in Nubia, in the 6th or 7th cent. B.C.; soldiers and traders of many nations must have passed frequently up and down the Nile in those days, yet without giving to their fellow-countrymen at home any clear idea of the Upper Country. In Gn 10^{14} the **Pathrusim** are the people of Pathros. They are represented as begotten of Mizraim.

F. Ll. Griffith.

PATHRUSIM.—See Pathros.

PATMOS.—An island W. of Caria, now called *Patino*, with an area of 16 sq. miles and a population of about 4000. In the Middle Ages its palms gained for it the title of Palmosa, but it is no longer fertile. Its Cyclopean remains show that it was very early inhabited. It is the traditional place to which **St. John** was banished by Domitian, and in which he wrote the Apocalypse (Rev 1^{9}). The 'Cave of the Apocalypse' is still shown in which the Apostle is said to have seen the visions. The chief remaining interest of the island is the monastery of St. John, founded in the 11th century. It once contained a valuable library, from which was purchased in 1814 the 9th cent. Plato now in the Bodleian.

A. E. Hillard.

PATRIARCH.—This term is usually applied to (1) the antediluvian fathers of the human race; (2) the three great progenitors of Israel—Abraham, Isaac, Jacob (see sep. artt.); (3) in the NT it is extended to the sons of Jacob (Ac $7^{8.\ 9}$), and to David (Ac 2^{29}).

PATROBAS.—The name of a member of the Roman Church greeted by St. Paul in Ro 16^{14}.

PATROCLUS.—The father of Nicanor (2 Mac 8^{9}).

PATTERN.—This word is used to render several Heb. and Gr. terms in OT and NT, some of which denote a *model*, as in Ex $25^{9.\ 40}$ of the building model of the Tabernacle shown to Moses on the mount (cf. Nu 8^{4}—a different original—and Arts and Crafts, § 3), others

a *copy* of the original model as He 8^5 RV. See, for a full examination of the different passages, Hastings' *DB*, *s.v.* A. R. S. Kennedy.

PAU.—See Pai.

PAUL THE APOSTLE.—**i. The Authorities.**—Before discussing the life and teaching of St. Paul, we may consider what material we have at our disposal for determining the facts. We have a history (the Acts of the Apostles) and a collection of Epistles, which have been judged by most or by many scholars to be 1st cent. writings, and to be by St. Luke and St. Paul respectively. Of the Epistles we may, however, set aside the anonymous one to the Hebrews, which the Eastern Fathers generally considered to be St. Paul's, but which is now recognized by almost all scholars not to be the work of that Apostle himself. It is even denied by many that it belongs to the immediate Pauline circle at all. We may also put aside the Apocryphal *Acts of Paul and Thecla*, which, though it may include some genuine 1st cent. information, is clearly a romance of a later age. We have thus left the canonical Acts and 13 Epistles. The genuineness of these is considered under the separate articles in this Dictionary, but we may here briefly summarize the results of critical investigation with regard to them.

1. The Tübingen theory.—F. C. Baur, the founder of the Tübingen School (1792–1860), maintained that only four, called by him 'principal,' Epistles were really St. Paul's (Rom., 1 and 2 Cor., Gal.), and that the rest, as also Acts, were not genuine. From the 'principal' Epistles, and from a clue in the 2nd cent. pseudo-Clementine literature, he gathered that there were originally two bitterly opposed factions in the Church, Jewish and Gentile, headed respectively by St. Peter and St. Paul. Mainly because this controversy is not found in the other Epistles, but also from other minor considerations, he held that the rest of the 'Pauline' literature and Acts were writings with a purpose or 'tendency,' issued in the 2nd cent. in order to promote the idea of a Catholic Church, and to reconcile the contending parties. Baur has few, if any, followers now. It has been seen that it is bad criticism to make a theory on insecure grounds, and then to reject all the literature which contradicts it.

2. The Dutch School.—We may thus name a school of writers which has lately arisen, as their chief strength is in Holland. Prof. van Manen has popularized their teaching in *Encyc. Bibl.* (*e.g.* artt. 'Old-Christian Literature,' 'Paul,' 'Philemon,' 'Philippians'; see also art. 'Acts' by Schmiedel). According to this school, all the 13 Epistles and the Acts are 'pseudepigraphic,' though some fragments of 1st cent. works, such as 'Acts of Paul' and 'Acts of Peter,' are embedded in them. The reasons given are that the 13 writings in question are not really epistles intended for definite readers, but are books written in the form of epistles for edification; that there is no trace of the impression which, if genuine, they must have made on those addressed; that St. Paul would not have written to the Romans as he did without knowing them personally; that the large experience and wide field of vision shown in the Epistles were an impossibility at so early a date; that time was required for 'Paulinism,' which was a radical reformation of the older Christianity, to spring up; that the problems discussed (the Law and the Gospel, Justification, Election, etc.) did not belong to the first age; that persecution had already arisen, whereas in St. Paul's lifetime, so far as we know, there had been none; and that the chapters Ro 9–11 presuppose a date later than the Fall of Jerusalem. In a word, the historical background of the Epistles is said to be that of a later age, perhaps A.D. 125–150. The 'Pauline' literature sprang from the 'heretical' circles of Syria or Asia Minor. Marcion was the first (van Manen alleges) to make an authoritative group of Pauline Epistles; and they were not much approved by Irenæus or Tertullian, who, however, used them to vanquish the Gnostics and Marcionites with their own weapons.

One is tempted to ask, Was, then, St. Paul a myth? No, it is replied, he was a historical person, and the little that we know about him can be gathered from the older material (such as the 'we' sections of Acts) which is included in our present literature. It is enough to reply to the above reasoning that the objection already made to the Tübingen theory applies here with increased force; no criticism can be more unscientific than that which makes up its mind *a priori* what St. Paul ought to have done and said, and then judges the genuineness of the literature by that standard. And such a deluge of forgery or 'pseudepigraphy' in the 2nd cent. (for the Epistles of Clement, Ignatius, and Polycarp must also, according to this school, go by the board) is absolutely incredible.

3. English and German criticism.—Returning to better-balanced views about the literature, we may remark that scholars in this country are more and more disposed to treat Acts and all the 13 Epistles as genuine, and that in Germany the tendency is in the same direction, though it does not go quite so far. Thus Harnack (*Luke the Physician*, 1906, Eng. tr. 1907) accepts Acts as Lukan, and Jülicher (*Encyc. Bibl.*) believes Colossians to be St. Paul's, though he is uncertain about Ephesians. The Pastoral Epistles and 2 Thessalonians are generally, but not universally, accepted in this country; they are looked on much more doubtfully in Germany, but the former are usually recognized there as containing a Pauline nucleus.

4. The thirteen Epistles.—It appears that St. Paul wrote other letters than these; references to lost ones are found, probably, in 2 Th 3^{17} and 1 Co 5^9. The thirteen which remain may be divided into four groups. These are all well attested by early Christian writers, and (as van Manen remarks) the Pastoral Epistles have as good external testimony as the rest. By way of example (to take but a few instances), it may be noted that Ignatius (*c.* 110 A.D.), Polycarp (*c.* 111 A.D.), and Justin (*c.* 150 A.D.) use 2 Thessalonians; Clement of Rome (*c.* 95 A.D.) uses 1 Corinthians and probably Ephesians; Ignatius certainly uses Ephesians; Polycarp uses almost all the thirteen, including the Pastorals. In fact the external evidence is precise; and it would require convincing arguments indeed from internal evidence to overthrow it. Marcion (*c.* 140 A.D.) included all these Epistles except the Pastorals in his *Apostolicon*; but he freely excised what he did not like in them, as Tertullian (*adv. Marc.*, *e.g.* v. 17 f.) tells us.

(*a*) *First Group* (1 and 2 Thess.). These were written from Corinth 52 or 53 A.D.; the early date is seen from the fact that the writer expected the Second Advent to be in his lifetime (1 Th 4^{13-18}), and this is a real sign of authenticity, for a forger would never have put into St. Paul's mouth, after his death, the words 'we that are alive' (v.^{15}). A possible misconception is rectified by St. Paul in 2 Th $2^{2f.}$, for he says that the 'man of sin' must be manifested before the Lord comes.

(*b*) *Second Group*, Baur's 'principal epistles' (Gal., 1 and 2 Cor., Rom.), marked by the struggle for Gentile liberty and by the assertion of St. Paul's Apostleship, which the Judaizing Christians denied. The controversy was evidently dying out when Romans was written, for that Epistle is a calm and reasoned treatise, almost more than a letter (see art. Galatians [Ep. to the], § 4). The early date of these four Epistles is seen from the consideration that, as Gentile Churches spread and the converts multiplied, it must have been found impossible to force the yoke of the Law on them. The controversy on both heads was settled by St. Paul's evangelistic activity; his Apostleship was seen by its fruits.

(*c*) *Third Group*, the Epistles of the first Roman captivity (Eph., Ph., Col., Philem.). No really serious

objections have been raised against Philippians and Philemon, for it is hard to take seriously van Manen's arguments in his articles on these Epistles in *Encyc. Bibl.* And indeed it is impossible that a forger could have conceived such a gem as the latter Epistle; the writer's pleading with Philemon for the runaway slave Onesimus bears genuineness on its face. But the authenticity of these two Epistles has a decided bearing on that of Ephesians and Colossians, for all four hang together, especially Philemon and Colossians, which appear to have been written at the same time. It is objected that the phraseology of this group differs from that of the second; that Gnosticism did not rise till the 2nd cent.; that the Christology of these Epistles is derived from the Johannine writings; and that 'Ephesians is a mere vapid expansion of Colossians.' These objections appear to be based on the idea that a man must be interested in the same questions and controversies all through his life, and must always use the same vocabulary. The reverse is known to be commonly the case. The controversy with Judaism having died out, it is a mark of genuineness, not the opposite, that that question does not form one of the topics discussed in this group. St. Paul at Rome would learn much; and a certain change in vocabulary is natural enough. Yet the literary connexions between this group and the earlier ones are very real. Bishop Lightfoot has shown that the Colossian heresy is a very incipient form of semi-Jewish Gnosticism, such as we should expect in the 1st cent. (*Colossians*, p. 71 ff.). And the argument from the Christology is a pure begging of the question. Note that the doctrine is exactly the same in Colossians (which treats of the glories of the Head of the Church, while Ephesians describes those of the Church itself) as in Ph $2^{5ff.}$.

(*d*) *Fourth Group*, the Pastoral Epistles (1 and 2 Tim., Tit.), so called because they are concerned mainly with the duties of Christian ministers. These all hang together, and from coincidences of style and subjects are judged to be certainly by one writer. They are quoted by, or were known to, Polycarp, Justin, Hegesippus (see Salmon, *Introd. to NT*[6], p. 398), but were rejected by Marcion. Tatian accepted Titus, but rejected the other two, probably because 1 Ti $4^{3f.}$ $5^{14.\ 23}$ offended his Encratite ideas. In modern times it has been asserted that these Epistles are not St. Paul's, because of differences of diction (many phrases and words being found in this group which do not occur elsewhere in St. Paul); because the controversies are not the same as in the other Epistles, there being nothing about the Mosaic Law and justification by faith, and Gnosticism being attacked (for the name 'gnosis,' *i.e.* 'knowledge,' see 1 Ti 6^{20}; cf. Col 2^{3}, 1 Co 8^{1} 12^{8}), a heresy more Jewish in tone than even that which appears in Colossians (Tit 1^{14}); because the ministry is said to be too fully developed for the lifetime of St. Paul; but especially because it is impossible to reconcile these Epistles with Acts. With the last statement almost all scholars entirely agree, though they do not assent to the deduction made from it. This is the really crucial argument, and may be treated first. It is assumed by most of the objectors to these Epistles, that they must be placed somewhere in the history related in Acts, because that book 'concludes with the end of St. Paul's ministry'; and, as it is impossible to make the journeys referred to in these Epistles fit in with Acts, it is said that the former cannot be genuine. To this it is answered that St. Paul may have been acquitted, and that the journeys mentioned may have taken place after the acquittal; but the objectors reply that the acquittal is unhistorical. The truth is that history (outside these Epistles) does not explicitly tell us whether St. Paul was acquitted or condemned after the two years' imprisonment of Ac 28^{30}; if the acquittal is unhistorical, so also is the condemnation. We may, then, take these Epistles, which have excellent external attestation, and therefore are *a priori* worthy of credit, as new evidence, and infer from them that St. Paul was released, made journeys to the scenes of his old labours, and was later re-arrested and imprisoned (2 Ti 1^{8}). Even if these Epistles are not St. Paul's, they are evidence for an early belief that he was acquitted the first time; this is shown by the fact that the journeys described are quite independent of Acts (cf. also 2 Ti $4^{16f.}$). Further, there was, quite apart from these Epistles, an early tradition that St. Paul went to Spain (*Muratorian Fragment*, *c.* A.D. 180), or to 'the farthest bounds of the West' (Clem. Rom. *Cor.* 5; this almost certainly means Spain: see Lightfoot's note), according to his previous intention (Ro $15^{24.\ 28}$). This implies a belief in his acquittal whether or not the journey to Spain actually took place (see below, ii. **12**). St. Paul himself fully expected to be acquitted (Ph $1^{23ff.}$ 2^{24}, Philem[22]). Thus the difficulty that these Epistles cannot be reconciled with Acts entirely vanishes. [For the objection from the presentiment that St. Paul would not re-visit the Ephesians (Ac 20^{25}) see art. ACTS OF THE APOSTLES, § 9; but even if the early date of Acts be not accepted, it is quite possible that St. Paul never re-visited Ephesus. We should rather gather from 1 Tim., especially from 1^{3}, that he had an interview with Timothy elsewhere, probably at Miletus, as he was passing by on his way north; see Prof. Findlay in Hastings' *DB* iii. 714b.]—The other considerations, as to diction and subject matter, have little weight when once we agree that the Epistles, if Pauline, must have been written several years after the others; and it is instructive that in these respects the Third Group makes a half-way house between the Second and the Fourth. We must, moreover, note that there are many indications of genuineness; 2 Timothy has all the marks of authenticity, being full of personal allusions which it would be almost impossible for a forger to invent. It is for this reason generally allowed that 2 Ti 1^{15-18} 4^{9-22} are really Pauline. But it is grossly improbable that real epistles were used only for patching forgeries and then thrown away. It is in personal notices that a forger usually goes wrong; if these are authentic, it is a great argument for the whole writing being authentic (for further details see Salmon, *Introd.*[6], pp. 397–413). But as all three Epistles hang together, the marks of genuineness in 2 Timothy are a strong argument for the genuineness of the whole group.

We may briefly sum up what has been said on the difference of subject-matter and style in the thirteen Epistles. At the birth of a Gentile Church the controversy with Judaizing Christians was that which was most likely to arise, as we see in the Second Group. Questions were then asked about the Person of Christ and about the Church as a whole, as we see in the Third Group. As the communities grew, their organization occupied much attention, as we see in the Fourth Group. The special interest of the moment colours the diction and style. Sanday-Headlam (*Romans*, p. liv. ff.) suggest, further, that variations of style are largely due to the nervous temperament of the Apostle, now calm, now fervid; and in a considerable degree also to the employment of different amanuenses. St. Paul did not write his letters himself, but only added postscripts in his own hand. Probably he dictated his Epistles, and they were taken down in shorthand; a difference of scribe would thus mean an appreciable difference of style.

We shall, then, in what follows, without hesitation use the 13 Epistles as genuine. If what has been briefly argued above be not accepted, this article must be taken as describing, at least, the life and teaching of St. Paul as the early Christians believed that he lived and taught.

5. Acts of the Apostles.—For the reasons stated in the article on that book, we may with confidence use Acts as a trustworthy authority for St. Paul's life. But we may here ask what we are to think of **St. Paul's**

PAUL THE APOSTLE

speeches in Acts, whether they are a true record of what he said, and whether we may use them to determine his teaching. It is not easy to suppose that they were taken down verbatim as they were spoken; and St. Luke himself was not present at all of them (*e.g.* Ac 13[16ff.] 14[15ff.] 17[22ff.]). Yet the speeches agree very well with the circumstances in which they were delivered, and the diction and sentiments coincide largely with the Pauline Epistles. Lukan phrases have been found in some of them, which is natural enough; more so in the speech of Ac 22, which was spoken in Aramaic, and therefore is clearly not the Apostle's *ipsissima verba*, than in the Athenian speech (Ac 17[22ff.]) which has no Lukan element. The conclusion may be that the speeches were written down, soon after they were delivered, by a hearer—sometimes the hearer was St. Luke himself—and the notes then taken were afterwards used by the author of Acts.

ii. Sketch of St. Paul's Life.—**1. Name.**—The future Apostle is first made known to us under the name **Saul** (Ac 7[58]). Being of the tribe of Benjamin (Ro 11[1], Ph 3[5]), a fact of which he was proud, he doubtless was named directly or indirectly after the king whom that tribe gave to Israel. But while Saul was his Jewish name, he must, as a Roman citizen, have had three Roman names. His *praenomen* and *nomen* we do not know, but his *cognomen* was Paul. After the interview with the proconsul Sergius Paulus in Cyprus (Ac 13[6ff.]), the author of Acts uses no other name than this; from the outset of his mission to the Roman Empire it was fitting that he should be known by his Roman name. We must at once dismiss both the conjecture of Augustine that the Apostle on that occasion assumed the name Paul out of compliment to the proconsul, and also the suggestion that the name was personal to himself, denoting that he was small of stature. The existence of *alternative* names side by side, a Jewish and a Greek or Roman name, was quite a common thing among Jews of the 1st cent., *e.g.* John-Mark, Jesus-Justus. But here the case is different; we never read of Saul-Paul.

2. Birthplace and family.—St. Paul was not only a native but also a citizen of Tarsus, possessed of full civil rights in that famous University town, the capital of Cilicia (Ac 9[11] 21[39] 22[3]). His family had perhaps been planted there by one of the Seleucid kings (Ramsay). They were probably Pharisees (Ac 23[6]; cf. 2 Ti 1[3]); and Aramaic-speaking (Ph 3[5], though here the Apostle may be speaking of his *teachers*). Several indications point to the fact that the family was of some importance, and was fairly rich. It is not against this view that the Apostle himself was poor, and that he worked for his livelihood as a tent-maker, as did many Cilicians (Ac 18[3] 20[33f.]; cf. 1 Co 9[15], 1 Th 2[9], 2 Th 3[8]); for it is very probable that his family cast him off because of his conversion, and especially because of his attitude to the Gentiles; and moreover, it was the custom for all Jewish boys to be taught a trade. The prosperity of the family is seen from the fact that later St. Paul clearly had money at his command. Perhaps a reconciliation had been effected; his sister's son saved his life (Ac 23[16]); and the whole story of the imprisonment in Palestine and Rome and of the voyage to Italy proves that he was a prisoner of distinction. This could come only from the possession of some wealth and from family influence.

3. Roman citizenship.—Of this position St. Paul was justly proud. He was not a Roman citizen merely because he had the freedom of Tarsus, for Tarsus was not a Roman Colony; probably his father or grandfather had rendered some service to the State, and had been thus rewarded. In any case St. Paul was freeborn (Ac 22[28]). He had not, like so many under Claudius, bought the citizenship through the infamous favourites of the Court. He appealed to his privilege to prevent illegal treatment at Philippi and Jerusalem (Ac 16[37] 22[25]). And more than once in the Epistles he alludes to citizenship, transferring the term from the earthly to the heavenly sphere—an allusion which would come home especially to the Philippians, who were so proud of their city being a Colony, and of their therefore being Roman citizens (Ac 16[12. 21]); see Ph 1[27] [RVm] 3[20], Eph 2[19], and St. Paul's speech in Ac 23[1] where the phrase 'I have lived' is literally 'I have exercised my citizenship.' It was no doubt this citizenship which gave St. Paul such an advantage as the Apostle of the Gentiles, and which inspired him with his great plan of utilizing the civilization of the Roman State to spread the gospel along its lines of communication (see artt. Acts of the Apostles, § 7, and Galatians [Ep. to the] § 2). It is noteworthy that he seems to have laid much stress on evangelizing Roman Colonies like Corinth, Pisidian Antioch, Lystra, and Philippi.

4. Early life.—St. Paul was educated, no doubt, partly at Tarsus (Ac 26[4]), where he would be influenced by Stoic teachers (see (§ iv.), but chiefly at Jerusalem under the Pharisee Gamaliel (Ac 22[3] 26[4]; cf. 5[34ff.]); he did not, however, see our Lord (cf. 1 Co 9[1] with 15[8]), though he would be there in Jesus' lifetime on earth. Probably this period of education was over before our Lord's ministry began. He was brought up a strict Pharisee (Ac 23[6] 26[5], Gal 1[14], Ph 3[5]), and long after his conversion he retained a certain pride in his Jewish birth and a great affection for his own people (Ro 4[1] 9[3] 10[1] 11[1], 2 Co 11[22]). Though born outside Palestine, he was brought up, not as a Greek-speaking Jew or Hellenist, but as a Hebrew; for this last term denotes a difference of language and manners (Ph 3[5]; see Lightfoot's note). Accordingly we find him speaking Aramaic fluently (Ac 21[40] 22[2]).

The result of this education, in spite of Gamaliel's liberality of thought, was to make St. Paul a zealous and bigoted Jew, determined with all the ardour of youth to uphold the traditions of his fathers. We first meet with him as a young man 'consenting unto' Stephen's death, holding the clothes of those who stoned the first martyr (Ac 7[58] 8[1]), and persecuting the Christians in Jerusalem (26[10]). Thereafter he secured authority from the high priest to go to Damascus in order to arrest all the disciples, and to bring them bound to Jerusalem (9[1f.]).—[In the following paragraphs the numbers in square brackets denote the dates A.D. as given by Ramsay. Lightfoot's dates are mostly a year or two later; Harnack's earlier. Turner's (in Hastings' *DB*, art. 'Chronology of NT') nearly agree with Ramsay's, except that he puts the Conversion at least two years later because of a difficulty about Aretas (see artt. Aretas, Chronology of NT), and the Martyrdom about two years earlier].

5. Conversion [33].—The journey to Damascus was the great turning-point of Saul's life (Ac 9[3ff.]), and is often referred to by him (Ac 22[5ff.] 26[12ff.], 1 Co 9[1] 15[8], Ph 3[7] etc.). When approaching Damascus he saw a strong light, and Jesus appearing to him (so explicitly 1 Co 9[1]), saying, 'Saul, Saul, why persecutest thou me?' The voice was unintelligible to his companions (Ac 22[9]), though they saw the light (*ib.*) and heard a sound (9[7]). Saul was blinded by the vision and led into Damascus, where he was instructed and baptized by one Ananias. Immediately he confesses Christ in the synagogues at Damascus (9[20]), and then retires into Arabia (perhaps the Sinaitic peninsula, see Lightfoot's *Galatians*[6], p. 87 ff.), doubtless for spiritual preparation (Gal 1[17]). He ever recognizes his conversion as being his call to Apostleship, which was neither of human origin nor received by human mediation, *i.e.* not through the Twelve (Gal 1[1. 12. 17]; cf. Ro 1[1. 5], 1 Co 1[1] 4[1] 9[1f.] 15[9]). The Lord Himself designates his work as being among the Gentiles (Ac 9[15]; cf., 22[21] 26[17], Ro 11[13], 15[16], Gal 2[7], Eph 3[8], 1 Ti 2[7], 2 Ti 1[11] AV). The question arises, therefore, What is the meaning of the laying on of hands by the prophets and teachers of Antioch (Ac 13[1ff.];

Saul was one of them, 13[1])? This has been regarded by some as an ordination by the Church, which thus put an outward seal on the inward call to Apostleship (Gore, Lightfoot); by others, as an appointment, not to the Apostleship, but to the definite work which lay immediately before Barnabas and Paul (Ramsay).—Returning from Arabia, Saul comes to Damascus (Gal 1[17]) while the deputy (ethnarch) of the Nabatæan king Aretas holds the city (2 Co 11[32f.]), and is persecuted there, but escapes by night, being let down in a basket through the city wall (Ac 9[23ff.]). He makes his **first visit to Jerusalem** [35] three years after his conversion—for this is the probable meaning of Gal 1[18]—and is presented by Barnabas to Peter and James (*ib.* and Ac 9[27]). Here he is told, in a vision in the Temple, to escape because of the opposition of the Jews (Ac 22[17ff.]) [unless the vision belongs to the Second visit, as Ramsay maintains, *St. Paul the Traveller*[6], p. 61 f.], and goes to Tarsus (9[30]), preaching in the united province Syria-Cilicia, in which Tarsus was situated (Gal 1[21f.]). After several years, no doubt of preparation on Saul's part, Barnabas goes to Tarsus to bring him to the Syrian Antioch [43], where the disciples were first called Christians, and they spend a year there (Ac 11[26]). The Gentiles had already been addressed at Antioch by Cypriots and Cyrenians after the persecution which arose on Stephen's death (11[19f.]). Henceforward this became a great missionary centre. From Antioch Paul made with Barnabas the **second visit to Jerusalem,** taking alms for those suffering from the famine (11[30]); and if this is the visit of Gal 2[1] (see art. GALATIANS [EP. TO THE], § 3), it originated in a Divine revelation, and Titus, a Gentile, accompanied them [45 or 46]. They returned thence to Antioch (Ac 12[25]), taking Mark with them [46 or 47].

6. First Missionary Journey, Ac 13[4]–14[26] [47 to 49].—Sent forth from Antioch, Paul and Barnabas with Mark sail to Cyprus and preach there; at Salamis, the capital, on the west side of the island, they for the first time address a Roman governor. Henceforward Saul is always in NT called by his Roman name. Opposed by the 'magician' Elymas (or Etoimas), Paul rebuked him, and predicted his blindness; the *magus* was immediately deprived of sight, and the proconsul 'believed.' This can hardly mean that he actually became a Christian; but, having been under the influence of Elymas, his eyes are now opened, and he listens to the gospel message favourably.—From Cyprus they sail to the mainland of Pamphylia, and reach Perga, where Mark leaves them and returns to Jerusalem. The reason of this defection is not obvious, but it may be that St. Paul now made a plan for the further extension of Christianity among the Gentiles of the interior of Asia Minor, which Mark, whose view had not yet been sufficiently enlarged, disapproved. It is not unlikely that St. Paul was struck down with malaria in the low-lying littoral of Pamphylia, and that this favoured the idea of a journey to the mountainous interior, where he would recover his health. Ramsay takes malaria to be the **thorn** or **stake in the flesh** (2 Co 12[7]), and this would agree with the statement that St. Paul first visited Galatia owing to an infirmity of the flesh (Gal 4[13]). On the S. Galatian theory (here assumed; see the discussion in art. GALATIANS [EP. TO THE], § 2) the Church in Galatia was now founded; the journey included visits to the South Galatian cities of Pisidian Antioch (a Roman Colony), Iconium (where the Apostles were stoned, and whence they fled into the Lycaonian district of Galatia), Lystra (also a Roman Colony, where they were taken for gods, and where the people spoke Lycaonian), and Derbe. Thence they returned, reversing their route, confirming souls and ordaining presbyters. Persecutions in Antioch, Iconium, and Lystra are mentioned in 2 Ti 3[11]. From the port of Attalia they sailed to Antioch, and spent a long time there. In these journeys it was the custom of St. Paul to preach to the Jews first (Ac 17[2] etc.), and when they would not hear, to turn to the Gentiles.—At this time perhaps occurred the incident of St. Peter at Antioch (Gal 2[11ff.]). He at first ate with the Gentiles, but, persuaded by Judaizers who professed to come 'from James,' he drew back; and even Barnabas was influenced by them. But Paul 'resisted' Peter 'to the face,' and his expostulation clearly was successful, as we see from the conduct of the latter at the Council (Ac 15[7ff.]).

7. The Apostolic Council, Ac 15[1-29] [49 or 50].—As soon as Gentiles were admitted into the Church, the question whether they must obey the Mosaic law became urgent. Judaizers having come to Antioch preaching the necessity of circumcision, Paul and Barnabas with others were sent to Jerusalem to confer with the Apostles and elders. This is the **third visit to Jerusalem.** The Council decided that the Gentiles need not be subject to the Law, but enjoined them to abstain from things sacrificed to idols, from blood, from things strangled, and from fornication, by which marriage within the prohibited degrees is perhaps intended. Paul and Barnabas, with Judas and Silas, were sent to Antioch with the decrees, and the two latter probably then returned to Jerusalem, though there is some doubt about the movements of Silas.

8. Second Missionary Journey. Ac 15[36]–18[22] [50 to 53].—Paul and Barnabas had a dissension, the former refusing and the latter wishing to take Mark with them; they therefore separated, and Paul took Silas (sent for from Jerusalem?). These two went through Syria and Cilicia and (by the Cilician gates) to Derbe and Lystra and delivered the Council's decrees. At Lystra they find Timothy, son of a Greek father and of a Jewish mother named Eunice. He had been carefully brought up by his mother and by his grandmother Lois (2 Ti 1[5] 3[15]). St. Paul, wishing to take him with him, first, for fear of giving offence to the Judaizers (as he was half a Jew), caused him to be circumcised. They then go through the 'Phrygo-Galatic region' of the province Galatia (see art. GALATIANS [EP. TO THE], § 2), not being allowed by God to evangelize the province Asia (*i.e.* the western sea-board of Asia Minor) or to enter Bithynia (the northern sea-board), and come to Troas, where they meet St. Luke. [On the N. Galatian theory they made a very long detour before entering the province Asia, to Galatia proper, founding Churches there and returning almost to the point in the journey which they had left.] At Troas, St. Paul sees in a dream 'a certain Macedonian,' saying 'Come over into Macedonia and help us' (Ac 16[9]; see art. ACTS OF THE APOSTLES, § 3). This induces him to sail over to that province, and they come to Philippi, a Roman colony, where they lodge with one Lydia of Thyatira, a seller of purple. St. Paul casts out a 'spirit of divination' (ventriloquism?) from 'a certain maid,' and, owing to the opposition of the girl's masters, he and Silas are cast into prison. An earthquake looses their bonds and the jailor is converted. In the morning the magistrates send to release them, and then Paul and Silas assert their Roman citizenship. Leaving Luke behind at Philippi, they pass on to Thessalonica; and this mission seems to be the limit of which the Apostle speaks when he says to the Romans (Ro 15[19]) that he had preached from Jerusalem even unto Illyricum [=Dalmatia], the Illyrian frontier being not far off. At Thessalonica they spent a long time (1 Th 1[9] 2[1. 9ff.]), and had much success; many of the 'chief women' were converted. Paul worked for his livelihood (2 Th 3[8]), but gifts were twice sent to him here from Philippi (Ph 4[15f.]; cf. 2 Co 8[1f.] 11[9]). The missionary zeal of the Thessalonians is commended in 1 Th 1[8]. The opposition again came from the Jews (cf. 2 Co 11[24]), who accused St. Paul's host, Jason, of disloyalty to Rome; bail was taken from Jason, and the Apostle was thus injured through his friend. This seems to have been the 'hindrance of Satan' which prevented his return (1 Th 2[14. 18], 2 Th 1[4]). They

ST PAUL'S JOURNEYS
AND THE PLACES MENTIONED IN THE ACTS AND THE EPISTLES
1st Journey
2nd
3rd Journey
Voyage to Rome
(The route from Lystra to Troas on the 2nd Journey is doubtful. The map is based on the N Galatian theory.)
Scales
Roman
English
Miles
Longitude East from Greenwich
ILLYRICUM
Dalmatia
ADRIATIC SEA
MACEDONIA
THRACIA
PONTUS EUXINUS
BLACK SEA
BITHYNIA
PONTUS
GALATIA
CAPPADOCIA
ASIA
MYSIA
PROPONTIS
Bosporus
P. Sangarius
Byzantium
Nicæa
Mt Olympus
Tavia
Amasia
Tesarea Mazaca
Mt Argæus
Philippi
Neapolis
Amphipolis
Apollonia
TESSALONICA
Berea
SAMOTHRACIA
Troas
Assos
Adramyttium
Pergamum
Mitylene
Thyatira
Sardis
Smyrna
Philadelphia
Antioch
Iconium
Lystra
Derbe
Tarsus
Thermopylæ
Ephesus
Laodicea
Colossæ
Hierapolis
Miletus
Trogyllium
CHIOS
SAMOS
PATMOS
COS
Cnidus
Attalia
Perga
Pisidia
Pamphylia
Lycia
Patara
Myra
RHODES
SEA OF CILICIA & PAMPHYLIA
Seleucia
Antioch
Galamis
CYPRUS
Paphos
PHŒNICIA
Sidon
Sarepta
Tyre
Ptolemais
Nazareth
Samaria
CÆSAREA
Antipatris
Joppa
Lydda
JERUSALEM
Azotus
Gaza
EGYPT
Alexandria
LIBYA
CRETE
Phenice
C. Salmone
Fair Havens
THE GREAT SEA
MEDITERRANEAN SEA
TYRRHENIAN SEA
ADRIATIC SEA OR IONIAN SEA
ROME
Three Taverns
Appii Forum
Puteoli
Nicopolis
Rhegium
Syracuse
MELITA
ACHAIA
GREECE
CORINTH
Cenchreæ
Athens
Cyrene

IV.

then went to Berœa, where they met with much success; but the Thessalonian Jews stirring up trouble there, Paul went on to Athens, leaving Silas and Timothy behind, probably to bring news as to the possibility of returning to Macedonia. At Athens the Apostle spent much time, and addressed the Court of the Areopagus in a philosophic style; but not many, save Dionysius the Areopagite and Damaris, were converted. Timothy returned to Athens and was sent back again to Thessalonica; and Silas and Timothy later joined St. Paul at Corinth (1 Th $3^{1f.\ 6}$, Ac 18^{5}). From Corinth were sent **1 Thessalonians,** and, a little later, **2 Thessalonians.** At Corinth St. Paul changed his method, and preached the Cross, simply, without regard to philosophy (1 Co1^{23} 2^{2-6}, 2 Co 4^{5}); here he had great success, chiefly in the lower social ranks (1 Co 1^{26}). Here also he met Aquila and Priscilla, who had been expelled from Rome; and they all worked as tentmakers. The Jews being deaf to his persuasions, Paul left the synagogue and went to the house of Titus Justus close by; Crispus, the ruler of the synagogue, was converted with all his house, as well as others, among whom was perhaps Sosthenes (Crispus' successor in the synagogue? Ac 18^{17}, 1 Co 1^{1}). Encouraged by a vision, St. Paul spent eighteen months in Corinth; the Jews opposed him, and brought him before the proconsul Gallio, who, however, dismissed the case. Here we read of the Apostle taking a vow, after the manner of his countrymen, and shaving his head in Cenchreæ. He then sailed with Priscilla and Aquila, and, leaving them at Ephesus, landed at Cæsarea, whence he made his **fourth visit to Jerusalem** [53], and so passed to the Syrian Antioch. It is probable that from Ephesus Timothy was sent to his home at Lystra, and that he met St. Paul again at Antioch, bringing news that the Galatians were under the influence of Judaizers, who taught that circumcision was, if not essential to salvation, at least essential to perfection [see art. GALATIANS [EP. TO THE], § 4]. St. Paul in haste wrote **Galatians** to expostulate, sending Timothy back with it, and intending himself to follow shortly. [On the N. Galatian theory, this Epistle was written later, from Ephesus or from Macedonia.]

9. Third Missionary Journey, Ac 18^{23}–21^{16} [53 to 57]. —St. Paul, after 'some time' at Antioch, went again, probably by the Cilician Gates, to the 'Galatic Region' and the 'Phrygian Region' (see art. GALATIANS [EP. TO THE], § 2), and so came to Ephesus by the upper road, not passing along the valley of the Lycus (Ac 19^{1}; see Col 2^{1}). [On the N. Galatian theory another long digression to Galatia proper is here necessary.] At Ephesus he found twelve persons who had known only John's baptism. St. Paul caused them to be 'baptized into the name of the Lord Jesus,' and when he 'had laid his hands upon them, the Holy Ghost came on them, and they spake with tongues and prophesied.' At Ephesus the Apostle spent 2¼ years and converted many who had practised magic. Hence he proposed to go to Macedonia, Greece, Jerusalem, Rome (Ac 19^{21}, Ro $1^{10ff.}$), and Spain (Ro $15^{24.\ 28}$); he sent Timothy to Macedonia, with Erastus as a companion so far (Ac 19^{22}), and then on to Corinth (1 Co 4^{17} 16^{10}), while he kept Sosthenes with him (1^{1}). After Timothy's departure (4^{17}) he sent off **1 Corinthians,** which he wrote after he had heard of divisions at Corinth ($1^{10ff.}$), of the success of Apollos (1^{12} $3^{4ff.}$ 16^{12}), who had gone there from Ephesus (Ac $18^{27f.}$), of a case of incest and abuses in respect to litigation and to the Eucharist (1 Co 5. 6. 11). This letter was in answer to one from Corinth asking for directions on marriage, etc. The Apostle announces his intention of going to Corinth himself by way of Macedonia after Pentecost ($16^{5ff.}$), and Lightfoot thinks that he did pay this visit to Corinth from Ephesus (cf. 2 Co 13^{1} 'the third time'), but Ramsay puts the visit somewhat later. In 2 Co $1^{16.\ 23}$ St. Paul says that he had intended to go *by way of Corinth* to Macedonia, and back to Corinth again, and so to Judæa, but that he had changed his plan. At Ephesus there were many persecutions (2 Co 1^{8}; cf. 4^{8} $6^{4f.}$), and Onesiphorus was very useful to him there (2 Ti $1^{16ff.}$). The stay at Ephesus was suddenly brought to an end by a riot instigated by Demetrius, a maker of silver shrines of Artemis. St. Paul went to Macedonia by Troas, where he had expected to meet Titus coming from Corinth, though he was disappointed in this. At Troas he preached with success; 'a door was opened' (2 Co 2^{12}). From Macedonia he wrote **2 Corinthians** urging the forgiveness of the incestuous Corinthian. [Some modification of the above is required if this Epistle, as many think, is an amalgamation of two or more separate ones. Some think that the person referred to in 2 Cor. is not the offender of 1 Co 5 at all.] Titus joined St. Paul in Macedonia, and gave a good account of Corinth (2 Co $7^{6ff.}$), but troubles arose in Macedonia itself (7^{5}). Titus was sent back to Corinth with two others ($8^{6.\ 17f.\ 22}$), taking the letter and announcing St. Paul's own coming (2 Co 13^{1}). All this time the Apostle was developing his great scheme of a collection for the poor Christians of Judæa, which was responded to so liberally in Galatia, Asia, Macedonia, and Achaia (1 Co $16^{1f.}$, 2 Co 8^{1-7} 9^{2}, Ro 15^{25}), and which prompted that journey to Jerusalem which is the last recorded in Acts (Ac 24^{17}). He claimed the right to live of the gospel himself (1 Co $9^{6ff.}$); yet he would not usually do so, but instead asked offerings for the 'poor saints.' From Macedonia he went to 'Greece' (Ac 20^{2}), *i.e.* to Corinth, for three months, and here wrote **Romans** [57], which he sent by Phœbe, a deaconess at Cenchreæ, the port of Corinth (Ro 16^{1}). At Corinth he heard of a plot against his life; he had intended to sail direct to Syria, and the plot seems to have been to murder him on the ship; he therefore took the land journey by way of Macedonia, but sent on several friends to join him at Troas: Sopater of Berœa, Aristarchus and Secundus (both of Thessalonica), Timothy, Tychicus and Trophimus (both probably of Ephesus), and Gaius of Derbe, who was perhaps his host at Corinth (Ro 16^{23}, 1 Co 1^{14}; if so he must have come to Corinth to stay. The Macedonian Gaius of Ac 19^{29} was probably a different man). St. Paul spent the Passover at Philippi, and then, with Luke (Ac $20^{5f.}$), set sail for Troas. Here, at an all-night service which ends with the Eucharist, occurs the incident of the young man Eutychus, who being asleep falls down from the third storey and is taken up dead; but the Apostle restores him alive to his friends. From Troas the party sail along the west coast of Asia Minor, calling at Miletus. Here St. Paul has a visit from the presbyters of Ephesus, for whom he had sent, and bids them farewell, saying that they would see his face no more (see above i. 4 (*d*)). At Cæsarea (in Palestine) they land, and stay with Philip the evangelist; and here Agabus, taking Paul's girdle and binding his own feet and hands, prophesies that the Jews will do the same to the owner of the girdle, and will deliver him to the Gentiles.

10. Fifth visit to Jerusalem, Ac 21^{17}–23^{30} [57].—St. Paul is received at an apparently formal council by James, the Jerusalem presbyters being present; and he tells them of the success of his ministry to the Gentiles. They advise him to conciliate the Christians of Jerusalem, who thought that he persuaded *Jews* not to keep the Law, and to undertake the Temple charges for four men who were under a vow, and to 'purify' himself with them. This he does, showing, as in many other instances, that he is still a Jew (Ac 18^{18} $20^{6.\ 16}$ 27^{9}). But his presence in the Temple is the occasion of a riot, the Jews believing that he had brought within the precincts Trophimus, the Gentile of Ephesus, whom they had seen with him in the city. He is saved only by the intervention of the Roman soldiers, who take him to the 'Castle.' He is allowed to address the people, on the way, in Aramaic; but when he speaks of his mission to the Gentiles, they are greatly incensed

and the chief captain (chiliarch), Claudius Lysias, has him brought into the Castle and orders him to be examined by scourging; but Paul asserts his Roman citizenship. Next day he is brought before the Jewish Sanhedrin, of whom some were Pharisees, some Sadducees, and when he affirms his belief in 'the hope and resurrection of the dead,' the former favour him. In the night he is encouraged by a vision of the Lord telling him that he must bear witness in Rome (Ac 23^{11}). A plot of the Jews against him, revealed by his nephew, is the cause of his being sent down guarded to Cæsarea to the governor Felix. The Jews go down there to accuse him, and Felix and his wife Drusilla, a Jewess, hear him often; but he is left a prisoner for two years, and Felix, when he is recalled, does not release him, hoping to please the Jews. He had expected a bribe from Paul (24^{26}). Festus, his successor, is asked by the Jews to send Paul to Jerusalem, there being a secret plot to kill him on the road; but Paul appeals to Cæsar. While he is at Cæsarea, Agrippa and Bernice come down to visit Festus, and Paul narrates to them his conversion (Ac 25^{13}–26^{32}).

11. Roman imprisonment.—From Cæsarea the Apostle is sent, with the two companions allowed to accompany him (Luke and Aristarchus), on a voyage to Italy [59], under the charge of Julius, centurion of the Augustan Band or Cohort. They sail first, after touching at Zidon, under the lee (to the east) of Cyprus, the usual winds in the Levant in summer being westerly, and coast along Asia Minor. St. Paul is treated kindly and as a prisoner of distinction, and his advice is often asked. At Myra they transhipp and embark in what is apparently a Government vessel taking corn from Egypt to Italy. Sailing south of Crete they reach Fair Havens, and spend at least some few days there; then, though the season of the year is late, they set sail again, hoping to reach Italy safely. But being caught in a storm, they drift for many days, and finally are shipwrecked on the coast of Malta, where the people receive them kindly. St. Paul heals the father of the 'first man,' Publius, of fever and dysentery. Next spring [60] they sail for Italy by way of Sicily, and land at Puteoli, whence they reach Rome by land. Here Paul is allowed to live in a hired house, guarded by a soldier, and he remains there 'two whole years,' doing evangelistic work [60, 61]. From Rome, while a prisoner (Ph $1^{7.\ 13}$, Col $4^{3.\ 18}$, Eph 3^{1} 4^{1} 6^{20}, Philem^{1}), he wrote **Ephesians,** probably a circular letter to the Churches of Asia (the 'Epistle from Laodicea' of Col 4^{16}). At the same time he seems to have sent **Colossians** and **Philemon** by Tychicus and Onesimus. The Colossians had not seen Paul (Col 2^{1}), but, having heard of errors at Colossæ, he writes to exhort them and Archippus (4^{17}; cf. Philem^{2}), who seems to have been their chief minister. The short letter to Philemon is a touching appeal from 'Paul the aged' (v.^{9}) to a master to receive back a fugitive slave Onesimus; the master formerly, and now the slave, owed their Christianity to St. Paul. At this time the Apostle has with him Epaphras of Colossæ (who had come to Rome and was a 'fellow prisoner' with Paul, Philem^{23}), Aristarchus, Mark, Jesus, Justus, Luke, and Demas. About the same date **Philippians** was written, and sent by Epaphroditus of Philippi (Ph $2^{25ff.}$), who had been sick nigh to death, but had recovered; he had been sent by the Philippians with alms to Rome (Ph $4^{10.\ 18}$). St. Paul exhorts his 'true yokefellow' (whom Lightfoot takes to be Epaphroditus, but who is more probably the chief minister of the Philippian Church) to appease a quarrel between two Church workers, Euodia and Syntyche ($4^{2f.}$); the 'Clement' there mentioned seems to have been a Philippian convert. St. Paul hopes soon to send Timothy to Philippi (2^{19}), and to be free to come soon to them himself (2^{24}; cf. Philem^{22}).

12. Later life [end of 61 to 67].—This we can in part construct from the Pastoral Epistles; those who reject them will take their own view of the account which follows. We may first ask whether St. Paul went to Spain. As we have seen, he meant to do so (Ro $15^{24.\ 28}$), and early tradition affirmed that he did go (above, i. 4 (*d*)). This tradition, however, may have been based only on his recorded intention; and it is a difficulty that no trace is left of a Spanish visit, and that no Church in Spain claims to have been founded by him. Journeys to the East are better attested; he certainly intended to go from Rome eastwards (Ph 2^{24}). We read that he went to Corinth and left Erastus there (2 Ti 4^{20}); that he sailed along the west coast of Asia Minor, leaving Trophimus sick at Miletus (*ib.*), and Timothy at Ephesus to rule the Church there for a time (1 Ti 1^{3} etc.); that he called at Troas and left some things there (2 Ti 4^{13}); and that he went to Macedonia (1 Ti 1^{3}). But these events need not have happened on the same journey. At Ephesus we read of various heretics—of Hymenæus and Alexander whom Paul 'delivered unto Satan' (1 Ti 1^{20})—Alexander is perhaps the coppersmith who opposed Paul, probably at Ephesus, not Troas (2 Ti 4^{14}),—of Hymenæus (perhaps the same as in 1 Tim.) and Philetus, who explained the resurrection of the dead in a figurative sense as an event already past (2 Ti 2^{18}), and of Phygelus and Hermogenes, who, with 'all that are in Asia' (1^{15}), deserted the Apostle; but it is uncertain whether the references are to a time before or after the first imprisonment at Rome. Another journey was to Crete, where St. Paul left Titus to rule the Church for a time (Tit 1^{5}); thereafter the Apostle went to Nicopolis, on the west coast of Achaia, opposite Italy, where he intended to winter (Tit 3^{12}). Before reaching Nicopolis he wrote **1 Timothy** (probably) and **Titus**; he asked Titus to come to him whenever another could be sent to take his place (3^{12}).

The last scene of the Apostle's life is at Rome. He is now a second time a prisoner (2 Ti 2^{9}), conscious that his life is near its end ($4^{6f.}$). He writes **2 Timothy** to his faithful disciple, who is apparently at Ephesus [Prisca and Aquila and the household of Onesiphorus are mentioned as being with Timothy (1^{16} 4^{19}), and he himself is in a position of authority; these considerations point to Ephesus, where he was before]. When St. Paul writes, he is, save for Luke's attendance, alone; Demas has forsaken him; Crescens, Titus, and Tychicus have been sent on missions (Titus to Dalmatia, not to Crete); and Timothy is pressed to bring Mark and to come to Rome with the things left behind at Troas. Tychicus seems to have been sent as his substitute to Ephesus (4^{9-13}). In this letter St. Paul speaks of Onesiphorus having helped him, not only at Ephesus on a former occasion, but when he was a prisoner in Rome, perhaps at the first imprisonment, for he seems to have died before 2 Tim. was written (1^{16-18}). It is disputed whether the 'first defence' (*first*, not *former*) of 2 Ti 4^{16}, when 'all forsook him,' refers to a preliminary examination in the second imprisonment, or, as seems more likely (Zahn), to the first imprisonment; the Apostle speaks of his being delivered out of the mouth of the lion, that through him 'the message might be fully proclaimed, and that all the Gentiles might hear.' This seems to refer to the further travels of the Apostle after his first imprisonment, whereas when writing 2 Tim. he knew that he was near his end.

13. By universal tradition the **martyrdom** of St. Paul was at Rome [Harnack 64, Turner 64–65, Ramsay and Lightfoot 67]. Clement of Rome (*Cor.* 5), *c.* A.D. 95, says that having borne witness before rulers he departed from this world. At the end of the 2nd cent. Tertullian gives details: 'Paul is beheaded . . . At Rome Nero was the first who stained with blood the rising faith. Then does Paul obtain a birth suited to Roman citizenship . . . there' (*Scorp.* 15, *Patr. Lat.* ii. 174 f.); 'Rome . . . where Paul wins his crown in a death like John's' (*de Præsc. Hær.* 36, *Patr. Lat.* ii. 59). In the 3rd cent. Origen (*Com. in Gen.* iii., see Eusebius, *HE* iii. 1) says

PAUL THE APOSTLE

that St. Paul suffered martyrdom in Rome under Nero [Nero died A.D. 68]. As there is no conflicting tradition, we may with confidence accept this account. More modern traditions make the death to have taken place at Tre Fontane, 3 miles from Rome, and the burial at S. Paolo fuori le Mura, nearer the city.

14. Appearance.—The following is the description in the *Acts of Paul and Thecla* (Armen. vers. § 3, Conybeare's *Monuments*, p. 62), which may go back, in this matter, to the 1st cent.: 'Onesiphorus . . . saw Paul coming along, a man of moderate stature, with curly hair . . . scanty, crooked legs, with blue eyes and large knit brows, long nose; and he was full of the grace and pity of the Lord, sometimes having the appearance of a man, but sometimes looking like an angel.' The 'blue eyes' are peculiar to the Armenian. The other versions say that he was bow-legged, with meeting eyebrows, and bald-headed. This unflattering description does not agree badly with that of St. Paul's detractors in 2 Co 10^{10} 11^{6}, who said that though his letters were weighty and strong, his bodily presence was weak, and his speech of no account; he was 'rude in speech.' The appearance of the Apostle would be made worse by the permanent marks of persecution, the 'marks of Jesus,' as most moderns interpret Gal 6^{17}, which branded Paul as the slave of Christ.

iii. ST. PAUL'S TEACHING.—It would be a mistake to look on the Pauline Epistles as constituting a *Summa Theologica*, a compendium of Christian doctrine. The writer always assumes that his readers have in their possession the Christian tradition. We have no record of the method by which Paul preached the gospel, but he takes it for granted that it is known by those to whom he writes, and he repeats his teaching only when some special circumstances call for repetition. Doctrines like the Godhead of our Lord and of the Holy Spirit, the Atonement, and the Sacraments, are not stated as in a theological manual, but assumed (cf. 2 Th 2^{15} 3^{6}, 1 Co 11^{2}). Even the Epistle to the Romans, addressed to those who had not heard the Pauline presentation of the gospel, and partaking more of the nature of a treatise than do any of the rest, assumes the substratum of Christian dogma; note, for example, the way in which the Atonement is alluded to in Ro 3^{25} 5^{17}. It follows that it would be extremely unsafe to build any argument as to St. Paul's teaching upon his silence. The paragraphs which here follow are an attempt to bring together references in the Epistles to some of the more important points of Christian doctrine. But we may first ask whether St. Paul used a creed in his instructions. In 1 Co $15^{3ff.}$ he seems to be quoting something of this nature; and a verse from a creed-like hymn is given in 1 Ti 3^{16}. Yet the earliest known creed (the Apostles') cannot be traced back in any form beyond the second quarter of the 2nd cent., and the existence of anything like a creed in the Apostle's times is therefore a matter of conjecture only.

1. The Fatherhood of God.—Christianity inherited this doctrine from the OT. Yet it was fully revealed to us only by our Lord, for the Jews had hardly got beyond the truth that God was the Father of *Israel*. The Apostle develops this truth. God is the Father of Jesus (2 Co 1^{3}, Eph 1^{3} etc.), who is 'the Son of God' (Gal 2^{20}, Ro 1^{4}, 2 Co 1^{19}, Eph 4^{13}; cf. 1 Th 1^{10})—His 'own Son' (*i.e.* partaker of His nature), whom He did not spare (Ro $8^{3.\ 32}$, passages which recall both Mk 1^{11} and Jn 3^{16}).—But, further, God is the father of all creatures (Eph 4^{6}), from Him 'every fatherhood' (*i.e.* family) in heaven and earth is named (Eph $3^{14f.}$); He is 'the Father' (Gal 1^{1} etc.), the 'Father of glory' (Eph 1^{17}).—In a special sense He is the Father of all Christians, who are His sons by adoption (Ro $8^{15f.}$, Gal 3^{26} $4^{5f.}$, Eph 1^{5} etc.). St. Paul never confuses the relation of the Father to the Son with that of the Father to mankind, but keeps the distinction of Jn 20^{17} ('my Father and your Father').

2. The Fall of Man.—The universality of sin is the most prominent theme in Rom., among both Gentiles ($1^{18ff.}$) and Jews ($2^{9ff.}$); all are 'under sin' ($3^{10ff.}$). Sin is due to Adam's fall, and is punished by death; yet each man is responsible (5^{12}). 'Sin' does not mean mere error, as it was understood by the heathen, but moral wrong (cf. Ps 51^{4}; so frequently in OT). From Adam came a taint which is called the 'law of sin' in the members (Ro 7^{23}); it is a moral weakness which makes man inclined to sin. It is noticeable that Genesis says nothing of the penalty and taint as inherited from Adam upon which St. Paul insists; we find it first in Wis $2^{23f.}$, and probably in Sir 25^{24}. The Rabbinical teaching varied; some Jewish teachers emphasized the inherited taint and penalty, others the responsibility of each man. For the first cf. 2 Es $4^{30f.}$ 7^{118} [7^{48}]; for the second cf. 2 Es 9^{11} (freedom of choice) and *Apocalypse of Baruch* $54^{15\text{-}19}$; 2 Es $3^{20ff.}$ combines both views. These two works are probably of the 1st cent. A.D., and parts of 2 Esdras (but not those quoted) seem to have been added by a Christian hand (see Thackeray, *St. Paul and Jewish Thought*, ch. ii. and p. 21f.; a most suggestive book).—St. Paul traces the universality of sin to the instigation of Satan, the personal power of evil (1 Co 7^{5} etc.), and of his evil angels (Eph 6^{12}).

3. The Incarnation.—The remedy for universal sin is provided by the love of the Father (Ro 8^{32}) and of the Son (Gal 2^{20}), in the Incarnation. That St. Paul uses the title 'Son of God' in no mere ethical sense is seen by the language in which he describes the pre-existence of our Lord. The Manhood and the Godhead are both spoken of in Ro $1^{3f.}$ ('of the seed of David according to the flesh,' 'declared to be the Son of God') and 8^{3} ('God sending his own Son in the likeness of sinful flesh'). The Christ is of the fathers as concerning the flesh, but is over all, God blessed for ever (Ro 9^{5}; so EV and Sanday-Headlam, who in an exhaustive note uphold this interpretation; those mentioned in RVm as of 'some modern interpreters' seem to suit neither NT usage nor the context). With these passages cf. Ph $2^{6ff.}$, with Lightfoot's notes. Christ Jesus, being originally in the form of God, having (that is) the essential attributes of God (Lightfoot), did not think equality with God a thing to be jealously guarded [as a robber guards what is not his], but emptied Himself [of the insignia of majesty] by taking the form of a slave. His position was no uncertain one that it should need to be asserted. It was this fact that made the condescension so great; Christ, being rich, became poor for our sakes (2 Co 8^{9}). The pre-existence of our Lord is implied by the fact that He was the Father's instrument in Creation (1 Co 8^{6}, Col $1^{16f.}$; cf. Jn 1^{3}). He 'is the image of the invisible God, the firstborn of all creation . . . and he is before all things' (Col $1^{15.\ 17}$). Lightfoot remarks that the first of these phrases expresses Christ's relation to Deity (cf. Wis 7^{26}, 2 Co 4^{4}, He 1^{3}), —He is the manifestation of the unseen Father; while the second denotes His relation to created things,—it implies priority to all creation (for the Arian gloss that it means that Christ was the *first creature* is absolutely excluded by v.$^{16f.}$), and implies also sovereignty over creation, for the firstborn is the ruler of God's family (Ps 89^{27}; so in He 12^{23} the 'church of the firstborn' probably means 'heirs of the Kingdom'; cf. also Ro 8^{29}). The Pastoral Epistles also teach the pre-existence of our Lord; the words 'manifested in the flesh' in 1 Ti 3^{16} (where 'God' must be omitted from the text) necessitate this; and in Tit 2^{13}, according to the most probable interpretation (RV text), Jesus is called 'our great God and Saviour' (see Dean Bernard's note).—It would, however, be misleading to suggest that St. Paul's belief in the Divinity of his Master depends only on the interpretation of a few controverted texts, however great their combined force. The whole language of the Pauline Epistles, the devoted submission of Paul the 'slave' (Ro 1^{1} and *passim*) to Jesus, are

inexplicable on any other hypothesis (see also the next paragraph).

4. The Atonement.—'As in Adam all die, so also in Christ shall all be made alive.' 'The last Adam became a life-giving spirit' (1 Co $15^{22.\ 45}$; cf. Ro $5^{14\text{-}17}$). Our Lord is the 'second' or 'last' Adam, thus re-establishing what the first Adam destroyed. It has been thought that 'the second Adam' was a common Rabbinic title for the Messiah, but this seems doubtful. The term 'first Adam' is found, but is used in contradistinction to other men ('Adam'='man'), not as opposed to Messiah (Thackeray, *op. cit.* p. 41). Others have thought that St. Paul got his contrast between Adam and Christ from Philo and the Alexandrian Jewish school. However this may be, St. Paul teaches that our Lord came to be the Second Adam 'from heaven' (1 Co 15^{47}), to restore all things, to be the representative man, and to recapitulate or sum up the human species in Himself (cf. Eph 1^{10}), to show to fallen humanity what God meant man to be.

This restoration was to be by the death of Jesus, by a sacrifice. Christ was set forth by God to be a propitiation, or (as we should perhaps translate) to be propitiatory (Ro 3^{25}; cf. 1 Jn 2^2 4^{10}). The word is used in LXX as a substantive meaning 'the place of propitiation' or 'the mercy seat,' the top of the ark, so called because it was sprinkled with the blood of the sacrifices; but this can hardly be the meaning in Rom., as the metaphor would be confused, Christ being at once the priest, victim, and place of sprinkling; and the second translation is therefore preferable (so Sanday-Headlam, *Romans*, p. 87 f.). But to understand the meaning we must notice (*a*) that here as elsewhere (Ro 5^9, Eph 1^7 2^{13}, Col $1^{14.\ 20}$) the *blood* of our Lord, shed for the forgiveness of sins, is emphasized; and (*b*) that in Ro 5^{10} Jesus' death is said to be a 'reconciliation' or 'atonement.' Man is reconciled to, made 'at one' with, God; his attitude to God is changed (cf. 2 Co 5^{18}). God is not here said to be reconciled to man, because it is man, not God, who must change if there is to be reconciliation, as is said in Col 1^{21} (where see Lightfoot's note). Yet there is another side of the same truth, alluded to in the Anglican Article ii. ('to reconcile his Father to us'). The word 'propitiatory' of Ro 3^{25} can only mean that by Christ's death, God is propitiated, that is, God's just anger is taken away from us. [In 2 Mac 1^5 7^{33} 8^{29} God is said 'to be reconciled' to man.]

This reconciliation is effected by a vicarious sacrifice. In ordinary life vicarious suffering is common, and is usually involuntary. But Christ freely offered Himself (Gal 2^{20}, 1 Ti 2^6, Tit 2^{14}), the sinless for the guilty. He was 'made sin in our behalf' (2 Co 5^{21}; cf. 1 Co 5^7 15^3, Gal 3^{13}).

This sacrifice was for all men (2 Co $5^{14\text{f.}}$). And here we notice that St. Paul does not attempt to reconcile the Divine sovereignty with man's choice, God's **predestination** with human **freewill.** He sometimes states the former (*e.g.* Ro 9), sometimes the latter (*e.g.* Ro 10), looking sometimes at one side of the truth, sometimes at the other. On the one hand, God is the potter with power over the clay (Ro 9^{21}), foreordaining and calling before the foundation of the world (Ro $8^{29\text{f.}}$ $9^{23\text{f.}}$, Eph $1^{4\text{f.}}$), purposing that all men shall be saved (Ro 11^{32}, 1 Ti 2^4 4^{10}), sending His Son to the world not only to save mankind generally, as a body, but to save each individual (cf. Gal 2^{20}). On the other hand, man can exercise his free will to thwart God's purpose, as all Israel except a remnant did (Ro 9^{27} $11^{11.\ 5}$), and the call does not necessitate salvation (1 Co 9^{27}). The election is therefore to 'privilege,' as it is called; God has chosen certain men to receive privileges in this world, as Jews in the Old Covenant, Christians in the New. Yet there is also an election to *life*; the 'glory' of Ro $9^{22\text{f.}}$ is not of this world only. Here St. Paul leaves the question, and we may do well to avoid theorizing on it, whether in the direction of the Arminian view (named from van Harmen, A.D. 1560–1609), which was that God knows who will and who will not respond to His call, and *therefore* predestinates the former to life; or of the Calvinist or ultra-Augustinian view, which is that predestination is arbitrary, and that Christ died only for those predestined to life ('particular redemption'). The paradox is insoluble with our present knowledge, and we must patiently wait for its solution in the fuller light of the world to come. It may be remarked that St. Paul, while dwelling on both the goodness and the severity of God (Ro 2^4 11^{22}), never speaks of predestination to condemnation.

By another metaphor the atoning work of our Lord is called by St. Paul a 'ransom' or 'redemption.' We are 'bought with a price' (1 Co 6^{20} 7^{23}; cf. Gal 3^{13} 4^5, Tit 2^{14} etc., and 2 P 2^1). In his charge to the presbyters of Ephesus, St. Paul speaks of 'the church of God which he purchased with his own blood' (Ac 20^{28}). Without stopping to discuss the other difficulties of this verse (for we cannot be sure that we have St. Paul's *ipsissima verba*), we may remark that the metaphor of purchase or ransom must not be pressed too far. There need be no question of the person to whom the price is paid, whether it be God the Father, or Satan, who is supposed by some to have acquired a right to man by the Fall. The force of the metaphor lies, not in the person recompensed, but in the price paid. It is the immensity of the sacrifice that is emphasized, and the figure must not be carried further than this.

5. Resurrection and Ascension of our Lord.—The former event is made by St. Paul the great foundation of his teaching. In 1 Co $15^{1\text{-}11}$ he explains the gospel which he preached as he had received it, that Christ died, was buried, and was raised on the third day (the 'scriptures' referred to seem to be Is $53^{5\text{ff.}}$, Ps $16^{8\text{ff.}}$); the historical fact of the resurrection was, he says, witnessed by Cephas, 'the twelve,' the 500 brethren [in Galilee?] of whom most still survived, James [not in Gospels or Acts], 'all the apostles' [at the Ascension?], and lastly by himself as 'one born out of due time.' The appearance of Christ at his conversion he took to be as real and as little a hallucination as the appearances before the Ascension. So far from the fact of the appearance to St. Paul and those to the rest being put on a par showing that in St. Paul's view the latter were pure hallucinations, it shows that he was convinced of the reality of both alike (cf. esp. 1 Co 9^1). The criterion of Apostleship was that a man had *seen* Jesus, not merely dreamt that he had seen Him. In a word, if Christ's resurrection be false, Paul's preaching is vain, our faith is vain (1 Co 15^{14}; cf. 1 Th 1^{10} 4^{14}, 2 Ti 2^8 etc.). The historical fact is treated as fundamental in the sermons at Pisidian Antioch (Ac $13^{30\text{ff.}}$), at Athens (17^{31}), and before Agrippa (26^{23}); and the salient point of Paul's teaching seized on by Festus was that he affirmed Jesus, who was dead ['had died'], to be alive (25^{19}). It is this fact that is the great power of the Christian life (Ph 3^{10}).

The **Ascension** and **Future Return** of our Lord are often alluded to by St. Paul (see also **10** below). It is explicitly stated in Eph 4^8 that Jesus ascended to give 'gifts unto men,' and Ps 68^{18} is quoted. Jesus is exalted in glory (Ph 2^9, 1 Ti 3^{16}), or, in the symbolic language found also elsewhere in NT, expressing the same fact, is seated on the right hand of God (Ro 8^{34}, Eph 1^{20}, Col 3^1, from Ps 110^1); so the believer is made to sit in heavenly places (Eph 2^6). Jesus is expected to return 'from heaven' (1 Th 1^{10} 4^{16}, Ph 3^{20}), to judge the world (2 Co 5^{10}, 2 Ti 4^8, Ac 17^{31}; cf. Jn $5^{22.\ 27}$).—It is said, however, by Prof. Harnack that the Ascension had no separate place in primitive Christian tradition, and that the Resurrection and Session were thought of as one act. As regards St. Paul, his silence in 1 Co $15^{3\text{ff.}}$, Ro 8^{34} as to the Ascension is alleged. In the former place reference to the Ascension would have no

point, for the Apostle is proving the truth of the *Resurrection*. In the latter we have the sequence 'died'—'was raised'—'is at the right hand of God'—'maketh intercession.' If we are to take the second and third phrases as denoting one act, why not the first and second? [For a full discussion on this point, see Swete, *The Apostles' Creed*, p. 64 ff.]

6. The Holy Ghost.—In Ro 8[1-27] St. Paul gives a great exposition of the work of the Spirit, which closely approximates to the description of the **Paraclete** (Helper, Comforter, Advocate) in Jn., though the name itself is not used. The 'Spirit of life' dwells in us (cf. 1 Co 3[16] 6[19]) to quicken us [at the same time we read of this as 'Christ' being 'in us,' Ro 8[9-11]], to lead us, and to help us to pray. He makes intercession for us [to the Father]—words in which St. Paul indicates what the technical language of Christianity calls the 'personality' of the Holy Spirit, distinct from the Father. So in Eph 4[30] the Holy Ghost can be *grieved*. He is the 'Spirit of Christ' (Ro 8[9]). In 1 Co 12 the Apostle describes the varying work of the Spirit in man, 'dividing . . . as he will' (v.[11]; note the indication of personality). We live by the Spirit (Gal 5[25]). In 2 Co 3[17] the Spirit is at first sight identified with Christ—'the Lord is the Spirit'; the gift of the Spirit is the gift of Christ. Here again we recall our Lord's words in Jn., where the coming of the Spirit and the coming of Christ are identified (Jn 14[16-23]). So also are reconciled the apparently contradictory sayings, 'I will be with you alway' (Mt 28[20]) and 'I go away . . . I will send him unto you' (Jn 16[7]). It is the work of the Spirit to make Christ's presence real to us. Hence also the Spirit works within us; we are united to Christ by Him, and from the beginning of our Christian life we are all baptized in one Spirit into one body (1 Co 12[13]). The Spirit is also spoken of as being *given* to us (Gal 3[5], Tit 3[6], Ac 19[2. 6] etc.). Lastly, we notice that the Father, Son, and Spirit are joined together in the Apostolic benediction (2 Co 13[14]), but in a striking order, our Lord coming first. Perhaps the Apostle's thought is that it is only by the grace of the Son that we can come to the love of the Father, and that the outpouring of the gifts of the Spirit applies that grace and love to us.

7. Justification by faith.—The Jewish teachers who had preceded St. Paul had taught that man is always laying up a treasure of good and bad deeds (cf. Ro 2[5]); and according as either preponderate at any given time, he is declared righteous or is condemned; while if the good and evil deeds are equal, God gives man the benefit of the doubt; and moreover, a man's good deeds may be supplemented by those of the patriarchs. [An echo of this may be seen in Ro 11[28]; see Thackeray, *op. cit.* p. 83f.] It was taught that the whole transaction was a matter of contract, God owing a debt to man for goodness. St. Paul adopts the forensic metaphor of judge and verdict; man is 'justified,' or accounted righteous, by God, though he is not righteous. 'The Christian life,' it has been said, 'is made to have its beginning in a fiction' (Sanday-Headlam, *Romans*, p. 36). But this is merely another way of saying that God does not exact the debt to the utmost; He forgives freely (Ro 3[24] 8[33]). Man is given a fresh start, with a clear record. The great difference between St. Paul and the Jewish teachers lies in the place assigned by him to faith (Ro 1[17] 4[3], Gal 3[6. 11]), in his denying the merits of works of the Law (Gal 2[16] 3[21]), and in the gift of justification being free. The Jews recognized faith only as one of the works, and with them it was no more than obedience to the Law.

The forgiveness of man is described by St. Paul as a manifestation of the righteousness (or 'a righteousness') of God (2 Co 5[21], Ro 1[17], Ph 3[9]), which is regarded as being diffused among men, as in the second Isaiah (Is 45[23] RVm, 46[13] 51[5] 56[1]). But the condition of forgiveness is faith, which for the Christian is a real belief in Christ—that conviction which the Apostle himself attained at his conversion, an active and enthusiastic belief influencing his whole life. Abraham was justified because he believed the promises; the Christian will be justified if he believes the revelation of Jesus Christ (Ro 1[5] 3[22] 10[9. 17] etc.); this is 'the faith' (2 Ti 4[7] etc.).

In this connexion we may glance at St. Paul's view of the **Mosaic Law.** He was no Marcionite, rejecting the OT. In his view the Law was useful as a guardian, a tutor, having charge of the world in its childhood (Gal 3[23f.]). It is proved, however, to have been subsidiary and transitory, (*a*) by the fact that the promise was given to Abraham before the Law (Gal 3[17])—and in this place St. Paul uses a Rabbinical argument from the grammatical form of the word 'seed,' which he applies to Christ; and (*b*) by the fact that it was given not direct from God, as was the promise to Abraham, but by the hands of angel ministers (Gal 3[19]; the reference is perhaps to Dt 33[2], Ps 68[17]; cf. Ac 7[38]), and by a mediator, Moses (cf. Dt 5[5]). The Law affixes a penalty to sin, but does not provide the way to escape from it; thus those who are under the Law are under a curse, which is removed by the gospel (Gal 3[10ff.]). In another passage St. Paul draws an allegory from the story of Moses' veil, put on his face that the people might not see the glory passing away from it. For the Lawgiver veiled himself, not because they could not bear to look on his face, but because he knew that the Law was transitory, and wished to hide the fact from the people. This seems to be the Apostle's meaning in 2 Co 3[13ff.] (see Thackeray, *op. cit.* p. 75).

In teaching free forgiveness St. Paul does not teach lawlessness (Ro 6[1f.]; see **8**). But it was perhaps a distorted account of his early teaching that caused St. James to write the famous passage on works which occurs in his Epistle (Ja 2[14ff.]). There is no real contradiction between the two Apostles; as so often in religious controversy, an apparent difference comes from words being used in diverse senses. St. James speaks of an empty faith which does not produce a holy life, that is, which is no real faith at all; while St. Paul speaks of barren works that are a mere mechanical obedience to the Law, as opposed to a faith which necessarily produces active obedience to the commands of the Master.

8. Sanctification and Sacraments.—As has been said, St. Paul dwells on the necessity, not only of forgiveness, but of holiness. The two are inextricably interwoven. We must 'become the righteousness of God' (2 Co 5[21]) and be 'conformed to the image of his Son' (Ro 8[29]) as the Son is the image of the Father (see above, **3**). Sanctification is described as an implanting in the Christian of the life of Christ (Gal 2[20]), for the risen life must begin in a very real sense here below if it is to be perfected hereafter (Col 3[1]). By a slightly different figure we are said in Ro 6[5] (see RV) to be united by growth [with Christ], in respect of, or by, the likeness of (*i.e.* by partaking in) His death and resurrection (cf. Ph 3[10]); the language closely resembles our Lord's words at Capernaum (Jn 6[53-57]), and His parable of the Vine (Jn 15[1ff.]). Of this union baptism is at once a symbol and an instrument; we are immersed and submerged, then emerge from the font—the reference is to the custom of baptism by immersion—and so we die, are buried, and rise with Christ to a new life (Ro 6[3f.]; cf. Col 2[12], Tit 3[5]); by baptism we are incorporated with Him (Ro 6[3]; cf. Gal 3[27], 1 Co 1[13. 15] RV, Mt 28[19] RV, Ac 8[16] RV, 19[5] RV). The phrase 'baptized into' or 'unto' denotes either the purpose of baptism (*e.g.* remission of sins) or the person to whom the baptized is united. [In 1 Co 10[2] the words are used in an inferior sense, of the obedience of the Israelites to Moses.] It has been objected to this interpretation that our Lord gave the command to baptize (Mt 28[19]) in Aramaic, and that the phrase used in that language could only mean 'to baptize under the authority of' (Dean Robin-

son). But whatever the phrase 'in the name of' might formerly have meant among the Jews, St. Paul's language seems to show that the Apostles understood our Lord's words, even in Aramaic, to convey the new truth that baptism is an *incorporation* into the Name of Jesus, or of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost (Bp. Chase). For a full discussion on both sides see *JThSt* vi. 481, vii. 186, viii. 161.

Again, of this union with Christ St. Paul makes the Eucharist at once a symbol and an instrument. That Sacrament is not only a union of Christians among themselves ('one bread, one body'), but also a 'participation in' or 'communion of' the body and blood of Christ (1 Co $10^{16f.}$). It is this feature of the Sacrament that made the Corinthian abuses so heinous, and that makes an unworthy reception by the communicant so serious, 'if he discern not the body' (1 Co 11^{23-32}).

This union with Christ cannot be effected by man's own unaided power, but requires **grace.** It is impossible here to describe all the shades of meaning which St. Paul gives to this word. But we may say in brief that it is God's good favour towards us, not only as a Divine attribute, but as actively operating and as freely given to man through the Incarnation (Ro 5^{21}, 1 Co 1^{4}). Hence it is the 'grace of Jesus Christ' (2 Co 8^{9} 13^{14}). It is at once God's good favour towards us and the active help or power which God gives to man to enable him to overcome (Eph 4^{7}), and is 'sufficient' for him (2 Co 12^{9}). Emphasis is laid on the fact that grace is not earned, and it is opposed to a 'debt' (Ro 4^{4}) and to meritorious deeds ('works,' Ro 11^{6}). The word is especially used in connexion with the preaching of the gospel to the Gentiles, of the help given both to the evangelizer (1 Co 3^{10} etc.) and to the evangelized (2 Co 6^{1}, Ac 13^{43} etc.). But in St. Paul the use of it is somewhat more fluid than in Latin theological language, in which 'Divine help' became the crystallized sense.

9. The Catholic Church and **Universality of the Gospel.**—The large subject of the Church can here be referred to only very briefly. St. Paul maintains in Rom. and Gal. the universality of the Church, a society for all the world, which need not be entered through Judaism. Christ has broken down the wall between Jew and Gentile (Eph 2^{14} 3^{6}). His Church is a visible society (Eph $4^{11f.}$); one (1 Co 10^{17} 12^{13}) because God is one (Eph $4^{6ff.}$); holy because all Christians are called to be saints (1 Co 1^{2}), and it is 'cleansed by the laver of water with the word' (Eph 5^{26}), though it contains some wicked men (cf. 1 Co 5); catholic, because for every man (Col 1^{28}: there is no 'inner circle' of the initiated), and for all nations and ages, and containing all truth (Gal 3^{28} etc., 1 Ti 3^{15}, 2 Ti 2^{15}; cf. Jn 16^{13}: the name itself is not found before Ignatius); and apostolic (Eph 2^{20}). The last thought is the same as that of Jn 20^{21}, for Christians are not a self-constituted body, but are 'sent' by God; that is, they are 'apostolic.' St. Paul describes the Church under various metaphors. It is the body of Christ (1 Co 12^{27}, Eph 4^{12} 5^{30}, Col $1^{18.\ 24}$) because its members are united to Christ (see 8 above), and Christ is its head (Eph $1^{22f.}$); the idea is led up to by Ro 12^{5} ('one body in Christ'), 1 Co 12^{12} ('the body is one'). Also the Church is the bride of Christ; the title is implied in Eph $5^{25ff.}$ (cf. Rev 21^{2}). It is the house of God (1 Ti 3^{15}), a common metaphor which still gives us the double meaning of 'church' and the phrase 'to be edified' (Ro 15^{2} etc.); the building, foundation, and corner-stone are described in Eph $2^{20ff.}$, where 'each several building' of RV means 'each stone that is built into the one building.' The metaphors of 'body' and 'house' are joined in Eph 4^{12}. In another figure the Church is an olive tree, being regarded as a continuation of the old dispensation, new branches (the Gentiles) having been grafted in, and the old ones (the Jews) broken off, though they too may again be grafted in (Ro 11^{13-24}). See GRAFTING.

In this Church St. Paul describes a regular **ministry**; Apostles like himself; apostolic delegates such as Timothy and Titus, whose work, like that of the Apostles, was mainly itinerant; settled or local officers, called bishops (overseers) and deacons (ministers) at Philippi (Ph 1^{1}) and in the Pastoral Epistles (no deacons are mentioned in Tit.). Presbyters (elders) are also mentioned in the Pastoral Epistles (cf. also Ac 11^{30} $15^{2ff.}$ 16^{4} 21^{18} for those at Jerusalem, 14^{23} 20^{17} for those elsewhere); and the identity of these with 'bishops' in the Apostolic age seems to be shown by a comparison of these pairs of passages: Ac $20^{17.\ 28}$, 1 Ti 3^{1} 5^{1}, Tit $1^{5.\ 7}$, 1 P $5^{1.\ 2}$, though this inference is denied by some. The appointment is by laying on of hands (1 Ti 5^{22}; cf. Ac 6^{6}). Timothy is said to have been ordained '*with* the laying on of the hands of the presbytery' (1 Ti 4^{14}; probably the body of presbyters is intended), and '*through* the laying on' of St. Paul's hands (2 Ti 1^{6}). Nothing is said in the Pauline Epistles of the method of *choosing* ministers (see Ac $6^{5f.}$).—In 1 Co 12^{28} St. Paul seems to enumerate not so much names of officials as various works done by the ministry (Apostles, prophets, teachers, miracles, gifts of healings, helps, governments, tongues); so in Eph 4^{11} (Apostles, prophets, evangelists, pastors and teachers—the last two denote the same persons). In any case the regular ministry did not exclude the existence side by side with it of a 'charismatic' ministry, gifts of prophecy, tongues, healings, and other miracles being exercised by many outside the official ministry (Ro $12^{3ff.}$, 1 Co 12–14; see also art. TONGUES [GIFT OF]).

The power of exercising discipline in the Church is recognized by St. Paul in 1 Co 5^{5}, 1 Ti 1^{20}, though the exact force of the phrase 'to deliver unto Satan' is uncertain. It may denote either simple excommunication or the miraculous infliction of some punishment; but the former seems to be the more probable explanation.

10. Eschatology.—As St. Paul makes the Resurrection of our Lord the foundation of his teaching, so he insists on the resurrection of the body at the Last Day as a cardinal truth. But in the Epistles he does not always deal with the same side of eschatological doctrine. (*a*) In the earliest of his extant Epistles (1 Th $4^{13ff.}$) his language is so deeply coloured by his expectation of the immediate return of our Lord, that he says nothing of the time between death and the Judgment, but thinks only of Jesus coming with His saints (3^{13}), at the sound of the trump (4^{16}; cf. also 1 Co 15^{52}, 2 Es 6^{23}), to awaken the sleeping dead (cf. 1 Co $15^{20.\ 51}$)—all common Jewish figures; for the phrase 'we that are left' cf. 2 Es 7^{28} $13^{24.\ 26}$. Perhaps the supposed nearness of the Second Advent is reflected in *Maran atha*, 'The Lord cometh' (1 Co 16^{22}), but the phrase may mean 'The Lord *hath* come.' Lest misapprehension of his language should arise, St. Paul adds in 2 Th $2^{3ff.}$ the caution that the 'man of sin' must first come, and persecution must arise (so 1 Co 7^{26} if we translate 'the imminent distress'). The idea of trouble before the End is common in the Jewish apocalypses. The one thing certain is that the Coming will be unexpected (1 Th 5^{2}).—(*b*) In these earliest Epistles nothing is said of the transformation of the body. But in 1 Co $15^{35ff.}$ this is insisted on (so Ph 3^{21}; cf. Ro 8^{23}). As the Resurrection of Christ is an assured fact, so that of all men is certain (1 Co $15^{12ff.}$); the resurrection body is at once the same and not the same as the terrestrial body; there is an identity, and yet a change. The resurrection body is a spiritual body, the necessary result of the terrestrial body, just as a particular seed must result in a particular plant, and yet the seed is changed to become the plant (cf. our Lord's similar metaphor in Jn 12^{24}). In the *Apocalypse of Baruch* (1st cent. A.D.) there is the thought of the transformation, but as taking place *after* the Judgment; the dead in this book rise as they were, in order that they may be recognized (cf. also 4 Mac 9^{22} 'as though transformed by fire into immortality, he nobly endured the rackings'). St. Paul says that this transformation is

necessary, because in our present state we cannot see God; for this seems to be the meaning of the saying that flesh and blood cannot inherit the Kingdom of God (1 Co 15^{50}, cf. also Ph 3^{21}). In this discussion St. Paul does not speak of the resurrection of the wicked; but elsewhere he re-echoes the teaching of Dn 12^2 that the righteous and the evil rise together for judgment (Ac 24^{15}, Ro $2^{5ff.}$ 14^{10-12}, 2 Co 5^{10}). It is therefore not probable that in 1 Co $15^{23f.}$ a resurrection first of the righteous, and then, after an interval, of the wicked, is intended; the righteous alone are here considered, and they rise at Christ's coming, and 'then' (at Christ's coming) is the end. Those who see in this passage a millennium, and an interval between the rising of the good and of the wicked, are influenced greatly by Rev 20^{4-6}; but the 'thousand years' there seems to be a symbolical phrase for the interval between the first Advent and the last conflict, in which the baptized share in Christ's resurrection (cf. Col 3^1, a paradox of obvious meaning). See Swete's *Apocalypse of St. John*, p. 260 ff.—(*c*) In yet another passage, 2 Co 4^{16}–5^{10}, the Apostle looks only at the state of the departed immediately after death. Here the metaphor of sleep is dropped, and the nearness to Christ of the faithful dead is dwelt on; they are 'with Christ,' whereas in 1 Th 4 'we that are left' shall meet the Lord only at the sound of the trump at the Last Day, and the 'dead in Christ' will meet Him at the same time. An excessive literalism has suggested to some that St. Paul changed his mind about the resurrection of the body and gave up the belief in it in favour of a belief in the immortality of the soul only, perhaps under the influence of Alexandrian theology (Wis 9^{15} is cited as showing that the latter had no doctrine of the resurrection of the body.) But this supposition, which is very unlikely in itself when we consider the short interval between the two Corinthian Epistles, is decisively negatived by Ph 3^{21}. In 2 Ti 4^8, written in daily expectation of imminent death, he yet looks beyond the intermediate state to the Day of Judgment, 'that day,' 'the day of the Lord,' when he shall receive the crown of righteousness.

11. Marriage and virginity.—St. Paul writes no treatise on marriage, but he often alludes to it. Both Jews and Gentiles had been accustomed to divorce being easily obtained. But St. Paul says that a Christian woman is to be bound to her husband for life, though a widow may marry again (Ro $7^{1ff.}$). Marriage is not to be forbidden (1 Ti 4^3; cf. 1 Co 9^5). In 1 Co 7, according to the usual interpretation, the Corinthians having asked whether among Christians marriage should be discouraged, St. Paul answers that marriage is permissible for all, though the unmarried state is the better one because of the present (or imminent) distress (v.^{26}); the thought is of the nearness of Christ's coming, and of the persecutions which would precede it. But Ramsay thinks that such a question is not to be expected from either Jews or Gentiles of that time, seeing that the Jews for many ages had looked on marriage as a universal duty, and that the Roman law greatly encouraged it; he supposes, therefore, that the Corinthians had asked whether marriage ought to be made obligatory for Christians, and that St. Paul pleaded for a permissible celibacy.—In Eph $5^{22ff.}$ the Apostle emphatically treats marriage as holy, symbolizing the union between Christ and His Church.

In 1 Ti $3^{2.\ 12}$, Tit 1^6 a bishop (presbyter) or deacon must be 'the husband of one wife.' This need not necessarily imply compulsory marriage for the clergy. It has, however, been variously interpreted as forbidding (*a*) bigamy—but that was forbidden to all Christians; or (*b*) digamy, *i.e.* marrying again after the death of the first wife, as in a later ecclesiastical discipline; or (*c*) divorce: *i.e.* the bishop must be one who, in his pre-Christian days, had not divorced his wife and taken another. [The last two explanations are not exclusive.] So in 1 Ti 5^9 a 'widow' on the roll must have been 'the wife of one man.'

iv. Predecessors and Teachers.—In the Apostle of the Gentiles all will recognize one of the most original of thinkers; but originality does not necessarily mean having no predecessors in one's line of thought. It lies rather in new organization and arrangement, in the employment of old terminology in a higher and wider sense, or in the re-construction of old material so as to make a nobler whole. Again, the fact that the Christian Church believes that St. Paul was an inspired Apostle does not preclude the idea of human preparation for his life-work. And he undoubtedly gleaned from many fields.

1. Jewish official teachers.—St. Paul had been a pupil of Gamaliel in Jerusalem (Ac 22^3). This Rabbi, whom we may take to be the famous grandson of Hillel (Ac $5^{34ff.}$), was of that liberal school of the Pharisees which encouraged the study of Greek literature. It has been objected by Baur that the statement in Ac 22^3 cannot be historical, because Paul before his conversion was such a zealot, so blindly bigoted, so unlike Gamaliel. But pupils do not always follow their masters, and we cannot doubt that in God's providence Gamaliel's moderation had its influence on the Apostle in the end, and eventually contributed much to his well-balanced character.

2. Influence of popular Jewish writings.—The Jewish apocalypses have greatly influenced St. Paul (for examples see § iii.); the Alexandrian writings not so much. But the Book of Wisdom is clearly used in the descriptions of heathen corruption in Ro 1^{18-32}, and of the power of the Creator in Ro $9^{19ff.}$. The influence of contemporary Jewish thought is also seen in St. Paul's method of treating the OT. His running commentaries (Ro $10^{5ff.}$, Gal $4^{22ff.}$, Eph $4^{7ff.}$), the making of a cento of OT passages to prove a point, thought to be due to the use of a Jewish anthology (Ro $3^{10ff.}$, 2 Co $6^{16ff.}$), his mystical interpretations of OT such as those of 1 Ti 5^{18}, 1 Co $9^{9f.}$ ('for our sake it was written'; cf. Ro 15^4, 2 Ti 3^{16}, 2 P $1^{20f.}$), 1 Co $10^{1ff.}$ (the passage of the Red Sea a 'Baptism,' the manna and the water from the rock an 'Eucharist'), Gal $4^{21ff.}$ (Hagar, note v.^{24}), are all thoroughly Jewish; and so is the adoption by the Apostle, for purposes of illustration, of some legendary stories added by the Jews to the OT, such as the references to the Rock which was said to have followed the Israelites in the wilderness (1 Co 10^4), the persecution of Isaac by Ishmael (Gal 4^{29}), and Jannes and Jambres (2 Ti $3^{8f.}$). For these and some other possible instances of the use of legends see Thackeray, *op. cit.* pp. 180, 204, 50, 159 ff.

3. Greek philosophy.—This influence, to be expected in a pupil of Gamaliel, is certainly noticeable in St. Paul's speeches and writings. Stoicism especially seems to have left a mark on them. Here we may remark on the undoubted connexion which exists between St. Paul and the Stoic philosopher Seneca (see Lightfoot's essay in his *Philippians*, p. 270 ff.). Seneca's writings have very numerous coincidences with the Pauline Epistles, with the Gospels, and even with the other books of NT. He and the Apostle were contemporaries. Could either have influenced the other? There are difficulties in the way of supposing that Seneca was influenced by NT. Chronology forbids us to think that he knew the Johannine writings or Hebrews, as he died in Nero's reign; yet he has many coincidences with these books also. Again, Seneca quotes many of the phrases common to him and NT from older writers; these, then, are not due to NT. Further, the coincidences are often verbal rather than real; the sense is often quite dissimilar, the Stoic pantheism and materialism and the absence in that philosophy of any real consciousness of sin making an absolute separation from Christianity. Yet many striking coincidences remain,—more between NT and Seneca than between NT and Epictetus or any other

Stoic writer. Thus we are surprised to find that the phrase 'to spend and be spent' (2 Co 12[15]) is common to St. Paul and Seneca; and this is only one out of many parallels. The connexion, however, is probably not between the two writers directly; nor yet (as has been suggested) through Seneca's brother Gallio, the proconsul of Achaia, who was the last person likely to have been interested in St. Paul's doctrine (Ac 18[17]). But probably the Apostle, educated partly at Tarsus, a great Stoic centre, imbibed in his youth many Stoic phrases which we find repeated in the Hispano-Latin Seneca, who derived his Stoicism from the East. If so, we notice that St. Paul often assigned quite a new and a much higher meaning to these phrases. In the same way St. John drew on Alexandrian Judaism for the word Logos, but assigned to it a higher sense than it ever had before. The influence of Stoic philosophy on St. Paul may be seen in the speech at Athens (where many Stoics were present), containing as it does a quotation from the Stoic Aratus (Ac 17[28]; also found in the Stoic Cleanthes). An example of a striking word which comes into Christianity from Stoicism is 'conscience.'—We are not here concerned with the coincidences mentioned above between Seneca and the other NT writers; but the explanation in their case is probably similar to that just given.

4. Influence of the Roman Empire.—It has already been remarked (ii. 3) that St. Paul was greatly influenced by his position as a Roman citizen, to which he owed his great plan of evangelization. The same thing may be incidentally seen from the allusions to the law of the Empire in the special form in which it was in force in the particular province to which he was writing. The Greek law was left in possession by the Romans in those provinces where it had formerly been in force. Accordingly in Gal. 3[15] the reference is to the form of testamentary disposition known to the Greek (and to the older but obsolete Roman) law, the irrevocable will. In Gal 4[1ff.] the adoption of an heir, like the making of a will, is irrevocable, the adopted heir becoming necessarily a son, and the terms 'heir' and 'son' becoming interchangeable. In the existing Roman law wills were revocable and heirs could be disinherited; accordingly, writing to Rome (Ro 8[16ff.]), St. Paul puts the truth of which he had written to the Galatians in a different way. Heirship is now deduced from sonship, whereas in Galatians sonship is deduced from heirship; for at Rome a son must be an heir, but an heir need not be a son (cf. He 9[15ff.] which presupposes *Roman* law and the revocability of a will).—So in Gal 3[24], 1 Co 4[15] the 'pedagogue' or 'tutor' (not 'schoolmaster') is a reference to a Greek institution adopted by the Romans; this person was the guardian of the child, often one of the upper slaves, who took him to school. The guardian of the child's property (Gal 4[2]) was a different person. On the whole subject see Ramsay, *Galatians*, pp. 337–393.

5. Christian teachers.—In Gal. St. Paul insists so much on his Apostleship being Divine, not only in its source but in the channel by which it is conveyed (esp. 1[1]), and on his not having received anything from the Twelve (2[6]), that at first sight it seems as if he describes himself as having become a fully instructed Christian in a moment, on his conversion. Yet he must have learned much from Christians both before and after that great change. He was clearly much influenced by Stephen, with whom he had perhaps had arguments (Ac 6[9]; note 'Cilicia,' Paul's province). After his conversion he must have learned the facts of Christianity from Christian teachers such as Ananias at Damascus, and the prophets and teachers (especially Barnabas) at Antioch (Ac 13[1]), and no doubt also at Tarsus. Of this instruction there are some traces in the Pauline Epistles; the facts of the Last Supper, though 'received of the Lord' (1 Co 11[23]), must have come by a human channel; and so the account of the Resurrection appearances (1 Co 15[3]). On the other hand, St. Paul ascribes to direct revelation from God his knowledge of the spiritual meaning of the facts (Gal 1[12]); his visions are frequently referred to (Ac 9[3ff.] 16[6f.] [9] 18[9] 22[6ff.] [17] 23[9.] [11] 26[13ff.], 1 Co 9[1] 15[8], 2 Co 12[1ff.], Gal 2[2], Eph 3[3]); he was directly 'taught of God.'

In such ways was St. Paul prepared for his work. His education was manifold. Partly the Jew, partly the Greek, partly the Roman citizen, but wholly the Christian, he went forth equipped for his many labours as the Apostle of the Gentiles. A. J. Maclean.

PAULUS, SERGIUS.—Proconsul of Cyprus at the time of the visit of Paul and Barnabas in the first missionary journey (Ac 13[7]). The translators of the AV always use the term **'deputy'** when speaking of a proconsul. The provinces of the Roman Empire were divided into two classes, governed respectively by 'proprætors' and 'proconsuls.' Strabo describes Cyprus as governed by a proprætor, and hence some have impugned the accuracy of the author of the Acts; but there is ample evidence to show that it was sometimes under one and sometimes under the other. A coin has been discovered in Cyprus bearing the inscription 'in the time of Paulus, proconsul.' This inscription may probably be dated A.D. 55, when its subject would be the proconsul of Acts. Pliny in his *Natural History* gives Sergius Paulus as his authority for certain facts, and among these are two specially connected with Cyprus. Morley Stevenson.

PAVEMENT.—See Gabbatha.

PAVILION is formed (through Fr. *pavillon*) from Lat. *papilio*, which meant a 'butterfly,' and also (from the resemblance to a butterfly's outspread wings) a 'tent.' 'Pavilion' is the tr. in AV of *sōk* in Ps 27[5], and of *sukkah* in 2 S 22[12], 1 K 20[12. 16], Ps 18[11] 31[20] (to which RV adds Job 36[29] and Is 4[6] for AV 'tabernacle'). *sukkah* is of frequent occurrence, and is often rendered 'booth' or 'tabernacle,' once 'tent' (2 S 11[11]). Besides these, *shaphrur* in its single occurrence (Jer 43[10]) is tr. 'royal pavilion' (RVm 'glittering pavilion'). RV has also given 'pavilion' in Nu 25[8], with mg. **'alcove'** for AV 'tent.' It is possible that the Heb. *qubbah* in this passage is a mistake for *chuppah*, 'nuptial tent.'

Pē.—The seventeenth letter of the Hebrew alphabet, and as such employed in the 119th Psalm to designate the 17th part, each verse of which begins with this letter.

PEACE.—From Latin *pax*, through French.—**1.** Except in Dn 8[25] 11[21. 24] (where RV corrects to 'security'), the OT 'peace' represents uniformly the Heb. *shālōm* (Eastern *salaam*), the fundamental sense of which—always more or less distinctly implied—is *welfare* (as in Gn 43[27], Ps 73[3] etc.); of well-being, in the old turbulent times, peace was the prime condition. The word has the following specific religious uses: (1) it is the common formula of courteous well-wishing, employed both at meeting and at parting (see Gn 43[23], 1 S 1[17], Ps 122[7f.]; cf. Mt 10[12f.]); (2) 'peace' constituted the most conspicuous blessing of the Messianic Kingdom of God (wh. see; cf. Ps 72[3. 7], Is 2[4] 9[5-7] 11[6-9], Hag 2[9], Zec 9[10]); and (3) it signified a sound and settled understanding between J" and His people (Nu 6[26], Ps 29[11] 85[8ff.] 122[6], Jer 16[5] etc.)—hence J"'s 'covenant *of peace*' is lodged with His priests (Nu 25[12], Mal 2[4f.]). In this last and richest use the word approximates to its subjective NT signification, implying tranquillity of heart, as in Ps 4[8] 119[165], Is 48[18. 22].

2. The transition from OT to NT usage strikingly illustrates the inwardness of Christianity. Out of some 90 NT instances of 'peace' there are not more than 8 or 9 which do not refer to heart-peace. The Greek *eirēnē* in its proper sense signified *peace* strictly, as the opposite of *conflict*; but it took over, first in the LXX and then in the NT, the broader import of *shālōm*, which is

conspicuous in the (Hebraistic) Benedictions (see Mk 5^{34}, Lk 7^{50} 24^{36}, Jn 14^{27}, Ja 2^{16} etc.) and in the epistolary Salutations. In the latter formulæ, 'peace' comprehends the sum of blessing experienced, as 'grace' the sum of blessing bestowed, from God in Christ. The Messianic peace (**1** (2), above) reappears in Lk 1^{79} 2^{14}, Mt 10^{34}; and the peace of harmony with God (**1** (3)) in Jn 16^{33}, Ac 10^{36}, Ro 8^{6} 15^{33}, Ph 4^{7} etc. The uses just named are gathered up, with a deepened sense, into the specific NT doctrine of peace, of which Paul is the exponent, and Ro 5^{1} the classical text (cf. v^{10}, also 2 Co 5^{18-21}, Eph 2^{13-18}, Col 1^{20}; see article on JUSTIFICATION): 'peace with God through our Lord Jesus Christ' is the state and the experience of those who have been 'reconciled' to the Father through the sacrifice offered by the Son of His love, whose 'trespasses' are 'forgiven' and in whose heart 'the spirit of adoption' dwells. Reconciled to God, men are reconciled to life and the world; by His cross Christ 'has slain' at a blow 'the enmity' between God and man and between race and race (Eph 2^{16}). 'Peace on earth' is to flow from 'the peace of Christ' that 'rules in' Christian 'hearts' (Col 3^{15}). G. G. FINDLAY.

PEACE-OFFERING.—See SACRIFICE AND OFFERING, **12.**

PEACOCKS.—**1.** *tūkkīyyīm*, 1 K 10^{22}, 2 Ch 9^{21}. The word may be from the Tamil *tokei* meaning 'peacock,' but from the fact that the LXX has in 1 K 10^{22} 'carved stones,' and that in 2 Ch 9^{21} the word is omitted, the tr. is doubtful. The peacock (*Pavo cristatus*) is a native of India. **2.** *ṟĕnānīm*, AV tr. in Job 39^{13} 'peacock.' See OSTRICH. E. W. G. MASTERMAN.

PEARL.—References in OT are uncertain. In Job 28^{18} *gābīsh* is in AV tr. 'pearls,' but in RV '**crystal**,' while *pĕnīnīm* in same verse is in AV tr. 'rubies,' but in RVm 'pearls.' In Est 1^{6} *dar* should perhaps be rendered 'pearl' or 'mother-of-pearl.' In NT pearls (Gr. *margaritai*) are mentioned in Mt 7^{6} $13^{45f.}$, 1 Ti 2^{9}, Rev 21^{21}. The last ref. must be to mother-of-pearl. Pearls are a pathological production of the mollusc *Avicula margaritifera*. E. W. G. MASTERMAN.

PEDAHEL.—The prince of Naphtali (Nu 34^{28}).

PEDAHZUR.—The father of the prince of the tribe of Manasseh (Nu 1^{10} 2^{20} $7^{54.\ 59}$ 10^{23}).

PEDAIAH ('J" has redeemed').—**1.** Father of Joel, ruler of Manasseh, west of the Jordan, in the time of David (1 Ch 27^{20}). **2.** 'Of Rumah,' father of Zebudah the mother of Jehoiakim (2 K 23^{36}). **3.** Son of Jeconiah (1 Ch 3^{18}), in 1 Ch 3^{19} called the father of Zerubbabel, who, however, is otherwise represented as the son of Pedaiah's brother Shealtiel. **4.** A man of the family of Parosh, who repaired the wall of Jerusalem (Neh 3^{25}). **5.** One of those who stood by Ezra when he read the Law to the people (Neh 8^{4}; 1 Es 9^{44} **Phaldeus**), perhaps identical with **4.** **6.** A Levite (Neh 13^{13}). **7.** A Benjamite (Neh 11^{7}). W. F. BOYD.

PEDIAS (1 Es 9^{34}) = Ezr 10^{35} **Bedeiah.**

PEEP.—To 'peep' (Is 8^{19} 10^{14}) is to '**cheep**' as nestlings do. RV mistakenly has 'chirp.'

PEKAH was one of the last kings of Israel. The country was unsettled, and there was great discontent on account of the heavy tribute paid to Assyria. Pekah made himself the organ of the dissatisfaction, and murdered his king **Pekahiah** (2 K 15^{25}). He needed the help of only fifty soldiers or bravos to accomplish his purpose. Once on the throne he set on foot a movement against the Assyrians in which all the kingdoms of Syria were to unite. When the king of Judah held out against it, Pekah and Rezin invaded that country, as is set forth in the art. AHAZ. The Assyrians were prompt in meeting the coalition, and the issue can hardly have been doubtful, except to those who were blinded by patriotism. The fall of Damascus was followed by the ravaging of the districts of Israel north and east of Samaria, and the transportation of their inhabitants to remote portions of the empire. The capital would no doubt have been besieged had not the party friendly to Assyria got the upper hand and removed Pekah by the usual method of assassination ($v.^{30}$). The leader in this movement, **Hoshea** by name, had an understanding with the Assyrian king, and was perhaps from the first a creature of his. Abject submission on his part saved Samaria for the time being. The length of Pekah's reign is given as twenty years, which is difficult to reconcile with other data at our command. The true period cannot have been more than five years. H. P. SMITH.

PEKAHIAH, son of Menahem, was king of Israel for a short time in the troubled period which preceded the fall of Samaria. The record tells us nothing about him except that he displeased Jahweh by walking in the sins of Jeroboam I., and that he was assassinated by **Pekah**, one of his officers (2 K 15^{23-26}). H. P. SMITH.

PEKOD.—Probably the Bab. *Pukūdu*, a people settled in Lower Babylonia, possibly of Aramæan race (Ezk 23^{23}, Jer 50^{21}). Their seat was near the mouth of the Uknu River. C. H. W. JOHNS.

PELAIAH.—**1.** A son of Elioenai (1 Ch 3^{24}). **2.** A Levite who helped Ezra to expound the Law (Neh 8^{7} [1 Es 9^{48} **Phalias**]), and sealed the covenant (Neh 10^{10}).

PELALIAH.—A priest (Neh 11^{12}).

PELATIAH.—**1.** A 'prince of the people' (Ezk 11^{1}); he died as the prophet delivered his message ($v.^{13}$). It is difficult to decide whether Pelatiah's death is to be understood as actual or merely symbolical. **2.** A grandson of Zerubbabel (1 Ch 3^{21}). **3.** A Simeonite (1 Ch 4^{42}). **4.** A signatory to the covenant (Neh 10^{22}).

PELEG.—A descendant of Shem in the fourth generation, according to the table of peoples given in Gn 10. In Lk 3^{35} he stands a generation further off through the interpolation of Cainan from the LXX. The etymology of the name is uncertain. Its reference may be geographical, or racial, or, as the word means ordinarily 'a water-course,' it may denote a land cut up by streams. W. F. COBB.

PELET.—**1.** A son of Jahdai (1 Ch 2^{47}). **2.** A Benjamite chief who joined David at Ziklag (1 Ch 12^{3}).

PELETH.—**1.** See PALLU. **2.** A Jerahmeelite (1 Ch 2^{33}).

PELETHITES.—See CHERETHITES AND PELETHITES.

PELICAN (*qā'ath*, prob. from root 'to vomit').—One of the 'unclean' birds (Lv 11^{18}, Dt 14^{17}) inhabiting the ruins of Nineveh (Zeph 2^{14}, where AV has '**cormorant**'), and desolate Idumæa (Is 34^{11}). 'A pelican in the wilderness' is referred to in Ps 102^{6}. If in these two last *qā'ath* is really 'pelican,' it is a poetical and conventional reference, for this bird's *habitat* is always near pools of water or the sea; the creature's attitude after a plentiful gorge, when he sits with his head sunk on his breast, is supposed to suggest melancholy. In Palestine two species are known, of which the white pelican (*Pelicanus onocrotalus*) is plentiful in the more retired parts of the Jordan lakes, especially in the Huleh. It is nearly 6 feet from beak to end of tail, and is remarkable chiefly for its pouch, in which it collects fish for feeding itself and its young. The other species is *P. crispus*, the Dalmatian pelican. E. W. G. MASTERMAN.

PELONITE.—A designation applied to two of David's heroes (1 Ch $11^{27.\ 36}$). For the former see PALTITE. In the second case 'Pelonite' is prob. a scribal error for '**Gilonite.**'

PEN.—See WRITING, **6.**

PENCIL.—See ARTS AND CRAFTS, **1**; LINE, **6.**

PENDANTS.—See AMULETS, ORNAMENTS, § **2.**

PENIEL.—See Penuel.

PENINNAH.—The second wife of Elkanah (1 S $1^{2f.}$).

PENKNIFE.—Mentioned only in Jer 36^{23}. Orientals use a reed pen in writing, and always carry a knife for the purpose of mending it.

PENNY.—See Money, §§ **6, 7.**

PENSION.—Only AV of 1 Es 4^{56} (AVm 'portions of land,' RV 'lands'). This archaism is first found in the Geneva version, and is used in the original sense of 'payment' (Lat. *pensio*).

PENTATEUCH.—See Hexateuch.

PENTECOST, FEAST OF.—1. In the OT.—The offering of a barley-sheaf during the Feast of Unleavened Bread opened the reaping season, which lasted officially for 49 days, a week of weeks. On the 50th day took place the Feast of Pentecost, also called the **Feast of Weeks** (Ex 34^{22}, Dt 16^{10}), the **Feast of Harvest** (Ex 23^{16}), and the **Day of First-fruits** (Nu 28^{26}). It thus took place at the end of the reaping season, when all the wheat and barley had been cut and gathered, and marked especially the termination of the wheat harvest (wheat being the last of the cereals to ripen in Palestine). The festival was held at the central sanctuary (Dt 16^{11}), whither the people were expected to repair for the celebration; it cannot, therefore, have existed before the settlement in Canaan.

The proper method by which to compute the date of Pentecost was a matter of controversy. In Lv 23^{11} the *terminus a quo* is given as the day after the Sabbath during the Feast of Unleavened Bread. In Christ's time the Jews understood this to mean 16th Nisan, treating the first day of Unleavened Bread as a Sabbath, since it was a day of holy convocation. On this computation Pentecost would fall on 6th Sivan (June). But some theorists maintained that the Sabbath referred to was the ordinary Sabbath during the days of Unleavened Bread, whenever it chanced to fall. The objection to this view was that if 14th or 21st Nisan was a Sabbath, the sheaf-waving would occur outside the Unleavened Bread festival, of which it certainly appears to form a part. Anyhow, whatever be the correct interpretation of the disputed passage in Lev., the Jews usually celebrated the sheaf-waving on 16th Nisan and Pentecost on 6th Sivan.

The feast was probably originally a nature-festival, fixed in later times at a specified date. It always retained its agricultural character in Biblical ages, but some later Rabbinical writers treated it also as a commemoration of the delivery of the Law on Sinai—an event which was supposed to have taken place 50 days after the Exodus (Ex 19^{1}), though this idea is not found in Philo or Josephus; and the fact that the reading of the Law in the Sabbatical year took place at the Feast of Tabernacles and not at Pentecost, points to the late origin of this tradition.

The festival lasted for one day (though the later Jews allowed two days for it, because in the Dispersion it was difficult to determine accurately the Palestinian month); it was a day of holy convocation, and no servile work might be done. Two leavened loaves of wheaten flour were waved before the Lord; two yearling lambs were also waved as a peace-offering; seven lambs, one bullock, and two rams were offered as a burnt-offering, and one kid of the goats as a sin-offering (Lv 23^{17-21}). In Nu 28^{27} the burnt-offerings are given as two bullocks, one ram, and seven lambs. These, perhaps, were supplementary to the offerings prescribed in Lv 23, where possibly only the sacrifices connected with the loaves are specified. Lv 23^{22} also prescribes freewill offerings for the poor and the stranger, whilst Dt $16^{10.\ 11}$ ordains a freewill offering for the sanctuary, and states that the festal joy is to be shared by all classes. It is probable that this latter offering is referred to in Dt 26^{2-11}, and the form of confession and thanksgiving there dictated was so used at this period.

2. In the Christian Church Pentecost was the occasion on which the outpouring of the Holy Spirit occurred (Ac 2). The presence of multitudes at Jerusalem shows the generality of the observance which the Jews paid to this feast. It became one of the Church's great festivals, as the anniversary of the spiritual first-fruits procured through Jesus Christ's sacrifice. By the close of the 2nd cent. it was established as an occasion of Christian rejoicing. No fasting or kneeling in prayer was allowed during its duration, and it was especially used as a season for baptisms. Under the old dispensation Pentecost had been distinctly connected with the Feast of Unleavened Bread. So in Christian times its dependence on the Passover sacrifice of Christ, which led to the gift of the Holy Ghost, is unmistakable.

A. W. F. Blunt.

PENUEL (once, Gn 32^{30}, **Peniel**).—A place E. of Jordan, and near the Jabbok, at which Jacob wrestled with the angel (Gn $32^{24ff.}$), and said (v.^{30}) to be called Peniel (or Penuel), *i.e.* 'Face of God,' because Jacob said, 'I have seen God *face to face*, and yet my life is preserved.' (The mention of the 'face of God' in 33^{10} makes it possible that another explanation of the origin of the name is there alluded to.) There was, however, in Phœnicia, a little S. of Tripolis, a headland called *Theou prosōpon*, 'God's face'; and it is thought by some scholars that 'Penuel' really derived its name from some projecting rock in whose contour a face was seen. Penuel is mentioned also in the history of Gideon, as a place with a strong tower or castle which Gideon destroyed (Jg $8^{8.\ 9.\ 17}$); it may be inferred from this passage that Penuel was a little E. of **Succoth** (v.^{6}), and also on a higher elevation ('went up,' v.^{8}). Many years later, Penuel was fortified by Jeroboam (1 K 12^{25}); so that it must have been a place of some strategic importance. The site is not more certain than that of Succoth; see under Succoth some account of the data upon which its settlement depends, and a suggestion for it. Merrill identifies Penuel with *Tulūl edh-Dhahab* ('the hills of gold,' so called from the yellow metalliferous sandstone of which they are composed), two conical hills, about 250 ft. high, round which the Jabbok winds, about 6 miles E. of Deir 'Allā (which Merrill identifies with Succoth), up the valley, with ancient ruins on the top; and Conder identifies it with *Jebel Osha*, a mountain 3597 ft. high, with a fine view, 8 miles S. of the Jabbok. But to each of these identifications there are grave objections: as regards Merrill's site, it is expressly declared by other travellers that the banks of the Jabbok for many miles above Tulūl edh-Dhahab are on both sides so lofty and precipitous as to afford no way for either the Midianites or Gideon to pass along them (see *ExpT.* xiii. [1902] 457 ff., or more briefly the writer's *Genesis*, p. 300 ff.).

S. R. Driver.

PEOPLE.—This is the translation used in AV for a large number of Hebrew and Greek terms. In some cases ambiguity occurs, as the pl. **'peoples'** is not used in AV except in Rev 10^{11} 17^{15}. Thus 'people' is used sometimes of the people of Israel, and often of heathen nations. RV uses 'peoples' freely, and this makes the meaning much clearer in such passages as Ps 67^{4}, Is 55^{4} 60^{2} etc. (see art. Nations, also preface to RV).

A special phrase **'the people of the land'** occurs frequently in the OT, especially in Jeremiah, Ezekiel, 2 K., and 2 Ch. In most of these cases it means the general body of the people, the common people as opposed to the courtiers or the ruling class. In Gn $23^{7.\ 12.\ 13}$, Nu 14^{9} the term is applied to non-Israelites. In the Books of Ezra and Nehemiah the 'people of the land' are the half-heathen, half-Jewish population with whom the less scrupulous Jews intermarried, but who were avoided by the stricter party represented by Ezra and Nehemiah (Ezr $10^{2.\ 11}$, Neh $10^{30.\ 31}$; cf. $9^{1.}$ Neh 9^{30}). The same phrase was used by the Rabbis to describe the

common people, who were lax in observing the Mosaic law (Jn 7^{49}). W. F. Boyd.

PEOR.—**1.** A mountain E. of the Jordan to which Balak led Balaam (Nu 23^{28}). It looked down upon the desert. The *Onomasticon* (*s.v.* 'Fogor') places it 7 miles from Heshbon, above Livias, one of the heights of the Nebo group. Conder suggests for it the peak above *'Ain el-Minyeh*, about 5 miles W. of *Ma'īn*. Buhl (*GAP*) thinks it may be *el-Mushakkar*, flanked by *Wādy Hesbān* and *Wādy 'Ayūn Mūsa*. **2.** In Nu 25^{18} 31^{16}, Jos 22^{17}, Peor is the god Baal-Peor. **3.** LXX places a Peor (Phagor) in Judah not far from Bethlehem, which is evidently the modern *Khirbet Faghūr*, to the S. of the town. W. Ewing.

PERÆA.—The district called by Josephus 'the Peræa' is referred to in NT as 'beyond Jordan' (Mt 4^{15} etc.). When Josephus says that it stretches from Machærus to Pella, and from Philadelphia (*'Ammān*) to the Jordan, he probably gives political boundaries, excluding Decapolis (*BJ* III. iii. 3), since (IV. vii. 3, 6) Gadara is called the capital of the Peræa. The name seems to have covered the ancient 'Land of Gilead,' what is now known as *Jebel 'Ajlūn* and *el-Belkā*. It is perhaps the most picturesque and beautiful part of Palestine. Rough mountain heights rise from the midst of wooded slopes, while rich fields stretch between; anon romantic vales break down into mighty gorges, where the sound of running water makes music all the year. The olive and vine flourish, and good harvests reward the husbandman's toil.

The removal of the Jews from the Peræa by Judas (1 Mac 5^{45}) left it in Gentile hands. Later, the Jews resumed possession and control. Alexander Jannæus held sway from the Dead Sea to the roots of Hermon. Peræa was given as a tetrarchy to Pheroras, the brother of Herod (*Ant.* XV. x. 3, etc.), and later to Herod Antipas (XVII. viii. 1). From Peræa, Simon made his ill-starred raid upon Jericho (XVII. x. 6). It was part of the jurisdiction of Felix (*BJ* II. xii. 8). Manasseh was made governor after the disaster to Cestius (II. xx. 4). Placidus effected its final subjugation to the Romans (IV. vii. 3, 6). It was attached by the Moslems to the province of Damascus. Subsequently it was under Kerak.

The Mishna recognizes the Peræa—the land beyond Jordan—as a province of the land of Israel, ranking with Judæa and Galilee on the west. On the border of the Peræa probably Jesus was baptized. It was the scene of happy and profitable intercourse with His disciples (Mt 19^{1} etc.). It furnished the retreat from Jewish enmity, whence He was summoned by the distress at Bethany (Jn 10^{40} etc.). The most horrible story connected with the siege of Jerusalem is that of Mary, a native of the Peræa (*BJ* VI. iii. 4). In the Peræa to-day the Jew is represented only by the travelling tinsmith and the pedlar. Colonies of Circassians are turning the soil to good account, *e.g.* at Jerash. At es-Salt the natives pursue a profitable trade in raisins, while in the *barrīyeh*, the uncultivated parts, the nomads find good pasture for their flocks.

W. Ewing.

PERAZIM (Is 28^{21}) prob. = **Baal-perazim.**

PERDITION.—The word is used several times in the NT in the ordinary sense of 'destruction,' with special reference to the destruction of the soul (Ph 1^{28}, 1 Ti 6^{9}, He 10^{39}, 2 P 3^{7}, Rev $17^{8.\ 11}$). It is found twice in the phrase **son of perdition**—a Heb. expression denoting close connexion between product and producer (cf. 'sons of thunder,' 'sons of light,' etc.). In Jn 17^{12} the phrase is applied to Judas Iscariot, while in 2 Th 2^{3} it is used of the 'man of sin,' or Antichrist. In the latter context a great deal of discussion has centred round the meaning of the reference (see art. Antichrist). It will suffice here to point out that the phrase in 2 Th 2^{3}, 'the son of perdition,' combined with certain passages in the Apocalypse (ch. 13), points to a constant tradition in the Christian Church of the Apostolic Age, which appears, from the passages alluded to, to have conceived not of a foreign potentate alien to the Church, but rather of a false Messiah who should be 'sent to them that are perishing' (namely, the Jews), and was expected to make his appearance at Jerusalem. The phrase 'son of perdition' suggest not so much the power of destruction exerted upon those coming under the sphere of the evil influence, as the effect of wickedness upon the soul of the individual to whom the phrase in each case, is applied.

T. A. Moxon.

PERESH.—A 'son' of Machir (1 Ch 7^{16}).

PEREZ.—Son of Judah and Tamar, and twin-brother of Zarah (Gn 38^{29}; in 1 Es 5^{5} **Phares**; patronymic **Perezites**, Nu 26^{20}). His importance consists in his being the ancestor of David through Boaz and Ruth, and then of Jesus Christ. His descendants were in all probability the most numerous among the families of Judah; hence the blessing of the elders on Boaz; 'Let thy house be like the house of Perez' (Ru 4^{12}). According to Gn 46^{12}, Perez had two sons, Hezron and Hamul. From Hezron, according to 1 Ch 2, came Jerahmeel and Ram and Caleb, and through Ram was traced the line of the royal house of David. W. F. Cobb.

PEREZITES.—See Perez.

PEREZ-UZZA(H).—See Uzza, **3.**

PERFECTION.—The various Biblical terms connoting 'perfection' differ in shade of meaning between wholeness, the attaining of an end or ideal, complete adjustment, full equipment in fitness for an appointed task. They are sparingly applied to God; in OT His way, work, knowledge, law are 'perfect' (Ps 18^{30}, Dt 32^{4}, Job 37^{16}, Ps 19^{7}); in NT the same term is used of His will, His gifts, His law (Ro 12^{2}, Ja $1^{17.\ 25}$), while Christ describes the Father in heaven as 'perfect,' and therefore as the source and pattern of moral ideals (Mt 5^{48}). The sense in which perfection is attributed to or urged upon men must naturally vary according to the moral conceptions of the time.

1. In OT.—In the sharp moral contrasts which are presented in the successive kings of Judah, right doing and loyalty to Jehovah are expressed in the phrase 'a perfect heart' (*e.g.* 1 K 8^{61}; cf. 11^{4} $15^{3.\ 5}$). It is clear from what is contrasted with the 'perfect heart'—idolatry, abominable sin—that the phrase has regard only to general tendencies of religious attitude and moral conduct, and its ethical depth is not perhaps greatly increased by the addition 'with the Lord his God,' for in the case of Amaziah a contrast is drawn between the two phrases; 'he did that which was right in the eyes of the Lord, but not with a perfect heart' (2 Ch 25^{2}). In a similar sense the term 'perfect' is applied to Noah, Abraham, and Job: its meaning is to be gathered from the synonyms which are linked with it—'righteous and perfect,' 'perfect and upright,' 'fearing God and eschewing evil' (Gn 6^{9} 17^{1}, Job $1^{1.\ 8}$ 2^{3}; cf. Pr 2^{21} 11^{5}). It is noteworthy that in a number of passages in RV 'perfect' has displaced AV 'upright,' with greater fidelity of translation but little difference of meaning (*e.g.* Ps $18^{23.\ 25}$ 19^{13} 37^{18}).

2. In NT.—The idea of moral perfection is carried up to an immeasurably higher level by the saying of Christ—the climax of His contrast between evangelical and Pharisaic righteousness—'Ye therefore shall be (*imperatival future*) perfect, as your heavenly Father is perfect' (Mt 5^{48}). This may be regarded as our Lord's re-statement of the OT law, 'Ye shall be holy: for I the Lord your God am holy' (Lv 19^{2}, cf. 11^{44}), but the immediate context of the two passages is sufficient to indicate the infinite difference between the old law and the new. Infinite, because in place of precepts of ritual purity there is now set up an absolute moral ideal in the perfect love of God.

Moral conduct may indeed involve observance of prohibitions and positive commands, but the morality does not consist in the observance: it must come first, as the spring of action, and will issue in an obedience very different from that of the current ethical code. It is the disposition that counts: all duty springs from a love to God, working from within outwards, seeking to realize itself in free and boundless aspiration after His perfection. Hence the characteristic 'thou shalt not' of the Jewish law, with its possibility of evasion under seeming compliance, gives place to a positive 'thou shalt' of limitless content, because inspired by a limitless ideal (Mt 5^{17-48} 7^{12} $18^{21.\ 22}$). When the man came to Christ with his eager question about 'eternal life,' though he could claim to have kept all the commandments from his youth, he is bidden, if he would be 'perfect,' strip himself of all worldly possessions and follow Christ; doubtless because only through such sacrifice could he come to discern and attain the moral realities revealed by simple dependence on God (Mt 19^{21}; cf. Mk 10^{17-31}, Lk 18^{18-30}). The similar question of the lawyer is met with the same teaching of love to God as the one source of that 'doing' in which is life Lk 10^{28}).

In the teaching of St. Paul the moral life of the Christian is often dwelt upon, and in some passages is summarized in glowing ideals (*e.g.* Ro 12, 1 Co 13, Gal 5^{22}, Eph 3^{14-19}, Ph 4^{4-9}, Col 1^{9-23}, 1 Th 5^{14-23}). Once the ideal is compressed into a phrase which reminds us of Mt 5^{48}, 'Be ye imitators of God' (Eph 5^{1}). There is constant insistence on *love* as the supreme source and manifestation of the moral life (Ro 12^{9} 13^{8-10}, 1 Co 13); it is the *bond* which binds all other virtues into 'perfection' (Col 3^{14}); the motive power is to be found in faith in Christ, and in the energies of the indwelling Spirit of God (Ro 8^{9}, 2 Co 5^{17}, Gal $5^{24.\ 25}$, Eph 3^{20}).

But though St. Paul often uses the word 'perfect,' he hardly connects it with the attainment of the moral ideal in the sense of Mt 5^{48}. He avails himself of a meaning of the Greek term as applied to men, 'full-grown,' 'mature,' and uses it to mark advance from the earlier stage of Christian life and experience, at which, in contrast, he describes men as 'babes.' To his immature Corinthian converts he writes, 'we speak wisdom among the perfect'; complains, 'I could not speak unto you as unto spiritual, but as unto carnal, as unto babes in Christ'; and bids them 'be not children in mind: howbeit in malice be ye babes, but in mind be perfect' (1 Co 2^{6} 3^{1} 14^{20}). The same metaphor is used by the author of Hebrews (5^{11}–6^{1}), where 'perfect' and 'perfection' connote a Christian manhood which can receive and assimilate advanced Christian teaching. In the later Pauline Epistles the word implies a similar stress on intellectual maturity, possibly with a side glance at the technical meaning of 'fully initiated' into the Greek 'mysteries.' In protest against the Colossian *gnosis*, arrogated by a few, St. Paul, by unrestricted teaching of the whole gospel to every man, would present every man 'perfect in Christ' (Col 1^{28} 4^{12}). So, too, the attainment of the *ideal corporate unity* of all Christians is expressed in the phrase 'unto a perfect (*i.e.* full-grown) man' (Eph 4^{13}). It is characteristic of St. Paul's thought that this unity *exists* (Eph 4^{3-5}), yet is to be *attained*; similarly, without sense of contradiction, he can write of himself as 'perfect' (Ph 3^{15}), and in the same context as not 'perfected' (3^{12}).

The great Christian verities themselves, and also their implication for the lives of all who believe, are conceived by him as equally real, yet his assertion of them is joined with an appeal for their realization (*e.g.* Ro 5^{12-21} 6^{1-11}). The facts are there, whatever contradictions may seem to be given to them by the imperfect lives which, if indeed real, they might be supposed to fashion into more complete accord. It follows that he is able without misgiving to set before his converts so lofty an ideal of moral perfection as that contained in the passages already cited, the gulf between ideal and visible attainment being bridged by his faith in the spiritual forces at work (Ro $7^{24.\ 25}$, 1 Co $1^{8.\ 9}$, Eph 3^{20}, Ph 1^{6} 2^{13} 4^{13}; cf. 1 P 1^{5}). Any doctrine, therefore, of Christian 'perfection' must reckon at once with St. Paul's sense of its reality, and at the same time of the present difference between real and actual.

The idea of perfection appears also in Ja 1^{4}, 'that ye may be perfect and entire, lacking in nothing' (cf. 3^{2}). In Hebrews special stress is laid upon the 'perfecting' of Christ by His humiliation and suffering, not in moral excellence but in fitness for His work of redeeming man (2^{10} 5^{9} 7^{28}); through his sacrifice the 'perfection' unattainable under the old covenant (7^{11-19} 9^{9}) is secured for the believer (10^{14}; cf. 11^{40} 12^{23} 13^{21}).

The idea of perfection in the sense of complete adjustment and equipment (from a different Gr. root) occurs in 1 Co 1^{10}, 2 Co 13^{11}, 2 Ti 3^{17}.

S. W. Green.

PERFUMER.—The Oriental liking for odoriferous substances has always rendered the function of the perfumer an important one. The materials used in Bible times were gums, resins, roots, barks, leaves; and these were variously combined according to the skill and fancy of the perfumer. In Neh 3^{8} we read of a guild of perfumers. 'Perfumers' ought in every instance to be substituted for AV **apothecaries** as well as for **confectionaries** of 1 S 8^{13}. Cf. art. Apothecary.

PERGA.—An inland city of Pamphylia about 12 miles from Attalia on the coast, but possessing a river harbour of its own on the Cestrus 5 miles away. Its walls date from the 3rd century B.C. It was the chief native city of Pamphylia, and never seems to have come much under Greek influence, but it had a coinage of its own from the 2nd cent. B.C. to A.D. 276. 'Artemis of Perga' was the chief object of worship, and she resembled 'Diana of the Ephesians' in her rites and images, being sometimes represented like the Greek Artemis as goddess of the chase, but more often by a pillar of stone, the top of which was rounded or roughly carved to represent a head. Her worship was more Asiatic than Greek. Her temple probably possessed the right of sanctuary.

St. Paul passed through Perga twice on his first missionary journey. See Pamphylia. But Christianity did not take root there easily. Perga is not mentioned in early martyrologies. When the Empire became Christian, it was the seat of a metropolitan bishop, but after the blow suffered by the Byzantine Empire at the battle of Manzikert, A.D. 1071, Perga seems to have fallen into the hands of the Turks. In A.D. 1084 we find Attalia made a metropolitan bishopric, and it is the only bishopric in Pamphylia now. The modern name of the site of Perga is *Murtana*.

A. E. Hillard.

PERGAMUM, or **PERGAMUS,** was an ancient city of Mysia, the seat of an independent kingdom from about B.C. 280 to B.C. 133, and the capital of the Roman province of Asia from B.C. 133 until the 2nd cent. A.D. It lay in the Caicus valley about 15 miles from the sea, and its acropolis rose between two tributary streams 3 miles N. of the Caicus. As the capital of a kingdom, Pergamus had acquired a somewhat factitious importance. It stood on no great trade route, and under the Romans it slowly lost all but the official pre-eminence in the province. Its kings had been champions of Greek civilization and arts, and it still remained a centre of conservative culture. But Ephesus was now the centre of trade, and it was at Ephesus that West and East met together, creating a medley of all philosophies and all religions. At Pergamus there were splendid temples of Zeus and Athene, where these gods were worshipped in the ordinary Greek way, but others also of Dionysos and Asklepios.

The only allusion to Pergamus in the NT is in the Apocalypse, where (1^{11} 2^{12}) it is included among the seven churches of Asia. The message to it speaks of Pergamus as the place 'where Satan's seat is.' While it is possible that this refers to it as the chief seat of heathen worship in general, it is more probable that it refers to the worship of Rome and Augustus, participation in which had become a test of loyalty, and

therefore a frequent ground of Christian martyrdom. Christians would be brought to Pergamus for trial from any northern part of the province, and the mention of one martyr, **Antipas**, as having suffered there does not prove that he belonged to Pergamus. The Church at Pergamus is charged with having 'them that hold the doctrine of **Balaam**, who taught Balak to cast a stumbling-block before the children of Israel, to eat things sacrificed unto idols, and to commit fornication'; and also 'them that hold the doctrine of the Nicolaitans.' We must gather from this that a definite section of the church at Pergamus maintained that, inasmuch as heathen ceremonies 'meant nothing' (cf. Co 8^4 10^{19}), they were at liberty to join in idolatrous feasts, and thus to maintain their social position and justify their loyalty in the sight of the law. The allusion in 2^{17} to 'a **white stone**, and in the stone a new name written,' may be an allusion to a practice of keeping secret a new name taken at baptism in a place where it was dangerous to be known as a Christian. From its official and religious character there can be little doubt that Antipas was but one of many martyred at Pergamus.

Pergamus was the seat of a bishopric, but its subsequent history is obscure. It retains its name in the form *Bergama*. The German Government has been conducting excavations on the site since 1878, and in 1901 a Pergamon Museum was opened in Berlin. The name of Pergamus survives in the word **'parchment,'** *i.e.* Pergamena. It is said that king Eumenes, the founder of the library, invented the use of this preparation of sheep-skin or goat-skin for the purposes of writing. A. E. Hillard.

PERIDA.—A family of 'Solomon's servants,' Neh 7^{57} = Ezr 2^{55} **Peruda**, 1 Es 5^{33} **Pharida**.

PERIZZITES.—According to the frequently recurring list of the Deuteronomic editors, one of the pre-Israelitish nations of Palestine (cf. Ex $3^{8.\ 17}$ 23^{23} 33^2 34^{11}, Dt 20^{17}, Jos 3^{10} 24^{11}). The Perizzites, however, do not appear anywhere definitely in the history. Because in Gn 15^{20} and Jos 17^{15} they are mentioned with the Rephaim, some have inferred that they were one of the pre-Semitic tribes of Palestine. In the J document the Perizzites are three times mentioned with the Canaanites (Gn 13^7 34^{30}, Jg 1^4). The name 'Perizzite' (in AV and RV of 1 Es 8^{89}, 2 Es 1^{21}, and AV of Jth 5^{16} **Pherezite(s)**) is in Hebrew almost identical with a word meaning 'dweller in an unwalled village,' hence Moore (on Jg 1^5) has suggested that they were Canaanite agriculturists, living in unwalled towns, and not a separate tribe. This view is most probable.

George A. Barton.

PERJURY.—See Crimes and Punishments, § 5.

PERSECUTION.—Jesus Christ frequently warned His disciples that persecution would be the lot of all who followed Him (Jn $15^{18.\ 20}$). So far from being dismayed at this, it should be a cause of rejoicing (Mt $5^{11.\ 12}$). The early Church had not long to wait for the fulfilment of these words. The martyrdom of Stephen was the signal for a fierce outburst of persecution against the Christians of Jerusalem, by which they were scattered in all directions. Saul of Tarsus was the moving spirit in this matter, until, on his road to Damascus to proceed against the Christians there, 'Christ's foe became His soldier.' The conversion of Saul seems to have stayed the persecution. The attempt of Caligula to set up his statue in the Temple at Jerusalem also diverted the attention of the Jews from all else. Hence 'the churches had rest' (Ac 9^{31}).

The next persecution was begun by Herod, who put to death the Apostle St. James, and would have done the same to St. Peter had he not been delivered. Herod's motive was probably to gain a cheap popularity, but the persecution was ended by his own sudden and terrible death.

After this the history of persecution becomes more the history of the sufferings of certain individuals, such as St. Paul, though passages in the Epistles show us that the spirit of persecution was alive even if the details of what took place are hidden from us (1 Th 2^{14}, He $10^{32.\ 33}$, 1 P $2^{19\text{-}25}$). Finally, in the Revelation of St. John, the seer makes frequent reference to the persecution and martyrdom of the saints as the lot of the Church in all ages. Morley Stevenson.

PERSEPOLIS.—The chief capital of the ancient kings of Persia, chosen as such by Darius Hystaspis (B.C. 521–486). Imposing ruins still mark its site about 30 miles north-east of Shiraz. It is named in 2 Mac 9^2 in connexion with the unsuccessful attempt of Antiochus Epiphanes to plunder its temples and palaces.

J. F. M'Curdy.

PERSEUS.—'King of Chittim,' *i.e.* Macedonia (1 Mac 8^5). His kingdom was brought to an end with his defeat by the Romans at Pydna (B.C. 168).

PERSIA, PERSIANS.—The Persians, when they appeared first in history, were the southern branch of the Iranians who had migrated, in the 10th or 9th cent. B.C., from the tableland of Turkestan westward and southward. They were for long subject to the more numerous and powerful northern branch (see Medes), from whom, however, they were separated by the country of Elam, through their settlement in the district later called Persis, east of the Persian Gulf. Southern Elam they acquired before B.C. 600. Their prince, **Cyrus**, the second of that name among the ruling family of the Achæmenides, threw off the Median yoke and deposed his sovereign Astyages in B.C. 550. In 545 the kingdom of Lydia fell to him by the capture of Sardis under its king Crœsus. In 539 Babylon surrendered to his troops without fighting, after a two weeks' campaign, and became thenceforth one of the Persian capitals. Thus the Babylonian empire was added to the Medo-Persian. Cf. Is 13. 14. 21 (where in v.^{6} 'Elam' stands for Persia, into which it was incorporated; see above) 41. 44–47, Jer 50. 51.

Thus was founded the greatest W. Asian empire of antiquity, whose power, moreover, was upon the whole consistently employed for the protection of the subject peoples, including in the great satrapy 'beyond the River' the Hebrew community in Palestine which was re-established by the generosity of Cyrus himself (see Ezra and Neh. *passim*). Of the kings who succeeded Cyrus there are named in OT, Darius Hystaspis (B.C. 521–486), his son Xerxes (486–465, the 'Ahasuerus' of Esther), Artaxerxes I. (465–424). See these names in their alphabetic places. To them is possibly to be added Cambyses, son of Cyrus the Great, made king of Babylon in 538, and thus corresponding to the misnomer 'Darius the Mede' of Dn $6^{1ff.}$ 9^1 11^1. J. F. M'Curdy.

PERSIS.—A Christian woman saluted in Ro 16^{12}.

PERSON OF CHRIST.—I. Christology of the Synoptic Gospels.—In so brief an article as the present no attempt can be made to detail the stages in the self-revelation of Jesus, or to assign each partial disclosure to a fixed period. Nor is it possible to inquire critically how far the picture of Jesus in the Gospels has been coloured by later experiences of the Church. Accepting the substantial authenticity of the narrative, and of the view of Jesus' Person and teaching it embodies, we are led to examine chiefly the various significant titles in which His religious claim was expressed. But we must glance first of all at the human portrait drawn by the Evangelists.

1. Humanity of Jesus.—Everywhere in the Synoptics the true humanity of our Lord is taken seriously. His bodily and mental life are both represented as having undergone a natural development. He is hungry and athirst, capable of the keenest suffering, possessed of a soul and spirit which He yields up to God in death. Joy, sorrow, distress, peace, love, anger—every wholesome human emotion is felt by Him. He prays to God the Father, looking up to heaven habitually in lowly trust, for strength and guidance to do His appointed work. Out of the sinless impulse to use His powers

in furthering and defending His own life there rose temptations, not merely at the outset but repeatedly later, which involved Him in a real conflict. He is pictured as sharing in the common secular beliefs of His age and country. Certainly He exhibits at times an extraordinary degree of penetration into the thoughts of men; but to speak of Him as omniscient, whether in regard to the past or the future, is simply to desert our sources (Mk 13^{32}). He asks questions to elicit information; He feels and expresses surprise; He looks to find fruit upon the fig-tree, and there is none. So far from being manifestations of omnipotence, His miracles are done through faith in the power of God, the gift of which is sought in prayer and acknowledged with thankfulness (Mk 7^{34}, Mt 14^{19}). Finally, it is impossible not to feel that most theological attempts to vindicate for the Jesus of the Gospels a 'double consciousness' or 'double will'—the one human and limited, the other infinite and Divine—not merely destroy the unity of the impression He makes on us, but are really due to a tendency, devout but mistaken, to cast back upon those earthly years the glory of the risen Lord. This totally ignores the difference in Jesus' status which the uniform teaching of the NT considers to have been made by the Resurrection, while it also obscures the fact—indicative of the vast redeeming sacrifice of God—that the life of Jesus, the Son Incarnate, was a life in the flesh, a distinctly human phenomenon which moved within the normal lines of a human mind and will.

2. Messiah.—The first article in the creed of the Apostles is the Messiahship of the crucified and risen Jesus of Nazareth. Certain scholars have recently denied that our Lord claimed this title for Himself; but we may fairly say that on such terms the Gospel narrative becomes a chaos. The title *Messiah* ('Christ'), familiar to Jewish religion from Ps 2, denotes in general the anointed Head of the Kingdom of God, the new King of a redeemed people; and Jesus, retaining the outline of the traditional idea, infused into it a new spiritual meaning, which, as applied to Himself, signified that He was not a new Teacher or Lawgiver or even the Founder of a new faith, but the Bearer and Finisher of divinely wrought salvation. Full consciousness of His Messianic function must have come to Him not later than His baptism—the manner of its coming is for us inexplicable—and at that crisis a wonderful bestowal of the Spirit equipped Him with the knowledge and power demanded by this vocation. His self-avowal as Messiah was, however, marked by a singular reserve. It followed from His novel view of the Kingdom of God, as the spiritual reign of a Father over His children (no doubt in eschatological perspective), that His conception of His own Kingship also moved on novel lines. Hence the almost insurmountable difficulty of revealing Himself as the expected Deliverer without fanning into flame such political passions as would have made men deaf to His gospel. It is noticeable, therefore, that at Nazareth He announced Himself not as Messiah, but as a prophet (Lk 4^{18}).

We are probably right in saying that St. Peter's confession at Cæsarea Philippi (Mt 16^{16}) was the earliest point at which the Messianic dignity of Jesus became the explicit subject of conversation between the Master and the Twelve; this may be inferred with certainty from the wording of His question and the joy He evinced at the reply. He greets St. Peter's answer with extraordinary emotion, as seeing in it a proof that the men nearest to Him had gained a clear religious view of the meaning of His life; while He is able to check any secular anticipations they might also form by at once adding the prediction of His death. To the world at large, however, He first declared His Messiahship when arraigned before Caiaphas.

Our Lord's reply to the Baptist's message from prison (Mt $11^{2ff.}$) gives us, perhaps, our clearest look at His own conception of the Messianic office. But it is to be observed that He did much more than modify the ancient idea ethically; He superseded it by unheard-of personal claims. 'Jesus was condemned by His heathen judge as a usurper of the throne, by the Jewish tribunal as One who pretended to such a dignity as had never been conceded even to the Messiah' (Dalman). He was all that the prophets had spoken, *and much more.* But although He put into the title an immensity of meaning which burst its real limits, and in a sense antiquated it, yet the historic name remains to teach that the hopes of men towards God have not been vain, and that it is through a personal Deliverer that God's redemption comes. Furthermore, while the idea of a suffering Messiah may not have been altogether unknown to Rabbinical theology, it was Jesus who first made it current spiritual coin. Brooding meditation on the Suffering Servant of Is 53 may well have revealed Him to Himself. It was in this mode—through the felt need and reality of saving vicarious sorrow—that the conception of Israel's Messiah was so glorified as to pass into that of the Redeemer of the world. But, even apart from this, a straight line can be drawn from the Messianic claim of Jesus to the later Christology of the Apostles. 'With the recognition of Jesus as the Messiah the closest possible connexion was established, for every devout Jew, between Jesus' message and His person, for it is in the Messiah's activity that God Himself comes to His people, and the Messiah who does God's work and sits at His right hand has a right to be worshipped' (Harnack).

3. Son of Man.—This title is used only by Jesus, and applied to Himself alone; the earliest mention of it in the Synoptic narrative being Mk $2^{10.\ 28}$. It is scarcely probable, as Dalman inclines to think, that Jesus employed it for the first time after St. Peter's confession; yet at least that crisis does mark an incipient understanding of its significance on the disciples' part. But it was only at His trial (Mk 14^{62}) that its meaning dawned on the general mind. Its absence from NT writings other than the Gospels (except Ac 7^{56}) is intelligible if we consider that *ho huios tou anthrōpou* is a phrase which, to any one but a Jew, would require too much explanation for convenience. The virtual disappearance of the title, however, proves conclusively that it was no invention of the primitive Christian Society.

In the Synoptics the name is found on Jesus' lips about 40 times. Various writers have noted that the passages where it occurs naturally divide into two groups, as they refer (*a*) to Jesus' work on earth, and particularly His passion, or (*b*) to the final glory of His Parousia. It is observable that the ratio of apocalyptic passages is greater in the closing than in the earlier sections of the narrative.

The ultimate source of the title is not a question of first-rate importance, and anyhow it is insoluble; but we are justified in regarding Dn 7^{13} as at all events its proximate source, since Jesus obviously refers to this passage in His self-avowal before the Sanhedrin. We must also be prepared to allow for the influence of Ps 8 and perhaps Ezk $2^{1ff.}$. Whether in Dn 7^{13} 'one like unto a son of man' denotes the ideal Israel or an idealized person, it is hard to say, but the exegetical probabilities are decidedly in favour of the former explanation. Later Jewish thought, however, read the passage in a Messianic sense; and in the *Similitudes* of the Book of Enoch (probably B.C. 96–64) the Son of Man is a supernatural person, pre-existent, and (perhaps) identified with the Isaianic Servant of the Lord. Nothing can be more likely than that Jesus was familiar with this circle of ideas; and in practically every case His use of the title is intelligible only if it denotes an individual. Recently the argument has been used that the distinction existing in Greek between 'man' and 'son of man' could not have been expressed in Aramaic, and that we are consequently debarred from supposing that by the expression Jesus meant more than simply 'man' as such; but Dalman, followed by Driver, has put forward convincing reasons for denying this. Hence we may reasonably assume both that Jesus called Himself 'the Son of Man,' and that He did so frequently.

In asking what Jesus meant by this self-designation, we ought to remember that a given expression may have one meaning for the speaker and another for his audience. Still, one or two things are clear. It is quite un-Biblical to interpret the title as equivalent to 'the idea of man' or 'the ideal man'; this conception is Hellenic rather than Jewish, and though it is embodied in the character of the Son of Man as realized in Jesus, it is not strictly present in the name. Again, the term was certainly not meant by Jesus as a dogmatic assertion of His true humanity; for of that no one was in doubt. What we judge to have really happened is this: taking the title freely as given in Dn 7, and possibly influenced by the *Similitudes* of Enoch or kindred ideas, Jesus began by using it to mean special or representative humanity as appointed to transcendent glory and dominion; but later He defined and enriched this meaning in a singular way by introducing the idea of suffering. On His lips, indeed, the name always had an educative aim. It was, as it were, a suggestive mystery, as much a problem as a disclosure. The title was traditional, yet it awaited final interpretation; and this Jesus gave by stamping on it the impress of Himself. Its educative value lay in this, that while in no sense can it be called a popular or transparent designation of the Messiah—otherwise Jesus' question in Mt 16^{13} is meaningless—it yet hinted Messiahship to those who cared to search deeper. Thus, breaking the bounds of the past, Jesus poured into the name a significance of His own, outstripping all previous Messianic ideals, as, *e.g.*, when He claimed that the Son of Man had power on earth to forgive sins (Mt 9^{6}‖). It is a title which denotes the vocation rather than the nature of Him who bears it; and we are led to think that Jesus chose it deliberately in order to veil, for a time, His personal claim to Messiahship.

As used by our Lord, then, the name 'Son of Man' is intrinsically a paradox. It binds Jesus to humanity, yet singles Him out from other men. It predicates of Him alike supramundane glory and earthly humiliation. It unites in itself the contrast of anticipation and reality, of the future and the present. Yet this seeming contradiction, far from being fatal to the internal coherence of the idea, is really constitutive of it. It is just through present suffering and indignity that He who is to be Saviour and Judge passes to His Kingdom. 'The "Son of Man," in the mature mind of Jesus, is the Person who unites a career of utmost service and suffering with a sure prospect of transcendent glory. And herein we touch at once the depth and height of His originality' (Muirhead). He trained the disciples to grasp this novel view of what it meant to be Messiah; and when they at last understood Him, what their minds dwelt on, and held fast, as indicated by the title so interpreted, was not the Divine *origin* of Jesus; it was rather His Divine *calling* and the Divine *destiny* that awaited Him. For them 'Son of Man' pointed to the future more than to the past.

4. Son of God.—There are several occasions in the Synoptic narrative on which this title is addressed to Jesus—*e.g.* by the possessed (Mk 3^{11}), by unbelieving Jews (Mt 27^{40}), by the centurion (Mk 15^{39}), and constructively by Caiaphas (Mt 26^{63})—where it cannot have anything like its full significance for a Christian mind. It is at most only a synonym of Messiah. Even when at the Baptism a Divine voice hails Him as God's beloved Son, the words denote simply His definitive consecration to the Messianic office, as is shown by the clear echo of Ps 2^{7}. In the OT, we should note, the title 'Son of God' is applied to the chosen people, to the theocratic king who rules and represents it, and to the perfect King who is to come. The outer side of this relation to God consisted in the possession of His power and glory; the inner side was the enjoyment of His love as its chosen object.

It was on the inner side of this relation that the mind of Jesus dwelt. In the Synoptic records He does not Himself use the full title 'Son of God'; probably because it was too familiar as a designation of the Messiah. But there are indications that the name which He chose to express His own view of His Person is simply 'the Son.' Not only does this form occur in three important passages (Mt 11^{27}, Mk 13^{32}, and possibly Mt 28^{19}), certain pieces of indirect evidence also bear on the point, such as His veiled reference to His Sonship in the parable of the Vineyard, His question to St. Peter as to the taxing of kings' sons, and His conversation with the scribes about David's Son and David's Lord. Much more significant, however, is His habit of naming God 'my Father' (Mt 7^{21} 10^{32} 12^{50} etc. and ‖), a phrase which, beyond all serious doubt, puts His relation to God in a place distinctly by itself. St. Luke represents the dawning consciousness of this unique Sonship as already present at the age of twelve (2^{49}).

The classical passage bearing on this point is Mt 11^{27}: 'All things are delivered unto me of my Father: and no man knoweth the Son, but the Father; neither knoweth any man the Father, but the Son, and he to whomsoever the Son willeth to reveal him.' Here we ought to note distinctly the unqualified assertion that the mutual relation existing between Father and Son is a perfect one. Not only is the Father's nature open to Jesus, without that sense of mystery of which prophets and saints have always been conscious, not only is the knowledge which Jesus has of God complete, final, and unattainable by others except as mediated through Him; but in like manner Jesus' nature is open to the Father, and to Him alone. He stands to God in a relation of intimacy such as no other can share, since even those who become the sons of God through Him are sons only in a secondary and derivative sense. God and Jesus belong together in a fashion transcending man's intelligence; their personal life is one; and it is constituted by a reciprocal fellowship in which Fatherhood and Sonship are uniquely perfect. This is not merely a new idea; the new idea is the expression of a new fact.

What has been said is enough to cast some doubt on the correctness of Harnack's finding. 'The consciousness,' he writes, 'which Jesus possessed of being the Son of God is, therefore, nothing but the practical consequence of knowing God as the Father and as His Father. Rightly understood, the name of Son means nothing but the knowledge of God' (*What is Christianity?* p. 131). But we are not justified in confining the relation of Sonship to the sphere of special knowledge; a unity which is nothing if not personal is not thus to be lowered to the plane of mere cognition. We are aware that there was a time when our knowledge began to be; but Jesus' filial relation to God, so far at least as His own words suggest, had no beginning, none at all events of which He was conscious. In Dalman's words, it seems 'to be naturally bound up with His person; for, in distinction from every one else, just as it is by birth that a son becomes heir, so the prospect of universal rule and the possession of immediate knowledge of God were His.' For Jesus' mind, as we can study it in the Synoptics, the secret and origin of His own Person lay hid in God's creative love. So far, alike in His self-disclosure and in the estimate of disciples, we have no sign of a strict doctrine of incarnation or of two natures united in one person; what we do have is the subduing delineation of One who, in virtue of a career of patient service and of suffering unto death, is the perfect Revealer of God and the destined Ruler of the world. But it is made undeniably plain that His Sonship lifts Him out of the context of sinful humanity, and puts Him in a relation to God which cannot be fully interpreted by any of the general categories of human life. By calling Himself 'Son' He describes what He *is* for God; but He does so without giving any explanation of it, or explicitly following it backwards or forwards in its eternal relations. Not that these relations are thereby denied, or made of no account in the interpretation of the name. All that the

Apostles say of the pre-existing glory of Christ with God, or of creation as mediated through His agency, takes a place quite naturally as part of its implicit content. But at first Jesus used the name to convey simply His perfectly filial human consciousness, as filled, or rather constituted, by personal fellowship and ethical solidarity with God.

This conscious Sonship is for Jesus the supreme reality; and in the light of it He recognized from the first with perfect clearness the work God had given Him to do. It was not that He knew Himself to be Messiah, and rose from this to the certainty that God was His Father; the connexion of the two facts is just the reverse. He is Son of Man, and Head of the Kingdom of God, because of the still deeper consciousness that He is Son of God. The roots of His vocation are in the uniqueness of His Person. Yet in the last resort we cannot separate these two aspects. The loftier in the scale of being a human character stands, the more entirely personality and vocation coincide; and in the case of Jesus Christ the coincidence was absolute.

5. Self-assertion of Jesus.—Apart from specific and, as it were, technical modes of self-designation, the Synoptics picture Jesus as in many ways assuming an attitude to God and men which is scarcely intelligible except upon a positive view of His higher being. A whole series of features point in the direction of the more developed Christology of the Apostles. He who could speak of Himself as meek and lowly of heart exhibits also an unparalleled loftiness and majesty of bearing. His disciples, the crowd at Nazareth, and the possessed are alike conscious of this singular elevation. The personal trust and allegiance which He never scrupled to ask from men, putting even natural affection in the second place, is yielded almost instinctively. Nor does the source of the impression thus produced lie in His miracles; it lies in the feeling of His supreme authority. He spoke uniformly in the tones of One who had the keys of the Kingdom of heaven, and with whom it rested to declare the conditions of entrance. He put aside the ancient ordinances of the Law. He called all the weary to Himself for rest; most amazing of all, He claimed the power to forgive sin, and actually bestowed forgiveness on the sick of the palsy and the dying malefactor. His entire demeanour makes the impression of perfect acquaintance with the mind of God—His thoughts towards men, His hearing of prayer, the grounds of His condemnation and His pardon. With apparently not a single interval of doubt, He knew Himself to be the chosen One of God, by whose presence the powers of evil were already vanquished, who should redeem many by His death, who should rise from the dead and come hereafter with Divine power as the Judge of the world. It gradually became clear to the disciples that no comparison was really possible between Jesus and the great figures of the OT. No prophet had ever called upon men to confess his name; no prophet had declared that the relation of men to him would decide their final destiny; no prophet had ever said: 'All things are delivered unto me of my Father.' But Jesus repeatedly puts Himself forward as the object of saving faith, and gives to those who trust Him the sovereign promise that, as they gather in His name, He will be present in their midst. These are features of the Synoptic portraiture of Jesus which it is impossible to eliminate; and while they do not amount to a doctrine of His Person, they insist on doctrinal interpretation. In view of such things it is futile to say blankly, with Bousset, that Jesus simply places Himself at the side of ordinary humanity, and reserves for Himself only the distinction of a unique vocation. On the contrary, even in the first three Gospels the Person of Jesus has factors of mystery in it which lead the mind towards the Apostolic doctrine of His transcendent relation to God.

6. Sinlessness of Jesus.—The NT belief in the sinlessness of Jesus, which we may suitably consider at this point, is not really an *a priori* dogma—though as Lamb of God He was viewed as being necessarily without spot or blemish; it is a conclusion drawn from convincing facts at which we have a clear look in the Synoptics. Nor, on the other hand, is it quite accurate to say that the NT bids us regard the sinlessness of Jesus as something which only a believer can grasp or assent to, and which, from the nature of the case, cannot be established historically. As against this, there is great force in Dr. Forrest's argument (*Authority of Christ*, p. 22ff.), that even as historians, and irrespectively of any judgment of faith, we are bound to accept the Apostolic interpretation of the facts, since 'the facts concerning Him must have been such as to sanction and necessitate the interpretation.'

The Synoptic Gospels, it is true, contain no express claim on Jesus' part to be sinless; certainly nothing so strong as Jn 8^{46}. Yet we find traits in His demeanour which reveal His self-consciousness more plainly than even words could do. He called men to repentance; He condemned the 'righteous' unsparingly; He predicted that He should one day judge the world; He urged confession upon His disciples, and put the Lord's Prayer upon their lips: yet He Himself never uttered the cry of the burdened conscience, never spoke one word of contrition. We do not need to defend Him against the charge of harsh judgment (Mt 12^{34}), or a lack of family affection (v.^{48}), or an excess of passion (21^{12}); these, surely, are intelligible manifestations of fidelity to His Messianic task, and it has been fitly said that their final justification is that such a one as He should have done such things without any subsequent regret. The really decisive fact is that in the mature mind of Jesus there is no trace of old defeats, no memories of weakness overcome, no healed scars. It may be said, indeed, that one may be sinful without being conscious of it, but the familiar distinction is inapposite; for the moral pain of Jesus' answer to Peter's suggestion (Mt 16^{23}) proves with what infinite sensitiveness He felt the movings of sin in another, so that He could not have been unconscious of its presence in Himself. Besides, in view of His duty to remove a mistaken impression on such a point, His silence, were He aware of the slightest imperfection in His own nature, would have been an added hypocrisy. Finally, on every page of the Evangelists we read demands for perfect obedience, as well as promises of grace and help, which it would have been an enormity for a sinful man to utter. From these facts the only permissible conclusion is that Jesus had no experimental, interior knowledge of moral evil. Nor may His participation in the baptism of John be urged against this; for that was 'a great act of loving communion with our misery,' in which He identified Himself with sinful men, and took all their burdens and responsibilities as His own (cf. Denney, *Death of Christ*, p. 21). His repudiation of the epithet 'good' (Mk 10^{18}) has perplexed many, and must certainly not be explained away; but, in the first place, it is surely obvious that Jesus meant very much what the writer to the Hebrews means by the words (5^{8}): 'He learned obedience by the things that he suffered.' He was being made perfect from the outset to the end; and we see now that to attribute to Him the eternal, changeless perfection of God Himself would be to forget the ethical conditions of incarnation. And, in the second place, should we have thought more highly of one who calmly accepted the facile word of praise? Are not even we pained by careless eulogy?

Many recent writers, in view of the apparently negative character of the term 'sinlessness,' have preferred to predicate of Jesus absolute fidelity to His vocation. And it is true not merely that this conception brings out a fact of the utmost significance, but that several NT passages which are commonly adduced as proofs of our Lord's sinlessness (*e.g.* 1 P 2^{21}, Ph $2^{7.\ 8}$, 1 Jn 3^{5}) may more suitably be referred to the other category. Yet the idea of sinlessness is not one with which we can dispense. We need some term which will include, not merely Jesus' actual fulfilment of His Divine commission,

but the ebb and flow of His inner, spiritual life and the sinless development of the early years. It is true that such a sinless development is incomprehensible to us. To ethical psychology it remains an undecipherable mystery. All we can say is that it is because no one ever so felt His utter dependence upon God, and hence knew how much in God He had to depend upon, that, from first to last, Jesus kept His holiness pure (cf. Du Bose, *Gospel in the Gospels*, ch. 13). When we think out the idea of sinlessness, however, and consider how adult manhood rises with organic continuity out of childhood and infancy, we can hardly escape the inference that Jesus' stainless life had from the first a different personal content from ours. The theological expression for this would then be, that in His case Divinity was the basis and condition of perfect humanity.

7. Virgin-birth.—In the Gospels of Matthew and Luke the Divine Sonship of Jesus is viewed as being mediated in part by the bestowal of the Spirit at His baptism, in part by the supernatural character of His conception. Weight may justly be laid on the fact that both Evangelists, divergent as their narratives of the conception are in certain points, agree in affirming the special action of the Holy Ghost. On the other hand, no reference to the Virgin-birth is to be found elsewhere in the NT. It is not present in Gal 4^4 or Ro 1^3; and few would say with Westcott that the fact of the miraculous conception, though not stated, is necessarily implied in Jn 1^{14}. This silence might, indeed, have led men to ask whether any statement on the subject ought in wisdom to form part of the Creed; and yet again, it would be a mistake to overstrain the *argumentum e silentio*. The very fact that the eternal Divinity of Christ could thus be held and interpreted without recourse to the idea of virgin-birth proves that that idea did not arise as a psychologically inevitable religious postulate, and may therefore claim to have genuine tradition behind it. The present writer can only say that to him supernatural conception appears a really befitting and credible preface to a life which was crowned by resurrection from the dead. That an abnormal fact in the sphere of nature should answer to the transcendent spiritual element in the Person of Christ is both a Scriptural and a profoundly philosophical thought. Nevertheless, the Christian faith of many will always shrink from the assertion that virgin-birth is a *sine qua non* of real incarnation, or that, in any ultimate sense, it explains the wonder and glory of Jesus' Person.

II. Primitive Apostolic Doctrine.—As representing this stage of thought, we may take, with some caution, the discourses of St. Peter in Acts, checking our results later by comparison with his First Epistle.

1. St. Peter's discourses in Acts.—The Christology of these discourses is, on the whole, extremely simple. It would have been strange, indeed, had the Apostolic mind come to understand the Person of Christ otherwise than gradually. The words 'Jesus of Nazareth, a man approved of God among you by miracles and wonders and signs' (Ac 2^{22}), are the earliest Petrine description of Jesus, and the rudimentary nature of the suggested doctrine is characteristic. A parallel to this is the later verse, from the sermon in Cornelius' house: 'God anointed Jesus of Nazareth with the Holy Spirit and with power: who went about doing good, . . . for God was with him' (10^{38}). The gist of St. Peter's gospel is that this Jesus is the promised Messiah, attested as such by wonderful works, resurrection, and ascension to glory ($2^{22\text{-}24.\ 33.\ 36}$). Hence the name 'Jesus Christ' now appears; 'Christ,' when it occurs by itself, being an official, not yet a personal title. The ministry of Jesus as teacher is scarcely referred to, except in 10^{36}. But His death, as Divinely ordained and foreknown, and above all His deliverance from death, with the exaltation which followed, are the themes to which the speaker perpetually recurs.

A tendency has been shown, in view of the fact that Jesus is thus described as 'anointed with the Holy Spirit,' as 'the holy one and the just' (3^{14}), and as a great prophet (3^{22}), to infer that the primitive Church held a merely humanitarian view of His Person. We have already conceded, or rather asserted, that the doctrine is rudimentary. Specially deserving of note is the eschatological light in which the whole is viewed—Jesus being represented as gone meanwhile into heaven, thus affording the Jews time for repentance, upon which will ensue His return to a restored creation ($3^{19\text{-}21}$). All is as yet within the limits of nationalistic Messianism. Yet when we look more closely there are clear indications of another kind. Jesus has been exalted to the right hand of God, and made Lord of all things; He is the giver of the Holy Spirit (2^{33}); He knows the hearts of all men (1^{24}); He is the Judge of quick and dead (10^{42}). He is set forth quite definitely as the theme of the gospel and the object of faith, from whom repentance and forgiveness come. Prayer is freely offered to Him (1^{24} 7^{59}). Again and again His name, *i.e.* He Himself as revealed and known, is proclaimed as the only medium of salvation (2^{38} 3^{16} 4^{12} 10^{43}). Hence, while no attempt has yet been made to define His Person, the attitude of believers to Him is quite clearly one of faith and worship. We can scarcely overestimate the significance for Jews of this ascription of universal Lordship to One with whom they had eaten and drunk, and of whose death they had been witnesses.

2. The First Epistle of St. Peter.—The interest of this Epistle lies rather in soteriology than in the doctrine of Christ's Person. The sufferings of the Cross are viewed as having been predestined by God and foretold by prophets, and, in connexion with the atonement accomplished thereby, the sinlessness of Jesus as sacrificial victim is insisted on (1 P 1^{19}). One significant fact indicating the writer's favourite view of the Saviour's Person, is that, whereas the name 'Jesus' is nowhere used by itself, 'Christ' has become a proper name; and it is natural to interpret this change as 'due to the fact that the person of Jesus is contemplated by the Christian exclusively in His specific quality as Mediator of salvation' (Weiss). It is a disputed point whether 1^{11} in which the Spirit of Christ is said to have been present in the prophets, and 1^{20} which represents Him as foreknown before the foundation of the world, do or do not imply His real pre-existence. The arguments on either side are given in the commentaries; the present writer can only say briefly that the language of 1^{11} appears to him to be satisfied if we take it to mean that the Divine Spirit, now so entirely bound up with Christ that it can be called *His* Spirit, was previously active in the prophets; while the words 'foreknown before the foundation of the world' no more necessarily involve the personal pre-existence of Christ than the words 'He chose us in him before the foundation of the world' (Eph 1^4) demand a similar conclusion as to believers. Thus foreknown and predicted, then, Christ has been manifested at the end of the times for our sakes. In His incarnate Person 'flesh' and 'spirit' are to be distinguished (3^{18}); and a careful investigation proves that by 'spirit' is meant the Divine principle in a potency higher than that in which it dwells in man, and possessed, for that reason, of an inherent and indestructible energy of life. In Ac 2^{24} the ground of Jesus' resurrection is determined by prophecy; here the further step is taken of referring it to the power of life that was in Him through the unction of the Spirit which constituted Him Messiah. We need not pause at present on the enigma of the descent to Hades (3^{19} 4^6; is it connected with Eph 4^9 and 1 Ti 3^{16}?), the clue to which has been lost; but at all events the writer means it as an illustration of the victorious and unparalleled powers of life that dwelt in Christ even prior to His resurrection, as well as of the wonderful redemptive efficacy of His death.

The Christology of 1 Peter is thus seen to be slightly more full and elaborate than that of the early chapters

PERSON OF CHRIST

of Acts; but its primitive character cannot be mistaken. Still, there are distinct tokens of the specifically Christian estimate of Jesus' Person. Thus, the Spirit of God is named 'the Spirit of Christ' (1^{11}); and although the title 'Son of God' is not employed, we find in 1^{3} the full-toned phrase 'the God and Father of our Lord Jesus Christ,' with a clear implication of His special Sonship. The statement (3^{22}) that angels and authorities and powers are subject to Him is a declaration not merely of His exalted state, but of His participation in the Divine power, whose instruments angels are. The doxology in 4^{11}—equivalent to that applied to God in 5^{11}—is most naturally interpreted of Christ; and in 3^{15} a phrase which in Is 8^{13} refers to Jehovah is used of our Lord expressly.

III. Christology of St. Paul.—The field of inquiry for the purposes of this article will include not only the four great Epistles of the earlier period (Rom., 1 and 2 Cor., and Gal.), but also the Epistles of the Imprisonment. We shall use them with equal confidence, although now and then it may be necessary to mark a difference of accent in the later Epistles. But if, as appears to be the case, Ro 9^{5} contains a definite affirmation of the Godhead of Christ, we should have to treat with suspicion theories which imply that the Christology of Phil. and Col. is conspicuously higher than what preceded.

Much interest attaches to the question of the genesis of St. Paul's view of Christ. Holsten, following the lead of F. C. Baur, argued for many years that the Apostle's Christology took shape purely as the result of a logical process in his mind. Faced by the death upon the cross, as an event in which he felt the will of God for man's salvation to be revealed, St. Paul yielded to what was really an intellectual compulsion to abandon the Jewish theology which he had been taught, and to substitute for it the conception of Jesus Christ we are familiar with in his writings. Others have held more recently that Saul the Pharisee was already in possession of a complex of ideas as to a superhuman Messiah—conceived as revealer of God and heavenly King—which owed much to mythical elements drawn from Oriental faiths; and that the subjective experiences of his conversion led him simply to identify the Jesus whom he seemed to behold in Divine glory with this antecedent notion of Messiah, and in consequence to assert such things of Him as that He existed before the world and shared in its creation. Hence we may infer the Christ of St. Paul has nothing particular to do with the Jesus of history (Brückner). To make but one criticism, both these related theories manifestly presuppose that St. Paul's vision of Christ on the way to Damascus had no objective reality. But if we find it an incredible supposition that a mere illusory process in the Apostle's fancy should have instantly revolutionized his life, or that he could have persuaded the primitive Christian society to accept, or even tolerate, a view of Christ so engendered, we shall naturally seek for some more solid basis and justification of his beliefs. And this, with the utmost certainty, we find in his actual relations to the glorified Lord, not merely at his conversion, though most memorably then, but also in his personal life as believer and Apostle. 'It is this feature, its being borrowed from his own religious experience, that distinguishes Paul's idea of Christ from a philosophical conception' (Somerville).

The system of St. Paul's thought is entirely Christocentric; not only so, his conception of Christ is entirely soteriological. From the saving efficacy of the death of Christ, as the fundamental certainty, he moves on to an interpretation of the Divine-human personality. He who died for all must stand in a unique relation to mankind. The work and the Person always go together in his mind. His creed in its simplest form is that 'Jesus is Lord' (1 Co 12^{3}, Ro 10^{9}; cf. Ph 2^{11}); and although starting, like the other writers of the NT, from the belief that Jesus of Nazareth is the Messiah, he at once transcends the current Messianic idea, and grasps the significance of Jesus, not for the Jews only, but for the whole world. Nowhere does he employ the title 'Son of Man,' and for him the 'Kingdom of God' is virtually merged in the Person of Jesus Christ.

1. It may be taken as certain that St. Paul was acquainted with the Evangelical tradition as to *Jesus' earthly life*. He appeals to the words of the Lord as of supreme authority. Yet no allusion is made to His miracles or to His ways and habits among men. His human birth, His sinlessness, His institution of the Holy Supper, His death by crucifixion and His resurrection on the third day—these and a few more details are reported. The truth is that St. Paul's mind dwelt chiefly on the decisive acts of redemption, and the blessings won thereby; hence it is not surprising that he should say little or nothing as to Jesus' human development. At the same time the real humanity of our Lord is to him an axiom. Jesus was made of a woman, of the seed of David according to the flesh. There is nothing inconsistent with this in the remarkable expression (Ro 8^{3}) that God sent His own Son '*in the likeness* of sinful flesh'; which simply means that the sinful flesh of man is the pattern on which Christ's sinless (2 Co 5^{21}) flesh was formed; in Him alone we see the flesh in perfect relation to the spirit. Moreover, human nature, as He wore it on earth, was a form of being intrinsically and unavoidably inadequate to His true essence. Originally He belonged to a higher world, and left it by a voluntary act; indeed, on the whole, it may be said that what St. Paul puts in place of a full-drawn picture of Jesus' earthly activities is the great act of the Incarnation. The fact that He should have lived as man at all is more wonderful than any of His words or deeds.

2. In addition to a body of flesh and blood, the unique constitution of Jesus' Person included *spirit*, 'the spirit of holiness' (Ro 1^{4}, on which cf. Denney's note in *EGT*), which completely dominated His nature, and was not merely the power energizing in His life in the flesh, but the active principle of His resurrection from the dead. To this spiritual being St. Paul would probably have referred for an ultimate explanation of what he meant by Christ's pre-existence.

3. The main reason for St. Paul's comparative silence as to Jesus' earthly career is that the Person with whom he was directly in relation, habitually and from the first, was *the risen Lord of glory*. This is the starting-point of his Christology, and it determines it to the last. The attitude is no doubt common to the NT writers, but it has been accentuated in St. Paul's case by his singular history, and his passionate faculty of faith. All redeeming influences, whether they concern the individual or the world, and bear on sin or death or principalities or powers, flow directly from the risen Christ. This pre-occupation with Christ as glorified is expressed forcibly in 2 Co 5^{16}, 'Though we have known Christ after the flesh, yet now we know him so no more.' The present majesty of the Lord is something other and better than the earthly life now past. Yet again—the counter-stroke always follows—the Exalted One is also the Crucified, who has in Him for ever and ever the redemptorial efficacy of His death.

We can hardly put the fact too strongly, that for St. Paul's mind it was after the Resurrection that the manifested Being of Christ took on its full greatness. The classical passage on this is Ro 1^{4}: 'appointed (or declared) Son of God with power, according to the spirit of holiness, by the resurrection from the dead.' The implication is that Divine power, acting through the medium of the Resurrection, set Christ free from the limitations of life on earth, limitations which had permitted to His Divine Sonship only a reduced and depotentiated expression here. In His exaltation that Sonship is displayed fully. With this we may compare Ph 2^{9} and Ro 14^{9}, the latter being a somewhat remarkable statement: 'For to this end Christ died, and lived again, that he might be Lord of both the dead and the living.' In these and all parallel passages the two ideas are combined: first, that Christ has ascended up to be Lord of the world, assuming this place for the first time at the Resurrection, and still retaining His humanity; secondly, that there was in Him from the beginning

that which fully qualified Him for this transcendent glory.

It is rewarding to pause for a moment upon this concrete, working conception of Jesus Christ as it inspired the Apostle's heroic life. The Redeemer is to him a Divine Being, clad for ever, as on the way to Damascus, in the glorious radiance which is the mark of Deity. He has reached a position from which He can make effectual the reconciling and redemptive work achieved in His passion. He is more than Head of the Church; He is omnipotent in the fullest sense. God has set Him far above all rule and authority and power and dominion, and every name that is named, not only in this world, but also in that which is to come (Eph 1^{21}). Vast as His glory is, He has not yet come to His full triumph; for it is God's purpose yet to sum up all things in Christ, the things in heaven and the things on earth (v.^{10}). His sway will culminate in His advent at the last. And this royal Lord is not far off, inaccessibly high above believers, but rather within and beside them always, to guide, warn, inspire, comfort with infinite might and love; so that St. Paul could speak of himself as being in Christ, of his life as being not his own, but the life of Christ living in him, and could pray for his converts that Christ might dwell in their hearts by faith (Gal 2^{20}, Eph 3^{17}). Were our subject the *personal religion* of the Apostle, much more would have to be said as to his immediate certainty of Christ as alike dwelling in and embracing our spiritual life—the ideas of 'Christ in us' and 'we in him' alternate—but here it must suffice to have noted this profound and ever-present mystical note. The passage about the thorn in the flesh (2 Co 12) shows us the reverential fellowship in which St. Paul lived with the risen Lord, and the natural spontaneity with which he prayed to Him.

What are the Apostle's reasons for giving Christ this Divine place? (*a*) The first is the relation which He sustains to humanity as Redeemer, and which is indicated by the title 'Second Adam.' As Adam was head, representative, and type of the race that derived from him, so Christ by death and resurrection is Head and Representative of a new, redeemed humanity (Ro 5). For human development has these two stages, the earthly or carnal and the spiritual. Now 'the one element in the conception of Christ that ruled the thoughts of the Apostle was that of Spirituality' (Somerville). The spirit of holiness is the inmost and deepest reality of His own life, and of the life that emanates from Him; He is the organic Head of a new spiritual creation, and, as such, mediates to men the renewing grace of God.

Many scholars, not altogether unnaturally, hold that St. Paul borrowed this turn of thought from the Jewish-Hellenic conception of a pre-existent heavenly Man, the archetypal model of man's creation, and that he accordingly conceived Christ as having existed as Man in heaven prior to His being incarnate. Certainly we can perceive that the Apostle was acquainted with these ideas. Nevertheless, no decisive proof can be given that he allowed them to exercise any particular influence on his view of Christ. At all events, this is true of the parallel he draws between Adam and Christ in Ro $5^{12ff.}$; and in the passage in which this 'Heavenly Man' theory has its chief support, 1 Co 15^{45-47}, two points may be noted which lessen the probability of Alexandrian descent—first, that the Heavenly Man, for whom Philo's designation is the 'First Man,' is by St. Paul called the 'Second Man'; secondly, that the important concluding phrase 'the second man is from heaven,' is referred by many of the best exegetes to the glorified Lord, the sense being that at His resurrection Christ became the life-giving head of a new race. It is all but incredible that this 'Heavenly Man' idea, which can only be proved to exist in one chapter of one Epistle, really was the *fons et origo* of the Apostle's Christology; and in any case it is out of keeping with his undoubted ascription of personal Divinity to Jesus. On the other hand, it was eminently natural that Jewish theology should often supply the framework of his argument, or supply him with terms by which to give expression to truths springing directly from his faith in Christ. That faith, we have seen, grasps Jesus Christ as Redeemer of the world, and thereafter proceeds to view Him reflectively as sustaining a unique relation to God and to mankind.

(*b*) St. Paul's second reason for placing Christ so high is that he believes Him to have been Son of God originally, in a heavenly life prior to incarnation. The incidental fashion in which allusion is made to this fact, as to something familiar to all Christians, is very impressive. As to specific passages, we may not be able to lay very much weight on the expression: 'God sent forth his Son' (Gal 4^{4}), for it might conceivably be used of one who came into the world simply with the commission of a prophet. But the underlying idea becomes plainer in 1 Co 10^{4}, which affirms that the rock which followed the fathers in the desert, and from which they drank, was Christ; in other words, He is represented as having personally intervened in OT history. And no doubt at all is possible as to 2 Co 8^{9}: 'Ye know the grace of our Lord Jesus Christ, that though he was rich, for your sake he became poor, that ye through his poverty might be rich,' where it is unmistakably asserted not only that His life on earth was less glorious than His life in heaven, but—a yet more sublime idea—that His entrance upon the lower estate of being was a voluntary act. Real pre-existence, *i.e.* independent and self-conscious life, is even more deliberately affirmed in the great passage Ph 2^{5-11}. Here it is stated—and the entire appeal hinges on the statement—that before He came as man Christ was in possession of a Divine form of being, and spontaneously renounced it to assume the form of a servant. Without permitting himself to speculate as to the transcendent relations of the pre-existent Christ to God, St. Paul clearly pictures Him as enjoying, in that prior life, the same kind of being as God enjoys. And the ethical *motif* of the passage is the great conception that while it was open to Christ so to use the infinite powers inherent in His Divine nature as to compel men, without more ado, to worship Him as God, He resolved to reach this high dignity—of Lordship recognized and adored—by the path of humiliation, suffering, and death. But while we are justified in saying that Jesus was constituted Lord by His exaltation, and that this was in some sense the reward of His self-emptying, we must avoid every kind of language which suggests that to St. Paul the ascension of Christ was a deification. To a Jew the idea that a man might come to be God would have been an intolerable blasphemy. 'It is to be noted that the increased glory which St. Paul and all the NT writers regard as pertaining to Christ after His resurrection has only to do with His dignity, His "theocratic position," not with His essential personality. He has simply become in actuality that which He already was substantially' (Kennedy).

4. In view of all this, it is not surprising that the Apostle should ascribe to Christ *a part in the creating of the world and an original relation to man.* This comes out especially in the Epistles of the Imprisonment, notably in Col 1^{13-18}, of which Lightfoot gives the following luminous paraphrase:

'The Son of the Father's love, in whom we have our redemption, is the image of the invisible God, the first-begotten of all creation. For in Him were all things created, in the heavens and upon the earth, things visible and things invisible; all things have been created through Him and unto Him; and He is before all things, and in Him all things consist. This is He who is the Head of the Body, the Church. In both spheres, the natural and the spiritual, He has the pre-eminence.'

The chief predications which are made here should be noted: (1) Christ is the instrument of creation; (2) He sustains all; (3) all moves on to Him as goal. The words 'in him were all things created' ought to be taken in correlation to these other clauses, 'in him all things consist,' and 'he is the head of the body, the church'; and when we take them so, they assert that Christ was appointed by God Creator of all things *qua* the Person in whom the world, through

the work of reconciliation, now finds its organic centre. His function as Creator is proleptically viewed as conditioned by His subsequent work as Redeemer; but the expression of the thought is rendered well nigh impossible by the mysterious relations of eternity and time. Just as even in his conception of the pre-existent One, St. Paul never loses sight of the crucified and risen Saviour, neither can he think of Christ as Creator and Sustainer of the world except as he mediates the idea to his own mind through the present certainty of Christ the Redeemer. In a word, the Creatorship of Christ is never dwelt upon for its own sake, but always in relation to His Saviourhood. It is strikingly so in a verse which in various ways forms a parallel to the verses just commented on, 1 Co 8^6, 'To us there is one God, the Father, of whom are all things, and we unto him; and one Lord, Jesus Christ, through whom are all things, and we through him.' Here the ideas of creation and redemption are held and envisaged together, redemption being the experimental idea from which the mind starts, as it also is the exalted Lord who is the subject of predication. It is a noteworthy fact that the risen Christ should thus be bracketed with God the Father in a verse which actually insists on monotheism.

On the other hand, one of the most baffling problems of NT theology is just the fact that St. Paul should combine with these plain assertions of Christ's Divinity a number of statements of a different complexion. No candid exegete will deny that over and over again Christ is somehow given a place inferior to God, His entire redeeming work and position being traced back directly to the Father. We have such expressions as 'God sent forth his Son' (Gal 4^4), 'He that spared not his own Son' (Ro 8^{32}), 'God hath highly exalted him' (Ph 2^9); in which either the gift of Christ to the world, or the bestowal of exalted glory on Christ Himself, is declared to be God's act. All is accepted, endured, achieved 'to the glory of God the Father.' Still more explicit is 1 Co 11^3 'The head of the woman is the man, and the head of Christ is God'; and in 1 Co 15^{28} —a passage which strangely touched the imagination of the Greek and Latin Fathers—Christ is portrayed as delivering up the Kingdom to God, and as finally submitting even Himself to a higher, 'that God may be all in all.' These statements, as we have seen, are to be found on the same pages which unambiguously affirm Christ's real Deity. It may be that St. Paul nowhere names Christ 'God,' and that 2 Th 1^{12}, Tit 2^{13}, and Ro 9^5 must all be otherwise explained; yet a verse like Col 2^9 'in Him dwelleth all the fulness of the Godhead bodily,' asserting that in Christ there is given as a unity, or in organic oneness, the whole sum of qualities and attributes which make God to be God, is quite decisive as to the Apostle's real belief. St. Paul does not give us much help, perhaps, in solving this antinomy. Questions as to the origin of Christ's being in God, or the relation of the personal energies of the Son to those of the Father, did not, apparently, come before him. It is possibly a true exegesis which holds that in verses of a subordinationist tendency the subject of predication is Christ viewed as a historic person, the Incarnate Mediator, One who has fulfilled on earth a certain vocation for humanity, and, from the nature of the case, has submitted Himself to God in the fulfilment of it. But there is at least as much help for the intelligence in the view that while a certain subordination of Christ indubitably forms part of NT teaching, we may still think of Him as being one in nature with God, in the light of certain human analogies which are our only guide. Father and son, or ruler and subject, may still be of one nature, although there exist between them relations of higher and lower.

It has been argued that for St. Paul the risen Christ and the Holy Spirit are really one and the same. This is a hasty deduction from the first clause of 2 Co 3^{17} 'Now the Lord is the Spirit'; but it is at once refuted by the second clause, —which speaks of 'the Spirit of the Lord,' so making a distinction between the two,—as well as by the threefold blessing of 2 Co 13^{14}. What the Apostle means by his form of verbal identification is rather the religious certainty that Jesus Christ, in whom God redeems men, and the Spirit, in whom He communicates Himself to men, are so indissolubly bound up in one, act so absolutely for the same end through the same means, that from the standpoint of the practical issue they are seen as merged in each other. They are one as the fountain and the stream are one. 'Christ in you, or the Spirit of Christ in you; these are not different realities; but the one is the method of the other' (Moberly).

5. The Christology of St. Paul, it ought to be said with emphasis, is built firmly on the foundation of the primitive doctrine. After all, his view of Christ, as the incarnate Son of God, was never, so far as our knowledge goes, the subject of denial or controversy in the early Church; if it was an advance, therefore, on the first beliefs, it was such an advance as no one felt to be out of line with what they already held. But of course his conception of the Lord does go beyond the primitive Christology. Instances are his view of Christ in relation to the universe, alike in its creation and in its maintenance; also, perhaps, his permanent conjunction, not to say identification, of the Spirit of God with the principle of life and energy that constitutes the personality of Christ. Further, we must allow for the influence of the intellectual categories of his time, even upon his doctrine of Christ's Person. Ideas borrowed from Jewish apocalyptic come out in certain pictures of the Lord's return; and in the statement that the rock which followed the Israelites in the desert was Christ, we may see a vestige of Alexandrian typology. 'The last Adam' is possibly a Rabbinical conception. But at most these things form part of the setting for his purely Christian thinking; they were a mode in which St. Paul's mind naturally expressed itself; they were essential if the truth he had grasped was to be passed on to his contemporaries; and in this lies their abundant historical justification. It is vastly more important to note that the Apostle's profoundest affirmations regarding the Lord Jesus Christ, so far from having faded into obsolescence, still elude us by their very greatness. They are still beyond us; we can but throw out our minds at an infinite reality; and the believing intelligence will for ever strive in vain adequately to discern and express all that St. Paul saw in Christ when he was moved to say: 'In him were all things created, in the heavens and upon the earth.'

IV. The Christology of the Epistle to the Hebrews.—The writer of this Epistle develops his view of the Person of Christ as an implied presupposition of His priestly vocation. Christ is the Mediator of the new and better covenant (12^{24} 9^{15} 8^6); and its superiority to the old covenant rests upon the incomparable dignity of the Eternal High Priest.

1. The picture which is drawn of *the historical Jesus* is full and intimate; indeed, no NT book sets forth the real humanity of our Lord with more moving power. Particular incidents of His life are referred to (He $2^{3.4}$ 5^7 12^2 13^{12}); and the name 'Jesus' occurs 10 times. He passed through the normal development of human life, and learned by suffering (5^8). The infirmities and temptations common to man were His also (4^{15}, a verse which 'means not only that He conquered the temptation, but also that He was moved by no sinful impulses of His own' (Weiss)). Elsewhere His sinlessness is affirmed categorically, in its bearing on His redeeming work (7^{26}). The human virtues of Jesus are brought out in a fashion unique in the NT: His fidelity (2^{17} 3^2), His trust (2^{13}), His piety (5^7). By this course of experience He was finally 'made perfect' (5^9); not that at any time evil really touched Him, but that the potencies of absolute goodness that were in Him were completely evoked by a moral discipline which rendered Him the great High

Priest of humanity. Nevertheless, He does not, as man, *gain* His perfect unity with God's will, but is represented as bringing it with Him into the world (10^{5-7}). Life on earth, although an imperfect medium of His higher nature, is a humiliation demanded by His office or vocation as the Sanctifier of sinners. He assumed flesh, not merely to make Himself apprehensible, but in order to suffer, by tasting death for every man; and to the bitterness and shame of death for Jesus there are pathetic allusions ($5^{7\cdot 8}$ 13^{12}).

2. In spite of all this vivid portraiture of the humanity of Jesus, the writer well-nigh outstrips Paul in *the loftiness of his Christology*. As with other NT believers, his mind starts from the Exalted One (cf. 9^{28}), whom he conceives habitually as High Priest within the veil, but a Priest who has sat down on the right hand of the Majesty in the heavens (8^{1}); and from this Messianic dignity he argues back to Jesus' original nature. In 1^{2} Christ is announced as the 'Son'; and statements are made regarding the Son which imply that He is more than man (1^{8}, where He is plainly addressed as God), eternal both before and after (7^{3}), and transcendently related to God (1^{3}). Thus eternal and Divine, He was made a little lower than the angels (2^{9}); and it touches the writer's heart to think that in coming into the world the Son did not stop short of a genuine participation in the flesh and blood we mortals wear (2^{14-16}). It has been justly pointed out that in Hebrews a certain metaphysical colour has been added to the ethical sense in which the term 'Son' occurs in other Apostolic writings; although we ought to take this distinction of metaphysical and ethical with great caution. Still, a proof of the primitive feeling which underlies the whole is given in the fact that in Hebrews, precisely as in the Synoptics, the Sonship of Christ is looked upon as the basis of His Messiahship, for it is to fulfil the Messianic function of salvation that the Son comes into the world.

3. A very difficult question is whether in this Epistle 'Son' is applied to the pre-incarnate One, or to the incarnate Christ only. The passage chiefly in dispute is 1^{1-4}. No one can doubt that the writer's mind starts from Christ the Son, as known in history and in His exaltation, and holds these revealing facts steadily in the foreground of his thought; but does he go further back, and carry this Sonship into the pre-existent state? A. B. Davidson says, 'Son is His characteristic name, describing His essential relation to God, a relation unaffected by change of state'; and A. B. Bruce urges that the interest of magnifying Christ's sacrifice requires His Sonship to be of older date than the life on earth. In favour of this view, despite weighty arguments against it, is the fact that throughout the three stages of His existence Christ is represented as personally identical. It is *prima facie* as Son that He is said to have acted as agent of God in the creation of the worlds (1^{2}), or to have built the 'house' of the OT dispensation (3^{3}). But probably the point is one which exegesis by itself cannot decide; and we ought to note that a similar unavoidable ambiguity obtains in what are more or less parallel passages—Col 1^{15} and Jn 1^{18}.

But, at all events, it is clear that Hebrews teaches *the real pre-existence of Christ*, whether or not the pre-existent One is designated by the title 'Son.' It was the reproach of Christ that Moses bore (11^{26}); as Lord, He laid the foundation of the earth in the beginning (1^{10}); He came into the world with the conscious purpose of sacrificing Himself (10^{5}). Little is said about the pre-existing state, yet it occupies more space than in any other NT Epistle. But the writer offers no rationale of the Incarnation; there is no passage comparable with Ph 2^{5-11}; although in one place it is pointed out how close the Son came to men in taking flesh and blood (2^{14-16}). The supernatural character of His being is insisted on: 'He did not come out of humanity, He came into it.' At the same time, all docetism is excluded; for not only is suffering and death represented as the aim of His entrance upon human life, but the experience of His passion still remains as the ground on which He is resorted to by men as the great High Priest, who has learned sympathy through sufferings (2^{18}).

It is in His capacity as Son that the priestly work of Christ, in which, dying as a man, He offers Himself in and after death, is accomplished. So again, it is the essential being of the Son that is indicated when, in a striking expression (9^{14}), it is said that He offered Himself unto God 'through an eternal spirit'; for the words mean that the Spirit which was in Him, and constituted His personal being, was indestructible by death, and enabled Him to pursue His high-priestly vocation in the heavenly sanctuary. Once more, strong emphasis is laid on the activity of Christ the Son for us in heaven, particularly as Intercessor (7^{25} 9^{24} 4^{14} 13^{8}); it is as Son that He sits down at God's right hand, the heir of all things, and Messianic King; as Son that He carries His offering before the face of God for us, and enters the holy place. In a word, the Sonship of Christ is the central thought of Hebrews; it supplies the ground and precondition of His being a perfect Surety of the eternal covenant.

4. A brief *comparison with the Christology of St. Paul* is not without interest. In both there is a distinct assertion of Christ's pre-temporal being, and His activity in creation; the argument going back from His present exaltation to His original nature. In both Christ reaches His throne, far above the angels, by way of the cross; and the idea is suggested that at the Resurrection or Ascension Christ first attained in status what He had always possessed by nature. In both real Divinity is combined with as distinct subordination; thus in Hebrews not Christ, but God, is Judge, and the Son's place is not on, but on the right hand of, the throne of God (8^{1} 12^{2}). On the other hand, certain slight features of difference may be noted. In Hebrews, as contrasted with St. Paul, Christ is definitely represented as having taken flesh and blood with a view to suffering; the earthly Jesus, rather than the pre-existing One or the glorified Lord, is viewed as our example; the exaltation becomes slightly more prominent than the resurrection; the high-priestly activity in heaven fills a large place; the mystical strain of reciprocal unity with Christ is absent; nor is there any suggestion, as in 1 Co 15^{45-47}, of a time yet to be when the reign of Christ shall close, and be merged in some final dispensation.

It is not improbable that the writer of Hebrews had felt the influence of the cultivated Jewish thought of Alexandria, that crucible of all the creeds. But while the system of Philo may have partially supplied him with a vocabulary, what appears to be certain is that this did not dictate his use of it. Thus the term 'Logos' is nowhere employed in the Philonic sense, nor is Christ called 'Logos'; His regular designation rather, we have seen, is 'Son,' as given by the OT and Christian usage. What finally puts out of court the identification of the Son with the Logos of Philo is that the Son participates in a redeeming history, which is unthinkable for the other. Nor is there anything in Philo that could properly be compared with the High Priesthood of Christ.

V. The Apocalypse.—The Christology of the Apocalypse presents a rather perplexing problem to the historical critic. Whatever be the sources that lie behind the book, most scholars now regard it as a characteristic product of intensely Jewish Christianity; and OT and Jewish conceptions of the Messiah are certainly the foundation upon which its view of Christ is built up. Yet, on the other hand, its Christology is 'apparently the most advanced in all the NT' (Bousset), and seems at a few points to pass beyond the limits of Paulinism.

1. Although the book represents the heavenly rather than the earthly life of Christ, yet the personal, historic

PERSON OF CHRIST

name 'Jesus' occurs frequently. Our Lord is described as the root and the offspring of David, and as of the tribe of Judah. Primitive Christian thought comes out in the picture of Him as ruling the nations with a rod of iron (Rev 2^{27}), or, quite in terms of the Danielic passage, as 'one like unto a son of man' (14^{14}). He is repeatedly set forth in eschatological language; He is the bright and morning star (22^{16}), ushering in the day of final triumph. His redeeming work on the cross is compendiously summarized in the profoundly significant title of 'the Lamb,' which may almost be called the writer's favourite designation of Him.

2. Yet all memories of history are lost in the higher view of Christ which centres in His exalted glory. It is not too much to say that the strain of praise to Christ rises from point to point until, in His essential qualities and attributes, He is frankly identified with God. He is the 'Living One,' whose victory over the grave has given Him the keys of death and the underworld (1^{18}); He can unlock the secrets of human destiny (ch. 5); with eyes that are like a flame of fire He searches the reins and hearts ($2^{18.\ 23}$). He is ranked with God, not with finite being, in phrases like 'the beginning of the creation of God' (3^{14}; cf. Col 1^{15}), the 'Son of God' (2^{18}) who names God His Father in some unique sense (2^{27} 3^{21}; cf. 1^{6}), and 'the Word of God' (19^{13}), — this last being introduced with much solemnity. The specifically Divine title 'the First and the Last' (cf. Is 44^{6} and Rev 1^{8}) He applies three times directly to Himself (1^{17} 2^{8} 22^{13}), thereby signalizing His own Person as the source and end of all that is. This claim is echoed passionately throughout the book. Notwithstanding the prohibition of 19^{10}, all creation unites to worship Him, in strains offered elsewhere to God Almighty (1^{6}; cf. 7^{12}); and 'God and the Lamb' receive united adoration (5^{13} 7^{10}). One meaning of such phenomena is plain. They are 'the most convincing proof of the impression made by Jesus upon His disciples, one which had been sufficient to revolutionize their most cherished religious belief; for them He had the value of God' (Anderson Scott).

3. Yet even here the subordinationist note which is audible in other Apostolic writings does not fail. Thus the revelation forming the book was given to Jesus Christ by God (1^{1}); His authority over the nations He has received of His Father (2^{27}); and more than once, in the letters to the Churches, the phrase 'my God' is put upon His lips. Similarly, in 3^{21} and 5^{9} there appears the conception—present also in Ph 2^{5-11} and Jn $17^{4.\ 5}$—that our Lord's risen glory is the issue and the reward of His saving word. In reply to the argument that this is incongruous with pre-existent Divinity, Weiss remarks, with great point, that so far from the assertion of His original Divine nature being neutralized by this representation of Jesus' exalted glory as the gift of God, the one is rather the ground and justification of the other.

VI. Johannine Christology.—1. The view of Christ presented in the Fourth Gospel, it should be noted at the outset, is based firmly upon common NT beliefs. The writer—a Jew and an Apostle—declares it his purpose to prove that Jesus is the Messiah (Jn 20^{31}), though no doubt he went far beyond primitive Christian reflexion in perceiving all that Messiahship implies. This interest is everywhere present. Thus in Jn 1^{49} Nathanael hails Jesus as the Christ on the ground of His preterhuman insight; the woman of Samaria is led to the same conclusion; and a similar movement of thought on the part of the multitude is indicated by their question (7^{31}): 'When the Christ cometh, will he do more signs than this man?' And the work entrusted to Jesus is specifically Messianic. He comes to raise the dead, to execute judgment, to confer the gift of the Spirit according to the ancient promise, to take to Himself universal Lordship (3^{35} 16^{15})—in a word, to exert a delegated but competent authority from above, such as none but the Messiah could assume. Only, the Jewish horizon has disappeared. All that Jesus is as Messiah, He is for the whole world.

2. It is observable, further, that the writer deliberately makes Christology his main theme. The relation of the Father to the Son, thrown up so conspicuously on one occasion in the Synoptics (Mt 11^{27}), now becomes the central interest. The book opens with an assertion of the Godhead of the Son (Prologue), and it closes upon the same note (20^{28}). What, in the self-revelation of daily life and act, the Synoptist had shown Christ to be, the Fourth Evangelist explicitly proclaims and demonstrates that He is; or, as we may express it otherwise, while Matthew, Mark, and Luke exhibit Jesus as Messiah, the Gospel of John goes a step further, and discloses the ultimate ground on which Messiahship rests. Christ is Messiah, in the absolute sense of that word, because He is the Eternal Son, the personal, articulate expression of God, in whom the Father is perfectly revealed; and the changing incidents of the narrative are so disposed as to bring out, by a variety of selected scenes, both the content of this revelation and its diverse reception by men.

As to the historical accuracy of the discourses, it ought to be said that there is a growing consent among scholars that Jesus' words have passed through the medium of the writer's mind, and somewhat taken the colour of his mature thinking. As Haupt has expressed it, the teaching of Jesus has bound up with it an authentic commentary, showing that all, and more than all, the truth which St. John and the Church around him had learned by the close of the Apostolic age was really present in the teaching of the historic Jesus. It is thus that we can understand the comparative absence of growth or progress alike in Jesus' self-revelation and in the disciples' apprehension of it; 'to the Evangelist looking back, the evolutionary process was foreshortened' (Sanday). He carries out Jesus' teaching about Himself to its last consequence; he views it *sub specie æternitatis*; but he does so with unerring perception, for it is remarkable that when we analyze a Johannine discourse into its simplest elements we invariably come to what is present also in the Synoptics. This being granted, however, it ought to be considered an axiom that the writer's conception of Christ had undergone a long, rich development. Influences which must have acted on it can easily be imagined, such as his daily communion with Christ in prayer, the general teaching of St. Paul, of which he cannot have been ignorant, and the challenge of the wistful religious questionings everywhere current in the Græco-Roman world of his day. Unless experience is something of which God can make no use in conveying truth to man, these forces, playing on the writer's memories of the historic Jesus, must have gone to evoke an ever fuller appreciation of His significance for humanity. Hence we may conclude that the Fourth Gospel is the work of one who, in the late evening of life, was moved to communicate to men the intuition he had reached of the permanent and essential factors in the Person of Christ—His unique relation to God as only-begotten Son, His unique relation to men as Life and Truth; and who, in doing so, has really seized the inmost centre of the self-consciousness of Jesus with greater firmness and profounder truth than even the Synoptic writers.

3. The Johannine picture of Jesus impresses the reader, from the first, by a certain wonderful and harmonious transcendence. *Incessu patet deus*, we say instinctively; this is in very deed God manifest in the flesh. Such a figure is not of our world; yet, on the other hand, it would be a grave mistake to conceive Him as out of touch with the realities of human life. No misgiving should ever have been felt as to the genuine humanity of the Christ of St. John (cf. Burkitt, *The Gospel History*, p. 233). Can we forget His weariness at Jacob's well, His tears beside the grave of Lazarus, His joy in the fellowship of the Twelve, the dark troubles of His foreboding soul, His thirst upon the cross? Especially does His real oneness of nature with us come out in His uninterrupted dependence upon God, which is accentuated in the most striking way. The Son can do nothing of Himself, but what He seeth the Father do (5^{19}; cf. 7^{28} 8^{28} 10^{37}

etc.). Again and again He speaks of Himself as being 'sent' of God, a commissioned ambassador to whom words and works have alike been 'given,' whose knowledge and power are mediated to Him by the Spirit, who seeks the glory of God, and finds His meat and drink in doing a higher will. His human dependence, however, is not a commonplace fact which might have been assumed; it really springs out of the creative ground of His special Sonship, or, in other words, it is the form taken by the Eternal Sonship under the conditions of human life. The life of the Son is wholly rooted in the Father's. Their reciprocal love and knowledge, it is true, are frequently insisted on; yet, although the Son is uniformly dependent on the Father, it would be seriously untrue to St. John to say that the Father is dependent on the Son. The relation leaves a real subordinateness, a human inferiority, on Jesus' side. Again, this dependence is conceived in genuinely ethical terms; it is mediated by motives, feelings, desires, surrenders, not mechanically necessitated by the properties of a Divine substance, or the stiff categories of an *a priori* metaphysic. All that Jesus says of Himself is perfectly religious in character; it is meant to express personal relations humanly, and so to enable human faith to grasp the only true God through Jesus Christ whom He has sent. For St. John, then, Jesus is truly and perfectly man; what distinguishes Him from other men is His unique relation to the Father. The idea of a new birth from above, a prelude to union with God indispensable for others, is nowhere applied to Him.

4. Just as in the Synoptics, Jesus is depicted in the Fourth Gospel as striving to free the Twelve from earthly and political ideas of His purpose. And, as a result of His care and teaching, it dawns upon them gradually that the boon He offers is Divine and universal. An early stage of the process is marked by St. Peter's words: 'We have believed and know that thou art the Holy One of God' (6^{69}); and it is one proof, out of many, of the Evangelist's substantial accuracy, that he does not introduce at this point ideas of the Eternal Sonship of the Logos. But it is as Son that our Lord would have them know Him. He uses the phrase 'my Father' 30 times, on nine occasions so addressing God directly; and at least 17 times He calls Himself 'Son' or 'Son of God.' We can hardly doubt that wherever this term 'Son' occurs in the Johannine literature, its primary reference is to the historical Christ, known in the realm of human fact; and it denotes Him as holding to God a relation of unique intimacy and love. Thus in the great word 1 Jn 4^{10} 'God . . . sent his Son to be the propitiation for our sins,' the writer is thinking of Jesus of Nazareth, the historic Messiah. St. John, however, loves always to go back to ultimate truths; and his Gospel outstrips the others by the assertion that this relation of Sonship is really anterior to time and history. Jesus has lived previously in a state conditioned by personal relationships (17^{24}); in it (so the present writer, with some hesitation, judges) the pre-incarnate One was already Son, and was by nature possessed of a unique knowledge of God which was somehow capable of reproducing itself in His earthly consciousness (1^{18} $3^{13.\ 32}$).

The objection has been made that this reduces Jesus' spiritual experience as man to a mere show; yet it is surely possible to believe that Jesus' knowledge of God was experimental, as being mediated by the unmeasured gift of the Holy Spirit, without denying that its ultimate sources are to be found in His eternal being. Room must always be left, no doubt, for the possibility that words ascribed to Jesus regarding His own pre-existence, and spoken in wonderful hours of a more than human self-consciousness, have undergone a certain modification with the lapse of time, in the direction of intensifying the original light and shade. It is scarcely credible that Jesus should haye spoken so plainly of His pre-temporal life with God as that His meaning was transparent to ordinary people; this would make the silence of the Synoptics unintelligible. It is altogether more likely that on this subject, as on the subject of His Messiahship, He exhibited reticence and delay. On the other hand, we are justified in believing that He did utter words, mysterious yet significant, which, as pondered by a mind like St. John's, were clearly *seen* to involve pre-existence, not of a so-called ideal sort, but real and personal. Even so careful a student as Titius has said, 'I cannot regard it as impossible that the general NT idea of the pre-existence of Christ goes back to sayings of Jesus Himself, and that the Johannine discourses especially are based on really historical material.'

5. The last stage of Jesus' claim to and interpretation of the name 'Son (of God)' is given in His prediction of the glory to which He should rise, and of His future presence in spirit with His followers (especially chapters 13ff.). The primary meaning of Sonship had been a relation to the Father of uniquely close love; it now transpires that, as Son, Jesus is destined to share in the Father's omnipotence and universal sway. In the words (13^{3}), 'Jesus, knowing that the Father had given all things into his hands,' no convincing reason can be offered for limiting 'all things' to the function of revelation and redemption, and barring out omnipotence as such. Besides, the Evangelist is quite familiar with the idea that Jesus is *originally* Lord and Possessor of men, irrespectively of their faith in Him; He came unto His own, and His own received Him not. Hence in his view the Divine power to which Jesus rises is not unsuited to His nature, or gained by usurpation; it is given Him by God, for only so could He receive anything (3^{27}), and it answers to the glory which He had before the world was. We see this truth breaking fully on the minds of the Twelve after the Resurrection; and the cry of Thomas, 'my Lord and my God' (20^{28}), marks the great discovery. In the risen One the Apostle discerns the Victor over death, the Lord of glory; and realizing in that moment of inexpressible relief how in Christ he had all that Jehovah Himself could be, he grasps Him as having for faith the value, because the reality, of God. Nowhere in the NT is the implication more clear that religious faith in Jesus Christ is really equivalent to faith in His Divinity.

6. These general conclusions are strengthened by an examination of the title **Son of Man,** as used in the Fourth Gospel. Here also the name is put only on Jesus' lips. Perhaps the accent is shifted slightly from His vocation to His Person; the writer employs the name in accordance with his higher view of our Lord's nature to express His personal uniqueness. As in the Synoptics, the term is undoubtedly Messianic (12^{34}); and while in this Gospel it is not put in direct relation to the Second Coming, yet it is noticeable that the majority of passages in which Jesus speaks of Himself as Son of Man are references to His exaltation (3^{14} 8^{28} 12^{34}), or His glorifying (12^{23} 13^{31}), it being implied that Divine glory befits and still awaits Him; and this is a link with one side of the Synoptic representation. The other class of Synoptic passages bearing on the work of the Son of Man has also its parallel in Johannine verses, which describe the Son of Man as giving meat which endureth to everlasting life (6^{27}), or attach the possession of life to eating His flesh and drinking His blood, or declare that He must be lifted up on the cross. In point of fact, however, no appreciable distinction can be drawn between what, in the Fourth Gospel, is predicated of the Son of God and of the Son of Man. Both are Messianic names, raised, as it were, to their highest power; one expressing the origin of Jesus' Person in God, the other His human affiliation. Yet, for St. John, the title 'Son of Man' always appears to carry something of the suggestion that for Jesus it is a wonderful thing that He should be man at all. Though in all points perfectly human, heaven is ever open to Him; He is present there perpetually, beholding God with immediate vision (3^{13}), and He will yet ascend up where He was before (6^{62}).

7. Other forms of thought in which the higher nature of Jesus is set forth in the Fourth Gospel are

PERSON OF CHRIST

rich in theological implication. He is the Vine in which His followers inhere and grow as living branches (15[1ff.]); He is the Resurrection and the Life, to believe in whom is to overcome death (11[25]); He is the Bread of Life which by faith men eat, and live (6[32ff.]). In all such utterances the distinction between Christology and soteriology has vanished. To sustain a relation of vital, inner unity with, and suffusion of, human souls is manifestly beyond the power of any lower than God Himself; and this is really the basal argument for the Deity of Christ which we can see to be implicit in the NT as a whole.

8. The sum and climax of the matter—and this quite irrespective of the Logos idea, to which we shall come immediately—is that God is personally in Jesus, and Jesus in God (10[38]). The simplest and deepest words in the Gospel point to this: 'I and the Father are one' (10[30]; cf. 17[11. 21]); 'He that hath seen me hath seen the Father' (14[9]; cf. 12[45]). By these sayings the mind is led in the direction of a simple modalism, but no theory of it is furnished. The Father given personally in Jesus is the object of saving faith. Jesus is Life and Light in a sense which is absolute (Jn 1[4. 9], 1 Jn 5[11]). In Him there is a real advent and inhabitation of God Himself—this faith is certain of and unconditionally asserts; yet what the ontological presuppositions of it may be is a remote and derivative question, and even the Logos idea, which St. John applies at this point, is not fitted, perhaps is not designed, to take us more than a certain distance towards theoretic insight. No explanation, no combination of categories, even an Apostle's, is able to place us where we see the life of God on its inner side. What as believers we are sure of, is that in Jesus the God of heaven and earth is personally apprehensible, actually present in history—enlightening our eyes in all knowledge because first possessing us as our inward life. This is the keynote of the Johannine Christology; the faith out of which the Gospel is written and which it seeks to wake in other minds, is that Jesus and God are one. Attempts to discredit this unity by describing it as no more than a unity of will are simply wide of the mark. Will, the living energy of persons, is the most real thing in the universe; it is the ultimate form of being; and the suggestion that behind the will there may lie a still more real Divine 'substance,' a more authentic region from which, after all, Jesus is excluded, is a figment of obsolete metaphysic. If it is possible to express in human language the essential and inherent Godhead of Jesus Christ, the thing has been done in the relevant statements of this Gospel.

9. Nevertheless, in the Fourth Gospel, as in the NT generally, this unity with God is viewed as being compatible with real subordination. 'My Father is greater than I' (14[28]). In 10[36] Jesus speaks of Himself as One whom the Father sanctified and sent into the world. Yet this is but the relation which belongs to Fatherhood and Sonship as such; for, as Lütgert has expressed it, 'the superordination of God above Jesus does not consist in God's reserving anything to Himself; on the contrary, He conveys Himself wholly to Jesus, making Him monarch of the whole world; what it does consist in is the fact that God is everywhere the Origin, the Giver, the Foundation, while Jesus is the obedient and receptive organ of His purpose.'

10. Turning now to the Prologue, and its characteristic ideas, let us note first of all that the study of it comes properly at this point, after we have concluded our more general survey. As preface, the Prologue stands first, but we may well believe that it was the last to be written. Touching the origin of the term **'Logos,'** while we need not assert that St. John took it from Philo, yet it is extremely probable that the influence of Philonic thought went to decide which term out of those supplied by the OT and the Targums (Wisdom, the Spirit, the Word) he should choose. 'The Word' had long been familiar to the Hebrew mind as designating the principle of revelation, and it had received from Greek philosophy a certain cosmic width of significance. The Evangelist, it would seem, took it as singularly fitted to express to men of that time the Divine light and life present in Jesus Christ; but, writing in Asia Minor, he took it without prejudice to the full Christian meaning it was to bear. It is, besides, a term which must have been in some sort familiar to the Church; for it is introduced without comment. In St. John's use of it, too, ethical and soteriological considerations are supreme; 'Logos' receives its colour and atmosphere from the term 'Son,' as denoting the historic Jesus. What the Apostle is setting forth, in short, is not a Greek theologoumenon, but the total impression made by Christ's personality. And when we recall how St. Paul had said that all things were created by Christ and for Him (Col 1[16]), it is easy to see how strong were the interior tendencies of faith conducting to this identification of the Jesus of history with the creative Word of God.

In v.[1] three weighty affirmations are made as to the Logos: (*a*) He existed from the beginning, *i.e.* eternally; (*b*) His relation to God was living and personal in character; (*c*) His place is in the sphere of Godhead. Stevens, with a terminology slightly too developed, but with substantial accuracy, says of the content of this verse: 'the author affirms a distinction, but a community of essence, between the Word and the Father.' It is next asserted that the 'Logos' is the medium alike of creation and of revelation, that He has a universal relation to men (vv.[4. 9]), that having been in the world from the first, but unrecognized, He is now come personally, and has given to all who receive Him the right to become children of God (vv.[11. 12]). Commentators invite us to note the solemn fashion in which v.[14] attaches itself and corresponds to v.[1]. The Word is indeed the subject of discourse throughout, but He has not been specifically named in the interval; now, however, in v.[14], the announcement of the Incarnation is laid, point for point, alongside of the previous declaration of the absolute being of the Word. The simple phrase, 'the Word became flesh,' appears to signify that He passed into a new phase of being—a phase of human mortality, weakness, dependence—becoming individualized as a man, yet retaining personal continuity with that which He was before.

These four stages, then, are discernible in the movement of thought in the Prologue: (1) The Word in His original, eternal being; (2) the Lord who comes to His own as Life and Light; (3) the only Son of the Father; (4) the full name of the Person before the Evangelist's mind throughout, Jesus Christ. The series is not strictly chronological, but it follows a well-defined gradation of ideas; and from the fashion in which it ends, we can perceive that the term 'Logos' is an ancillary and theoretic one, secondarily interpretative of Jesus as a historic personality, and that, although it stands here as first in the order of thought, it was last in the order of the Evangelist's reflexion. The Prologue, it is clear, has nothing to say as to the *mode* of Incarnation; but when we connect it, as we ought to do, with the Gospel to which it is prefixed, we can perceive the *motive* to which Incarnation is due, namely, the Divine purpose of giving eternal life to a perishing world. Unlike St. Paul, however, St. John conceives the advent of the Son, not as a humiliation, but as a means of revelation.

11. In the *First Epistle of John* the unity of God and Christ is so strongly felt that the two subjects are used almost interchangeably; so, for example, in 5[20]. Again and again everything is affirmed to depend on the coming of the Son of God in the flesh, as Saviour of the world. At one or two points we seem to be observing the first movements of a dogmatic Christology (2[22] 4[3]; cf. 2 Jn [7]). The writer is chiefly concerned to assert the identity of the saving word of life with Jesus Christ, a docetic

idealism having begun very early to dissolve the bond between the two, and to seek some other path to fellowship with God than that which lay through the mediation of Jesus the Messiah.

VII. Conclusion.—As we survey the different views of Christ set forth in the NT, the sovereign freedom with which Apostolic believers contemplated Jesus, and told what they saw in writings which have been quite truly described as 'literature, not dogma,' is infinitely impressive. The looked at Jesus each through his own eyes; and to try to force their statements into outward harmony is totally to mistake the genius of Christian faith. On the other hand, all grasped in Christ the reality of a present God of grace, and in this decisive fact lies the deeper, inward unity of NT doctrine. It is tempting to regard the various types of Apostolic Christology as elements in an advancing and organic series. Thus it might be asked whether the Synoptics do not give us the Jesus of history, and St. Paul the living Christ, while St. John fuses both together in an anti-docetic way. It is a reasonable question; for, so far as Christology is concerned, St. John does build upon St. Paul, and St. Paul upon the faith of the primitive society. Nevertheless, it is probably truer on the whole to the facts if we think of NT minds as different prisms, through which the one white light of Jesus' Person fell, and was analyzed into different colours.

Two certainties are common to the writers with whom we have been dealing: (1) That the life and consciousness of Jesus were entirely human in form; (2) that this historic life, felt and known as possessed of a redeeming supernatural content, is somehow inseparably one with the eternal life of God Himself. Again, it is implied wherever the matter comes up, that it is one and the same personal subject which passes through the three stages of pre-existence, historical life, and exaltation. Again, we are certain to go wrong unless we note that the NT is guided, in its Christological passages, by what is really a soteriological interest. Dr. Dale's question: What must Christ's relation to men be in order that He should be able to die for them? is entirely faithful to the Apostolic attitude. The Person of the Messiah must be of a quality that answers to His function as Redeemer of the world. 'All the Christology of the NT,' as Kähler has justly said, 'is but the statement of the presuppositions and guarantees of that which believers may have, should have, and actually do have, for fellowship with God, in the Crucified and Exalted One.' The chief problem which the NT bequeathed to dogmatic theology is that of thinking out and construing to intelligence two things which the Apostles simply put side by side—the true Deity of Jesus Christ and His real subordination to the Father. It lies beyond the scope of this article, however, to follow the problem into the Patristic and later ages.

H. R. Macintosh.

PERUDA.—See Perida.

PESTILENCE.—See Medicine, p. 598b.

PETER.—SIMON, surnamed Peter, was 'the *coryphæus* of the Apostle choir' (Chrysostom). His father was named **Jonah** or **John** (Mt 16^{17}, Jn 1^{42} $21^{15\text{-}17}$ RV). He belonged to Bethsaida (Jn 1^{44}), probably the fisher-quarter of Capernaum (Bethsaida = 'Fisher-home'). There he dwelt with his wife, his mother-in-law, and his brother Andrew (Mk $1^{29\text{-}31}$ = Mt $8^{14.\ 15}$ = Lk $4^{38.\ 39}$). He and Andrew were fishermen on the Lake of Galilee (Mt 4^{18} = Mk 1^{16}) in partnership with Zebedee and his sons (Lk $5^{7.\ 11}$, Mt 4^{21}).

Simon first met with Jesus at Bethany beyond Jordan (Jn 1^{28} RV), the scene of the Baptist's ministry (vv.$^{35\text{-}42}$). He had repaired thither with other Galilæans to participate in the mighty revival which was in progress. Jesus was there; and Andrew, who was one of the Baptist's disciples, having been directed by his master to Him as the Messiah, told Simon of his glad discovery, and brought him to Jesus. Jesus 'looked upon him' (RV) with 'those eyes of far perception'; and the look mastered him and won his heart. He was a disciple from that hour. Jesus read his character, seeing what he was and foreseeing what the discipline of grace would make him; and He gave him a surname prophetic of the moral and spiritual strength which would one day be his. 'Thou art Simon the son of John: thou shalt be called Cephas.' **Cephas** is the Aram. = Gr. *Petros*, and means 'rock.' He was not yet Peter, but only Simon, impulsive and vacillating; and Jesus gave him the new name ere he had earned it, that it might be an incentive to him, reminding him of his destiny and inciting him to achieve it. In after days, whenever he displayed any weakness, Jesus would pointedly address him by the old name, thus gently warning him that he should not fall from grace (cf. Lk 22^{31}, Mk 14^{37}, Jn $21^{15\text{-}17}$).

Presently the Lord began His ministry at Capernaum, and among His first acts was the calling of four of the men who had believed in Him to abandon their worldly employments and attach themselves to Him, following Him whithersoever He went (Mt $4^{18\text{-}22}$ = Mk $1^{16\text{-}20}$, Lk $5^{1\text{-}11}$). Thus he began the formation of the Apostle-band. The four were James and John, Simon and Andrew. They were busy with their boats and nets, and He called them to become 'fishers of men.' It was the beginning of the second year of Jesus' ministry ere He had chosen all the Twelve; and then He ordained them to their mission, arranging them in pairs for mutual assistance (Mk 6^{7}), and coupling Simon Peter and Andrew (Mt 10^{2}).

The distinction of Peter lies less in the qualities of his mind than in those of his heart. He was impulsive, 'ever ardent, ever leaping before his fellows' (Chrysostom), and often speaking unadvisedly and incurring rebuke. This, however, was only the weakness of his strength, and it was the concomitant of a warm and generous affection. If John, says St. Augustine, was the disciple whom Jesus loved, Peter was the disciple who loved Jesus. This quality appeared on several remarkable occasions. (1) In the synagogue of Capernaum, after the feeding of the five thousand at Bethsaida, Jesus delivered His discourse on the Bread of Life, full of hard sayings designed to test the faith of His disciples by shattering their Jewish dream of a worldly Messiah, a temporal King of Israel, a restorer of the ancient monarchy (Jn $6^{22\text{-}65}$). Many were offended, and 'went back and walked no more with him.' Even the Twelve were discomfited. 'Would ye also go away?' He asked; and it was Simon Peter, 'the mouth of the Apostles' (Chrysostom), who answered, assuring Him of their loyalty (vv.$^{66\text{-}69}$). (2) During the season of retirement at Cæsarea Philippi in the last year of His ministry, Jesus, anxious to ascertain whether their faith in His Messiahship had stood the strain of disillusionment, whether they still regarded Him as the Messiah, though He was not the sort of Messiah they had expected, put to the Twelve the question: 'Who do ye say that I am?' Again it was Peter who answered promptly and firmly: 'Thou art the Christ,' filling the Lord's heart with exultant rapture, and proving that he had indeed earned his new name Peter, the **rock** on which Jesus would build His Church, the first stone of that living temple. Presently Jesus told them of His approaching Passion, and again it was Peter who gave expression to the horror of the Twelve: 'Be it far from thee, Lord; this shall never be unto thee.' Even here it was love that spoke. The Sinaitic Palimpsest reads: 'Then Simon Cephas, *as though he pitied Him*, said to Him, "Be it far from Thee"' (Mt $16^{13\text{-}23}$ = Mk $8^{27\text{-}33}$ = Lk $9^{18\text{-}22}$). (3) A week later Jesus went up to the Mount with Peter, James, and John, and 'was transfigured before them,' communing with Moses and Elijah, who 'appeared in glory' (Mt $17^{1\text{-}8}$ = Mk $9^{2\text{-}8}$ = Lk $9^{28\text{-}36}$). Though awe-stricken, Peter spoke; 'Lord, it is good for us to be here: if thou wilt, I will make here three

tabernacles; one for thee, and one for Moses, and one for Elijah' (Mt 17^{4} RV). It was a foolish and inconsiderate speech (Mk 9^{6}, Lk 9^{33}), yet it breathed a spirit of tender affection. His idea was: 'Why return to the ungrateful multitude and the malignant rulers? Why go to Jerusalem and die? Stay here always in this holy fellowship.' (4) When Jesus washed the disciples' feet in the Upper Room, it was Peter who protested (Jn 13^{6-9}). He could not bear that the blessed Lord should perform that menial office on him. (5) At the arrest in Gethsemane, it was Peter who, seeing Jesus in the grasp of the soldiers, drew his sword and cut off the ear of Malchus (Jn $18^{10.\ 11}$).

The blot on Peter's life-story is his repeated denial of Jesus in the courtyard of the high priest's palace (Jn 18^{12-17}; cf. Mt 26^{69-75} = Mk 14^{66-72} = Lk 22^{54-62}). It was a terrible disloyalty, yet not without extenuations. (1) The situation was a trying one. It was dangerous just then to be associated with Jesus, and Peter's excitable and impetuous nature was prone to panic. (2) It was his devotion to Jesus that exposed him to the temptation. He and John were the only two who rallied from the panic in Gethsemane (Mt 26^{56b}) and followed their captive Lord (Jn 18^{15}; cf. Mt 26^{58} = Mk 14^{54} = Lk 22^{54}). (3) If he sinned greatly, he sincerely repented (Mt 26^{75} = Mk 14^{72} = Lk 22^{62}). A look of that dear face sufficed to break his heart (Lk 22^{61}). (4) He was completely forgiven. On the day of the Resurrection Jesus appeared to him (Lk 24^{34}, 1 Co 15^{5}). What happened during this interview is unrecorded, doubtless because it was too sacred to be divulged; but it would certainly be a scene of confession and forgiveness. The Lord had all the while had His faithless disciple in His thoughts, knowing his distress of mind (cf. Mk 16^{7}); and He had that solitary interview with him on purpose to reassure him.

At the subsequent appearance by the Lake of Galilee (Jn 21) Peter played a prominent part. On discovering that the stranger on the beach was Jesus, impatient to reach his Master, he sprang overboard and swam ashore (cf. his action in Mt 14^{28-31}). And presently Jesus charged him to make good his protestation of love by diligent care of the flock for which He, the Good Shepherd, had died. 'Be it the office of love to feed the Lord's flock, if it was an evidence of fear to deny the Shepherd' (Augustine). Jesus was not upbraiding Peter. On the contrary, He was publishing to the company His forgiveness of the erring Apostle and His confidence in him for the future.

Peter figures conspicuously in the history of the Apostolic Church. He was recognized as the leader. It was on his motion that a successor was appointed to Judas between the Ascension and Pentecost (Ac 1^{15-26}), his impetuosity appearing in this precipitate action (see MATTHIAS); and it was he who acted as spokesman on the day of Pentecost ($2^{14ff.}$). He wrought miracles in the name of Jesus (3. 5^{15} 9^{32-42}); he fearlessly confessed Jesus, setting the rulers at naught (4^{1-13}); as head of the Church, he exposed and punished sin (5^{1-11} 8^{14-24}); he suffered imprisonment and scourging (5^{17-42} 12^{1-19}).

The persecution consequent on the martyrdom of Stephen, by scattering the believers, inaugurated a fresh development of Christianity, involving a bitter controversy. The refugees preached wherever they went, and thus arose the question, on what terms the Gentiles should be received into the Church. Must they become Jews and observe the rites of the Mosaic Law? In this controversy Peter acted wisely and generously. Being deputed with John to examine into it, he approved Philip's work among the hated Samaritans, and invoked the Holy Spirit upon his converts, and before returning to Jerusalem made a missionary tour among the villages of Samaria (Ac 8^{1-25}). His Jewish prejudice was thoroughly conquered by his vision at Joppa and the conversion of Cornelius and his company at Cæsarea; and, when taken to task by the Judaistic party at Jerusalem for associating with uncircumcised Gentiles, he vindicated his action and gained the approval of the Church ($10–11^{19}$).

The controversy became acute when the Judaizers, taking alarm at the missionary activity of Paul and Barnabas, went to Antioch and insisted on the converts there being circumcised. The question was referred to a council of the Church at Jerusalem; and Peter spoke so well on behalf of Christian liberty that it was resolved, on the motion of James, the Lord's brother, that the work of Paul and Barnabas should be approved, and that nothing should be required of the Gentiles beyond abstinence from things sacrificed to idols, blood, things strangled, and fornication (Ac 15^{1-29}; cf. Gal 2^{1-10}). By and by Peter visited Antioch, and, though adhering to the decision at the outset, he was presently intimidated by certain Judaizers, and, together with Barnabas, separated himself from the Gentiles as unclean, and would not eat with them, incurring an indignant and apparently effective rebuke from Paul (Gal 2^{11-21}).

There are copious traditions about Peter. Suffice it to mention that he is said to have gone to Rome [which is quite possible] and laboured there for 25 years [utterly impossible], and to have been crucified (cf. Jn $21^{18.\ 19}$) in the last year of Nero's reign (A.D. 68); being at his own request nailed to the cross head downwards, since he deemed himself unworthy to be crucified in the same manner as his Lord. According to the ancient and credible testimony of Papias of Hierapolis, a hearer of St. John at Ephesus, our Second Gospel is based upon information derived from Peter. Mark had been Peter's companion, and heard his teaching and took notes of it. From these he composed his Gospel. He wrote it, Jerome says, at the request of the brethren at Rome when he was there with Peter; and on hearing it Peter approved it and authorized its use by the Church.

DAVID SMITH.

PETER, FIRST EPISTLE OF.—No Epistle of the NT has caught more of the spirit of Jesus than 1 Peter. Imbued with a strong love for the risen Christ, and a profound conviction of the truth of the gospel as established in the world by the life, death, and resurrection of the Messiah, the author delineates a rich Christian life on the basis of these evangelical facts.

1. Contents.—

I. *Thanksgiving and exhortation in view of the Christian salvation*, $1^{3}–2^{10}$.
  (i.) The glorious character of the Christian salvation, $1^{3.12}$.
    (*a*) A sure inheritance, vv.$^{3-5}$. To God our Father is ascribed all praise, because by raising Jesus Christ from the dead He has begotten us into a living hope certain to be soon realized.
    (*b*) A present joy, notwithstanding manifold trials, vv.$^{6-9}$. Sufferings refine faith as fire does gold, and even now the unseen Christ is an object of unspeakable joy, and gives a foretaste of full salvation.
    (*c*) The fulfilment of the promises made to the prophets, and a wonder even to angels, vv.$^{10-12}$.
  (ii.) Exhortation to realize this hope in a holy life as members of a Divine brotherhood, $1^{13}–2^{10}$.
    (*a*) The holy and absolutely just Father requires filial obedience, vv $^{13-17}$.
    (*b*) To redeem us from sin the eternal and spotless Messiah was slain, and by His resurrection has awakened us to true faith in God. It is in the Holy God thus revealed that all your faith and hope rest, vv.$^{18-21}$.
    (*c*) The family of God, begotten of the imperishable seed of the gospel, must obey the truth with sincere mutual love and grow into maturity. As living stones built into the living but once rejected Christ, they form a spiritual temple and also a holy priesthood to offer spiritual sacrifices to God. They have become the new Israel, the people of God, $1^{22}–2^{10}$.

II. *The behaviour of the Christian in the world and in the brotherhood*, 2^{11}–3^{12}.
It must be pure and honourable in the midst of the heathen, $2^{11.\ 12}$.
(*a*) Though free servants of God, Christians must be loyal to the earthly government, and observe their duties to all men in their several stations, vv.$^{13\text{-}17}$.
(*b*) Slaves must be obedient even to harsh masters, showing their possession of Divine grace and their discipleship to Jesus, by enduring suffering like Him whose unmerited death has brought us salvation, vv.$^{18\text{-}25}$.
(*c*) Wives are to exercise a quiet and gentle spirit, like true mothers in Israel, submitting to their husbands, in the hope that if they are heathen they may be won to the faith by their Christian life. Likewise husbands must honour their wives as equally with themselves heirs of life, $3^{1\text{-}7}$.
(*d*) The duty of a peaceful and kindly life to strengthen the unity within the brotherhood, vv.$^{8\text{-}12}$.

III. *The uses of suffering*, 3^{13}–4^{19}.
(*a*) Suffering cannot really harm one who has Christ in his heart; nay, gentle steadfastness under persecution may, like our Master's, win over others to God, $3^{13\text{-}17}$.
Digression. Quickened in spirit by death, Christ carried the gospel to the godless world that perished in the Flood, through which Noah and his family were saved, a type of the Christian who in his baptism asks God for a good conscience, and is cleansed through the risen Christ now triumphant over all His enemies, vv.$^{18\text{-}22}$.
(*b*) Suffering delivers us from our sinful life. Though your former heathen comrades revile you for abandoning their life of sensuality, you must have done with them and leave them to the just Judge of all, $4^{1\text{-}6}$.
Digression. In the short time that remains until the return of the Lord, Christians should live a life of self-control, exercising brotherly love, hospitality, and spiritual gifts, $4^{7\text{-}11}$.
(*c*) Your sufferings are not unique, but become a blessing if they are the result of fidelity to your Christian profession, and not of evil conduct. They are a sign that judgment is near, which you may await in a life of well-doing, trusting your faithful Creator, vv.$^{12\text{-}19}$.

IV. *Miscellaneous advice*, $5^{1\text{-}14}$.
(*a*) Counsel to elder of the Church, and to the younger men, $5^{1\text{-}5}$.
(*b*) Exhortation to resignation, watchfulness, and trust in the midst of the terrible sufferings that are being endured by the brotherhood everywhere, vv.$^{6\text{-}11}$.
(*c*) Personal greetings, vv.$^{12\text{-}14}$.

2. Readers.—Of the provinces in which the readers lived, Galatia and Asia were evangelized by St. Paul, but nothing is known of the evangelization of the rest, nor does the letter assume that St. Peter had any share in it. At first sight it would appear that the readers were Jewish Christians, as some scholars hold that they were, but the body of the Epistle clearly shows that the prevailing element was Gentile, and the words of 1^{1} are to be taken figuratively of the sojourn of the Christian as a resident alien on earth, absent from his heavenly fatherland ($2^{9.\ 10}$ $4^{1\text{-}4}$). Doubtless, however, very many who had been Jews were found in all the Churches of the large cities. The former life of the readers, on the average low level of Asia Minor, had been given over to the vices of the flesh; perhaps, indeed, their past conduct was the source from which the criminal charges were brought against them afterwards as Christians (2^{12} $4^{15.\ 16}$). The Churches were suffering severely, though there does not seem to have been an official persecution, or a systematic attempt at extermination, for it is assumed that most will remain until the Parousia (4^{7}). So severe was their suffering, that only the strong arm of God could protect them in their temptation ($1^{5\text{-}7}$ 4^{12} 5^{6}). Christians are easily confounded with criminals ($2^{12.\ 15.\ 16}$ $3^{13.\ 16.\ 17}$ $4^{15.\ 19}$), slaves suffer at the hands of their masters, wives from their husbands, but their experience was of the same character as that of the Christian brotherhood throughout the world (5^{9}). The Churches are 'islands in an ocean of heathenism.'

3. Purpose.—This letter is an encouragement to readers who are in danger of lapsing, through suffering, into the unholy life of their neighbours. By recalling the fact of the resurrection of Christ, and by an appeal to the example of His remedial sufferings, the author seeks to awaken their faith and hope in God. They are urged to sustain their moral life in the exercise of a calm and sober confidence in the grace of God soon to be revealed more fully (1^{13} 4^{7} $5^{8\text{-}10}$), and to commend their gospel to the heathen world by their lives of goodness, entrusting themselves in well-doing to a faithful Creator (4^{19}).

4. Teaching.—(*a*) *Doctrine.*—Faith in God as the holy Father and faithful Creator is built upon the solid facts of the gospel,—in particular, the life, death, and resurrection of Christ the eternal Messiah ($1^{3\text{-}21}$). The life of Jesus Christ has made an ineffaceable impression upon the author. He was spotless, the perfect pattern for men, but also the Messiah, who as the Servant of the Lord has by His death ransomed a new people and ratified a new covenant ($1^{2\ 18\text{-}20}$ $2^{22\text{-}24}$). By His resurrection He has been exalted to God's right hand, and will soon return to unveil further glories (1^{13} 3^{22}). The most probable interpretation of $3^{18\text{ff.}}$ is that Christ went, during the period between His death and resurrection, to the abode of the dead, and, having preached His gospel to those who had been the wicked antediluvian world, has made it of universal efficacy (cf. Eph $4^{8\text{-}19}$). In this life Christ becomes an object of inexpressible joy to believers on whom the Spirit has been poured forth ($1^{2.\ 8.\ 12}$). Peter does not regard the Spirit as the source of Christian virtues, but as the pledge of our future inheritance, as well as of present Divine grace manifested in the ability to endure suffering (4^{14}). This Spirit was also identified with the pre-existent Messiah, and was the means of His persistence through death (1^{11} $3^{18.\ 19}$ 4^{14}). By the Spirit the brethren are also consecrated in a new covenant to Jehovah, thereby receiving the fulfilment of the promise of the Messianic age (1^{2}). The risen Christ has become the object of the believer's utter love and devotion, and has begotten in him the living hope of an eternal inheritance.

(*b*) *The Christian life.*—At baptism the believer has his conscience cleansed through the risen Christ; and the new life springing from the seed of the word of God planted in the heart grows by feeding upon that word. Holiness is its quality, involving obedience to the truth, freedom from fleshly lusts, self-control under suffering, joy in a present salvation, and hope of life in the incorruptible inheritance. Faith is the act whereby the believer, realizing the worth of the unseen world through the revelation of Jesus Christ, puts complete trust in God. With Christ, the living stone, Christians form the new temple in which the brethren are a royal priesthood. They are the true Israel, a brotherhood which is God's home on earth. The Christian is a pilgrim on earth, his life one of love to the brethren and of gentle endurance towards the unbeliever, whom he seeks to win to the gospel, while he stands ready girt for his Master's coming (1^{13} $5^{5\text{-}11}$).

5. Literary affinities.—(*a*) *The OT.*—This Epistle is greatly indebted to the LXX, especially to the Psalms and to Isaiah, whose teaching as to the holiness of God and the redemptive efficacy of the sufferings of the Servant of the Lord is echoed (1 P $1^{18\text{-}20}$, Is 52^{3} 53; 1 P $1^{24.\ 25}$, Is $40^{6\text{ff.}}$; 1 P $2^{6\text{ff.}}$, Is 28^{16}, Ps 118^{22}; 1 P $2^{21\text{ff.}}$; Is 53; 1 P $3^{10\text{ff.}}$, Ps $34^{12\text{ff.}}$). Proverbs also is used (1 P 2^{17}, Pr 24^{21}; 1 P 4^{8}, Pr 10^{12}; 1 P 4^{18}, Pr 11^{31}; 1 P 5^{5}, Pr 3^{34}).

(*b*) *Book of Enoch.*—An acquaintance with this pseudepigraphic book may be traced in 1 P 1^{12} $3^{19.\ 20}$. Cf. Enoch 9^{1} $10^{1.\ 5.\ 12.\ 13}$ $64^{1.\ 2}$ 69^{26}.

PETER, FIRST EPISTLE OF

(*c*) *The Gospels.*—While the Epistle affords no proof of acquaintance with our Gospels, it contains many suggestions of the life and teachings of Jesus. Peter claims to have been a witness of the sufferings and the glory of Jesus (5[1]), which may refer both to the Transfiguration and to the appearances of the risen Christ. Christ is set forth as the example for the sufferer, as though His silent endurance of reviling and the agony of the sinless One had been indelibly impressed on the author's memory; and, as in the Synoptics, Jesus Christ fulfils the prophecy of the Suffering Servant. The great command of Jesus to His disciples to renounce the world, take up the cross and follow Him, seems to re-echo in this Epistle; as Jesus pronounced blessings on those who were persecuted for righteousness' sake, so does Peter (3[14] 4[14]), and other words from the Sermon on the Mount (Mt 5[10. 11. 16] 6[25]) seem to speak in 2[12] 3[13-16] 5[6]. The parable of the Sower may have supplied the figure of 1[23ff.]; the lesson of the tribute money may underlie 2[13. 14]; and Christ's utterance of doom on apostate Israel, especially the parable of Mk 12[1-12], probably suggested the thought of 2[5-10]. That the Kingdom of God, so common in the teaching of Jesus, is not referred to, may be due to the fact that the term had no worthy association for the readers. They had learned to call God 'Father,' not 'King.'

(*d*) *Acts.*—There are similarities with Peter's speeches in Acts, *e.g.*, the witness of the prophets to the Messiah; Jesus Christ as the Suffering Servant whose death was foreknown to God, and was endured for our sins; His exaltation and near return to judge the living and the dead (Ac 2[23. 33] 3[18] 5[30. 31] 10[42. 43]). Cf. also 1 P 3[20] with Ac 3[19-21].

(*e*) *The Pauline Epistles.*—A comparison of Romans with this Epistle reveals striking resemblances between them (1 P 1[14], Ro 12[2]; 1 P 1[22], Ro 12[9]; 1 P 2[5], Ro 12[1]; 1 P 2[6-8. 10], Ro 9[25. 32. 33]; 1 P 2[13-17], Ro 13[1. 3. 4. 7]; 1 P 3[8. 9], Ro 12[16]; 1 P 4[7-11], Ro 12[3. 6]), so close, indeed, in 1 P 2[6] and Ro 9[32], that it is all but certain that one Epistle was known to the writer of the other; and Romans must have been the earlier. The more or less obvious relations of Ephesians with 1 Peter (1 P 1[3-5. 7. 9], Eph 1[3-14]; 1 P 1[12], Eph 3[5. 10]; 1 P 2[4-6], Eph 2[18-22]; 1 P 2[18], Eph 6[5]; 1 P 3[1-7], Eph 5[22-33]; 1 P 3[22], Eph 1[20-22]) justify the opinion that 'the authors of both letters breathed the same atmosphere' (v. Soden).

(*f*) *Hebrews.*—Many close verbal parallels are found between these Epistles, and their leading religious conceptions are similar. Both have the same view of faith, of Jesus Christ as an example, and as the One who introduces the believer to God, of His death as the sacrifice ratifying the new covenant and taking away sin. Similar stress is laid on hope and obedience; the fortunes of old Israel are employed in both to illustrate the demand for faith on the part of new Israel, and a similar use is made of the sufferings of the readers. Cf. 1 P 1[8], He 11[1]; 1 P 1[20], He 9[26]; 1 P 2[21-23], He 12[1-3]; 1 P 4[13] 5[1], He 11[26] 13[13]; 1 P 4[11], He 13[21]; 1 P 5[10], He 13[21]. Though direct literary relationship between the two Epistles cannot be affirmed, the authors may have been close friends, and the readers were perhaps similarly situated.

(*g*) *James.*—A comparison of 1 P 1[1], Ja 1[1]; 1 P 1[6f.], Ja 1[2f.]; 1 P 1[23]–2[1], Ja 1[11-22]; 1 P 5[5f.], Ja 4[6f. 10]—proves close relationship, but the priority can be determined only on the basis of the date of James.

6. Authorship.—According to the present greeting, this Epistle was written by the Apostle Peter, and this is supported by very strong tradition. Polycarp is the earliest writer who indubitably quotes the Epistle, though it was probably familiar to Barnabas, Clement of Rome, Papias, and perhaps Ignatius. Basilides seems to have known it, and it was rejected by Marcion on doctrinal grounds. It is first quoted as Peter's by Irenæus and Tertullian, and is frequently used by Clement of Alexandria. Its omission from the Muratorian Fragment is not significant; it is contained in the oldest versions, and Eusebius, in full agreement with what we know of early Christian literature, places it among the books which the Church accepted without hesitation. In the Apostolic Fathers, *e.g.*, it is as well attested as Galatians or Ephesians. Harnack suggests that the opening and closing verses were later additions, and that Polycarp did not regard the letter as Peter's; but this hypothesis is utterly without textual support, and both paragraphs are fitted compactly into the Epistle. The chief objections to the Petrine authorship are—(1) the Epistle is said to be so saturated with Pauline ideas that it could not have been written by the Apostle Peter; (2) the readers are Gentile Christians living within territory evangelized by Paul, in which Peter would have been trespassing on the Gentiles (Gal 2[9]); (3) there is a lack of personal reminiscences of the life of Jesus that would be strange in Peter; (4) the use of good Greek and of the LXX would be remarkable in a Galilæan fisherman; (5) the persecution referred to in ch. 4 is said to be historically impossible until after the death of Peter.

In answer to (3) reference may be made to **5** (*c*). (4) is too conjectural to be serious, for 'there is not the slightest presumption against the use of Greek in writings purporting to emanate from the circle of the first believers. They would write as men who had used the language from boyhood' (J. H. Moulton). Silvanus also may have had a large share in the composition of the Epistle. The difficulty of (5) is removed if, as we have seen to be probable, no official Imperial persecution is involved. Little is known of its beginnings in the provinces, though from Acts we learn that the Jews soon stirred up hostility against the Christians. Rome is called Babylon, the idolatrous oppressor of the true Israel. This might have happened whenever the Christians began to realize the awakening hatred of the wicked city, mistress of an empire ruled by a deified Nero, even before the persecution of 64 A.D. Undoubtedly there is a close relationship between this Epistle and Paul's Epistles, closer in thought than in vocabulary. Probably the approximation is nearest in the treatment of morals, as, *e.g.*, marriage, slavery, obedience to civil rulers; and how much of this was common Christian belief and practice. It is, however, striking that in an Epistle so indebted to the Romans the legalistic controversy is passed by, while a different view of righteousness, a change of emphasis as to the import of Christ's death, and a dissimilar conception of the work of the Spirit are manifest. Nor does the Ephesian idea of the Church appeal to this author. He cannot be called a Paulinist. He has been nurtured on prophetic, rather than on Pharisaic, ideals. Doubtless St. Paul, a broadly educated Jew, a Roman citizen, and a man of massive intellect and penetrating insight, influenced St. Peter. This much may be inferred from Gal 2[15-17]. On the other hand, St. Paul did not resent St. Peter's visit to Antioch in Gal 2[11]. Why should not St. Peter, many years later, have written to Churches some of which at least seem not to have been evangelized by St. Paul? But greatly as St. Peter may have been impressed by St. Paul's masterful construction of Christian thought, his character must have been immeasurably more moulded by Jesus, while his own strong temperament, responsive to the prophetic side of his people's religion, would change little with the years. It is precisely the ground-tone of the Epistle—in harmony with the spirit of OT prophecy and of the Jesus of the Synoptic Gospels—that makes its Petrine authorship so reasonable.

7. Date.—The belief that St. Peter died in Rome is supported by a very strong chain of evidence, being deducible from Clement of Rome, Ignatius, Papias; and it is held by Dionysius of Corinth, Irenæus, Tertullian, and Clement of Alexandria. Unless St. Peter had been definitely associated with Rome, it is difficult

to understand how he supplanted St. Paul so soon in the capital as the chief Apostle. Evidently the tradition of a 25 years' episcopate has no historical basis, but St. Peter probably came to Rome after St. Paul, and died perhaps in the Neronian persecution of 64, or possibly later. It is in the highest degree probable that St. Peter wrote this Epistle from Rome before A.D. 64. R. A. Falconer.

PETER, SECOND EPISTLE OF.—This Epistle cannot rank with 1 Peter as a Christian classic; indeed, very many would agree with Jülicher that '2 Peter is not only the latest document of the NT, but also the least deserving of a place in the canon.' Nevertheless, it strikes a pure Christian note in its passion for righteousness.

1. Contents.—

(i.) *Greeting and exhortation*, 1[1-11]. The Epistle opens with a salutation from Simon Peter to readers who, through the righteousness of God, have been admitted to the full privileges of the Apostolic faith. His prayer for increased blessing upon them, through the knowledge of God and Jesus our Lord, is based on the fact that by the revelation of His glorious excellence His Divine power has made a godly life possible for us, and has given rich promises of our ultimately sharing His nature, when we have escaped from this present world perishing in its lust (vv.[1-4]). They are therefore urged to enrich their character with virtues, because only from such a soil will a full knowledge of Jesus Christ grow; and entrance into His eternal Kingdom depends upon forgiveness of sins, and the zealous effort of the believer to make the gospel call effective by a life of virtue (vv.[5-11]).

(ii.) *The sure witness to the gospel*, vv.[12-21]. The Apostle will hold himself in readiness to remind his readers of the truth; and since his death may be sudden, he will endeavour to leave them a trustworthy memorial of his teaching; for, unlike the false teachers, Peter was an eye-witness competent to set forth the power and the return of the Lord, having seen the Transfiguration on the Holy Mount. He also heard the Divine voice that confirmed prophecy, to which they must pay heed, since it was given by the Spirit; but prophecy having such an origin can be interpreted only by the voice of God, not by private opinion.

(iii.) *The false teachers*, ch. 2. An invasion of false teachers is foretold. These men will subvert the gospel of redemption from sin, and cause apostasy in the Church. But their doom at the hand of a righteous God, is no less certain than that of the angels who sinned, or the antediluvian world, or Sodom and Gomorrah; though now also, as then, the few righteous will escape (vv.[1-9]). Sensual, irreverent, brutish, and ignorant of spiritual things, they destroy even the sacred Christian feasts by their revelry, and, like Balaam, seek, for their selfish purposes, to lead their victims into fornication, deluding recently converted believers with a false doctrine of freedom. Had these apostates never known the truth, it would have been better for them (vv.[10-22]).

(iv.) *Warning against scepticism as to the return of the Lord*, ch. 3. He reminds his readers that it was foretold as a sign of the end that mockers would deny that the Lord will return, but that both the prophets and the Lord proclaimed a day of Final Judgment. The memory of the Flood should be a warning to the scoffers (vv.[1-7]). God's delay is intended to give opportunity for repentance, and His purposes, though slowly maturing, will be brought to pass without warning; but the Day may be hastened by holy living and godliness. This is the teaching also of Paul, whose gospel of grace some are seeking to distort into licence. Safety lies in watchfulness and in growth in the grace and knowledge of Jesus Christ (vv. [8-18]).

2. Situation of the readers.—Were it not that 2 P 3[1] seems to refer to 1 Peter, no definite information would be found in this letter as to the locality of the readers. It appears to be an Epistle designed to counteract a particular error affecting a district rather than one Church. It may be inferred that the readers were Gentiles (1[1]), and were being misled by distortions of the Pauline doctrine of grace (3[15. 16]), though the Churches were undisturbed by any echoes of the Jewish-Christian controversy. Indifference to Christian morality, inducing a dulled spiritual sense, has made them liable to apostasy under the influence of false teachers who are about to invade the Churches. Some are already at work among them (2[18-18]). They seem to have taken advantage of the privilege of porphecy to spread their libertinism, and to have turned the sacred love-feasts into bestial carousals, holding out, especially to recent converts, the distorted promise of Christain freedom. They satisfied their own avarice and lust, and scoffed at moral responsibility, teaching, it would appear, that there is no resurrection of the body or judgment to come, by playing upon the deferred Christian hope of the Return of the Lord. Apparently they were all of one type, and so wicked as to be compared with the worst sinners of the OT (2[4. 5. 6. 15]). There is no evidence of any speculative system like those of the 2nd cent. Gnosticism, but there are features in common with the practices of the Nicolaitans of the Churches of Pergamum and Thyatira (Rev 2[13-24]), though no mention is made of idolatry. A greater affinity may be traced with the Sadducaic spirit of portions of the Jewish and semi-pagan world, where scepticism as to spiritual realities went hand in hand with practical immorality. The cities of Syria or Samaria would be a not improbable situation for the readers of 2 Peter.

3. Purpose of the Epistle.—It is a mistake to confine the purpose of 2 Peter to the refutation of one error, as, *e.g.*, the denial of the Parousia. It is a loud appeal for godly living and faith in the affirmations of the gospel, Scripture, and the Christian conscience. God's promises of mercy and threatenings of judgment are Yea and Amen. The writer aims to impress on his readers: (1) that saving knowledge of Jesus Christ is granted only to the virtuous heart; (2) that Jesus Christ is a present power for a godly life, and is certain to return for judgment; (3) the hideous character of the false teachers and the self-evident doom of themselves and their victims; (4) that delay in the Return of the Lord must be used for repentance, for that Day will surely come.

4. Literary affinities.—(*a*) *The OT.*—Though the direct quotations are few (Ps 90[4] in 3[8] and probably Pr 26[11] in 2[22], with reminiscences of Is 34[4] in 3[12], and Is 65[17] 66[22] in 3[13]), the real indebtedness of 2 Pet. to the OT is very great in the historical examples of ch. 2, and in the view of Creation, the Flood, and the Day of the Lord (3[5. 6. 7]). The influence of Isaiah is manifest (cf. Is 13[9-13] 34[4] 51[6] 66[15f.] with 2 P 3[7. 10]); and the use of Proverbs may perhaps be seen in 2 P 2[17] (Pr 10[11] 21[6] 25[14]) and in 2 P 2[21] (Pr 12[28] 16[17. 31]).

(*b*) *Book of Enoch.*—It cannot be doubted that Enoch 9[1] 10[4-6] 18[11]–21 has influenced 2 P 2[4. 11].

(*c*) *The Gospels.*—The most obvious references are in 2 P 1[16-18], which agrees fundamentally, though not precisely, with the Synoptic narratives of the Transfiguration, and in 1[14], which seems to point to the incident in Jn 21[18. 19]. The Synoptic eschatology also, along with OT prophecy, has influenced 2 Peter (cf. Mk 13[24. 25. 26. 31] || and 2 P 3[10-12]; Mt 19[28] 25[31], Lk 21[26-28] and 2 P 3[12. 13]). Mt 11[27. 29] || and the parable of the Sower (Lk 8[10. 15]) throw much light on 2 P 1[2-8]; and Mt 12[28. 29 43-45] on 2 P 2[19-21].

(*d*) *The Pauline Epistles.*—Of these there are very few traces, though 2 P 1[13] may be compared with 2 Co 5[1]; 2 P 2[19] with Ro 6[16]; 2 P 3[14] with 1 Th 3[13] 5[23], and 2 P 3[15] with Ro 2[4] 9[22]. There are verbal similarities with the Pastoral Epistles, but probably they do not involve anything more than a wide-spread similar atmosphere. According to 3[15. 16], the author seems to know all St. Paul's correspondence, but he shows astonishingly little evidence of its influence.

(*e*) *Jude.*—One of these Epistles must have been used by the author of the other, but there is great diversity of opinion as to the priority, the prevailing view at present being apparently in favour of the priority of Jude, though Zahn and Bigg are strong advocates of 2 Peter. The question is really indeterminable, and, apart from the external testimony of the one to the other, has little bearing on the authorship.

(*f*) 1 *Peter.*—(i.) *Differences.* These are many and serious. 1 Peter is written in fluent Hellenistic Greek

while the style of 2 Peter is almost pseudo-literary, and its words are often quite uncommon. 1 Peter quotes largely from the LXX, the use of which can hardly be detected in 2 Peter. The Divine names are different, and different conceptions of Christ's work and of the Christian life are emphasized—in 1 Peter Jesus is the Messiah whose sufferings, death, and resurrection are the leading motives for the Christian life; in 2 Peter Christ is 'Saviour,' who brings power for a godly life to all who have knowledge of Him. Hope and joy are the notes of 1 Peter, which was written to readers who are buoyed up in suffering by faith in and love to their risen Lord. In 2 Peter false teaching instead of persecution is a source of danger; knowledge takes the place of hope, and piety that of holiness.

(ii.) *Resemblances* [cf. (i.)].—These are manifold and striking. Both Epistles are influenced greatly by Isaiah and in some measure by Proverbs and Enoch. Both teach that Jesus Christ is progressively revealed to the believer, the Parousia being the fulfilment of the Transfiguration or the Resurrection (1 P 1^{13} 4^{13} 5^{1}, 2 P $1^{3.\ 4.\ 16}$). Both emphasize the fact of the Parousia and of Divine judgment; Noah and the Flood are used as examples in both. A similar conception of the Holy Spirit, unique in the NT, is found in 1 P $1^{10\text{-}12}$ and 2 P $1^{19\text{-}21}$. In both the Christian life is regarded as a growth from seed (1 P 1^{23}, 2 P 1^{8} 3^{18}); obedience to the truth, emphasized in 1 P 1^{22} and 2 P $2^{2.\ 21}$, brings the favourite virtue of steadfastness (1 P 2^{8} 5^{10}, 2 P 1^{10} 3^{17}). The law of holy living confers true freedom (1 P $1^{15.\ 16}$ $2^{15ff.}$, 2 P 2^{19} $3^{11.\ 14}$). The virtues of 2 P $1^{5\text{-}7}$ are paralleled in 1 Peter, being those of a gentle, orderly, patient, kindly life of goodness; and in both the Christian life is regarded as a pilgrimage to an eternal inheritance (1 P $1^{1.\ 4}$, 2 P $1^{11.\ 13.\ 14}$).

5. Testimony of later Christian Literature.—Until the 3rd cent. the traces of 2 Peter are very few. It was evidently known to the author of the *Apocolypse of Peter* (*c.* 150 A.D.), though this is questioned without sufficient reason by some scholars. The first certain quotation is found in Firmilian of Cæsarea in Cappadocia (*c.* 250); probably it was used by Clement of Alexandria; and Origen knew it, but doubted its genuineness. While Eusebius himself did not accept the Epistle, he placed it, in deference to general opinion, among the 'disputed' books. It is not referred to by the scholars of Antioch, nor is it in the Peshitta, the common version of the Syrian Church. The oldest Latin versions also seem not to have contained it; possibly it was absent from the original of Codex B, but it is found in the Egyptian versions. Jerome, and afterwards Erasmus and Calvin, harboured doubts about its genuineness.

6. Authorship.—It will have been evident that there is much in this Epistle to justify the doubt as to its genuineness which has been entertained by many of the greatest Christian teachers from the early centuries; and recent scholarship has not yet relieved the difficulties in the way of accepting the Petrine authorship. They are (1) the remarkable divergence from the First Epistle, which seems to be too radical to be explained by the employment of different amanuenses; (2) the inferior style of the Epistle, its lack of restraint and its discontinuity, notably in $1^{12\text{-}21}$ and ch. 2; (3) the absence of an early Christian atmosphere, together with a tone of disappointment because the promise of Christ to return has been long deferred ($3^{3f.}$); (4) the appeal to the three authorities of the primitive Catholic Church—the Prophets, the Lord, and the Apostles ($1^{19\text{-}21}$ 3^{2}); (5) the reference to St. Paul's letters as 'Scripture'; (6) the extremely meagre external evidence.

Of these difficulties the gravest are (1) and (6). It is almost impossible to hold that the author of 1 Peter could have described his letter in the words of 2 P 3^{1}, and have regarded 2 Peter as a sequel to the same readers. It has, however, been suggested that 2 Peter was written earlier than 1 Peter, and that the Epistles were composed by different amanuenses for different readers. But this hypothesis has not met with much favour. The insufficient witness is also serious, and though singly the other difficulties may be removed, their cumulative effect is too much for a letter already heavily burdened. But if the evidence is against direct Petrine authorship, is the book to be summarily banished into the middle of the 2nd cent. as entirely pseudonymous? Probably not. (1) There are no features of the Epistle which necessarily extrude it from the 1st century. Doubts as to the Parousia and similar false teaching were not unknown in the Apostolic age, and some of the most distinctive features of the 2nd cent., such as developed Gnosticism and Chiliasm, are conspicuous by their absence. Also the reference to St. Paul's letters as 'Scripture' is not decisive, for in view of the insistence upon 'written prophecy' and its origin ($1^{19\text{-}21}$) it is doubtful whether St. Paul is ranked with the OT prophets. But in any case, by the time of 1 Clement there was a collection of St. Paul's letters which would be read in churches with some Scriptural authority. Finally, there is much to be said for the view that not the OT Scriptures, but other Christian writings, are referred to in 3^{16}. (2) 2 Peter contains a large distinctively Petrine element. It has already been shown that 1 and 2 Peter have much in common. They present a non-Pauline conception of Christianity, shared by them in common with the Gospel of Mark and the speeches of Peter in Acts. In Mk. and in 2 Peter Jesus Christ is the strong Son of God, whose death ransomed sinners, and whose return to judgment is described in generally similar outlines. In the Epistle stress is laid on repentance, as in the opening of Mk. and in Acts (2 P $3^{9\text{-}15}$), and there is a striking similarity between Ac $3^{19\text{-}21}$ and 2 P $3^{11.\ 12}$. Likewise the Christian life is regarded as the fulfilment of the new law, and the parables in Mk. of the planting and growth of the seed, supply suggestive parallels for both 1 and 2 Peter. Both Epistles, like the speeches in Acts, are Hebrew in spirit, and are influenced by prophetic motives.

Perhaps the solution that will best suit the facts is to assume that a disciple of Peter, who remembered how his master had dealt with an attack of Sadducaic sensuality in some of the Palestinian Churches, being confronted with a recrudescence of similar evil, re-edited his teaching. This will do justice to the moral earnestness and the true Christian note of the Epistle.

R. A. Falconer.

PETHAHIAH.—1. The head of the nineteenth priestly course (1 Ch 24^{16}). **2.** A Levite (Ezr 10^{23}, Neh 9^{5}); in 1 Es 9^{23} **Patheus.** **3.** A Judahite officer (Neh 11^{24}).

PETHOR.—Mentioned in Nu 22^{5} and Dt 23^{4} as the home of Balaam, in N. Mesopotamia, when he was called by Balak to curse Israel. With this indication agrees the repeated statement by king Shalmaneser II. of Assyria regarding a certain city which he calls *Pitru*, that it lay on the river *Sāgūr* (modern *Sājūr*), near its junction with the Euphrates. Thus Pethor would seem to have lain a little south of Carchemish, on the west of the Euphrates. J. F. M'Curdy.

PETHUEL.—The father of the prophet Joel (Jl 1^{1}).

PETRA.—See Sela.

PEULLETHAI.—The eighth son of Obed-edom (1 Ch 26^{5}).

PHAATH MOAB (1 Es 5^{11} 8^{31}) =**Pahath-moab** of Ezr 2^{6} etc.

PHACARETH (1 Es 5^{34}) =**Pochereth-hazzebaim,** Ezr 2^{57}.

PHAISUR (1 Es 9^{22}) =Ezr 10^{22} **Pashhur,** 1 Es 5^{25} **Phassurus.**

PHALDEUS (1 Es 9^{44}) =**Pedaiah,** Neh 8^{4}.

PHALEAS (1 Es 5^{29}) =**Padon,** Ezr 2^{44}.

PHALIAS (1 Es 9^{48}) = **Pelaiah**, Neh 8^{7}.

PHALTIEL (cf. 2 S 3^{15}).—The 'captain of the people' (2 Es 5^{16}).

PHANUEL.—The mother of Anna (Lk 2^{36}).

PHARAKIM.—A family of Nethinim (1 Es 5^{31}).

PHARAOH.—The later Egyptian royal title, *Per-'o*, 'Great House,' adopted into Hebrew. Originally designating the royal establishment in Egypt, it gradually became the appellative title of the king, and from the 22nd Dyn. (*c.* B.C. 950) onwards was regularly attached to the king's name in popular speech. The Hebrew Pharaoh-necho and Pharaoh-hophra are thus precise renderings of Egyptian. Shishak also was entitled Per-'o Sheshonk in Egyptian, but apparently Hebrew had not yet adopted the novel fashion, and so gave his name without Pharaoh (1 K 11^{40} 14^{24}). Tirhakah is not entitled Pharaoh as in Egyptian documents, but is more accurately described as king of Cush (2 K 19^{9}).

The following Pharaohs are referred to without their names being specified: **1.** Pharaoh of Abram (Gn 12^{10-20}), impossible to identify. The title Pharaoh and the mention of camels appear to be anachronisms in the story. **2.** Pharaoh of Joseph (Gn 39 etc.). The proper names in the story, viz. Potiphar, Potiphera, Asenath, Zaphenath-paneah are at once recognizable (when the vocalization is discounted) as typical names (Petepre, Esneit, Zepnetefonkh) of the late period beginning with the 22nd Dyn. (*c.* B.C. 950), and ending in the reign of Darius (*c.* B.C. 500). It has been conjectured that the Pharaoh of Joseph was one of the Hyksos kings, but it is not advisable to press for historical identifications in this beautiful legend. **3.** and **4.** The Pharaohs of the Oppression and the Exodus. The name of **Raamses,** given to a store-city built by the Hebrews (Ex 1^{11}), points to one of the kings named Ramesses in the 19th–20th Dyn. as the Pharaoh of the Oppression. The chief of these was Ramesses II. (*c.* B.C. 1350), after whom several towns were named. He was perhaps the greatest builder in Egyptian history. His son Mineptah might be the Pharaoh of the Exodus: but from the fifth year of Mineptah there is an Egyptian record of the destruction of 'Israel,' who, it would seem, were already in Palestine. At present it is impossible to ascertain the proportion of historical truth contained in the legends of the Exodus. **5.** 1 Ch 4^{18}, 'Bithiah, daughter of Pharaoh': no clue to identity. Bithiah is Heb., and not like an Egyp. name. **6.** 1 K 3^{1} $9^{16.\ 24}$ 11^{1}, Pharaoh, the father-in-law of Solomon, must be one of the feeble kings of the end of the 21st Dynasty. **7.** 1 K 11^{18}, the Pharaoh who befriended Hadad the Edomite in the last days of Solomon, and gave him the sister of his queen Tahpenes: not identified. (At this point in the narrative Shishak comes in: he is never called Pharaoh, see above.) **8.** Pharaoh, king of Egypt in 2 K 18^{21}, Is 36^{6} etc., perhaps as a general term for the Egyptian king, not pointing to any individual. In the time of Sennacherib and Hezekiah, Tirhakah or some earlier king of the Ethiopian Dynasty would be on the throne. **9.** For Jer 37, Ezk 29, see HOPHRA. F. LL. GRIFFITH.

PHARATHON.—Named, with Timnath and Tephon, among the cities which Bacchides 'strengthened with high walls, with gates and with bars' (1 Mac 9^{50}). Some authorities read with LXX 'Timnath-pharathon,' as indicating one place. Conder suggests *Fer'on*, about 15 miles W. of Nāblus. This seems to be too far to the north, as the towns mentioned are all 'in Judæa.' It may possibly be *Fer'ata*, 6 miles S.W. of Nāblus, although the same difficulty exists in a modified degree. Cf. PIRATHON. W. EWING.

PHARES.—See PEREZ.

PHARIDA.—See PERIDA.

PHARISEES.—A study of the four centuries before Christ supplies a striking illustration of the law that the deepest movements of history advance without the men, who in God's plan are their agents, being clearly aware of what is going on. The answer to the question—How came the Pharisees into the place of power and prestige they held in the time of our Lord? involves a clear understanding of the task of Israel after the Exile. It was to found and develop a new type of community. The Hebrew monarchy had been thrown into perpetual bankruptcy. But monarchy was the only form that the political principle could assume in the East. What should be put in its place? In solving this problem the Jews created a community which, while it was half-State, was also half-Church. The working capital of the Jews was the monotheism of the prophets, the self-revelation of God in His character of holy and creative Unity, and, inseparable from this, the belief in the perfectibility and indestructibility of the Chosen Nation (the Messianic idea). Prophecy ceased. Into the place of the prophet came the schoolmaster and the drill-master. They popularized monotheism, making it a national instinct. Necessarily, the popularization of monotheism drew along with it a growing sense of superiority to the heathen and idolatrous nations amongst whom their lot was cast. And by the same necessity the Jews were taught to separate themselves from their heathen neighbours (Ezr 10^{11}). They must not intermarry, lest the nation be dragged down to the heathen level. This was the state of things in the 3rd cent. B.C. (see ESSENES), when Hellenism began to threaten Judaism with annihilation. The deepest forces of Judaism sounded the rally. The more zealous Jews drew apart, calling themselves the 'Holy Men' (*Chasīdīm*), Puritans, or those self-dedicated to the realization of Ezra's ideal. Then came the great war. The tendencies of Judaism precipitated themselves. The Jewish Puritans became a distinct class called the 'Pharisees,' or men who *separated themselves* from the heathen, and no less from the heathenizing tendencies and forces in their own nation. They abstained even from table-fellowship with the heathen as being an abominable thing (Gal $2^{12ff.}$). As years went on it became more and more clear that the heart of the nation was with them. And so it comes to pass that in our Lord's time, to use His own words, 'the scribes and Pharisees sit in Moses' seat' (Mt 23^{2}). They, not the priests, are the source of authority.

The history of Pharisaism enables us to understand its spirit and ruling ideas, to do justice to its greatness, while emphasizing its limitations and defects. Into it went the deepest elements among the forces which built the Jewish church and nation. The Pharisees are seen at their best when contrasted with the **Zealots** (see CANANÆAN) on the one side and the **Herodians** (wh. see) on the other. Unlike the latter, they were deeply in earnest with their ancestral religion. Again and again at critical times they showed the vigour and temper of fearless Puritanism. Unlike the former, they held back from the appeal to force, believing that the God of the nation was in control of history, that in His own good time He would grant the nation its desire; that, meanwhile, the duty of a true Israelite was whole-hearted devotion to the Torah, joined to patient waiting on the Divine will. This nobler side of Pharisaism could find itself in Ps 119. The Pharisees were in a sense Churchmen rather than statesmen. And they emphasized spiritual methods. Their interests lay in the synagogue, in the schooling of children, in missionary extension amongst the heathen. They deserved the power and prestige which we find them holding in our Lord's time. The Master Himself seems to say this when He distinguishes between their rightful authority and the spirit which they often showed in their actions (Mt 23^{1-4}). Hence we are not surprised when we learn that, after the conflicts with Rome (A.D. 66–135), Pharisaism became practically synonymous with Judaism. One great war (the Maccabæan) had

defined Pharisaism. Another war, even more terrible, gave it the final victory. The two wars together created the Judaism known to Europeans and Americans. And this, allowing for the inevitable changes which a long and varied experience brings to pass in the most tenacious race, is in substance the Pharisaism of the 2nd century.

A wide historical study discovers moral dignity and greatness in Pharisaism. The Pharisees, as contrasted with the **Sadducees** (wh. see), represented the democratic tendency. As contrasted with the priesthood, they stood both for the democratic and for the spiritualizing tendency. The priesthood was a close corporation. No man who was unable to trace his descent from a priestly family could exercise any function in the Temple. But the Pharisees and the Scribes opened a great career to all the talents. Furthermore, the priesthood exhausted itself in the ritual of the Temple. But the Pharisees found their main function in teaching and preaching. So Pharisaism cleared the ground for Christianity. And when the reader goes through his NT with this point in mind, and when he notes the striking freedom of the NT from ritualistic and sacerdotal ideas, he should give credit to Pharisaism as one of the historical forces which made these supreme qualities possible.

We have not yet exhausted the claims of the Pharisees on our interest and gratitude. It was they who, for the most part, prepared the ground for Christianity by taking the Messianic idea and working it into the very texture of common consciousness. Pharisaism was inseparable from the popularization of monotheism, and the universal acceptance by the nation of its Divine election and calling. We need only consider our Lord's task to see how much preparatory work the Pharisees did. Contrast the Saviour with Gautama (Buddha), and the greatness of His work is clearly seen. Buddha teaches men the way of peace by thinking away the political and social order of things. But our Lord took the glorified nationalism of His nation as the trunk-stock of His thought, and upon it grafted the Kingdom of God. Now, it was the Pharisees who made idealized nationalism, based upon the monotheism of the prophets, the pith and marrow of Judaism. It was they who wrote the great Apocalypses (Daniel and Enoch). It was they who made the belief in immortality and resurrection part of the common consciousness. It was they who trained the national will and purpose up to the level where the Saviour could use it.

But along with this great work went some lamentable defects and limitations. Though they stood for the spiritualizing tendencies which looked towards the existence of a Church, the Pharisees never reached the Church idea. They made an inextricable confusion between the question of the soul and the question of descent from Abraham. They developed the spirit of proud and arrogant orthodoxy, until the monotheism of the prophets became in their hands wholly incompetent to found a society where Jew and Gentile should be one (Gal 3^{28}, Col 3^{11}). They developed Sabbatarianism until reverence for the Sabbath became a superstition, as our Lord's repeated clash with them goes to show. And in spite of many noble individual exceptions, the deepest tendency of Pharisaism was towards an over-valuation of external things, Levitical correctness and precision (Mt 23^{23}), that made their spirit strongly antagonistic to the genius of Prophetism. For Prophetism, whether of the Old or of the New Dispensation, threw the whole emphasis on character. And so, when John the Baptist, the first prophet for many centuries, came on the field, he put himself in mortal opposition to the Pharisees, no less than to the Sadducees (Mt $3^{7f.}$, Jn $1^{19ff.}$). And our Lord, embodying the moral essence of Prophetism, found His most dangerous opponents, until the end of His ministry, not in the Sadducees or the Essenes or the Zealots, but in the Pharisees.

See also artt. SADDUCEES and SCRIBES.

HENRY S. NASH.

PHARPAR.—A river of Damascus mentioned with the **Abanah** (2 K 5^{12}) by Naaman as contrasting favourably with the Jordan. Its identification is by no means so certain as that of Abanah with the *Barada*. The most probable is that suggested by Thomson, namely, the *'Awaj*, a river rising east of Hermon. A wady near, but not tributary to, one of its sources is called the *Wady Barbar*, which may possibly be a reminiscence of the ancient name. The principal obstacle to this identification is the distance of the river from the city; but Naaman was perhaps thinking as much of the fertile plain of Damascus as of the city itself. Other identifications have been with either the river flowing from *'Ain Fijeh*, or else one or other of the canals fed by the Barada.

R. A. S. MACALISTER.

PHASELIS is mentioned 1 Mac 15^{23} as a city to which the Romans in B.C. 139 sent letters on behalf of the Jews. It was at the E. extremity of the coast of Lycia, a Dorian colony which apparently always maintained its independence of the rest of Lycia. Its early importance was due to its position in the trade between the Ægæan and the Levant. Its alliance with Cilician pirates caused it to be captured by Servilius Isauricus in B.C. 77, and it seems never to have recovered its former importance. It was a bishopric in the Byzantine period.

A. E. HILLARD.

PHASIRON.—A Nabatæan tribe (1 Mac 9^{66}); unknown.

PHASSURUS (1 Es 5^{25}) = **Pashhur**, Ezr 10^{22}.

PHEREZITE.—See PERIZZITES.

PHICOL.—Abimelech's captain (Gn $21^{22.\ 32}$ 26^{26}).

PHILADELPHIA was a city of Lydia, 28 miles from Sardis, in the valley of the Cogamis, a tributary of the Hermus, and conveniently situated for receiving the trade between the great central plateau of Asia Minor and Smyrna. The district known as *Katakekaumene* ('Burnt Region'), because of its volcanic character, rises immediately to the N.E. of Philadelphia, and this was a great vine-producing region.

Philadelphia was founded and named by Attalus Philadelphus of Pergamus before B.C. 138. It was liable to serious earthquakes, but remained an important centre of the Roman province of Asia, receiving the name of Neo-Cæsarea from Tiberius, and, later on, the honour of the Neocorate (*i.e.* the wardenship of the temple for Emperor-worship). There is no record of the beginning of the Church at Philadelphia, but in the Apocalypse it is one of the seven churches to which, as heads of districts, special messages are sent. In its message (Rev 3^{8-13}) it is said to have 'a little strength' (which perhaps refers to its recent origin), and to have set before it 'an open door,' which seems to refer to the opportunities it had of spreading the gospel in the centre of Asia Minor. In 3^{9} 'the synagogue of Satan which say they are Jews and are not' must mean that the Jews of Philadelphia had been lax, and had conceded too much to Gentile ways. But the message contains no reproach against the Christians, although they are bidden to hold fast that which they have, and the promise to him that overcometh is that 'I will write upon him the name of my God, and the name of the city of my God, the new Jerusalem, . . . and mine own new name.' Doubtless there is a reference here, as in the message to Pergamus, to the new name taken at baptism, and apparently sometimes kept secret.

Philadelphia was the seat of a bishop, but was not a metropolis until about A.D. 1300, when the importance of Sardis had become less. In the 14th cent., when the Greek Empire retained nothing on the mainland of Asia except a strip of territory opposite Constantinople, Philadelphia still resisted the Ottoman arms, though far from the sea and almost forgotten by the Emperors. In the words of Gibbon (ch. lxiv): 'Among the Greek colonies and churches of Asia, Philadelphia is still erect, a column in a scene of ruins: a

pleasing example that the paths of honour and safety may sometimes be the same.' The date of its final capture is uncertain—probably A.D. 1391. Its modern name is *Ala-Sheher*, and a considerable portion of the population is Christian.

A. E. Hillard.

PHILEMON.—Known only as the person addressed by St. Paul on behalf of the runaway slave **Onesimus** (Philem [1]). The closeness of the personal tie between him and the Apostle is expressed in the terms 'beloved and fellow-worker,' and appears in the familiar confidence with which St. Paul presses his appeal. From Col 4[9] it seems that Onesimus, and therefore Philemon, resided in Colossæ; **Archippus**, too, who is joined with Philemon in the salutation, is a Colossian (Col 4[17]), and there is no reason to doubt the natural supposition that St. Paul's greeting is to husband, wife (**Apphia**), and son, with the church in Philemon's house. That he was of good position is suggested not only by his possession of slaves, but also by his ministry to the saints and by Paul's hope to lodge with him (Philem [5. 22]). He apparently owed his conversion to St. Paul (v.[19]), possibly during the long ministry in Ephesus (Ac 19[10]), for the Apostle had not himself visited Colossæ (Col 2[1]).

S. W. Green.

PHILEMON, EPISTLE TO.—1. Occasion and contents.—This beautiful private letter, unique in the NT, purports to be from St. Paul (with whose name that of Timothy is joined, as in 1 and 2 Thess., 2 Cor., Philipp., Col.) to Philemon, with Apphia and Archippus, and the church in his house. This plural address appears, quite naturally, in vv.[22] and [25] ('you'); otherwise the letter is to Philemon alone ('thee'). St. Paul is a 'prisoner' (vv.[1. 9. 13]),—a first link of connexion between this letter and Philippians (1[7. 13] etc.), Eph (3[1] 4[1] 6[20]), and Col. (4[3. 18]); with Col. there is also close connexion in the fact that Onesimus was a Colossian (Col 4[9]), and in the salutations in both Epistles from Epaphras, Mark, Aristarchus, Demas, and Luke. It is almost certain that the letter was sent from Rome (not Cæsarea) to Colossæ, along with the Colossian Epistle, by Tychicus and Onesimus, to be handed to Philemon by the runaway slave, who at St. Paul's instance was returning to the master he had wronged by embezzlement and flight. Onesimus had in some way become known to the Apostle, who had won him to the Christian faith (v.[10]). St. Paul regards him as his 'child,' his 'very heart,' a 'brother beloved' (vv.[10. 12. 16]), and would fain keep his helpful ministry (vv.[13. 11]). But the convert must first put himself right by voluntary surrender: his service belongs to Philemon, and, however desired by St. Paul, can be accepted by him only of his friend's free will (v.[14]). So St. Paul sends the slave back, with this letter to secure his forgiveness and the welcome of one Christian brother for another (vv.[15-17]). He founds his appeal on what he has heard of Philemon's love 'toward all the saints' (vv.[4-7. 9]); yet makes it also a personal request from 'Paul the aged and now a prisoner,' who has claims upon Philemon's service (vv.[9-14. 17. 20]), with just a hint of an authority which he will not press (vv.[8. 19. 21], 'obedience'). A wistful humour appears in the play on the meaning of the name *Onesimus*; 'I beseech thee for Profitable, who was aforetime unprofitable, but now is profitable . . . Yea, let me have profit of thee' (vv.[11. 20]); also when at v.[19] St. Paul himself takes the pen and with playful solemnity (cf., for the solemn formula 'I Paul,' 1 Co 16[21], 2 Co 10[1], Col 4[18], 2 Th 3[17]) gives his bond for the debt, 'I Paul write it with my own hand, I will repay it.' (It is possible, though less probable, that the Greek tense should be rendered 'I have written,' and that the previous verse also, if not the whole letter, is by St. Paul's hand.) Indeed, the mingled earnestness, tact, and charm amply endorse Renan's verdict—'a little masterpiece': the letter exemplifies the Apostle's own precept as to 'speech seasoned with salt' (Col 4[6]), and shows the perfect Christian gentleman.

2. Teaching.—It is significant for the depth and sincerity of St. Paul's religious faith that this private letter in its salutation, thanksgiving, and benediction is as loftily devout as any Epistle to the Churches. Apart from this, the dogmatic interest lies in its illustration of Christianity *at work*. The relation of master and slave comes into conflict with that of the Christian communion or fellowship: the problem is whether that fellowship will prove 'effectual in the knowledge of every good thing which is in you unto Christ,' and the slave be received as a brother. St. Paul does not ask that Onesimus be set free. It may even be doubted whether 'the word emancipation seems to be trembling on his lips' (Lightfoot, *Col.* p. 321): if it is, it is rather that Onesimus may be permitted to return to continue his ministry to the imprisoned Apostle than that Christianity, as he conceives it, forbids slavery. That institution is not in St. Paul's judgment to be violently ended, though it is to be regulated by the Christian principle of equality and responsibility before God (Eph 6[5-9], Col 3[22]–4[1]); to the slave himself his worldly position should be matter of indifference (1 Co 7[21-24]). Yet if Philemon should choose to assert his rights, it will mean a fatal breach in Christian 'fellowship' and the rejection of a Christian 'brother.' Thus St. Paul laid down the principle which inevitably worked itself out—though not till the 19th cent.—into the impossibility of slavery within a Christian nation. Christians long and strenuously defended it: Christianity, and not least this letter, destroyed it.

3. Authenticity.—The *external* testimony is full and consistent, although so short and personal a letter might easily lack recognition. It is contained in the Syriac and Old Latin Versions, and named in the Muratorian Fragment. Marcion accepted it (Tert. *adv. Marc.* v. 21). Origen quotes from it three times, in each case as St. Paul's. Eusebius includes it among the undisputed books. On *internal* grounds it may fairly be claimed that the letter speaks for its own genuineness. Some modern critics (since F. C. Baur) have questioned its authenticity, mainly because they reject Colossians, with which this letter is so closely connected. As Renan writes: 'If the epistle is apocryphal, the private letter is apocryphal also; now, few pages have so clear an accent of truth. Paul alone, it would seem, could have written this little masterpiece' (*St. Paul*, p. xi.). But it must suffice here to affirm as the all but universal judgment, that 'Philemon belongs to the least doubtful part of the Apostle's work' (Jülicher, *Introd. to NT*, p. 127).

4. Date and place of writing.—The argument for Rome as against Cæsarea (Meyer, etc.) seems decisive. Opinion is greatly divided as to the order of the Epistles of the Captivity, *i.e.* whether Philippians or the group Eph.-Col.-Philem. is the earlier (see Lightfoot, *Philip.* pp. 30–46). In either case the limit of date for Philem. lies between *c.* A.D. 60–62, and the later date is suggested by vv.[21. 22] (see Colossians and Philippians).

S. W. Green.

PHILETUS.—Mentioned in St. Paul's Epistle to Timothy (2 Ti 2[17]) as an example of one of those who were doing harm by their false teaching on the subject of the resurrection of the body. For them the resurrection was past. It was a spiritual resurrection from sin to holiness, and there was no future resurrection of the body, no life to come. St. Paul says their teaching will eat away the true doctrine as a canker or gangrene eats away the flesh. Cf. Hymenæus.

Morley Stevenson.

PHILIP (Apocr.).—**1.** Father of Alexander the Great (1 Mac 1[1] 6[2]). **2.** A friend or foster-brother (2 Mac 9[29]) of Antiochus Epiphanes, who received the charge (previously given to Lysias) of bringing up the young Antiochus Eupator (1 Mac 6[14]). On the death of Antiochus Epiphanes, Lysias took upon himself to proclaim young Eupator king (B.C. 164). The jealousy over this matter led to open hostilities between Lysias and Philip. Philip

was overcome by Lysias at Antioch and put to death. He is by many regarded as identical with—**3.** A Phrygian who (in B.C. 168), when left in charge of Jerusalem by Antiochus Epiphanes, was remarkable for the cruelty of his government (2 Mac 5^{22} 6^{11}). Little more is known of him unless the details of his life be filled up by assuming his identity with the former Philip. **4.** A king of Macedonia (B.C. 220–179) overthrown by the Romans (1 Mac 8^5).

T. A. MOXON.

PHILIP (NT).—**1. The Apostle** (Mt 10^3 = Mk 3^{18} = Lk 6^{14}); one of the disciples whom Jesus won at Bethany beyond Jordan in the morning of His ministry (Jn 1^{28-51}). He was a fellow-townsman of Andrew and Peter (v.^{44}), and seems to have had a special friendship with the former (Jn 6^8 $12^{21.\ 22}$). He was of a timid and retiring disposition. He did not, like Andrew and John, approach Jesus, but waited till Jesus accosted him and invited him to join His company. Andrew and John found Jesus (v.^{41}); Jesus found Philip (v.^{43}). This characteristic gives some countenance to the tradition that the disciple who would fain have declined the Lord's call that he might 'go and bury his father' (Lk $9^{59.\ 60}$ = Mt $8^{21.\ 22}$), was none other than Philip. Though somewhat slow of heart and dull in spiritual understanding (cf. Jn $14^{8.\ 9}$), he had his aptitudes. He had a turn for practical affairs, and, just as Judas was treasurer to the Apostolic company, so Philip was purveyor, attending to the commissariat (Bengel on Jn 6^5). If Andrew was the first missionary of the Kingdom of heaven, bringing his brother Simon to Jesus (Jn 1^{40-42}), Philip was the second, bringing his friend Nathanael (vv.$^{45.\ 46}$). It is said that after the departure of Jesus he laboured in Asia Minor and was buried at Hierapolis.

2. The Evangelist.—It was soon found necessary in the Apostolic Church that there should be a division of labour; and that the Twelve might give themselves without distraction to prayer and the ministry of the word, seven of the brethren were set apart for the management of the business matters of the Church (Ac 6^{1-6}). Philip was one of these. He seems to have been a Hellenist, *i.e.* a Greek-speaking Jew; at all events he was a man of liberal sympathies, and he greatly helped in the extension of the gospel to the Gentiles. He was in fact the forerunner of St. Paul. During the persecution which followed the martyrdom of Stephen, he preached in Samaria (Ac 8^{4-8}). He was instrumental in the conversion of the chamberlain of Candace, queen of Ethiopia, thus introducing Christianity into that historic heathen country (8^{26-39}). On parting from the chamberlain he went to Azotus (Ashdod), and travelled along the sea-board, preaching from city to city, till he reached Cæsarea (v.^{40}). There he settled, and there he was still residing with his four unmarried daughters, who were prophetesses, when Paul visited Cæsarea on his last journey to Jerusalem. The two men were like-minded, and it is no wonder that Paul abode with him during his stay at Cæsarea ($21^{8.\ 9}$).

3. Herod Philip.—See HEROD.

DAVID SMITH.

PHILIPPI was a city situated E. of Mt. Pangæus, on the E. border of Macedonia, about 10 miles from the coast. It was originally (under the name of Crenides) a settlement of Thasians, who mined the gold of Mt. Pangæus; but one of the early acts of Philip of Macedon was to assure himself of revenue by seizing these mines and strongly fortifying the city, to which he gave his own name. The mines are said to have yielded him 1000 talents a year. Philippi passed with the rest of Macedonia to the Romans in B.C. 168. Until B.C. 146 Macedonia was divided into four regions, with separate governments, and so divided that a member of one could not marry or hold property in another. But in 146 it received the more regular organization of a province. The great Eastern road of the Roman Empire, the Via Egnatia, after crossing the Strymon at Amphipolis, kept N. of Mt. Pangæus to Philippi and then turned S.E. to Neapolis, which was the port of Philippi. Philippi stood on the steep side of a hill, and immediately S. of it lay a large marshy lake.

The Church at Philippi was founded by St. Paul on his second missionary journey. With Silas, Timothy, and Luke he landed at Neapolis, and proceeded to Philippi, which St. Luke describes as 'a city of Macedonia, the first of the district, a Roman colony.' Philippi was not the capital city of either of the regions into which Macedonia had been divided in 168, but the most natural explanation of the phrase 'first of the district' is that the province had at this time a division for official purposes of which we do not know. Other explanations are that it means 'the first city we arrived at' (which the Greek could scarcely mean), or that Philippi claimed a pre-eminence in much the same way that Pergamus, Smyrna, Ephesus all claimed to be the 'first city' of Asia. It had become a Roman colony after the battle of Philippi, B.C. 42, when Octavian and Antony, having vanquished Brutus and Cassius, settled a number of their veterans there. Another body of veterans was settled there after Actium, B.C. 31. As a colony its constitution was modelled on the ancient one of Rome, and its two chief magistrates had not only lictors (EV **serjeants**), but also a jurisdiction independent of that of the governor of the province. It was the first essentially Roman town in which St. Paul preached. There was no synagogue, but on the Sabbath, says St. Luke, 'we went forth without the gate by a river-side where we supposed there was a place of prayer.' At this place, therefore, St. Paul found a number of women assembled, Jewesses or proselytes, one of whom named **Lydia** (wh. see), a merchant in purple from Thyatira, was immediately converted and baptized. For the subsequent incidents see PYTHON, MAGISTRATE, etc.

It is probable that the Church at Philippi was left in charge of St. Luke, for at this point in the narrative of the Acts the first person is dropped until St. Paul passes through Macedonia on his return from the third missionary journey (20^6). The Church flourished, and always remained on terms of peculiar affection with St. Paul, being allowed to minister to his needs more than once. See art. PHILIPPIANS [EPISTLE TO], which was probably written during his first imprisonment at Rome. From 1 Ti 1^3 we assume at least one later visit of the Apostle to Philippi.

Before A.D. 117 Ignatius passed through Philippi on his journey from Antioch to his martyrdom in Rome. He was welcomed by the Church, and they wrote a letter of consolation to the Church of Antioch and another to Polycarp of Smyrna, asking for copies of any letters that Ignatius had written in Asia. Polycarp wrote his Epistle to the Philippians in answer. In the 4th and 5th centuries we read of the bishop of Philippi as present at Councils, but apart from this the Church passes out of history.

A. E. HILLARD.

PHILIPPIANS, EPISTLE TO.—1. The Church of Philippi.—St. Paul visited Philippi on his second missionary journey, and founded there his first Church in Europe. The names in Ph $4^{2f.}$, probably those of early converts, lead us to infer that the Gentile element continued strong from the days when the Church began in the households of Lydia and the jailor (Ac 16^{12-40}). It is only by the exercise of much imagination that the character of the city—a Roman colony enjoying the *jus Italicum*, and therefore with a sense of its own importance—can be discerned in the letter, though probably the fact that St. Paul was a Roman citizen, and the virtual apology with which he was sent away by the prætors, may have had some effect on the subsequent treatment of the Christians. As one of the Churches of Macedonia referred to in 2 Co $8^{2ff.}$, it was doubtless in deep poverty, but is held forth along with them as a model of liberality. St. Paul seems to have treated the Philippians in an exceptional way, by accepting from them support which he ordinarily refused (2 Co $11^{7ff.}$, Ph 4^{15}). He must have visited Philippi at least three times (Ac 16^{12},

2 Co 2^{13}, Ac 20^{6}), and he always found his own love reciprocated by the Church, and experienced a unique joy in their fellowship with him for the furtherance of the gospel (Ph 1^{3-8}). The Apostle's ascendency in the Church was never questioned, as in Corinth. There were, it is true, rivalries in the congregation, especially, it would seem, among some of the active women of the Church, and St. Paul does not hesitate to use the most powerful of Christian motives to give force and direction to the shaft that he aims at discord (2^{1-11}). But, unlike the Churches of Galatia, Philippi had not been disturbed by a severe attack from the Judaists, though the Apostle sees threatening indications of their approach ($3^{2.\ 18f.}$). The Church was organized with bishops and deacons, from whom St. Paul seems to have received the people's gift (1^{1}), which they sent by Epaphroditus, probably with a letter. In no part of his missionary field, so far as we know, did he find such a pure Christian life. They were 'lights in the world' ($2^{15.\ 16}$), and the Apostle's 'joy and crown' (4^{1}).

2. Situation of St. Paul.—The Apostle is a prisoner ($1^{7.\ 13.\ 14.\ 17}$). It appears that his imprisonment had become more rigorous since the Philippians received their first word concerning him; and it must have been of some duration, because there had been several communications between them (2^{25-30} 4^{10}). They are distressed by the fear that the gospel will suffer through his strict confinement and possible martyrdom. But this imprisonment, instead of hindering the gospel, has really led to a more eager preaching of Christ by the Christians of the city of Rome. The motive of this increased activity was sometimes an unworthy emulation of the Apostle, and there must have been those in the Church who refused to acknowledge his leadership, being aroused by the success with which 'his bonds became manifest throughout all the Prætorium and to all the rest' (1^{12-18}). He has come to be recognized as no mere disturber of the peace (Ac 24^{5} 25^{8}), but as a preacher of a religion different from that of the Jews, and one which had already reached Cæsar's household (Ph 4^{22}). His defence has been partly made, and he is full of hope of a speedy acquittal ($1^{25ff.}$), though the possibility of martyrdom hangs like a cloud in his sky, bright to his own view, but casting a shadow upon his readers' joy (1^{19-30}).

It has been assumed, in accordance with the overwhelming opinion of scholars, that St. Paul was at the time imprisoned in Rome; but some say in Cæsarea. The chief reasons for the Roman imprisonment are—(1) that the wide-spread activity on behalf of the gospel by friends and enemies of the Apostle involves a larger Church than seems to have been in Cæsarea; and (2) his own conviction that his acquittal is near. With this view the indications of 1^{13} and 4^{22} most naturally agree. 'Prætorium' might, indeed, mean Herod's palace, which was used as the headquarters of the Roman governor in Cæsarea, but the words 'in the whole Prætorium' seem to point to the bodyguard of the Emperor, though Mommsen supposes that the conditions are best realized if the words imply that St. Paul was handed over to the judicial prefects of the Prætorian guard, who presided over the supreme Imperial court in Rome. No sufficient proof has been adduced that the word was used for the Emperor's palace in Rome, or for the barracks of the guard. Also 'Cæsar's household' (4^{22}) probably means the attendants of the Emperor in Rome, including those of high rank and slaves.

Assuming that the letter was written from a Roman prison, what is its relationship to Ephesians, Colossians, and Philemon—the other letters of the captivity? Some hold that these were written from Cæsarea while Philippians was sent from Rome, but most assign all these Captivity Epistles to Rome. There is, however, no unanimity as to whether Philippians preceded or followed the others. Some of the most distinguished English and American scholars put Philippians earliest, for the reason that in style and language it is very much akin to Romans, while Ephesians and Colossians are more like the Pastorals, and their atmosphere is quite different from that of Romans and Philippians. There is much force in this, though Ephesians also presents strong similarity to Romans. But the situation of the Asian Churches, invaded as they were by a new type of error, might have called forth new themes in a formal Epistle like Ephesians, while Philippians is a friendly letter to an old Church whose life was apparently now for the first time being threatened by the Judaists, with their gospel of legal righteousness. Nor would the year or so which on this supposition elapsed between Phil. and Eph. account for the difference between them. The question of priority may not admit of final decision, but in Philippians St. Paul's imprisonment seems to be nearer its end than in the other letters. Hort, who is in favour of the priority of Philippians, holds that the request to Philemon to prepare a lodging is not to be taken in a 'crude literal sense,' and that in the contemporary Colossians there is no expectation of a speedy release. Also in Philippians St. Paul has no friends upon whom he can depend, except Timothy (cf. Col $4^{7ff.}$ with Ph $2^{20.\ 21}$). An additional reason of less weight in favour of placing Philippians last is, that a somewhat long duration of St. Paul's imprisonment is involved by the communications of the Philippians and their anxiety at the change in the rigour of his captivity.

In regard to the date of Philippians, a further difficulty emerges because of the uncertainty of the Pauline chronology, but since A.D. 61 is the most probable year for the Apostle's arrival in Rome, this letter may, though not without hesitation, be assigned to A.D. 63. In this letter St. Paul refreshes his lonely spirit by perfect freedom of fellowship with his favourite Church. Rome was not so homogeneous, nor did it acknowledge his gospel so whole-heartedly as the Churches of his own creation; thither would come Christians of every shade of opinion—Judaists, Hellenists, Petrinists, and sympathizers with St. Paul. It is doubtful whether the Church of Rome was ever of a thoroughly Pauline type; for, notwithstanding the change effected by the Neronian persecution, that Church could not have soon become so decidedly Petrine had it originally been strongly imbued with the Pauline Gospel. This letter shows us a very active and varied missionary effort in the capital—partly by St. Paul among the Prætorians and in the Imperial household, partly by his friends, and to some extent by others who probably preached to the Jews and their proselytes.

3. Contents of the Epistle.—

(i.) *Greeting*, $1^{1.\ 2}$. Paul and Timothy salute the saints of Philippi, together with their bishops and deacons.

(ii.) *Introduction*, vv.$^{3-11}$. St. Paul is constantly moved to thanksgiving for their generous fellowship with him in the furtherance of the gospel from the beginning, and they are all ever on his heart where Christ dwells. His prayer for them is that their love may abound in knowledge and insight as to what befits the Christian life, that so they may live sincere and blameless lives until Christ comes.

(iii.) *The present condition of St. Paul*, vv.$^{12-26}$. His imprisonment has, contrary to expectation, led to the spread of the gospel, partly by his being chained to the Prætorian guards, partly through a new courage among his friends, and partly through envious rivalry. He, however, rejoices because he is assured that in answer to their prayers the Spirit of Christ will enable him to glorify his Lord whatever be the issue of his imprisonment; he does not know what to desire, though he believes that he will be acquitted and will work for their Christian welfare.

(iv.) *Exhortations to the Philippians to walk worthily of the gospel*, 1^{27}–2^{18}. No hostility must deter them from maintaining the gospel in a spirit of unity, for ability to suffer for Christ is a sign of Divine grace to them and of ruin to their enemies. An appeal is also made to them, by all that they have experienced of Christian love, to complete his joy by living in fellowship, and to exhibit that unselfish mind which prompted Christ to come to earth and die for them. Wherefore He is now exalted to be worshipped by every creature,

By reverent obedience let them work with God and effect His will of good towards them, so that at the last day the Apostle and his beloved Philippians may rejoice in what the gospel has done for them.

(v.) *The promise to send Timothy, and the commendation of Epaphroditus to the Philippians* (2[19-30]).

(vi.) *Christian progress through the knowledge of Jesus Christ,* 3[1]–4[1]. To sum up his letter, the Apostle would say, 'Rejoice in the Lord.' But, as though suddenly reminded of a danger, he returns, even at the risk of wearying them, to a warning against the Judaists—dogs, evil workers, mutilators of the flesh. He who believes in Christ alone as a sufficient Saviour is the true Israelite. St. Paul, who had enjoyed every Hebrew privilege, knows of how small value they were for attaining true righteousness, and now he boasts only in Christ. For personal knowledge of Him he will gladly lose all else, in order that he may get the righteousness which is from God by faith, and in close union with Him may realize the meaning of His sufferings, death, and resurrection. Christian perfection is still in the distance, but all who have been laid hold of by Christ must respond by striving eagerly for perfect fellowship with Him. The mature Christian must keep on in the path of progress, and not be misled by teaching which will end in an earthly goal and the rejection of the cross. St. Paul and his followers are to be their example, for their Commonwealth and its ideals are above, whence Christ will soon come to transfigure them into His likeness. Wherefore let this Church, which will be his crown at that day, stand fast in the Lord.

(vii.) *Conclusion,* 4[2-19].

(*a*) Exhortations to individuals to unity (vv.[2. 3]). Possibly 'yoke-fellow' (v.[3]) refers to Epaphroditus, or more probably it should be translated 'Synzygus,' a proper name. (*b*) St. Paul their example for Christian joy and conduct (vv.[4-9]). (*c*) Thanks for their gifts and for their many past favours. Contented as he is with whatever God sends, he might have done without them, but they will add interest to the account of the Philippians, and he gives them a receipt in full which God will acknowledge (vv.[10-19]).

(viii.) *Doxology and final greetings* (vv.[20-23]).

4. Purpose and Characteristics.—Epaphroditus had fallen sick at Rome before his work of love for St. Paul was done, and the news, having reached Philippi, cast the Church into anxiety; Epaphroditus in his turn having heard of their alarm has grown home-sick. St. Paul uses the occasion of his return to set their mind at rest about his own imprisonment for the gospel, and to deal with some affairs about which they had informed him. The letter is so thoroughly personal that it has no plan or any single aim. He thanks the Philippians for their gift, crowning many acts of generosity towards him, and yet, lest they should feel that he was too dependent upon them, he reminds them that it is their spirit that he values most. Again he warns them against a Judaistic gospel, and is urgent in seeking to compose personal jealousies of two of the women workers. His gospel is the only one, and it is the gospel of love. His union with Christ fills him with love and contentment, and thrills the lonely prisoner with *joy,* which may be called the note of the Epistle, and he hopes by this letter to impart some of this spirit to the Philippians also. Should the view that St. Paul was not acquitted be correct, this letter might be called 'his last testament to his beloved Church'; but there is good reason to believe that his hope of release was fulfilled.

Philippians is an excellent example of the Pauline method of sustaining Christian life by doctrinal truth which is the outcome of personal experience. Human thought has made few nobler flights into the mystery of redemption than Ph 2[6-11], but it is used to exalt the homely duty of sacrifice in the ministry of fellowship. Like 2 Co 8[9], the dynamic of the truth lies not in an intellectual interpretation of the mystery of Christ's personality, for little is told further than that He was in His nature essentially Divine, and enjoyed the prerogatives of Divinity; but it lies in the fact that St. Paul had learned from his own intercourse with the risen Christ His extraordinary power and grace as the eternal, Divine Son of God. Everything earthly becomes worthless in comparison with the excellency of the knowledge of Christ Jesus, his Lord. The contrast between His earthly life of suffering and death and the eternal, glorious existence involved in the vision of the risen Lord, has become the religious motive of supreme efficacy. Similarly in 3[8-11. 20. 21] the doctrine is deduced from experience, and is to be wrought into character. The emphasis on the practice of virtue, especially in 4[8-12], is said to reflect the finest contemporary teaching of the pagan world, but the form is pervaded with the purest Christian spirit.

5. Authenticity and Integrity.—The objections urged against this Epistle by Baur and his followers are not seriously regarded to-day, and have been abandoned by all but a few extremists who start from certain presuppositions as to primitive Christianity, and are offended by the tone of 3[17] 4[9], as well as by the abrupt transition in 3[1. 2]. The recurrence of the motives, ideas, and language of the great Pauline Epistles, and the external evidence of its use from the early sub-Apostolic age, make it unnecessary to consider the objections in detail. More plausibility attaches to the theory that the Epistle, as we now have it, consists of two letters, which are joined at 3[2], the last two chapters being probably earlier and addressed to different readers. In support of this, appeal is made to Polycarp's letter to the Philippians (iii. 2), where the words 'who also wrote you letters' are held to prove that they had not then been united. But in itself this supposition is baseless; and Polycarp, who knew apparently only our letter, may either have heard of others which St. Paul wrote to the Philippians or have employed the term loosely; or perhaps he was referring to a collection of St. Paul's Epistles used widely for edification by all the Churches. The abruptness in 3[1. 2], however, is explained by the fact that St. Paul is expressing himself freely in an intimate letter to his friends, and perhaps it was partly due to something in their letter to him which he suddenly remembered.

R. A. Falconer.

PHILISTIA.—See next art. and Palestine.

PHILISTINES.—The inhabitants of the Maritime Plain of Palestine (cf. art. Palestine, 1) from the period of the Judges onward to the 6th cent. or later. They are said to have come from Caphtor (Am 9[7], Jer 47[4], Dt 2[23]), which is with much probability identified with Crete. At all events they came from over the sea.

Rameses III. of the XXth Egyptian dynasty encountered a piratical sea-faring people on the borders of Syria, whom he called *Purusati* (= *Pulista* or 'Philistines'). They afterwards made incursions on the northern coast of Egypt as well as on the coast of Palestine. In the latter country they gained a permanent foothold, owing to its disorganized condition. When Wenamon made his expedition to Lebanon for a king of the XXIst dynasty (*c.* 1100), a Philistine kingdom existed at Dor. (For these facts cf. Breasted, *Ancient Records,* iv. 274 ff., and *History of Egypt,* p. 513.)

The Philistines first make their appearance in Biblical history late in the period of the Judges, when Samson, of the tribe of Dan, is said to have waged his curious single-handed combats with them (Jg 13–16). These conflicts were the natural result of the impact of the Philistines upon Israel's western border. The reference to the Philistines in Jg 3[31] is a later insertion (cf. Israel, §I. 11). During the time of Eli these invaders were trying to make their way into the central ridge of Palestine, and in one of the battles captured the ark of Jahweh, which a pestilence (probably bubonic plague) induced them to return (1 S 4–6).

When Saul became king the Philistines tried to break his power, but were defeated through the bravery of Jonathan (1 S 13. 14). Saul did not permanently check their progress, however, as by the end of his reign the whole of the rich plain of Jezreel was in their possession, including the city of Bethshean at its eastern end (1 S 31[10]). David early in his reign inflicted upon them a severe defeat (2 S 5[22ff.]), afterwards reducing them to vassalage (2 S 8[1]). Down to this time Philistine power was concentrated in the hands of the rulers of

the five cities of Gaza, Ashkelon, Ashdod, Ekron, and Gath. The rulers of these cities are called by a peculiar title, which is translated 'lords of the Philistines' (wh. see).

After the reign of David, probably at the division of the kingdom, the Philistines regained their independence, for we find the kings of Israel in the 9th cent. trying to wrest from them Gibbethon, a town on the border of the Maritime Plain (1 K 15^{27} 16^{15}). Late in the same century the Assyrian king Adad-nirari III. took tribute of Philistine kings (*KIB* i. 190), and began the long series of Assyrian interferences in Philistine affairs. Amos (1^{6-8}) denounces Philistine monarchies as among the independent kingdoms of his time.

The position of the Philistines exposed them to every approach of the Assyrians and Egyptians, and during the last third of the 8th cent. and the whole of the 7th their history is a series of conquests, conspiracies, and rebellions. It is possible to follow these with much fulness in the Assyrian inscriptions, but full details cannot be given here. Tiglath-pileser III. received tribute from Philistines (*KIB* ii. 20). They became Sargon's vassals the year that Samaria fell, B.C. 722 (*KIB* ii. 54), but ten years later a rebellion was led by Ashdod (Is 20^{1}; *KIB* ii. 64 ff.). At the beginning of the reign of Sennacherib another effort was made to shake off the Assyrian yoke. In this Hezekiah of Judah took part by imprisoning Padi, the Philistine king of Ekron, who remained faithful to Sennacherib. The allies thus brought together were defeated at Eltekeh (*KIB* ii. 92 ff.), and the siege of Jerusalem by Sennacherib was the result (2 K 18. 19). Esarhaddon (*KIB* ii. 148), and Ashurbanipal (*KIB* ii. 240) marched across the Philistine territory and held it in subjection. With the decline of Assyria the Philistines began to suffer from the rise of Egypt under the XXVIth dynasty. Psammetichus I. took Ashdod after a siege of 29 years (Herod. ii. 157). Necho II., a contemporary of Josiah of Judah, captured Gaza (Herod. ii. 159). It is probable that the Philistines suffered at the hand of Nebuchadnezzar, but no record of his doings among them has been preserved. The Assyrians call the Philistine rulers 'kings.' The older title, 'lords of the Philistines,' has disappeared.

When Cambyses made his expedition into Egypt (B.C. 525), Gaza opposed him (Polyb. xvi. 40). The Sidonian king Eshmunazar claims that Dor and Joppa were added to the dominions of Sidon. Gaza in 332 held out against Alexander the Great, and his siege of it is famous (Diod. Sic. xvii. xlviii. 7). The Ptolemys and Seleucids often fought over Philistine territory. It finally passed under Roman rule, and its cities had then an important history.

The Philistines cease to be mentioned by this name after the time of the Assyrians. Some infer from the fact that Herodotus (iii. 5) speaks of the Arabians as being in possession of the coast in the time of Cambyses, that the Philistines had even then been supplanted. It is probable that in the ebb and flow of the nations over this land they were gradually absorbed and lost their identity.

Probably the Philistines adopted in the main the religion and civilization of the Canaanites. Their chief god, Dagon (1 S $5^{2ff.}$), was a Semitic deity. He appears in the el-Amarna letters and also in Babylonia (cf. Barton, *Semit. Or.* 229 ff.). There was also at Ashkelon a temple of Ashtart (Herod. i. 105). If their religion was Semitic, so also were probably the other features of their civilization. If they brought other customs from beyond the sea, they are not described in our scanty records.

GEORGE A. BARTON.

PHILOLOGUS.—A Christian greeted in Ro 16^{15}.

PHILOSOPHY.—This word occurs in EV only in Col 2^{8}, where it refers to an unsound and pernicious form of teaching. 'Philosophy' proper falls outside the scope of the present work. Some points of contact between it and the Bible will be found in such articles as GNOSTICISM, LOGOS, ECCLESIASTES, WISDOM; cf. also EPICUREANS, STOICS.

PHINEES.—**1.** =**Phinehas, 1** (1 Es 5^{6} $8^{2.\ 29}$, 2 Es 1^{2k}). **2.** =**Phinehas, 2** (2 Es 1^{2b}). **3.** =**Phinehas, 3** (1 Es 8^{63}).

PHINEHAS.—**1.** The son of Eleazar, who was the third son of Aaron. Both his name and that of his mother Putiel are perhaps of Egyptian origin. The only certain occurrence of the name in a pre-exilic writing is in Jos 24^{33}; a hill (*Gibeath Pinhas*) in Ephraim was named after him, where his father and (LXX) he himself was buried. In P and the Chronicler he rises into great prominence. He succeeded Eleazar as chief priest (Ex 6^{25}, 1 Ch $6^{4.\ 50}$, Ezr 7^{5}, 1 Es 8^{2}, 2 Es 1^{2}), and was the superintendent of the Korahite Levites (1 Ch 9^{20}). The succession of the priesthood in his line was assured to him when he showed his zeal at Shittim in Moab, when Israel 'joined themselves unto Baal-peor.' An Israelite brought into the camp a woman from the Midianites who had beguiled the people into foreign worship. Phinehas slew the man and the woman (Nu 25). This is referred to in Ps $106^{30f.}$, Sir 45^{23-25}, 1 Mac $2^{26.\ 54}$. As priest he accompanied the expedition to punish the Midianites (Nu $10^{8f.}$). He was the spokesman of the western tribes concerning the altar which the eastern tribes had erected (Jos $22^{13.\ 30-32}$. See ED.). The war between Benjamin and the other tribes occurred in his high priesthood (Jg 20^{28}). After the Exile a clan of priests, 'the sons of Phinehas,' claimed descent from him (Ezr 8^{2} [1 Es 5^{5} 8^{29}, 2 Es 1^{2k} **Phinees**]). **2.** The younger son of Eli (1 S 1^{3} [2 Es 1^{2b} **Phinees**]). See HOPHNI AND PHINEHAS. **3.** Ezr 8^{33} father of a priest named Eleazar; =1 Es 8^{63} **Phinees.**

A. H. M'NEILE.

PHINOE (1 Es 5^{31})—**Paseah,** Ezr 2^{49}, Neh 7^{51}.

PHLEGON.—The name of a Christian greeted by St. Paul in Ro 16^{14}.

PHŒBE.—The bearer of the Epistle to the Romans (Ro 16^{1}). She was a 'deaconess' of the church at Cenchreæ. See DEACONESS.

PHŒNICIA, PHŒNICIANS.—Phœnicia was the strip of coast land between Lebanon and the hills of Galilee and the Mediterranean Sea. Its northern and southern limits are indefinite, being differently defined by different ancient geographers.

The Semitic name of the country was '**Canaan**' (*Kinachchi* and *Kinachna* in the el-Amarna tablets, and *Chna* on Phœnician coins; cf. CANAANITES). The name *Phœnicia* comes from a Gr. root signifying 'blood-red,' and was probably given on account of the colour of the soil. It was once thought to be derived from the Egyptian *Fenkh*, but that is now conceded to have been a designation of Asiatics in general (cf. W. Max Müller, *Asien und Europa*, 208 ff.).

The extent of the country may be roughly determined by its chief cities—Arvad or Arados, on the island now called Ruad, eighty miles north of Sidon, Simyra, Arka, Gebal or Byblos, Biruta on the site of the modern Beyrout, Sidon, Sarepta, Tyre, Achzib, and Acco. The latter, the modern Acre, not far north of Mt. Carmel, was the most southerly of these cities.

The Phœnicians are proved by their language and religion to have belonged to the Semitic race. Herodotus (i. 1 and vii. 89) records a tradition that they came from the Red Sea. Scholars now suppose that this refers really to the Persian Gulf, and that the **Canaanites,** of whom the Phœnicians were a part, came from North Arabia by way of the shore of the Persian Gulf and the Euphrates valley. This migration was probably a part of that movement of races which about B.C. 1700 gave Babylon the Kassite dynasty and Egypt its Hyksos kings (cf. Paton, *Early Hist. of Syria and Pal.* ch. v.). Perhaps the Canaanites were the last wave of Amorites (wh. see). Their chief cities may have been built by a previous race. Herodotus (ii. 44) records a tradition

which, if true, would carry the founding of the temple at Tyre back to B.C. 2730.

The civilization of the Phœnicians was a city civilization, and each city had its petty king. The history is therefore the record of a number of petty dynasties, often jealous of one another, and never powerful enough to resist a strong invader from without. Hemmed in between the mountains and the sea, they alone of the early Semites developed navigation, and became the merchantmen and the carriers of the ancient world. Their ships and shipping were important as early as B.C. 1400 (cf. *KIB* v. 150[61], 152[68]). Herodotus tells (iv. 42) how Necho of Egypt, a contemporary of Jeremiah, employed Phœnicians to circumnavigate Africa, while Strabo (xvi. ii. 23) again testifies to their excellence in seamanship. According to Homer, they had intercourse with Greeks in the time of the Trojan war (*Il.* vi. 290). Traces of their influence are found in Greece (cf. Barton, *Semit. Or.* 315 ff.), and their maritime skill led them later to found colonies, especially in Sicily, Carthage, and Cyprus.

For some reason **Sidon** so excelled the other cities in the eyes of Israelites and Greeks, that in the OT and Homer the Phœnicians are frequently called 'Sidonians,' even when, as in the case of Ahab's marriage, Tyrians are really referred to (cf. Jg 10[6. 12] 18[7], 1 K 5[6] 11[5. 33] 16[31], 2 K 23[13]; Hom. *Il.* vi. 290, *Od.* iv. 618, xv. 118). The reason for this is obscure.

Phœnicia first appears in written history in the record of the Asiatic campaigns of Thothmes III. of Egypt. In his earlier campaigns that king conquered the region between the Lebanon ranges. In his 7th expedition (B.C. 1471) he came out to the coast and conquered Arvad, the most northerly of the important Phœnician cities (cf. Breasted, *Ancient Records of Egypt*, ii. 196). There are reasons for supposing that **Tyre** had previously been added to his empire (Breasted *Hist. of Egypt*, 298). Probably the same is true of the rest of Phœnicia, for in the el-Amarna letters all the Phœnician cities were included in the Egyptian empire of Amenophis III. and Amenophis IV. These letters show that under Amenophis IV. Rib-Adda was vassal king of Gebal, Ammunira of Biruta, Zimrida of Sidon, and Abimilki of Tyre. These kings were in constant feud with one another, with the people of Arvad, and with the Amorites beyond the Lebanon. They are constantly accusing one another (cf. Nos. 33 ff., 128–130, and 147–156). Under the XIXth dynasty Phœnicia was again invaded. Seti I. held Acco and Tyre (Breasted, *Records*, iii. 47), while Rameses II. pushed northward to Biruta (*ib.* iii. 123). In the reign of his successor Merenptah the cities from the Lebanon to Ashbelon revolted. Phœnicia was probably included in the revolt, for in the poem written to celebrate the re-subjugation of these lands, we read: 'Plundered is Canaan with every evil' (Breasted, *Records*, iii. 264, *Hist.* 470). In the XXth dynasty Rameses III. (B.C. 1198–1167) still held the country from Arvad and southward (Breasted, *Records*, iv. 34, 37). It is probably because of this long Egyptian vassalage that Gn 10[15] traces the descent of Sidon from Ham. By the end of the dynasty Phœnicia was again free, for in the fifth year of Rameses XII. (B.C. 1113) a certain Wenamon was despatched to Phœnicia for cedar from the Lebanon forests; and Dor, Tyre, and Gebal, the towns at which he touched, were not only independent but had small respect for a representative of Pharaoh (Breasted, *ib.* iv. 274 ff.). The king of Gebal was at this time Zakar-Bel. Probably the dynasty of Tyre traced to Josephus (*c. Apion.* i. 18) was founded at the time of this emancipation from Egypt, and the era to which he refers (*Ant.* VIII. iii. 1) then began.

A century later than the time of Wenamon, Hiram king of Tyre was an ally of David, and furnished cedar to build him a place (2 S 5[11]). Later he was the ally of Solomon, and aided him in the construction of the Temple (1 K 5[1] 7[13] 9[11. 12]). In the following century king Ahab of Israel married Jezebel, daughter of Eth-baal, king of Tyre. Thus Phœnician influence found its way into Israel.

Shortly before the time of Ahab, the Assyrian king Ashur-nasir-pal (B.C. 884–860) had made a raid to the Mediterranean coast and exacted tribute from Tyre, Sidon, and Gebal (*KIB* i. 109). His successor, Shalmaneser II., records tribute from the same cities in his 21st year (*KIB* i. 143). Later he took it also from Arvad (*ib.* 173). Adad-nirari (B.C. 812–783) counted Tyre and Sidon among his subjects (*ib.* 191). In the interval of Assyrian weakness which followed, Phœnicia became once more independent, and when the powerful Tiglath-pileser III. (B.C. 745–727) again invaded the West, Tyre joined a coalition against him, but in the end Tyre and Gebal and Arvad paid tribute (*KIB* ii. 21, 23, 31). Sidon is not mentioned. Probably it was subject to Tyre. Tyre at this period ruled over a part of Cyprus. Menander relates (Jos. *Ant.* IX. xiv. 2) that Shalmaneser IV. (727–722) overran Phœnicia and unsuccessfully besieged Tyre for five years. Perhaps the issue of the siege came in the reign of Sargon, for the statue of that king in Cyprus shows that this dependency of Tyre was ruled by him. Sennacherib (705–681) records the submission of Sidon, Sarepta, Achzib, and Acco (*KIB* ii. 91). Tyre he did not disturb. Esar-haddon had to reduce Sidon by a siege, and changed its name to 'Esarhaddonsburg' (*Kar-Assurakhiddina*), but he failed to reduce Tyre (*KIB* ii. 125 ff., 149; Rogers, *Hist. Bab. and Assyr.* ii. 226 ff.). Ashurbanipal (668–626) claims to have reduced Tyre and Arvad. At any rate he made an alliance with the king of Tyre (*KIB* ii. 169, 171). Before the end of his reign, however, Phœnicia was again independent, Assyria having become weak. We next hear that king Nebuchadnezzar of Babylon (604–562) unsuccessfully besieged Tyre for many years (Ezk 26[1ff.] 29[17ff.]).

In the Persian period (how Phœnicia became subject to Persia our sources do not tell) Sidon again became the leading city, Tyre taking a second place. An inscription of Yahaw-melech, king of Gebal, probably belongs to this period (*CIS* i. 1).

Sidon furnished the best ships for the fleet of Xerxes, Tyre the next best (Diod. Sic. XVI. xlvi.; Herod. vii. 44, 96, 98, viii. 67). Straton (Abd-Ashtart?) of Sidon in the next century effected Greek civilization (Ælian, *Var. Hist.* vii. 2; Athenæus, 531). About 350 his successor Tennes (Tabnith ?) joined in an unsuccessful revolt against Persia, and Sidon was again besieged (Diod. Sic. XVI. xlii.).

After the battle of Issus (B.C. 333), all the Phœnician cities except Tyre opened their gates to Alexander the Great. Tyre resisted and again stood a siege of seven months (Diod. Sic. XVII. xli. ff.). During the next century, under the Ptolemys, a native dynasty flourished at Sidon, from which a number of inscriptions survive (cf. G. A. Cooke, *North Sem. Inscr.* 26 ff.; *JAOS* xxiii. 156 ff.). The kings were Eshmunazar I., Tabnith, Bod-Ashtart, and Eshmunazar II. Bod-Ashtart built a temple near Sidon, which has recently been excavated.

In the wars of the later Ptolemys and Seleucids the Phœnicians played an important part. Phœnicia belonged to the Seleucids after B.C. 197. In B.C. 65 it passed under Roman rule. The reference in Mk 7[26] to a woman who was a **'Syrophœnician'** by race shows that the Evangelist recognized that the old stock survived. In B.C. 14 Augustus made Biruta a Roman colony. Claudius (A.D. 41–54) made Acco, then called Ptolemais (cf. Ac 21[7]), a Roman colony. Septimius Severus (A.D. 193–211) performed a similar service for Tyre, and Elagabalus (218–222) for Sidon. Gradually the old race was merged with various conquerors.

In civilization the Phœnicians were for the most part borrowers from Babylonia and Egypt. What they

borrowed they carried in their trading voyages all about the Mediterranean, and thus diffused culture and the arts of life. Perhaps they were pioneers in the art of seamanship, but of this we cannot be sure; they may have borrowed this from Crete or the Mycenæans. That they invented **the alphabet** and diffused it in their voyages, so that it was adopted by the Greeks and Romans, is generally conceded, but whether they obtained it by adapting Egyptian hieroglyphs, or Babylonian cuneiform characters, or from some other ancient form of writing, is still in dispute. In religion they closely resembled the other Semites (cf. W. R. Smith, *RS*; and Barton, *Semit. Origins*). **Baal** and **Ashtart** were the principal divinities, and much prominence was given to sexual rites (cf. Lucian, *de Syria Dea*, § 6). Human sacrifice persisted long among them in spite of their contact with the highly civilized Greeks (cf. *EBi* iii. col. 3189, 3190).

The best account that we have of the nature and extent of Phœnician traffic is contained in Ezekiel's description (chs. 27. 28) of the trade of Tyre, which, as we have seen, had been the leading Phœnician city for a century or more before his time.

GEORGE A. BARTON.

PHŒNIX was a good harbour on the S. coast of Crete. It has been identified almost certainly with *Loutro*, which is said to be the only harbour W. of Fair Havens where a ship of such size as that by which St. Paul travelled (it was a cargo ship, but had crew and passengers on board numbering altogether 276) could find shelter. Strabo speaks of Phœnix as being on an isthmus (*i.e.* a narrow part of the island), and apparently as being in the territory of Lappa, which was not far from Loutro. Other authorities speak of it as if it were near Aradena, which is only a mile from Loutro. The identification would therefore be certain but for St. Luke's description of the harbour of Phœnix as looking 'towards the S.W. and the N.W.' (Ac 27^{12}), whereas the harbour of Loutro looks towards the East. Hence some identified Phœnix with a harbour a little farther W., of which we have no evidence that it could accommodate so large a ship. It is perhaps more probable that St. Luke makes a mistake in his description of a harbour which he never reached. The RV understands the Greek to mean 'in the direction in which the S.W. and N.W. winds blow,' and therefore translates 'looking N.E. and S.E.' This may have been a sailor's way of expressing it, but we have no authority for it.

A. E. HILLARD.

PHOROS (1 Es 5^{9} 8^{30} 9^{26}) = **Parosh** (wh. see).

PHRURAI.—In Ad. Est 11^{1} the Book of Esther is called 'the epistle of Phrurai' (*i.e.* 'Purim' [wh. see]).

PHRYGIA.—The Phrygians were an Aryan race who seem to have had their first home in Thrace, and to have crossed into Asia through the same southward movement of tribes that brought the Hellenes into Greece. In Asia they occupied at one time the greater part of the country W. of the Halys, probably displacing a Semitic race from whom they may have learned the worship of Cybele. We must regard Homer's Trojans as part of the Phrygian race, and the Trojan War as a contest between them and Greek settlers from Thessaly. In more historical times the name Phrygia applies to an inland region varying in extent at different times, but bounded at its widest by the Sangarius on the N., the Halys on the E., the Taurus range on the S. It thus covered the W. part of the great plateau of Asia Minor and the upper valleys of the rivers Mæander and Hermus. It was a region fruitful in oil and wine, exporting also wool, gold, marble, and salt.

When the Romans inherited the kingdom of Pergamus in B.C. 133, a part of Phrygia was included in the province of Asia, but the southern portion towards Pamphylia was not included. This portion was in the hands of the dependent king of Galatia when Augustus constituted Galatia a province in B.C. 25, and was therefore included in the new province which extended from Lycia on the S.W. almost to the mouth of the Halys on the N.E. Hence this portion of Phrygia, with its cities of Antioch and Iconium, came to be known as Phrygia Galatica.

This country was included by St. Paul in the work of his first missionary journey (Ac 13^{14}–14^{24}). From Perga he and Barnabas made their way N. along the difficult mountain road to Antioch, here called 'Pisidian Antioch' (see PISIDIA). On his second missionary journey St. Paul (now accompanied by Silas) began with the churches of Cilicia and then passed through Derbe and Lystra, where he took Timothy into his company. The narrative then proceeds (Ac 16^{6}): 'And they went through the region of Phrygia and Galatia [Gr. 'the Phrygian and Galatian region'], having been forbidden [AV 'and were forbidden'] of the Holy Ghost to speak the word in Asia; and when they were come over against Mysia they assayed to go into Bithynia; and the Spirit of Jesus suffered them not; and passing by Mysia they came down to Troas.' The natural interpretation of this is that from Lystra they traversed *Phrygia Galatica*, from Antioch took the road leading N. to Dorylaion, where they would be near Bithynia, and from there were directed W. to Troas. Attempts have been made, however, to find here an evangelization of Galatia proper with its towns of Pessinus and Ancyra. But against this we must set (1) the form of the Greek phrase 'the Phrygian and Galatian region'; (2) the strange silence of St. Luke about a work that must have taken a considerable time; (3) the geographical consideration that the travellers could not have crossed the desert of the Axylon straight from S. to N. and must in any case have used the road to Dorylaion. See, further, artt. GALATIA and GALATIANS [EP. TO] for this and the further question whether the Epistle to the Galatians can have been written to the churches of Phrygia Galatica. If it was, we have an interesting glimpse of how in the churches first founded by St. Paul his authority was very soon (perhaps A.D. 50) assailed by Judaizers, who disputed his Apostolic credentials and declared his doctrine to be an imperfect form of Christianity, neglecting its Jewish basis.

The third missionary journey likewise began with 'the region of Galatia and Phrygia' (Ac 18^{23}), or 'the Galatian region and Phrygia.' Here the reference is probably to the same churches, but the order of words is doubtless meant to include the churches of Lycaonia first—these were in the province of Galatia, but were not in Phrygia. The order is in any case strongly against the inclusion of Galatia proper. The journey was continued 'through the upper country to Ephesus,' *i.e.* along the direct route which passed through the higher country from Metropolis to Ephesus, instead of the high road which followed the valley of the Lycus.

A. E. HILLARD.

PHYGELUS.—Mentioned in company with Hermogenes in St. Paul's last Epistle, as those in Asia who, among others, had turned away from the Apostle (2 Ti 1^{15}). See HERMOGENES.

MORLEY STEVENSON.

PHYLACTERIES, FRONTLETS.—**1.** Among the charges brought by our Lord against the Pharisees of His day we read: 'but all their works they do for to be seen of men: for they make broad their phylacteries and enlarge the borders of their garments' (Mt $23^{5.6}$; for 'borders' see FRINGES). This is the only Biblical reference to one of the most characteristic institutions of the Judaism of the first century as of the twentieth. The word 'phylactery' (Gr. *phylactērion*) literally signifies a 'safe-guard,' as safe-guarding the wearer against the attacks of hurtful spirits and other malign influences such as the evil eye—in other words, an **amulet**. By the Jews then as now, however, the phylacteries were

termed *tephillīn*, the plural of the ordinary word for 'prayer.'

2. For information regarding the phylacteries of our Lord's day we are dependent on the somewhat later allusions in the Mishna, with which the modern Jewish usage agrees in all essential points. Then, as now, they consisted of two small square cases or capsules of leather, 'two finger-breadths' according to the Talmud, say 1½ inch, in the side, one of which was worn on the forehead, the other on the left upper arm. The leather had to be prepared from the skin of a ritually 'clean' animal, and was coloured a deep black.

The case for the forehead, which was termed the 'head-tephillah,' was distinguished from the 'arm-' or 'hand-tephillah' by its being shaped so as to give four small but distinct compartments, while its fellow consisted of a single compartment. In each of the four compartments of the former was placed a narrow strip of parchment, also from the skin of a 'clean' animal, having carefully written on it one of the Pentateuch passages which were regarded as the Scripture warrant for the institution of the phylacteries (see § **4**). These were Ex 13^{1-10} 13^{11-16}, Dt 6^{4-9} 11^{13-21}. The companion capsule, on the other hand, contained the same four passages written on a single strip of parchment. Each case was then closed by folding back the lower half of the square of stout leather from which it projected, space being left at the fold for the passing of a long strap, blackened on the upper side, by which each phylactery was kept in position when properly 'laid.' The strap of the head-phylactery was tied behind the head into a knot having the shape of the Hebrew letter *daleth*. On the two sides of the capsule were impressed the letter *shīn*, on one side with the usual three prongs, on the other with four prongs. The corresponding loop of the phylactery for the arm was supposed to form the letter *yōd*, the three letters together giving the sacred name *Shaddai*, 'Almighty.'

3. From the Mishna we learn further that women, slaves, and minors were exempted from the obligation of wearing, or in technical phrase 'laying,' the tephillīn, a duty still incumbent on all male Israelites, from the age of thirteen years and a day, during the recital of morning prayer, on all days save Sabbaths and festivals. These, being themselves 'signs,' rendered the phylacteries unnecessary for this purpose (Ex 13^{9}; cf. § **4** below). It is probable, however, that in our Lord's time, as was the case later, the more zealous spirits among the Pharisees wore their phylacteries during the whole day.

In putting on the phylacteries that of the hand is 'laid' first, to the accompaniment of a prescribed prayer, and must lie on the inner side of the left arm, which must be bare, a little above the elbow, so that the case with the Scripture passages may rest upon the heart (Dt 11^{18}). The strap is then drawn tight and wound round the arm and the middle finger of the left hand a prescribed number of times. (For details see Hastings' *DB* iii. 870.) The head-phylactery is next laid, its position being the middle of the forehead, 'between the eyes' (Ex 13^{9} etc., see next §), with the knot above described at the back of the head, and the two ends of the strap brought forward to hang down over the breast in front. The phylacteries are taken off in the reverse order. When not in use, they are kept in a bag, which is often made of superior material richly ornamented (see illust. in *JewishEncyc.*, *s.v.* 'Phylacteries').

4. The Scripture warrant for this peculiar institution of Judaism is found in the four passages, Ex $13^{9.\ 16}$, Dt 6^{8} 11^{18}. Of these Dt 6^{8} may be quoted as the most explicit: 'And thou shalt bind them'—*i.e.* 'these words which I command thee this day,' v.^{6}—'for a *sign* upon thine hand, and they shall be for *frontlets* between thine eyes.' These words and their parallels in the other passages, it is maintained by Jewish and some Christian scholars, are intended by their authors to be taken literally. This contention has been examined in detail in the corresponding article in Hastings' *DB* (iii. 870–72). The result is a verdict in favour of the figurative interpretation of all the passages, including that just cited. A good deal turns on the sense of the word rendered **'frontlets'** (*tōtāphōth*). This rendering (cf. *Oxf. Heb. Lex.* 'bands,' 'frontlet-bands') cannot be maintained in face of the evidence for the rendering 'jewel' or 'amulet,' the meaning which the word has in the Heb. text of Sir 36^{3} (=AV 33^{3}), as read by Smend in his edition of the text and commentary (both 1906): 'the law is for the wise man an amulet, a band (or knot) upon the hand.' In Mishna, also, *Shabbath*, vi. 1, 5, *tōtepheth* signifies an ornament in a lady's head-dress.

We conclude, then, that the Pentateuch writers really intended by these metaphors to impress upon God's people that His word was to be to them a treasure more precious than any jewel. The figures were derived from the prevailing custom of wearing jewels on the forehead and on the wrists both as ornaments and as amulets (see Amulets, Ornaments). On the other hand, if the literal interpretation is followed, we should have to recognize another of the numerous instances in the Hebrew legislation, in which a deeply rooted and ineradicable practice of heathen origin and superstitious associations was adopted and given a religious signification, precisely as was done with the kindred sign of the tassels on the corners of the mantle (see Fringes, end).

5. The date at which this literal interpretation was first given effect to and the wearing of the phylacteries introduced cannot be determined with certainty. The fact that the institution is unknown to the Samaritans shows that it must have arisen after the date of the Samaritan schism. The passage of Jesus Sirach above quoted (written *c.* B.C. 180–170) seems to imply that the figurative interpretation still held the field. On the other hand, the writer of the famous 'Letter of Aristeas' (scarcely later than B.C. 90) distinctly mentions (§ 159) the binding of 'the sign upon the hand' (see Thackeray's tr. in *JQR* xv. 368 f.). We may, therefore, with some confidence assign the introduction of the phylacteries to the period of the domination of the Pharisees in the reign of John Hyrcanus (B.C. 135–105).

Even in the first century of our era it is very doubtful if the practice extended beyond the Pharisees and their adherents, who showed their zeal for religion by the size of the cases and the breadth of the straps by which they were fastened. Certainly the mass of the Jewish people at this date, 'who knew not the law' (Jn 7^{49}), paid no heed to such literalism; neither, we may be sure, did Jesus or His disciples.

In popular estimation, as is shown by the very name 'phylacteries' (§ 1), and by references in Targum and Talmud, the phylacteries were regarded as powerful amulets. In the Middle Ages they seem to have fallen from the absurdly exaggerated esteem in which they were held in Talmudic times. This was no doubt due to the fact that some of the most influential Jewish exegetes still frankly maintained the figurative interpretation of the cardinal passages of the Pentateuch. In more modern times, however, the practice of 'laying the tephillīn' has revived, and is now universal in orthodox Jewish circles.

A. R. S. Kennedy.

PHYLARCH (2 Mac 8^{33}).—A military title for either a cavalry officer or a commander of auxiliary forces.

PHYSICIAN.—See Medicine, p. 597b.

PI-BESETH.—Ezk 30^{17}: Bubastis, one of the greatest cities in Lower Egypt; Egyp. *Pubasti*, 'House of Ubasti'; it was especially the residence of the 22nd Dyn., which was founded by Shishak. The goddess Ubasti was usually figured with a lion's head, but she was of a mild character, and her sacred animal in late times was the cat. The ruins of the city are now called *Tell Basta*, lying near Zagazig, in the E. of the Delta.

The temple described by Herodotus was excavated by Naville, yielding monuments of every period from the 4th Dynasty to the 30th. F. Ll. Griffith.

PIECE.—*Piece* is used in AV for (1) a measure equal to a firkin (1 Es 8^{20} 'an hundred pieces of wine'); (2) an instrument of war (1 Mac 6^{51} 'pieces to cast darts, and slings').

PIGEON.—See Dove.

PI-HAHIROTH (Ex $14^{2.\ 9}$, Nu $33^{7.\ 8}$).—Mentioned in connexion with the camping of the Israelites. It was 'between Migdol and the sea, before Baal-zephon' (Ex 14^{9}). This definition does not enable us to fix its site, for these other places are themselves unknown. In Nu 33^{8} the name is simply **Hahiroth.**

PILATE.—Pontius Pilatus, a Roman of no known family, succeeded Valerius Gratus as procurator of Judæa in A.D. 26. He possibly owed his appointment to Sejanus, and his administration, as described from the Jewish standpoint, shows either that he shared the anti-Jewish feelings of Sejanus or that he failed to understand the temper of the people with whom he had to deal. His first offence was not allowing the soldiers to remove the images from their standards on entering Jerusalem. These images were worshipped by the soldiers, and were therefore symbols of idolatry. A deputation of Jews waited on Pilate for five days, and refused to desist though threatened with instant death. He was compelled to give way, but subsequently set up in the palace of Herod tablets dedicated to the Emperor, which was taken as an attempt to introduce the Cæsar-worship already flourishing in the rest of the Empire. Only an order from Tiberius compelled him to yield a second time. He gave further offence by a more justifiable action. The need of water in the city was much felt at the time of festivals, and Pilate proceeded to construct a new aqueduct at the expense of the Temple treasure. The Sanhedrin might have ordered such a work, but as Pilate's act it caused a riot which was not quelled without bloodshed. To these incidents we must add the massacre of some Galilæans at the very altar of sacrifice, referred to in Lk 13^{1}, but not otherwise explained. The end of Pilate's rule was brought about by a disturbance in Samaria. Tradition said that the vessels of the Tabernacle had been buried on Mt. Gerizim, and a band of armed men escorted thither an impostor who promised to reveal them. Pilate sent troops to the spot, who, after a massacre, dispersed the multitude. Complaint was made to Vitellius, the *legatus* of Syria, who seems at this time to have had authority over the governor of Judæa. Pilate was ordered to justify himself at Rome (A.D. 36), but before he arrived there Tiberius had died (March, A.D. 37), and he was not re-appointed (Joseph, *Ant.* XVIII. iii. 1–iv. 2). Eusebius states that he committed suicide. The 'Acts of Pilate' and his letters to the Emperor are late forgeries.

Pilate would therefore be to us only one of a series of unsuccessful procurators, but for the fact that his years of office covered the period of Christ's ministry. From the accounts of our Lord's trial we learn more of him than from any other source.

Except at the times of the great feasts the governors usually stayed at Cæsarea; but Pilate was probably present with reinforcements to repress any disorder during the Passover, and had his headquarters in the fortress known as the Tower of Antonia, which adjoined the Temple on the N. side. The **prætorium** formed part of this fortress (but see Prætorium), and on this occasion, while the prisoner was led inside, the accusers remained below the steps which led into the hall, lest they should be rendered unclean for the feast by entering a building defiled by leaven. Pilate examined Jesus inside the hall, and came outside each time he wished to speak to the accusers. Jesus had been brought to him to be condemned to death, this penalty being out of the power of the Sanhedrin; and at first they expected Pilate to pass sentence on their simple statement that he was 'a malefactor' (Jn 18^{28-32}). Pilate was too Roman for this—penalties in their power they might inflict, but if he was to add his authority he required a reason. Therefore (avoiding the charge of blasphemy) they accused Jesus of 'forbidding tribute' and calling himself 'Christ, a king' (Lk 23^{2}). Pilate returned inside, and by questions assured himself that the prisoner claimed only what he would have called a 'philosophical kingship'—an idea familiar to him, if only from the Stoics. Hardly believing that truth was attainable (as he showed by the scornful answer, 'What is truth?'), he was yet prepared, like many Romans of his day, to patronize one who thought he had attained to it (Jn 18^{33-38}). From this time onwards we must regard the trial as a series of attempts on Pilate's part to release Jesus without too great offence to the Jews. (1) Hearing that He came from Galilee, he sends Him to **Herod Antipas,** who was at Jerusalem for the feast. If Herod 'claimed jurisdiction' over the prisoner he might have released Him, but he had no more power to condemn a man to death in Jerusalem than the Jews had. The courtesy reconciled Herod and Pilate, their former enmity being due to the fact that Herod sent private reports to Rome and was regarded as the Emperor's spy. But when Herod failed to get either reply or miracle from Jesus, he sent Him back to Pilate (Lk 23^{6-12}). (2) It was a custom (whether Jewish or Roman in origin) to release a prisoner in honour of the Passover. Pilate proposed to release Jesus, but, persuaded by the priests, the multitude clamoured for Barabbas (Mt 27^{15-21}, Mk 15^{6-11}, Lk 23^{13-19}, Jn $18^{39.\ 40}$). (3) After solemnly washing his hands, as if absolving himself of responsibility for condemning an innocent man (Mt $27^{24.\ 26}$), Pilate hoped to satisfy the rancour of the accusers by scourging the prisoner. 'I will chastise him and release him' (Lk $23^{16.\ 22}$). But when Jesus came forth from the scourging, the Jews for the first time brought forward the cry that He 'made himself the Son of God' (Jn 19^{7}). To such as Pilate, Greek mythology would make it not incredible that 'the son of a god' should be on earth, and in the decadence of their own religion the Romans were lending a ready ear to the mysterious religions of the East. Moreover, Pilate's superstitious fear had already been aroused by the report of his wife's dream (Mt 27^{19}). Again, therefore, he questioned Jesus. But at length the Jews prevailed with the cry, 'If thou let this man go, thou art not Cæsar's friend' (Jn 19^{12}). The threat that the province would accuse him at Rome for treason overcame Pilate's scruples. An accusation for 'treason' might mean death under Tiberius. Pilate gave way, caused his throne or tribunal to be brought on to the tessellated space in front of the prætorium (called 'Gabbatha' in Aramaic), and there pronounced final judgment. But in the taunting words, 'Behold your king!' and 'Shall I crucify your king?' as well as in the inscription on the cross, which he refused to alter in spite of protest, he wreaked upon the Jews such revenge as lay in his power.

In this unjust complaisance we have an illustration of one danger in the strict supervision which Augustus and Tiberius maintained over provincial government. In the main it was a great benefit, but it enabled the provincials to intimidate a weak governor. The weak points in Pilate's character stand out strongly. He seems to have been a sceptic in principle, but not free from superstition, in this resembling perhaps most of the upper class among the Romans in his day. He had probably not taken the trouble to understand the fierce passions of the people whom he was sent to govern, and when worsted by them in early encounters, the scorn which Romans felt for Jews became in him something like hatred, and a strong desire to be avenged on their leaders at all costs save one, namely, disgrace at Rome.

For before all things he seems to have considered his own position.

But it is very unlikely that Tiberius, who was jealous for good provincial government, would have allowed Pilate to remain procurator for ten years if his administration had been as bad as our knowledge of him would imply. It is easy to under-estimate the difficulties of his post. The province of Judæa included not only Judæa proper, but Samaria and Idumæa; and in addition to its normal population there was at the time of great feasts, particularly the Passover, an influx of Jews from other provinces, which made the temporary population of Jerusalem sometimes between two and three millions. And this population was animated, as no other race was, by a religious fervour capable of passing on occasion into political excesses difficult to cope with, since in the eyes of a large minority submission to foreign rule was religious apostasy. But the province ranked only as a 'minor Imperial province'; its governor was a procurator, not a *legatus* or *præfectus*, and to control the difficult elements in the population he had only 3000 troops, quartered usually at Cæsarea, besides small detachments used to garrison Jerusalem and Sebaste. The governor usually went up to Jerusalem for the Passover time, but he must have felt that in face of a sudden national movement he would be powerless; and it is no small testimony to Roman powers of administration that for 60 years the series of procurators in Judæa managed to postpone more serious conflicts. The fault would seem to rest with the central authority, which did not realize that in administering the small province of Judæa it had to deal not with the province alone, but with all the millions of Jews scattered throughout the Empire, profoundly earnest in religious convictions, regarding Judæa as the holy centre of all they held dearest, and maintaining direct communication with the Sanhedrin, to which the Romans themselves had allowed a certain authority over all Jews throughout the Empire. Hence, mistaking the nature of the work, they sent as procurators second-rate men, who were often (like Pilate) nominees of Imperial favourites, and who were probably looking forward to their promotion from the moment that they landed in Cæsarea. Had Judæa been definitely attached to the province of Syria, it would at any rate have been governed by men with a wider outlook.

A. E. Hillard.

PILDASH.—One of the sons of Nahor (Gn 22^{22}).

PILHA.—A signatory to the covenant (Neh 10^{24}).

PILLAR.—**1.** With two or three unimportant exceptions, 'pillar' in OT is the rendering of two very distinct Heb. terms, *'ammūd* and *mazzēbāh*. The former denotes in most cases—for a conspicuous exception see Jachin and Boaz—a pillar or column supporting the roof or other part of a building (Jg $16^{25 f.}$, 1 K $7^{21 f.}$), also the pillars from which the hangings of the Tabernacle were suspended (Ex 26^{32} and oft.). From this sense the transition is easy to a column of smoke (Jg 20^{40}), and to the **'pillar of cloud'** and the **'pillar of fire'** of the Exodus and the Wanderings (Ex 13^{21} etc.). The further transition to the figurative use of the term 'pillar,' which alone prevails in NT (Gal 2^{9}, 1 Ti 3^{15}, Rev 3^{12} 10^{1}), may be seen in Job 9^{6} 26^{11}—passages reflecting an antique cosmogony in which the pillars of earth and heaven were actual supports.

2. It is with the second of the two terms above cited, the **mazzēbāh,** that this article has mainly to deal. Derived from a root common to the Semitic family, *mazzēbāh* denotes something 'set up' on end, in particular an upright stone, whether it be a megalithic monument, such as the stones known to contemporary archæology as *menhirs* or 'standing stones,' or a less imposing funerary stele. Three varieties of *mazzēbāhs* may be distinguished in OT.

(*a*) For reasons that will appear at a later stage, our survey may start from the stone erected over a grave or elsewhere as **a memorial of the dead.** The *mazzēbāh* set up by Jacob upon the grave of Rachel (Gn 35^{20}) was of this kind. This was the prevailing application of the term among the Phœnicians (see Cooke, *Text-book of N. Sem. Inscrips.* 60). To this category may also be reckoned the memorial pillar which Absalom erected for himself in his own lifetime (2 S 18^{18}).

(*b*) In a second group may be placed the stones set up to commemorate, or, in Biblical phrase, 'for a witness' of, some important incident (Gn $31^{44 f.}$, Jos 24^{27})—in particular the appearance or manifestation of a Divine being (a theophany) at a given spot. Such, in the present form of the story—for the probable original form, see § **4** below—was the stone which Jacob set up and anointed at Bethel (Gn $28^{18. 22}$; cf. 31^{13} 35^{14}). Other examples of *mazzēbāhs*, interpreted by the Heb. historians as commemorative monuments, are the stone Ebenezer of 1 S 7^{12}, and the cromlech (*gilgal*) set up by Joshua after the crossing of the Jordan 'for a memorial unto the children of Israel' (Jos 4^{7}).

(*c*) The third and most important class of *mazzēbāhs* comprises the pillar-stones which stood beside the **altar** at every Canaanite sanctuary (see High Place). For this class AV has the misleading term 'image' (except Dt 12^{3}), for which RV has substituted 'pillar,' with **'obelisk'** in the margin. That the local sanctuaries, in most cases taken over from the Canaanites, at which the Hebrews worshipped J″ were provided with such pillar-stones, is evident both from the references in Hos 3^{4} $10^{1 f.}$, and from the repeated condemnation of them in the successive law codes (Ex 34^{13} 23^{24}, Dt 7^{5} 12^{3} etc.), and by the Deuteronomic historians (1 K 14^{23}, 2 K 18^{4} 23^{14} [for Judah] 17^{10} [Israel]).

A special variety of pillar associated with idolatrous worship emerges in the later writings, the *chammānīm* or sun-pillars (AV 'images,' RV **'sun-images'**). They were probably connected with sun-worship (Lagrange, *Études sur les relig. sémit.*[2] 314 f.).

3. The OT evidence for the *mazzēbāhs* as an indispensable part of the furnishing of a Canaanite high place has been confirmed in a remarkable degree by the excavations of recent years, in the course of which pillar-stones of diverse shapes and sizes have been brought to light. Even to summarize the archæological evidence would extend this article beyond due limits (see Vincent, *Canaan d'après l'exploration récente* [1907], 102–115; Benzinger, *Heb. Arch.*[2] [1907], 321 ff.; Kittel, *Studien zur heb. Arch.* [1908], 126 ff.). It must suffice to refer briefly to the magnificent series of *mazzēbāhs* which formed part of the high place at Gezer (for full details see *PEFSt*, 1903, 23 ff., and Macalister, *Bible Sidelights*, etc., 54 ff.). Originally ten in number, eight of them are still standing *in situ*. 'They are unhewn blocks, simply set on end and supported at the base by smaller stones . . . and range in height from 10 ft. 6 in. to 5 ft. 5 in.' The smaller dimensions are those of the second stone of the series, which is supposed to have been the original *beth-el* (see next §) of the high place. The fact that this stone, alone of the group, has its top smooth and polished, as if by long-continued **anointing** on the part of the worshippers, is greatly in favour of this view. Several of the larger stones are provided with cavities, either at the top or in one side. This provision, which is also characteristic of the *mazzēbāhs* found at Taanach and Megiddo, must evidently, as will presently appear, have some relation to the ritual of the worship of these ancient sanctuaries.

4. It now remains to deal with a question which may be thus formulated, What significance did the Canaanites, and the Hebrews after them, attach to these *mazzēbāhs*, and what place did they hold in the ancient cult?

This question can hardly be approached without a reference to the still unsolved problem of the religious significance of 'standing stones' all the world over. This world-wide phenomenon 'must rest on some cause which was operative in all primitive religions' (W. R. Smith, *RS*^{2} 209). It will probably be found, on consideration of all the conditions to be satisfied, that *the desire to appease the spirit of the dead* lies at the beginning, while the conception of the pillar-stone as a representation of the deity, beside the altar dedicated to his worship, comes at the end of a long process of evolution. On this view, a stone, over or beside the grave of the dead, afforded, to the primitive mind, a convenient abode for the departed spirit, when it chose to return to receive the homage and offerings of the living. The blood of the sacrifice was poured over the stone, and thus brought into contact with the indwelling spirit (cf. the cup-marks on the cap-stones of the dolmens on the east of the Jordan and elsewhere). With this desire to do honour to the dead, the idea of keeping alive his memory by a conspicuous or upright stone was sooner or later associated. When and where higher ideas of the spirit world prevailed, the *mazzēbāh* became a memorial stone and nothing more, as in group (*a*) above.

The belief that a stone might become the abode of *any numen* marked a distinct step in advance. In Gn 28 it is admitted that we have a later adaptation of a Canaanite temple myth, which explained the origin of the sanctuary at Bethel, and especially the sanctity attaching to the original **beth-el**, *i.e.*, the abode of an *el* or *numen* (v.^{22}), round which the sanctuary grew up. In the original form of the story the **anointing** of the stone was an offering to the indwelling *numen*. The second of the Gezer *mazzēbāhs* shows an exact counterpart to this. The cavities in the other recently discovered *mazzēbāhs*, above mentioned, were no doubt originally intended to receive similar offerings of blood, wine, or oil (cf. Gn 35^{14}).

When this fetish worship had been outgrown, the *mazzēbāh* became merely *a symbol or representation of the deity*, who had his home elsewhere. The conical pillar standing in the court of the temple of Astarte, as represented on the coins of Byblus, is an illustration of this higher conception. We may be sure that the worshippers of J″ regarded the Canaanite *mazzēbāhs* in this light from the first. But the danger of contamination was great (see High Place, § 6), and the condemnation of the *mazzēbāhs* is a recurring feature of all the law codes (reff. above).

5. Another unsolved problem may be mentioned in conclusion. What is the relation of the *mazzēbāh* to the **altar?** Shall we say, with the distinguished author of the *Religion of the Semites*^{2} (p. 204), that 'the altar is a differentiated form of the primitive rude stone pillar, the *nosb* or *massebah*'; or, with the latest investigator, that 'the *massebah* is nothing else than the artificial substitute for the sacrificial stone' (Kittel, *op. cit.* 129, 134)? If the views expressed in the previous section are correct, the second alternative offers the more probable solution. The pillar will then be a differentiated form of the most ancient altar (Altar, §§ 1, 2), the cause of the differentiation, as we have seen, being the desire to commemorate, as well as to appease, the dead. A. R. S. Kennedy.

PILLAR, PLAIN OF THE.—In Jg 9^6 we read that the men of Shechem made Abimelech king 'by the plain (AV; RV 'oak,' RVm 'terebinth') of the pillar.' The correct translation is undoubtedly '**the terebinth of the pillar,**' the meaning being the sanctuary of Shechem. The 'pillar' refers to the sacred stone, originally a fetish, which was often found in holy places along with the sacred tree (see preced. article).
W. F. Boyd.

PILLOW.—The 'pillow' of Mk 4^{38} (AV) is the **cushion** (so RV) used by rowers. See also Bolster and House, 8.

PILTAI.—A priestly house (Neh 12^{17}).

PINE TREE.—**1.** *'ēts-shemen*, Neh 8^{15}, see Oil Tree. **2.** *tidhār*, Is 41^{19} [RVm '**plane**'] 60^{13}. From similarity to the Syr. *daddār* ('elm'), the *tidhār* has been supposed to be the **elm,** but quite as probably may have been a kind of pine; of these the two common varieties known in Syria are the Aleppo or maritime (*Pinus halepensis*), and the stone (*P. pinea*) with its umbrella-like top.
E. W. G. Masterman.

PINNACLE.—This word has been adopted by our EV from the Vulgate of Mt 4^5 (*pinnaculum*) to indicate the spot within the Temple enclosure from which the devil tempted our Lord to cast Himself down. The precise nature and location of '*the* pinnacle of the temple' (Mt. *l.c.*, Lk 4^9 [both RV]), however, are nowhere indicated. The context and the use of the word usually employed for the whole complex of buildings as opposed to that which denotes the Temple proper (see plan in art. Temple, § 12) rather favour the view that the 'pinnacle' is to be sought in the neighbourhood of the S.E. corner, where the royal 'porch' met that of Solomon. Here, as Josephus informs us—and the excavations corroborate his testimony—a spectator looking down into the valley of the Kidron 'would turn giddy, while his sight could not reach down so such an abyss' (*Ant.* xv. xi. 5). Many authorities, on the contrary, favour some part of the roof of the Temple building itself.
A. R. S. Kennedy.

PINON.—An Edomite 'duke' (Gn 36^{41}, 1 Ch 1^{52}), prob. same name as **Punon** of Nu 33$^{42f.}$.

PIPE.—See Music, etc., § 4 (2) (*a*).

PIRAM.—The king of Jarmuth, defeated by Joshua at Beth-horon and afterwards put to death (Jos 10$^{3ff.}$).

PIRATHON, PIRATHONITE.—Pirathon 'in the land of Ephraim' was the home of Abdon 'the Pirathonite' (Jg 12$^{13.\ 15}$), and of Benaiah, one of David's heroes (2 S 23^{30} etc.). It can hardly have been identical with **Parathon** (wh. see), but it is probably represented by either *Fer'on* or *Fer'ata*. W. Ewing.

PISGAH.—A mountain in the region of Moab, with a commanding view over both the desert (Nu 21^{20}) and Western Palestine. Hither the Israelites journeyed from Bamoth, and there took place the extraordinary episode of Balaam, who on the top of Pisgah built seven altars (Nu 23^{14}). Its principal distinction, however, is its being the scene of Moses' vision of the Promised Land (Dt 3^{27} 34^1) and of his death. It fell into the territory of Reuben (Jos 13^{20} [AV **Ashdoth-pisgah,** as in 12^3 and Dt 3^{17}; RV in all three 'slopes (mg. 'springs') or Pisgah']).

An alternative name for Pisgah is **Nebo** (wh. see), referred to in Dt 32^{49} as the scene of the death of Moses. The latter name is preserved by *Jebel Nebā*, a range whose summit reaches a height of 2643 feet and commands a view of a large part of Western Palestine. It is 5 miles S.W. of Heshbon, and runs westward from the Moabite plateau. R. A. S. Macalister.

PISHON.—See Eden [Garden of].

PISIDIA.—The name applied to a district about 120 miles long and 50 miles broad, immediately N. of the plains of Pamphylia. It is entirely occupied by the numerous ranges into which the Taurus here breaks, with the deep intersecting valleys. The name was not applied to a definite political division, and nothing is known of the race inhabiting Pisidia. Until the time of Augustus they were wild mountaineers and brigands. Augustus began their reduction about B.C. 25 by establishing a chain of Roman posts which included on the N. side Antioch and Lystra, reconstituted as colonies. The name 'Pisidian Antioch' (Ac 13^{14}) would seem to record this fact, since Antioch was never included in

Pisidia. The civilization of the district seems to have been effected by about A.D. 74. Until then it was dealt with as part of the province of Galatia, but at that date Vespasian attached a considerable portion of it to Pamphylia, in which province no great military force was maintained.

Paul and Barnabas traversed the district twice in the first missionary journey (Ac 13[13] 14[24]). It was probably still a dangerous locality, and it is plausibly conjectured that St. Paul refers to it when he speaks of 'perils of robbers' (2 Co 11[26]). The route which they followed is uncertain, but the most likely theory is that of Prof. Ramsay (see *Church in the Roman Empire*, ch. ii. 2), that they went through Adada, the ruins of which bear the name Kara Bavlo (*i.e.* Paulo). The dedication of the church to St. Paul may have been due to some surviving tradition of his passing by that way, but we are not informed that he preached at all in Pisidia. There is no evidence that Christianity made any progress in Pisidia before the time of Constantine. From the time of Diocletian we find the name Pisidia applied differently, namely, to a Roman province including Phrygia Galatica, Lycaonia, and the part of Phrygia round Apamea. A. E. Hillard.

PISPAH.—An Asherite (1 Ch 7[38]).

PIT.—Of the dozen Heb. words, besides two Gr. words in NT, rendered 'pit' in EV, the following are the most important.

1. The term *bôr* is responsible for nearly half of all the OT occurrences. It is the usual word for the cistern with which almost every house in the towns was supplied (see Cistern). Disused cisterns in town and country are the 'pits' mentioned in Gn 37[20ff.] (that into which Joseph was cast [cf. art. Prison]), 1 S 13[6] (RVm 'cisterns' etc.). In some passages, indeed, the context shows that 'cistern,' not 'pit,' is the proper rendering, as in Lv 11[36], Ex 21[33f.] with reference to an uncovered and unprotected cistern; cf. Lk 14[5], RV 'well' for AV 'pit.' The systematic exploration of Palestine has brought to light many series of underground caves which were used at various periods as dwelling-places (cf. 1 S 13[6]); hence by a natural figure, 'pit' became a synonym of **Sheol**, the under world (Is 14[15], Ps 28[1], Pr 1[12], and oft.; cf. Rev 9[1ff.] and Sheol).

2. A second word rendered 'pit' (*shachath*) seems to have denoted originally a pit in which, after concealing the mouth by a covering of twigs and earth, hunters trapped their game (Ezk 19[4. 8]). Like the preceding, it is frequently used in a figurative sense of the under world; so five times in Job 33 (RV).

3. A hunter's pit, denoted by *pachath*, also supplied the figure of Is 24[17f.] and its parallels Jer 48[43f.] and La 3[47] RV—note the association with 'snare.' Such a pit served as a place of concealment (2 S 17[9]) and of burial (18[17]).

4. In Mk 12[1] RV rightly recognizes 'a pit for the winepress,' where the reference is to what the Mishna calls 'a cement-vat,' *i.e.* a pit dug in the soil for a wine-vat (cf. Mt 25[18], where the same expression 'digged' is used), as contrasted with the usual rock-hewn vats (see Wine and Strong Drink, § 2).

A. R. S. Kennedy.

PITCH.—See Bitumen.

PITCHER.—The earthenware jar (cf. La 4[2] 'earthen pitchers') in which in all ages the women and maidens of Palestine have drawn and carried the water from the village well (Gn 24[14ff.]). In wealthy households this task was performed by a slave or other menial (Mk 14[13], Lk 22[10]). For illustrations of water-jars found in ancient cisterns, see Macalister, *Bible Sidelights*, etc., fig. 22, and the works cited under House, § 9.

A. R. S. Kennedy.

PITHOM.—One of the 'treasure cities' built by the Israelites in Egypt (Ex 1[11] etc.). It is the Egyptian *Petōm* ('House of Etōm'), the site of which is now marked by Tell el-Maskhuta in the Wady Tumilat. The researches of Naville and Petrie indicate that the city dates as far back as the 12th Dyn., and was occupied down to very late times. It was capital of the 8th nome of Lower Egypt, and in it was worshipped a form of the sun-god under the name of Etōm.

F. Ll. Griffith.

PITHON.—A grandson of Merib-baal (1 Ch 8[35] 9[41]).

PITY.—This word is entirely synonymous with **compassion** both in OT and NT, except, perhaps, in 1 P 3[8], where 'sympathetic' would better express the meaning of the original word (see RVm). Pity was regarded by OT writers as holding an essential place in the relations of God and His people (see Ps 78[38] 86[15] 103[13] 111[4] 112[4] 145[8], Is 63[9]; cf. Ja 5[11]). One of the ways in which this Divine feeling became active on their behalf reveals an incipient belief in the dealings of Jehovah with nations other than Israel; for He is often represented as infusing compassion for His chosen into the hearts of their enemies (cf. 1 K 8[50], 2 Ch 30[9], Ps 106[46], Ezr 9[9], Neh 1[11], Jer 42[12]). An objective manifestation of the feeling of pity in the heart of God was recognized in the preservation of His people from destruction (La 3[22f.]), and in the numerous instances which were regarded as the interventions of mercy on their behalf (cf. Ex 15[13], Nu 14[19], Dt 13[17] 30[3], 2 K 13[23], 2 Ch 36[15]). The direct result of this belief was that Israelites were expected to display a similar disposition towards their brethren (cf. Mic 6[8], Is 1[17], Jer 21[12], Pr 19[17]). They were not required, however, to look beyond the limits of their own race (Dt 7[16], Zec 7[9]) except in the case of individual aliens who might at any time be living within their borders (see Ex 22[21] 23[9], Dt 10[18f.] etc.).

In the parable of the Unmerciful Servant, Jesus inculcates the exercise of pity in men's dealings with each other, and teaches the sacredness of its character by emphasizing its identity with God's compassion for sinners (Mt 18[33]; cf. Lk 6[36], Mt 5[7] 9[13]). The teaching of Jesus, moreover, broadened its conception in the human mind by insisting that henceforth it could never be confined to the members of the Jewish nation (cf. the parable of the Good Samaritan, Lk 10[25-37]). At the same time His own attitude to the thronging multitudes surrounding Him was characterized by profound pity for their weaknesses (Mt 15[32] = Mk 8[2]; cf. Mt 9[36] 14[14]). Under His guidance, too, Divine pity for the world was transmuted into that Eternal Love which resulted in the Incarnation (Jn 3[16]). Side by side with this development, and in exact correspondence with it, Jesus evolves out of human pity for frailty the more fundamental, because it is the more living, quality of love, which He insists will be active even in the face of enmity (Mt 5[43f.], Lk 6[27ff.]). J. R. Willis.

PLACE OF TOLL.—In AV 'receipt of custom.' See Customs and Tribute, 2.

PLAGUE.—See Medicine, p. 598[b].

PLAGUES OF EGYPT.—There are not many references in the Bible to the plagues outside the Book of Exodus. They are epitomized in Ps 78[44-51] and 105[28-36]. In Ro 9[14-24] God's treatment of Pharaoh is dwelt upon, to show His absolute right to do what He will with the creatures of His own handiwork. And in Rev 8. 9. 16 much of the imagery in the visions of the trumpets and the bowls is based upon the plagues—hail and fire (8[7] 16[17f.]), water becoming blood, and the death of the creatures that were in it (8[8f.] 16[3f.]), darkness (8[12] 16[10]), locusts (9[1-11]), boils (16[2]), frogs (16[13]).

The narratives of the plagues demand study from three points of view: (1) their literary history; (2) the relation of the several plagues to natural phenomena; (3) their religious significance.

1. The sources.—For a full discussion of the reasons for the literary analysis reference must be made to

commentaries. The analysis, on which critics are in the main agreed, is as follows:

| | | |

9th Plague.—Only a fragment of J's narrative has been preserved, which relates the effect of the **'darkness'** upon Pharaoh. E, as before, says that it was due to the lifting of the staff by Moses. But it is not impossible that it was a further consequence of the west wind. Dr. A. Macalister (art. 'Plagues of Egypt' in Hastings' *DB* iii.) writes: 'The condition of darkness referred to is strikingly like that brought about by the severer form of the electrical wind *hamsin*. This is a S. or S.W. wind that is so named because it is liable to blow during the 25 days before and the 25 days after the vernal equinox (*hamsin* = 50). It is often not so much a storm or violent wind as an oppressive hot blast charged with so much sand and fine dust that the air is darkened. It causes a blackness equal to the worst of London fogs, while the air is so hot and full of dust that respiration is impeded. . . . Denon says that it sometimes travels as a narrow stream, so that one part of the land is light while the rest is dark.' And he adds that three days is not an uncommon duration for the *hamsin*.

10th Plague.—Malignant epidemics have at all times been the scourge of Bible lands; and it is worthy of note that many authorities state that pestilence is often worst at the time of the *hamsin* wind. In the Hebrew narratives, however, all thought of a 'natural' occurrence has passed away. Only **the firstborn** are smitten, as a just retribution for Pharaoh's attempt to destroy the firstborn of the Israelites.

3. Religious value.—This is manifold. Considered from the point of view of natural phenomena, the narratives teach the all-important truth that God's providential care of men is not confined to 'miracles' in the commonly accepted sense of the term, else were God's providential actions unknown to-day. The lifting of Moses' staff to bring the plagues, and his successive entreaties for their removal, teach that prayer is not out of place or unavailing in cases where natural laws can be co-ordinated and guided by God to bring about the wished-for result. And from whatever point of view the plagues are regarded, the same great facts shine through the narratives—that J″ is supreme in power over the world which He made; that He has an absolute right, if He so wills, to punish Pharaoh in order to show forth in him His power; that He does so, however, only because Pharaoh is impenitent, and consequently 'fitted for destruction,' for J″ is a God who hates sin; that if a man hardens his heart, the result will be as inevitable as results in the natural world—so inevitable that it may truly be said that J″ hardens his heart; that the sin of Pharaoh, and so of any other man, may entail sufferings upon many innocent men and animals; and finally, that J″ is mindful of His own, and delivers them from the 'noisome pestilence,' 'the pestilence that walketh in darkness,' and 'the destruction that wasteth at noonday,' so that 'no plague can come nigh their dwelling' (Ps 91).

A. H. M'Neile.

PLAIN.—This word is given by the AV as the equivalent of 8 different terms, 7 Heb. and 1 Greek; but is retained by the RV in the case of 4 only, all Hebrew.

(1) *bi'ā̆h* is translated in the RV by 'plain' in Gn 11^2, Neh 6^2, Is 40^4, Ezk $3^{22.\ 23}$ 8^4, Dn 3^1; but elsewhere by **'valley.'** It generally designates a broad vale between hills; among the localities to which it was applied the most notable are the pass between Lebanon and Hermon ('the valley of Lebanon,' Jos 11^{17} 12^7), and the plain of Esdraelon ('the valley of Megiddo,' 2 Ch 35^{22}, Zec 12^{11}).

(2) *mīshōr* is usually translated by 'plain' or 'plain country,' sometimes accompanied by the mg. 'table land' (Dt 3^{10}, Jos 13^9, 1 K 20^{23} etc.); but in the poetical and prophetical books by 'even place' (Ps 26^{12}) or 'straight' (Is 40^4). Its primary sense is level land; and the word, with the article, was specifically used of the high plateau on the E. of the Dead Sea.

(3) *'ă̆rābāh* is ordinarily rendered in the AV by 'plain' ('plains') and 'desert' (or 'wilderness'), but in Jos 18^{18} it is transliterated 'Arabah.' The RV also sometimes translates by 'plain(s)' and 'desert' (Jos 4^{13}, Is 33^9 etc.), but retains the Heb. expression wherever it denotes the deep valley running N. and S. of the Dead Sea. The distinctive sense of the word is that of a bare, sterile plain, or (if between hills) an unfertile floor.

(4) *kikkār*, unlike the preceding, characterizes not the surface of the locality to which it is applied, but its shape. It is used specifically of the lower part of the bed of the Jordan, where it flows into the Dead Sea, and possibly also of the depression S. of the same sea; and should be rendered by **'circle'** rather than by 'plain' (as in RVm in Gn 13^{10}). Cf. next article. In Neh 3^{22} 12^{28} it seems to refer to a district around Jerusalem, and is translated in RVm by 'circuit.'

(5) Of the other Heb. words sometimes rendered in the AV by 'plain,' one (**shephēlah**) is uniformly translated in the RV by **'lowland,'** and designates a group of 'low hills' on the E. of the Maritime Plain, which are separated from the hills of Judæa and Ephraim by a series of valleys (Dt 1^7, Jos 10^{40} etc.). Of the remaining two, one (*'ābēl*) is transliterated in the RV (Jg 11^{33}), and the other (*'ēlōn*) is rendered by 'oak' (mg. 'terebinth') (Gn 12^6 13^{18} etc.).

(6) The only passage where the word 'plain' is employed in the NT occurs in St. Luke's account (6^{17}) of one of our Lord's discourses, which, acc. to St. Matthew, was delivered on a mountain (Mt 5^1); the RV substitutes 'a level place.'

G. W. Wade.

PLAIN, CITIES OF THE.—These were five in number, namely, Sodom, Gomorrah, Admah, Zeboiim, and Bela (or Zoar), situated in the plain (**'circle'**) of Jordan. Their inhabitants being guilty of great wickedness, the first four of the above-named five were overthrown by fire. Lot, the nephew of Abraham, who had made his home in Sodom, was warned by the Lord to withdraw from the city before it was destroyed; and he accordingly escaped to Zoar, which, at his entreaty, was spared the fate of its neighbours (Gn 18. 19).

The situation of the five cities has been variously placed at the N. and the S. end of the Dead Sea. The Biblical statements are generally in favour of the former site, which is supported by the facts: (1) that the circle of the Jordan, which is also called the circle of the valley of Jericho (Dt 34^3), is appropriate only to the broad basin of the Jordan, near its mouth; (2) that it was visible from near Bethel (Gn $13^{3\text{-}10}$); (3) that the cities were N. of Hazazon-tamar (usually identified with En-gedi), since this place was passed by Amraphel when he marched from Kadesh against the king of Sodom and his allies (Gn $14^{7.\ 8}$). On the other hand, (1) it is implied in Ezk 16^{46} that **Sodom** was on the right (*i.e.* south) of Jerusalem, whereas if it were at the N. end of the Dead Sea it would be almost due E.; (2) **Zoar,** which must have been near the other cities (Gn 19^{20}), is placed by Josephus in Arabia (*BJ* iv. viii. 4), and by Eusebius at the opposite end of the Dead Sea to Jericho; (3) the name *Sodom* is generally identified with *Jebel Usdum*, a cliff of rock-salt near the S.W. corner of the Dead Sea; (4) Hazazon-tamar may be, not En-gedi, but the Tamar of Ezk 47^{19}, which has been identified with a locality 20 m. W.S.W. of the lake, and therefore on the road between Kadesh and Sodom if the latter were at its S. end. If this view is right, the site of the cities is probably the marshy flat *es-Sebkha*, E. of Jebel Usdum. But the statement that the plain (or circle) of Jordan was near Jericho seems incompatible with a situation S. of the Dead Sea; and if the name *Sodom* survives in *Jebel Usdum*, that of **Gomorrah** seems to linger in that of *Tubk Amriyeh*, a place at the N.W. corner of the lake; so that, though the evidence is conflicting, the preponderant weight appears to support a N. site. (For

the other view see Driver's art. 'Zoar' in Hastings' *DB*).

The nature of the catastrophe which destroyed the cities can only be conjectured. It may perhaps be suggested that the bitumen which abounds in the neighbourhood of the Dead Sea was ignited by lightning, and that this caused an extensive conflagration in which the cities perished. G. W. Wade.

PLAISTER, PLASTER.—**1.** See Arts and Crafts, § 4. House, §4.

2. The 'plaister' (Is 38^{21}; Amer. RV etc., 'plaster') which Isaiah prescribed for Hezekiah's boil was a fig-poultice, according to the text of 2 K 20^{7}, but the parallel passage above cited reads literally, 'let them take a cake of figs and rub it upon the boil.'

A. R. S. Kennedy.

PLANE.—Is 44^{13} only; see Arts and Crafts, § 1. For 'plane tree' see Chestnut Tree, Pine Tree.

PLEAD.—In AV 'plead' always means to 'argue for or against a cause' as in a court of justice, never to 'pray' or 'beseech.' The substantive 'pleading' is used in the same sense in Job 13^{6} 'Hearken to the pleadings of my lips.'

PLEDGE.—The taking of a pledge for the re-payment of a loan was sanctioned by the Law, but a humanitarian provision was introduced to the effect that, when this pledge consisted of the large square outer garment or cloak called *simlah*, it must be returned before nightfall, since this garment often formed the only covering of the poor at night (Ex $22^{26f.}$, Dt $24^{12f.}$; cf. Am 2^{8}, Job 22^{6} 24^{9}, Ezk $18^{7.\ 12.\ 16}$ 33^{15}). It was forbidden also to take the mill or the upper millstone as a pledge (Dt 24^{6}). In Is 36^{8} the reference is to a pledge to be forfeited if a wager is lost (cf. RVm). In 1 S 17^{18} 'take their pledge' probably means 'bring back a token of their welfare' (Driver).

PLEIADES.—See Stars.

PLEROMA.—The transliteration of a Gr. word which is generally rendered **'fulness'** in the NT. *plērōma* is derived from the verb *plēroun*, which means either (*a*) 'to fill,' or (*b*) 'to fill up,' hence 'to fulfil.' The corresponding meanings of the noun are (*a*) 'fulness,' (*b*) 'fulfilment.'

1. *pleroma*='that which fills.'—The word has this meaning in the LXX version of Ps 24^{1} (cf. LXX Ezk 5^{5}, Dn 10^{3}) quoted in 1 Co 10^{26} 'The earth is the Lord's and the fulness thereof'; also in Mk 6^{43} (cf. 8^{20}), where the fragments of the loaves are described as amounting to 'the fillings of twelve baskets.'

2. *pleroma*='that which fills up.'—The word has this meaning in Mk 2^{21} (cf. Mt 9^{16}) which refers to the effect of sewing a piece of undressed cloth on a worn garment: 'That which should fill it up (*to plērōma*) taketh from it, the new from the old, and a worse rent is made.' Lightfoot says the patch 'must be called' the *plērōma* 'not because it fills the hole, but because it is itself fulness or full measure as regards the defect.' His paraphrase is 'the completeness takes away from the garment, the new *completeness* of the old *garment*' (*Com. on Col.*, Note on 'The meaning of *plērōma*'). The obscurity of this statement is removed by the active interpretation: the supplementary 'unfulled' patch takes away from the original garment. The new piece used to fill up the rent 'tears itself away by contraction when wetted, taking a part of the old garment along with it' (Bruce, *EGT* i. 153).

To this section belong: (*a*) Ro 13^{10}, which contrasts partial fulfilment of the Law, secured by obedience to this or that commandment, with love's complete filling up of the measure of neighbourly duty. (*b*) Ro 11^{12}, which contrasts the enriching of the Gentiles through Israel's loss with what Dr. Armitage Robinson (*Com. on Eph.*) happily describes as 'wealth in store for them in the great Return, when all Israel shall be saved—''when God hath made the pile complete!''' (*c*) Ro 11^{25}, in which the coming in of 'the fulness of the Gentiles' refers to the completing of their whole number. The same idea is expressed in the phrase 'the fulness of the seasons' (Eph 1^{10} RVm; cf. 'the fulness of the time,' Gal 4^{4}).

3. *pleroma*='that which is filled,' or 'that which is filled up.'—In its passive use *plērōma* means 'plenitude,' whether fulness is contrasted with incompleteness or with emptiness. As the plenipotentiary of Christ, St. Paul (Ro 15^{29}) is confident that he will come to Rome 'in the fulness of the blessing of Christ.'

Six important passages remain; they may be classified according as 'the plenitude Divine' is said to be (*a*) in Christ, (*b*) imparted by Christ to His Church, (*c*) imparted to believers.

(*a*) In Col 2^{9} St. Paul declares that in Christ 'dwelleth all the fulness of the Godhead bodily.' The assertion 'negatives the Alexandrian "philosophy" with its cloud of mediating angel-powers and spiritual emanations' (Findlay, *Pulpit Com., in loc.*). The defining phrase 'of the Godhead' is not found in Col 1^{19}, which bases the pre-eminence of Christ on the indwelling in Him of 'all the fulness.' Instead of making this expression identical in meaning with the more definite statement in 2^{9}, it is better with Meyer (*Com., in loc.*) to expound *pleroma* as referring to 'the whole treasure of Divine grace' with which the Son of God was endowed. A suggestive parallel to these Pauline sayings is furnished by Jn 1^{16}, 'of his fulness we all received, and grace for grace.' The fulness is ours, if we are Christ's. 'In him,' says St. Paul (Col 2^{10}), 'ye are made full.'

(*b*) In Eph 1^{23} it is probable that St. Paul describes the Church as 'the fulness of him that filleth all in all.' The main thought is what Christ is to the Church; He is its Head and in Him it is complete. Dr. Armitage Robinson (*op. cit.*) regards the Church as 'the fulfilment of the Christ who, all in all, is being fulfilled.' According to this interpretation the main thought is what the Church is to Christ. Moreover, the adverbial phrase 'all in all' seems inadequate to express the meaning of the emphatic assertion: He filleth 'the all with all things.' The objection to the active rendering of the verb (*plērōumenou*), which is middle or passive, does not apply to Dr. Salmond's exposition of the reflexive middle: it conveys 'the idea of filling the totality of things for Himself' (*EGT* iii. 281).

(*c*) To individual believers as well as to His Church Christ imparts the plenitude of His grace. Eph 4^{13} gives the measure of the stature of the 'full grown' Christian; it is nothing less than the fulness which belongs to Christ, by which is meant 'the full possession on our side of that which Christ has to impart—the embodiment in us, the members, of the graces and qualities which are in Him the Head' (Salmond, *EGT* iii. 333). An earlier passage in this Epistle ($3^{16ff.}$) teaches that this exalted ideal may be attained. When, as the result of the Holy Spirit's inward strengthening, Christ dwells within the heart, and His knowledge-surpassing love is known, the only limit to spiritual excellence is 'to be filled unto all the fulness of God.' J. G. Tasker.

PLOUGH.—See Agriculture, § 1.

PLUMBLINE, PLUMMET.—The latter is a diminutive of 'plumb,' from Lat. *plumbum*, 'lead,' and denotes the combined cord and weight, by suspending which against a wall it can be seen whether or not the latter is perpendicular. On the strength of Zec 4^{10} (lit. 'the stone, the tin,' not 'lead'; cf. AVm) it has been inferred that the Hebrew masons used a plumb-bob of lead, but the text of this passage is undoubtedly corrupt (Wellh., Marti, Nowack). The Hebrew plummet (2 K 21^{13}, Is 28^{17}) more probably consisted of a stone (Is 34^{11} AV, but RV 'plummet') suspended by a cord, the 'plumbline' of Am $7^{7f.}$. Cf. Arts and Crafts, § 3.

A. R. S. Kennedy.

POCHERETH-HAZZEBAIM.—Among the 'children of Solomon's servants' who returned with Zerubbabel. Ezr 2^{57} = Neh 7^{59}; called in 1 Es 5^{34} **Phacareth.**

POETRY.—1. The presence of poetry in the Bible is natural and fitting. As it is the form of composition which is easiest to memorize, whether in the earlier stages of a literature, or later in the expression of common religious experience, it is natural that poetry should be preserved, and should be the preserver of Hebrew thought. As the form of literature which is concrete in its pictures, it is to be expected that the Hebrew people, to whom abstract thought and terminology are almost unknown, would employ it very freely. As the literature of emotion and imagination, it is naturally used to express religious emotion and religious ideals. It does not suffice, however, to state the fitness of poetry to satisfy in a measure the purposes for which the Bible was written. Does it actually contain poetry? The answer is to be found only by examination of its contents, and only an affirmative answer is possible. Though the Psalms have not been written in poetical form for two thousand years, yet their poetry cannot be obscured. Scholars may differ as to the forms and laws of Hebrew poetry, yet they do not venture to say that none is to be found in the Bible.

The presence of poetry must be recognized if one would gain any adequate knowledge of the Scriptures. Otherwise correct interpretation is impossible. From failure in this respect in the past, our theology has suffered, the warfare between the Bible and science has been intensified if not caused, and Christians have lost immeasurably the comfort and spiritual help available from this kind of literature. Poetry must be interpreted as poetry. To apply to it the same principles of exegesis as are applied to prose is highly absurd; for in attempting to mark the differences between prose and poetry we must go below the form of language, and note that there is a distinctly poetic mode of thought and range of ideas. The facts of experience are so grouped and wrought upon by the imagination as to become a new creation. The singer is not bound to time or place; he speaks in figure without knowing that it is a figure; he speaks in hyperbole because he does not have the sense of proportion. The poetry of the thought affects also the vocabulary of the singer; it modifies his word meanings, and affects his grammar. It alters his literary style, and there arises a distinct study, that of literature as poetry—a study in which the attempt is made to discover how poetical forms express the poetical thought of the writer.

2. In treating the poetry of the Bible we are concerned chiefly with the OT. The NT has a few poetical sections (see Hymn), but these are confessedly Hebrew in character, and do not call for independent treatment here. As compared with the OT, the NT contains very little poetry, for the obvious reason that Christianity, early and late, has largely found the Hebrew Psalter sufficient for its devotional purposes.

3. What are the characteristics of Hebrew poetry? They must be found from an inductive study of recognized poetical sections of the OT. A certain part of the Scriptures is clearly poetry; a certain other part is clearly prose. Between the two there is a great amount of literature, especially in the prophetical books, about which there is a difference of opinion. It is called poetry or prose according to the scholar's definitions and his zeal in making emendations. There are prose poems, products of real poetical imagination, and artistic in form, but lacking in poetic rhythm. These doubtful passages should be left out of account until the essential principles of the poetry of the Hebrew people are determined, and then the test can be reasonably applied to them. Such has not always been the mode of procedure on the part of scholars. Sometimes their aim seems to have been to discover new examples, whether by direct study or by inexact methods. One cannot look very deeply into the subject without discovering the most extreme differences of opinion among scholars. There is abundant reason for this state of things. The very reasons which make the presence of poetry in the Bible natural and fitting, operate to make its definition difficult. The more natural the poetic expression of thought and feeling, the freer it will be from conventional regulation, and the less sharp will be the difference between the prose and the poetical literature of a people. And again, in Hebrew so many facts are lost upon which we are wont to place dependence in such a study, that until we get new light from without, any scheme of Hebrew metre must be merely a working hypothesis, and no complete system can be expected. There is not a commanding tradition of the pronunciation of the language, whether we think of vowels, syllables, or accent. We have no knowledge of Hebrew music of a character that would aid in determining the rhythm of the poems that were sung to its accompaniment. Even the consonantal text is corrupt, in many places confessedly so; and there is almost no place so certain that a new scholar does not feel himself free to arise and emend it, and so win his spurs. Under these circumstances wide differences of opinion are to be expected, and their existence must be endured patiently. If there is any ridicule justifiable, it should be expended, with extreme caution, upon those who, ignoring these many points of uncertainty which necessarily limit the value of their inductions, formulate an elaborate and microscopically minute system of metre, and then turn confidently round and use the system to emend the text so as to bring it to its original condition. Rhythmical considerations may to a certain extent enter into literary and textual criticism, but unsupported they cannot be convincing.

The OT is not quite destitute of evidence that the Hebrews themselves were conscious of a difference between their prose and their poetry. They had special names for **'proverb'** and **'song'**; they provided the Psalms with headings, some of which must have been musical directions; they made alphabetical poems, the several lines or stanzas of which begin with the letters of the alphabet in regular order. These lines and stanzas are of equal length and similar rhythm. Some of the poems inserted in the prose books are written and printed line by line, as Ex 15, Dt 32, Jg 5, 2 S 22; and for the three poetical books of the canon the Massoretes of later times provided a special system of pointing, thereby recognizing a distinction that must have had its basis in tradition, although the special pointing was not to preserve the poetic value.

Passing over, with the brief allusion already made, the peculiarities of thought, of vocabulary, and of grammar which poetry reveals, the features that one expects to find in OT poetry concern the line, and the stanza or strophe. (1) The **line** is so constructed that when it is read aloud it sounds agreeable to the ear by virtue of a distinct rhythm; this rhythm is repeated with little or no variation from line to line; the end of the line coincides with a break in the sense. The line is properly regarded as the unit of poetical expression. It is commonly of a length to be uttered with a single breath, and, if sung, a brief strain of music suffices to accompany it. The fundamental importance of the line makes it desirable to determine, if possible, what are the rules for its length, and what is the nature of the measurement that secures the rhythmical effect so universally recognizable. The history of the search for a satisfactory system of metre cannot be given here. Classical models, with quantity as a basis, were long ago abandoned; one group of scholars discard the Massoretic accents, and attempt an explanation on the basis of Syriac metre, counting syllables, and accenting alternate ones; but the predominant theories are accentual.

Of these some have reckoned only the rises (accented syllables), and others count the falls also, permitting only a certain number of them to intervene between rises. This number is made to depend on the metrical value of the syllables, which, according to some scholars, is determined by the number of *morœ*, or time units, which they contain.

It should be remembered that we are dealing with an early form of an ancient literature, and that this literature is an Oriental one. This creates a very strong presumption against an elaborate and minute system of metre. The Hebrew language was indeed dominated by tradition, which made it difficult to alter established practice; but in case the tradition was one of freedom on the part of the writer to construct his poem as he chose, it naturally operated to keep him free from the complicated rules which spring up in the later periods of the life of a language.

Until the contrary is shown on other grounds, it must be assumed that the Hebrew accent system, differing traditionally from Arabic and Syriac, differed from them actually; and as the traditional grammatical forms depend largely upon the accent, the natural inference is that it is an important feature of the language. If so, it may be supposed that it is important also in poetry. The view that seems best to suit the facts as they exist, that makes the smallest demands in the way of departure from ordinary prose style, and that yields at the same time results reasonably satisfying to the poetic feeling, is this: the line was composed of a definite number of accents, or, as ordinarily each word had one accent, of a definite number of words. This view does not fit all the lines of every poem; but the possibility of exceptions at the will of the writer is a part of the theory. Moreover, the percentage of exceptions is very likely not greater than that of probable corruptions in the text. It is not to be counted as an exception when, in order to secure the regular number of accents, two short words must be pronounced as one, as is so often done for other reasons with the insertion of a *maqqeph* (־), or when a word exceptionally long and heavy must be pronounced with two accents for the same purpose. (2) The next higher unit is the group of lines taken together. The name **strophe** might be applied to all such groups, but it is usually reserved for the larger groups. The smallest group—the couplet or distich—exhibits the most characteristic feature of the poetry of the language, namely **Parallelism,** a name given by Lowth in 1753. The lines are so related to each other that there is a correspondence of parts, both in form and in sense. It is not confined exclusively to poetry, for it is nothing but the development of the idea of balance and euphony of parts which is found in elevated prose style, especially such as is uttered orally. The mind more easily grasps the thought of a second clause, if fashioned like an earlier one. It is less occupied with the form, for that is already familiar. It is also, and doubtless for that very reason, more agreeable to the ear. What is desirable in prose, and often used there, becomes the rule in poetry, as one may easily understand when one considers the necessity of a uniform line for the sake of easy utterance with musical accompaniment. It is by its persistence and uniformity that parallelism certifies to the poetical nature of a passage. This parallelism is of the utmost importance in determining the meaning of a verse. While its adoption as a poetical form has a logical basis, once let it become the rule for such composition, and it cannot fail to operate to modify the thought as well as the form. What would otherwise appear to be a careful choice of synonyms, for example, perhaps to secure climacteric effect, may be simply the operation of this principle. So the unusual position of a word in a clause may be traceable to this rather than to a desire to secure special emphasis. Several distinct forms of parallelism have been observed.

(*a*) *Synonymous parallelism.*—The thought of the two lines is synonymous, and so are the several terms by which the thought is expressed.

How shall I curse whom God hath not cursed?
And how shall I defy whom Jahweh hath not defied?
—(Nu 23[8]).

(*b*) *Antithetic parallelism.*—The second line expresses the same real truth as the first, but it does it antithetically. The form is truly parallel, and one member of the lines is synonymous, the other two contrasted. This is especially common in proverbs.

A wise son maketh a glad father,
But a foolish son is the heaviness of his mother.—(Pr 10[1]).

(*c*) *Stair-like or ascending rhythm.*—The thought of the first line is repeated in part, or, if entirely, more briefly, so that the second line can add a further item of thought, thus rising above the parallel line.

Till thy people pass over, Jahweh,
Till thy people pass over, which thou hast purchased.—(Ex 15[16]).

(*d*) *Synthetic parallelism.*—The thought of the second line is entirely different or supplementary, none of the first being repeated. The distich remains in parallelism, for the two lines correspond in form.

Answer not a fool according to his folly,
Lest thou also be like unto him.—(Pr 26[4]).

Other varieties are often singled out for discussion, and it will not be supposed that a typical form is always to be discovered. The variations and combinations are very numerous, and the study of them is full of interest and novelty.

The two-line group, or distich, has been considered above, as the simplest in which parallelism can be observed. It is also by far the commonest. Three lines grouped in a similar way are not uncommon. In this case the first and second may be synonymous, and the third synthetic to them; or other combinations may be found. Moreover, distiches may be arranged in pairs, with the same parallelism as between single lines of the distich. It often occurs that several lines are grouped together so regularly that a stanza or strophe is recognizable. It may be marked off by a line repeated as a refrain, or by a special initial letter, in alphabetical poems; but such indications are not of common occurrence. Absolute regularity in length is not often found, and scholars often attempt to secure it by assuming the loss or insertion of a couplet or two. There is also no specific principle distinct from the parallelism above mentioned, to form the basis of a strophical division. It seems likely, then, that strophes are not to be regarded as an essential feature of Hebrew poetry, like the stanzas of a hymn that is to be sung; but that the grouping is entirely optional and ordinarily logical—a literary feature. Rhyme and assonance are known in the language, but are not used persistently throughout a poem, and cannot be anticipated or reduced to rule when present.

3. By far the greater part of the OT poetry is of course religious and ethical, as the **Psalms, Proverbs,** and **Job** (see artt.). Outside of these books, however, is an interesting and by no means small amount of poetry which the Bible student may profitably study for its literary and historical value.

In family and social life, poetry evidently had a large place. Marriage occasions furnished the very best opportunity for the composition of songs, and for their execution to the accompaniment of music. Such are the songs in the Book of Canticles. The wedding song evidently furnished the model of the passage Is 5[1ff.]. Lamentation for the dead is also an evidence. The finest example is that of David over Saul and Jonathan (2 S 1[17ff.]). A part of a lament by him over Abner is found in 2 S 3[33f.]. The tenderness and fitness of these utterances are very different from the stereotyped dirges of which there is notice in Jer 9[16] (17). The character of these may be seen from the Book of Lamentations,

where the poet laments over the city as over a person. The first four of the five poems of this book are alphabetical, a strong mark of artificiality, which is further emphasized by the choice of a peculiar rhythm, known as the elegiac rhythm. There is a long line, commonly broken by a cæsura. The first half contains three beats or rises, the ordinary length of the Hebrew line. The second half has but two. In ordinary rhythm it would have three, and would form a second line in parallelism with the first. The same rhythm is detected in a few passages of similar import in the prophets. There are allusions, too numerous to cite, to the use of songs at feasts of various kinds, and at the drunken revels against which the prophets protest. Nu $21^{17f.}$ is claimed to be an example of the songs often sung to celebrate the discovery of a spring or the successful digging of a well. The religious use of poetry is scarcely to be distinguished from its national use. For when Jahweh could be addressed as the God of the hosts of Israel, poems composed to incite or reward bravery could not fail to make use of religious as well as of patriotic emotions to secure their end. See, for example, Jg 5.

O. H. Gates.

POLE (SACRED).—See Asherah, 3. 4.

POLL.—'By the poll' (Nu 3^{47}) is 'by the head.' Cf. Shaks. *Hamlet*, iv. v. 196, 'All flaxen was his poll.' The idea in the Hebrew word is 'roundness,' and so to 'poll' the head is to give it the appearance of roundness by cutting off the hair. Cf. More, *Utopia*, ed. Arber, p. 49, 'Their heades be not polled or shauen, but rounded a lytle about the eares.'

POLLUX.—See Dioscuri.

POLYGAMY.—See Family, Marriage.

POMEGRANATE (*rimmōn*, Arab. *rummān*).—Tree and fruit (Ex $28^{33f.}$ 39^{24-26}, Nu 13^{23} 20^{5}, Dt 8^{8}, 1 S 14^{2}, 1 K $7^{18.\ 20.\ 42}$, 2 K 25^{17}, 2 Ch 3^{16} 4^{13}, Ca $4^{3.\ 13}$ 6^{7} 7^{12} 8^{2}, Jer $52^{22f.}$, Jl 1^{12}, Hag 2^{19}). The pomegranate (*Punica granatum*) is one of the familiar fruit trees of the OT; it is usually a shrub, but may attain the height of a tree (1 S 14^{2}); it was much admired for its beauty (Ca 4^{3} 6^{11}), and its flower was copied in ornamentation (Ex 28^{33}, 1 K 7^{18}). Its dark green leaves and brilliant scarlet blossom make it a peculiarly attractive object, especially when growing in orchards (Ca 4^{13}), mixed with trees of other shades of green; its buds develop with the tender grapes (Ca 7^{12}), and the round, reddish fruit, with its brilliant crimson, juicy seeds, ripens at the time of the vintage. The fruit is a favourite food, and the bark a valued astringent medicine.

E. W. G. Masterman.

POMMEL.—See Bowl.

POND.—See Pool.

PONTUS.—In the earliest times of which we have any knowledge, this name, meaning 'sea' in Greek, was used by Greeks to indicate vaguely country bordering on or near the Black Sea. From its importance for the corn supply of Greece, the Black Sea and the land around it came to be known as 'the sea' *par excellence*. As time went on the term gradually became confined to the country to the *south* of the Black Sea. It was not till about B.C. 302 that a kingdom was here formed. In that year, consequent upon the troubles due to the early death of Alexander the Great, a certain Mithradates was able to carve out for himself a kingdom beyond the river Halys in N.E. Asia Minor, and about B.C. 281 he assumed the title of king. It is not possible to define the exact extent of the territory ruled by this king and his descendants, but it is certain that it included part of the country previously called Cappadocia, some of the mountain tribes near the Black Sea coasts, and part of Pophiagonia; and also certain that its extent varied from time to time. The Mithradatic dynasty lasted till B.C. 63. In the preceding year the kingdom ceased to exist, and part of it was incorporated in the Roman Empire under the name Pontus, and this district henceforth constituted one-half of the combined province Bithynia-Pontus, which was put under one governor. The remaining portions of the old kingdom were distributed in other ways. The civil wars helped Pharnaces, a son of the last Mithradates, to acquire the whole of his father's kingdom, but his brief reign ended in defeat by Julius Cæsar (B.C. 47). The narrowed kingdom of Pontus was re-constituted by Mark Antony in B.C. 39, and given in B.C. 36 to Polemon, who founded a dynasty, which ruled over this kingdom till A.D. 63. The daughter of this Polemon, Queen Tryphæna, is mentioned in the apocryphal book, *The Acts of Paul and Thecla*, as having been present at a great Imperial festival at Pisidian Antioch in the reign of the Emperor Claudius, whose blood-relation she was. This statement is no doubt founded on fact. These *Acts* relate that she protected the Christian maiden Thecla, and was converted, through her instrumentality, to Christianity. As tradition connects Bartholomew also with the Polemonian dynasty, it is probable that there were some Christians among them. In A.D. 63 the kingdom of Pontus had been brought to a sufficiently high pitch of civilization to be admitted into the Roman Empire; the western part was made a region of the province Galatia, and the eastern was added to Cappadocia. The dispossessed Polemon was given a Cilician kingdom, and it was as king of part of Cilicia that he (later than A.D. 63) married Berenice.

In the 1st cent. A.D., therefore, the name Pontus had various significations, and a strict nomenclature was available for their distinction. The province was Pontus, Polemon's kingdom was Pontus Polemoniacus (incorporated into province Galatia A.D. 63), the part of Mithradates' old kingdom incorporated in the province Galatia (B.C. 3–2) was Pontus Galaticus, and the regions that lay E. of Pontus Polemoniacus, between the Black Sea and Armenia, were known as Pontus Cappadocicus. (Into the difficult question of the institution of this fourth district we cannot enter here.) From about A.D. 78 to 106 P. Galaticus and P. Polemoniacus were included in the combined provinces Galatia and Cappadocia, and after A.D. 106 they constituted permanent parts of the province Cappadocia. In 1 P 1^{1} Pontus means clearly the Roman province. There is little doubt that the adjective *Pontikos*, applied to **Aquila** in Ac 18^{2}, means that, though a Jew, he was a native of the Roman province, and it is interesting in connexion with this to mention that an inscription has recently been found referring to one Aquila at Sinope, one of the principal cities of the Roman province Pontus. The only remaining NT reference to Pontus (Ac 2^{9}) cannot be so easily explained. It must be left uncertain whether the name Pontus there is used strictly of the province, or more loosely of the kingdom, or of the kingdom and the province together.

Christianity was not brought to Pontus by St. Paul, if we can trust the silence of Acts, and it is best to do so. From 1 Peter it is clear that about the year 80, the probable date of the Epistle, there were Christians in that country, and these converts from paganism to Christianity probably came there from the Asian coasts or from Rome. There is a well-known and valuable testimony to the prevalence of Christianity in the province, belonging to the period A.D. 111–113. At that time the younger Pliny was governor of the province Bithynia-Pontus, and addressed inquiries to the Emperor Trajan on the manner in which Christians ought to be treated by the administration. He reports that many men and women of all ages and of every rank in town and country were Christians, and that some had abandoned the faith 20 or 25 years before. After Pliny's time Pontus continued to be a stronghold of Christianity. From here came the famous **Marcion** (born about 120 at Sinope), and of this province **Aquila**, a translator of the OT into Greek, was a native.

A. Souter.

POOL, POND.—*'ăgam*, a collection of standing water, is distinguished from *miqweh*, a place into which water flows, or is led (Ex 7^{19}). The former may denote the water left in the hollows when the inundation of the Nile subsides, and the latter, reservoirs (cf. Gn 1^{10}, Lv 11^{36}). AV tr. *'ăgam* 'pond,' in Ex 7^{19} 8^{5}; RV uniformly 'pool' (Is 14^{23} etc.). *bĕrēkah* (2 S 2^{13} 4^{12} etc.) is = Arab. *birkeh*, an artificial pond or tank. It is applied to great reservoirs constructed to furnish water for cities, or for irrigation, like that at Gibeon (2 S 2^{13}), those at Hebron (2 S 4^{12}), and at Jerusalem (2 K 18^{17}), etc.; and also to large basins, such as lend freshness to the courts of the houses in Damascus. The usual LXX equivalent is *kolumbēthra*, the word used in NT for the pools of Bethesda and Siloam (Jn 5^{2} 9^{7}). In Is 19^{10} read with RV 'all they that work for hire shall be grieved in soul.' See also Heshbon. W. Ewing.

POOR.—See Poverty.

POPLAR (*libneh* [root meaning 'white'], Gn 30^{37}, RVm 'storax'; Hos 4^{13}. The Heb. is very similar to Arab. *lubna* meaning 'storax,' which is the LXX tr. in Gn 30^{37}; on the other hand, in Hos 4^{13} the LXX has *leukē* ['white'], *i.e.* the 'poplar').—The poplar may easily have furnished Jacob with white rods. There are two kinds of poplar in Syria, *Populus alba* and *P. euphratica*; they both flourish round Damascus, where their trunks are much used in making supports for the mud roofs. E. W. G. Masterman.

PORATHA.—The fourth son of Haman (Est 9^{8}).

PORCH.—This word is a doublet of 'portico' (from Lat. *porticus*), both originally denoting a covered entrance to a building. When the front of this entrance is supported on pillars, the porch becomes a portico. *porticus*, like the Gr. *stoa*, was extended to signify a roofed colonnade running round a public building such as a temple, or enclosing an open space, like the cloisters of a mediæval monastery. The most famous of these 'porches'—a sense in which the word is now obsolete—were the 'painted porch'—the Porch *par excellence*—at Athens, and Solomon's porch at Jerusalem (see below).

In the OT a porch is named chiefly in connexion with the Temple (see below), or with the **palace** (wh. see) of Solomon. The pillars of the temple of Dagon at Gaza which Samson pulled down, or rather slid from their stone bases, were probably two of those supporting the portico, as ingeniously explained by Macalister, *Bible Sidelights*, etc., ch. vii. (see House, § 5). The word rendered 'porch' in Jg 3^{23} is of quite uncertain meaning and even of doubtful authenticity.

In the NT, in connexion with the trial of Jesus, mention is made of a 'porch' or, as RVm, 'forecourt' (Mk 14^{68}), as distinguished from the 'court' (v.^{66} RV) of the high priest's palace, for which Mt 26^{71} (EV 'porch') has a word elsewhere rendered 'gate.' In both cases the covered gateway leading from the street to the court is probably meant.

Solomon's porch (Jn 10^{23}, Ac 3^{11} 5^{12}) was a covered colonnade or cloister running along the east side of the Temple enclosure (see Temple, § 1 (*a*), where the triple colonnade of Herod's temple—the 'Royal Porch' of Josephus—is also discussed. For details see *ExpT*, Nov. 1908, p. 68). A similar colonnade enclosed the pool of Bethesda (Jn 5^{2}). A. R. S. Kennedy.

PORCUPINE.—See Bittern.

PORPOISE.—Ex 25^{5}, Ezk 16^{10} RVm. See Badgers' Skins.

PORT.—The 'port' of Neh 2^{13} is a 'gate,' the same Heb. word being translated 'gate' in the same verse. Cf. Pr.-Bk. version of Ps 9^{14} 'Within the ports of the daughter of Sion.'

PORTER in EV has always the sense of 'doorkeeper' (see House, § 6) or 'gatekeeper' (see Fortification and Siegecraft, § 5, end). In Jn 10^{3} the porter is the man left in charge of a sheepfold by the shepherd or shepherds whose sheep are there housed for the night. In private houses the doorkeeper might be a woman (2 S 4^{6} as restored from LXX, Ac 12^{13}). In OT, however, porters are most frequently named in the Books of Chron., Ezr., and Neh. in connexion with the Temple (1 Ch $9^{17f.}$ onwards), where they had charge of the various gates (see Temple, § 6, Priests and Levites, § iii. 1. 2). The same word is rendered **doorkeepers** in AV 1 Ch $15^{23f.}$, and in several other places in RV (15^{18} etc.). It is to be regretted that this term was not substituted throughout. In Ps 84^{10} the original is different, and should probably be rendered: 'I had rather be [standing or lying] at the threshold in the house of my God.'

A. R. S. Kennedy.

POSIDONIUS.—An envoy sent by Nicanor to Judas (2 Mac 14^{19}).

POSSESSION.—1. Meaning of the term.—The central idea in the word is the coercive seizing of the spirit of a man by another spirit, viewed as superhuman, with the result that the man's will is no longer free but is controlled, often against his wish, by this indwelling person or power. In Scripture the idea is associated with both phases of moral character; and a man may be possessed by Christ or the Holy Spirit, or by *a* or *the* devil. Later usage has confined the word mainly, though not exclusively, to possession by an evil spirit. Of the better possession there are several kinds of instances in both Testaments. It is sometimes represented, according to the more material psychology of early times, as the seizure of a man by an external power, though the internal occupation is implied, and the control is none the less complete (1 S 10^{10}, Is 61^{1}; cf. the frequent 'the hand of the Lord was upon' him, 1 K 18^{46}: so of an evil spirit, 1 S 18^{10}). The inspiration of the prophets is in some places described as effected by a supernatural agency occupying the seat of personality within the prophet, and controlling or moving him (Lk 1^{70}, 1 P 1^{11}, 2 P 1^{21}, 2 Es 14^{22}). In personal religion not only is the transference of authority within to the indwelling Christ spoken of (Jn 17^{23}, Gal 2^{20}), but the Holy Spirit also may seize and possess a man (Ac 2^{4}, Lk 1^{15}, Ro 8^{9}, Eph 5^{18}), and should rule in him (Eph 4^{30}). But this involves a welcome and glad submission to the sway of a spirit within, though personal wishes may be thwarted or crossed (Ac 16^{7}). Demoniacal possession, on the other hand, is characterized by the reluctance of the sufferer, who is often conscious of the hateful tyranny under which he is held and against which his will rebels in vain.

2. Features of demoniacal possession.—In such possession two features may generally be traced. It is allied with and yet distinct from physical disease, and there is almost always something abnormal with respect to the psychical development or defect of the sufferer. It is given as the explanation in cases of dumbness (Mt 9^{32}, Lk 11^{14}), of deafness and dumbness (Mk 9^{25}), of dumbness and blindness (Mt 12^{22}), of curvature of the spine (Lk 13^{11}), and of epilepsy (Mk 1^{26}). Elsewhere such complaints are referred to as merely disease, and no suggestion is made that they were caused or complicated by the action of an evil spirit (Mt 15^{30}, Mk 7^{32}, Lk 18^{35}). Sometimes possession and disease are even distinguished by different enumeration (Mt 10^{8}, Mk 1^{32}, Lk $6^{17f.}$ 7^{21} 13^{32}); and once at least epileptics (or lunatics) and palsied occupy a different category from demoniacs (Mt 4^{24}). The right conclusion seems to be that the same disease was in some cases ascribed to ordinary causes and in others to possession, the distinguishing feature being possibly intractability due to the violence of permanence of the symptoms. Evidence that the disorder was at the same time of a psychical or nervous character is plentiful. According to Arab belief, something abnormal in the appearance, such as a strange look in the eyes or an unusual catching in the throat, was an invariable symptom, and both are indications

of nervous excitement or alarm. The will was paralyzed (Mk 9^{18}), and the sufferer was under the influence of illusions (Jn 7^{20}). He identified himself with the demons, and was averse to deliverance (Mk 1^{24} 5^{7}). In such cases Jesus does not follow His usual course of exciting faith before he heals, but acts as though the sufferer were not in a fit state to believe or to trust, and must be dealt with forcibly first of all. Some confident and majestic word is spoken, of which the authority is immediately recognized; and only then, when the proper balance of the mind has been restored, is an attempt made to communicate religious blessing.

3. Our Lord's belief.—Two opinions have been held as to whether Christ actually shared the current views of His day as to demoniacal possession. That He seemed to do so is attested on almost every page of the Synoptics. (*a*) According to one opinion, this was nothing more than a seeming, and His attitude towards the phenomena must be explained as a gracious *accommodation to the views of the age*. In addition to the serious objection that such a theory introduces an unwelcome element of unreality into Christ's teaching, and implies a lack of candour on His part, the arguments in its favour are singularly ineffective. To assert that Christ never entangled His teaching with contemporary ideas is to prejudge the very question at issue. That He adopted different methods from those followed by professional exorcists, whose success He expressly attests (Mt 12^{27}), is exactly what His difference in person from them would cause to be expected, but does not necessarily involve a difference in theory. To humour a patient by falling in with his hallucination is not a correct description of Christ's procedure; for in many of the instances the treatment is peremptory and stern (cf. Mk 9^{25}, where the sufferer was not consulted, and any humouring followed the cure; so elsewhere), and the evil spirits are represented after expulsion as actual and still capable of mischief (Mk 5^{13}). Christ's own language is itself significant. He makes the current belief the basis of argument (Lk $11^{16ff.}$), attributes the power to cast out devils to the disciples of the Pharisees, and implicitly asserts it for Himself (Mk $12^{27f.}$, Lk $11^{19f.}$), and recognizes the power as resident in others (Mk $9^{38f.}$, Mt 7^{22}), without a single intimation that He was speaking in metaphor, and that His hearers were blundering in assuming that He meant what He said.

(*b*) The real explanation is to be found in quite another direction. His humanity was true and complete, the humanity of the age into which He was born; and of His Divine attributes He 'emptied himself' (Ph 2^{7}, 2 Co 8^{9} 13^{4}), except to the extent to which His perfect human nature might be the organ of their manifestation (Bruce, *Humiliation of Christ*, 136 ff.; Ottley, *Doct. of Incarnation*, 610 ff.). In virtue of this voluntary self-limitation, His humanity was not lifted clear of the intellectual atmosphere of His time; but He shared the conceptions and views of the people amongst whom He became incarnate, though His sinlessness and the welcomed guidance of the Holy Spirit aided His human intelligence, removing some of the worst hindrances to correct thinking, but not making Him in any sense a prodigy in advance of His age in regard to human knowledge. Accordingly, He avoids the extreme and exaggerated demonology into which an unduly extended animistic interpretation of the universe was leading His contemporaries, but does not reject or question the interpretation itself. At a later date there was a disposition to ascribe all diseases to possession, to multiply evil spirits beyond calculation, and to invest them with functions and activities of the most grotesque kind. Christ's attitude was altogether different, though He consistently talks and acts upon the assumption that evil spirits were no creatures of the fancy, and that possession was a real phenomenon.

That such an assumption was wrong it is outside the province of the real sciences to assert or to deny; and there are some considerations that make the conclusion at least probable, that personal spirits of evil exist, and cause by their activity some woeful sufferings amongst men. Metaphysics postulates transcendent personal power as the original cause of material phenomena, and is sustained in so doing by all that a man knows concerning the roots of his own moral procedure. Immanent in man and outside, there is generally recognized a great spiritual existence, affecting human life in a thousand invisible ways; and the belief in One Supreme Spirit removes most of the difficulties from the belief in others, subordinate yet superhuman. In the asylums and hospitals, moreover, are cases of mental or nervous disease, not entirely explicable by physical law, but looking exceedingly like what cases of possession may be supposed to be; just as in social and civil life men are sometimes met with whose viciousness defies any other interpretation than that an, or the, evil spirit has secured the mastery over them. Psychical research, too, points to a large spiritual population of the world, and all the naturalistic explanations so far suggested have failed to solve the mystery. The conclusion seems probable that demoniacal possession was accepted by Christ as an actual fact, with modifications of the views of His contemporaries in the direction of economy in the bringing in of superhuman agencies, and of their due distinction from processes of physical law.

Possession may further be classed as one of the fundamental and universal beliefs of mankind, with a solid element of truth in it, though running at times of excitement into extravagance. Homer held that a wasting sickness was caused by a demon, and the Greek dramatists generally attribute madness and *quasi*-religious frenzy to demonic or Divine possession. The Egyptians located a demon in each of the thirty-six members of the body; their presence was the cause of disease, which was healed by their expulsion. Seven evil spirits are grouped in Babylonian mythology (Mt 12^{45}, Mk 16^{9}, Lk 8^{2} 11^{26}), and these with their subordinate genii kept men in continual fear, and were thought able to occupy the body and produce any kind of sickness. In almost every civilization, ancient as those of the East or rude as those of Central Africa, a similar conception has prevailed; and the prevalence points to a certain rudimentary truth that need not be renounced along with the elaborations by which in the course of ages the actual fact has been overlaid. R. W. Moss.

POST.—'Post' is used in 2 Ch 30^{6}, Est 8^{14}, Job 9^{25}, Jer 51^{31} for 'a bearer of despatches,' 'a runner.' These runners were chosen from the king's bodyguard, and were noted for their swiftness, whence Job's simile (9^{25}), 'My days are swifter than a post.'

POST, DOORPOST.—See House, § 6.

POT.—See House, § 9.

POTIPHAR.—Gn 39, a high Egyptian official in the story of Joseph. The name is perhaps a deformation of **Potiphera** (wh. see) or an unsuccessful attempt to form an Egyptian name on the same lines. Potiphar seems to be entitled 'chief cook' (EV 'captain of the guard'), and likewise *saris*, 'eunuch' of Pharaoh. But the former title 'cook' may be only a mark of high rank; persons described as royal tasters in the New Kingdom were leaders of expeditions, investigators of criminal cases, judges in the most important trials, etc.; as yet, too, there is little indication that eunuchs were employed in Egypt even at a later period: so this also was but an honorific official title; the Hebrew word *saris* is actually found attached to the names of Persian officers in Egypt. Joseph was sold to Potiphar, on whose wife's accusation he was cast into the king's prison (in Potiphar's own house), to which Pharaoh afterwards committed his chief butler and chief baker. The office thus held by Potiphar cannot yet be precisely identified in Egyptian documents. In the passage Gn 41^{45} and the repeated description of Joseph's wife, the forms of the names and the title of the priest are much more precisely Egyptian. F. Ll. Griffith.

POTIPHERA.—Gn 41[45. 50] 46[20]. The consonants in the Hebrew are an almost exact transcript of the Egyp. *Peteprē*, 'Given by the Sun-god,' a late name found from the 22nd Dyn. onwards; only the letter *w* (represented by Eng. *o*) is puzzling. Potiphera, father of Joseph's wife **Asenath** (wh. see), was priest of On, *i.e.* probably high priest of Rē, the Sun-god, in On. He would thus be the head of the most learned sacerdotal college in the country, and of high rank. F. Ll. Griffith.

POTSHERD.—See Pottery.

POTTAGE.—See Food, 3.

POTTER, POTTERY.—The artificer (*yōtsēr*) is first named in 2 S 17[28]. This implies the use of pottery at an earlier period. The ancient Egyptians were familiar with its manufacture (Wilk. *Anc. Egyp.* ii. 190 ff.), and Israel could not be entirely ignorant of it. During their nomad life, however, such brittle material would be little serviceable, and its use would be reduced to a minimum—skins, vessels of wood, metal, etc., being preferred. Skins for water, wine, etc., have been in use at all times, down to the present day (Gn 21[14], Jg 4[19], 1 S 16[20] etc.); but we also find the earthenware **pitcher, or jar** (*kad*), similarly employed (Gn 24[14], Jg 7[16], 1 K 17[12] [EV 'barrel'] etc.). Only after settlement in Palestine was the art developed to any extent by Israelites. In the later writings the potter is frequently referred to (Ps 2[9], Is 29[16], Jer 18[2] etc.).

The potter first kneaded the **clay** with his feet (Is 41[25]), then shaped the vessel on the **wheel** (Jer 18[3]). This consisted of two wooden disks attached to a perpendicular axle, the larger being below the work-table. This the potter turned with his foot. The vessel was then fired in an oven (Sir 38[29ff.]). In later times the art of glazing was also understood, oxide of lead ('silver dross'), obtained in refining silver, being used for the purpose (Pr 26[23], Sir 38[30]). In Jeremiah's day the potters seem to have had a stance by the 'gate of **potsherds**' (Jer 18[1] 19[1f.], RV 'gate **Harsith**'), probably in the neighbourhood of the clay pits, where they offered their wares for sale.

The thought of the potter moulding his clay at will is implicit in many passages where *yātsar*, 'to form,' is the verb used (Gn 2[7f.], Ps 33[15] 95[5] etc.), and is made explicit in such passages as Is 29[16] 45[9], Ro 9[21] etc.

The reading *el ha'ōtsār* (Syr.), 'into the **treasury,**' is preferred in Zec 11[13] by many scholars and RVm to MT *el hayyōtsēr*, 'unto the **potter.**' The passage is one of great difficulty.

What is known of the potter's art in Palestine is due mainly to the work of the Palestine Exploration Fund, and especially to that carried out by Flinders Petrie, Bliss, and Macalister, at *Tell el-Hesy*—possibly the ancient Lachish—and elsewhere, from 1890 onwards. The result of their investigations, and discussions by other scholars, are found in the *PEFSt*; Petrie's *Tell el Hesy*; Bliss's *Mound of Many Cities*; *Excavations in Palestine*, by Bliss, Macalister, and Wünsch, etc.

Petrie distinguishes three periods of ancient pottery. **1.** *Amorite*, pre-historic, where the shape and markings of the vessels seem to show that they were moulded on the old leathern vessels. **2.** *Phœnician*, rough and porous in character, often with painted ornamentation, of which possibly metal vessels furnished the models. This may be dated from B.C. 1400 to 1000. **3.** *Jewish*, in which Amorite and Phœnician styles are blended; this apparently belongs to the time of the later monarchy. On many jar handles are legends stamped in characters resembling those of the Siloam inscription. Along with the Jewish, Greek types of pottery are found, 'chiefly ribbed bowls, and large amphoræ with loop handles. The red and black figured ware was also imported' (Bliss, in Hastings' *DB* iv. 27).

Where pottery of the Seleucid age, with Greek names stamped on the handles, or Roman pottery, 'ribbed amphoræ, and tiles stamped with the stamp of the tenth legion,' or Arab glazed ware, is found, sites may be dated with approximate accuracy. But for these and older times, data furnished by remains of pottery must be used with caution. Thus certain jars found at a great depth below the surface at Jerusalem, undoubtedly belonging to a comparatively early time, closely resemble some of those in use at the present day (Nowack, *Heb. Arch.* i. 265ff.). W. Ewing.

POTTER'S FIELD.—See Akeldama.

POUND.—See Money, § 7; Weights and Measures, § III.

POVERTY.—1. In the OT.—The character and degree of the poverty prevalent in a community will naturally vary with the stages of social development through which it successively passes. Poverty is more acutely felt, and its extremes are more marked, where city-life and commerce have grown up than where the conditions of life are purely nomadic or agricultural.

The causes of poverty referred to in the OT (apart from those due to individual folly) are specially (*a*) bad seasons, involving failure of crops, loss of cattle, etc. (cf. 2 K 8[1-7], Neh 5[3]); (*b*) raids and invasions; (*c*) landgrabbing (cf. Is 5[8]); (*d*) over-taxation and forced labour (cf. Jer 22[13f.]); (*e*) extortionate usury, the opportunity for which was provided by the necessity for meeting high taxation and the losses arising from bad harvests (cf. Neh 5[1-5]).

In the earlier period, when the tribal system with its complex of clans and families flourished, poverty was not acutely felt. Losses, of course, there were, arising from bad seasons, invasion, and pestilence; we hear, too, of rich men oppressing the poor (cf. Nathan's parable, 2 S 12[1-6]); but there was little permanent poverty. Matters were maintained in a state of equilibrium so long as the land-system, under which all free Israelitish families possessed a patrimony, remained in working order. It is significant that in the earlier legislation of JE (cf. esp. the Ten Commandments, Ex 20[1-17], and the 'Book of the Covenant,' Ex 20[23]–23[33]) the few references that do occur (*e.g.* Ex 22[25] 23[6]) do not suggest that poverty was very wide-spread or acutely felt. During the period of the later monarchy, however, commerce, city-life, and luxury grew apace, and the greed and heartless oppression of the rich, the corruption and perversion of justice, which this state of things brought in its train, were constantly denounced by the great writing prophets, esp. in the 8th cent. (cf. *e.g.*, Is 1[23], Am 4[1] 6[1ff.], Mic 2[1ff.]).

The Deuteronomic legislation (7th cent.) bears eloquent testimony to the prevalence of poverty under the later monarchy (cf. Dt 10[17-19] 14[28-29] 15. 23[19. 20] 24[10-21] 26[12-15]), and in one famous sentence predicts its permanence ('the poor shall never cease out of the land,' 15[11]).

The classes of poor more particularly mentioned are widows, orphans, and the 'sojourners,' or resident strangers, who possessed no landed rights (*gērim*). The Levites also are specially referred to in Deut. as an impoverished class (cf. 12[12. 19] 18),—a result of the centralization of worship in the one sanctuary at Jerusalem. All classes of the poor are the objects of special solicitude and consideration in the Mosaic legislation, particularly in the Priestly Code (cf. *e.g.* Lv 5[7. 11] 19[9-15] etc.)

For a long time after the Exile and Return the Palestinian community remained in a state of miserable poverty. It was a purely agricultural society, and suffered much from contracted boundaries and agricultural depression. The 'day of small things' spoken of by the prophet Zechariah (4[10]) was prolonged. A terrible picture of devastation (produced by a locust plague) is given by the prophet Joel (ch. 1), and matters were aggravated during the last years of Persian rule (down to 332), and by the conflict between the Seleucids and Ptolemys for the possession of Palestine which

raged for considerably more than a century (322–198). It is significant that in the Psalms the term **'poor'** or 'lowly' has become synonymous with 'pious.' During the earlier part of the post-exilic period the wealthy Jewish families for the most part remained behind in Babylon. In the later period, after the conquests of Alexander the Great (from 322), prosperous communities of Jews grew up in such centres as Antioch and Alexandria (the Greek 'Dispersion'). Slowly and gradually the Palestinian community grew in importance; for a time under the Maccabees there was a politically independent Jewish State. A certain amount of material prosperity ensued. Jerusalem, as being a centre of pilgrimage, received large revenues from the Jewish pilgrims who thronged to it: a Temple-tax swelled the revenues of the priesthood. The aristocratic priestly families were very wealthy. But the bulk of the priesthood still remained comparatively poor. The Jewish community of Palestine was still mainly agricultural, but more prosperous under settled government (the Herods and the Romans); while Galilee became a hive of industry, and sustained a large industrial population (an artizan class).

In dealing with poverty the Jewish legislation displays a very humane spirit. Usury is forbidden: the poor are to have the produce of the land in Sabbatical years; and in Deut. tithes are allotted to be given them (14^{28} etc.); they are to have the right to **glean** ($24^{15.\ 21}$), and in the Priestly Code there is the unrealized ideal of the Jubilee Year (Lv 25, cf. Dt $15^{12\text{-}15}$). All these provisions were supplemented by **almsgiving,** which in later Judaism became one of the most important parts of religious duty (see Alms, Almsgiving).

2. In the NT.—In the NT period conditions were not essentialy altered. The exactions of tax-collectors seem to have been acutely felt (notice esp. the collocation 'publicans and sinners'), but **almsgiving** was strongly inculcated as a religious duty, the early Christians following in this respect the example set by the synagogue (cf. Ro 12^{13}; and St. Paul's collection for 'the poor saints at Jerusalem,' Ro 15^{26}, Gal 2^{10}). The early generations of Christians were drawn mostly from the poorer classes (slaves or freedmen), but the immediate disciples of our Lord belonged rather to what we should call the lower middle class—sturdy Galilæan fishermen, owning their own boats, or tax-collectors. It should be noted that in the Gospels (*e.g.* in the Beatitudes) the term **'poor'** sometimes possesses a religious connotation, as in the Psalms.

G. H. Box.

POWER.—In general the word means ability for doing something, and includes the idea of adequate strength, might, skill, resources, energy, and efficiency, either material, mental, or spiritual, to effect intended results. Strictly speaking, there is no real power or authority in the universe but that which is ultimately of God (Ps 62^{11}, Jn 19^{11}, Ro 13^{1}). But this Almighty One has originated innumerable subordinate powers, and some of these are possessed of ability to perform acts contrary to the will and commandments of the Creator. And so we may speak of the power of God, or of man, or of angel, or of demon, or of powers inherent in things inanimate. Inasmuch as in the highest and absolute sense 'power belongeth unto God,' it is fitting to ascribe unto Him such doxologies as appear in 1 Ch 29^{11}, Mt 6^{13}. In Mt 26^{64} the word 'power' is employed for God Himself, and it is accordingly very natural that it should be often used to denote the various forms of God's activity, especially in His works of creation and redemption. Christ is thus the power of God both in His Person and in His gospel of salvation (1 Co $1^{18.\ 24}$, Ro 1^{16}). The power of the Holy Spirit is also another mode of the Divine activity. By similar usage Simon the sorcerer was called 'the power of God which is called Great' (Ac 8^{10}), *i.e.* a supposed incarnation of the power of God. The plural **powers** is used in a variety of meanings. (1) In Mt 7^{22}, Lk 10^{13}, Ac 2^{22} 8^{13}, 'powers,' or 'mighty works,' along with 'signs and wonders,' are to be understood as miracles, and were concrete manifestations of supernatural power. (2) 'The powers of the heavens' (Mt 24^{29}, Mk 13^{25}) are understood by some as the forces inherent in the sun, moon, stars, and other phenomena of the heavens, by virtue of which they 'rule over the day and over the night' (Gn 1^{16}); by others these heavenly powers are understood to be the starry hosts themselves conceived as the armies of the heavens. (3) Both good and evil angels are designated by the terms **'principalities and powers'** in such passages as Eph 1^{21} 3^{10} 6^{12}, Col 1^{16} $2^{10.\ 15}$, 1 P 3^{22}. The context of each passage must show whether the reference is to angels or demons. In Eph 2^{2} Satan is called **'the prince of the power of the air,'** and these powers are further defined in 6^{12} as 'world-rulers of this darkness, the spiritual hosts of wickedness in the heavenly places.' These are thought of as so many ranks of evil spirits who are ever at war with God's hosts, and seek to usurp the heavenly regions. (4) In Ro 13^{1} civil magistrates are called 'the higher powers' because of their superior rank, authority, and influence as officers ordained of God for the administration of justice among men (cf. Lk 12^{11}, Tit 3^{1}). (5) 'The powers of the age to come' (He 6^{5}) are best understood of all supernatural gifts and spiritual forces which belong to the age or dispensation of the New Covenant, of which Jesus is the Mediator (cf. He 9^{15}). They include the 'greater works' (Jn 14^{12}) which Jesus assured His disciples they should do after His going unto the Father and sending them the Spirit of truth. See Authority, Kingdom of God.

M. S. Terry.

POWER OF THE KEYS.—In ecclesiastical history the phrase is associated primarily with the so-called 'Privilege of Peter,' upon which the dogma of papal supremacy has been built, but also with the delegated authority of an official priesthood to pronounce sentence of the absolution or the retention of sins.

1. The fundamental passage is Mt 16^{18}. When St. Peter at Cæsarea Philippi had made his great confession of Jesus as the Christ, Jesus blessed him and announced that upon this rock He would build His Church. Then He added, 'I will give unto thee **the keys of the kingdom of heaven;** and whatsoever thou shalt bind on earth shall be bound in heaven; and whatsoever thou shalt loose on earth shall be loosed in heaven.' That this double promise, like the one in the preceding verse, was made to St. Peter personally can hardly be doubted. The question is as to what it means. Evidently Jesus is carrying out the figure He has already used of a building founded upon a **rock**—the rock, viz., of believing confession, of which the Apostle was the splendid type; and He now declares that as the reward of a confession which stamped him as the first true Christian, the bottom stone of the great edifice that was about to rise, he should have the privilege of wielding the keys of that Church of Christ which was to be realized in the Kingdom of heaven. There are some who think that by this gift of the keys St. Peter was appointed to the position of a steward in charge of his Lord's treasuries, entrusted with the duty of feeding the household (Lk 12^{42}, cf. Mt 13^{52}). But from the use of the word 'key' by Jesus Himself in Lk 11^{52}, and from the analogy of Is 22^{22}, Rev 3^{7}, it is probable that the keys are those not of the storehouse but of the mansion itself, and that the gift of them points to the privilege of admitting others into the Kingdom. The promise was fulfilled, accordingly, on the day of Pentecost, when St. Peter opened the doors of the Christian Church to the Jewish world (Ac 2^{41}); and again at Cæsarea, when he, first of the Apostles, opened that same door to the Gentiles (Ac $10^{34\text{-}38}$ 15^{7}). But, as the two incidents show, there was nothing arbitrary, official, or mysterious about St. Peter's exercise of the power

of the keys on these occasions. It was his believing confession of Christ that had gained him the privilege, and both in Jerusalem and at Cæsarea it was by a renewed confession of Christ, accompanied by a testimony to the truth regarding Him as that had been made known in the experience of faith (Ac 2^{32-36} 10^{36-43}), that he opened the doors of the Kingdom alike to Jews and to Gentiles.

With regard to the second part of the verse, 'Whatsoever thou shalt bind on earth shall be bound in heaven; and whatsoever thou shalt loose on earth shall be loosed in heaven,' some scholars have regarded it as merely explaining what is meant by the keys of the Kingdom, while others hold that it confers a privilege. The latter view is the more probable. And as we know that in the Rabbinic language of the time, to **'bind'** and to **'loose'** were the regular terms for forbidding and permitting, these words confer upon the Apostle a power of legislation in the Christian Church—a power which we see him exercising by and by, along with the other Apostles and the elders, at the Jerusalem Conference (Ac $15^{6-11.\ 22-29}$).

But now comes the question, Was this twofold promise, which was given to St. Peter personally, given him in any exclusive sense? As regards the second part of it, clearly not; for on a later occasion in this same Gospel we find Jesus bestowing precisely the same privilege on His disciples generally (18^{18}; cf. v.[1] and also $vv.^{19.\ 20}$). Moreover, the later NT history shows that St. Peter had no supreme position as a legislator in the Church (see Ac $15^{13.\ 19}$, Gal $2^{11ff.}$). And if the power of binding and loosing was not given to him exclusively, the presumption is that the same thing holds of the parallel power of the keys. As a matter of fact, we find it to be so. Though St. Peter had the privilege of first opening the doors of the Kingdom to both Jews and Gentiles, the same privilege was soon exercised by others (Ac 8^{4} $11^{19ff.}$ $13^{2ff.}$). By and by Peter falls into the background, and we find Paul and Barnabas rehearsing to the Church how God through their preaching had 'opened a door of faith unto the Gentiles' (14^{27}). But this does not mean that the privilege was withdrawn from St. Peter; it means only that it was extended to others on their fulfilment of those same conditions of faith and testimony on which Peter had first received it.

2. In Mt 18^{18} there appears to be no reference whatever to the remission and retention of sins. As in 16^{18}, 'whatsoever' not 'whomsoever' is the word employed, and here as there the binding and loosing must be taken to refer to the enactment of ordinances for regulating the affairs of the Church, not to the discharge of such a purely spiritual function as the forgiveness of sins. In any case, the promise is made not to the Apostles, much less to an official priesthood deriving authority from them by an Apostolic succession, but to 'the Church' (v.[17]).

3. In Jn 20^{23} we find the assurance definitely given of **a power to remit or retain sins.** But the gift is bestowed upon the whole company present (cf. Lk 24^{33}) as representing the Christian society generally. That society, through its possession of the Holy Spirit (v.[22]), is thus empowered to declare the forgiveness or the retention of sins (cf. 1 Jn 2^{20}, Gal 6^{1}; and see F. W. Robertson, *Serm.*, 2nd ser. xi.). J. C. Lambert.

PRÆTOR.—See Magistrate, Province.

PRÆTORIAN GUARD.—See next art. and Guard.

PRÆTORIUM (Gr. *praitōrion*) occurs only once in AV (Mk 15^{16}). Elsewhere it is represented by 'common hall' (Mt 27^{27}, RV **'palace'**), 'judgment hall' (Jn $18^{28.\ 33}$ 19^{9}, Ac 23^{35}; RV in all **'palace'**) and 'palace' (Ph 1^{13}, RV **'prætorian guard'**). The word at first denoted the headquarters in the Roman camp, a space within which stood the general's tent, the camp altar, the *augurāle*, and the *tribūnāl*; then the military council meeting there. Each prætor, on completing his year of office, went as governor to a province, and his official residence was called 'prætorium'; then any house distinguished by size and magnificence, esp. the Emperor's residence outside Rome. In the Gospels, *prætorium* perhaps (but see Pilate, p. 729[a]) stands for the palace of Herod the Great, occupied by Pontius Pilate—a splendid building, probably in the western part of the city. In Ph 1^{13} it is probably the barracks of the prætorians, the Imperial bodyguard. Originally the *Cohors Prætoria* was a company attached to the commander-in-chief in the field. Augustus retained the name, but raised the number to ten cohorts of 1000 each, quartering only 3 cohorts in the city at a time. Tiberius brought them all to Rome, and placed them in a fortified camp, at the northern extremity of the Viminal. Under Vitellius their number was raised to 16,000. W. Ewing.

PRAISE is the recognition and acknowledgment of merit. Two parties are involved: the one possessing at least supposed merit, the other being a person who acknowledges the merit.

Men may praise men. Forms of praise may be used without genuine feelings of praise, and extravagant praise may be rendered intentionally, because of the advantage that will be gained thereby. This is downright hypocrisy, and the whole burden of the moral teaching of the Bible, and especially of Christ, is against hypocrisy. Again, the estimate of values may be so completely false that praise may be felt and expressed genuinely in cases where it is undeserved. And Jesus' whole influence is directed towards the proper appreciation of values so that only the good shall appear to us good.

In its common Biblical use, however, *praise has God for its object.* This restriction does not involve an essential difference either in the praise or in the sense of moral values. The difference lies rather in the greater praiseworthiness of God. Praise of God is of course called forth only as He reveals Himself to men, only as men recognize His activity and His power in the event or condition which appears to them adequate to call out praise. Men praise God in proportion as they are religious, and so have conscious relations with God. The praiseworthiness of a god is involved in the very definition of a god. If men postulate a god at all, it is as a being worthy to be praised. Every thought and act by which men come into relation with God is a thought and an act of praise. Petition is justifiable only if behind it is the belief that God is worthy of such approach. If the act is confession of sin, the same is true, for confession is not made to a being who does not hold a place of honour and praise. If some active service is rendered to God, this subjugation of ourselves to Him can be explained only by the conviction that God is in every way entitled to service.

Moreover, as in the case of praise of men, there is a very clear distinction to be drawn between genuine and hypocritical ascription of praise to God. The temptation to the latter is extreme, because of the immense gain presumably to be secured by praise; but the hypocrisy and the sin of it are equally great. Indeed, the seriousness of the offence is evident when one reflects that he who praises God knows full well the praiseworthiness of God, so that if he praises while the genuine feeling is lacking and the sincere act of praise is unperformed, only moral perversity can account for the hypocrisy.

In order to genuineness, praise must be *spontaneous* It may be commanded by another human being, and the praise commanded may be rendered, but the real impelling cause is the recognized merit of God. God may demand praise from His creatures in commands transmitted to them through prophets and Apostles, but if man praises Him from the heart, it is because of

the imperative inseparable from the very being and nature of God.

We are prepared, then, to find that in the Bible praise to God is *universal* on the part of all who acknowledge Him. It is the very atmosphere of both dispensations. It is futile to attempt to collate the passages that involve it, for its expression is not measured by special terms or confined to special occasions. The author of Gn 1, like every reader of the chapter, finds the work of creation an occasion for praising God. The chapter is a call to praise, though the word be not mentioned. We have but to turn to the Psalms (*e.g.* Ps 104) to find formal expression of the praise that the world inspires.

The legal requirements of the Law likewise depend for their authority with men upon the recognition of the merit of the Law-giver. 'Ye shall be holy, for I Jehovah your God am holy,' has no force except for him who acknowledges holiness in God who commands; and obedience is the creature's tribute of praise to the holy God.

The whole history of Israel, as Israel's historians picture it, has in it the constant element of praise to Israel's God: we turn to the Psalms (*e.g.* Ps 102) or to other songs (*e.g.* Ex 15), and find the praise of the heart rising to formal expression.

In the NT, praise of Christ and of God in Christ is the universal note. It is the song of those who are healed of their sicknesses, or forgiven their sins; of Apostles who mediate on the gospel message and salvation through Christ; of those who rehearse the glories of the New Jerusalem as seen in apocalyptic vision.

We are also prepared by this universality to find that praise cannot form a topic for independent treatment. There is no technical terminology to be examined in the hope that the etymology of the terms used will throw light upon the subject, for in this case etymologies may lead us away from the current meaning of the common words employed. The history of praise in the OT and the NT is the history of worship, temple, synagogue, sacrifice, festivals. The literature of praise is the literature of religion, whether as the product of national consciousness or of personal religious experience.

It will suffice to mention one or two points of interest which the student may well bear in mind as he studies the Bible and consults the articles on related subjects.

The Heb. word oftenest used for praise is *hillēl*, perhaps an onomatopoetic Semitic root meaning 'cry aloud.' An interesting feature is the use of the imperative in ascriptions of praise. Taken literally, these imperatives are commands to praise; but they are to be taken as real ascriptions of praise, with the added thought that praise from one person suggests praise from all. Cf. the doxology 'Praise God from whom all blessings flow,' which consists solely of four imperative sentences.

The imperative of the Hebrew verb, followed by the Divine name, gives us **Hallelujah,** *i.e.* 'Praise ye Jah.' The word is used at the beginning and end of Psalms, apparently with liturgical value. Cf. also the Hallel Psalms (113–118. 136). The noun from the same root appears as the title of Ps 145. See HALLEL.

The form which praise took as an element of worship in Israel varied with the general character of worship. It was called forth by the acts of Jahweh upon which the Israelites were especially wont to dwell in different periods. For personal and family favours they praised Him in early times with forms of their own choosing. When the national consciousness was aroused, they praised Him for His leading of the nation, in forms suitable to this service. As worship came more and more to conform to that elaborated for, and practised in, the royal sanctuary—the Temple at Jerusalem—the forms of praise could not fail to share the elaboration and to become gradually more uniform. To what extent these modifications took place is to be studied in the history of OT religion.

Praise was certainly a part of the varied service rendered by the Levites in the Temple ritual of later Judaism, and an examination of that ritual will show how far praise was given over to them, and how much was retained by the congregation. The Psalms are certainly adapted to antiphonal rendering. Did the people respond to the priests, or were there two **choirs?** [This word occurs in EV only in RVm of Neh 12^{8}.] The element of praise in the synagogue worship is an interesting and disputed question. Cf. also ADORATION, HYMN.

O. H. GATES.

PRAYER.—Prayer in the Bible is the uplifting of the heart to God with whatever motive. It includes supplication, whether in view of material or of spiritual needs; intercession, for individuals or communities; confession of sin—but also assertion of righteousness; adoration; colloquy with God; vows; thanksgiving; blessing; imprecation. The results are chiefly objective and external. But the apparent failure of prayer may be more instructive than its outward success. (Apart from Christ's prayer in Gethsemane [Mk $14^{35ff.}$ ||], take St. Paul's for the removal of his affliction [2 Co $12^{8f.}$].) Failure makes way for a boon greater than the one denied. Such cases would support the view that prayer is reflex in its action, specially potent in a subjective, inward, spiritual sense. Intercessory prayer must on the lowest view be of great altruistic value; while a recognition of God's personality makes natural the belief that He may control events in answer to prayer made according to His will.

1. Terminology.—

(i.) In OT.—(1) The most usual noun (*tephillah*) and the verb (primarily of intercession) connected with it are possibly derived from a root meaning 'to cut.' If so, this might hark back to days when devotees lacerated their flesh in worship (cf. 1 K 18^{28}). Another word (used only of prayer to God) is from a root of similar meaning Some conjecture that the Jewish *tephillin* (phylacteries) originated as substitutes for such marks of laceration. *tephillah* may, however, indicate merely 'intervention.'

(2) Several words mean 'to call.' To 'call on the Name' is to worship (*e.g.* Gn 4^{26}). Others mean to call for the redress of wrongs (*e.g.* Jg 3^{9}), or for help in trouble (*e.g.* Ps 72^{12}). One noun is a 'ringing outcry' (*e.g.* Ps. 17^{1}).

(3) It is natural to find words meaning 'seek' (*e.g.* Am 5^{4}; a different word in Hos 5^{15} 'to seek God's face'), 'ask' (*e.g.* Ps 105^{40}). To all such words, and generally, the correlative is 'hear' or 'answer.'

(4) Some expressions are anthropomorphic:—'to encounter,' 'fall upon' in order to supplicate or intercede (*e.g.* Jer 7^{16}); 'to make the face of God pleasant,' *i.e.* to appease (*e.g.* Ex 32^{11}), thus equivalent to a more general word, 'to crave favour' (*e.g.* Dt 3^{23}).

(5) Other terms regard the suppliant's state of mind:—prayer is 'an outpouring of soul' (*e.g.* Ps 62^{8}); or 'a meditation' (*e.g.* Job 15^{4} RVm); or 'complaint' (*e.g.* Ps 142^{2}); or the original connotation may be physical,—'to bow down' (Ezr 6^{10}, cf. Eph 3^{14}), 'to whisper' (Is 26^{16} RVm).

(ii.) In NT.—(1) The classical Gr. word (*proseuchomai*) is largely used. Unlike most OT words, this is used for prayer to God only. A related word (*euchomai*) is by itself little more than 'wish' (*e.g.* Ro 9^{3}), and needs supplementing to mean 'prayer' (*e.g.* 2 Co 13^{7}). The corresponding noun (*euchē*) usually means 'vow' (*e.g.* Ac 18^{18}); but 'prayer' in Ja 5^{15}.

(2) 'To call on the Name' or invoke in prayer (*e.g.* Ac 9^{14}).

(3) The words for 'seek' and 'ask' may be used of requests or inquiries made to man (*e.g.* Ac 8^{34}), and do not of themselves connote worship. One word denotes the request of the *will* (*e.g.* Mt 6^{8}), another the request of *need* (*e.g.* Ac 8^{22}), another the *form* of the request (*e.g.* Jn 17^{9}, cf. RVm).

(4) The OT 'encounter' has NT equivalent used of intercession (*e.g.* Ro 8^{27}).

(5) Prayer is a 'struggle' (*e.g.* Ro 15^{30}). One picturesque word (*hike tēria*), found only in He 5^{7}, suggests the olive branches held forth by suppliants.

2. Place, time, and circumstance.—(i.) PLACE.—While no restriction is suggested at any period (cf. *e.g.* Gn $24^{12.\ 13}$, Jon 2^{1}, Ps 42^{6} 61^{2}, Dn 6^{10}, Lk 6^{12}, Ac 16^{24-25} 21^{5}), and is disclaimed by Christ in view of true worship (Jn 4^{21-23}), yet naturally specific worship-centres were

regarded as appropriate: thus in early times Shiloh, where the ark rested (1 S 1[9. 10]), Mizpah (1 S 7[5], 1 Mac 3[46]), Gibeon (1 K 3[4ff.]). But, later, the Temple was the place where (Is 37[14ff.] 56[7]) or (in absence) 'toward' which prayer was offered (1 K 8[29. 30] etc., Ps 28[2], Dn 6[10], 1 Es 4[58]). Synagogues afforded, in later times, local prayer-centres. Where there was no synagogue, a spot outside the town was chosen, near some stream, for hand-washing before prayer (Ac 16[13. 16]). In the NT we find Apostles going to the Temple (Ac 3[1]); and St. Paul attended the synagogue on his mission journeys (Ac 17[1. 2]). Distinctively Christian worship was held in ordinary buildings (Ac 1[13. 14] 4[23. 24] 12[12], Col 4[15])—a practice made natural by Jewish arrangements for private prayer (Dn 6[10], Jth 8[5] 10[2], Mt 6[6], Ac 10[9. 30]) or for Passover celebration (Mt 26[18]). Ostentatious praying at street corners is discouraged by Christ (Mt 6[5]).

(ii.) Time.—It became a custom to pray thrice daily, *i.e.* at the 3rd, 6th, and 9th hours (cf. ? Ps 55[17] [may mean 'all day long'], Dn 6[10], Ac 3[1] 10[9. 30]; cf. 2[15. cf. 1]). For instances of 'grace before meat,' cf. 1 S 9[13], Mt 15[36], Ac 27[35], and the Paschal meal.

(iii.) Circumstance.—(1) *Attitude*: (*a*) standing (*e.g.* Gn 18[22], 1 S 1[26], Neh 9[5], Mk 11[25], Lk 18[11. 13] [the usual Jewish mode, not followed by early Christian Church save on Sundays and the days between Easter and Whitsun]); (*b*) kneeling (Ps 95[6], Is 45[23], 1 K 8[54], Ezr 9[5], Dn 6[10], Lk 22[41], Ac 7[60] 9[40] 20[36] 21[5], Eph 3[14]); (*c*) prostrate, face to ground (Ex 34[8], Neh 8[6], 1 Es 8[91], Jth 9[1], 2 Mac 13[12], Mt 26[39]); face between knees (1 K 18[42], cf. ? Ps 35[13b]); (*d*) sitting (? 2 S 7[18]); (*e*) hands uplifted (Ps 28[2] 63[4] 134[2], La 2[19] 3[41], 2 Mac 3[20], 1 Ti 2[8]) or extended [symbol of reception from God ?] (Ex 9[29], 1 K 8[22], Is 1[15], Ezr 9[5], Ps 77[2] [ct. AV]).

(2) *Forms of prayer*: (*a*) formulæ (Dt 21[7. 8] 26[5-15]); (*b*) the Lord's Prayer; (*c*) allusion to the Baptist's (Lk 11[1]); (*d*) Christ's repeated prayer (Mt 26[44]); (*e*) allusion to 'vain repetitions' or 'battology' (Mt 6[7], cf. Sir 7[14]).

(3) *Incense.* The OT word sometimes means merely the smoke from a sacrifice. Real incense was (certainly in later OT period) in use at sacrificial ceremonies, with which prayer was probably always associated (cf. Gn 12[8]). Incense typifies prayer (Ps 141[2]; cf. Jer 11[12], Mal 1[11], Lk 1[10], Rev 5[8] 8[3. 4]).

(4) *Fasting.* Being appropriate for times of solicitude and sorrow, fasting naturally became associated with prayer (Ps 35[13]), especially after the Exile (Neh 1[4], Dn 9[3]; cf. Lk 2[37]), and was continued in the Christian Church (Ac 13[3] 14[23], Mt 9[15]). The following AV allusions to fasting coupled with prayer are absent from RV (but see RVm):—Mt 17[21], Mk 9[29], Ac 10[30], 1 Co 7[5].

3. Prayer in the OT.—(i.) Patriarchal Period.—Prayer is (1) *colloquy with God* (*e.g.* Gn 15[1. 2. 7. 8] 17[15. 18. 22]); (2) *intercession* (*e.g.* Gn 17[18] 18[23ff.]); (3) *personal supplication* (*e.g.* Gn 15[2] 32[11] 43[14]); (4) *asseveration* (*e.g.* Gn 14[22]); (5) *vow* (*e.g.* Gn 28[20]; see art. Vows).

(ii.) The Law (*i.e.* as codified and expanded in later times).—The reticence as to prayer might suggest that it is voluntary and not patient of legislation; but in OT it is less a general duty (ct. NT) than a prophetic privilege (especially *re* intercession); cf. Gn 20[7] and below, §§ iii.–vi. Note, however, the formulæ for thanksgiving (Dt 26[5-11]), assertion of obedience (vv. [13-14], ct. NT), supplication (v.[15]), expiation (21[7. 8]).

(iii.) Moses to Judges.—(1) *Moses pre-eminently a man of prayer and an intercessor* (*e.g.* Ex 8[12. 30] 32[11-13. 32], cf. Jer 15[1]): colloquy with God (Ex 3. 4. 5[22] 6[1. 10. 12. 28-30], Dt 3[23-26]), appeal in crises (Ex 5[22], Nu 11[11]), prophetic blessing (Dt 33[6-11]); (2) *Joshua's prayer after defeat* (Jos 7[7-9]), *and in battle* (10[14]); (3) *Gideon's colloquy* (Jg 6[11-24]); (4) *Israelites' frequent cry for help* (Jg 3[9. 15] 6[6] etc.).

(iv.) Kingdom Period.—(1) *Samuel, like Moses, an intercessor* (1 S 7[5. 8. 9] 8[6. 10. 21] 12[23] 15[11]): colloquy (1 S 16[1-3], cf. 3[10. 11]); (2) *David*: apart from the Psalms, with which his connexion is dubious, the following prayers may be noted, especially the last:—for guidance (1 S 23[2. 4] 30[8] [consulting ephod]), on behalf of child (2 S 12[16]), prayer of asseveration (1 S 24[12-15] 25[22] [a threat]), confession (2 S 24[17]), adoration, etc. (2 S 7[18-29]); (3) *Solomon's prayer for wisdom* (1 K 3[5ff.]; note the elaborate intercession attributed to him at dedication of Temple, 1 K 8[22-53], where (ct. v.[63]) *sacrifice* is not mentioned! The Temple is a house of prayer); (4) *Elijah's intercession* (1 K 18[36. 37]), colloquy (19[9-11]), prayer before miracle (1 K 17[20. 21]), so also Elisha (2 K 4[33] 6[17]); (5) *Hezekiah prays in national crisis* (2 K 19[15]) and in illness (20[2]); note his assertion of righteousness. For this period see also § v.

(v.) The Prophets.—Intercession in attitude, action, word, characterizes the prophets (much more than the priests, but cf. Jl 2[17]), whether the earlier prophets, (§ iv. above) or those whose writings are extant. The reason lay in the prophet's Divine call, his vision of the Divine will (so a 'seer'), and his forthtelling of the Divine message. Hence comes prayerful expectancy (*e.g.* Jer 42[4]), in the spirit of Hab 2[1]; and intercession to avert disaster (*e.g.* Am 7[2. 3 and 5. 6], Is 63[9-17], and vividly Jer 14. 15 [where observe the colloquy of persistent intercession notwithstanding Divine discouragement]), combined with prayer in view of personal difficulty (*e.g.* Jer 20[7-13]).

(vi.) Exile and Return.—In this period prayer looms large, owing to the cessation of sacrificial worship and the realization of chastisement. Accordingly confession and a humble sense of dependence are prominent. The following passages should be studied: Is 63[7]–64[12], Ezr 9[5-15], Neh 1[4-11] 9[6-38] (cf. retrospective Psalms, *e.g.* 106), Dn 9[4-19]. Further, note the personal prayer-habit of Jewish leaders (Dn 6, Ezr 8[21-23]). Nehemiah's prayer is often ejaculatory (Neh 2[4] 4[4]), and sometimes betrays self-complacency (5[19] 13[14. 22]).

(vii.) Psalms, Proverbs, Job.—The Book of 'Praises' might be appropriately called also the Book of 'Prayers.' (Five only are so described in title: 17. 86. 90. 102. 142, but cf. 72[20], Hab 3[1].) (1) Throughout the Psalms, prayer—whether of the poet as an individual or as representing the nation—is specially an outpouring—artless and impulsive—of varied experiences, needs, desires. Hence typical psalms exhibit transitions of thought and alternation of mood (*e.g.* 6[7-10] 42. 69[20. 27. 30] 77[9-11] 109[23-30]). (2) The blessing sought is oftener material or external, like rescue from trouble or chastisement. Not seldom, however, there is a more spiritual aim: in Ps 51 pardon is sought for its own sake, not to avert punishment, and Ps 119 is notable for repeated requests for inward enlightenment and quickening. The trend of the whole collection is indicated by its ready and natural adaptation to NT ideals of prayer. In estimating psalms which express vindictive and imprecatory sentiments, we should note that they breathe abhorrence of evil, and are not the utterance of private malice. Even on the lowest view they would illustrate the human element in the Scriptures, and the progressive nature of revelation, throwing into vivid relief the Gospel temper and teaching. The propriety of their regular use in public worship need not be discussed here.

Proverbs. Note the suggestive allusion to the character of a suppliant (15[8. 29] 28[9]; cf. Ps 145[18. 19], Jth 8[31], Sir 35[16], Ja 5[16]), and Agur's prayer (30[7-9]).

Job. In this dramatic poem Job's objections to his friends' criticisms often take the form of daring expostulation directly addressed to God (*e.g.* especially ch. 10). As a 'cry in the dark' the book re-echoes prayers like Ps 88; but the conflict of doubt culminates in the colloquy between God and Job, in which the latter expresses the reverent submission of faith (42[1-6]).

4. Prayer in the Apocrypha.—The Apocr. books—of fiction, fable, history, with apocalyptic and sapiential writings—are of very unequal value, but contain many prayers. The ideas are on the whole admirable, some-

times reaching a distinctively NT level; the thought in 2 Mac 12[44] as to prayer in relation to the dead is noteworthy (cf. below, 2 Es. and Bar.). As the books are little read, it may be well to take them in order, giving fairly full reference to relevant passages.

1 *Esdras.* Zerubbabel's thanksgiving (4[58-60]); prayer for journey, with confession (8[73-90]).

2 *Esdras.* Confession and historical retrospect (3[4-36]), colloquy with Uriel (4–14, where note the allusion to various OT intercessors, all useless at judgment-day, 7[102. 112] [not in AV]).

Tobit. Prevailing prayer of Tobit and Sarah (3[1-16]); Tobias urged to pray (4[19])—prays in nuptial room (8[4-8]); thanksgiving of Raguel (8[15-17]), Tobit (11[14. 15. 17] 13).

Judith. Except where general supplication is made (4[9-13-15] 6[18. 19] 7[29]), or where Judith's intercession is sought (8[31]), prayer in this romance is of a very unworthy kind: prayer for the success of a trick (ch. 9); prayer and the plans of Holofernes (11[17. 18]); prayer before slaying him (13[4. 5]).

Ad. Esther. Prayers of Mordecai (13[8-18]) and Esther (14[3-19]) in national peril.

Wisdom. Chs. 9–19 are in prayer-form. Note the picturesque illustration of manna and the morning prayer (16[27. 28]).

Sirach. In this book prayer reaches heights: value of prayer (21[5]), true prayer heard of God (35[13-17]), prayer in sickness (38[9. 14], cf. Ja 5[14-16]), for deliverance from sin (23[1-5]), prayer and alms (7[10]), 'battology' (7[14], cf. Mt 6[7]), prayer and revenge (28[1-4], cf. Mt 6[14] 18[21. 22]), national prayer against foe (36[1-17]), thanksgiving, led by Simon (50[21-24]), author's closing prayer (51[1-12]).

Baruch. Jews of Babylon ask those of Jerusalem to pray for welfare of Nebuchadnezzar (1[11]; cf. Ezr 6[10], Jer 29[7], 1 Ti 2[2]); prayer and confession of captive Israelites (1[15]–3[8], where note prayer by the dead, 3[4], but see RVm).

Song of the Three. Prayer and confession of Azarias before the *Benedicite* (vv.[1-22]; cf. Ezr 9, Dn 9).

Susanna. Her prevailing prayer (vv.[42-44]).

Bel. Brief prayer by Habakkuk (v.[35]), Daniel (v.[38]), king of Babylon (v.[41]).

Prayer of Manasses. For pardon.

Maccabees. The two books are quite distinct, 1 Mac. being much the more reliable as history. Prayer is very prominent throughout the whole Maccabæan struggle,—before, during, and after battles (1 Mac 3[46-53] 4[10. 24. 30-33. 40. 55] 7[36-38. 41. 42] 9[46] 11[71], 2 Mac 1[24-29] 3[22] 10[16. 25. 38] 11[6] 12[15. 28. 42] 13[10-12. 14] 14[15. 34-36] 15[22-24 26. 27]). Note specially in 2 Mac. the allusion to the efficacy of prayer, etc., of the living for the dead (12[44. 45]; cf. baptism for dead, 1 Co 15[29], and [?] 2 Ti 1[18]), and prayer of the dead for the living (15[12-14]; cf. angelic intercession, Zec 1[12]).

5. Prayer in the NT.—I. Example and teaching of Jesus Christ.—The special character of the Fourth Gospel should be remembered. Of the Synoptics, Lk. is specially instructive as to prayer (cf. Acts also). For Lord's Prayer, see separate article.

(i.) Christ's example.—(*a*) *Prays at great moments in His life*: baptism (Lk 3[21]), election of Apostles (Lk 6[12. 13]), miracles (Lk 9[16]; cf. Jn 6[23], Mk 7[34] [implied] 9[29], Jn 9[30-33] [implied] 11[41. 42]), transfiguration (Lk 9[29]); Gethsemane (Lk 22[39-46]), crucifixion (Mt 27[46], Lk 23[46]); (*b*) *intercedes* for disciples (Jn 17), Peter (Lk 22[32]), soldiers (Lk 23[34]); for His intercession in glory, see below, § II. (ii.) (1).

(ii.) Christ's teaching.—The range of prayer is chiefly (ct. OT) for spiritual blessing (cf. Lord's Prayer, and esp. Mt 6[33]), but not exclusively so ('daily bread' in Lord's Prayer and Mt 24[20]). The conditions and requisites of prayer are numerous.—(*a*) *Earnestness* [cf. urgent supplication in OT, esp. Psalms] (Lk 11[5-13], where note juxtaposition with Lord's Prayer, 18[1-8]; and His attitude to the Syrophœnician seems to teach urgency of petition (Mk 7[27]). (*b*) *Humility* (Lk 18[9-14]; the juxtaposition with preceding parable is suggestive, and ct. OT assertion of righteousness; *e.g.* in Dt. and Neh. [see above, **3** (vi.)], Lk 17[10]); ambition rebuked (Mt 20[20-23]). (*c*) *A forgiving spirit*: as in Sir. (see above, § **4**). (*d*) *Privacy* recommended; see above, § **2** (i.) end, and cf. Christ's own example of solitary prayer (Lk 6[12]). (*e*) *Without 'battology'*; see above, § **2** (iii.) (2), where the reff. show that the repetition discouraged is that of mere mechanical prayer (cf. heathen incantations) or of pretence (Mk 12[40]). (*f*) *With faith.* Mk 11[23] contains just such hyperbole as would appeal to an Eastern mind and enforce the value of prayer; while the seeming paradox of v.[24] must be taken along with this and understood in the light of Christ's general teaching. The need of faith is further illustrated by Christ's attitude to those seeking aid (*e.g.* Mt 8[13] 9[28], Mk 5[36] 9[23], Lk 8[48]). (*g*) *Agreement* when two or three join in prayer (Mt 18[19. 20]). (*h*) *In His name* (Jn 14[13] 15[16] 16[23. 24. 26]). This specially Johannine feature suggests frame of mind rather than form of speech (cf. Mt 18[5. 20] 10[22] etc.; on the other hand, cf. Ac 3[6. 16]). For the Christology it supports, see below, § II. (ii.) 1.

II. Customs and ideas in Apostolic times.—Evidence is afforded by Acts (where the prominence given to prayer is natural if Lk. wrote it, see above, § I.), and by Epp., whose writers had inherited the best traditions of Jewish piety and had also assimilated their Master's teaching (which, however, they may not in every point have grasped fully). A glimpse of prayer-triumphs would be afforded by such passages as Ac 3[16] 4[31] 9[40] 10[4] 12[5. 12] 16[25] 28[8]. One or two detailed points have already come up for notice (see above § **2** (i. ii. iii. 1. 4), **5** (I. ii. (*h*)), but it may be well now to collect, from Acts to the Apocalypse, some passages showing the practice and teaching as to prayer in the Apostolic Church.

(i.) Prayer is found in connexion with:—(1) *Laying on of hands*: (*a*) in healing (Ac 28[8], cf. 9[17] (see below (3)); (*b*) after baptism (Ac 8[14-17], cf. 19[6]); (*c*) on appointment to office (Ac 6[6] 13[3]), with which also prayerful lot-casting is associated (Ac 1[24. 25], cf. Pr 16[33]). (2) *Public worship* (1 Ti 2). (*a*) Both sexes participate (cf. 1 Ti 5[5], 1 Co 11[4. 5]; (*b*) prayer and gift of tongues (1 Co 14[14. 15], where it is suggested that the head as well as the heart is concerned with prayer); (*c*) 'state-prayers' in the Apostolic Church (1 Ti 2[1f.]; cf. § **4** '*Baruch*'). (3) *Sickness* (Ja 5[13-16], where notice conjunction of prayer and outward means [for unction cf. Mk 6[13]] with confession; physical and spiritual healing are associated, and both with prayer; see above, § **4** '*Sirach*').

(ii.) (1) A distinctive idea in NT prayer is *the work of the Holy Spirit.* He aids us in prayer (Ro 8[14-16], Eph 6[18], Jude[20]), interceding for us (Ro 8[26]). Christ also intercedes (Ro 8[34], He 7[25]; cf. § **5** I. (i.) (*b*)). Ct. presentation of prayer to God in Rev 5[8] 8[4]. By Christ we enjoy free access to God (Gal 4[4-7], Eph 2[18] 3[12], He 4[15. 16] 10[19-22]; see above, §**5** I. (ii.) (*h*)); prayer offered to Christ direct (Ac 7[59. 60] 9[14] (?), 1 Co 1[2] (?)). (2) *Prayer needs faith* (Ja 1[6-8], 1 Ti 2[8] RVm, He 10[22]), must have right aims (Ja 4[3]), and be backed by conduct (1 Jn 3[22], cf. above, § **3** (vii.) '*Proverbs*'). Such prayer succeeds (Ja 5[16-18], 1 Jn 3[22] 5[14. 15]). Prayer for temporal gifts is not very conspicuous in NT, but see Ro 1[10], 2 Co 12[8], Ph 4[6]. (3) *Exhortations to prayer* (Ro 12[12], Col 4[2], 1 Th 5[16], 1 P 4[7], Jude[20]). (4) *Reminiscences of OT* occur in prayer as colloquy (Ac 9[13-16] 22[17-21]; cf. § **3**), as struggle (Ro 15[30], Col 2[1] 4[12]; cf. Gn 32[24]), as cry for vengeance (Rev 6[9. 10], ct. 1 Ti 2[8]). (5) *Intercession*, which in OT is specially characteristic of the prophetic office, is here a general duty, and is very prominent: Apostles for converts (Ro 10[1] 15[5], 2 Co 13[7], Eph 1[16] 3[14], Ph 1[4. 9], Col 1[9] 2[1], 1 Th 1[2], 2 Th 1[11], Philem[4], 3 Jn[2]); converts for Apostles (Ac 12[5], Ro 15[30], 2 Co 1[11] 9[14], Col 4[3], 2 Th 3[1], Philem[22]); for one another (Ja 5[16],

1 Jn 5[16] [within limit]). (6) *Thanksgiving* abounds (Ro 1[8], 1 Co 1[4], 2 Co 2[14] 8[16], Ph 1[3], Col 1[3], 1 Th 1[2] 2[13], 2 Th 1[3] 2[13], 1 Ti 1[12], 2 Ti 1[3]). (7) Note also the *salutation and blessing* at the beginning and close of Epistles. The NT closes with a threefold prayer for Christ's coming (Rev 22[17, 20]). H. F. B. Compston.

PRAYER OF MANASSES.—See Apocrypha, § 11.

PREACHING.—In the OT 'preaching' is referred to explicitly in the case of Jonah's preaching in Nineveh (Jon 3[2]). The word here used means strictly 'proclamation,' and corresponds to the NT word used with reference to our Lord 'proclaiming' (as a herald) the advent of the Kingdom of God (*e.g.* Mt 4[17]), which, in its initial stages, was closely associated with the preaching of John the Baptist (cf. Mt 3[1, 2]). Christian preaching is often described in the NT as a declaration of 'glad tidings' ('evangel,' 'gospel'). Strictly, the 'proclamation' ought to be distinguished from the 'teaching' that followed on it. But in its more extended application 'preaching' covers all instruction in religious matters of a homiletical character, and especially such as is associated with **public worship.**

The prophetic preaching hardly falls within this category. The prophets undoubtedly as a rule spoke their discourses (before writing them down). But these allocutions were special in character, and formed no regular part of the public worship.

The preaching of John the Baptist and of Jesus was largely prophetic in character—the gospel may be described as a 'revival of the spirit of prophecy'—but nevertheless it possessed some affinities with the synagogue preaching, which had become an institution of worship, though in many respects in marked contrast with and independent of it (our Lord constantly addressed the multitudes in the open air).

Preaching as a regular part of the service of public worship was a comparatively late development. Its real beginning can be traced back to the custom inaugurated by Ezra of reading a part of the 'Law' or 'Torah' at the Sabbath-day assemblages of the people, and on other holy days. On these occasions the lesson from the Law was read in the original Hebrew, and explained in the form of a paraphrase in the Aramaic vernacular by a *methurgemān* (dragoman) or interpreter. Such translations were called Targums. It was from this practice that preaching in the synagogue was developed—probably as early as the 4th cent. B.C. (cf. Ac 15[21]). Thus originally the sermon was essentially an exposition (of a legal kind) of some part of Scripture. Two famous teachers of the Law of the 1st cent. B.C. are styled *darshanim* ('preachers,' *Pes.* 70*b*), though they were primarily expounders of the Law on its strictly legalistic side. But in process of time the sermon assumed to a large extent a purely edifying character; it utilized the tale, parable, allegory, in enforcing the lessons of morality and religion, and developed truly homiletical features, without, however, losing its Scriptural colouring.

By NT times preaching had evidently become an integral part of the ordinary synagogue service, and in this way it became one of the chief instruments in the propagation of the 'new teaching.' Our Lord constantly 'taught in the synagogues' (cf. Mt 4[23], Mk 1[21] 6[2], Jn 6[59] 18[20]). St. Luke (4[16f.]) has preserved a compressed account of one such sermon, while in Acts (13[14-41]) a fuller report of an exhortation by the great missionary Apostle, delivered in a synagogue, is set forth.

Our Lord's teaching, and that of the Apostles which He inspired, were marked by a freshness, a spontaneity and power which filled their hearers, accustomed as they were to the more set and laborious exhortations of the scribes, with the utmost surprise. But original as they were in substance, these addresses were still Semitic in form, and we must guard against importing our Western ideas of rhetoric into what were essentially Eastern homilies. The differences between the two are fundamental. While the Western develops a main and principal thought or theme through its logical subdivisions, and usually in a more or less abstract way, the Eastern adds point to point, theme to theme, often in striking antithesis, and strives to employ concrete illustrations and embodiments either figurative or parabolic of the thought. The 'Sermon on the Mount' (though its form in the First Gospel is doubtless an extended one) is an excellent illustration of Eastern method in some of these respects. The following example of an old Rabbinic address, based on the words 'He hath clothed me with garments of salvation,' which come from the chapter in Isaiah (61) from which Jesus took His text in His address in the synagogue at Nazareth, will illustrate the character of contemporary Jewish sermons:

'Seven garments the Holy One—blessed be He—has put on, and will put on from the time the world was created until the hour when He will punish the whole of wicked Edom (=the Roman Empire). When He created the world, He clothed Himself in honour and majesty, as it is said (Ps 104[1]): "Thou art clothed in honour and majesty." Whenever He forgave Israel's sins He clothed Himself in white; for we read (Dn 7[9]): "His garment was white as snow." When He punishes the people of the world, He puts on the garment of vengeance, as it is said (Is 59[17]): "He put on garments of vengeance for clothing, and was clad with zeal as a cloak." The sixth garment He will put on when the Messiah comes; then He will clothe Himself in a garment of righteousness, for it is said: "And he puts on righteousness as a breastplate, and an helmet of salvation upon his head." The seventh garment He will put on when He punishes Edom; then He will clothe Himself in *Adom*—*i.e.* red; for it is said (Is 63[2]): "Wherefore art thou red in thine apparel?" But the garment which He will put upon the Messiah, this will shine far, from one end of the earth to the other; for it is said (Is 61[10]): "As a bridegroom decketh himself with a garland." And the Israelites will partake of His light, and will speak:

"Blessed is the hour when the Messiah shall come!
Blessed the womb out of which He shall come!
Blessed His contemporaries who are eye-witnesses!
Blessed the eye that is honoured with a sight of Him!
For the opening of His lips is blessing and peace;
His speech is a moving of the spirits;
The thoughts of His heart are confidence and cheerfulness;
The speech of His tongue is pardon and forgiveness;
His prayer is the sweet incense of offerings;
His petitions are holiness and purity.
Oh, how blessed is Israel for whom such has been prepared!"
For it is said (Ps 31[19]): "How great is thy goodness which thou hast laid up for them that fear thee!"'

Several specimens of the Apostolic preaching are given in the Acts (cf. chs. 2. 7. 8 etc.). To the Jews the Apostles preached the Messiahship of Jesus, basing their appeal mainly on two arguments, viz. (1) the resurrection, and (2) OT prophecy. On this depended the forgiveness of sins, and salvation through Christ. These reports, abbreviated as they obviously are, reveal their essential genuineness by their undeveloped theology (*e.g.* of the Atonement).

Preaching long continued free and spontaneous among the Christian societies, being exercised in the assembly by private members who possessed the gift of prophecy (cf. *e.g.* 1 Co 14[31]), though, of course, the Apostles, while they were alive, would naturally assume, and be accorded, the chief place in this, as in other respects. G. H. Box.

PRECIOUS STONES.—See Jewels and Precious Stones.

PREDESTINATION.—The English word 'predestinate' in the AV is, in the few cases in which it occurs (Ro 8[29, 30], Eph 1[5, 11]), exchanged in the RV for **'foreordain,'** a return to the usage of the older Versions. The Gr. word (*proorizo*) conveys the simple idea of defining or determining beforehand (thus, in addition to above, in Ac 4[28], 1 Co 2[7]). The change in rendering brings the word into closer relation with a number

of others expressing the same, or related, meanings, as 'foreknow' (in pregnant sense, Ac 2^{23}, Ro 8^{29} 11^{2}, 1 P $1^{2.\ 20}$), 'determine' (Ac 17^{26}), 'appoint' (1 P 2^{8}), 'purpose' (Eph 1^{9}), in the case of believers, 'choose' or 'elect' (Eph 1^{4} etc.). In the OT the idea is expressed by the various words denoting to *purpose, determine, choose* (*e.g.* Is $14^{24\text{-}27}$ $46^{10.\ 11}$), with the abundance of phrases extolling the sovereignty and immutability of God's counsel in all the spheres of His operation (see below; so in NT). The best clue to the Scripture conception will be found in tracing it as it appears in these different spheres of the Divine action.

1. In its most general aspect, **foreordination** is co-extensive with the sphere of God's universal providence, is, in fact, but another name for the eternal plan, design, purpose, counsel of God, which executes itself in providence. The **election** of believers, to which 'predestination' is sometimes narrowed, is but a specific case of the 'purpose' of Him 'who worketh *all things* after the counsel of his will' (Eph 1^{11}). It is in this wider regard, accordingly, that foreordination must be studied first. It cannot be reasonably doubted that all Scripture—OT and NT—represents God as exercising in and over the world a providence that is absolutely universal. Nothing, great or small—operations of nature or actions of men—is left outside its scope. This does not happen blindly, but in accordance with a plan or purpose, equally all-embracing, which has existed from eternity. As Plato says in his *Parmenides* that nothing, not even the meanest object, is unpenetrated by the idea, so even the minutest details, and seemingly most casual happenings, of life (the numbering of hairs, the fall of a sparrow, Mt $10^{29.\ 30}$) are included in the Divine providence. Free agency is not annulled; on the contrary, human freedom and responsibility are everywhere insisted on. But even free volitions, otherwise mere possibilities, are taken up in their place into this plan of God, and are made subservient to the accomplishment of His purposes. The Bible does not trouble itself with solving difficulties as to the relation of the Divine purpose to **human freedom,** but, in accordance with its fundamental doctrine of God as the free personal Creator of the world and absolutely sovereign Ruler in the realms both of matter and of mind, working through all causes, and directing everything to the wisest and holiest ends, it unhesitatingly sees His 'hand' and His 'counsel' in whatever is permitted to happen, good or bad (Ac 2^{23}). It need not be said that there is nothing arbitrary or unjust in this 'counsel' of God; it can be conceived of only as the eternal expression of His wisdom, righteousness, and love.

Texts are almost superfluous in the case of a doctrine pervading the whole of Scripture,—history, prophecy, psalm, epistle,—but an instance or two may be given. The history is a continual demonstration of a Divine teleology (*e.g.* Gn 45^{8} 50^{20}). God's counsel stands, and cannot be defeated (Ps 33^{1} $46^{10.\ 11}$); all that God wills He does (Ps 115^{3} 135^{6}, Dn 4^{35}); it is because God purposed it, that it comes to pass (Is $14^{24.\ 27}$ 37^{26}); God is the disposer of all events (2 S $17^{11.\ 12}$, Job 12^{21}, Pr 16^{33}); man may devise his way, but it is the Lord who directs his steps (16^{9}); even the hearts of men are under His control (21^{1}); God sends to man good and evil alike (Am 3^{6}, Is 45^{7}). It has already been pointed out that the same doctrine is implied in the NT (*e.g.* Ac 4^{28} 15^{18} 28 [story of Paul's shipwreck], Eph 1^{11}, Rev 4^{11} etc.).

2. A universal, all-pervading purpose of God in creation, providence, and human life, is thus everywhere assumed. The end of God's **purpose,** as regards humanity, may be thought of as the establishing of a moral and spiritual kingdom, or Kingdom of God, in which God's will should be done on earth, as it is done in heaven (cf. Mt 6^{10}). But this end, now that sin has entered, can be attained only through a *redemption.* The centre of God's purpose in our world, therefore,—that which gives its meaning and direction to the whole Biblical history, and constitutes almost its sole concern,—is the fact of redemption through Jesus Christ, and the salvation of men by Him. To this everything preceding—the call of Abraham, the Covenant with Israel, the discipline and growing revelation of Law and Prophets—leads up (on predestination here, cf. Gn $18^{18.\ 19}$, Lv $20^{24.\ 26}$, Is $43^{1.\ 7}$ etc.); with this begins (or, more strictly, continues) the ingathering of a people to God from all nations and races of mankind, who, in their completeness, constitute the true Church of God, redeemed from among men (Eph $5^{25\text{-}27}$, 1 P $2^{9.\ 10}$, Rev $1^{5.\ 6}$ $14^{1\text{-}5}$ etc.). The peculiar interest of the doctrine of foreordination, accordingly, in the NT, concentrates itself in the calling and salvation of those described as the 'chosen' or 'elect' of God to this great destiny (Eph 1^{4} etc.). The doctrine of foreordination (predestination) here coalesces practically with that of **election** (wh. see). Yet certain distinctions arise from a difference in the point of view from which the subject is contemplated.

Election, in the NT, as seen in the article referred to, relates to the eternal choice of the individual to salvation. As little as any other fact or event in life is the salvation of the believer regarded as lying outside the purpose or pre-determination of God; rather, an eternal thought of love on God's part is seen coming to light in the saved one being brought into the Kingdom (2 Th $2^{13.\ 15}$). There is the yet deeper reason for seeing in the believer's calling and salvation the manifestation of a Divine purpose, that, as lost in sin, he is totally incapable of effecting this saving change in himself. He owes his renewal, his quickening from spiritual death, to the gratuitous mercy of God (Eph $2^{1\text{-}8}$; see Regeneration). Every soul born into the Kingdom is conscious in its deepest moments that it is only of God's grace it is there, and is ready to ascribe the whole glory of its salvation to God (Rev 7^{10}), and to trace back that salvation to its fountainhead in the everlasting counsel of God. Thus regarded, 'election' and 'foreordination' to salvation seem to have much the same meaning. Yet in usage a certain distinction is made. It may perhaps be stated thus, that 'election' denotes the Divine choice simply, while 'foreordain' has generally (in sense of 'predestinate') a reference to the end which the foreordination has in view. Thus, in Eph $1^{4.\ 5}$ 'Even as he chose us in him before the foundation of the world . . . having foreordained us unto adoption as sons' (where 'having foreordained,' as Meyer rightly says, is not to be taken as prior to, but as coincident in point of time with, 'he chose'); and in v.^{11} 'having been foreordained,' *i.e.* to be 'made a heritage,' and this 'to the end that we should be unto the praise of his glory' (v.^{12}). In Ro 8^{29}, again, where 'foreknew'—which seems to take the place of 'chose' (it can hardly be foreknowledge of the faith which is the result of the later 'calling')—comes before 'foreordained,' the latter has the end defined: 'to be conformed to the image of his Son.' Those 'foreknown' are afterwards described as God's 'elect' (v.^{33}). This striking passage further shows how, in foreordaining the end, God likewise foreordains all the steps that lead to it ('foreknew'—'foreordained'—'called'—'justified'—'glorified'). In 1 P 1^{1}, on the other hand, 'foreknowledge' is distinguished from election—still, however, in sense of pre-designation.

3. God's foreordination, or predestination, whether in its providential, historical, or personal saving aspects, is ever represented as a great mystery, the depths of the riches of the wisdom and knowledge of which (for this is the character of its mystery) man can never hope to fathom (Ro $11^{33.\ 34}$). When the Apostle, in Ro 9, is dealing with objectors, he does not attempt a *rationale* of that which he admits to lie beyond his ken, but falls back on the unchallengeable sovereignty of God in acting as He wills (vv.$^{14\text{-}16.\ 19\text{-}23}$). The

answer would be a poor one, were it not as absolutely assumed throughout that God's is a will in which there can be no taint of unrighteousness, and that there is nothing in His action which does not admit of vindication to a perfect wisdom and goodness. If God shows His mercy on whom He wills, His right to do so cannot be assailed; if He hardens—not arbitrarily, but through the fixed operation of ethical laws—and glorifies His wrath in the destruction of the hardened, it is not without sufficient cause, and only after much long-suffering (v.[22]). As little does the Apostle attempt to show the compatibility of the Divine foreordination with **human freedom**, but habitually assumes that the one is not, and cannot be, in violation of the other. The material with which the potter works (v. [21]) is not, in this case, after all, mere inanimate clay, but beings who can 'reply against God' (v.[20]), and are the objects of His long-suffering endurance (v.[22]). Sovereignty is seen in this, that even those who refuse to be moulded to higher uses do not escape the hands of God, but are made to subserve His glory, even if it be in their destruction. Doubtless even here a purpose of God is to be recognized. Godet, who is not a rigid predestinarian, says of the instance in v.[17]—

'God might have caused Pharaoh to be born in a cabin, where his proud obstinacy would have been displayed with no less self-will, but without any historical consequence; on the other hand, he might have placed on the throne of Egypt at that time a weak, easy-going man, who would have yielded at the first shock. What would have happened? Pharaoh in his obscure position would not have been less arrogant and perverse, but Israel would have gone forth from Egypt without *éclat*' (on Ro 9[17. 18]).

Only in this sense, of those wilfully hardened and persistently obdurate, is it permissible to speak—if the language should be employed at all—of a decree of **reprobation.** Scripture itself, with all its emphasis on foreordination, never speaks of a foreordination to death, or of a reprobation of human beings apart from their own sins. See Reprobate. Its foreordination is reserved for life, blessing, sonship, inheritance.

James Orr.

PRE-EXISTENCE OF SOULS.—

'Our birth is but a sleep and a forgetting:
The soul that rises with us, our life's star,
Hath had elsewhere its setting,
And cometh from afar.'
—Wordsworth, *Intimations of Immortality*

The idea expressed in these lines has been prominent in many religions—cultured and crude alike. That it had Jewish adherents is clear from (*a*) Wis 8[19. 20], written by some Jewish thinker influenced (as, *e.g.*, Philo, a believer in the same doctrine, was conspicuously) by Platonist study; (*b*) the reference of Josephus to Essene doctrines; (*c*) the Talmud. That traces occur in the OT is doubtful. The idea can be more easily read into, than gathered out of, such passages as Job 1[21] (cf. Sir 40[1]), Ec 12[7], Ps 139[15]. Cf. also Rev 4[11b]. But something very like it occurs Jn 9[2]. Had the man been *born* blind *because of his own sin?* In His reply Christ finds no fault with the question as such. The objection that such an idea would be unfamiliar to the disciples is weakened by considerations as to the advanced thought of the Fourth Gospel; moreover, the Book of Wisdom (see above) is clearly re-echoed in NT. Some think that the question rose from Jewish ideas as to *pre-natal consciousness.* See Gn 25[22] (strife), Lk 1[41-44] (joy). *Non liquet* must be the verdict. The subject re-appears in Origen's speculative teaching and, indirectly, in related controversies.

H. F. B. Compston.

PREPARATION (Gr. *paraskeuē*).—A term applied by the Jews to the day preceding the Sabbath, or any of the sacred festivals, especially the Passover.

PRESBYTER (Gr. *presbyteros*, 'elder').—The word occurs only once in EV, viz. as a RV marginal alternative for **'elders'** in Ac 20[17]; the Gr. *presbyteros*, which is of frequent occurrence, being otherwise invariably rendered 'elder.' In this case the Revisers doubtless put 'presbyters' in the margin because the passage furnishes one of the leading proofs for the identity of the presbyter or elder with the **bishop** or overseer (cf. v.[17] with v.[28]). For treatment of the subject of the presbyter, see art. Bishop.

J. C. Lambert.

PRESBYTERY (Gr. *presbyterion*).—In EV of NT the word occurs only in 1 Ti 4[14], where it denotes the body of *Christian* presbyters or elders (no doubt those belonging to the church at Lystra; cf. Ac 16[1-4]) who laid their hands upon Timothy before he set out on his labours as St. Paul's missionary companion. In the Gr. text, however, the word *presbyterion* is found in two other passages, viz. Lk 22[66] (AV 'elders,' RV 'assembly of the elders') and Ac 22[5] (AV and RV 'estate of the elders'), as an expression for the body of *Jewish* elders who with the 'chief priests' and the scribes composed the Sanhedrin. This twofold use of the word (like the corresponding twofold use of 'elder') affords a strong confirmation of the view, which is otherwise most probable, that the presbytery of the Christian Church finds its roots in the eldership of the Jewish *ecclesia.*

The presbytery was at first a purely local body (cf. the *Letters* of Ignatius, *passim*), corresponding not to the modern presbytery of the Presbyterian Churches, which is a district court composed of ministers and elders drawn from a number of separate congregations, but to the kirk-session or body of elders by which in those churches a single congregation is ruled. Originally the presbytery had no fixed president. The presbyters or elders, otherwise known as bishops (see art. Bishop), whom we meet in the NT seem officially to have all stood upon the same footing. But early in the post-Apostolic age one of the congregational presbyter-bishops rose, by what was probably a process of natural evolution (cf. 1 Ti 5[17], 'Let the elders that rule well be counted worthy of double honour, especially those who labour in the word and in teaching'), to a position of predominance, and was now known as the 'bishop' *par excellence*, in distinction from the other presbyters (cf. in the Presbyterian and Congregational Churches the precedence of the minister over the elders and deacons respectively, although, properly speaking, a 'minister' is simply a *diakonos* or deacon). The bishop as we meet him in the *Letters* of Ignatius (*e.g.* Ephes. 4) is a congregational bishop, the president of a body of congregational presbyters. The monarchical bishop is a later creation.

What was involved in the **laying on of the hands of the presbytery** in the case of Timothy it is impossible to say with certainty. Probably it was an act corresponding to ordination to office (see Laying on of Hands), St. Paul himself being associated with the presbytery in the matter (cf. 2 Ti 1[6]). On the other hand, it may have been no more than a commendation of Timothy to the grace of God for strength and guidance in his new work as a missionary, analogous thus to the action of the prophets and teachers of Antioch in the case of Barnabas and Saul (Ac 13[1-3]). The laying on of St. Paul's hands (2 Ti 1[6]) may really have been a separate incident, comparable again to the laying on of the hands of Ananias on himself (Ac 9[17])—not an official act but a gracious benediction (cf. Lindsay, *Church and Ministry*, p. 143n.). St. Paul without doubt received a consecrating grace from the hands both of Ananias and of those prophets and teachers of the Church at Antioch, but he claimed to be an Apostle 'not from men, neither through man, but through Jesus Christ and God the Father who raised him from the dead' (Gal 1[1]).

J. C. Lambert.

PRESS, PRESSFAT.—The former occurs in the OT for the usual **'winepress'** in Pr 3[10] (RV **'fats'**; in modern English, 'vats'), Is 16[10], where alone it is retained in

RV, and Jl 3[13] RV 'winepress.' Also Hag 2[16] AV, along with the only instance of 'pressfat' (RV 'winefat'), as the rendering of a rare word, which RV wrongly tr. 'vessels.' The passage in question should run: 'When one came to the winepress (expecting) to draw off fifty (measures [probably 'baths' are intended]) from the wine-trough, there were but twenty.' For the ancient winepresses, see WINE AND STRONG DRINK, § 2.

A. R. S. KENNEDY.

PREVENT.—To 'prevent' in the Eng. of AV is to 'be before,' 'anticipate,' 'forestall,' as Ps 119[147] 'I prevented the dawning of the morning and cried' (Amer. Revision has 'anticipated' here, but the Eng. Revisers retain 'prevented'). Sometimes it is to forestall for one's good, as Ps 59[10] 'The God of my mercy shall prevent me'; and sometimes for one's hurt, as Ps 18[5] 'The snares of death prevented me'; but the mod. idea of merely 'hindering' never occurs in AV.

PRIESTS AND LEVITES.—The method here adopted as on the whole the most satisfactory is first to give some account of the highly organized hierarchical system of the Second Temple, as we know it from the Priestly Code, and, taking this as a standard, next to trace its history up to this point, and, lastly, follow its subsequent developments.

I. THE HIERARCHY OF THE SECOND TEMPLE.—The chief authority for the religious institutions of the early period of the Second Temple is the document known as the Priestly Code (P), which was composed probably shortly after, or partly during, the Exile, and reached very nearly its present form in the time of Nehemiah. It comprised the whole of Leviticus and the ritual portions of Numbers, all the regulations connected with the Tabernacle in Exodus, together with certain narrative portions especially connected with religious institutions—the Sabbath, circumcision, and the like—and statistical statements throughout the Hexateuch. According to P, the Jewish hierarchy was threefold, including high priest, priest, and Levite, distinguished by different functions and different privileges.

A. **The high priest.**—**1.** *His consecration.*—The high priest, who is the eldest son of his predecessor in the office, is consecrated by an elaborate ritual consisting of washing, solemn vesting in his robes, anointing by pouring oil on the head, and several sacrificial rites, among them the sprinkling with blood and the anointing with oil of different parts of the body. The sacrificial ceremonies lasted for seven days (Ex 29, Lv 8).

2. The *distinctive vestments* of the high priest, in addition to those worn by all priests (B. **2**), were the robe of blue, which was woven without seam, had a hole for the head, and was said to have reached down to the knees; the ephod of curiously wrought embroidered work; the breastplate, also of embroidered work, which was attached to the ephod, and contained originally the Urim and Thummim (II. B. **4**); the turban with the crown or plate engraved 'Holy to Jahweh' (Ex 28[36]).

3. The *special duties* of the high priest included the offering of a daily meal-offering (Lv 6[19. 20], where the words 'in the day when he is anointed' are probably a later interpolation). He had also to perform the ceremonial sprinklings in the case of sin-offerings for the whole people (Lv 4[13-21]). But by far the most important ceremonies were those connected with the great Day of Atonement, on which day alone he, and he alone, attired merely in the linen garb of the priest, entered the 'Holy of Holies' and sprinkled the mercy-seat with the blood of a bullock as a sin-offering for himself, and that of a goat as a sin-offering for the people (Lv 16).

B. **Priests.**—**1.** *Their consecration.*—The priests who belonged to the family of Aaron were consecrated by special ceremonies like those of the high priest, but less elaborate (Ex 29, Lv 8). These did not, however, include, in later times at any rate, anointing, the high priest being called by way of distinction 'the anointed priest' (Lv 4 *passim*, cf. Ps 133[2]). At most the anointing of priests meant sprinkling the different parts of the body with the holy oil as well as with the blood (Ex 29[21], Lv 8[30]).

2. All priests were required to wear, during their ministrations only, *special vestments.* These were 'linen' breeches, coats of checker-work, girdles and head-tires (Ex 28[42] 29[8. 9], Lv 8[13]).

3. The *work* of the priests consisted in (*a*) offering up all sacrifices. This included especially collecting the blood and sprinkling the altar with it; washing the inwards and legs, making the fire, placing the pieces of the burnt-offering upon it and burning them, doing the same to the 'memorials' of other offerings, and the removal of ashes. They did not, except usually in the case of public sacrifices, themselves kill the victim (Lv 1–6).—(*b*) They were required to give decisions, after examination, about suspected leprosy, plague, and mould in garments and houses, and to perform the required rites (Lv 13. 14).—(*c*) It was also their duty to blow the trumpets, whether as the alarm of war or at the new moon, especially that of the 7th month, and at the set feasts (Nu 10[10], Lv 23[24]; cf. Ps 81[3]) and on the Day of Atonement of the Jubilee year (Lv 25[9]). The words used in different passages suggest the probability that the instruments employed were originally horns, for which silver trumpets were afterwards substituted.

4. The priests were *supported* (*a*) partly by the tithe of the tithe which they received from the Levites (Nu 18[26]); (*b*) partly by the first-fruits and firstlings, including the redemption money for men and unclean beasts (Nu 18[12-18], Lv 7[30-34]); (*c*) partly by sacrificial dues of various kinds. The latter included (1) practically the whole of private meal-offerings, whether flour or cakes, sin-offerings and guilt-offerings (Nu 18[9], Lv 5[13] 10[16-20]). These were regarded as 'most holy,' and might be eaten only by the priest and his sons as a sacrificial act in the Temple precincts (Lv 6[16. 26] 7[6], Nu 18[10]). (2) Of peace-offerings the breast and the thigh, which might be eaten by any of the priest's family, the sacrificial act consisting in their first being 'waved' or 'heaved' respectively (Nu 18[11], Lv 7[30-34]). (3) The skin of the burnt-offerings (Lv 7[8]). (4) The shewbread and several special offerings, as that of the leper, etc. (Lv 24[9], Mk 2[26], Lv 14 etc.). The language suggests that these dues were in some cases fresh enactments (see esp. Lv 10[16-20], Nu 18[18]). The tendency to increase the dues of the priests was the natural consequence of the increase of work arising out of the continually greater complication of religious ceremonies.

C. **Levites.**—**1.** *Dedication.*—The Levites were also dedicated to their work by special ceremonies. They were sprinkled with water, their bodies shaved, and their clothes washed. Then they were solemnly presented to God, the high priest laying his hands on them, and were required to present two bullocks, one as a burnt-offering, the other as a sin-offering (Nu 8[5-22]). The ceremonies signified the solemn offering up of the Levites to God as a wave-offering (vv.[13. 15b]). This is said to have been as a substitute for the first-born of the Israelites, who by right belonged to God (Nu 3[9-13]).

2. *The age at which they entered upon their office* varied at different times between 30, 25, and 20 (Nu 4[3] 8[24], 1 Ch 23[3. 24. 27]). Probably it was twice reduced because of the increasing difficulty in procuring Levites to do the work.

3. *Work.*—The Levites were said to have been given as a gift (*nĕthūnīm*) to Aaron and his sons. In other words, they were to be regarded as the servants of the priests. This included especially the work of fetching and carrying, as they were believed to have carried the Tabernacle and its furniture in the Wilderness. Beyond this belonged to them the work of 'keeping the charge,' *i.e.* protecting and keeping clean the vessels and the

PRIESTS AND LEVITES

furniture. In short, they were required to do everything connected with the service which was not by law required of the priests themselves (Nu 18^{2-7} 3^{5-39}).

4. The Levites were *supported* from the tithe, which was in the first instance paid to them (Nu 18^{21-24}).

D. **Levitical and priestly cities.**—According to Nu 35^{1-8}, there were assigned to the Levites in different parts of Palestine 48 cities with suburbs and surrounding pasture land to about 500 yards distance. In the description of the division of the land under Joshua, 13 of these, in the territories of Judah, Simeon, and Benjamin, are given to the priests (Jos 21; see also 1 Ch 6^{54-81}, where, however, the text is very corrupt). No trace of any such arrangement is to be found in Ezekiel's ideal sanctuary, according to which the priests and Levites have their possessions in the 'oblation' or sacred ground, which included the sanctuary (48^{9-14}). This provision of cities and land in P appears to be in direct contradiction to the oft-repeated statement that the Levites had no portion in the land because Jahweh was their portion (Dt 10^{9}, Nu 18^{20} 26^{62} etc.)—a statement explained as meaning in practice that they were to depend for their support upon their tithes and priestly dues, which were all regarded as offerings to Jahweh (Dt 18^{2}, Nu 18^{8-32}, Lv 27^{30}).

This assignation of priestly cities must therefore be regarded as a sort of historical theory, which grew partly out of some sort of provision, in land and houses in and about Jerusalem, having been actually made in the period of the Second Temple for the priests and other officers (Neh $11^{3.21}$, 1 Ch 9^{2}), partly because the cities so assigned in P were many of them ancient sanctuaries, where priests and Levites would have been located in early times. At some of the larger sanctuaries there may have been several priests, as, according to an early tradition, there were at Nob (1 S 21). Though too great a reliance should not be placed on the editorial note in Jer 1^{1}, it is quite possible that several of the priests of Jerusalem may have lived together at Anathoth, which was only 2½ miles from Jerusalem, and the home of Abiathar (1 K 2^{26}), and so given rise to the tradition that it was a priestly city.

E. **Genealogical theory of the hierarchy.**—P's theory of the origin of the hierarchy was as follows: The Levites were one of the 12 tribes of Israel, descended from **Levi,** one of Jacob's sons. They were set apart by Jahweh for Himself in lieu of the firstborn of the Israelites, when He slew the firstborn of the Egyptians (Nu 3^{12} $8^{17.18}$). All the 'sons' of **Aaron**—a descendant of Levi (Ex 6^{14-20})—were priests (Lv 1^{5} etc.). The high priesthood descended in one line by primogeniture. Nadab and Abihu, Aaron's eldest sons, having perished, it passed to Eleazar, the next in age (Nu 20^{22-29}, Ex 6^{23}). That Eleazar's son Phinehas succeeded him is perhaps implied in Nu 25^{11}, and certainly is so in Jg 20^{28}—in a document closely allied in its present form to P. The rest of the male descendants of Levi were Levites, divided into the three great families of Gershon, Kohath, and Merari. The family of **Kohath,** as being that to which both Aaron and Moses belonged, had the most honourable work. They had charge of the sacred furniture and vessels—the ark, altars, candlestick, and table, while the other families divided between them the charge of the different parts of the building (Nu 3^{21-39}).

II. OT EVIDENCE FOR THE EVOLUTION OF THE HIERARCHY.—There is reason to believe that the hierarchical system of P was not handed down in its completeness from primitive times, but was of gradual growth.

A. **The Book of the Covenant.**—**1.** *Status of the local priests.*—The earliest document bearing at all fully on the subject is the 'Book of the Covenant' (Ex 21–23), to which we should add Ex 20 and 24. The priests of the several sanctuaries, of which many are contemplated (20^{24b}), are called *Elohim* (RV 'God,' AV usually 'the judges'), probably in the sense that they were God's representatives, and that their decision, often probably determined by the sacred lot, was regarded as the expression of God's will. We may compare Ps 82^{6} 'I said, Ye are gods'—a reference undoubtedly to this passage, made to show how unworthy the judges of a later time were of their sacred office.

2. *Their work,* etc.—These local priests were required to superintend the ancient primitive ceremony connected with the retention of a slave after 6 years' service (Ex 21^{6}), decide suits, impose fines and the like (21^{22} $22^{8.9}$). To 'revile' them was a crime (22^{28}, where the order of phrases suggests that they were of more consequence than the 'rulers'). No mention is made of any distinctive dress, even where one might certainly have expected it (cf. 20^{26} with 28^{42}, from which we may gather that the linen breeches were the addition of a later, probably post-exilic, date). Nor is anything said of their being an hereditary guild. But silence on this latter point does not prove that they were not. In laws what is customary is often taken for granted.

B. **The First Book of Samuel.**—**1.** *Temple of Shiloh.*—With the Book of the Covenant we may compare I Samuel, which points in many ways to the state of society and religion assumed by the former. Here we find several local sanctuaries. One of the most important of them, at the time when the book opens, is the 'temple' of Shiloh.

The words 'tent of meeting' in 2^{22} are a very late insertion not found even in LXX. It depends upon a later tradition that the Tabernacle was set up in Shiloh (Jos 18.19^{51} [P]).

In this temple was the ark, and the infant Samuel slept inside the sanctuary to protect it (1 S 3^{3}). The priest Eli seems to have had a large influence and to have exercised a jurisdiction over at least the whole tribe of Ephraim. In 2^{28}—in a document probably at earliest only a little before Josiah's reign—he is spoken of in a way which implies that he held a unique position among the tribes of Israel. The further statement in 4^{18}, that he judged Israel 40 years, is a still later editorial insertion connecting 1 Samuel with Judges (see Jg 15^{20} 16^{31} etc.).

2. *Position of Samuel.*—When Shiloh had been destroyed by the Philistines, Samuel came to be a still more powerful priest, being, according to 1 S $7^{16.17}$, connected, both as priest and ruler, with several local sanctuaries—Bethel, Gilgal, Mizpah, and Ramah. But even these were comprised within a very small circle. It is curious that, according to 9^{6}—part of one of the earliest sources of the book,—Saul did not appear, at the time of searching for his father's asses, to have even heard of Samuel's existence. It is also significant that in 2^{25} Eli uses *Elohim* as in the Book of the Covenant, showing that, in his time at any rate, there were other priests exercising jurisdiction at their several sanctuaries.

3. *Absence of regular religious organization.*—1 Samuel points to great liberty of action on the part of the priests, or, at least, of Samuel himself. His movements do not seem to imply any regularly organized sacrificial system. Except for new moons and yearly feasts of perhaps more than one kind (1 S 1^{3} $20^{5.6.29}$), to which we should probably add sabbaths (cf. 2 K 4^{23}), there seem to have been no regular feast days. The priest appoints and invites whom he chooses to the sacrificial meal (1 S $9^{23.24}$), and on one occasion takes with him the animal for sacrifice (16^{2-5}).

4. *Dress of the primitive priests.*—In 1 S $2^{18.19}$ the two parts of the dress of Samuel, the **ephod** and the robe, are, in name at any rate, what afterwards belonged to the peculiar dress of the high priest (Ex $28^{6-12.31-35}$). But the robe is also the common name for the upper garment, and is used of that worn by Jonathan and Saul (1 S 18^{4} 24^{4}). Of the use of the ephod by the priests of this date there is abundant evidence. It was essentially the priestly garment of primitive times, and is especially connected with ascertaining the will of God by means of the sacred lots, Urim and Thummim, which was the peculiar province, and one of the most important functions, of the priest (1 S 14^{18} 22^{18} $23^{6.9}$ 30^{7}). The Urim is expressly mentioned in 28^{6}, and the Urim and

Thummim were both originally in the text of $14^{41.\ 42}$, as a comparison with the LXX and Vulgate shows.

5. *The priests' means of support.*—According to 1 S 2—from a relatively old document—the priests had no fixed dues; but the passage seems to suggest that then, or at least in the writer's day, what had been voluntary gifts were passing into customary claims which were liable to abuse. The chief ground of complaint was the wrong committed not so much against the sacrificer as against God, to whom was due the fat of the inwards, which should first be burnt (2^{16}).

6. *A colony of priests.*—In addition to the priests of the local sanctuaries, we find in 1 S 21. 22 an account of a settlement of priests at Nob under Ahimelech, all of whom except Abiathar his son were put to death by Doeg at Saul's command. This settlement may have originated in the troubles brought about by the Philistines.

7. *Priests not regarded as Levitical.*—There is nothing in the Books of Samuel which affords a sufficient reason for connecting the priesthood of this period directly with a tribe of Levi, the mention of the 'Levites' in 1 S 6^{15} and 2 S 15^{24} being clearly a very late interpolation which assumes the liturgical arrangements of P. Had these been in vogue at the time, we should certainly have found some reference to them in 2 S 6 such as we find abundantly in the parallel in 1 Ch 15, where v.[2] suggests that the death of Uzzah was a punishment for other than Levites having carried the ark.

C. **Jg 17-21** (a document which, though revised by a priestly writer, belongs to rather the earlier part of the monarchy and speaks of a still earlier condition of things) confirms in many ways the Books of Samuel. It speaks of different sanctuaries—Mizpah (20^{1}) and Bethel ($20^{18.\ 26}$), besides Shiloh, which is a place of comparatively small importance, yet marked, as in 1 Sam., by a yearly religious festival of a somewhat secular character (cf. 21^{19-21} with 1 S $1^{3.\ 13-15.\ 21}$). The 'Levite' who is priest to Micah is actually of the tribe of Judah (17^{7}). There is mention of an ephod and a suit of apparel for the priest; but it is uncertain whether the ephod refers to the priest's dress or, as apparently in 8^{27}, to some kind of image.

D. **1 and 2 Kings (original documents) up to Josiah's reform.**—There were two circumstances which tended to diminish the prestige of the local priests.—**1.** *The establishment of the monarchy*, by which many, if not all, of the secular functions of the priests had passed into the hands of the king or his deputies. Of these one of the most important was the practice of jurisdiction (see esp. 2 S 12. 14^{1-20} 15^{2-4}, 1 K $3^{9.\ 16-28}$; cf. also Dt 16^{18}). It is also true that, sooner or later, the idea of the king as God's earthly representative was substituted for that of the priest.

2. Of even greater importance was *the building of the great Temple at Jerusalem by Solomon.* From the very first it made for the centralization of worship, though not of course intended originally to be the one single lawful sanctuary which it afterwards became. The local sanctuaries ('high places') were still tolerated (1 K 15^{14} 22^{43} etc.), but would tend more and more to sink into insignificance beside this splendid building. This was especially the case in the Southern Kingdom. In the North the local sanctuary worship had more vitality, but it was largely maintained and also debased for political reasons (1 K 12^{26-29}). The calves of Jeroboam were probably Canaanitish, though he probably meant them as symbols, not rivals, of Jahweh. The cult of the 'high places' seems gradually to have relapsed into familiar and popular types of Semitic worship; and in the books of the early prophets Amos and Hosea it is not always easy to distinguish between heathenism and a heathenish worship of Jahweh.

With the decline of the local sanctuary the status of the priest gradually declined, till it reached the low level implied in Jg 17–19, and in Deuteronomy.

E. **Deuteronomy.**—**1.** *Levites.*—In Dt. (first published in all probability in Josiah's reign) we find the terms 'priests' and 'Levites' rather curiously used. The latter occurs frequently, but when used alone it is always as of a class deserving of pity. The Levite is frequently ranged with the slave, the widow, and the fatherless (Dt $12^{12.\ 18}$ $16^{11.\ 14}$). The descriptive phrase 'that is within thy gates' means in the towns generally as distinct from Jerusalem, as we see from 12^{15} 16^{5}, where the local sanctuaries are contrasted with the one permissible sanctuary. The Levites were certainly the priests of these local sanctuaries. The poverty of the Levites is also testified by Jg 17–19, in which we find more than one case of Levites wandering about in search of a living.

2. *Effect of abolishing local sanctuaries.*—Dt 18^{6-8} suggests that Levites might desire to go up to Jerusalem and perform priestly functions and receive support, and orders that they should be allowed to do both, and be treated in these respects on an equality with the priests at Jerusalem. When we realize that the ideal of Dt. was the one only sanctuary, it becomes evident that the case contemplated was one which would naturally arise when the local sanctuaries were abolished, as in fact they were by Josiah.

3. *'The priests the Levites.'*—On the other hand, the priests of Jerusalem are generally called distinctively, it would seem, 'the priests the Levites'; occasionally 'priests' only, when the context makes it clear that the priests of Jerusalem are meant, as in 18^{3} 19^{17}.

4. *The dues of these priests*, including the Levites who joined them, were the shoulder, the two cheeks, and the maw, and the first-fruits of field and garden produce. They did not include, as in P, the thigh or the firstlings. The tithes were not given by right to the priests or Levites, but the latter shared in the family feast at the one sanctuary, at which they were solemnly eaten as a sacrificial act. The same was the case with the firstlings, vows, and freewill offerings (18^{1-8} 12^{17-19}). One sees in these arrangements very clearly the system which was elaborated in P, and a development from what is implied in 1 S 2.

5. *Levitical theory variously explained.*—Not only are the priests of the local sanctuaries and those of Jerusalem both called 'Levites' in Dt.; but the name is distinctly understood as that of a tribe to which both belonged ($18^{1.\ 7}$). The traditional explanation accepted by Dt. of the exceptional position of the tribe, was that it was a reward for having slain a large number of rebellious apostates, probably on the occasion of the golden calf (cf. Dt $10^{8.\ 9}$ with Ex $32^{28.\ 29}$. [There are some critical difficulties in both passages concerning the connexion of the incident with the context]). This does not very well accord with P, which, as said above, connects the separation of the tribe with the dedication of the firstborn and the last of the plagues, and that of the priests, or the high priest especially, with the action of Phinehas at Baal-peor (Nu 3^{11-13} 25^{13}). What is, however, probably an older tradition than either, while recognizing the Levites as a tribe, explains their being scattered in Israel as a punishment for an act of cruelty in conjunction with the Simeonites towards the Shechemites (Gn 49^{5-7} 34). It is quite impossible to say what elements of truth may underlie these traditions. But if the word 'Levite' was originally merely official, such a united act on the part of a body of priests seems improbable; and the stories may have arisen as different ways of accounting for their dispersion. But the belief that the priests all belonged to one tribe proves at any rate that at the time when Dt. was written, and probably long before, the priesthood had become a hereditary and isolated guild. That is to say, every priest was the son of a priest, and his sons became priests. The cursing of Levi in Jacob's blessing, so conspicuously contrasted with the glorification of Joseph (*i.e.* Ephraim and Manasseh), perhaps shows that the writer, evidently of the Northern Kingdom, despised the priestly office.

PRIESTS AND LEVITES

F. **Reforms of Josiah as they concerned the Levites.**—When Josiah abolished the local sanctuaries, the difficulty about the priests contemplated by Dt. seems to have arisen in fact. But it was not solved altogether in the way directed. Probably the priests of Jerusalem resented the presence of the local priests at their altar, and certainly their services could hardly have been required. In fact the language of Dt. almost suggests that the main purpose was to secure means of support (18[8]). This purpose was at any rate secured by Josiah. They were to receive allowances of food with the priests of Jerusalem, but were not allowed to perform priestly functions (2 K 23[9]). It is to be noticed that the writer treats them with respect, calling them priests, and speaking of the priests of Jerusalem as brethren.

G. **Ezekiel's ideal sanctuary.**—**1.** *His direction concerning the Levites.*—In his ideal sanctuary Ezekiel makes a marked distinction between the 'Levites that went far from me, when Israel went astray,' and the 'priests the Levites, the **sons of Zadok,**' who had faithfully 'kept the charge of my sanctuary' (44[10. 15]). The Levites are here charged with apostasy and idolatry, in reference, no doubt, to the sin of Jeroboam, which Ezekiel so regarded. He directs that as a punishment they should be forbidden the office of priest, and be allowed to do only the servile work of the sanctuary, such as the oversight of the gates, slaying of victims—work that had hitherto been done, so Ezekiel complains, by uncircumcised aliens (vv.[6-10]). There can be little doubt that Ezekiel here gives the clue to the way in which the 'Levites' in the later sense of the term arose. The descendants of the priests, turned out from their local sanctuaries and not allowed to do the regular work of the priests, became a sort of inferior order, to do the menial service of the Second Temple.

2. The appellation '*sons of Zadok*' seems to imply that the priests in Jerusalem also were, at least in Ezekiel's time, an hereditary guild. Zadok himself was the chief priest appointed by Solomon in the room of Abiathar, in consequence, no doubt, of his loyalty with reference to Adonijah (1 K 2[35]). It is obvious that at first all the priests of Jerusalem could not have been 'sons of Zadok,' and it is extremely unlikely that their successors were all descended from him or any other one ancestor.

3. Like the 'Levites,' the *high priest* seems to have emerged gradually. In the different small sanctuaries each priest probably occupied an independent position. As some of these grew in importance, the priest attached to them would obtain a relatively greater influence, or possibly a paramount influence, over a district or tribe, as in the cases of Eli and Samuel, whose power, however, a later tradition seems to have greatly magnified. When several priests were associated together, as exceptionally perhaps at Nob (see II. B. **6**), and afterwards in Solomon's Temple, some kind of leadership became necessary, without any necessary difference of religious functions. Such a leadership seems to have been held by Ahimelech (1 S 21), Zadok (1 K 2[35]), and Jehoiada (2 K 11). These were known as 'the priest.' Such is probably meant by 'the priest that shall be in those days' in Dt 26[3].

In Ezekiel's ideal sanctuary there is no distinction between priest and high priest, and the only special vestments sanctioned for the priests are the garments kept in the priests' chambers, but no details are given as to their character or style (42[14]).

The earliest document in which the distinction appears is probably the almost contemporary 'Code of Holiness' (Lv 17–26). In 21[10] we find the curious phrase 'he that is the high priest among his brethren' (RV), which might be more exactly rendered, 'the priest that is greater than his brethren'—an expression which would very well apply to one who did not hold a distinctly different office, as the high priest of P, but was rather *primus inter pares*. The directions concerning him deal entirely with ceremonial and social obligations, which were rather more exacting in his case than with other priests. For instance he might not marry a widow, or rend his garments as a sign of grief (21[10-15]). The allusions to a special unction (see I. A. **1**, B. **1**) and the high-priestly dress in [10] and [12] are almost certainly later interpolations.

III. Developments in the hierarchy after the Priestly Code.—**1. Relation of lower officers to Levites.**—The historical sketch just given shows clearly how, in many ways, the earlier arrangements paved the way for the hierarchical system of P. The later history points to new developments in the hierarchical system. The Books of Chronicles, and the parts of Ezra and Nehemiah which belong to them, point to a highly organized service in which singers, and players on musical instruments, porters (RV sometimes '**door-keepers**'), and Nethinim take a prominent place.

The **Nethinim** are always distinguished from the Levites, as in 1 Ch 9[2] (Neh 11[3]), Ezr 2[43] (Neh 7[46]). Both **singers** and **porters** are distinguished from the Levites in documents contemporary with Nehemiah and Ezra, but included among them by the Chronicler (cf. 1 Ch 9[14-34] (Neh 11[15-24]) 15[16-24] etc. with Ezr 7[24] 10[23. 24], Neh 7[1] 10[28]). This shows that the 'porters and singers' came to be regarded as 'Levites,' and were believed to be descended from one tribe. Meanwhile the more menial work of the Levites passed into the hands of the Nethinim, who are said in a Chronicler's note to have been given by David to the Levites just as in P the Levites are said to have been given (*nĕthūnīm*) to the priests (cf. Ezr 8[20] with Nu 18[6]).

2. (*a*) **Their history.**—The origin of the singers and porters is unknown. That they were both in existence in some form when Ezra began his work of reform is clear from Ezr 7[24], where they as well as the Nethinim were exempted from taxation by a decree of Artaxerxes. What is apparently the first mention of them is in what is, on the face of it, a list of the families which returned from the Exile in Ezr 2 (Neh 7[6ff.]), in which the singers, porters, and Nethinim appear as separate classes. A closer examination, however, of the parallel passages makes it clear that the list in Nehemiah is not what was found in the archives, but the census made by himself. This is shown by the use of 'Tirshatha,' the official title of Nehemiah, in v.[65], and the references to contemporary events in vv.[64. 70. 73]. The Chronicler in Ezr 3, after giving the list, continues the parallel context of Nehemiah, showing that here too he has taken the whole extract from the same source as in Nehemiah; Ezr 2 cannot, therefore, be cited as independent evidence for the early date of this list.

The porters might very naturally have arisen out of the necessity of defending the city and Temple from hostile attack (2 Ch 23[4], Neh 11[19]). The complicated arrangements in 1 Ch 26[1-19] suggest that an original necessity had become a stately ceremonial.

The singers, or at any rate the musicians, of Nehemiah's time appear to have belonged to one particular guild, that of **Asaph** (Neh 12[35. 46]). The note in v.[46] is probably a later insertion of the Chronicler, who ascribed to David all the Temple institutions not already assigned to Moses in P.

It appears from Neh 7[1] that Nehemiah probably went a long way in re-organizing the work of Levites, singers and porters.

(*b*) The Books of Chronicles and the Psalms as a whole point to a later development of the Temple offices. (1) New guilds connected with the names of Korah, Heman, and Jeduthun (or Ethan) were added. The guilds of Asaph and Korah, and perhaps Heman and Jeduthun, had each a psalm-book of their own, of which several were afterwards incorporated into the general Psalter (see Pss 73–85, 87–89, 1 Ch 15[16-22]). On the other hand, in 1 Ch 9[19], the **Korahites,** who were perhaps really of Levitical origin, are represented as doing the menial work, which had been that of the Levites, and yet are classed (9[33]) under the general name of 'singers.' It is impossible to say which represents the earlier arrange-

ment. (2) Another change in organization testified by the Chronicler is the division of priests and Levites (singers) into 24 '**courses**' (1 Ch 24[1-19] 25). These were believed to have been arranged by David, but first appointed by Solomon (2 Ch 8[14]). This meant that in later times the whole body of priests and 'Levites' was arranged in 24 guilds, each of which was believed to be a separate family. So the work could be conveniently arranged. Thus it became customary for each of the courses of priests to attend in turn to the public work of the Temple. Like much that came to be ascribed to David, the beginning of some arrangement of the kind was probably the work of Nehemiah (Neh 13[30. 31]).

3. Further development of Levitical theory.—In the Books of Chronicles we find a considerable development of the Levitical theory of the hierarchy. (1) A Levitical origin is assigned to Samuel, Asaph, Heman, etc. (1 Ch 6[27. 28. 33. 39. 44]). (2) Zadok is held to be a descendant of Eleazar (1 Ch 6[4-12]); Ahimelech (or Abimelech), Abiathar's father or son, a descendant of Ithamar, Eleazar's younger brother (1 Ch 24[3. 6]; cf. 1 S 22[20], 2 S 8[17], 1 Ch 24[6]). That **Abiathar** was a descendant of Eli, and Eli a descendant of Aaron, had already been implied by an editorial note in 1 K 2[27], which explained Solomon's supplanting Abiathar by **Zadok** as a fulfilment of the prophecy against the house of Eli (1 S 2[27-36]), whereas in all probability by the 'faithful priest' is meant Samuel. According to the Chronicler, what Solomon did was to restore the high priesthood from the line of **Ithamar** to that of **Eleazar.** The office had originally passed, according to the priestly tradition, from Eleazar to his son Phinehas (Jg 20[28]), but how or when it got into the line of Ithamar is nowhere explained. There is a tendency in the Chronicler to ignore the priesthood of Abiathar, even in David's reign. In 1 Ch 16[39] Zadok is appointed priest when the ark is first brought to Jerusalem, and in 29[22] he is anointed together with Solomon shortly before David's death.

4. Extra ecclesiastical work of the priests and Levites.—The later books of the Bible make it likely that in the later period, at least from Nehemiah onwards, the priests and Levites engaged in other than sacrificial work, and especially in religious teaching (see 2 Ch 15[3], where the Chronicler characteristically reads into the history the ideas of a later time, Mal 2[7], Neh 8[4. 7]). In 2 Ch 19[8-11] the work of administering justice is similarly referred to them. Thus the influence and also, to some extent, the work which in primitive times had been theirs, and had dwindled with the rise of king and prophet, seem to have returned to them, when these officers disappeared.

IV. Influence of the hierarchy on the religion of Israel at different periods.—**1.** In primitive times, when each local sanctuary was the centre of religious, and, to some extent, of social and political, life, we find the influence of the priests very considerable (see II. A.). They were the natural persons to consult in case of difficulty. With them grew up a religious and moral tradition. They became the earliest channels of Divine revelation, and handed down that Divine teaching or instruction (the 'law' of our English Bibles, as in Is 1[10]).

2. It was probably out of the early priesthood that the prophetic office, as represented in the Books of Samuel, emerged. The prophet Samuel, who, according to tradition, combined the two offices, marks the transition between the spiritual influence of priest and prophet.

3. As the priestly power declined through loss of spiritual vigour, the prophetic influence became stronger, and we find the early prophets, in both the North and the South, but in the North especially, denouncing the unspiritual character of the priesthood, and the prevailing religious rites (see esp. Hos 4[4-9], Is 1[10-17]).

4. With the religious revival under Josiah and the publication of the early chapters of Dt. we may notice a temporary reaction, but one marked by a strong tendency to give religion a more spiritual tone. It is still the prophet who is to be the source of Divine revelation (Dt 18[15]), though even the words of a prophet are not necessarily infallible (13[1-5]). At about the same period Jeremiah denounces the popular valuation of a purely formal worship and an unworthy priesthood (3[16] 5[31] 7[11]).

5. The possibilities, however, of a spiritual worship and a holy priesthood were never lost sight of, and a fresh impetus to priestly ideas is given, at latest during the Exile, by the 'Code of Holiness' (Lv 17–26) and the ideal sanctuary and priesthood sketched by Ezekiel (40–48).

6. With the first Return and the re-institution of Temple worship, the priesthood gained a fresh accession of power, all the greater as the secular power was under Persian rule. The contemporary prophets, Zech. and Haggai, not only insistently urge the importance of using every effort to re-build the Temple, but speak of Joshua the high priest as though on all but equal terms with Zerubbabel (Hag 1[14] 2[1-9], Zec 3. 4[11-14] 6[9-15]).

7. The same priestly feelings influence Malachi, almost the contemporary of Nehemiah, who, while he attacks unmercifully the unworthy priests (1[6]–2[9]), is loud in denouncing those who robbed God by not paying tithes (3[10]), and seeks for a religious ideal in a purified Levitical system (3[3. 4]).

8. The exaltation of the priesthood reached its climax in the person of Simon the Just, who restored the Temple, and re-built the city walls which had been demolished by Ptolemy. The people regarded him with supreme veneration. Sir 50[5-12] gives a most glowing description of the impression that he made as he officiated in his high-priestly vestments: 'He was as the morning star in the midst of a cloud, and as the moon at full; as the sun shining upon the temple of the Most High, and as a rainbow giving light in the bright clouds,' etc. etc.

9. In the Maccabæan period we find Simon II., the younger brother of Judas, actually ruling the people as high priest. Later on (B.C. 106) Judas (Aristobulus), according to Josephus, bore the title of 'king,' and the title actually appears on the coins of his brother Jannæus.

10. The close of this period, nevertheless, marks a decline, at any rate in the spiritual influence of the priesthood, and especially of the high priest. The latter office ceased to be hereditary, and was often bought and sold. A high priest could be deposed, and another appointed for political purposes. One reason for this decline was that religious interest tended in an increasing degree to be diverted to ethical and moral questions, as we see in the Wisdom literature of the age. Other causes or perhaps rather symptoms of the spirit of the time at a later period were the growth of the Jewish sects and the practice of a childish casuistry, which depended more on the opinion of the ancients than on the spiritual needs of the present.

F. H. Woods.

PRIEST (in NT).—'Priest' (Gr. *hiereus*) is employed in the NT to denote anyone whose function it is to offer a religious sacrifice. **1.** It is used of a *Gentile* priesthood in Ac 14[13] ('the priest of Jupiter'), and also in Heb. as applied to the 'order of Melchizedek' (5[6. 10] 6[20] 7[1ff.]), for Melchizedek, it is evident, was not merely a pre-Aaronic but a Gentile priest.

2. It is constantly employed to denote the members of the *Jewish* priesthood in their various ranks and functions. The ordinary officiating priests of the Temple come before us discharging the same offices of which we read in the OT. They burn incense (Lk 1[5. 8]), present the sacrificial offerings (Mt 12[5], cf. Nu 28[9. 10]), effect the ceremonial cleansing of the leper (Mt 8[4] = Mk 1[44] = Lk 5[14], cf. 17[14]). The high priest (*archiereus*) appears as president of the Sanhedrin (Mt 26[57] ||, Ac 5[27] 7[1] 23[2] etc.), and as entering every year on the Day of Atonement into the Most Holy

Place with his offering of blood (He 9^{25}). Most frequently of all the word occurs in the plural form 'chief priests' (*archiereis*), an expression that probably designates a high-priestly party consisting of the high priest proper, the ex-high priests, and the members of those privileged families from which the high priests were drawn.

3. In the Ep. to the Hebrews *Christ* is described as both priest and high priest, but the fact that **Melchizedek** (wh. see), the chosen type of His eternal priesthood, is also described by the same two terms (cf. 5^6 with v.^{10}, 6^{20} with 7^1) shows that no distinction in principle is to be thought of, and that Christ is called a high priest simply to bring out the dignity of His priesthood. This conception of Christ as a priest is clearly stated in no other book of the NT, though suggestions of it appear elsewhere, and esp. in the Johannine writings (*e.g.* Jn 17^{19}, Rev 1^{13}). In Heb. it is the regulating idea in the contrast that the author works out with such elaboration between the Old and the New Covenants. He thinks of a mediating priest as essential to a religion, and his purpose is to show the immense superiority in this respect of the new religion over the old. He finds certain points of contact between the priesthood of **Aaron** and that of Christ. This, indeed, was essential to his whole conception of the Law as having a shadow of the good things to come (10^1), and of the priests who offer gifts according to the Law as serving 'that which is a copy and shadow of the heavenly things' (8^5). Christ, *e.g.*, was Divinely called and commissioned, even as Aaron was ($5^{4.\ 5}$). He too was taken from among men, was tempted like His fellows, learned obedience through suffering, and so was qualified by His own human sympathies to be the High Priest of the human race ($4^{15ff.}$ $5^{1ff.}$). But it is pre-eminently by way of antithesis and not of likeness that the Aaronic priesthood is used to illustrate the priesthood of Christ. The priests of the Jewish faith were sinful men (5^3), while Jesus was absolutely sinless (4^{15}). They were mortal creatures, 'many in number, because that by death they are hindered from continuing' (7^{23}), while Jesus 'abideth for ever,' and so 'hath his priesthood unchangeable' (v.^{24}). The sacrifices of the Jewish Law were imperfect ($10^{1ff.}$); but Christ 'by one offering hath perfected for ever them that are being sanctified' (10^{14}). The sanctuary of the old religion was a worldly structure (9^1), and so liable to destruction or decay; but Christ enters 'into heaven itself, now to appear before the face of God for us' (9^{24}).

And this contrast between the priesthood of Aaron and the priesthood of Christ is brought to a head when Jesus is declared to be a priest—not after the order of Aaron at all, but after the order of Melchizedek ($7^{11ff.}$). **'Order,'** it must be kept in mind, does not here refer to ministry, but to the high priest's personality—a fact which, when clearly perceived, saves us from much confusion in the interpretation of this Epistle. The distinctive *order* of Christ's priesthood is found in His own nature, above all in the fact that He is 'a priest for ever.' The Melchizedek high priest is conceived of all through as performing the same kind of priestly acts as were discharged by the high priests of the house of Aaron; but the quality of His Person is quite different, and this completely alters the character of His acts, raising them from the realm of copies and shadows to that of absolute reality and eternal validity (cf. A. B. Davidson, *Hebrews*, 149).

It is a mistake, therefore, to attempt, as some do, to distinguish between an Aaronic priesthood exercised by Christ on earth and a Melchizedek priesthood exercised by Him in heaven; and equally a mistake to attempt to confine His priestly ministry to a work of mediation and intercession that begins after His exaltation. No doubt it is true that His priestly work is not consummated until He enters into God's presence in the heavenly places, but all that the writer has previously set forth as bearing upon His priesthood must be borne in mind. It was by His life on earth, by the obedience He learned and the human sympathy He gained, that Christ was qualified to be the high priest of men. Moreover, every high priest 'must have somewhat to offer,' and the 'somewhat' of Jesus was Himself, yielded up on earth in a life of perfect obedience ($5^{8.\ 9}$) and an atoning death of spotless self-sacrifice ($9^{11\text{-}15.\ 28}$). It was with this priestly offering of His life and death, and in virtue of it, that Jesus entered into the presence of God (9^{24}) as the 'mediator of a new covenant' (v.^{15}) and the ever-living Intercessor (7^{25}), and so secured for us our access with boldness unto the throne of grace (4^{16} $10^{19\text{-}22}$).

4. According to the teaching of the NT, *the Church* is a priestly institution, and all *believers* are themselves priests. The OT idea that Israel was 'a kingdom of priests unto God' (Ex 19^6) is transferred in precise terms to God's people under the New Dispensation. They are 'a royal priesthood' (1 P 2^9); Christ has made them to be 'a kingdom of priests unto God and his Father' (Rev 1^6 5^{10}). Again, they are referred to by these same two writers as 'a holy priesthood' (1 P 2^5), 'priests of God and of Christ' (Rev 20^6). And though the author of Heb. does not so describe them in set language, it follows from his way of speaking that he regards all Christ's people as priests. When he says in the passage last cited ($10^{19\text{-}22}$) that they have boldness to enter into the Holy Place by a new and living way through the veil, it seems evident that he is thinking of those who draw near to God, by the blood of Jesus and in fulness of faith, as a company of worshipping priests; for under the old economy, which serves him at so many points as a type of the new, it was priests alone who could pass through the curtain into the Holy Place. It is the same idea, probably, that meets us in St. Paul when he speaks of our 'access' (Ro 5^2), our 'access in one Spirit unto the Father' (Eph 2^{18}), our 'access in confidence through our faith' in Christ (3^{12}). And it is nothing more than a carrying out of this same conception that all believers belong to a holy priesthood, when St. Peter writes of the 'spiritual sacrifices' which we are called to offer up (1 P 2^5); and St. Paul beseeches us to present our bodies a living sacrifice (Ro 12^1); and the author of Heb. bids us offer to God the sacrifice of praise (13^{15}), or declares that God is well pleased with such sacrifices as kindly deeds and gifts of Christian liberality (v.^{16}); and the seer of the Apocalypse speaks of the prayers of all the saints as rising up like incense from the golden altar before the throne (Rev 8^3).

5. It is a noteworthy fact that the NT never describes *the Christian ministry* as a priesthood, or the individual minister as a priest, except in the general sense in which these terms are applicable to all believers—a fact which is all the more significant when we consider how frequently both the minister and the ministry are referred to. In particular, there is no trace in the NT of the later idea that in the Lord's Supper a sacrifice of propitiation is offered to God, much less that this sacrifice is presented through the mediation of an official priesthood. The two terms 'presbyter' (*presbyteros*) and 'priest' (*hiereus*), which came to be confounded by and by, were at first kept absolutely apart. Thus, so far as the NT is concerned, it is only in an etymological sense that it can be said that 'presbyter is priest writ large.'

J. C. Lambert.

PRINCE.—This is the tr. of a considerable number of Heb. and Gr. words, expressing different shades of meaning, *e.g.* 'chieftain,' 'ruler,' 'king,' 'governor,' 'noble,' 'deputy.' The main terms are **1.** *sar*, 'one who has authority or bears rule.' It is used of rulers (Is 21^5, Nu 21^{18} etc.), of royal officials (Gn 12^{15}, 2 K 24^{12} etc.), of leaders in war (1 S 22^2), of tribal chieftains (*e.g.* Philistines, 1 S 18^{30}), of the chief butler and baker (Gn $40^{2.\ 16}$), of the keeper of prison (Gn 39^{21}), of the

taskmaster (Ex 1[11]), of the prince of the eunuchs (Dn 1[7]). It came later to be applied to the guardian angels of the nations (Dn 10[13. 20. 21]), to Michael the archangel (Dn 12[1]). It is the most general term for prince, and occurs in the fem. form *sārāh*, 'princess,' used of the wives of Solomon (1 K 11[3]), and also of Jerusalem 'princess among the provinces' (La 1[1]), and it is translated 'ladies' in Jg 5[29] and 'queens' in Is 49[23].

2. *nāgīd*, 'one who is high, conspicuous, outstanding.' It is applied to the governor of the palace (2 Ch 28[7]), the keeper of the treasury (1 Ch 26[24]), the chief of the Temple (1 Ch 9[11], 2 Ch 31[13]); also to the chief of a tribe (2 Ch 19[11]), the son of a king (2 Ch 11[22]), the king himself (1 S 25[30]), the high priest (Dn 9[26]), and is occasionally in AV translated 'captain.'

3. *nāsī'*, 'one lifted up,' is applied to chiefs of tribes, princes of Ishmael (Gn 17[20]), to Abraham (23[6]), to Shechem (34[2]), to Sheshbazzar (Ezr 1[8]). It is often used of the heads of the Israelitic tribes, and translated 'ruler' in AV. The word is frequently in Ezekiel used of kings of Judah and foreign princes, and is also applied to the future head of the ideal State (34[24] etc.).

4. *nādīb*, 'willing,' 'a volunteer,' 'generous,' 'noble,' generally found in plur. and often translated 'nobles,' used of those of noble or princely birth (1 S 2[8], Ps 47[9] 107[40] etc.).

Other less frequent terms are *nāsīk* 'installed,' *parṯĕmīm* 'leading men,' *qātsīn* 'judge,' *shālīsh* 'officer,' 'captain,' *sĕgānīm* 'deputies.' In Dn 3[2. 3. 27] 6[2. 4. 7] the 'princes' of AV are Persian satraps, while in the names *Rabshakeh*, *Rabsaris* the prefix *rab* signifies 'chief,' as also the proper name *Rezon* (1 K 11[23]), which occurs as a common noun (*rāzōn*) in Pr 14[28]. We may also note that in Job 12[19] the word 'priests' (*kōhănīm*) is wrongly rendered 'princes,' and in Ps 68[31] the word translated 'princes' is not found in any other passage, the text being likely corrupt.

The NT terms are **1.** *archēgos*, applied to Christ 'the Prince (author) of life' (Ac 3[15]), 'Prince and Saviour' (Ac 5[31]); so in He 2[10] Jesus is 'the *author* (AV 'captain') of salvation' and in He 12[2] the '*author* and finisher of our faith.' **2.** *archōn*, used of Beelzebub (Mt 9[34] 12[24], Mk 3[22]), of the princes of the Gentiles (Mt 20[25]), the princes of this world (1 Co 2[6. 8]), prince of the power of the air (Eph 2[2]), the Prince of the kings of the earth (Rev 1[5]). **3.** *hēgemōn*, used of Bethlehem, 'not least among the *princes* of Judah' (Mt 2[6]).

W. F. Boyd.

PRISCA, PRISCILLA.—See Aquila and Priscilla.

PRISON.—Imprisonment, in the modern sense of strict confinement under guard, had no recognized place as a punishment for criminals under the older Hebrew legislation (see Crimes and Punishments, § 9). The first mention of such, with apparently legal sanction, is in the post-exilic passage Ezr 7[26]. A prison, however, figures at an early period in the story of Joseph's fortunes in Egypt, and is denoted by an obscure expression, found only in this connexion, which means 'the Round House' (Gn 39[20. 23] 40[3. 5]). Some take the expression to signify a round tower used as a prison, others consider it 'the Hebraized form of an Egyptian word' (see Driver, *Com. in loc.*). Joseph had already found that a disused cistern was a convenient place of detention (Gn 37[24]; see Pit). The same word (*bōr*) is found in Ex 12[29] and Jer 37[16] in the expression rendered by AV 'dungeon' and 'dungeon house' respectively; also alone in 38[6], Zec 9[11].

The story of Jeremiah introduces us to a variety of other places of detention, no fewer than four being named in 37[15-16], although one, and perhaps two, of these are later glosses. Rigorous imprisonment is implied by all the four. The first 'prison' of v.[15] EV denotes literally 'the house of bonds,' almost identical with the Philistine 'prison house,' in which Samson was bound 'with fetters of brass' (Jg 16[21. 25]). The second word rendered 'prison' in Jer 37[15] (also vv.[4. 18] 52[31] and elsewhere) is a synonym meaning 'house of restraint.' The third is the 'dungeon house' above mentioned, while the fourth is a difficult term, rendered 'cabins' by AV, 'cells' by RV. It is regarded by textual students, however, as a gloss on the third term, as the first is on the second.

Jeremiah had already had experience of an irksome form of detention, when placed in the **stocks** (20[2]; cf. Ac 16[24]), an instrument which, as the etymology shows, compelled the prisoner to sit in a crooked posture. 2 Ch 16[10] mentions a 'house of the stocks' (RVm; EV 'prison house'), while Jer 29[26] associates with the stocks (so RV for AV 'prison') an obscure instrument of punishment, variously rendered 'shackles' (RV), 'pillory' (*Oxf. Heb. Lex.*), and 'collar' (Driver). The last of these is a favourite Chinese form of punishment.

In NT times Jewish prisons doubtless followed the Greek and Roman models. The prison into which John the Baptist was thrown (Mt 14[3. 10]) is said by Josephus to have been in the castle of Machærus. The prison in which Peter and John were put by the Jewish authorities (Ac 4[3] AV 'hold,' RV 'ward') was doubtless the same as 'the public ward' of 5[18] RV (AV 'common prison'). St. Paul's experience of prisons was even more extensive than Jeremiah's (2 Co 6[5]), varying from the mild form of restraint implied in Ac 28[30], at Rome, to the severity of 'the inner prison' at Philippi (16[24]), and the final horrors of the Mamertine dungeon.

For the *crux interpretum*, 1 P 3[19], see art. Descent into Hades.

A. R. S. Kennedy.

PRIZE.—See Games.

PROCHORUS.—One of the 'Seven' appointed (Ac 6[5]).

PROCONSUL.—This was originally two words—*pro consule*, meaning a magistrate with the insignia and powers of a consul. When the kingship was abolished in Rome it gave place to a rule of two men, not called by the now detested name, but named *prætores* ('generals') or *consules* ('colleagues'). As the Roman territory increased, men of prætorian or consular rank were required to govern the **provinces** (wh. see). During the Empire all governors of senatorial provinces were called proconsuls, whether they were ex-consuls and governed important provinces like Asia and Africa, or merely ex-prætors, like Gallio (Ac 18[12] AV **deputy**), who governed a less important province, Achaia.

A. Souter.

PROCURATOR.—Originally a *procurator* was a steward of private property, who had charge of the slaves and his master's financial affairs. His importance depended on that of his master. Thus the Emperor's stewards were persons of consequence, and were sometimes trusted with the government of some less important Imperial provinces as well as with the Emperor's financial affairs in all provinces. They were of equestrian rank, like Theophilus, to whom the Third Gospel and Acts are addressed. The following were at different times procurators of Judæa: Pontius Pilate, Felix, and Festus, called in NT by the comprehensive term 'governors.'

A. Souter.

PROFANE.—'To profane' is 'to make ceremonially unclean,' 'to make unholy.' And so a 'profane person' (He 12[16]) is an 'ungodly person,' a person of common, coarse life, not merely of speech.

PROGNOSTICATOR.—See Magic Divination and Sorcery, and Stars.

PROMISE.—Although the OT is the record of God's promises to lowly saints and to anointed kings, to patriarchs and to prophets, to the nation of His choice and to the world at large, the word itself is rarely used in the EV, and less frequently in the RV than in the AV. The Heb. noun *dābhār* is generally rendered 'word,' but 'promise' is found in 1 K 8[56], Neh 5[12f.]

In Ps 105[42] the change made in the RV reminds us that God's 'holy word' is always a 'holy promise.' Similarly, the Heb. verb *dābhar* is usually tr. 'speak'; but 'promise' is found in Ex 12[25], Jer 32[42] etc. In several passages, as, *e.g.*, Dt 10[9], Neh 9[23], the RV gives 'speak' or 'say' instead of 'promise.' A complete study of the subject would therefore require a consideration of the whole question of OT prophecy. 'For thy word's sake' is the ultimate appeal of those who can say 'thou art God, and thy words are truth, and thou hast promised' (2 S 7[21. 28]). See PROPHECY.

1. In a few passages (Jos 9[21], Neh 5[12f.], Est 4[7], Mt 14[7], Mk 14[11], Ac 7[5], 2 P 2[19]) the reference is to *a man's promises to his fellow-man*; once only (Ac 23[21]) the noun has this meaning in the NT. In Dt 23[23] the verb refers to *man's promises to God*, and is synonymous with vowing unto God. This passage is instructive, on account of the stress that is laid on the voluntary nature of the obligation that is incurred by him who promises or makes a vow. Driver renders 'according as thou hast vowed freely unto Jehovah, thy God, that which thou hast spoken (promised) with thy mouth' (*ICC, in loc.*). The thought of *spontaneity* is an essential part of the meaning of the word when it is used of *God's promises to man*, and especially of 'the promise' which comprises all the blessings of the Messianic Kingdom (Ac 2[39] 7[17] etc.).

2. The Gr. word *epangellesthai*, tr. 'promise,' is found only in the middle voice in the NT; its root-meaning is 'to announce oneself,' hence it comes to signify 'to offer one's services,' and 'to engage oneself voluntarily to render a service.' Dalman derives the NT conception of the 'promise' from the Rabbinic phraseology concerning 'assurance.' A typical example is *Ber. R.* 76: 'for the pious there is no assurance (promise) in this age'; cf. Apoc. Bar 53[3], 'the promise of life hereafter' (*The Words of Jesus*, p. 103). The promises of God are numerous (2 Co 1[20]); they are also 'precious and exceeding great' (2 P 1[4]). 'His every word of grace' is a promise; even His commandments are assurances of grace, conditional only upon men's willingness to obey. When God commanded the children of Israel to go in to possess the land, it was as good as theirs; already He had 'lifted up' His hand to give it them; but the promise implied in the command was made of no effect through their disobedience. The possession of Canaan, the growth of the nation, universal blessing through the race, are examples of promises of which the patriarchs did not receive the outward fulness (He 11[13]). On the one hand, Abraham 'obtained the promise,' because the birth of Isaac was the beginning of its fulfilment (6[15]); on the other hand, he is one of the fathers who 'received not the promise,' but 'with a true faith looked for a fulfilment of the promises which was not granted to them' (cf. Westcott's note on He 11[39]).

3. The NT phrase 'inherit the promises' (He 6[12]; cf. 11[9], Gal 3[29]) is found in Ps. Sol 13[8] (B.C. 70 to B.C. 40). This passage is probably 'the first instance in extant Jewish literature where the expression "the promises of the Lord" sums up the assurances of the Messianic redemption' (Ryle and James, *Com., in loc.*). In the Gospels the word 'promise' is used in this technical sense only in Lk 24[49], where 'the promise of the Father' refers to the gift of the Holy Spirit (cf. Ac 1[4] 2[33. 39], Gal 3[14], Eph 1[13]). The Ep. to the Hebrews is especially rich in passages which make mention of promises fulfilled in Christ (4[1] 6[17] 7[6] 9[15] etc.); but both in his speeches and in his Epistles St. Paul looks at the Christian gospel from the same point of view (Ac 13[23. 32] 26[6f.], Ro 9[8], Gal 4[28], Eph 3[6]; cf. the only Johannine use of 'promise' in 1 Jn 2[25]). There are promises to encourage believers as they strive to perfect holiness (2 Co 7[1]), whilst 'to them that love him' the Lord hath 'promised the crown of life' (Ja 1[12]); there is also the unfulfilled 'promise of his coming' (2 P 3[4]). But 'how many soever be the promises of God, in him is the Yea: wherefore also through him is the Amen, unto the glory of God through us.' J. G. TASKER.

PROPHECY, PROPHETS.—Hebrew prophecy represents a religious movement of national and world-wide importance, not paralleled elsewhere in history. Most significant in itself, it has acquired deeper and wider import through its connexion with Christianity and the philosophy of religion generally. The present article will deal in brief outline with (1) the history, (2) the inspiration, and (3) the functions and specific teaching, of the prophets of the OT; also (4) with the special topic of Messianic prophecy and its fulfilment in the NT.

1. History and prophecy.—The prophetic period proper may be said to have extended from the 8th to the 4th cent. B.C. During these centuries at least, prophecy was a recognized, flourishing, and influential power in Israel. But a long preparatory process made ready for the work of Amos, Hosea, and their successors, and it is not to be understood that with the last of the canonical writings the spirit of prophecy disappeared entirely from the Jewish nation. It is not surprising that the beginnings of Hebrew prophecy are lost in comparative obscurity. Little light is shed upon the subject by a comparison between similar phenomena in other religions. It is true that among Semitic and other peoples the idea was widely prevalent of an order of men who were favoured with special intercourse with the Deity and entrusted with special messages from heaven, or an unusual power of prognostication of future events. The line which separated the **priest** from the prophet was in early times a very narrow one, and sometimes the functions of the two offices were blended. In Israel also, during the earlier stages of history, lower conceptions of the Divine will and human modes of optaining knowledge of it prevailed, together with practices hardly to be distinguished from pagan rites. The description in Dt 18[10-14] proves how long these mantic ideas and customs lingered on in the midst of clearer moral and spiritual light. When the true significance of prophecy came to be understood, the contrast between it and heathen **divination** was very marked, but the process by which this stage was reached was gradual. Its course cannot always be clearly traced, and down to the Christian era, the lower and less worthy popular conceptions existed side by side with the high standard of the prophetic ideal.

No certain information can be gathered from the *names* employed. The word most frequently used in OT (more than 300 times) is *nābī*, but its derivation is doubtful. It was long associated with a root which means to 'bubble up,' and would thus denote the ecstatic influence of inspiration, but it is now more usually connected with a kindred Arabic word meaning to 'announce.' Two other words—*rō'eh*, which occurs 9 times (7 times of Samuel), and *chōzeh*, about 20 times—are of known derivation and are both translated **'seer.'** The historical note in 1 S 9[9] marks the fact that *rō'eh* passed comparatively out of use after Samuel's time, but both it and *chōzeh* are used later as synonyms of *nābī*, and in Chronicles there appears to be a revival of earlier usage. We shall probably not be far wong if we find in the words the two main characteristics of the prophet as 'seer' and 'speaker,'—the spiritual vision which gave him knowledge, and the power of utterance which enabled him to declare his message with power. Other phrases employed are—'man of God,' used of Moses, Samuel, and others; 'servant of God,' a term not limited to prophets as such; 'messenger of Jehovah,' chiefly in the later writings; and once, in Hos 9[7], the significant synonym for a prophet is used, 'man of the spirit,' or 'the man that hath the spirit.'

We may distinguish three periods in the history of prophecy: (1) sporadic manifestations before the time of Samuel, (2) the rise and growth of the institution from Samuel to Amos, (3) the period marked out by the canonical prophetic writings.

(1) In dealing with the first, it will be understood that the literary record is later than the events described, and the forms of speech used must be estimated accord-

ingly. But it may be noted that in Gn 20[7] Abraham is called a prophet, and in Ps 105[15] the name is given to the patriarchs generally. In Ex 7[1] Aaron is described as a prophet to Moses who was 'made a god to Pharaoh.' In Nu 11[25-29] the incident of Eldad and Medad shows that in the wilderness 'the spirit rested' on certain men, enabling them to 'prophesy.' The episode of Balaam in Nu 22–24 is very instructive in its bearing upon the ideas of Divine revelation outside Israel. In Nu 12[6-8] the Divine intercourse vouchsafed to Moses—'with him I will speak mouth to mouth, even manifestly'—is distinguished from the lower kind of revelation, 'in a vision, in a dream,' granted to the prophet; and in Dt 18[15] Moses is described as possessing the highest type of prophetic endowment. Later, Deborah is described (Jg 4[4]) as both a prophetess and a judge, and an anonymous prophet was sent to Israel at the time of the Midianite oppression (Jg 6[8]). Samson was not a prophet, but upon him, as a Nazirite from infancy, 'the spirit of Jehovah began to move' in youth, and it 'came mightily' upon him. Finally, before the special revelation given to Samuel, there came a 'man of God' to Eli, rebuking the evil-doings of his sons and announcing punishment to come. It must be borne in mind, moreover, that during all this period God was, according to the OT narrative, speaking to His people in various ways, revealing Himself by dreams and visions, or through special messengers, though the term 'prophet' but seldom occurs.

(2) It is generally recognized that a new era begins with *Samuel*. Peter in Ac 3[24] used a current mode of speech when he said 'all the prophets from Samuel and them that followed after,' and the combination in him of the prophet and the judge enabled him to prepare the way for the monarchy. The statement in 1 S 3[1] that in the time of Eli 'the word of Jehovah was rare' and that 'vision' was not widely diffused or frequent, points to the need of clearer and fuller revelation such as began with Samuel and continued more or less intermittently for some centuries. Whether he originated the prophetic communities known as **'sons of the prophets,'** who first appear in his time and are mentioned occasionally until after the times of Elisha, we cannot be sure. But at Ramah (1 S 19[18]), at Naioth (2 K 6), at Bethel, Jericho, Gilgal, and other places there were settlements which may be described as training-schools for religious purposes, and these provided a succession of men, who were in theory, and to some extent in practice, animated by the devoted and fervent spirit which was necessary for the maintenance of the prophetic fire in the nation. Music formed a prominent part in their worship (1 S 10[5. 10]). These societies might constitute a true and abiding witness for Jehovah (1 K 18[13]), or they might be characterized by false patriotism and subserviency to a prevailing policy (1 K 22[6]). Saul was at one time brought under their influence in a remarkable manner (1 S 10[10-13]), and Samuel evidently exercised a commanding influence over them, as did Elisha in later days. To these 'colleges' may probably be traced the preservation of national traditions and the beginnings of historical literature in Israel.

David is styled a 'prophet' in Ac 2[30], but this is not in accordance with OT usage, though the Spirit of Jehovah is said to have rested on him as a psalmist (2 S 23[2]). In his time began that close association between kings and prophets which continued in varying phases until the Exile. Nathan the prophet was his faithful spiritual adviser, and Gad is described as 'the king's seer' (2 S 24[11]). Both these counsellors exercised a wholesome influence upon the large-hearted, but sometimes erring, king, and according to the Chronicler they assisted David in organizing Divine worship (2 Ch 29[25]). Nathan, Ahijah of Shiloh, and Iddo the seer are mentioned in 2 Ch 9[29] as having taken part in the compilation of national records, history and prophecy having been from the first closely associated in Israel. In Solomon's time prophecy would seem to have been in abeyance.

But it appears again in connexion with the description of the Kingdom, and from this time forwards in Israel and Judah the relation between Church and State, between king and prophet, was of an intimate and very significant kind. The prophet, as a man specially endowed with the spirit of God, did not hesitate to warn, rebuke, oppose, and sometimes remove, the king who was 'God's anointed.' But when the monarch was faithful to the high position, the prophet was to him as a strong right hand. Elijah, in the idolatrous times of Ahab, is the very type of the uncompromising and undaunted reformer; and Elisha, though of a milder character and with a less exacting task to accomplish, was instrumental in the overthrow of the ungodly house of Omri (2 K 9). These two are essentially prophets of action; the writing prophets do not appear till a century later.

(3) It is inevitable that for us at least a new era of prophecy should appear to set in with the earliest prophetical book that has come down to us. We are dependent upon our records, and though the continuity of prophecy was never quite broken, the history of the prophets assumes a new character when we read their very words at length. *Amos*, the first in chronological order, shows in 2[11] that he was only one in a long line of witnesses, and that he was but recalling the people to an allegiance they had forgotten or betrayed. But he introduces the golden age of prophecy, in which Isaiah is the central glorious figure. Modern criticism has carried the analysis of the prophetical books as they have come down to us so far that it is not easy to present the chronology of the prophetic writings in a tabular form. But it may be said roughly and generally that six prophets belong to the Assyrian period, Amos and Hosea in the Northern Kingdom, about the middle of the 8th cent. B.C., and Isaiah and Micah in the Southern, a little later, whilst Zephaniah and Nahum belong to the early part of the 7th cent. B.C. As prophets of the Chaldæan period we find Jeremiah and Habakkuk before the Exile (B.C. 586), and Ezekiel during the former part of the Captivity. Before its close appears the second Isaiah (perhaps about 540), and after the Return, Haggai and Zechariah (chs. 1–8), whilst Malachi prophesied in the middle of the 5th cent. B.C. The dates of Joel, Jonah, Obadiah, and Zec 9–14 are still debated, but in their present form these books are generally considered post-exilic. Many chapters of Isaiah, notably 24–27, are ascribed to a comparatively late date.

It is impossible here to trace the fluctuations in prophetic power and influence, as these waxed or waned with the varying fortunes of the nation throughout the period of the monarchy. The Northern Kingdom came to an end in B.C. 722, but for more than 150 years longer there appeared prophets in Judah who aided the repeated efforts at national reformation made by kings like Hezekiah and Josiah. These, however, met with little permanent success, and a change in the characteristic note of prophecy begins with Jeremiah. Thus far the prophets had aided the cause of religious and civil progress by bringing to bear upon national policy the moral principles of the religion of J", but as time passed, the recuperative power of the nation declined, **'false' prophets** gained predominating influence, and the true prophet's task grew more and more hopeless. All that remained for Jeremiah was to preach submission to foreign foes, and the imminence of coming judgment, and to point the people to a spiritual fulfilment of promises which could no longer be realized by means of any earthly monarch or dynasty. It was the painful duty of **Jeremiah** to oppose princes, priests, and people alike, as none of his predecessors had done, and to stand alone, charged with lack of patriotism, if not with actual treachery. Though a man of peaceable and kindly temperament, he was involved in perpetual conflict, and whenever he was tempted to withdraw from a thankless and apparently useless office, the

word of the Lord burned within him again like a fire in his bones, and he was bound to deliver it, whether men listened and heeded or not. The chief burden of this last pre-exilic prophet was the declaration that, as the measure of the people's sins was now filled up, they must as a nation suffer practical extinction; but stress was laid upon the importance of individual fidelity and the fulness of spiritual blessing which might still be enjoyed, whilst hopes of material good and national prosperity had been disastrously overthrown.

The fall of Jerusalem brought with it many changes. Ezekiel adopted and expanded many of Jeremiah's ideas, but his forecasts of restitution, as delivered to the exiles in Babylon, took fresh shapes, determined by his circumstances, his personal temperament, and the fact that he was priest as well as prophet. It was left for **a great unknown seer** to deliver in the second part of the Book of Isaiah the most spiritual message of all, and to re-animate his countrymen by means of pictures glowing with larger and brighter hopes than any of his predecessors had portrayed. But after the return from captivity prophecy did not renew its ancient fires. Haggai and Zechariah are but minor stars in the great constellation, and the book known as 'Malachi' testifies to a dwindling inspiration, though fidelity to truth, and hope of fuller Divine manifestations yet to come, were not entirely extinct in God's messengers and representatives.

At last Ps 74^{9} and 1 Mac 4^{46} 9^{27} and 14^{41} point to a time when 'signs' were no longer seen among the people, when 'there is no more any prophet, neither is there any among us that knoweth how long.' The latest 'prophetic' book, **Daniel,** does not properly belong to this list; it was not reckoned by the Jews among the prophets, but in the third part of the sacred canon known as 'writings.' The remarkable visions it contains do not recall the lofty spirit or the burning words of Isaiah; they contain another kind of revelation, and belong not to prophecy but to apocalyptics. Nearly two centuries elapsed before John the Baptist, the last prophet under the Old Covenant and the forerunner of the New, came in the very spirit and power of Elijah 'to make ready for the Lord a people prepared for him.'

2. Inspiration of the prophets.—When we seek to pass from the outward phenomena of prophetism to its inner mental processes, from its history to its psychology, many questions arise which cannot be definitely answered. How did God reveal His will to the prophets? In what did their inspiration consist? How far were their natural faculties in abeyance, or, on the other hand, heightened and strengthened? Did the prophet fully understand his own message? How could personal errors and prejudices be distinguished from direct Divine afflatus? To these questions no simple categorical replies can be made. But Scripture sheds sufficient light on them for all practical purposes.

It must be borne in mind that prophecy has a history, that the record is one of development—of rise, progress, and decay—and that precise definitions which take no account of these changes are misleading. Some forms of 'inspiration' are higher than others, and a measure of advance is discernible from the lower forms which belonged rather to the soothsayer, to those higher moods which distinguish the OT prophet from all others. The steps of the process are not always discernible, but the distinction between lower and higher is to be drawn according as (1) the prophet was a mere unconscious instrument, or his highest mental and spiritual faculties were enlisted in his work; (2) the inward revelation of the Divine will was or was not bound up with external and objective manifestations; and especially (3) the moral and spiritual element in the message became its distinguishing feature, in contrast with a mere non-ethical 'seeking for signs.' Revelation by means of **dreams and visions** was recognized throughout, and in Nu 12^{6}, Dt 13^{1}, Jer 23^{5} a dreamer of dreams is synonymous with a prophet. The distinction between dream and vision appears to be that the former occurred in sleep, the latter in a kind of ecstatic waking state, the seer 'falling down and having his eyes open.' But the distinction is not strictly enforced, and in the Hexateuch, and where the Elohist speaks of dreams, the Jahwist more frequently describes God as speaking directly to His messengers. Side by side with revelation by means of dreams and visions went that higher spiritual enlightenment which we associate with Hebrew prophecy at its best estate.

It was not necessary that a prophet should receive a formal **'call'** to undertake the office. Many were trained in the schools who never became prophets, and some prophets, like Amos, received no preparation, whether in the schools or elsewhere. Upon some, the afflatus appears to have descended occasionally for a special purpose, whilst in other cases the influence of the Divine Spirit was permanent, and they were set apart to the work of a lifetime. The important point was that in every case the Spirit of God must rest upon His messenger in such a way as to supersede all other influences and ideas, and this higher impulse must be obeyed at all costs. The prophet must be able to announce with unwavering confidence, 'Thus saith the Lord.' In some instances a description is given of the way in which this overpowering conviction came upon the man. Samuel was (perhaps) called as a child; Amos exclaimed, when both king and priest did their best to silence him, 'Jahweh hath spoken, who can but prophesy?' Isaiah, when he beheld God lifted up upon His throne and when his lips had been purified by the hot stone from the altar, cried, 'Here am I, send me.' Jeremiah, when but a youth, was strengthened to be as an iron pillar and a brazen wall against the whole force of the nation, because God had put His words in his mouth. The vision of the chariot which came to Ezekiel by the Chebar dominated his imagination and moulded all his ministry. Whether a 'vocation' in the formal sense was, or was not, vouchsafed at the opening of a prophet's course, it was absolutely essential that he should be directly moved by the Spirit of God to deliver a message which he felt to be an irresistible and overwhelming revelation of the Divine will.

The phraseology used to describe this inspiration, though varied, points entirely in this direction. The Spirit of the Lord is described as coming mightily upon Saul (1 S $10^{6.10}$); the hand of the Lord was on Elijah (1 K 18^{46}, Ezk 1^{3}); or the Spirit 'clothed itself' with the man as in Jg 6^{34}, 2 Ch 24^{20}; or Micah is said to be 'full of power by the spirit of the Lord' to declare to Jacob his transgression (3^{8}). Perhaps the impulses were more violent and external in the earlier history, whilst in the later more room was left for human reflexion, and a more intelligent comprehension of the Divine will and word. Still, it would be a mistake to suppose that the overmastering power of the Divine commission was relaxed in the later prophetic period. No stronger expressions to describe this are found anywhere than those used by Jeremiah, who 'sat alone because of God's hand,' and to whom God's word was 'as a burning fire shut up in his bones,' so that he could not contain (15^{17} 20^{9}).

Neither the exact mode of communicating the Divine will, nor the precise measure of personal consciousness which obtained in the prophetic state, can be defined; these varied according to circumstances. But speaking generally, it may be said that the personality of the prophet was not merged or absorbed in the Divine, nor was his mind as an inanimate harp or lyre which the Divine Spirit used as a mere instrument. Moses is represented as holding back from the Divine call (Ex 3^{3}), as remonstrating with God (32^{11}), and offering himself as a sacrifice to appease the Divine anger (32^{32}). Amos succeeded in modifying the Divine decree ($7^{2.3}$), and

Jeremiah was very bold in reproaching the Most High with having given him an impossible task, and as having apparently failed to fulfil His own promises (15[18]). A careful study of all the phenomena would go to show that whilst supernatural power and operation were taken for granted, the workings of the prophetic mind under inspiration were not very different from some of the highest experiences of saints in all ages, the Divine and human elements being blended in varying proportions. The fact of inspiration, rather than its mode, is the important feature in the Bible narratives.

A similar answer must be given to the question whether the prophets understood their own prophecies. For the most part they understood them very well, and expressed themselves with remarkable clearness and vigour. What they often did not understand, and could not be expected to understand, was the full *bearing* of their words upon contingent events and their application to conditions as yet in the far future. In 1 P 1[10] we are told that they searched diligently 'what time or what manner of time the Spirit of Christ which was in them did point unto,' perhaps with special reference to Dn 8[15]. That is, it was not given them to discern at what epoch, or under what circumstances, the fulfilment of their words should come to pass. But the declaration of moral principles required no such elucidation, and the prophets were the first to recognize that the fulfilment of their words depended on the way in which they were received. For the work of the prophet was not to mouth out oracles, mystic sayings obscure to the mind of the speaker and enigmatical to the hearers, like the utterances of Delphi or Dodona. The root idea of prophecy is **revelation,** not mystery-mongering—'Surely the Lord God will do nothing, but he revealeth his secret unto his servants the prophets' (Am 3[7]).

Deeper and more important questions concerning the nature of prophetic inspiration gather round the existence of **'false prophets]'**—this term does not occur in the Hebrew text—the line of distinction between the true and the false, and the tests which should separate the two in practice. The subject is greatly complicated to the modern mind when we read in Dt 13 that a prophet might be utterly mistaken, that a lying spirit might come from the Lord (1 K 22[22]), that tests of genuineness were necessary, and that God might mislead the very prophets themselves, destroying the people through the agency of a deceptive vision (Ezk 13[14]). These are no doubt exceptional expressions, a sharp contrast being usually drawn between genuine and spurious prophecies, as those which come from God, and those which come from the prophet's own heart (Jer 23[16]). Professed prophets might be treacherous (Zeph 3[4]), just as the priests might profane the sanctuary and do violence to the law. The fact that Divine gifts may be abused does not interfere with their significance when rightly used. But wherein lay the distinction between true and false? If the prophets were connected with idolatrous worship (1 K 18), or devoted to other gods (Dt 13[2]), their departure from the truth is obvious. Also if high prophetic gifts were perverted for purposes of selfish advancement, or a part were deliberately assumed to deceive (Zec 13[4]), or office were desired merely for a livelihood (Mic 3[5]), the case is clear. But might the prophets themselves be deceived, and how were the people to distinguish between the true and the false?

Ostensibly both classes had the same ends in view—the honour of Jehovah and the prosperity of the nation. But some put religious principle first and taught that prosperity would follow obedience; others, blinded by false ideas of national advantage, thought they were doing God service by promoting a policy which seemed likely to lead to the aggrandizement of His people. The same difference has often been observed in the Christian Church between a true religious leader and a mere ecclesiastic, honestly persuaded that whatever advances 'the Church' must be for the Divine glory, but who, none the less, perverts the truth by setting the means above the end. Lower ideas of God, of morality, and of true national prosperity lay at the root of the utterances of the false prophets. The main distinction between them and the true messengers of God was a moral and spiritual one, and discrimination was possible only by trying each on its own merits.

But certain tests are suggested. Sometimes (*a*) a sign or wonder was wrought in attestation (Dt 13[1. 2]), but even this was not conclusive, and the true prophets seldom relied upon this evidence. Again, (*b*) in Dt 18[21 f.] fulfilment of prediction is adduced as a test. Clearly that could not be applied at once, and it would rather be useful afterwards to students of the national history than to kings or people about to enter on a battle or an alliance. But (*c*) the people were expected to use their moral and spiritual insight and distinguish the issues set before them, as a man has to judge for himself in questions of conscience. In the case of Hananiah (Jer 28), an example is given of two lines of national policy presented by two leading prophets, and the process of judging between the true and the false was a part of the education through which Israel was called to pass, and in which unfortunately it often failed. The difficulty of this process of discrimination was often lightened (*d*) by watching the career of the prophets, as to how far their character bore out their professions, what motives actuated them—whether crooked policy, immediate expediency, or high self-denying principle—and thus in the centuries before Christ, as afterwards, one of the best criteria was, 'by their fruits ye shall know them.'

One other point remains. To what does the term 'inspiration' apply—the men or their writings? What relation do the books that have come down to us bear to the originally spoken words of the prophets? The answer is that in the first instance it is the man who is inspired, not the book. In the case of the Hebrew prophet especially, the very nature of the influence at work impelled him to immediate utterance, and if he was inspired at all, the word is most applicable at this stage. In many instances the prophet went as it were from the very presence of God to perform his errand and utter winged words which have come down to us as delivered, white-hot from the very furnace of Divine prompting. But in other cases the record was not written till long after the original utterance; only a summary of the addresses delivered was handed down. The literary element predominates in the composition, and a finish is given to its phraseology which does not belong to the spoken word. A full account of the process is given in one case (Jer 36[4]), where we are told that the prophecies delivered through 21 years were carefully written out with the aid of a secretary, the transcription taking some months to accomplish. The document thus prepared was handed to the king and destroyed by him in anger at its contents, whereupon another record was made with considerable additions. Probably a similar process was usual in the case of the literary prophets. The utterances called forth by a crisis could not be prepared beforehand; sometimes, as in Malachi, the prophet would be interrupted by objections from the people, to which he must reply on the spur of the moment, and open conflicts were not infrequent. But the words in which the substance of many utterances was embodied were carefully chosen and were of more abiding import. The process of selection and transcription, as well as the original outpouring of the message, was under the guidance of the Divine Spirit, who actuated the prophet in all he said or did.

That the work of collecting the prophetic utterances was not always carefully done is clear from the state of the text in some of the books that have come down to us, *e.g.*, the serious differences between the Hebrew and the LXX in Jeremiah. Also it should be noted that the utterances of different authors were often blended under one well-known name: *e.g.*, under 'Isaiah' many prophecies extending over a long period have been gathered; the Book of Zechariah is certainly composite, and indications of additions, editorial notes, and modifications are numerous. But the God who inspired

His servant first to see and then to speak, did in certain cases inspire him also to write; and thus words which were intended in the first instance for rebellious Israel or disconsolate Judah have proved of perennial significance in the religious education of the world.

3. Functions and teaching.—One who was essentially a 'man of God' under the conditions of life which obtained in Israel must have had many parts to play, many messages to give; and many would be the ways in which he brought his influence to bear upon the life of his time. The prophetic office in its essence implied freedom from such routine duties as occupied (*e.g.*) the priest and later the scribe. These could easily be enumerated, but the work of the prophet, from its very nature, cannot be defined by strict boundary lines.

In the earliest times prophets were consulted on common matters of daily life. Samuel was asked by Saul's servant how to find the lost asses of his master. Later, inquiry was made concerning the sickness of Jeroboam and its probable issue, and Elisha throughout his life was sought for in times of private and domestic need. On another side of their lives the prophets were closely connected with literature; they compiled historical records and preserved the national chronicles (see 1 Ch 29[29]). The narrative portions of Isaiah, Jeremiah, and other prophetical books show that the seer is a man whose searching glance may run backwards as well as forwards. It required a prophetic eye rightly to read the lessons of Israel's past, and to this day the inspired historical books of OT teach lessons which no mere annalist could have perceived or conveyed to others. The work of other prophets lay in the department not of literature but of action, and—apart from Elijah and Elisha—some of the most notable figures in the prophetic succession were distinguished, not so much for what they taught as because at the critical moment they threw the weight of deservedly great influence into the right scale, and actually led the people in the right way.

These, however, were not the prophet's main functions. His chief work was to serve as a great moral and religious teacher, especially in relation to the duties of national life. He was sent to minister to his own age, to teach his contemporaries the duties of the hour, how to apply the highest religious principles to current questions of political and social life. In the course of the delivery of this message he was moved to utter **predictions**, and these formed so characteristic and important a feature of the prophet's teaching that foretelling the future came to be regarded as his chief work. This was not strictly the case, since the forecasts of the future arose out of the delivery of the message to the speaker's own age. But prediction must be allowed its due place in an estimate of Hebrew prophecy; a reaction against the excessive stress formerly laid upon this element has unfortunately led to the opposite extreme of underestimating its importance.

Moral teaching was pre-eminent. The prophets were not exponents of the 'law' in the technical sense; that belonged to the priest (Jer 18[18]); but the 'word' which was given to the prophet was an immediate revelation of the will of God, and was sometimes necessarily opposed to the orthodox and conventional religious teaching of men more anxious about following precedents than discerning the highest duty. In Is 1 and 58, in Mic 6, and Ezk 18 we have examples of lofty ethical teaching which might appear to disparage the routine of religious service and the traditions of religious doctrine. It is not sacrifice in itself, however, that is denounced, but a trust in formal service punctiliously rendered to God, without a corresponding reformation of character. The prophet was the messenger who recalled the people to their highest allegiance, who fearlessly rebuked spiritual unfaithfulness, and who laid emphasis, not on the tithing of mint, anise, and cummin, but on those weightier matters of the law, judgment and mercy and faith. Of worship and ritual they would have said, as did the greater Prophet who followed them, 'These ought ye to have done, and not to have left the other undone' (Mt 23[23]). These moral teachings covered a very wide field. The prophets called evils by plain names and denounced them in uncompromising terms, however high the places in which they were found. Habits of luxury and self-indulgence in the upper classes; intemperance and tendencies to excess of all kinds; the oppression of the poor, the usurpations of landowners, the extravagance of women in dress—these are only a few specimens of class-sins which they frankly exposed and fearlessly denounced.

In this sense the prophets strove to recall the best features of Israel's past. The tone of remonstrance adopted shows that for the most part the people were familiar with the principles laid down. The prophets were not innovators: they spoke as men whose words were likely to find an echo in the consciences of their hearers. But reformers they undoubtedly were in the sense that they 'spared not the hoary head of inveterate abuse,' and they prevented many of the evils which an undisturbed conservatism induces. They belonged to the party of progress in the best sense of the term, and their work was especially to break up the fallow ground of habit that had become hard and set and unfit to receive the seed of fresh spiritual teaching. Moral reformation, they taught, was a necessary condition for the acquisition of spiritual knowledge, and the enjoyment of spiritual privilege. 'Wash you, make you clean' was the burden of their message; 'the arm of Jehovah is not shortened, nor His ear heavy, but your sins have separated between you and your God. Deal bread to the hungry and let the oppressed go free, then shall thy light break forth as the morning . . . and thine obscurity shall be as the noonday . . . and thou shalt be like a watered garden, and like a spring of water whose waters fail not.'

This moral teaching was brought to bear especially upon national life. Israel was a church-nation, one in which the community counted for much more than the individual, and the prophet's chief function was to promote *national* righteousness. He represented the highest civic consciousness. He might, and did, rebuke private individuals and point out personal faults, though this was chiefly in the case of kings like David, Jeroboam, or Ahab, or State officials like Shebna in Is 22. Whole classes might go astray, the prophets themselves be unfaithful to their calling, and then an individual prophet was sent to recall all alike to their duty, himself the sole representative of Jehovah in a degenerate nation. For a time the political influence of the prophets was great, while their power was at its zenith, but this period did not last very long. Isaiah and Micah, Amos and Hosea, illustrate the way in which, both in the Southern and in the Northern Kingdom, the prophets intervened in questions of wars and alliances and treaties—the foreign policy of their times. They took their part in domestic policy no less, sometimes standing between the sovereigns and their subjects—teachers and examples of patriotism in the best sense of the word. Whilst the false prophets practically asserted the maxim 'My country, right or wrong,' the true prophet enforced the lesson that 'There is no wisdom nor understanding nor counsel against the Lord,' and that unflinching loyalty to Him is the only secret of national stability and success. Sometimes they urged bold defiance of enemies, as in the invasion of Sennacherib (2 K 19); sometimes they recommended a policy of neutrality as between Egypt and Assyria (Is 30); whilst, as already pointed out, it was sometimes the duty of a Jeremiah to preach submission to the power of Babylon, even though that course might be represented as pusillanimous truckling to superior force. In thus directing the national policy, the prophet might be commissioned to announce the success or failure of certain projects, and to foretell the consequences of a given course of action. But if the prophecies be closely examined, it will be seen that the forecasts were for the most part conditional—'If thou wilt hear and obey, thou shalt eat the good of the land; if not, thou shalt be devoured

with the sword'—the object of such vaticinations being pre-eminently moral, to bring the people to such a state of mind that the threatened evils might be averted.

The value of such an institution in any State is obvious. J. S. Mill describes it as an 'inestimably precious' feature, that 'the persons most eminent in genius and moral feeling could reprobate with the authority of the Almighty, and give a higher and better interpretation of religion, which henceforth became a part of that religion.' The power of the prophet has been compared to the modern liberty of the press. The comparison is sadly inadequate, for at best the press represents the highest current of public opinion, whilst it was one of the chief duties of the prophet to rebuke public opinion in the light of higher truth, which he discerned as from a mountain top whilst all the valley below lay in darkness. That the ethical standard was maintained in Israel as high as it was, and that the Jews were the most progressive people of antiquity, and conjointly with the Greeks have so strongly influenced modern culture, is due mainly to the prophets.

Religious teaching was closely connected with the ethical. The prophet would not permit any severance of these two elements. The explanation of the freedom and beauty of the moral life on which they insisted was that it was not inculcated as a code, but as a service rendered to a holy and gracious God. The people were to offer the kind of service with which He would be pleased; hence the higher their conceptions of God were raised, the higher also became their standard of conduct. The prophets of the 8th cent. B.C. are sometimes described as the first teachers of **ethical monotheism,** but this position it would be difficult to establish. That the standard of the people had sunk sadly below that of the revelation granted them is certain, and that the prophets not only recalled them to their duty, but raised their very conceptions of Deity, is practically certain. But Amos, the first of the writing prophets, appealed to a conscience and a God-consciousness already developed, and his rebukes presuppose the knowledge of one holy God, and do not inculcate the doctrine for the first time. Both he and Hosea press home the duty of the people to return to the God they had forsaken; sometimes sternly, sometimes with tender and pathetic pleading: 'O Ephraim, what shall I do unto thee? Thou art graven on the palms of my hands.' The worst feature of the wickedness of the times lay in the unfaithfulness of Israel to the God who had bound His people to Him by the closest ties, and their disobedience is described as infidelity to a spiritual marriage vow. The prophets strove and urged and remonstrated, 'rising up early' and pleading that they might win the heart of the people back to God, sure that thus, and thus only, a basis could be secured for a permanently upright national and individual character. From this point of view their words can never grow obsolete.

As to the *predictive* element in prophecy, it may be discerned on every page, but it is not of the 'fortune-telling' order. Most of the predictions refer to national events, in Israel or surrounding nations. Some of these enter into detail, as in the overthrow of Ahab at Ramoth-gilead foretold by Micaiah (1 K 22^{34}), and the failure of Sennacherib's expedition announced by Isaiah. Others threaten in a more general way that punishment will follow disobedience, this strain becoming ever sterner and more pronounced as time advanced. These dark presages were fulfilled in the case of the Northern Kingdom in the 8th cent. B.C.; and afterwards when Judah refused to take the warning, her calamities culminated in the capture and overthrow of Jerusalem.

The prophets, however, are able to take a wider outlook, their penetrating gaze extends to the more distant future. This feature is so closely blended with the last, that it is sometimes hard to distinguish the two. It is the habit of the prophets to pass immediately and without warning from the nearer to the further horizon, and the question perpetually recurs—Of whom, of what period, speaketh the prophet this? That their power of foresight was akin to the moral insight which other exceptionally gifted persons have possessed, enabling them within limits to forecast the future, may be admitted. But no parallel has been found in any other nation to the phenomena of Hebrew prophecy, especially in the continuous succession of men carrying on the same remarkable work for generations. Many critics seek to eliminate the element of the supernatural from prophecy. But, whilst it may be granted that many prophecies were not fulfilled because they were given with a condition stated or implied, and that the poetical language of many others never was literally fulfilled, or intended to be so, there remain a considerable number of national predictions which were fulfilled in a very remarkable manner, especially when we bear in mind that they ran directly counter to the prejudices of the times and were sometimes uttered at the risk of very life to the daring messenger himself.

A candid examination of the whole conditions of the case must lead to the admission of a supernatural power and knowledge in Hebrew prophecy—quite apart from the Messianic element, which will be considered separately. The attempts to explain this away have failed. The prophetic power was not exceptional political shrewdness, not the mere sanguine expectation of enthusiasts, or the gloomy foreboding of convinced pessimists; it was not like the second-sight of the Highlander, the effect of excitement upon a highly sensitive temperament; nor, as rationalism teaches, can all predictions be explained on the *vaticinia post eventum* principle, as history written after the event. On the other hand, supernatural enlightenment and direction must be included, whilst it may be freely admitted with Tholuck that the predictions were for the most part 'not of the accidental, but of the religiously necessary,' that they were mostly general, sometimes hypothetical, consistent with the freedom of the persons addressed, and that while they contain what some call 'failures,' in broad outline they reflect with wonderful accuracy and force the word of God in relation to the principles and progress of human history.

4. Messianic prophecy and its fulfilment.—It was inevitable that teachers so commissioned by God to declare His will should take a wider range. Theirs was emphatically a message of hope—they were sent to prepare the way for a brighter future. Hence we find them passing, by rapid and almost insensible gradations, from immediate to far distant issues, and descriptions of a Final Consummation are blended with their very practical teaching as to present duty. In later Judaism these prospects of coming national felicity gathered round the term *Messiah*, the Anointed One, used to designate a coming Deliverer, through whose instrumentality the glories of the future age were to be realized. Christians believe that Jesus of Nazareth claimed to be, and was, the promised Messiah of the Jews, and the name 'Messianic prophecy' has been given to predictions which refer directly to the ideal personage of whose coming the prophets were the heralds. But this narrower meaning of the phrase is for several reasons unsatisfactory. In the first place, 'Messiah' is not a recognized OT term for this Deliverer; it may be questioned whether the word is once used in this sense. Further, there is a great body of prophetic utterances which belong to the 'Messianic' era, though no mention is made of a personal King or Saviour. And from the Christian point of view, the preparation for the coming of Christ was very various: many prophecies are believed to find direct fulfilment in Him, in which neither the name nor the idea of a personal Messiah occurs; hence 'Messianic prophecy' is now generally understood to mean all the OT promises which refer to the *final* accomplishment of God's purposes for the nation and the world.

The whole OT religion is one of hope. God's promises made to His people were too large, the ideal descriptions of their privileges were too lofty, to find full realization at any

early stage of national development. And Israel itself was so intractable and unfaithful, and the gap between profession and practice was so painfully obvious, that the gaze of the people was ever fixed on the future. Sometimes the prospect was held out of a regenerated city, sometimes of an ideal temple and its worship, sometimes the idea prevailed of a clearer manifestation of God Himself in the midst of His people, sometimes expectation pointed to a Ruler who would embody all the qualities of righteousness, wisdom, and power which had been so conspicuously lacking in many monarchs of the Davidic line. Sometimes material considerations figured most largely in the pictures of the future—the fruitfulness of the land, abundance of corn and wine and oil; sometimes a promise filled the air like music, of an unprecedented peace which should bless the often invaded and always more or less disturbed country; sometimes a broad landscape picture was drawn of the extensive dominion and influence which Israel should exercise over the nations around. And it is obviously undesirable that forecasts which contain a more directly personal reference should be separated from these others with which they were closely connected in the prophets' thoughts, especially as closer examination has tended to reduce the number of passages which may be described as directly Messianic. A few central ideas lay at the heart of the whole. The Covenant which bound together God and His people, the City in which He made His abode, the Temple hallowed by His presence, the Kingdom in which His law should prevail and His will be always done, were never very far from the minds of the ancient seers. Correspondingly, the Jew anticipated, and the prophet foretold, the coming of the ideal King who would dwell in the City and at the head of the Kingdom, the ideal Priest of the Temple, the ideal Prophet to declare the Divine purposes completely, and cement the Divine Covenant so that it should never again be broken. Brooding over the whole was the thought of the Divine Presence, which in the future was to be a Theophany indeed.

It was only in the 2nd cent. B.C. that the term 'Messiah' became the focus in which all these rays were centralized. In the OT books the word is used as an epithet of the king, 'Jehovah's anointed'; it is used of Cyrus, a heathen prince, in Is $45^{1f.}$; possibly, though improbably, it may be understood as a proper name in Dn 9^{25}; whilst some would find in Ps 2 an almost unique use of the word to designate the ideal Prince of the house of David who should rule all the nations with unparalleled and illimitable sway. But if the term 'Messiah,' standing alone to designate a unique office, appears comparatively late in Jewish history, a less clearly defined idea of a personal Ruler and Deliverer pervaded the national thought for centuries before. The terms (1) 'Son of David,' pointing to a ruler of the Davidic line, together with 'Branch' or 'Shoot,' with the same connotation; (2) 'Son of Man,' applied in OT to Ezekiel and others, sometimes indicating man in his frailty, but sometimes man as God intended him to be; and (3) 'Son of God,' indicating the nation Israel, Israel's judges and Israel's king, alike representing the Most High upon earth—all helped to prepare the way for the idea of a Messiah who should, in an undefined and unimaginable way, unite the excellences of the whole in His person. (4) One other name, such as would not have occurred to the earlier prophets, appears freely in Second Isaiah; and, as the event proved, influenced subsequent thought to an unexpectedly profound degree—the 'Servant of Jehovah' as Sufferer and Saviour. It was along these lines and others kindred to them which have not been named, that the preparation was made by the prophets for the coming of Israel's true Deliverer. When all are put together, it will be seen that it the number of passages referring directly to the Messiah by name is unexpectedly small, the number which prepared the thoughts of the people for His Advent is exceedingly large, and these are so various in their character that it might well have seemed impossible that they should all be realized in one Person.

It is quite impossible here to survey this vast field even in outline. But one point must not be lost sight of—the distinction between those prophecies which are directly and those which are only indirectly Messianic. When the meaning of the prophet's words is obviously too lofty to be applied in any sense to a mere earthly kingdom, or where the context necessitates it, we may assume that the prophet's eyes were fixed, not on his contemporaries but on the far distance, and the period of the Consummation for which it was needful long to wait. But where the mention of local and temporal conditions or of human imperfections and limitations makes it clear that the immediate reference of a passage is to the prophet's own times, whilst yet his glance shoots at intervals beyond them, there the words are only indirectly Messianic, and a typical significance is found in them. That is, the same ideas or principles are illustrated in the earlier as in the later dispensation, but in an inferior degree; the points of similarity and difference varying in their relative proportions, so that a person or an event or an institution under the Old Covenant may more or less dimly foreshadow the complete realization of the Divine purpose yet to come. The type may be described as a prophetic symbol.

The line between typical and directly prophetic passages is not always easy to draw. For example, it may be debated in what sense Pss 2. 8. 16. 45. 72 and others are 'Messianic,' the probability being that in every case the primary thought of the Psalmist was occupied with the history that he knew, though his words in each case soared beyond their immediate occasion. So the language of Is 53—which for centuries has been understood by Christian interpreters to refer directly to a suffering Messiah—is now understood by some of the best Christian scholars as referring at least in the first instance to faithful Israel. An ideal personification of Israel, *i.e.*, identified with the nation yet distinct from it, is represented as the true servant of God carrying out His purposes for the national purification, even through persecution, suffering, and death. Opinions may well differ as to whether this interpretation is adequate. But it must be borne in mind in any case that in the prophets we do find a remarkable combination of two features—a wide outlook into the future implying preternatural insight, and very marked limitations of vision derived from the ideas of the times in which they lived. The object of the student of Messianic prophecy is to examine the relations between these two elements, and to show how out of the midst of comparatively narrow ideas, determined by the speaker's political and historical environment, there arose others, lofty, wide, and comprehensive, with 'springing and germinant accomplishments,' and thus the Spirit of Christ which was in the prophets 'testified beforehand the sufferings of Christ and the glories that should follow them.'

When we inquire concerning the *fulfilment* of prophecy, it is necessary to distinguish between (1) what the prophet meant by his words in the first instance, according to their plainest and simplest interpretation; (2) any realization, more or less imperfect, of his utterances in Israelitish history; (3) any more complete realization of them which may have taken place in Christ and Christianity, considered as the Divinely appointed 'fulfilment' of Judaism; and (4) any appropriate application of the prophetic words which may be made in subsequent generations in further illustration of the principles laid down. If there be a wise and gracious God who orders all the events of human history, if He inspired the OT prophets to declare His will for some centuries before Christ, if the climax of His self-revelation was reached in the gift of His Son, Jesus Christ our Lord, and if He is still working out His purposes of righteous love among the nations of the modern world, it is to be expected that the declarations of the prophets will receive many 'fulfilments,' many of them much wider, deeper, and more significant than the prophets themselves could possibly understand. But the meaning of the original words as first uttered should first of all be studied without any reference to subsequent events. Then the nature of the connexion between OT and NT should be clearly understood, and

the principles on which the NT writers find a complete realization of the promises of the Old Covenant in the New. And afterwards it will not be difficult to see in what sense perpetually new applications of the prophets' words may be legitimately made to the subsequent history of the Kingdom of God in the earth.

Every reader of the NT must have noticed that the words 'that it might be fulfilled which was spoken by the prophet' are used very freely by the several writers, and not always in precisely the same sense. Christ Himself led the way and the Apostles followed Him in declaring that His work on earth was to 'fulfil' both the Law and the prophets, and that the whole of the OT Scriptures pointed to Him and testified of Him. It was not so much that minute coincidences might be discerned between the phraseology of the OT and the events of His life, though it was natural that such should be noted by the Evangelists. But Jesus specially insisted upon the fact which it is most important for the student of the Bible to observe, viz. that what the Law failed to accomplish, and what the prophets and those who looked for the fulfilment of their words had failed to realize, He had come completely and perfectly to achieve. The emphasis lies, as might have been expected, upon the spiritual, rather than the literal, meaning of the Scriptures; and the most complete fulfilment of OT words lies not in a precise correspondence between circumstantial forecasts made long before with the details of His personal history, but in a spiritual realization of that great end which lawgivers, kings, prophets, and righteous men under the Old Covenant desired to see, but were not able.

OT prophecy, then, is best understood when it is viewed as one remarkable stage in a long and still more remarkable history. Some of its utterances have not been, and never will be fulfilled, in the sense that many of its students have expected. A large proportion of them have already been fulfilled, though in strange and unlooked-for fashion, by Him of whom it has been said that 'the testimony of Jesus is the spirit of prophecy' (Rev 19^{10}). In the Person, life, sufferings, death, and resurrection of Jesus the Christ, and in the establishment of His Kingdom on the earth, is to be found the fullest realization of the glowing words of the prophets who prepared the way for His coming. For a still more complete fulfilment of their highest hopes and fairest visions the world still waits. But those who believe in the accomplishment of God's faithful word thus far will not find it difficult to believe that our Lord's words concerning the Law (Mt 5^{18}) may be adapted, and that in the highest spiritual sense they will be at last realized—'Till heaven and earth pass away, one jot or one tittle shall in no wise pass away from the *prophets*, till all things be accomplished.'

W. T. Davison.

PROPHET (in NT).—**1.** The spirit of prophecy, as it meets us under the Old Dispensation, runs on into the New, and there are prophets in the NT who are properly to be described as *OT prophets*. Such as Anna the prophetess (Lk 2^{36}; cf. Miriam, Deborah, and Huldah in the OT); Zacharias, who is expressly said to have prophesied (Lk $1^{67ff.}$); Simeon, whose *Nunc Dimittis* is an utterance of an unmistakably prophetic nature ($2^{25ff.}$). But above all there is John the Baptist, who was not only recognized by the nation as a great prophet (Mt 14^5 21^{26}, Mk 11^{32}, Lk 20^6), but was declared by Jesus to be the greatest prophet of the former dispensation, while yet less than the least in the Kingdom of heaven (Mt $11^{9ff.}$ = Lk $7^{26ff.}$).

2. *Jesus Himself* was a prophet. It was in this character that the Messiah had been promised (Dt $18^{15.\ 18}$; cf. Ac 3^{22} 7^{37}), and had been looked for by many (Jn 6^{14}). During His public ministry it was as a prophet that He was known by the people (Mt 21^{11}; cf. Lk 7^{16}), and described by His own disciples (Lk 24^{19}), and even designated by Himself (Mt 13^{57}, Lk 13^{33}). And according to the teaching of the NT, the exalted Christ still continues to exercise His prophetic function, guiding His disciples into all the truth by the Spirit whom He sends (Jn $16^{7.\ 13}$), and 'building up the body' by bestowing upon it Apostles, prophets, and teachers (Eph $4^{8ff.}$).

3. From the prophetic office of her exalted Head there flowed the prophetic endowment of *the Church*. Joel had foretold a time when the gift of prophecy should be conferred upon all ($2^{28f.}$), and at Pentecost we see that word fulfilled (Ac $2^{16ff.}$). Ideally, all the Lord's people should be prophets. For 'the testimony of Jesus is the spirit of prophecy' (Rev 19^{10}), and in proportion as Christians are filled with the Pentecostal Spirit they will desire, like the members of the newborn Church, to bear testimony to their Master (cf. Nu 11^{29}, 1 Co 14^5).

4. But even in the Spirit-filled Church diversities of gifts quickly emerged, and a special power of prophetic utterance was bestowed upon certain individuals. *A prophetic ministry* arose, a ministry of Divine inspiration, which has to be distinguished from the official ministry of human appointment (see art. Ministry). In a more general sense, all those who 'spoke the word of God' (He 13^7) were prophets. The ministry of the word (Ac 6^4) was a prophetic ministry, and so we find St. Paul himself described as a prophet long after he had become an Apostle (Ac 13^1).

5. But in a more precise use of the term we find *the specific NT prophet* distinguished from others who 'speak the word of God,' and in particular from the Apostle and the teacher (1 Co $12^{28f.}$, cf. Eph 4^{11}). The distinction seems to be that while the Apostle was a missionary to the unbelieving (Gal $2^{7.\ 8}$), the prophet was a messenger to the Church (1 Co $14^{4.\ 22}$); and while the teacher explained or enforced truth that was already possessed (He 5^{12}), the prophet was recognized by the spiritual discernment of his hearers (1 Co 2^{15} 14^{29}, 1 Jn 4^1) as the Divine medium of fresh revelations (1 Co $14^{25.\ 30.\ 31}$, Eph 3^5; cf. *Did.* iv. 1).

Three main types of prophesying may be distinguished in the NT—(*a*) First, there is what may be called the ordinary ministry of prophecy in the Church, described by St. Paul as 'edification and comfort and consolation' (1 Co 14^3). (*b*) Again, there is, on special occasions, the authoritative announcement of the Divine will in a particular case, as when the prophets of Antioch, in obedience to the Holy Ghost, separate Barnabas and Saul for the work of missionary evangelization (Ac $13^{1ff.}$; cf. 22^{21} $16^{6ff.}$). (*c*) Rarely there is the prediction of a future event, as in the case of Agabus (11^{28} 21^{10}; cf. v.^{4}).

Of Christian prophets in the specific sense several are mentioned in the NT: Judas and Silas (Ac 15^{32}), the prophets at Antioch (13^1), Agabus and the prophets from Jerusalem ($11^{27f.}$ 21^{10}), the four daughters of Philip the evangelist (v.^{9}). But these few names give us no conception of the numbers and influence of the prophets in the Apostolic Church. For light upon these points we have to turn especially to the Pauline Epistles (*e.g.* 1 Co $12^{28f.}$ 14, Eph 2^{20} 3^5 4^{11}). Probably they were to be found in every Christian community, and there might even be several of them in a single congregation (1 Co 14^{29}). Certain of them, possessed no doubt of conspicuous gifts, moved about from church to church (Ac $11^{27f.}$ 21^{10}; cf. Mt 10^{41}, *Did.* xiii. 1). Others, endowed with literary powers, would commit their 'visions and revelations' to writing, just as some prophets of the OT had done, though of this literary type of prophecy we have only one example in the NT—the Book of Revelation (cf. Rev 1^3 $22^{7.\ 9.\ 10.\ 19}$).

Quite a flood of light is shed upon the subject of the NT prophets by the evidence of the *Didache*. We see there that about the end of the first century or the beginning of the second the prophet is still held in the highest estimation (xi. 7, xiii.), and takes precedence, wherever he goes,

of the local ministry of bishops and deacons (x. 7). But we also see the presence in the Church of those influences which gradually led to the elimination of the prophetic ministry. One influence is the abundance of false prophets (xi. 8 ff.; cf. Mt 7^{15} $24^{11.\ 24}$, 1 Jn 4^{1}), tending to make the Church suspicious of all prophetic assumptions, and to bring prophecy as such into disrepute. Another is the growing importance of the official ministry, which begins to claim the functions previously accorded to the prophets alone (xv. 1). Into the hands of the official class all power in the Church gradually passed, and in spite of the outburst of the old prophetic claims, during the latter half of the 2nd cent., in connexion with the Montanist movement, the prophet in the distinctive NT sense disappears entirely from the Catholic Church, while the ministry of office takes the place of the ministry of inspiration. J. C. Lambert.

PROPHETESS.—**1.** The courtesy title of a prophet's wife (Is 8^{3}). **2.** The OT title of women in whom the promise was fulfilled: 'your daughters shall prophesy' (Jl 2^{28}; cf. Ps 68^{11} RV). 'The term is of course not to be misunderstood, as if it referred merely to predictions relating to the future: the reference is in general to inspired instruction in moral and religious truth' (Driver, *Camb. Bible, in loc.*). The title is given to Miriam (Ex 15^{20}), Deborah (Jg 4^{4}), Huldah (2 K 22^{14}, 2 Ch 34^{22}), and Noadiah (Neh 6^{14}). **3.** The NT gift of prophecy was bestowed on women (Ac 21^{9}, 1 Co 11^{5}). Anna (Lk 2^{36}) is the only 'prophetess' mentioned by name, except Jezebel (Rev 2^{20}), who was probably not the wife of the angel of the church (RVm), but a temptress of the Christians at Thyatira to whom was given the name of Israel's wicked queen. J. G. Tasker.

PROPITIATION.—The idea of propitiation is borrowed from the sacrificial ritual of the OT, and the term is used in the EV of the NT in three instances (Ro 3^{25}, 1 Jn 2^{2} 4^{10}) of Christ as offering the sacrifice for sin which renders God propitious, or merciful, to the sinner. In the first of these passages the word is strictly 'propitiatory' (answering to the OT 'mercy-seat'), and RVm renders 'whom God set forth to be propitiatory,' without, however, essential change of meaning. In the two Johannine passages the noun is directly applied to Christ: 'He is the propitiation for our sins; and not for ours only, but also for the whole world' (2^{2}); 'Herein is love, not that we loved God, but that he loved us, and sent his Son to be the propitiation for our sins' (4^{10}). In one other passage, He 2^{17}, the RV renders 'to make propitiation for the sins of the people,' instead of, as in AV, 'to make reconciliation.'

1. In the OT.—In the OT, to which we go back for explanation, the Heb. word *kipper*, which corresponds with 'to make propitiation,' is ordinarily rendered 'to make **atonement**,' sometimes 'to reconcile' (*e.g.* Lv 6^{30} AV, but in RV 'to make atonement'); the word has primarily the sense 'to cover,' but in actual usage has the meaning of 'to conciliate' an offended party, or 'to hide *or* expiate' an offence. A person may be conciliated by a gift (Gn 32^{20}); may be made propitious by intercession (Ex 32^{30}); an offence may be atoned for by an act of zeal for righteousness (Nu 25^{13}). In ritual usage it is the priest who 'makes atonement' *for* the offender, *as touching*, or *concerning*, his sin (cf. Lv 1^{4} 4^{35} $5^{13.\ 18}$ etc.). Both ideas seem to be implied here; the offence is cancelled or annulled,—hidden from God's sight,—and God is rendered propitious; His displeasure is turned away. The means by which this was effected under the Law was ordinarily sacrifice (burnt-offering, sin-offering, guilt-offering; the idea was doubtless present in the peace-offering as well). The blood of an unblemished victim, obtained by slaughter, was sprinkled on the altar, or otherwise presented to Jehovah (cf. Lv 1–7, and see Atonement). On the annual Day of Atonement expiation of the sins of the people was effected by an elaborate ceremonial, which included the carrying of the blood into the Holy of Holies, and the sprinkling of it upon the mercy-seat (Lv 16). The significance of these rites is considered in the artt. Atonement and Atonement [Day of].

2. In the NT.—These analogies throw light upon the meaning of the term in the NT in its application to Christ, and further illustration is found in St. Paul's words in Ro 3^{25}. The Apostle, having shown that no one can attain to righteousness, or be justified before God, by works of law, proceeds to exhibit the Divine method of justification, without law, by 'a righteousness of God' obtained through faith in Jesus Christ. 'Being justified freely by his grace through the redemption that is in Christ Jesus: whom God set forth to be a propitiation, through faith, by his blood, to show his righteousness, because of the passing over of the sins done aforetime, in the forbearance of God.' The ideas in this passage include the following: (1) that Christ's death is a propitiatory sacrifice; (2) that sin cannot be righteously passed over except on the ground of such a sacrifice; (3) that Christ's propitiatory death is the vindication of God's righteousness in passing over sins under the older dispensation (cf. He 9^{13}); (4) that the virtue of Christ's propitiation is appropriated by faith; (5) that everyone thus appropriating Christ's propitiation, freely set forth, becomes possessed of 'a righteousness of God' which perfectly justifies him. It is seen, therefore, that Christ's death is here regarded as having a true power to expiate guilt, redeem the sinner from condemnation, set him in righteous relations with God, and make him an object of God's favour. It is not otherwise that Christ's manifestation is conceived of by St. John, who in his Epistle emphasizes the cleansing power of Christ's blood (1^{7}), extols Christ as the propitiation for the sins of the world (2^{2}), and declares that the love of God is seen in this, that He sent His Son to be the propitiation for our sins (4^{10}; cf. 'to take away sins,' 3^{5}).

This last passage raises the difficulty which will naturally be felt about 'propitiation.' Assuming, as can hardly be denied, that the term includes the idea of rendering God propitious, or favourable, how is this to be reconciled with the statement that the propitiation itself proceeds from, and is a demonstration of, the love of God? Can it be supposed that God, who Himself sends the Son, needs to be appeased, conciliated, or in any way made more gracious than He is, by His Son's death? That idea, which belongs to the heathenish conception of propitiation, must certainly be excluded. Yet the paradox holds good that, while God loves the sinner, and earnestly seeks his salvation, there is a necessary reaction of the holiness of God against sin, manifesting itself in displeasure, withdrawal, judgment, wrath, which hinders the outflow of His friendship and favour to the world as He would desire it to flow forth. The sinner cannot take the initiative here; it must come from God Himself. Yet it must come in such a way as furnishes an adequate ground for the extension of His mercy. Christ's work in our nature was one which entered into the deepest need of God's own being, as well as into the imperatives of His just government of the world. In the Person of His own well-beloved Son a reconciliation was truly effected with humanity, which extends to all who receive the Son as Saviour and Lord. This is the reality in propitiation. See Atonement. James Orr.

PROSELYTE.—**1. The character and the history of the proselyte.**—The character and the history of the proselyte are somewhat obscured by the fact that the name 'proselyte' occurs only in the NT, and there in the final meaning of a convert to Judaism, as if he were a product of NT times alone. But the same Greek word that stands for 'proselyte' in the NT is very largely used in the LXX, where EV has **'stranger.'** Even the Hebrews themselves are described by the

LXX as 'proselytes' in Egypt (Ex 22^{21} 23^{9}, Lv 19^{34}, Dt 10^{19}). The **'stranger'** of the OT becomes the 'proselyte' of the NT. For the history that lies behind the use of the word see art. STRANGER. By the 4th cent. B.C. the 'stranger' had become a member of the Jewish Church—a proselyte in the technical sense (Bertholet, *Stellung der Israeliten*, p. 178).

Other expressions are used in the NT to indicate a more or less close sympathy with Jewish religious thought and life without implying absolute identity with and inclusion in Judaism. These are **'fearers of God'** (*phoboumenoi ton Theon*, Ac $10^{2.\ 22}$ $13^{16.\ 26.\ 50}$ etc.), and **'worshippers of God'** (*sebomenoi ton Theon*, Ac 16^{14} $17^{4.\ 17}$ etc.). They were such as were drawn from heathenism by the higher ideals and purer life of Judaism. They were dissatisfied with the religious teaching of their nation, and found in Judaism an intellectual home and a religious power they sought in vain elsewhere. But a study of Ac 10. 11, esp. 11^{3}, shows that these were not proselytes; they refused to take the final step that carried them into Judaism—viz. circumcision (*EGT* vol. ii. p. 250 f.; Ramsay, *Expositor*, 1896, p. 200; Harnack, *Expansion of Christianity*, i. p. 11). They lived on the fringe of Judaism, and were, it seems (Lk 7^{5}, Ac 10^{2}), often generous benefactors to the cause that had lifted them nearer to God and truth.

2. Proselytizing activity of the Jews.—Up to the time of the Exile and for some time after, the attitude of the Hebrews towards 'strangers' was passive: they did not invite their presence into their community, and did not encourage them to be sharers of their faith. But before the 3rd cent. B.C. a change of outlook and national purpose had taken place, which had converted them into active propagandists. There appear to have been three reasons for this change. (1) The Hebrews were no longer concentrated in one narrow land where a homogeneous life was followed, but were scattered over all parts of the civilized world, and found themselves in contact with peoples who were religiously far inferior to themselves, however otherwise they might be placed, and who excited, it may be, their disdain, but also their pity.—(2) Many of those in the Gentile world who were dissatisfied with the intellectual results and the religious conditions of their time saw in Judaism, as lived and taught before their eyes, something finer and nobler than they had found elsewhere; and were drawn to its practical teaching and life without committing themselves to the ritual that offended their sense of fitness and decency (cf. Harnack, *op. cit.* i. 10 f.).—(3) The Hebrews themselves seem to have responded to their opportunity with a quickened enthusiasm for humanity and a higher ideal of their national existence, in the providence of God, among the nations of the earth. It does not appear that the Hebrews have ever been so powerfully moved towards the peoples lying in darkness as in this time subsequent to the Exile (Harnack, *op. cit.* i. 11, 12). They were convinced of the claim of God to the homage of men everywhere, the universalism of their revelation of truth and duty, and their own fitness to bring the world to God. The needs of the world moved them powerfully, and the thoughts that found expression in such passages as Ps 33^{8} ('Let all the earth fear the Lord, let all the inhabitants of the world stand in awe of him') 36^{7-9} 64^{10} 65^{8} etc., filled them with a burning zeal to make the world their offering to God. (Bertholet, *op. cit.* p. 191 f.). Perhaps we may not be wrong in regarding the Septuagint as a product of, as it certainly was an aid to, this missionary effort.

This spiritual enthusiasm for God's honour and man's salvation continued till about the time of the Maccabees, when the tenderer springs of the Jewish spirit were dried up, and the sword became the instrument of national idealism, and whole cities and tribes were given the option of circumcision or exile, if not slaughter (1 Mac 2^{46} 13^{48} $14^{14.\ 36}$; Jos. *Ant.* XIII. ix. 1, xi. 3, xv. 4). Of course, this was a means that was not available outside their hereditary home. This propaganda went on till the 1st cent. of our era, when the dissatisfaction of the Jews with the Roman supremacy culminated in insurrection. In their conflict with Rome their numbers were greatly reduced by slaughter, and their power of religious expansion was checked by the decree of Hadrian, modified later by Antoninus, in forbidding circumcision. By this time, however, Judaism had won a large following in every town of size and importance (cf. Ac 2^{9-11}; Jos. *BJ* VII. iii. 3, *c. Apion.* ii. 11, 40; Seneca, *ap.* August. *de Civitate Dei*, vi. 11; cf. 'victi victoribus leges dederunt'; Harnack, *op. cit.* i. 14; Schürer, *HJP* II. ii. 304 ff.). But now bloodshed and persecution produced the twofold result of closing and steeling the heart of Judaism to the outside world, so that proselytes were no longer sought by the Jews, and the tenets and the practices of Judaism became crystallized and less amenable to Hellenistic influences, and so less fitted to win the Gentile spirit.

3. Admission of the proselyte.—The ritual conditions imposed on the proselyte on entering Judaism were three: (1) circumcision, (2) cleansing or baptism, (3) sacrifice. Baptism took place after the healing of the wound caused by circumcision. Some have sought to discover in it an imitation of Christian ritual. But there is no foundation for such a claim. Cleansing or baptism lay in the very nature of Judaism,—the heathen was unclean and so had to be cleansed by washing in water before admission into Judaism. Sacrifice was both an expression of thanksgiving and an individual participation in Jewish worship. With the fall of the Temple sacrifice lapsed, though at first it was made a burden on the proselyte to lay aside enough to pay for the sacrifice, should the Temple again be restored; but even this demand was in course of time allowed to lapse, as the prospect of restoration vanished. These three conditions seem of early origin, though we may not have specific reference to them till the 2nd cent. A.D.

Among individual Jewish teachers there was difference of opinion as to the necessity of circumcision and baptism, but all early usage seems to confirm their actual observance. It is true that Izates, king of Adiabene, for a time refrained from circumcision under the guidance of his first Jewish teacher, Ananias, but this counsel was given, not because it was at the time deemed unnecessary for a proselyte to be circumcised, but because circumcision might alienate the sympathies of his people from Izates and endanger his throne. And Ananias wisely laid greater stress upon the moral than upon the ritual side of conversion. All through the Dispersion we find the same disposition to conciliate the Gentiles who were willing to share in the Jewish faith in any measure, by relaxing the ritual demands. And we cannot withhold our appreciation of the action of the Jews, for they wisely discriminated between the real and the formal side of their religion. They never did anything, however, to lower or compromise the moral demands of their faith. They rigorously insisted on the recognition of God from all their proselytes with all His claims upon their service (Harnack, *op. cit.* i. 72). It does not appear that conversion enhanced the reputation of the proselytes; for although they could not but win the esteem of the finer minds of their nation by their higher moral life, yet they seemed to the people to display a type of daily life lacking in domestic reverence and civic and national patriotism (Tac. *Hist.* v. 5. 8; Juv. *Sat.* xiv. 103–4).

4. Place of the proselyte in the growth of the Christian Church.—Those proselytes who had embraced Judaism in its entirety seem to have accepted the attitude of the Jews generally towards Christianity. Most of them would oppose it, and those who accepted it would

make the Law the necessary avenue to it, and so they acted rather as a hindrance than as a help to the progress of the gospel. If the experience of Justin be any indication of the general attitude of the proselytes to the Church, they must have deemed it a duty to their adopted faith to manifest a violence of speech and an aggressiveness of action unsurpassed by the Jews themselves; for he says, 'the proselytes not only do not believe, but twofold more than yourselves blaspheme His name, and wish to torture and put to death us who believe in Him' (*Dial.* 122).

But the proselytes must always have formed a very small minority of those amongst the Gentiles who had lent an ear to Jewish teaching. There were many who were attracted to the synagogue by the helpfulness of its worship and the purity of its teaching, who had no sympathy with its ritual. Amongst these the gospel had a different reception; it was readily accepted and eagerly followed. They found in it all that drew them to the synagogue, and a great deal more. With historical Judaism they had nothing to do, and loyalty and nationality did not appeal to them as motives to maintain it against Christianity. Amongst the Jews both the proselyte and the devout worshipper occupied an inferior place, but here was a faith that made no distinction between Jew or Gentile, a faith whose conception of God was tenderer and whose ethical standards were higher, that made love and not law the interpreter of duty and the inspiration of service, that lived not in an evening twilight of anticipation of a glorious Messianic morning, but in warm fellowship with a Personality that was the evidence of its power and truth. It is easy to understand how quickly the gospel would be adopted by these adherents of Judaism. Every synagogue would become the seed-plot of a Christian church. And so it was specially to these that St. Paul addressed himself on his missionary journeys, and from them he formed the beginnings of many of his churches and received so much kindness (Ac $13^{16.\ 43}$ $16^{14.\ 15}$ etc.). One can easily understand with what feelings of combined jealousy and hate the Jews would see these worshippers detached from the synagogue and formed into a church. But Judaism had nothing to offer the Gentile that was not better provided by the Christian Church, and so it recoiled from the attack on Christianity like the spent waves from the rock-bound coast, angry but baffled. Failure drove the Jews in sullenness upon themselves. They left the field to Christianity, restricted their vision to their own people, and left the outer world alone.

J. Gilroy.

PROSTITUTION.—See Crimes and Punishments, 3.

PROVENDER.—**1.** *mispō'* (Gn $24^{25.\ 32}$ 42^{27} 43^{24}, Jg $19^{19.\ 21}$), a general name for cattle food. **2.** *bēlūl*, Job 6^{5} **'fodder'**; *bēlūl chāmīts*, Is 30^{24} 'clean (AVm and RV 'savoury,' RVm 'salted') provender,' *i.e.* fodder mixed with salt or aromatic herbs. The ordinary food of cattle in Palestine—besides pasturage—is *tibn* (broken straw), *kursenneh* (the vetch, *Vicia ervilia*), bran (for fattening especially), and sometimes hay made from the flowering herbs of spring.

E. W. G. Masterman.

PROVERB.—1. Meaning.—In the Bible there is no essential difference between the proverb and the **parable** (wh. see). The Heb. *māshāl* and the Gr. *parabolē*, meaning 'resemblance,' were applied indiscriminately to both. The value arising from this likeness was twofold. In the first place, as the moral truth seemed to emerge from the observed habits of animals, objects in nature, familiar utensils, or occurrences in daily life, such juxtaposition gave to the ethical precept or fact of conduct the surprise and challenge of a discovery. Thus the whole influence of example and environment is compressed into the proverb, 'As is the mother, so is her daughter' (Ezk 16^{44}). The surprise was intensified when the parable product contradicted ordinary experience, as in the statement, 'One soweth and another reapeth' (Jn 4^{37}). Definite labour deserves a definite reward, yet the unexpected happens, and, while man proposes, there remains an area in which God disposes. Out of such corroboration grew the second value of the proverb, namely, authority. The truth became a rule entitled to general acceptance. The proverb usually has the advantage of putting the concrete for the abstract. Among the modern inhabitants of Palestine, when a letter of recommendation is asked, it is customary to quote the proverb, 'You cannot clap with one hand.' Of a dull workman without interest or resource in his work it is said, 'He is like a sieve, he can do only one thing.'

2. Literary form.—(1) Next to the fact of resemblance was the essential feature of *brevity*. Such a combination at once secured currency to the unpremeditated exclamation, 'Is Saul also among the prophets?' (1 S $10^{11.\ 12}$). When the proverb consisted of two parts, rhetorical emphasis was secured either by repeating the same thought in different words (Pr 3^{17}) or by the introduction of contrasting particulars (3^{33}). (2) *Rhythmic measure* was also studied, and there was often an untranslatable felicity of balance and repeated sound. The final mark of literary publicity was conferred by a rhetorical touch of picturesque hyperbole, as in the reference to a camel passing through the eye of a needle (Mt 19^{24}). (3) The fact that a wise saying was meant for the wise encouraged the use of *elliptical form*. This carried the complimentary suggestion that the hearer was able to understand a reference that was confessedly obscure. On this account proverbs were called 'the words of the wise' (Pr 22^{17}). Hence the note of surprise and unexpectedness in Christ's words, when He said that the mysteries of the Kingdom had been hidden from the wise and understanding and revealed unto babes (Mt 11^{25}, Lk 10^{21}). (4) The *obscurity* referred to was sometimes made the leading feature and motive of the proverb, and it was then called an 'enigma' or **'dark saying'** (Ps 49^{4}, Pr 1^{6} 30^{15-31}). Its solution then became a challenge to the ingenuity of the interpreter. Both the prophets and Christ Himself were charged with speaking in this problematical manner (Ezk 20^{49}, Jn 16^{29}). **Riddles** were introduced at festive gatherings as contributing an element of competitive acuteness and facetious exhilaration. Instances resembling Pr 30^{15-31} are common among the modern Arabs and Jews in Syria, as when it is said: 'There are three chief voices in the world, that of running water, of the Torah, and of money.' An enigma for the study of books is: 'Black seeds on white ground, and he who eats of the fruit becomes wise.'

3. Subject-matter.—This is summarized in Pr 1^{1-6}. The reference is generally to types of character, the emotions and the desires of the heart, and the joys and sorrows, the losses and gains, the duties and the relationships of human life. Amid these the proverb casts a searching light upon different classes of men, and points out the path of wisdom. Hence the name 'words of truth' (Pr 22^{21}).

4. Authority.—Proverbial literature is more highly esteemed in the East than in the West. While the popularity of proverbs is partly due to literary charm and intellectual force, and the distinction conferred by the power of quoting and understanding them, the principal cause of their acceptance lies in their harmony with Oriental life. The proverb is patriarchal government in the region of ethics. It is an order from the governing class that admits of no discussion. The proverb is not the pleading of the lawyer in favour of a certain view and claim, but the decision of a judge who has heard both sides and adjudicates on behalf of general citizenship. Such authority is at its maximum when it not only is generally current but has been handed down from previous generations. It is then 'a parable of the ancients' (1 S 24^{13}). The quotation of an appro-

priate proverb in a controversy always carries weight, unless the opponent can quote another in support of his claims. Thus, to the careless and inattentive man in business who says 'Prosperity is from God,' it may be retorted 'He that seeketh findeth.' Beneath some commendable social qualities belonging to this attitude there is a mental passivity that seeks to attain to results without the trouble of personal inquiry, and prefers the benefits conferred by truth to any sacrifice or service that might be rendered to it. G. M. Mackie.

PROVERBS, BOOK OF.—The second book among the 'Writings' is the most characteristic example of the Wisdom literature in the OT. **1.** We may adopt the division of the book made by the headings in the Hebrew text as follows:—

I. 1–9, The proverbs of Solomon, son of David, king of Israel (heading for more than this section). See below.
II. 10–22[16], The proverbs of Solomon.
III. 22[17]–24[22], . . . the words of the wise (22[17-21] forms an introductory poem).
IV. 24[23-34], These also are the sayings of the wise.
V. 25–29, These also are the proverbs of Solomon which the men of Hezekiah copied out.
VI. 30, The words of Agur, etc.
VII. 31[1-9], The words of king Lemuel, etc.
VIII. 31[10-31], Without heading, but clearly distinct from VII.

Sections I., II., and III. form the body of the book; sections IV. and V. are additions to the earlier portion, and VI., VII., and VIII. are still later additions.

We consider section II. first, because here the typical Hebrew proverb is best seen, especially if chs. 10–15 are taken by themselves as II*a*. These chapters consist of aphorisms in the form of couplets showing antithetic parallelism (see Poetry). The couplets are wholly detached, and little order is observable in their arrangement. In content they come nearest being popular, even if they are not so actually. In general they show a contented and cheerful view of life. The wise are mentioned, and with admiration, but not as a class or as forming a school of thought or instruction. They are the successful, upright, prosperous men, safe examples in affairs of common life. In II*b* the lines are still arranged in distiches, but the antithetic parallelism has largely given way to the synonymous or synthetic variety. This form gives a little more opportunity for classifying and developing the sentiment of the proverb. 'My son' is addressed a few times, but not regularly. Section III. again marks an advance over II*a* and II*b*. The verses 22[17-21] are a hortatory introduction. There follows a collection of quatrains, instead of couplets. They are maxims with proverbs among them. Consecutive thought has developed. The truths stated are still the simple every-day ones, but they show meditation as well as observation. Section IV. is an appendix to the third, both coming from 'the Wise.' It is very defective in rhythm, and seemingly the text has suffered corruption. In the few verses three themes are treated, chiefly the sluggard. Section V. is easily subdivided. Chs. 25–27[22] contain proverbs in the form of comparisons. Chs. 28–29 are in the style of section II. Between the two a little piece (27[23-27]) praises the life of a farmer. Section VI. consists of several independent discourses. The heading (30[1]) separates the chapter from the preceding, but otherwise adds little to our knowledge of the origin, for it is wellnigh unintelligible, Even if it consists of proper names, as is most likely, there is no gain from knowing them and nothing more. In vv.[15ff.] are several stanzas of peculiar 'numerical' style: 'there are three things that . . . and four . . . namely . . .' Section VII. is a brief manual for a king or judge, though the maxims are rather rudimentary and homely. If there is a temperance lesson, it is only for the king; the advice to the poor and oppressed is very different (see vv.[6] and [7]). The remainder of the chapter, section VIII., is noticeable for two things: its alphabetical structure, each couplet beginning with a new letter in regular order, and the unusual subject, the capable housewife. A most delicate tribute is in the omission of any reference to her virtue, which is tacitly assumed, and not even mentioned.

There remains the important section chs. 1–9. Its position at the head of the book does not show that it was first in point of time. It is clearly a preface, or hortatory introduction. It does not so much give wise counsel of a concrete kind, as praise the wisdom illustrated in the concrete counsels of the following sections. It is studied, philosophical, flowing in style. It addresses 'My son' at the beginning of a new paragraph, exactly as a teacher addresses 'My hearers' as he begins a lecture. In one chapter at least, the eighth, the adoration of wisdom is carried to the limit, and in spite of the fine personification one feels, regretfully, far removed from the plain practical precepts of sections II. and III. In this 'cosmogonic hymn' wisdom is assigned a dignity in the universe hardly inferior to that of the Creator.

Among the various attempts to explain the form in which the book comes to us, perhaps the following will be found as simple as any. We may suppose that the proverbs 'of Solomon' in II*a* and II*b* were collected separately and then combined in II.; that 'the words of the wise' in III. at first stood by themselves, and were supplemented by IV.; that the two groups, II. and III.–IV., were then joined together, becoming known as the proverbs 'of Solomon'; that the collection in V. was attached; that to this book section I. was then prefixed as an introduction, which was thus stamped as the literature of the school of Wisdom. The few remaining chapters, sections VI., VII., and VIII., were added later from the mass of Wisdom literature which must have been in existence, or later came into existence.

2. As for the *date* of the book, the traditional ascription of parts of it to king Solomon must, of course, be discarded. And with this rejection there disappears any reason for seeking an early date for it. The time when, all things considered, the compilation is best explained, is between B.C. 350 and 150. From the nature of the case it is impossible to fix even approximately the date of the origin of individual couplets. Many of the arguments valid against an early date of compilation are valueless so far as the single proverbs are concerned.

3. The authors of the Wisdom literature do not claim revealed wisdom; their teachings are only practical common sense. They are humanists, basing their morality upon the universal principles underlying all human nature. From this practical interest the view broadens to the wide sweep of ch. 8. 'Proverbs may be regarded as a manual of conduct, or, as Bruch calls it, an "anthology of gnomes." Its observations relate to a number of forms of life, to affairs domestic, agricultural, urban (the temptations of city life), commercial, political, and military' (Toy, *Proverbs*, p. x.). O. H. Gates.

PROVIDENCE.—1. The word is not found in the OT. In the NT it is used only once; in the exordium of his address to Felix, the orator Tertullus says: 'By thy providence evils are corrected for this nation' (Ac 24[2]). Here 'providence' simply means 'foresight,' as in 2 Mac 4[6] 'the king's providence.'

2. The first appearance of the word 'providence' (Gr. *pronoia*) in Jewish literature is in Wis 14[3], where God is represented as making for a ship 'a way in the sea'; the Jewish author, borrowing the expression from the Stoic philosophers, says: 'Thy providence, O Father, guideth it along.' In a later passage, recognizing the sterner aspect of the truth to which the OT also bears witness, he contrasts the destinies of the Israelites and Egyptians and describes the latter, when they were 'prisoners of darkness,' as 'exiled from the eternal providence' (17[2]).

3. Although the OT does not contain the word 'providence,' it is a continuous and progressive revelation

of Him 'whose never-failing providence ordereth all things both in heaven and earth.' Historians narrate the gradual accomplishment of His redemptive purpose concerning the Chosen People and the world at large (Gn 50^{20}, Ex 8^{22}, Dt $32^{8ff.}$; cf. Ps $74^{12ff.}$); poets delight to extol Him 'whose tender mercies are over all his works' (Ps 145^{9}; cf. $29^{3ff.}$ 104. 136); prophets point to the proofs of God's guidance in the past in order that the people may gain wisdom for the present and courage for the future (Dt $32^{7ff.}$, Hag 2^{9}, Is 51^{2}, Mal $4^{4ff.}$). The Book of Job has been called 'the book of Providence,' because it not only gives the author's solution of perplexing problems, but also 'furnishes reasons for believing in the righteous providence of God from the consideration of His character and His dominion over nature' (Oehler, *Theology of OT*, ii. 474; cf. Job 27. 34^{10} 36^{22} 37^{21}).

4. Belief in Providence stands or falls with belief in a personal God. It is incompatible with mechanical or pantheistic theories of Creation. Ancient problems which perplexed Greek philosophers and Hebrew sages press heavily upon the modern mind as it strives to reconcile its trust in Divine providence with the reign of law in the universe and with the existence of pain and evil. Jesus Christ taught that the laws of nature are the established methods of His Heavenly Father's working, and that they fulfil as well as reveal His will (Mt $6^{25ff.}$ $10^{29ff.}$, Jn 5^{17}). Belief in Providence means to the Christian, trust in the God and Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, who has so clearly revealed His will in His Son as to make it plain to His children that natural laws may not only subserve moral and spiritual ends in this present time, but may also further His unerring purposes which are not bounded by this mortal life (Ro 8^{28}, 2 Co $4^{11ff.}$, 1 P $1^{6ff.}$). J. G. Tasker.

PROVINCE.—This word, of unknown derivation, originally meant simply 'a sphere of (magisterial) duty,' and was applied, for example, to the duty of the *prætor urbanus*, who was never permitted to leave Rome. With the extension of the Roman Empire, and the consequently much increased number of spheres of duty outside Rome and Italy, the word came gradually to have a territorial application also. It is in this derived sense that the word is taken here. It was part of the Roman policy throughout to be in no unnecessary hurry to acquire territory and the responsibility connected with it, and it was not till the year B.C. 227—hundreds of years after the foundation of the Roman State—that the first province was taken over. In that year Sardinia and Corsica became one province, Western Sicily another, and each, after the details of government had been settled by special commissioners, was put under an additional **prætor** elected for the purpose. Behind this step, as behind the annexation of most Roman provinces, there lay long years of warfare. Province after province was annexed, until in the time of Christ the Romans were in possession of the whole of Europe (except the British Isles, Norway, Sweden, Denmark, Germany, and Russia), all Asia Minor, Syria, Egypt, and the north-west of Africa. Most of this vast territory had been acquired during the Republic, but certain portions had not been annexed till the time of the first Emperor, Augustus. During the Republic the governors of these provinces were appointed by the Roman senate from among their own number, generally after a period of service as prætor or consul, as the case might be. They were unpaid, and had heavy expenses to bear. Few resisted the temptation to recoup themselves at the expense of the long-suffering provincials, and the vast sums acquired by an extortionate governor in his one year's governorship may be estimated from the fact that Cicero, a just and honest man, acquired £18,000 during his tenure of the province Cilicia.

During the Empire the provinces were treated according to a notable settlement made between the Senate and the Emperor Augustus on January 1, B.C. 27. On that day it was arranged that those provinces which were peaceful and did not require the presence of an army should be under the control of the senate, who would appoint their governors; while the disturbed provinces that did require the presence of an army were to be under the Emperor himself, who was generalissimo of all the forces of the State. At the same time the Emperor retained financial interests even in senatorial provinces. The following thus became senatorial (or public) provinces: Asia (*i.e.* roughly the western third of Asia Minor), Africa (*i.e.* practically Tunis), Gallia Narbonensis, Hispania Bætica, Achaia, Cyprus, Creta et Cyrenaica, Macedonia, Sicilia, Bithynia, Illyricum, Sardinia et Corsica. The first two were senatorial provinces of the first rank, and were governed each by an ex-consul with the title of proconsul, and three *legati* under him. The others were senatorial provinces of the second rank, and were governed each by an ex-prætor, also with the title **proconsul.** All the rest of the Roman world outside Italy, namely, three-fourths of the whole, was made up of Imperial provinces, including the following: Egypt (where the Emperors, as successors of the Ptolemys, ruled as kings), Judæa, Syria-Cilicia-Phœnice, Galatia (established B.C. 25), Thracia, Pamphylia (established B.C. 25), Galliæ tres (Aquitania, Lugudunensis, Belgica), Britannia (established A.D. 43). Every new province naturally came under the Emperor's authority. He governed his more important provinces (*e.g.* Syria, Galatia) through a *legatus pro prætore* in each—a man of consular or prætorian rank, who was paid a fixed salary in and after the time of Tiberius—and his less important provinces through a **procurator** (*e.g.* Judæa) or *præfectus* (*e.g.* Egypt). The period of senatorial governorships was one year, that of Imperial indefinite. Each province was governed according to a definite statute, which determined the administrative procedure and defined the privileges of individual cities in it. The inhabitants were disarmed and taxed. The oppressive and unjust rule of the Republic was exchanged for a much better during the Empire; and the provinces, at least during the first three centuries of our era, were prosperous and contented. A. Souter.

PROVOKE.—'To provoke' is now 'to try to call forth evil passions,' but in AV it is used in the sense of inciting to any action, good or evil, as 2 Co 9^{2} 'Your zeal hath provoked very many.' 'Provocation,' however, always occurs in a bad sense. It is used in Ps 95^{8} of the conduct of the children of Israel towards God in the wilderness.

PSALMS.—1. Title and place in Canon.—The Book of Psalms is a collection of sacred poems, in large part liturgical in character and intended to be sung. The book belongs to the *Kethubim* or 'Writings,' *i.e.* the third and last group of the Jewish Scriptures. The order of the Writings was much less fixed than the order of the Law and the Prophets, the other two groups of Scriptures; but the Psalms in all cases come near the beginning of this group, and in the modern Hebrew printed Bibles, which follow the great majority of German MSS, they stand first. In placing the Psalms, together with the rest of the Writings, before the ('Latter') Prophets, the EV has followed the Greek version; but in the internal arrangement of the Writings, the English and Greek versions differ from one another.

The title of this collection of poems is derived from the Greek version, in which the book is entitled in some MSS *Psalmoi*, in others *Psalterion* (in NT 'Psalms,' and 'Book of Psalms,' Lk 20^{42} 24^{44}, Ac 1^{20}). *psalmos* in classical Greek signified the twanging of strings, and especially the musical sound produced by plucking the strings of a stringed instrument; as used here it means poems played to the music of (stringed) instruments. The Greek word thus corresponds closely to the Heb.

mizmōr, of which it is the tr. in the titles of individual Psalms (*e.g.* 3[1]). The Jewish title for the whole book was 'Book of Praises': this referred directly to the subject-matter of the poems, and less directly than the Greek title to their musical character. Both titles take into account the majority of the poems rather than the whole; not all the Psalms were sung to musical accompaniment, and not all of them consist of praise.

The Psalter contains, according to the division of the Hebrew text followed by EV, 150 poems; the Greek version contains 151, but the last of these is described as 'outside the number.' This number does not exactly correspond with the number of different poems. On the one hand, there are one or two clear cases, and there may be others less clear, of a single Psalm having been wrongly divided into two; thus Psalms 9 and 10 are shown by the continuance of the acrostic scheme through the latter Psalm (cf. ACROSTIC, and see *Expositor*, Sept. 1906, pp. 233–253) to have once formed, as they still do in the Greek version, a single poem. So Pss 42. 43 are shown by the recurrence of the same refrain ($42^{5.\ 11}$ 43^{5}) to be one poem. But the Greek version is scarcely true to the original in making two distinct Psalms out of each of the Psalms numbered 116 and 147 respectively in the Hebrew text and EV. Probably in a larger number of cases, owing to an opposite fortune, two poems originally distinct have been joined together under a single number. A clear instance of this kind is Ps 108, which consists of two Psalms or fragments of Psalms (viz. 57^{7-11} 60^{5-12}). Among the more generally suspected instances of the same kind are Pss 19 (=vv. $^{1-6}+^{7-14}$) 24 (=vv. $^{1-6}+^{7-10}$) 27 (=vv. $^{1-6}+^{7-14}$) and 36 (=$^{1-4}+^{5-12}$). A very much larger number of such instances are inferred by Dr. Briggs in his Commentary (*ICC*).

The Psalter does not contain quite the whole of what survives of Jewish literature of this type. A few psalms not included in the Psalter are found in other books: see, *e.g.*, 1 S 2^{1-10}, Is 12. 38^{10-20}, Hab 3. And we have another important, though much smaller, collection of psalms in the 'Psalms of Solomon' written about B.C. 63. These, with such NT psalms as Lk $1^{46-55.\ 68-79}$, are important as showing that the period of psalm composition extended beyond the close of the OT.

2. Origin and history.—(1) *Reception into the Canon.*—The history of the Psalms and the Psalter is obscure; and many conclusions with regard to it rest, and for lack of other independent evidence must rest, on previous conclusions as to the origin and literary history of other Hebrew and Jewish literature. Conclusive external evidence for the existence of the Psalter *in its present extent* does not carry us very far back beyond the close of the Jewish Canon (see CANON of OT); but the mode of allusion to the Psalms in the NT renders it very unlikely that the book was still open to additions in the 1st cent. A.D.; and the fact that none of the 'Psalms of Solomon' (see § 1, end) gained admission, and that this collection by its title perhaps presupposes the canonical 'Psalms of David,' renders it probable that the Psalter was complete, and not open to further additions, some time before B.C. 63. Other evidence (cf. Hastings' *DB* iv. 147), such as that derived from the substantial agreement of the Greek version with the Hebrew text, does not carry the proof for the existence of the Psalter in its present extent much further. The net result is that, if not impossible, it is unsafe, to place the completion of the Psalter much below B.C. 100.

(2) *Previous history.*—Behind that date lies a long history; for the Psalter represents the conclusion of a complex literary growth or development. We may note, first, two things that prove this general fact, that the Psalter is neither a simple edition of the poems of a single man or a single age, nor the first collection of its kind. (1) At the close of Ps 72 stand the words: 'The prayers of David the son of Jesse are ended.' This is intelligible if the remark once closed an independent collection, and was taken over with the collection by the compiler of a larger work. But apart from some such hypothesis as this it is not intelligible; for the remark is not true of the Psalter as we have it; the prayers of David are not ended, other Psalms actually entitled 'prayers' and described as 'of David' are Pss 86 and 142; and several subsequent Psalms assigned to David are, without being so entitled, actually prayers. (2) The same Psalm is repeated in different parts of the Psalter with slight textual or editorial variations: thus Ps 14 = Ps 53; $40^{13-17}=70$; $108=57^{7-11}+60^{5-12}$. The Psalter, then, was composed by drawing on, and in some cases incorporating, earlier collections of Psalms.

Our next questions are: How many collections earlier than the Psalter can be traced? How far can the methods of the editor who drew on or combined these earlier collections be discerned? The first clue to the first question may be found in the titles referring to persons and their distribution; the more significant features of this distribution may be shown thus—

1. Pss 1–2 are without title.
2. Pss 3–41 are all entitled 'of David,' except Ps 10, which is a continuation of Ps 9 (see above), and Ps 33.
3. Pss 42–49 are all entitled 'of the sons of Korah,' except Ps 43, which is a continuation of Ps 42 (see above).
4. Ps 50 is entitled 'of Asaph.'
5. Pss 51–72 are all entitled 'of David,' except Pss 66. 67. 71. 72.
6. Pss 73–83 are all entitled 'of Asaph.'
7. Of Pss 84–89, four (Pss 84. 85. 87. 88) are entitled 'of the sons of Korah,' one (Ps 86) 'of David,' and one (Ps 69) 'of Ethan.'
8. Pss 120–134 are all entitled 'Songs (so rather than 'A song' RV) of Ascent.'

The remaining 46 Psalms (90–119, 135–150) are either without title, or the titles are not the same in any considerable number of consecutive Psalms (but note 108–110 and 138–145 entitled 'of David').

Now, if it stood by itself, the statement at the close of Ps 72 could be explained by a single process—the incorporation of a previous collection consisting of Pss 1–72 by an editor who added these to Pss 73–150 derived from other sources. But within Pss 1–72 we have two occurrences of the same Psalm (Ps 14 = Ps 53), which in itself indicates that in Pss 1–72 at least two hymn-books are combined. Again, Ps 53 differs from Ps 14 by the entire absence from it of the name 'Jahweh' and the use in four places of the name 'God,' where Ps 14 uses 'Jahweh' (EV 'the LORD'). So also in Ps 70 = Ps 40^{13-17} 'Jahweh' is twice retained, but thrice it is replaced by 'God.' But the editorial activity thus implied proves on examination to have affected the entire group of Pss 42–83; for the difference in the use of the names 'Jahweh' and 'God' between Pss 1–41 and Pss 42–83 is remarkable: in Pss 1–41 'Jahweh' occurs 272 times, 'God' (absolutely) 15 times; in Pss 42–83 'Jahweh' 43 times, but 'God' 200 times (see Driver, *LOT*[6] 371). Now this Elohistic Psalter, as Pss 42–83 are termed on account of the marked preference which is shown in them for the term *Elohim* = 'God,' is one of the earlier collections embodied in our Psalter; but it is itself in turn derived from different sources; for it includes the group of David's Psalms which closes with the statement that the Prayers of David are ended—a statement which, though not true of the whole Psalter, is true of this earlier Psalter, for between Pss 73–83 no prayer of David occurs. It also includes Psalms 'of the sons of Korah' and 'of Asaph.' Very possibly this Elohistic Psalter has not reached us in its original condition; for (1) the untitled Psalms may have been subsequently inserted; and (2) the Psalms entitled 'of Asaph' may have once stood all together: at present Ps 50 stands isolated from the rest (Pss 73–83).

In addition to the occurrences of Psalms in two recensions and the occurrence of similar titles or groups, another feature points to earlier independent books of Psalms: this is the occurrence of a doxology or suitable concluding formula at certain points in the Psalter, viz. 41^{13} at the end of the first group of Psalms entitled 'of David'; $72^{18.\ 19}$ immediately before the statement that the Prayers of David are ended; and 89^{52}. See also 106^{48} and 150, which last Psalm in its entirety may be taken as an enlarged doxology at the close of the completed Psalter. The doxologies at the end of Pss 41 and 72 occur at points which we have already

found reason for regarding as the close of collections; that at 89[52], however, occurs not at the close of the Elohistic Psalms, but six Psalms later. Now five of these six Psalms are drawn from the same sources as supplied the Elohistic editor, viz. from the 'prayers of David' (Ps 86) and the book 'of the sons of Korah.' In Pss 42-89 we not improbably have the original Elohistic Psalter (Pss 42–83), enlarged by the addition of an appendix (Pss 84–89), in which the name 'Jahweh' was left unchanged, and consequently the form 'Elohim' ceases to predominate.

From the evidence thus far considered or suggested (it cannot here be given in greater detail), we may infer some such stages as these in the history of the Psalms before the completion of the Psalter:—

1. Compilation of a book entitled 'of David' and including Pss 3–41 (except the untitled Ps 33).

2. Compilation of a second hymn-book entitled 'of David' (Pss 51–72, with exceptions).

3. Compilation of a book entitled 'of Asaph' (Asaph being the name of a guild of singers, Ezr 2[41]).

4. Compilation of a book entitled 'of the sons of Korah' (also probably a guild of singers; cf. 2 Ch 20[19]).

5. Compilation of 'the Elohistic Psalter' out of Psalms derived from **2. 3. 4** by an editor who generally substituted 'Elohim' ('God') for 'Jahweh' (EV 'the LORD').

6. Enlargement of **5** by the addition of Pss 84–89.

7. Compilation of a book entitled 'Songs of the Ascents.'

Can we detect the existence of other earlier Psalters? So far we have taken account mainly of titles of one type only and of titles which occur in groups. Dr. Briggs carries the argument from titles to the existence of collections of Psalms further. He infers that there was a collection of **Michtams** or chosen pieces, whence Pss 16. 56–60 and Is 38[9-20] were drawn; another collection of **Maschils** or meditations, whence Pss 32. 42–45. 52–55. 74. 78. 88. 89. 142 were derived; another collection of Psalms proper, of poems set to music, whence the 57 Psalms described in the titles as **Mizmor** (EV 'psalm') were derived; and yet another collection which bore the name of the musical director or choir master (EV **'the chief musician'**), whence the 55 Psalms so entitled were derived. If this be the case, then the composite titles enable us to see that many Psalms stood successively in two or three collections before they obtained their place in the completed Psalter; *e.g.* Ps 19—entitled 'of (or belonging to) the chief musician, a Psalm, of (or belonging to) David'—had previously been included in three distinct collections; and so also Ps 44—entitled 'of the chief musician, of the sons of Korah, Maschil.' Perhaps the strongest case for these further collections is that of the chief musician's Psalter; in any case, the English reader must be warned that the preposition prefixed to the 'chief musician' is the same as that prefixed to 'David' or 'Asaph' or 'the sons of Korah,' though in the first case RV renders 'for' and in the latter cases 'of.' Consequently, since in many cases it is impossible, owing to intervening words (*e.g.* in Pss 12. 45), to interpret such a combination as 'of the chief musician, of David,' 'of the chief musician, of the sons of Korah' of *joint* authorship, we must see in them either conflicting ascriptions of authorship placed side by side, or, far more probably, as just suggested, the titles of collections of Psalms or hymn-books to which they had previously belonged. It is then highly probable that in the first instance such titles as **'of David,' 'of Asaph,' 'of the sons of Korah,'** were neither intended nor understood to name the *author* of the Psalm in question. But if this was so, we can also see that before the final stage in the growth of the Psalter they were misunderstood; for the title 'of David' clearly implied authorship to the author(s) of the longer titles in Pss 7 and 8: it is scarcely less clear that the title implied authorship to the authors of other titles that suggest an historical setting (see, *e.g.*, Pss 3. 57).

Titles of the Psalms.—Inasmuch as the terms occurring in the titles to the Psalms are not explained elsewhere in this Dictionary, it will be convenient to give here brief notes on those which have not already been discussed. It may be said in general that great obscurity enshrouds the subject, and that, in spite of the many ingenious speculations to which the terms in question have given rise, it is hazardous to base, on any particular theories of interpretation, far-reaching conclusions. With few exceptions the titles of the latter part of the Psalter (Pss 90–150) are free from these terms.

Apparently we have in the titles not only notes indicating the source whence the Psalm was derived (see above), but also in some cases notes defining the character of the Psalm (see below, Nos. **12** and **13** and [?] No. **18**), or some circumstances of its use. Thus Ps 92 was to be used on the Sabbath, Ps 30 at the Feast of the Dedication (1 Mac 4[56], Jn 10[22]), celebrated from the time of the Maccabees onward; and Ps 100 on the occasion of offering thank-offering; so also 'to bring to remembrance' (EV) in Pss 38 and 70 may rather mean 'at the time of making the offering called *azkarah*' (RV 'memorial,' *e.g.* Nu 5[26]); see also No. **5** (below). This type of note is more frequent in the LXX, which assigns Ps 24 for the use of the first day of the week, Ps 48 for the second, Ps 94 for the third, Ps 93 for the day before the Sabbath. Other titles, it is supposed, name, by the opening words of songs sung to it or otherwise, the tune to which the Psalm was to be sung (see *Aijeleth hash-shahar*, *Al-tashheth*, *Jonath-elem-rehokim*, *Shoshannim*; see below), or the instruments which were to accompany the singing of the Psalm (? *Nehiloth*, *Neginoth*).

For ease of reference we give the terms in alphabetic order.

1. Aijeleth hash-shahar (Ps 22) is a transliteration of Heb. words which mean 'the hind of the morning'; the Heb. consonants might equally well mean 'the help of the morning.' These words are preceded by the Heb. preposition *'al*, which, among many others, has the meaning 'in accordance with,' and here and in other similar titles not improbably means 'set to' (AV). The whole note, then, may mean that the Psalm was to be sung to the tune to which the song beginning 'the hind (or 'the help') of the morning' had been accustomed to be sung. The renderings 'upon Aijeleth Shahar' (AV) and 'concerning Aijeleth hash-shahar' are also legitimate, but less probable. With this title cf. below Nos. **3, 7, 9, 10, 14, 19** (not all equally probable instances).

2. Alamoth (Ps 46). This term and **Sheminith** (Pss 6. 12) must be treated together. They are preceded by the same preposition *'al* discussed under No. **1**, and accordingly RV renders 'set to the Sheminith,' etc. But it is hardly likely, in view of 1 Ch 15[19-21], that these terms are names of tunes, though they obviously have some reference to the music. The usual meaning of *sheminith* in Heb. is 'eighth,' of *'alamoth* 'young women'; so that the titles run 'upon' or 'according to' or 'set to the eighth' or 'the maidens.' 'The maidens,' it is conjectured, means 'the voices of maidens,' and that, it is further conjectured, stands for 'the falsetto voice of males'; so that the whole phrase 'set to the maidens' would mean 'to be sung with soprano voices.' Thence, it is inferred, 'set to the eighth' means 'sung with the bass voice.' All this, though it has found considerable acceptance and has sometimes been stated with little or no qualification, possesses no more than the value of an unverified and perhaps unverifiable guess.

3. Al-tashheth (Pss 57. 58. 59. 75). The words mean 'destroy not,' and may be the beginning of a vintage song cited in Is 65[8] 'Destroy it not, for a blessing is in it.' Then the note presumably directs that the Psalms shall be sung to the tune of this song (cf. No. 1). But the omission of the preposition *'al* used in similar cases is suspicious.

4. The Chief Musician. See preced. column.

5. 'Ascents' (RV; **'degrees'** AV), **a song of** (Pss 120–134). The Heb. may also be the plural of a compound expression, and mean 'Songs of Ascent.' In the latter case the title of the whole collection has been prefixed to each Psalm (see above). 'Songs of Ascent' *might* mean 'Songs of the Ascent' (cf. Ezr 7[9]), from Babylon, but more probably 'Songs of the Ascent' to Jerusalem on the occasion of the great yearly festivals. On the supposition that the meaning is 'A song of Ascents' (pl.), the phrase has been explained with reference to the 15 'ascents' or 'steps' (such is the meaning of the Heb. word in Ex 20[23], 1 K 10[19f.]), that led from the Women's Court to that of the men in the Temple area; it has been inferred that one of each of these 15 Psalms was sung on each of the 15 steps. Other ingenious but improbable suggestions have been offered (cf., most lately, J. W. Thirtle, *Old Testament Problems*).

6. Dedication of the House, *i.e.* **the Temple** (Ps 30). See above and art. DEDICATION [FEAST OF THE].

7. Gittith (Pss 8. 81. 84). The word is the fem. of the adj. derived from *Gath*. In the three titles it is preceded by

the prep. *'al* (see under No. 1), and the phrase has been supposed to mean that the Psalm was to be sung to the accompaniment of the Gittite instrument (cf. Nos. 15 and ? 16), whatever that may have been, or to the Gittite tune (cf. No. 1). If the word was originally pronounced 'Gittoth' (pl. of *gath*, 'a wine-press'), the note may direct that the Psalms were to be sung to some vintage melody (cf. No. 3).

8. **Higgaion.**—The word thus transliterated in 9^{16} (RV) is *translated* in 92^{3} 'a solemn sound' (RV), 'murmuring sound' (Driver), and in 19^{14} 'meditation.' In 9^{16} it seems to be a musical note.

9. **Jeduthun.**—On the analogy of 'of David,' etc. (see above), the title in Ps 39 should run 'of the sons of Korah, of Jeduthun.' In Pss 62. 77 the preposition prefixed to the term is *'al* (cf. No. 1), and by analogy Jeduthun might be the name of a tune or an instrument. But this is very uncertain; see art. JEDUTHUN.

10. **Jonath-elem-rehokim** (Ps 56). The Heb. consonants are most naturally translated 'the dove of the distant terebinths'; less probably, but as the tradition embodied in the vocalized Heb. text suggests, 'the dove of the silence of them that are distant.' The note is to be explained as No. 1.

11. **Mahalath** (Ps 53), **Mahalath Leannoth** (Ps 88). The words are very ambiguous and obscure, but the fact that in both Psalms the prep. *'al* precedes, relates these notes to the group of which No. 1 is typical.

12. **Maschil** (Pss 32. 42–45. 52–55. 74–78. 88. 89. 142). The term describes the character of the poem, but whether its precise meaning is 'a meditation' (Briggs) or 'a cunning Psalm' (Kirkpatrick), or something else, cannot be determined with certainty. See also p. 771[a].

13. **Michtam** (Pss 16. 56–60, also perhaps in the original text of Is 38^{9}) is a term like the last, but of still more uncertain meaning. The Rabbinical interpretation—a *golden* (*poem*)—though adopted by Briggs, is quite unconvincing.

14. **Muth-labben** (Ps 9). The Heb. consonants may mean 'Death whitens,' and this may have been the commencement of a song which gave a name to a tune; cf. No. 1. But it is not unreasonable to suspect the text, as many have done.

15. **Neginoth** (AV in Pss 4. 6. 54. 55. 67. 76) and **Neginah** (Ps 61). The words thus, in excess of caution, transliterated by AV, are correctly *translated* by RV 'stringed instruments' (Ps 61 'song'), and so even by AV in Hab 3^{19}.

16. **Nehiloth** (Ps 5), often supposed to mean 'wind instruments' (cf. No. 15). But this is quite doubtful. Uncertain, too, is the view that the word indicates a tune; the preposition (*'el*) that precedes is not the same as that which generally introduces what appear to be names of tunes elsewhere (cf. No. 1); but cf. No. 19.

17. **Sheminith.** See No. 2.

18. **Shiggaion** (Ps 7). The pl. of this word (*Shigionoth*) occurs in Hab 3^{1}, possibly by error for *Neginoth* (cf. No. 15), which perhaps stood in the text from which the Greek version was made. The root from which the word is derived means 'to go astray' or 'to reel' (as, *e.g.*, from drunkenness). Hence, since Ewald, many have conjectured that *Shiggaion* means 'a wild, passionate song, with rapid changes of rhythm' (*Oxf. Lex.*). The meaning really remains entirely uncertain.

19. **Shoshannim** (Pss 45. 69), **Shushan-eduth** (Ps 60), and **Shoshannim-eduth** (Ps 80) appear to be different ways of citing the same song to the tune of which these Psalms were to be sung. The preposition used before these words is *'al* (cf. No. 1), except in Ps 80, where it is *'el*, which in some cases is used interchangeably with *'al*. It is curious that Psalms so different as 45 and 69 should be set to the same tune. Ps 80 cites the first two words of the poem, '(Like) lilies (or rather anemones) is the Testimony (or Law)'; Pss 45. 69 the first word only; and Ps 60 apparently was variant, '(Like) a lily' (singular for plural), etc.

3. Dates of the various collections.—Is it possible to determine the dates at which any of these collections of Psalms were made? Obviously they are earlier than the completion of the Psalter, *i.e.* than about B.C. 100 (see above); obviously also the *collections* were later than the *latest* Psalm which they originally contained. One or more Psalms in all the collections show more or less generally admitted signs of being post-exilic. The various collections therefore which we have in the Psalter were compiled between the 6th and the 2nd centuries B.C. By arguments which cannot here be reproduced, Robertson Smith (*OTJC* ch. vii.) reached the following conclusions in detail. The first Davidic collection (Pss 3–41) was compiled about the time of Ezra and Nehemiah; the second Davidic collection (Pss 57–72) in the 4th cent.; the Asaphite (Pss 50. 73–83) and Korahite (Pss 42–49) collections between B.C. 430 and 330. Dr. Briggs places the Korahitic and Asaphite collections somewhat later—after B.C. 332; the Elohistic Psalter (Pss 42–83) and the chief musician's collection in the 3rd cent. B.C. But whatever the value of these detailed conclusions, which are not all very secure, one general fact of much importance already stands out: the period between the Exile and the 1st cent. B.C. was marked by much activity in the collection and editing of Psalms; and this, apart from the dates of individual Psalms, is significant for the part played by the Psalms in the religious life of the post-exilic community.

4. Dates of individual Psalms.—From the collections we pass to the difficult and much discussed question of the dates of the individual Psalms. All that will be possible here is to point out certain general lines of evidence, with one or two illustrations in detail. *If* the detailed conclusions with reference to the collections are sound, a *minimum* date is fixed for many Psalms: *e.g.* Pss 3–41 (except the untitled Ps 33) are not later than about the time of Ezra and Nehemiah; Pss 42–49 and 50. 73 and 83 not later (on Robertson Smith's theory) than B.C. 330, and so on. The collections are indeed post-exilic, but in itself that need not prevent even the whole of the Psalms being pre-exilic: the collections might be post-exilic hymn-books composed entirely of ancient hymns. As a matter of fact, not all the Psalms are pre-exilic; many of the individual Psalms are somewhat clearly of post-exilic origin; indeed, there is a fairly general consensus of opinion that the majority, a considerable body of opinion that the great majority, of the Psalms are post-exilic. Signs of exilic or post-exilic origin are: (1) Allusions to the Exile or the desolation of Zion, as a present or past fact, as the case may be: see *e.g.* $51^{18f.}$ 89^{44-51} $102^{13.\ 16}$ 106^{47} $107^{3ff.}$ 126^{1} 137^{1} 147^{2}. The profanation of the Temple by the heathen alluded to in Pss 74–79 may refer rather to the events of Maccabæan times (B.C. 165) than to 586. (2) Other allusions to social and political conditions, such as the frequent division of the Jews into religious parties, with the use of terms like 'the poor,' 'the pious' (*Chasīdīm*) as party names; but this and other such allusions are differently interpreted and weighed by different scholars. (3) Language such as that of, *e.g.*, Pss 116. 139; style and language in many other Psalms is less conclusive though (granted certain previous conclusions) not without weight. (4) Dependence upon exilic and post-exilic writings: *e.g.* Pss 93. 96–100 almost certainly, and Ps 57 most probably, imply familiarity on the part of the writer with much of Is 40–66. (5) The presence of certain religious ideas which were not developed till late in the history of Israel's religion. There is much variety of judgment as to the number of Psalms and the particular Psalms shown by these criteria to be late, but, as previously stated, it is admittedly large. Strictly speaking, indeed, these criteria determine the date of those sections only to which they apply, not necessarily that of the entire Psalm; and if it can be shown that the obviously post-exilic sections in any particular Psalm are interpolations, the rest of the Psalm *may* be (but, of course, by no means necessarily is) pre-exilic. Dr. Briggs in his Commentary has carried the hypothesis of interpolation far, using as his test certain theories of metre and strophe.

What, then, are the positive criteria for pre-exilic Psalms or pre-exilic elements in Psalms which may show in parts obvious signs of post-exilic origin? Failing such criteria, the Psalms cannot be shown to be considerably earlier than the post-exilic collections in which they have come down to us. The criterion of pre-exilic date most relied on is an allusion to the king; from the fall of Judah in B.C. 586 down to B.C. 105, when Aristobulus I. assumed the title of king, there was no native king of Judah.

Now, since in, *e.g.*, Pss 20. 21 the allusion to the king cannot satisfactorily be explained of a foreign monarch, and these Psalms cannot be thrown as late as B.C. 105, it appears to follow that they originated before 586. Other Psalms alluding to a king who cannot well be a foreigner, or have lived so late as B.C. 105, are Pss 2. 18. 28. 45. 61. 63. 72. Yet there still remains a question of interpretation: Is the king in these Psalms an actual contemporary individual, or the Messianic king whether regarded as an individual or as the royal people of Israel (cf. *JQR*, 1895, p. 658 ff.)? If the latter interpretation is correct (as, *e.g.*, in the case of Ps 2 at least, it probably is), the value of the allusion as a criterion of pre-exilic date vanishes; for a reference to a king who is not a person of history but an ideal conception is not *less* probable in a post-exilic than in a pre-exilic poem. Further, a purely proverbial allusion to the king, such as occurs in Ps 33^{16}, furnishes no valid criterion for pre-exilic origin, nor does an allusion to kings in the plural (*e.g.* Ps 119^{46} 148^{11}).

If, as the previous remarks should have suggested, it is in most cases only possible to determine whether a Psalm is pre-exilic or post-exilic on evidence somewhat widely applicable, and in many cases impossible to determine even this quite decisively, it should be clear that the attempt to fix the authorship or dates of Psalms very precisely must generally prove fruitless. Are there *any* that can be referred, even with great probability, to a particular occasion as that of their origin, or to a particular writer? The mere fact that a Psalm may appear to us suitable to a particular occasion, as, *e.g.*, Ps 46 to the deliverance from Sennacherib in 701, does not necessarily prove that it even refers to it, still less that it was written at the time; the question arises, Is the occasion in question the *only* one to which the terms of the Psalm are applicable, or are those terms sufficiently specific to render it improbable that the Psalm might have fitted other occasions unknown to us, or but partially known? Thus Pss 44. 74. 79. 118 presuppose conditions which resemble what is known of the period of the Maccabæan revolt (cf. 1 Maccabees), more closely than what is known of any other period, and on that ground they have been assigned by many to the Maccabæan period: the question is, Are the descriptions so specific that they might not also correspond to the conditions of the middle of the 4th cent. B.C. (to which other scholars have referred Pss 44. 74. 79) if we were equally well informed with regard to these?

5. The question of Davidic Psalms.—The question of *authorship* retains an interest only with reference to David. The theory that David was the author of Psalms can be traced back as far as the time (not to be dated very precisely, but centuries at least after David's time) when the historical notes were added in certain Psalms to the title 'of David' (see above). Whether it goes back further (except in the case of Ps 18 = 2 S 22; see below) to the time of the origin of the collection entitled 'of David' is less clear, for it is by no means certain that the similar title 'of the chief musician' referred to authorship (see above). Still, we may consider the argument which, based on the assumption that it did, is to the effect that if so many Psalms (as 73 in the Hebrew text, more in the Greek text, and all in later Jewish tradition) were attributed to David, some must actually be his, though many so entitled are demonstrably and admittedly not. In a word, where there is much smoke, there must have been some fire. The argument at best does not seem to justify more than a strong probability that David wrote psalms; and possibly the fact that David was a famous poet, even though all his poems more nearly resembled 2 S $1^{19\text{-}27}$ than the Psalms, coupled with his fame as a zealous worshipper of Jahweh, may be the extent of the historical fact underlying the late traditions. But even granted that the evidence were strong enough to justify the statement that some Psalms of David are preserved in the Psalter, the most important problem still remains to be solved, viz. which Psalms in particular are David's? It will be found on an examination that the positive reasons assigned for regarding any particular Psalm as David's are inconclusive: they often amount to nothing more than an argument that there is nothing in such and such Psalms which *forbids* us to ascribe them to David. There are some Psalms which in whole or in part may not be incompatible with what we know of David's life, but the allusions are too general to enable us to deny that they are equally applicable to many other lives. The Psalm which is most generally claimed for David by those who go beyond the general argument and specify particular Psalms as his, is Ps 18; but many who hold this to be in the main David's feel compelled to treat vv.$^{20\text{-}27}$ as later. An external argument in favour of the Davidic authorship of this Psalm has often been sought in the fact that it appears in 2 S 22 as well as in the Psalter; but the argument is of little value; it carries us back, indeed, beyond the evidence of the Psalm-titles, but the Books of Samuel were composed long after David's time, and 2 S 22 occurs in a section (2 S 21–24) which shows signs that entitle us to conclude that it was inserted after the main work was complete. We may safely conclude thus: There are Psalms in the Psalter of which, if we may remove certain parts as later interpolations, a residuum remains of which it would be unjustifiable to assert that it was not written by David.

6. Character of the contents: the 'I' of the Psalms.—But if we cannot determine the authors of the Psalms, or the *particular* occasions out of which they sprang, we may yet ask, and ought to ask, What type of persons wrote them, what type of experiences do they embody, with what type of subject do they deal? In order to answer these questions, it will be necessary to discuss briefly an important principle of interpretation.

A considerable proportion of the Psalms describe, from the writer's standpoint, the experiences or aspirations or the religious faith of the nation or of the religious community—whether this community be co-extensive with the nation or a group or party within it. The Psalms which most obviously belong to this class are those in which the pronoun of the first person plural is used. These are some 27 in number (see Pss 21. 33. 46. 47. 48. 50. 60. [both vv.$^{1\text{-}4}$ and $^{5\text{-}12}$ = $108^{6\text{-}13}$] 65. [in v.^{3a} Vulg. and LXX read 'us' for 'me'] 67. 79. 80. 81. 90. 95. 98. 99. 100. 105. 113. 115. 117. 124. 126. 132. 136. 144. 147). In another group of 25 Psalms (viz. Pss 8. 17. 22. 40. 44. 59. 62. 66. 68. 71. 74. 75. 78. 84. 85. 89. 94. 103. 106. 116. 118. 122. 135. 137. 141) the personal pronoun is sometimes in the first singular, sometimes in the first plural; this interchange is not perhaps to be always accounted for in the same way; but in some of these Psalms it is obviously the *main* purpose of the writer to describe the experiences of the nation (cf. *e.g.*, Pss 44. 74. 78). Another group of Psalms, not so easily defined as the two preceding, but including some 22 Psalms at least (Pss 1. 12. 14. (= 53) 15. $19^{1\text{-}6}$ 24. 29. 34. 72. 76. 82. 93. 96. 97. 107. 112. 114. 125. 127. 133. 134. 148. 149. 150), are as little limited to individual experience as the first: they are, for example, calls to praise God for His goodness, or descriptions of the character which is pleasing to God. The remainder of the Psalms, about (yet barely) half the whole number, appear superficially, in contrast to the foregoing, to describe the experiences or aspirations of some individual. They are written in the first person singular. But in one Psalm, owing to its peculiar structure, the Psalmist supplies the interpretation of the pronoun of first singular, and in this case the singular pronoun refers, not to an individual, but to the nation (see Ps 129^{1}). The personification of the nation as an individual which underlies this usage occurs often in Hebrew literature (see SERVANT OF THE LORD, § 5). How far does it extend in the Psalter? Is the much

afflicted subject of other Psalms written in the first person an individual, or, like the much afflicted subject of Ps 129, Israel? For instance, does the author of the words, 'Thou wilt not abandon my soul to Sheol, nor suffer thy holy one to see corruption' (Ps 16^{10}), express the conviction that he himself will never see death (for it is this and not resurrection that the words imply), or that Israel will never cease to be? Does the author of Ps 51 make confession of purely personal sins (vv.[1-6]), and look forward as an individual to a missionary career (v.[13]), or, like the authors of La 1^{18-22}, Is 63^{7}–64^{12}, does he, identifying himself with his people, make confession of *national* sins? It is impossible either to discuss this fully here, or to attempt to determine how far the use of 'I' = Israel extends beyond Ps 129. One other feature of the Psalms which superficially appear to describe the experiences of the individual may be noted: many of them break off into perfectly obvious prayers for the nation (*e.g.* Ps 25^{22} 28^{9}), or into appeals to the community as a whole to participate in the writer's experience or aspirations (cf. *e.g.* Ps $30^{4f.}$ 32^{11}). These departures from the apparently individual tenor of the rest of the Psalm are sometimes treated as glosses; and they may be such. Not all of these Psalms need have the same origin: some may have been originally written as national confessions, some, originally of a more exclusively individual character, may have been fitted for use by the community, by the addition of liturgical verses and the elimination of what was too limited to be of general applicability.

Summary.—The conclusion to be drawn even from this brief survey of the origin of the Psalter and the character of the Psalms may be stated thus:—The Psalms as we have received them are sacred poems that reflect more or less clearly the conditions of the post-exilic Jewish community and express its varying religious feelings and aspirations; in origin some of these Psalms may go back to the pre-exilic period, some may originally have sprung out of circumstances peculiar to an individual; but in consequence of editing by the successive compilers of the post-exilic hymn-books through which the Psalms have come down to us, most of the peculiarly pre-exilic or individual characteristics which may have distinguished them originally have been largely obliterated.

7. Religious value and influence of the Psalter.—Probably no book of the OT has exercised a more profound and extensive influence over succeeding ages than the Psalms. Among the Jews, indeed, the Law has received a more persistent and greater attention; but the place of the Psalms in the history of the Christian Church and in Christian experience is typified by the frequency with which they are quoted in the NT. To trace this influence, or to illustrate it as Mr. Prothero has so excellently done in his volume entitled *The Psalms in Human Life*, falls outside the scope of this article. All that can be attempted, and even that but very inadequately, is to indicate some of the leading religious ideas, some of the striking religious qualities of the Psalms. And in doing this it is necessary to emphasize clearly the fact that such ideas and qualities are by no means common to all the 150 or more poems which were written by an indefinite number of writers, and were gathered together in our Psalter. What alone is aimed at here is to draw attention to some of the qualities that are at least frequently present, and some of the ideas which frequently or strikingly appear —to the ideas and qualities which have in large measure been the cause of the great and persistent influence which the Psalms have exercised.

(1) The Psalms occupy a peculiar position in the OT literature in consequence of their character. The Law codifies the customs of Israel which had received the approval of Jahweh; the Historical Narratives relate Jahweh's dealings with Israel; the Prophets deliver Jahweh's message to Israel, and in the Psalms Israel replies. These distinctions are of course broadly drawn, and we may find, for example, in Jeremiah (*e.g.* $20^{7ff.}$) 'contentions' with Jahweh that may be somewhat closely paralleled in the Psalms; or, again, the facts that faced the author of the Book of Job are discussed, for example, in Pss 37. 49. 73, though more briefly, and in the case of Pss 37 and 49 less penetratingly. Yet it is true that in the main the Psalter contains the prayers and praises of Israel, and that they have become classical and stimulating examples for later generations.

(2) But if in the Psalms Israel speaks to God, it speaks as one who has been taught by the Prophets. The Prophets stood alone, or supported by but a small company of disciples, addressing a deaf or gainsaying nation; the Psalmists identify themselves either with their whole people or at least with a numerous, if oppressed, community. The Prophets upbraid the people with forgetting Jahweh, with forsaking Him for other gods; the Psalmists find difficulty in accounting for the calamities that have come upon their nation, which has not forgotten God, but suffers for its very loyalty to Him (*e.g.* Ps 44^{20} [render 'If we had forgotten,' etc.]). The prophet of the Exile endeavours to awaken Israel to its destiny as a missionary nation (Is 40–55; cf. art. SERVANT OF THE LORD); the Israel of many of the Psalms has accepted the rôle (*e.g.* 47. 51. 100). But a full discussion of the manifold influence of the Prophets on the Psalmists is impossible here.

(3) We turn now to the Psalmists' *belief in God*: and here it must suffice to draw attention to two features—the breadth of the conception, and the intensity of the consciousness, of God. The early belief of Israel that other gods besides Jahweh existed has left traces in the Psalter, but is probably nowhere present as a living belief. Some of the Psalmists use phrases that *originally* sprang from a belief in other gods (*e.g.* 77^{13} 95^{3}), but the mere use of such phrases proves nothing as to the actual belief of a later generation that may continue to employ them; we continue to use them ourselves; and often the Psalmists refer to other gods only in order to emphasize Jahweh's supremacy (89^{6-8} 96^{4}), or to imitate the arguments with which the Deutero-Isaiah had ridiculed the gods of the nations out of existence (*e.g.* 115. 135). A deeper effect of the earlier belief may probably be seen in what is in any case a conspicuous and permanently influential feature of the Psalms—the intimacy of the consciousness of God. In Israel the monotheistic idea sprang, not from an abstraction of what was common to many gods previously or still worshipped, but from the expansion of the thought of the same one God whom alone Israel had previously worshipped. While Israel believed the gods of other nations to be real beings set over against Jahweh, it was natural for them to feel a peculiarly close relation to Jahweh, to look upon Him as their possession; the belief in other gods perished, the sense of Jahweh as a close and intimate Personality survived; and not a little of the enduring power of the Psalms is due to the vivid apprehension of God that resulted. Jahweh is the 'living God' as opposed to the unrealities that have been taken by other peoples as gods. Supreme in Nature (Pss 8. 104. 93) as in History (and such He is to many at least of the Psalmists), Jahweh nevertheless remembers and visits man (Ps 8); He abides though all else perishes (*e.g.* Pss 46. 102), and to those who possess Him all else sinks into insignificance (Ps $73^{25ff.}$).

At times, indeed, this sense of possessing Jahweh obscures for the Psalmists the full meaning of Jahweh as the one and only God of the whole world and of all mankind. Not all the imprecatory Psalms, as they are termed, show a sense of the universality of Jahweh's relations. But in others the universal note rings clear (see, *e.g.*, Pss 47. 65. 67. 100).

(4) This brings us to another feature of the Psalms which has contributed to the influence exercised by them—the hope that is in them, their Messianic outlook.

They look beyond the present which for the writers is often full of oppression and affliction, to a future which is sometimes described with some fulness (*e.g.* Ps 72), but is often merely suggested by the call on God to arise, to awake, to reveal Himself; or by some other brief but pregnant phrase. We cannot here discuss how far the Psalms anticipate a particular Messianic *individual*; it must suffice to say that the original sense of many passages has been obscured by specific applications to the life of Christ—applications which in some instances have been built on a very questionable Hebrew text or an illegitimate translation, and that in some Psalms (*e.g.* Ps 2) the 'Messiah' is perhaps rather the nation of Israel, supreme among the nations of the world (cf. Dn 7), than an individual ruler or deliverer, whether of Israel or of the world. But where fuller expression is given to the hope, it often takes the form of the establishment of the Kingdom of God, without reference to any other king than God Himself; the overruling thought is of the manifestation of His supreme sovereignty and the consequent promotion of righteousness and equity among all people (so pre-eminently Pss 96–100). Even in the broadest form of this thought, it is true that Israel occupies a central position, and Zion is to become for the whole world what it has long been for Israel—the centre of religion, the place where Jahweh will be worshipped (cf. esp. Ps 87). No Psalmist has attained to the standpoint of our Lord's teaching in Jn $4^{21ff.}$.

(5) From the thought of the Psalmists about God and their hope in Him, we may turn to their thought of men, which is for the most part primarily of Israel, and in particular to their *sense of sin*.

Judged by their attitude towards sin, the Psalms fall into two great groups: the extreme representatives of each group are very different in thought, tone, and temper; the less extreme approximate more or less closely to one another. In the one group the writers claim for themselves, and, so far as they identify themselves with Israel, for their nation, that they are righteous, and in consequence have a claim on God's righteousness to deliver them from present afflictions (so, *e.g.*, Pss 7. 17. 26. 28. 44. 86). In the other group, confession is made of great iniquity: the appeal for help, if made, can be made to God's mercy and lovingkindness alone (see Pss 25. 32. 40. 51. 65. 85, etc.). The first group stand far removed from the early Prophets; but they have considerable resemblance in thought to Habakkuk; the second group, again, differ from the early Prophets; for though both recognize the sinfulness of Israel, yet the Prophets complain that Israel does not recognize its sin, whereas these Psalms make confession of sin on behalf of the nation (cf. the late confession in Is 63^{7}–64^{12}).

(6) The view taken of sin in both groups of Psalms is best appreciated by noticing how, with all their difference, they are yet related. Some sense of sin is perhaps never altogether absent from the Psalms that lay claim to righteousness, and a strong sense of relative righteousness generally accompanies the most fervent confession of sin. Even in such Psalms as the 32nd and the 51st, where the difference is most clearly felt between God's standard and man's performance, the sense is also present of a sharp difference between those who, in spite of sin, yet pursue after righteousness, and those who constitute the class of 'the wicked' or 'the transgressors.' This attitude towards sin might doubtless without much difficulty become that of the Pharisee in the parable; but it is also closely akin to the highest Christian consciousness, in which the shadow of sin shows darkest in the light of the righteousness and love of God as revealed in Christ, and which leads the truest followers of Christ, with all honesty, to account themselves the chief of sinners. And it is because the 'penitential' Psalms are confessions, not so much of grosser sins open to the rebuke of man, but of the subtler sins which are committed in the sight of and against God only, of the sins which stand in the way of the nation called of God fulfilling its missionary destiny, that these Psalms have played so conspicuous a part in forming the habit and moulding the form of the confession of the Christian man and the Christian Church.

On the poetical form of the Psalms, see POETRY and ACROSTIC. The first edition of T. K. Cheyne's *Book of Psalms* (1882), with its fine original translation and terse notes full of insight, is one of the best books the student can use; in the second edition the translation is based on a very radical re-construction of the Hebrew text, which has not obtained general approval. Other translations are Wellhausen-Furness's in the *Polychrome Bible* and S. R. Driver's *Parallel Psalter* (Prayer-Book version and a revised version based thereon). The most important Com. in English is by C. A. Briggs (*ICC*, 1906–7). Other useful commentaries are W. F. Cobb (with independent translation), Kirkpatrick on AV (in *Cambridge Bible*), and W. T. Davison and T. W. Davies on RV (*Century Bible*). The most exhaustive treatise on the literary criticism and religious thought of the Psalter is T. K. Cheyne's *Origin of the Psalter* (1891: many details implicitly withdrawn or corrected in the author's later writings; see, *e.g.*, art. 'Psalms' in *EBi*). For briefer treatment of the literary questions see W. R. Smith's chapter (vii.) on the Psalter in *OTJC*, and S. R. Driver's *LOT*.

G. B. GRAY.

PSALMS OF SOLOMON.—See APOCALYPTIC LITERATURE, 3.

PSALTERY.—See MUSIC, etc., § 4.

PSYCHOLOGY.—The Bible does not contain a science of psychology in the modern sense; but there is a definite and consistent view of man's nature from the religious standpoint. This being recognized, the old dispute, whether it teaches the bipartite or the tripartite nature of man, loses its meaning, for the distinction of **soul** and **spirit** is not a division of man into soul and spirit along with his body or **flesh**, but a difference of point of view—the one emphasizing man's individual existence, the other his dependence on God. The account in Gn 2^{7} makes this clear. The breath or spirit of God breathed into the dust of the ground makes the living soul. The living soul ceases when 'the dust returns to the earth as it was, and the spirit returns to God who gave it' (Ec 12^{7}). The soul is not, as in Greek philosophy, a separate substance which takes up its abode in the body at birth, and is released from its bondage at death, but is matter animated by God's breath. Hence no pre-existence of the soul is taught (except in Wis $7^{19.\ 20}$), nor is the future life conceived as that of a disembodied soul. Man is the unity of spirit and matter; hence the hope of immortality involves the belief in the resurrection of the body, even though in St. Paul's statement of the belief the body raised is described as *spiritual* (1 Co 15^{44}). The OT has not, in fact, a term for the body as a whole; the matter to which the spirit gives life is often referred to as 'flesh.' This term may be used for man as *finite earthly creature* in contrast with God and His Spirit. Man is 'flesh,' or 'soul,' or 'spirit,' according to the aspect of his personality it is desired to emphasize. The varied senses in which these terms are used are discussed in the separate articles upon them; here only their relation to one another is dealt with. These are the three principal psychological terms; but there are a few others which claim mention.

Heart is used for the inner life, the principles, motives, purposes (Gn 6^{5}, Ps 51^{10}, Ezk 36^{26}, Mt 15^{19}, 2 Co 3^{3}), without precise distinction of the intellectual, emotional, or volitional functions; but it can never, as the preceding terms, be used for the whole man. St. Paul, influenced probably by Greek philosophy, uses *nous* for **mind** as man's intellectual activity (Ro $7^{23\text{-}25}$), and even contrasts it with the ecstatic state (1 Co $14^{14.\ 15}$), and adopts other terms used in the Greek schools. Another Greek term, *syneidēsis*, rendered '**conscience**,' is used in the NT consistently for what Kant called the practical reason, man's moral consciousness (Ac 23^{1} 24^{16}, Ro 2^{15} 9^{1} 13^{5}, 1 Co $8^{7.\ 10.\ 12}$ $10^{25.\ 27.\ 28.\ 29}$, 2 Co 1^{12} 4^{2}, 1 Ti

1[5. 19] 3[9] 4[2], 2 Ti 1[3], Tit 1[15], He 9[9. 14] 10[22] 13[18], 1 P 2[19] 3[16. 21]), and is an instance of the influence of the Stoic ethics on 'the moral vocabulary of the civilized world at the time of the Christian era.' This distinction of the intellectual and the moral functions of personality is the nearest approach in the NT to the modern science; but the analysis is not carried far. It must be observed that in poetic parallelisms 'soul,' 'spirit,' 'heart' are often used as synonymous, in contrast to 'flesh' (Ps 63[1] 84[2], Ec 11[10] 12[7], Ezk 44[7. 9]). The Bible distinguishes the material and the immaterial, the creaturely and the creature, man in his individuality and his dependence on God, but always in the religious interest, that he may recognize his own insufficiency, and his sufficiency in God. ALFRED E. GARVIE.

PTOLEMAIS (Ac 21[7]).—The same as **Acco** (Jg 1[31]), now the port '*Akka*, called in the West, since Crusading times, *Acre* or *St. Jean d'Acre*. Acco received the name Ptolemais some time in the 3rd cent. B.C., probably in honour of Ptolemy II., but although the name was in common use for many centuries, it reverted to its Semitic name after the decline of Greek influence. Although so very casually mentioned in OT and NT, this place has had as varied and tragic a history as almost any spot in Palestine. On a coast peculiarly unfriendly to the mariner, the Bay of '*Akka* is one of the few spots where nature has lent its encouragement to the building of a harbour; its importance in history has always been as the port of Galilee and Damascus, of the Hauran and Gilead, while in the days of Western domination the Roman Ptolemais and the Crusading St. Jean d'Acre served as the landing-place of governors, of armies, and of pilgrims. So strong a fortress, guarding so fertile a plain, and a port on the highroad to such rich lands to north, east, and south, could never have been overlooked by hostile armies, and so we find the Egyptian Thothmes III., Seti I., and Rameses II., the Assyrian Sennacherib, Esarhaddon, and Ashurbanipal, and several of the Ptolemys engaged in its conquest or defence. It is much in evidence in the history of the Maccabees,—a queen Cleopatra of Egypt holds it for a time, and here some decades later Herod the Great entertains Cæsar. During the Jewish revolt it is an important base for the Romans, and both Vespasian and Titus visit it. In later times, such warriors as Baldwin I. and Guy de Lusignan, Richard Cœur de Lion and Saladin, Napoleon I. and Ibrahim Pasha are associated with its history.

In the OT it is mentioned only as one of the cities of Asher (Jg 1[31]), while in Ac 21[7] it occurs as the port where St. Paul landed, 'saluted the brethren, and abode with them one day,' on his way to the new and powerful rival port, Cæsarea, which a few decades previously had sprung up to the south.

The modern '*Akka* (11,000 inhabitants) is a city, much reduced from its former days of greatness, situated on a rocky promontory of land at the N. extremity of the bay to which it gives its name. The sea lies on the W. and S., and somewhat to the E. The ancient harbour lay on the S, and was protected by a mole running E. from the S. extremity, and one running S. from the S.E. corner of the city. Ships of moderate dimensions can approach near the city, and the water is fairly deep. The walls, partially Crusading work, which still surround the city, are in the ruined state to which they were reduced in 1840 by the bombardment by the English fleet under Sir Sidney Smith. Extending from Carmel in the south to the 'Ladder of Tyre' in the north, and eastward to the foothills of Galilee, is the great and well-watered 'Plain of Acre,' a region which, though sandy and sterile close to the sea, is of rich fertility elsewhere. The two main streams of this plain are the *Nahr Na'mān* (R. Belus), just south of 'Akka, and the Kishon near Carmel.

Under modern conditions, *Haifa*, with its better anchorage for modern steamships, and its new railway to Damascus, is likely to form a successful rival to '*Akka*. E. W. G. MASTERMAN.

PTOLEMY V. (Epiphanes).—'Ptolemy' was the dynastic name of the Macedonian kings who ruled over Egypt B.C. 305–31; during the whole of this period Egypt was an independent country; it was not until the great victory of Augustus at Actium (B.C. 31) that Egypt again lost her independence and became a province, this time under Roman rule. Ptolemy V. reigned B.C. 205–182. He married Cleopatra, the daughter of Antiochus III. the Great; this matrimonial alliance between the Ptolemys and the Seleucids is alluded to in Dn 2[43]. During his reign Palestine and Cœle-Syria were lost to Egypt, and were incorporated into the kingdom of Syria under Antiochus III.; this is probably what is alluded to in Dn 11[13-16]; see Jos. *Ant.* XII. iii. 3, iv. 11. W. O. E. OESTERLEY.

PTOLEMY VI. (VII.) (Philometor).—Son of the foregoing, who reigned B.C. 182–146; in 170 the kingdom was divided between him and his brother Ptolemy VII. (Physcon); peace was made between them by the Romans, and they continued as joint kings. In the year 170, while Ptolemy VI. was still sole king, he attempted to reconquer the Syrian provinces which had been lost during his father's reign; the attempt was, however, abortive, and he was defeated by Antiochus IV. It was only through the intervention of the Romans that Antiochus was prevented from following up this victory by further conquests. References to Philometor are to be found in 1 Mac 1[18] 10[51ff.] 11[1-18] 15[16-23], Dn 11[25-30]; and see Jos. *Ant.* XIII. iv. 5–9.
W. O. E. OESTERLEY.

PUAH.—**1.** One of the Hebrew midwives (Ex 1[15]). **2.** Father of Tola (Jg 10[1]). In Gn 46[13], Nu 26[23] **[Puvah]**, 1 Ch 7[1], he is Tola's brother.

PUBLICAN.—This term is a transliteration of a Latin word, which strictly meant a member of one of the great Roman financial companies, which farmed the **taxes** of the provinces of the Roman Empire. The Roman State during the Republic relieved itself of the trouble and expense of collecting the taxes of the provinces by putting up the taxes of each in a lump to auction. The auctioneer was the *censor*, and the buyer was one of the above companies, composed mainly of members of the equestrian order, who made the best they could out of the bargain. The abuses to which this system gave rise were terrible, especially as the governors could sometimes be bribed to wink at extortion; and in one particular year the provincials of Asia had to pay the taxes three times over. These companies required officials of their own to do the business of collection. The publicans of the Gospels appear to have been agents of the Imperial procurator of Judæa, with similar duties (during the Empire there was State machinery for collecting the taxes, and the Emperor had a procurator in each province whose business it was to supervise the collection of revenue). They were employed in collecting the customs dues on exports. Some Jews found it profitable to serve the Roman State in this way, and became objects of detestation to such of their fellow-countrymen as showed an impotent hatred of the Roman supremacy. The Gospels show clearly that they were coupled habitually with 'sinners,' a word of the deepest contempt. A. SOUTER.

PUBLIUS, or Poplius.—The 'first man' of Malta, whose father was cured by St. Paul of fever and dysentery by laying on of hands (Ac 28[7f.]). The title *Prōtos* ('first man') at Malta is attested by inscriptions; it occurs also at Pisidian Antioch (Ac 13[50], cf. 25[2]).
A. J. MACLEAN.

PUDENS.—Mentioned by St. Paul as sending greetings from Rome to Timothy (2 Ti 4[21]: 'Pudens and Linus and Claudia'). For the suggested relationship of these persons and identification of the first and of the

last, see art. CLAUDIA. Pudens is a common Roman name. A. J. MACLEAN.

PUL.—**1.** See ASSYRIA AND BABYLONIA, p. 66a. **2.** In Is 66[19] *Pul* is prob. a slip for **Put** (wh. see).

PULSE (*zērō'īm*, Du 1[12]; *zērō'nīm*, v.[16] RVm 'herbs,' cf. Is 61[11] EV 'things that are sown') may have been any garden produce. The Eng. word 'pulse' belongs to leguminous grains specially, but it is doubtful whether the meaning of the Heb. can be so restricted. In 2 S 17[28] 'pulse' is supplied after 'parched,' but 'grain' would be better. See also FOOD, § 3.
E. W. G. MASTERMAN.

PUNISHMENTS.—See CRIMES AND PUNISHMENTS, §§ 8–11.

PUNITES.—The gentilic name from **Puvah,** Nu 26[23]. See PUAH, No. 2.

PUNON.—A station of the Israelites (Nu 33[42. 43]). Cf. also art. PINON.

PUR.—See PURIM.

PURAH.—Gideon's servant or armour-bearer Jg (7[10f.]).

PURGE.—To 'purge' in AV is simply to 'cleanse *or* purify,' as Ps 51[7] 'Purge me with hyssop and I shall be clean'; Mk 7[19] 'purging all meats,' *i.e.* making all food ceremonially clean.

PURIFICATION.—See CLEAN AND UNCLEAN.

PURIM.—**1. In the OT.**—On the 14th and 15th of the month Adar (March) fell the celebration of the Feast of *Purim* or Lots. This commemorated the deliverance of the Jews from Haman, who in B.C. 473 had plotted their extermination throughout the Persian empire (Est 3[7] 9[15-32]). In 2 Mac 15[36] it is called **'Mordecai's day.'** The observance of this festival was probably not at first universal, but Josephus mentions its occurrence, and it held an established position before the time of Christ. At first no special religious services were enjoined to mark it, nor was there any prohibition of labour. It was a time of feasting and joy, of the giving of presents and alms. In later times it was celebrated by a synagogue meeting on the evening of the 13th and the morning of the 14th, when the Book of Esther was read through, special prayers and thanks were offered, and the congregation ejaculated curses on Haman and blessings on Esther and Mordecai. The rest of the feast was given up to good cheer and boisterous enjoyment of an almost Bacchanalian character. In 1 Mac 7[49] and 2 Mac 15[36], as also in Josephus, the 13th of Adar is recorded as a feast-day in commemoration of the defeat of the Syrian general Nicanor in B.C. 161. But later ages observed it as the Fast of Esther (cf. Est 9[31] 4[3]), the celebration taking place on the 11th, if the 13th happened to be a Sabbath.

The origin of the Purim feast is a matter of dispute. It is difficult to identify any known Persian word with **pur** (Est 3[7] 9[26]), which gave the festival its name. Various theories have been put forward, of which the most noteworthy are: (*a*) that which derives it from a Persian spring festival; (*b*) that which regards it as a transformation of an old Zoroastrian festival of the dead; (*c*) that which traces its origin to a Babylonian New Year's festival.

2. In the NT.—Some have supposed that the nameless feast mentioned in Jn 5[1] was Purim. But this is not convincing, for (*a*) Purim was never one of the great national solemnities which called for attendance at Jerusalem: it was observed locally and not only at the capital; (*b*) Christ would naturally go up for the Passover in the next month. And it is more probable that the Passover is the feast here intended. Cf. art. CHRONOLOGY OF NT, I. § 2. A. W. F. BLUNT.

PURITY.—**1.** Ceremonial purity is acquired by the due observance of external rites. The Jewish law prescribed various regulations by means of which outward defilement might be removed and the 'unclean' person be restored to fellowship with God. But the OT recognizes that moral purity is essential to acceptable worship of the Holy God (Ps 24[4]); the question of Eliphaz expresses the conviction of those who know how absolute is the Divine holiness: 'Shall a man be pure before his Maker?' (Job 4[17] RVm); only to the man who 'purifies himself' can such a God reveal His glory (Ps 18[26], the verb is reflexive). The writer of the Ep. to the Hebrews reminds Christians who were familiar with the OT ceremonial of purification that the voluntary sacrifice of the Son of God is the means of purification under the new and better Covenant; 'the blood of Christ' removes the inward defilement which unfits sinful men for the service of the living God (9[13f.]).

2. In the NT 'pure' has the more restricted meaning of 'chaste' in a few passages. Underlying the true reading of 2 Co 11[3], 'the simplicity and the purity that is toward Christ,' is the metaphor of v.[2] (RV), 'I espoused you to one husband, that I might present you as a pure virgin to Christ' (cf. Tit 2[5], 1 P 3[2]). The same noun is tr. 'pureness' in 2 Co 6[6] (RV); cf. 1 Ti 4[12] 5[2]; also, for the wider meaning of the verb, Ja 4[8], 1 P 1[22], 1 Jn 3[3]; and of the adjective, Ph 4[8], 1 Ti 5[22], Ja 3[17]. See, further, art. HOLINESS. J. G. TASKER.

PURPLE.—See COLOURS, § 5.

PURSE.—See BAG.

PUT, PHUT.—A people counted amongst the sons of Ham (Gn 10[6], 1 Ch 1[8]), and frequently mentioned in the prophets as an ally of Egypt (Jer 46[9], Ezk 27[10] 30[5] 38[5], Nah 3[9]). It has been suggested that it represents (1) the people of Punt (rather *Pwone* in Egyp.), *i.e.* the African coast of the Red Sea with Somaliland, etc.: warriors may perhaps have been obtained thence for Egypt; or (2) Libya, whose people were called by the Egyptians *Paiat* (in the times of the Hebrew prophets the Libyans were the backbone of the seminative army); or (3) the bow-bearing allies *pidati* (?); (4) being generally associated with Lud = Lydians (once in Nah. Lubim), it is thought that Put may be a name for the Carians or other pre-Hellenic peoples of Asia Minor or the Ægæan islands. F. LL. GRIFFITH.

PUTEOLI (modern *Pozzuoli*).—In ancient times an important harbour and emporium, especially for Eastern trade, on the W. coast of Italy near Naples. It was founded by Greeks at a very early period. Such cities were specially sought by Jews and other foreigners, and Christians would early be living there, as St. Paul and his party found them on reaching this port at the end of their voyage from the East (Ac 28[13]). A. SOUTER.

PUTHITES.—A family of Kiriath-jearim (1 Ch 2[53]).

PUTIEL.—The father-in-law of Eleazar (Ex 6[25]).

PUVAH.—See PUAH.

PYGARG (*dīshōn*).—A 'clean' animal, Dt 14[5] only. From its associates in the same verse it may be inferred that it was a deer of some kind. The LXX tr. is, on what grounds is not known, *pygargos*, *i.e.* 'white-rumped' (hence the Eng. 'pygarg'). This description and a process of exclusion—the hart, roebuck, etc., all being otherwise accounted for—make it probable that the *dīshōn* was the *addax* (*A. nasomaculatus*), an **antelope** with a white tail and long, backward-curved, twisted horns. It is rare in Palestine to-day, but is known to the Bedouin. E. W. G. MASTERMAN.

PYRRHUS.—A man of Berœa, father of Sopater, according to the best text (Ac 20[4] RV). For the unusual insertion of the patronymic, see art. SOPATER.
A. J. MACLEAN.

PYTHON.—In Ac 16[16] we read of a young girl at Philippi who had 'a spirit, a Python' (this is the reading of all the best MSS). Pytho was a district close to Delphi; and Python was the serpent at that place slain by Apollo, who therefore was called 'the Pythian.' Hence the priestess at Delphi was called 'the Pythian.'

This seems to be the connexion of the name with divination. Plutarch says that ventriloquists in his day (1st cent. A.D.) were called 'Pythons.' Their powers were considered to be due to spiritual influence, and to include prediction. The girl at Philippi, then, was probably a ventriloquist, who brought her masters gain by soothsaying. She proclaimed aloud for many days that Paul and his companions were slaves of the Most High God, and the Apostle at last drove out the spirit 'in the name of Jesus Christ.' Her masters thereupon, having lost their source of profit, denounced Paul and Silas to the magistrates. A. J. MACLEAN.

Q

QUAIL (*sĕlāw*, Ex 16^{13}, Nu $11^{31f.}$, Ps 105^{40}).—This bird (*Coturnix communis*), the smallest of the partridge family, migrates annually from Africa to Europe, crossing the Sinaitic peninsula and Palestine *en route*; it reaches the latter about March. It migrates in vast numbers, always flying with the wind, and often settling, after a long flight, especially across the sea, in such an exhausted condition as to be easy of capture. The flesh is fatty, and apt to disagree if taken to excess, especially if inefficiently preserved.

E. W. G. MASTERMAN.

QUARREL.—The original meaning of this Eng. word (from Lat. *querela*) is a 'complaint.' This is its meaning in Col 3^{13} AV 'If any man have a quarrel against any.' Then it came to mean any cause of complaint, or any case that had to be stated or defended, as Mk 6^{19} 'Herodias had a quarrel against him': so Lv 26^{25}, 2 K 5^{7}.

QUARRY.—In the story of the slaughter of Eglon by Ehud (Jg 3) we are told (v.[19]) that Ehud turned back from 'the quarries that were by Gilgal,' while after the assassination he 'escaped while they tarried, and passed beyond the quarries' (v.[26]). An alternative translation 'graven images' is given in AVm and RVm, while other versions, *e.g.* LXX and Vulg., read 'idols.' The Heb. word *pĕsīlīm* is applied to images of gods in wood, stone, or metal (Dt $7^{5.\ 25}$ 12^{3}, Is 21^{9} 30^{22}, 2 Ch 34^{4}). Moore suggests the translation 'sculptured stones (probably rude images).' Probably the stones set up by Joshua to commemorate the crossing of the Jordan (Jos 4) are what is referred to.

'Quarry' occurs also in RV of 1 K 6^{7}. The stones used for the Temple building are said to have been prepared 'at the quarry.' AV reads 'before it was brought thither,' RVm 'when it was brought away.' The translation 'quarry' is probably correct.

W. F. BOYD.

QUARTUS.—Mentioned as joining in St. Paul's greeting to the Church of Rome (Ro 16^{23}).

QUATERNION.—A guard of four soldiers (Ac 12^{4}).

QUEEN.—The functions of a queen reigning in her own right would be identical with those of a **king** (wh. see). The queen as the wife of a monarch in Israel held a position of comparatively little importance, whereas that of a dowager-queen ('queen-mother') commanded great influence (cf. the cases of Bathsheba, Jezebel, Athaliah).

QUEEN OF HEAVEN (Heb. *mᵉlekheth hash-shāmayīm*).—An object of worship to the people of Jerusalem (Jer 7^{16-20}) and the Jewish exiles in Egypt (44^{15-30}). The Massoretes evidently took the first word as *mᵉle'kheth* ('work,' 'creation')—supposing that the silent aleph (') had been omitted—and considered the expression a synonym for 'Host of Heaven' (*tsᵉbhā' hash-shāmayīm*, Jer 8^{2} 19^{13}, Zeph 1^{5}, Dt 4^{19} 17^{3} etc.). In apparent confirmation of this view we have the fact that this term seems to be used in a collective sense as equivalent to 'other gods.' On the other hand, many modern scholars regard *malkath* ('queen') as the correct reading, and suppose the cultus to be a worship of the Semitic Mother-goddess, the Phœnician Ashtart = the Assyr. Ishtar (see ASHTORETH). Indeed, Ishtar is called in Assyr. inscriptions *Bēlit Shamē* ('lady of heaven') and *Sharrat Shamē* ('queen of heaven'); but *Malkat Shamē* (which is the cognate of the term under discussion, and which in Assyr. means 'princess of heaven') is *not* one of her titles. The fact that cakes were offered in this worship has little evidential value, as we find this rite a frequent feature in Semitic worship. In Arabia, cakes were offered to the goddess of the evening-star and to the sun-god; and the Israelites offered bread and cakes to Jahweh (see 'Meal-offering' and 'Shewbread' in art. SACRIFICE). Cf. the modern Jewish *mazzōth*.

W. M. NESBIT.

QUICK, QUICKEN.—In AV 'quick' frequently means 'living,' and 'quicken' means 'bring to life.' The phrase 'the quick and the dead' occurs in Ac 10^{42}, 2 Ti 4^{1}. 1 P 4^{5}.

QUICKSANDS (Ac 27^{17}, RV **Syrtis**).—The Syrtes, Major and Minor, are situated on the N. coast of Africa, in the wide bay between the headlands of Tunis and Barca. They consist of sandbanks occupying the shores of the Gulf of Sidra on the coast of Tripoli, and that of Gabes on the coast of Tunis or Carthage. They have been considered a source of danger to mariners from very early times, not only from the shifting of the sands themselves, but owing to the cross currents of the adjoining waters.

QUIRINIUS (AV **Cyrenius**).—In Lk 2^{1-3} we are first met by a grammatical difficulty. V.[2] may be translated either: 'this was the first enrolment that took place (and it took place) while Quirinius was governing Syria': or: 'this was the first of two (or more) enrolments that took place while Quirinius was governing Syria.' The first statement is probably true, but it is likely that the second is what the author meant, because it is certain that a **census** took place during the governorship of Syria by Quirinius (A.D. 6–9), when Judæa was incorporated in the province Syria. This latter census was a basis of taxation, and was made according to the Roman method: it thus aroused the rebellion of Judas (Ac 5^{37}). The fact that enrolments took place every fourteen years in Egypt has been absolutely proved by the discovery of numerous papyri there, containing returns made by householders to the government. One of the dates thus recovered is A.D. 20. There is also evidence in the ancient historians of enrolments held in certain other provinces. The truth of Luke's statement in 2^{2} need not therefore be doubted. The real difficulty lies in the statement that Quirinius was governing Syria at the time the first census of all was made. It is quite certain that he could not be governing Syria, in the strict sense of the term governing, both at the time of the birth of Christ and in A.D. 6–9. This is contrary to all ancient procedure, and the rules as to such appointments were rigid. Further, we have ancient authority that the governor of Syria from B.C. 9 to 7 was Sentius Saturninus, and from B.C. 6 to 4 was Quinctilius Varus. After B.C. 4 we know nothing till the succession of P.

Sulpicius Quirinius in A.D. 6, but it is possible that an inscribed stone may yet turn up to enable us to fill the gap. Yet an inscription exists, which all authorities agree refers to P. Sulpicius Quirinius, stating that he governed Syria twice. Mommsen considered that the most probable period for his earlier governorship was B.C. 3–1, but admitted serious doubts. Ramsay has discussed the whole problem afresh, following out the clues offered by the ancient historians, and has adopted as most probable the conclusion that Quirinius was given command of the foreign relations of Syria during the critical period of the war with the Cilician hill tribe the Homonadenses. Roman history provides analogies for such a dual control of a province at a time of crisis. The date at which this position was held by Quirinius was about B.C. 6. The Greek word used (governing) is a general term applied to the Emperor, a proconsul, a procurator, etc., and is quite consistent with this view. The mention of Quirinius by Luke is merely intended to give a date. The enrolment itself, as it took place in Herod's kingdom, would be superintended by him, at the orders of Augustus, who had suzerainty over the kingdom of Herod, which constituted part of the *Imperium Romanum* in the full sense of the term. The census, however, was not carried out by the Roman method, but by tribes, a method less alien to Jewish feeling than the Roman method by households. Cf. also p. 559[b].

A. SOUTER.

QUIT.—The adj. 'quit' (from Lat. *quietus*) means 'free from obligation,' as Ex 21[19] 'Then shall he that smote him be quit.' The vb. 'to quit' (from Lat. *quietare*) is used in AV reflexively—quit oneself, *i.e.* discharge one's obligations, as 1 Co 16[13] 'Quit you like men.'

QUIVER.—See ARMOUR, 1 (*d*).

QUOTATIONS (IN NT).—The NT writings contain quotations from four sources: (1) the OT; (2) non-canonical Jewish writings; (3) non-Jewish sources; (4) letters to which the author of a letter is replying, or other private sources. It is significant of the relation of the NT writings to the OT Scriptures and of the attitude of the NT writers to these Scriptures, that the quotations of the first class far outnumber all those of the other three classes. Swete counts 160 passages directly quoted from the OT by writers of the NT, including those which are cited with an introductory formula, and those which, by their length or accuracy of quotation, are clearly shown to be intended as quotations. Westcott and Hort reckon the total number of NT quotations from the OT at 1279, including both passages formerly cited and those in which an influence of the OT upon the NT passage is otherwise shown. Even this list is perhaps not absolutely complete. Thus, while WH enumerate 61 passages from Is 1–39, H. Osgood, in his essay *Quotations from the OT in the NT*, finds exactly twice as many—122. Against this large number of quotations from the OT there can be cited at the utmost only some 24 quotations by NT writers from non-canonical Jewish sources (see Ryle, art. 'Apocrypha' in Smith's *DB*[2]; Zahn, *Com. on Gal* 3[19] 5[6] 6[15]; Woods, art. 'Quotations' in Hastings' *DB*). Of quotations from non-Jewish sources the following are the only probable instances: Tit 1[12], Ac 17[28], 1 Co 12[12-27] 15[33]. To this short list it should be added that Luke's preface (1[1-4]) is perhaps constructed on classical models (cf. Farrar, *Life and Work of Paul*, Excursus 3; Zahn, *Einl.*[2] i. p. 51). Of quotations from private sources there are several unquestionable examples in the Pauline letters; 1 Co 7[1] 8[1] 11[2. 17ff.] 12[1], Ph 1[3] 2[25f.] 4[14-18]; cf. also Philem[5-7].

Of the numerous quotations from the OT by far the largest number are derived directly from the LXX, even the freedom of quotation, which the NT writers in common with others of their time permitted themselves, in no way obscuring their direct dependence upon the Greek version. Among the NT books the Epistle to the Hebrews shows the strongest and most constant influence of the LXX. According to Westcott (*Com.* p. 479), 15 quotations agree with the LXX and Hebrew, 8 with the LXX where it differs from the Hebrew, 3 differ from LXX and Hebrew, 3 are free renderings. Westcott adds that 'the writer regarded the Greek version as authoritative, and . . . nowhere shows any immediate knowledge of the Hebrew text.' The Gospel of Matthew, on the other hand, exhibits the largest influence of the Hebrew. In the quotations from the OT which are common to the Synoptic Gospels (occurring chiefly in the sayings of Jesus) the LXX clearly exerts the dominant influence. But in those passages which are peculiar to this Gospel—being introduced by the writer by way of comment on events—though the writer is not unacquainted with or uninfluenced by the LXX, the Hebrew is the dominant influence; 1[23] 2[15. 18. 23] 4[15f.] 8[17] 12[18ff.] 13[35] 21[5] 27[9f.]; cf. also 2[6]. This difference in the two groups of quotations tends to show that while the common source of the Synoptic Gospels was, in the form in which it was used by the Evangelists, in Greek, and shaped under Hellenistic influence, the author of the First Gospel was a Christian Jew who still read his Bible in Hebrew, or drew his series of prophetic comment-quotations from a special source compiled by a Jew of this kind. The quotations in the Gospel of John and the Epistles of Paul, while derived mainly from the LXX, show also an acquaintance of their authors with the original Hebrew. (On the singular fact that the NT quotations from the LXX show a special similarity to the type of LXX text found in Cod. A, cf. Staerk, *Ztschr. f. wiss. Theol.* Nos. XXXV, XXXVI, XXXVIII, XL; and Swete, *Introd. to OT in Greek*, p. 395.)

As regards the nature and extent of the influence exerted by the OT in passages which may be called quotations in the broad sense indicated above, there are several distinguishable classes, though it is sometimes difficult to draw the line sharply. We may recognize: (1) *Argumentative quotations.* The OT passage is quoted, with recognition of its source, and with intention to employ the fact or teaching or prophecy for an argumentative purpose. Passages so quoted may be: (*a*) historical statements which are supposed to contain in themselves an enunciation of a principle or precept, or to involve a prediction, or to tend to prove a general rule of some kind; cf. Mk 2[25f.], Mt 2[18], Jn 19[24], Mt 15[7-9], He 7[1-10]; (*b*) predictions; cf. *e.g.* Ac 2[17ff.]; (*c*) imperative precepts, quoted to enforce a teaching; Mk 12[20ff.], 1 Co 9[9]; or (*d*) affirmations interpreted as involving a general principle of Divine action or a general characteristic of human nature; Mk 12[26], Mt 9[13], Lk 4[11], Ac 7[48f.], Ro 3[4. 10-18], Ja 1[10f.], 1 P 1[24f.]. (2) *Quotations made the basis of comment.* In this case the language of the OT is not cited as supporting the statement of the speaker or writer, but is itself made the basis of exposition or comment, sometimes with disapproval of its teaching or of the teaching commonly based on it; Mt 5[21. 27. 31] etc., Ro 4[9f.], Ac 8[32]. (3) *Quotations of comparison or of transferred application.* The OT language is employed, with recognition of it as coming from the OT and with the intention of connecting the OT event or teaching with the NT matter, but for purposes of comparison rather than argument. The language itself may refer directly and solely to the OT event, being introduced for the sake of comparing with this event some NT fact (simile); or the OT language may be applied directly to a NT fact, yet so as to imply comparison or likeness of the two events (metaphor); Mt 12[40. 41], Lk 11[29f.], Ac 28[26f.], Mt 21[42f.], 1 Co 10[7f.]. Closely allied to these, yet perhaps properly belonging to the class of argumentative quotations, are cases of quotation accompanied by allegorical interpretation; cf. *e.g.* Gal 4[21-31]. (4) *Literary influence.* In the cases which fall under this head the language is employed because of its familiarity, and applicability to

the matter in hand, but without intention of affirming any other connexion than this between the OT thought and the NT fact or teaching. The writer may be conscious of this influence of the OT language or not, and the interpreter often cannot determine with certainty which is the case; Mt 5^5 10^{35}, Gal 6^{16}, Eph 1^{20}, Rev 5^1 7^1 9^{14} 14^8 21^{11}.

As concerns the method of interpretation and the attitude towards the OT thus disclosed, there is a wide difference among the speakers and writers of the NT. It is an indirect but valuable testimony to the historical accuracy of the Synoptic Gospels that they almost uniformly ascribe to Jesus a method of interpretation quite different from that which they themselves employ. Jesus quotes the OT almost exclusively for its moral and religious teaching, rather than for any predicative element in it, and interprets alike with insight and with sobriety the passages which He quotes. The author of the First Gospel, on the other hand, quotes the OT mainly for specific predictions which he conceives it to contain, and controls his interpretation of the passages quoted rather by the proposition which he wishes to sustain, than by the actual sense of the original. The one quotation which is common to the first three Gospels, and not included in the teaching of Jesus, has the same general character (Mk 1^3 and parallels). In general it may be said of the other NT writers that they stand in this respect between Jesus and Matthew, less uniformly sober and discerning in their interpretation of the OT than Jesus, yet in many instances approaching much nearer to His method than Matthew commonly does. The Apocalypse, while constantly showing the literary influence of the OT, contains no explicit or argumentative quotation from it. ERNEST D. BURTON.

R

RAAMAH is called (Gn 10^7=1 Ch 1^9 [**Raama**]) a son of Cush, and father of Sheba and Dedan (Gn 10^{28}). The locality of this Arabian tribe is not yet ascertained. Opinion is divided between the *Regma* of Ptolemy, on the W. of the Persian Gulf, and the *Rammanitæ* of Strabo in S. Arabia, N.W. of Hadramaut (see HAZARMAVETH) and E. of the ancient Sheba. The latter is the more probable identification. Raamah is also associated with Sheba in Ezk 27^{22} as trading with Tyre.

J. F. M'CURDY.

RAAMIAH.—One of the twelve chiefs who returned with Zerubbabel (Neh 7^7=Ezr 2^2 [**Reelaiah**], 1 Es 5^8 [**Resaias**]).

RAAMSES, RAMESES.—One of the treasure cities built by the Israelites in Egypt, and the starting-point of the Exodus (Ex 1^{11} 12^{37}, Nu $33^{3.\ 5}$). The site is not quite certain, but it was probably one of the cities called in Egyp. *P-Ra'messe*, 'House of Ramesse,' after Ramesses II. In Gn 47^{11} Joseph, by Pharaoh's command, gives to Jacob's family 'a possession in the land of Egypt, in the best of the land, in the land of Rameses.' It thus lay in the Land of **Goshen** (wh. see), and is to be looked for in the first place in the Wady Tumilat. Petrie identifies it with *Tell Rotab*, where he has found sculptures of the age of Ramesses II. F. LL. GRIFFITH.

RABBAH.—**1.** The capital city of the Ammonites (wh. see). Rabbah was situated on the upper Jabbok on the site of the modern *'Ammān*. It was distant from the Jordan about 20 miles, though the distance by way of the Jabbok is much greater, for the stream at Rabbah flows towards the N.E. and reaches the Jordan only after a wide detour. The Ammonite city was situated on the hill-top to the N. of the river. From its position it commanded a wide view in all directions, but especially extensive to the N.E. Rabbah is mentioned in Dt 3^{11} as the place where Og's 'bedstead' might still be seen. This is thought by some to be a reference to a large dolmen still visible not far from *'Ammān*. In Jos 13^{25} Rabbah is mentioned in defining the boundaries of the tribe of Gad. The chief event connected with Rabbah which the OT relates is its siege by Joab, in connexion with which Uriah the Hittite, by the express direction of king David, lost his life (see 2 S 11^1 $12^{26.\ 27.\ 29}$ and 1 Ch 20^1). The city was at this time confined apparently to the hill mentioned above; and since the sides of the hill are precipitous (see the photograph in Barton's *Year's Wandering in Bible Lands*, opp. 156), the task of capturing it was difficult, and the siege was stubborn and prolonged. These conditions gave Joab his opportunity to carry out David's perfidious order (2 S $11^{15ff.}$).

From 2 S 12^{26-29} it appears that the city consisted of two parts, one of which was called the 'royal city' or the 'city of waters.' This Joab captured, after which David came and captured Rabbah itself. What relation this 'royal city' bore to Rabbah proper, it is difficult now to conjecture. It is probable, however, that the text of Samuel is corrupt—that we should read 'city' or 'cistern of waters'—and that Joab, like Antiochus III. and Herod in after centuries, captured the covered passage by which they went to a cistern for water, or the fort which defended it, and so compelled a surrender to David. This cistern was discovered by Conder (see *Survey of Eastern Pal.* p. 34 ff.).

The Israelites did not occupy Rabbah, but left it in the possession of the Ammonite king, who became David's vassal. When David later fled to Mahanaim, east of the Jordan, because of Absalom's rebellion, the Ammonite king was residing in Rabbah (2 S 17^{27}).

In the time of Amos (*c.* B.C. 750) Rabbah was still the capital of the Ammonites (Am 1^{14}), and such it continued to be down to the time of Nebuchadnezzar, who, if we may judge from the prophecies of Jeremiah and Ezekiel (Jer 49^2, Ezk 21^{20} 25^5), punished Rabbah for a rebellion of the Ammonites by a siege. Whether the siege resulted in a capture we do not know, but it probably did. Only cities situated like Tyre, which was partly surrounded by water, could withstand the might of that monarch.

For a time the city (one of the Decapolis group) bore the name *Philadelphia*, given to it by Ptolemy Philadelphus (B.C. 285–247), but finally received its modern name, *'Ammān*. It is to-day quite a flourishing city, inhabited partly by Arabs and partly by Circassians. The latter form a more energetic element than is found in most Syrian cities, and give *'Ammān* a greater air of prosperity. The *Haj* railway, from Damascus to Mecca, passes near *'Ammān*, which has a station on the line.

2. A city in Judah (Jos 15^{60}); site unknown.

GEORGE A. BARTON.

RABBI.—The transliteration of a Heb. word meaning 'my master.' In Mt 23^7 it is referred to as 'the usual form of address with which the learned were greeted' (Dalman, *Words of Jesus*, p. 331); in the following verse it is regarded as synonymous with 'teacher.' John the Baptist is once called 'Rabbi' by his disciples (Jn 3^{26}). Elsewhere in the Gospels it is our Lord who is thus addressed: by His disciples (Mt $26^{25.\ 49}$, Mk 9^5 11^{21} 14^{45}, Jn $1^{38.\ 49}$ 4^{31} 9^2 11^8), by others (Jn 3^2 6^{25}). **Rabboni**

is the transliteration of the Pal.-Aram. form of the word; it occurs twice, namely in Mk 10^{51} and Jn 20^{16}.

J. G. Tasker.

RABBITH.—A town of Issachar (Jos 19^{20}), probably the modern *Rāba*, on the S. of Gilboa.

RABBONI.—See Rabbi.

RAB-MAG.—The title of **Nergal-sharezer**, a Babylonian official present at the taking of Jerusalem (Jer $39^{3.\ 13}$). For various conjectures as to the origin of the title, see Hastings' *DB*, *s.v.* Tentatively adopting the oldest and most obvious account, that it means 'chief magus,' we note here that the name **magus** may very well have been applied to a sacred caste employed in Babylon long before it became associated with Zoroastrianism, to which the silence of the Avesta shows it was originally foreign. See Magi.

James Hope Moulton.

RAB-SARIS.—**1.** The title of an Assyr. official who was sent by Sennacherib to Hezekiah to demand the surrender of Jerusalem (2 K 18^{17}). **2.** The title borne by two Bab. officials, one of whom is recorded to have been present at the capture of Jerusalem by Nebuchadnezzar, while the other is mentioned among the officials who ordered the release of Jeremiah after the capture of the city (Jer $39^{3.\ 13}$). *Rabsaris* is the transcription, both in Heb. and Aram., of the Assyr. and Bab. title *rabū* (or *rubū*)-*sha-rēshu*, borne by a high court-official, who may perhaps have been the 'chief eunuch,' though his office cannot be determined with absolute certainty.

L. W. King.

RAB-SHAKEH.—The title of an Assyr. officer, who with the **Tartan** and the **Rab-saris** was sent by Sennacherib to Hezekiah to demand the surrender of Jerusalem (2 K 18f., Is 36 f.). The word is the Heb. transcription of the Assyr. *rab-shaqē*—a title borne by a military officer of high rank, subordinate to the Tartan. L. W. King.

RACA.—A term occurring only in Mt 5^{22}. It is a Semitic word, probably a popular pronunciation of the Rabbinic *rēqā*, a noun formed from the adjective *rēq* 'empty.' Several instances of its use occur in the Talmud as a term of contempt applied to a person devoid of education and morals. From Mt 5^{22} it may be inferred that it was employed as a term of abuse in the time of Christ.

While the general force of our Lord's words in Mt $5^{21.\ 22}$ is clear enough, the significance of the judgments referred to is obscured in the present text. A distinction has been drawn between 'Raca' as denying intellectual capacity, and 'thou fool' as denying a man's religious worth, which cannot be sustained. Our Lord's reference to the 'Council' (*i.e.* the supreme Jewish Court, the Sanhedrin) in v.^{22}, implying its possession of the power of life and death, is especially difficult. The Sanhedrin possessed no such power in fact, nor is it at all likely that our Lord would recognize the validity of such a claim on its behalf even in theory. It was after all only a provisional institution devised by the Rabbis; whereas the 'Gehenna of fire' is a Messianic judgment.

The true meaning and real antithesis emerge clearly if a slight re-arrangement of the text, first suggested by J. P. Peters (in *JBL* x. (1891) 131f., xv. (1896) 103; adopted in the *EBi*, *s.v.* 'Raca,' vol. iv. col. 4001), is accepted. The clause about 'Raca' should be transferred to v.^{21}. Read then: 'Ye have heard that it was said to the ancients, Thou shalt not murder, and whosoever murders is liable to the judgment, and whosoever says "Raca" to his brother is liable to the Sanhedrin: but I say unto you, whosover is angry with his brother is liable to the (Divine) judgment, and whosoever says "thou fool" is liable to the Gehenna of fire.' Rabbinic law is very stringent against libellous expressions, which were to be treated as serious offences liable for punishment to the supreme court (like murder). G. H. Box.

RACAL in 1 S 30^{29} is prob. a mistake for 'Carmel' (No. 1).

RACE.—See Games, p. 282^{b}.

RACES.—The following is a list of the races mentioned in the Bible, so far as they are identified. They are classified according to modern ethnological principles. In Gn 10, cities are frequently classed as tribes or patriarchal personages.

I. Aryans (sons of Japheth, Gn 10).—**1.** Greeks (Ro 1^{14} etc.). **2.** Javan (Ionian Greeks). **3.** Parthians (Ac 2^{9}). **4.** Persians (Est 1^{19} etc.). **5.** Medes (Madai). **6.** Romans (Jn 11^{48} etc.).

II. Hamites.—**1.** Egyptians (Mizraim). **2.** Cushites (Nubians, Ethiopians). **3.** Libyans (Put [Somaliland]).

III. Semites.—**1.** North Semites: (*a*) *Babylonians* (Shinar, Accad, Babel, Erech); (*b*) *Assyrians* (Asshur, Nineveh, Calah); (*c*) *Aramæans* (Syrians); (*d*) *Canaanitish peoples*—(1) Ammonites, (2) Amorites, (3) Canaanites, (4) Edomites, (5) Hivites, (6) Israelites, (7) Jebusites, (8) Moabites, (9) Phœnicians (Tyre, Sidon, Arvad, etc.). **2.** South Semites: (*a*) *North Arabs*—(1) Amalekites, (2) Ishmaelites (Kedar, Nebaioth, Tema, etc.), (3) Midianites; (*b*) *South Arabs* (Sheba).

IV. Unclassified Races.—**1.** Cimmerians (Gomer, Gimirrai of Assyr. inscriptions). **2.** Elamites. **3.** Hittites. **4.** Horites. **5.** Philistines. **6.** Tubal (the Tabali of Assyr. inscriptions). **7.** Meshech (Muski of Assyr. inscriptions).

George A. Barton.

RACHEL (**Rahel** in Jer 31^{15} AV, 'ewe').—The younger daughter of Laban, and favourite wife of Jacob (Gn 29^{28-30}), who married her after her sister Leah. In the quarrel between Jacob and Laban, she, as well as Leah, took the part of Jacob (31^{14-16}). When leaving her father, she stole his household divinities, the teraphim (31^{19})—an incident which suggests the laxity in worship and in ideas of property characteristic of the times. Her sons were Joseph and Benjamin: she died in giving birth to Benjamin.

Rachel's grave.—The location of this is disputed. It was near **Ephrath.** Gn $35^{16.\ 19.\ 20}$, 1 S 10^{2}, Jer 31^{15} indicate that it was on the N. border of Benjamin towards Ephraim, about ten miles N. of Jerusalem. In other places, however (Ru 1^{2} 4^{11}, Mic 5^{2}), Ephrath is another name for **Bethlehem**, as it is also explained in Gn 35^{19} 48^{7}. In accordance with this latter group of passages, tradition from at least the 4th cent. has fixed the spot 4 miles S. of Jerusalem and 1 mile N. of Bethlehem. Either the northern location is correct, or there are here two variant accounts. The former view is probably to be preferred, since Rachel has no connexion with Judah. In that case 'that is Bethlehem' is an incorrect gloss. Cf. also Ramah, **3.**

George R. Berry.

RADDAI.—The fifth son of Jesse (1 Ch 2^{14}).

RAFTS.—See Ships and Boats.

RAGAU.—See following article.

RAGES.—The modern *Rei*, 6 miles S.E. of Teheran, one of the seats of the ancient Iranian civilization, but now a mass of fallen walls and stupendous ruins covered with mounds of *débris*. Its position near the Caspian Gates gave it great strategic importance. It was the capital of Media before Ecbatana, and has the distinction of having been the home of the mother of Zoroaster. It is frequently mentioned in the Apocrypha. In Tobit (1^{14} $4^{1.\ 20}$ 5^{5} 6^{13} 9^{2}) it was visited by the angel Raphael, and there he recovered for Tobias the deposit of silver which his father had placed there. In Judith ($1^{5.\ 15}$) it is said that in **Ragau** (evidently the same place) Nebuchadnezzar slew in battle 'Arphaxad' prince of the Medes. In To 6^{9} read *Ecbatana* for *Rages*.

J. F. M'Curdy.

RAGUEL.—**1.** See Reuel, **2.** **2.** The father of Sarah, the wife of Tobias (To $3^{7.\ 17.\ 18}$ 14^{12}).

RAHAB ('wide').—**1.** The story of this woman, called a harlot, of Jericho is given in Jos 2. The two spies sent out by Joshua to view the Promised Land come first to the house of Rahab, in Jericho. The king

hears of it, and bids Rahab bring them forth; but she asserts that they have left her house and that she does not know where they have gone; she had, however, previously hid them among stalks of flax upon the roof. After their pursuers have left, Rahab comes to them, professes her belief in Jahweh, and adjures them to spare her and her kinsfolk when the attack on Jericho is made; this they promise shall be done; and after arranging that a scarlet thread is to be hung from her window, in order to denote which house is to be spared when the sack of the city takes place, the two spies escape from her house by a rope (Jos 2). The promise is duly kept, and Joshua spares her when the city is burned (6^{22-25}). In Mt 1^5 Rahab is mentioned in the genealogy of our Lord.

2. A name for the **Dragon,** applied also to Egypt. This name is not the same as that just considered, which is written *Rachab* in Hebrew, while this is written *Rahab*. It is the name given to a **mythological monster** who is frequently referred to in the Bible. In Is 30^7 the old myth that Jahweh in the beginning subdued Rahab (=*Tĕhōm*, the 'Great Deep,' the Bab. *Tiamat*) is employed to show that Jahweh will in like manner subdue Egypt (cf. Ps 87^4), and that it is therefore vain for Judah to trust to it. The words in RV, 'Rahab that sitteth still,' imply that Rahab had been subjugated, but not annihilated, *i.e.* it was believed that Rahab was still living somewhere in the depths of the sea; the final destruction is referred to in Rev 21^1 'And I saw a new heaven and a new earth: for the first heaven and the first earth are passed away; *and the sea is no more.*' The next reference to Rahab is in Is $51^{9.\ 10}$, a very important passage, which shows distinctly that Rahab, the Dragon, the **sea** or the 'Great Deep' (*Tĕhōm*), are all names for one and the same monster. The belief is also expressly stated that in 'the days of old' there was a conflict between Jahweh and Rahab, and that the latter was overcome. Further references to the Rahab-myth are to be found in Ps $89^{9.\ 10}$, Job 9^{13} $26^{10.\ 11}$; it is important to note how in all these passages the myth is treated as well known, it is taken for granted that the reference is perfectly understood. [See, further, DRAGON, LEVIATHAN, SEA.] W. O. E. OESTERLEY.

RAHAM.—A descendant of Caleb (1 Ch 2^{44}).

RAHEL.—See RACHEL.

RAIMENT.—See DRESS.

RAIN.—The Palestine year is divided roughly into two parts—the rainy and the dry. The first rains after the summer begin to fall in November, though showers in October are not unknown; and the weather continues intermittently wet until the following March, or sometimes till April. As a rule the first rainfalls, which are accompanied by heavy thunderstorms, are followed by comparatively fine weather, broken by occasional wet days, after which, towards the end of the rainy season, there are again heavy successions of rain-storms. The agricultural value of this division is obvious, and it is recognized by the expressions **'former'** and **'latter'** rains which we meet with in the Biblical writings. The first rains soften the iron-bound soil, baked hard, so to speak, by the summer heat, and so make it fit for ploughing; the comparatively fine intervals give the husbandman time to sow; and the second showers water the seed. The average annual rainfall in Jerusalem is about 28 inches, though this is subject to much variation. In the winter of 1904–1905 nearly 40 inches fell. Such very wet winters are nearly always followed by an epidemic of malaria in the succeeding summer.

R. A. S. MACALISTER.

RAINBOW.—In Gn 9^{11-17} (P) the rainbow appears as the token of the covenant between God and Noah. As the covenant is universal, so is its sign. The Heb. of v.[13] is ambiguous as to whether the rainbow is conceived of as created for the first time (see RVm). Though from a scientific point of view this is absurd, it may well have been part of the primitive tradition. Perhaps, however, all that is meant is that the rainbow received a new significance as the symbol of mercy. Its appropriateness is obvious: the storm passes, and the sun casts its beams over the still clouded sky, marking its return by one of the most beautiful phenomena of nature. So God renews His favour after He has hidden His face for a season. But there may be a further mythological significance. The rainbow may be J''s war-bow (Ps 7^{12}, Hab $3^{9.\ 11}$) which He has laid aside; the Heb. word is the same. So 'it is to the Hindu the bow of Rama, and to the Finn the bow of Tiermes the Thunderer, who slays with it the sorcerers who hunt after men's lives' (Tylor, *Primitive Culture*[3], i. p. 298). It is, indeed, prominent in all mythology. To the Greek it is a portent, or Iris, the messenger of the gods; in the Icelandic Edda it is the bridge connecting heaven and earth (cf. Wagner, *Rheingold*). It is uncertain whether it is alluded to in the Babylonian narrative of the Flood (see Driver, *ad loc.*). In Sir 43^{11} the rainbow is one of the wonderful works of God; in 50^7 it is a type of the glory of Simon. In Ezk 1^{28} it surrounds the throne of God; so Rev 4^3. If there is a reference to the Genesis narrative, it will be the symbol of mercy, possibly typified also by the 'emerald' to which it is compared, assuming that a green stone is meant (see Swete, *ad loc.*). But instead of the word for 'bow' found in the LXX, 'Iris' is substituted in Rev 4^3, as in 10^1. Here evidently it is simply part of the picture, unless there is an allusion to the Greek conception of Iris as the messenger of the gods. C. W. EMMET.

RAISINS (*tsimmūqīm*, Nu 6^3 [EV 'dried grapes'], 1 S 25^{18} 30^{12}, 2 S 16^1, 1 Ch 12^{40}; *'ăshīshīm*, Hos 3^1 RV, etc.; see FLAGON).—Raisins are now, as of old, prepared in great quantities in the Holy Land; the bunches are dipped in a strong solution of potash before being dried. *Es-Salt*, across the Jordan, has long been famous for the excellence of its stoneless raisins.

E. W. G. MASTERMAN.

RAKEM.—See REKEM, **3.**

RAKKATH.—A 'fenced city' of Naphtali (Jos 19^{35}). The later Rabbis placed it at or near Tiberias.

RAKKON.—This name in Jos 19^{46} is prob. due to a textual error—a dittography from the latter half of *Me-jarkon*.

RAM.—**1.** An ancestor of David (Ru 4^{19}, Mt $1^{3.\ 4}$; in Lk 3^{33} **Arni**). In 1 Ch 2^9 he is called the *brother*, but in vv.[25. 27] the *son* of Jerahmeel. **2.** The family to which Elihu belonged (Job 32^2). Some have supposed that *Ram* is a contraction for **Aram.**

RAM.—See SHEEP, and (for battering-ram) FORTIFICATION AND SIEGECRAFT, **6** (*c*).

RAMAH.—The name of several places in Palestine, so called from their 'loftiness,' that being the radical meaning of the word. These are as follows:—

1. A city of Naphtali (Jos 19^{36}) not otherwise known, perhaps *Rāmeh* between 'Akka and Damascus, 8 miles W.S.W. of Safed. **2.** A city of Asher (Jos 19^{29}) not elsewhere mentioned, and identified not improbably with *Rāmia*, near Tyre. **3.** A city of Benjamin (Jos 18^{25}) between which and Bethel was the palm of Deborah (Jg 4^5); one of the alternatives which the Levite of Bethlehem had to choose for a lodging on his fatal journey (Jg 19^{13}); yielded with Geba 621 men to the post-exilic census of Ezra (Ezr 2^{26}); re-settled by Benjamites (Neh 11^{33}). Its place is indicated between Geba and Gibeah in Isaiah's picture of the Assyrian advance (10^{29}). A tradition placed here the site of **Rachel's tomb:** this explains the allusions in 1 S 10^2, Jer 31^{15} (quoted in Mt 2^{18}). Here Jeremiah was loosed from his chains (40^1). The name, and not improbably the site, of this place is preserved by a little village on a hillside north of Jerusalem known as *er-Rām*, which answers the geographical requirements of these incidents.

Near it are some remarkable ancient monuments, known locally as 'The Graves of the Children of Israel,' which possibly are the 'tomb of Rachel' of the ancient tradition. This town was probably the home of Shimei, the **Ramathite**, David's vine-dresser (1 Ch 27[27]). **4.** A place in the district called **Ramathaim-zophim** (1 S 1[1]), a (corrupt) name prob. ='the two heights of the Zuphites.' The latter ethnic can hardly be dissociated from the name of the great high place of **Mizpah** (*Neby Samwîl*). Its chief distinction is its connexion with Samuel. It was 'in the hill-country of Ephraim,' but might have been over the S. border of the tribe. Here Elkanah lived, and here was the headquarters of Samuel throughout his life (1 S 1[19] 2[11] 7[17] 8[4] 15[34] 16[13] 19[18-23] 20[1] 25[1] 28[3]). This is probably the Ramah fortified by Baasha against the Judahite kingdom (1 K 15[17], 2 Ch 16[1]), rather than the Benjamite Ramah: the latter being actually within Judahite territory would not have been accessible to him. This Ramah appears also in 1 Mac 11[34] as **Ramathaim**. No satisfactory identification of the Ephraimite Ramah has yet been proposed. It may be identical with No. **3**. *Rām-allah*, a large village about 12 miles N. of Jerusalem, would fairly well suit the requirements of the history, but there are no definite indications of antiquities there. **5.** By the name *Ramah* allusion is made to **Ramoth-gilead** (wh. see) in 2 K 8[29] and the parallel passage 2 Ch 22[6]. **6. Ramath-lehi,** the scene of Samson's victory over the Philistines with the jawbone (Jg 15[17]), is unknown. See Lehi. Ramath here is probably a common noun, and we ought to render it 'the height of Lehi.' **7. Ramath-mizpeh** (Jos 13[26]). See Mizpah, No. **4**. **8. Ramah** (or **Ramoth**) **of the South** (Jos 19[8]). A town in the tribe of Judah, given to Simeon; to which David sent the spoil of Ziklag (1 S 30[27]). It is quite unknown.

R. A. S. Macalister.

RAMAH (RAMOTH) OF THE SOUTH.—See Ramah, No. **8**.

RAMATHAIM, RAMATHAIM-ZOPHIM.—See Ramah, **4**.

RAMATHITE.—See Ramah, No. **3**.

RAMATH-LEHI.—See Ramah, No. **6**.

RAMATH-MIZPEH.—See Mizpah, No. **4**.

RAMESES.—See Raamses.

RAMIAH.—One of the sons of Parosh who had married a foreign wife (Ezr 10[25] [1 Es 9[26] **Hiermas**]).

RAMOTH.—**1.** A Gershonite Levitical city in Issachar (1 Ch 6[58] (73)), apparently = **Remeth** of Jos 19[21] and **Jarmuth** of Jos 21[29]. **2.** For 'Ramoth of the south' see Ramah, No. **8**. **3.** For 'Ramoth in Gilead' (Dt 4[43], Jos 20[8] 21[38], 1 Ch 6[65] (80)) see Ramoth-Gilead.

RAMOTH-GILEAD, or **'Ramoth in Gilead'** (cf. Ramah, **5**), was one of the cities of refuge (Dt 4[43], Jos 20[8]), assigned to the Merarite Levites of Gad (Jos 21[38], 1 Ch 6[80]). It was in the administrative district of Solomon's lieutenant Ben-geber (1 K 4[13]); the scene of Ahab's last fight with the Syrians (1 K 22, 2 Ch 18) and of another battle with them fought by Ahab's son Jehoram, where he was wounded (2 K 8[28. 29], 2 Ch 22[5]); the place where Elisha's messenger anointed Jehu (2 K 9[1ff.]). That it was a place of some sanctity is probable from its name ('the high places of Gilead'), and arguments, not altogether conclusive, have been offered in favour of its identification with **Mizpeh,** the place of the reconciliation of Jacob and Laban.

The attempt has plausibly been made to identify it with **Gerasa,** the modern *Jerash*—an extensive town in the ancient territory of Gilead, of unknown origin, whose ruins are still among the most striking east of the Jordan. For this identification several forcible arguments can be brought forward. An identification with another place, *Reimun*, rests solely on the superficial similarity of the name, which is always an unsafe guide. **Es-Salt** is another suggestion. On the whole, however, *Jerash* is perhaps the most probable, though final decision must, as usual, be left to the test of excavation.

R. A. S. Macalister.

RAMPART.—See Fortification and Siegecraft, **3**.

RANGES in AV of 2 K 11[8. 15], 2 Ch 23[14] = 'ranks' (RV).

RANSOM.—See Redeemer, Redemption.

RAPE.—See Crimes and Punishments, **3**.

RAPHA.—**1.** A Benjamite (1 Ch 8[2]). **2.** See Rephaim.

RAPHAEL ('God has healed') is the good angel of Tobit. In 3[17] he is sent to *heal* Tobit, by restoring his sight; to give Sarah, daughter of his kinsman Raguel, to his son Tobias for wife; and to prevent the demon Asmodæus from adding him to the seven husbands he has already killed. In 5[4ff.] he appears as 'brother **Azarias**' to accompany Tobias on his journey to Media. Tobit despatches them with the parting 'May [God's] angel go with you' (v.[16], cf. v.[21]), and they start with their dog (a favourite subject with the great painters). In 6[3ff.] he directs Tobias to take the heart, liver, and gall of a fish, manages the marriage, binds the demon, fetches money from Rages, and heals Tobit. 12[12-20] gives his description of himself, a passage which probably became the groundwork of later speculations. (1) He is one of the seven 'angels of the presence' (Lk 1[19], Rev 8[2] [14?], Enoch 90). So in Enoch 20[3] he is one of the 'watchers,' the 'angel of the spirits of men.' The conception is usually traced to Persian influence; cf. the seven 'princes of light' of Zoroastrianism. (2) He is an intermediary, bringing the memorial of prayers before God (Rev 8[3]). The doctrine of the Divine aloofness made it hard to conceive that man could have direct access to the ear of God, any more than a subject could enter into the presence of an Oriental monarch, or that He could interfere directly in the petty affairs of men. See Angels. (3) He is also a guardian angel, being present at Tobit's good deeds, and the companion of Tobias. The long-maintained disguise is a unique feature; the 'eating and drinking' is explained as an illusion (12[19]). (4) He is true to his name, 'the healer'; cf. Enoch 10[7], where he is ordered to bind Azazel (so 54), and *heal* the earth which the angels have defiled; and 40[5], where he is 'set over the diseases and wounds of the children of men.' (5) In Enoch 22 he is a guide in Sheol; in 32, in Paradise.

C. W. Emmet.

RAPHAH.—See Rephaiah, **4**.

RAPHAIM.—An ancestor of Judith (Jth 8[1]).

RAPHON.—A city of Bashan (1 Mac 5[37]), the *Raphana* of Pliny (*HN*, v. 16); the site has not been recovered.

RAPHU.—The father of the Benjamite spy (Nu 13[9]).

RASSES.—A people subdued by Holofernes (Jth 2[23]).

RATHUMUS.—See Rehum, **2**.

RAVEN (*'ōrēb*, Arab. *ghurāb*).—An 'unclean' bird (Lv 11[15], Dt 14[14]), numbers of which may always be seen gathered, together with the dogs, around the carrion thrown out into the valley of Hinnom (cf. Pr 30[17]). Its glossy plumage is referred to in Ca 5[11]; it often dwells in the wilderness (Is 34[11]), and yet God cares for and watches over it (Job 38[41], Ps 147[9], Lk 12[24]). The name *'ōrēb* is doubtless generic, and includes all the eight species of the *Corvidæ* known in Palestine.

E. W. G. Masterman.

RAVIN.—The vb. 'to raven,' *i.e.* prey upon, and the subst. 'raven' or 'ravin,' *i.e.* prey, both occur in AV. We find also the adj. 'ravening' (Ps 22[13], Mt 7[15]) as well as the form 'ravenous' (Is 35[9] 46[11], Ezk 39[4]). 'Ravening' is used as a subst. in Lk 11[39] 'Your inward part is full of ravening and wickedness' (RV 'extortion').

RAZIS.—The hero of a narrative in 2 Mac 14[37ff.].

RAZOR.—See Hair and Knife.

REAIAH.—**1.** A Calebite family (1 Ch 4^{2}), called in 2^{52} **Haroeh** (wh. see). **2.** A Reubenite family (1 Ch 5^{5}). **3.** A Nethinim family name (Ezr 2^{47} = Neh 7^{50} = 1 Es 5^{31} **Jairus**).

REAPING.—See AGRICULTURE, 3.

REBA.—One of the five kinglets of Midian slain by Moses (Nu 31^{8}, Jos 13^{21}).

REBEKAH (in Ro 9^{10} **Rebecca**).—The daughter of Bethuel, the son of Nahor, Abraham's brother, and his wife Milcah (Gn 22^{23}). She was also the sister of Laban and became the wife of **Isaac.** The well-known story of the facts leading up to the marriage of Isaac and Rebekah is told in Gn 24, and gives valuable information as to early marriage customs. Isaac is not consulted. Abraham's servant Eliezer (Gn 15^{2}) is sent to seek for a wife among his master's kinsfolk. The servant proceeds to the 'city of Nahor' (Haran), and, arriving at the gate of the city, waits by the well till the women come out to draw water (v.^{11}). He prays that God may prosper him and give him a sign by which he may recognize the woman Providence has set apart for Isaac. Rebekah comes out and offers to draw water for the stranger and his camels. The servant loads her with gifts, and her family, led by her brother Laban, being convinced of Abraham's wealth, and recognizing the will of Heaven in the selection, agrees to the marriage. Rebekah returns with the servant and becomes Isaac's wife (v.^{67}).

In Gn 25^{21} we are told that Rebekah, like many other favourite wives of the OT (*e.g.* Sarah, Rachel, Hannah), was at first barren, but in answer to Isaac's prayer **Jacob and Esau** were born (Gn 25^{24-26}). Before their birth Rebekah received the oracle from Jehovah, that two nations were in her womb and that the elder should serve the younger. No doubt this story is a late Jewish legend, arising from the desire to find the history of the two peoples Israel and Edom foreshadowed in the lives of their progenitors.

Rebekah again comes before us during Isaac's sojourn in Gerar (Gn 26^{6-11}). Fearing lest the beauty of his wife might excite the desire of the king of Gerar and so lead to his own death, Isaac passed her off as his sister—a course of action which led him into difficulties with Abimelech (Gn 26^{10}).

The destiny of Jacob, her favourite son, was strongly influenced by his strong-minded mother. She was the author of the treacherous plan by which Jacob deprived Esau of his father's blessing (Gn 27). She advised him to flee from his home to her brother Laban (Gn 27^{43-45}). In Gn $28^{1f.}$, however, the motive of the journey is that he might take a wife from the family of his mother, in contrast to Esau, who had grieved his parents by taking a wife from among the Canaanites (Gn $26^{34.\ 35}$). Rebekah died before Jacob's return from Haran, and her burial at Machpelah is mentioned in Gn 49^{31}. The death and burial of Deborah, the nurse of Rebekah, who had followed her from Haran (24^{59}), are reported to have taken place after Jacob had returned to Canaan (Gn 35^{8}).

The character of Rebekah has a peculiar charm and fascination. Appearing first as a pure, unselfish, loving girl, she becomes a woman of great strength of mind and depth of character. She is clever, active, energetic. She can make plans and carry them out, give orders and expect them to be obeyed, but her masterful spirit cannot brook opposition or contradiction. Esau's wives vex her beyond measure. When she loves, she loves with all her soul, and will spare no pains, consider no consequences, or grudge any sacrifice for those she loves. 'Upon me be thy curse, my son' (Gn 27^{13}), is her answer to Jacob when he fears that a curse will fall on his deception. Although that curse fell and her beloved son had to flee and she saw his face no more, yet we forget the scheming, plotting woman in the loving wife and self-sacrificing mother. W. F. BOYD.

RECAH.—A place name (1 Ch 4^{12}) quite unknown.

RECEIPT OF CUSTOM.—See CUSTOM(S), TRIBUTE.

RECHAB, RECHABITES.—**1. Jehonadab,** the son of Rechab, appears in 2 K 10^{15-28} as a fervent supporter of Jehu's attack on the house of Ahab and his endeavour to root out the idolatrous worship which that dynasty had allowed. That his influence was a matter of some importance is clear from the prominent place which the new ruler gave him (2 K $10^{16.\ 23}$). The principles which actuated him are to be gathered from Jer 35, where his descendants refuse to drink wine because he had bidden them abstain from it, build no houses, sow no seed, plant no vineyard, but dwell in tents all their days. He evidently held that civilization and settled life inevitably led to apostasy from Jahweh, the ancestral Deity of his tribe. And the peril was a very real one, because of the inveterate popular belief that the local *baals* were the dispensers of all blessings pertaining to field and vineyard (Hos $2^{5.\ 10-12}$). Hence it seemed to more than one of the prophets that the early, simple period of the nation's life, ere it became immersed in the Canaanite civilization, was preferable to all later developments (Jg 2^{2}, Hos 10^{1}). Again, the self-restraint of the Rechabites reminds us of the Nazirite vow (see NAZIRITE). But the latter did not include so many taboos. It permitted the cultivation of land and the building of houses. It was not binding on an entire clan. A genuine tradition is probably embodied in the Chronicler's statement (1 Ch 2^{55}), that the clan of the Rechabites was connected with the **Kenites,** and this would square admirably with the view that the Jahweh-religion was communicated to Israel by Kenite influence. Subsequently to Jeremiah we do not find more than two Biblical allusions to the clan in question, and one of these is doubtful. Neh 3^{14} reports that Malchijah, the son of Rechab, the ruler of part of Beth-haccerem, assisted in re-fortifying Jerusalem. But if he was a Rechabite by descent, he must have abandoned their principles. The men whom Jeremiah approached were but temporary sojourners, driven into the city through dread of the invader. This Malchijah was doubly a townsman, living in a country town, and interested in the metropolis. The title of Ps 71 in the LXX is: 'Belonging to David. Of the sons of Jehonadab and of the earliest captives,' as though the exiles and the Rechabites agreed in appropriating this poem of sorrow and hope. Finally, it may be noted that later Rabbis found the fulfilment of Jer 35^{19} in those marriages of Rechabite maidens into priestly families, from which later priests sprang. Hegesippus relates that one of the Rechabite priests interceded in vain for the life of James the Just (Euseb. *HE* II. 23).

2. Rechab and his brother Baanah, two guerilla captains, treacherously murdered Ishbosheth, their king, and met with the due reward of their deed at David's hands (2 S 4). J. TAYLOR.

RECONCILIATION.—The word 'reconciliation,' with its cognates, is a Pauline one, and is not found in the Gospels, or other NT writings. The chief passages in which it and related terms are employed are Ro $5^{10.\ 11}$ (RV), 2 Co 5^{18-20}, Eph 2^{16}, Col $1^{20.\ 21}$. In He 2^{17}, where the AV has 'to make reconciliation for the sins of the people,' the RV reads, more correctly, 'to make propitiation.' OT usage, where the word occasionally tr. 'reconcile' (Lv 6^{30} etc.) is again more correctly rendered in RV 'make atonement,' throws little light on the NT term. The *effect* of propitiation is to remove the variance between God and man, and so bring about 'reconciliation.' The means by which this result is accomplished in the NT is the reconciling death of Christ (Col 1^{20-22}). On the special questions involved, see artt. ATONEMENT and REDEMPTION.

Perhaps better than any other, this term brings out in vivid form St. Paul's conception of the gospel. As proclaimed to men, the gospel is a message of 'reconciliation' (2 Co 5^{18-20}). It is a misunderstanding of the

Apostle's meaning in such passages to suppose that the need of reconciliation is on man's side only, and not also on God's. Man, indeed, does need to be reconciled to God, from whom he is naturally alienated in his mind in evil works (Col 1^{21}). 'The mind of the flesh is enmity against God' (Ro 8^{7}), and this enmity of the carnal heart needs to be overcome. On this side, the 'ministry of reconciliation' is a beseeching of men to be reconciled to God (2 Co 5^{20}). But the very ground on which this appeal is based is that 'God was in Christ reconciling the world unto himself, not reckoning unto them their trespasses' (v.[19]). It is an essential part of the Apostle's teaching that sinners are the objects of a Divine judicial wrath (Ro 1^{18}). They lie under a condemnation that needs to be removed ($3^{19ff.}$). They are described as 'enemies' in two passages (5^{10} 11^{28}) where the word is plainly to be taken in the passive sense of *objects* of wrath (cf. in Ro 11^{28}, the contrast with 'beloved'). It is this barrier to God's reconciliation with men that, in the Apostle's doctrine, Christ removes by His propitiatory death (Ro 3^{25}, Col 1^{20}). The ground on which men are called to be reconciled to God is: 'Him who knew no sin he made to be sin on our behalf; that we might become the righteousness of God in him' (2 Co $5^{20.\ 21}$). Believers 'receive' a reconciliation already made (Ro 5^{11} RV). The gospel reconciliation, in other words, has a twofold aspect—a Godward and a manward; and peace is made by the removal of the variance on both sides. See artt. above referred to. JAMES ORR.

RECORDER.—See KING, 2 (6) (*c*).

RED.—See COLOURS, 3.

RED HEIFER.—The ashes of a 'red heifer'—more correctly a red *cow*—added to 'running water,' formed the most powerful means known to the Hebrews of removing the defilement produced by contact with a dead body. The method of preparing the ashes and the regulations for the application of the 'water of impurity' (see below) are the subject of a special section of the Priests' Code (Nu 19). It will be advisable to summarize the contents of the chapter, in the first place, and thereafter to inquire into the significance of the rite in the light of recent anthropological research.

1. The chapter above cited consists of two parts; the first part, vv.[1-13], gives instructions for the preparation of the ashes, and (vv.[11-13]) for the removal by their means of the defilement contracted by actual contact with the dead body. The second part, vv.[14-22], is an expansion of vv.[12f.], extending the application of 'the water of impurity' to uncleanness arising from a variety of sources connected with death.

The animal whose ashes acquired this special virtue had to be of the female sex, of a red, or rather reddish-brown, colour, physically without blemish, and one that had never borne the yoke. The duty of superintending the burning, which took place 'without the camp,' was entrusted to a deputy of the high priest. The actual burning, however, was carried through by a lay assistant, which fact, taken along with the detail (v.[5]) that every particle of the animal, *including the blood*, was burned, shows that we have not to do here with a ritual sacrifice, as might be inferred from the EV of v.[9]. The word there rendered 'sin-offering' properly denotes in this connexion (cf. 8[7]) 'a purification for sin' (*Oxf. Heb. Lex.* 310[a]; cf. SACRIFICE, § 14). The priest's share in the ceremony was confined to the sprinkling of some of the blood 'toward the front of the tent of meeting' (v.[4] RV), in token of the dedication of the animal to J", and to the casting into the burning mass of a piece of cedar wood and a bunch of hyssop bound with a piece of scarlet cloth (such, at least, is the regulation of the Mishna treatise dealing with this subject).

A third person—the priest and his assistant having themselves become 'unclean' through contact with these sacred things (see below)—now gathered the ashes and laid them up 'without the camp in a clean place,' to be used as occasion required. The special name given to the mixture of 'running water' (v.[17], lit. 'living water,' *i.e.* water from a spring, not a cistern) and the ashes is properly 'water of impurity' (v.[9. 13. 20. 21]—so RVm; Amer. RV 'water for impurity'; EV **water of separation**), *i.e.* water for the removal of impurity or uncleanness. This powerful cathartic was applied to the person or thing to be cleansed, either by being thrown over them (see Gray, *Com.* on v.[13]), or by being sprinkled with a sprinkler of hyssop (v.[18]). This was done on the third and seventh days, after which the defiled person washed his person and garments, and was then restored to the privileges of the cult and the community. The only other reference to 'the water of impurity' is in the late passage, Nu 31^{23}.

2. The clue to the significance of the rite above described is found in the primitive conception of uncleanness, as this has been disclosed by modern anthropological research (see CLEAN AND UNCLEAN). In all primitive societies a dead body in particular is regarded as not only unclean in itself, but as capable of infecting with uncleanness all who come in contact with it or are even in proximity to it. The Semites shared these ideas with primitive communities in every part of the world. Hence, although the literary formulation of the rite of the Red Heifer in Nu 19 may be late, the ideas and practices thereof are certainly older than the Hebrews themselves.

While the central idea of the rite—the efficacy of **ashes** as a cathartic, due probably to their connexion with fire (cf. Nu 31^{23}, and Farnell, *The Evolution of Religion*, 101 n.)—has its parallels elsewhere, the original significance of several of the details is still very obscure. This applies, for example, to the red colour of the cow, and to the addition to her ashes of the 'cedar wood and hyssop and scarlet' (for various suggestions see, in addition to Gray, *op. cit.*, Hastings' *DB* iv. 208 ff.; Bewer in *JBL* xxiv. (1905) 42 ff., who suggests that the cow may have been originally a sacrifice to the dead).

The value of the chapter for the student of Hebrew ritual lies in the illustration it affords of the primitive conceptions of uncleanness, especially of the uncleanness of the dead, and of the 'contagiousness of holiness,' the nature of which has been so clearly expounded by Robertson Smith (see *RS*[2] 446[ff.] 'Holiness, Uncleanness, and Taboo'). The ashes of the red heifer and the water of impurity here appear, in virtue of their intense 'holiness,' as 'a conducting vehicle of a dangerous spiritual electricity' (Farnell, *op. cit.* 95), and have the same power as the dead body of rendering unclean all who come in contact with them (see vv.[7ff. 21f.] and art. CLEAN AND UNCLEAN).

There are no inventions in ritual, it has been said, only survivals, and in the rite under review we have one of the most interesting of these survivals. The remarks made in a previous article (ATONEMENT [DAY OF]) are equally applicable to the present case. As re-interpreted by the compilers of the Priests' Code, the rite conveys, in striking symbolism, the eternal truth that purity and holiness are the essential characteristics of the people of God. A. R. S. KENNEDY.

RED SEA.—The body of water, over 1000 miles in length, which divides Africa from Arabia. The Biblical interest of the name centres at its northern end in its two projections, the Gulf of Suez, running north-west, and the Bay of Akabah almost due north. The former once extended much farther to the north, along the route of the present Suez Canal. Anciently it was known as the Gulf of Heroöpolis, running as far north as the Bitter Lakes. In this region it is probable that the passage of the sea described in Ex 14 took place, though it has been located by some at the present Suez, and by others still farther south.

This primitive extension of the gulf to the north,

the region of weeds, probably accounts for its name, *Yam Suph*, '**sea of weeds**' (Ex 10[19] 15[4]), which was later applied also to the eastern extension, the Bay of Akabah (Nu 21[4]), to the entire body of water now known as the Red Sea, stretching from the *Ras Mohammed* southward to the straits, and perhaps even to the Persian Gulf (Ex 23[31]). No satisfactory explanation of the term 'red' (Gr. *Erythra*, Lat. *Rubrum*) has been found.

Biblical history is concerned with the western gulf (Suez, 130 m. long) only in connexion with the Exodus. Those who locate Mt. Sinai in the peninsula between the two gulfs, either at Mt. Serbal or at Jebel Musa, trace the route of the wanderings down the eastern shore of this water as far as *Ras Abu Zenimeh*, or (with Shaw, Pococke, etc.) as far as *Tor*, and then through the mountain wadys to Sinai. Those who locate the mountain of the Law farther north in the region north of Akabah, trace the wanderings directly eastward from the sea (Jg 11[16]).

The Bay of Akabah, 90 m. long, lies in the southern end of the long trench which extends from the Red Sea proper northward to the Lebanons, the upper portion of which is occupied by the Jordan and the Dead Sea. Between the latter and the Bay of Akabah lies the **Arabah**. At the northern end was an important maritime highway in the reign of Solomon. At the harbour of **Ezion-geber** (near to, or perhaps the same as, Elath), at its northern end, Solomon built his navy, with the help of Phœnician seamen (1 K 9[26]), and sent out expeditions to India. Jehoshaphat was less successful (1 K 22[48]). H. L. Willett.

REDEEMER, REDEMPTION.—Redemption means in strictness deliverance by payment of a *price* or *ransom*, hence, metaphorically, at any great cost or sacrifice; but in the OT, outside the Law (especially in Deut., Psalms, Isaiah), is often used also of deliverance simply, as from oppression, violence, sickness, captivity, death —redemption by *power*. The typical redemption in the OT was the deliverance of Israel from Egypt (cf. Is 51[9-11]).

Two words, with their derivatives, are used in the OT to express the idea. The one, *gā'al* (from which *gô'ēl*, 'redeemer'), is used technically of redemption of an inheritance, of tithes, and the like; in a wider sense it is a favourite term in the later Psalms and Deutero-Isaiah. The other, *pādhāh*, is frequent in Deut. and in the earlier Psalms. The *gô'el* is the kinsman who has the right to redeem; the term is used also of the 'avenger of blood' (Nu 35[12] etc.); elsewhere, as in Job 19[25], Ps 19[14] etc., but especially in Deutero-Isaiah, it denotes Jehovah as the vindicator, deliverer, and avenger of His people (cf. Is 40[14] 43[14] etc.). The NT, likewise, employs two words—one *agorazō*, 'to buy *or* purchase' (1 Co 6[20] 7[23], 2 P 2[1], Rev 5[9] 14[3. 4]; St. Paul uses a compound form in Gal 3[13] 4[5]); the other, and more usual, *lutroumai* (from *lutron*, 'a ransom'), and its derivatives. The special Pauline word for redemption is *apolutrōsis* (Ro 3[24] 8[23], 1 Co 1[30], Eph 1[7] etc.). In Ro 11[26] 'Deliverer' is used for the OT 'Redeemer' (Is 59[20]).

In pious circles in Israel the coming Messianic salvation was viewed as a 'redemption' (Lk 2[38]), in which, possibly, political deliverance was included, but in which the main blessings were spiritual—knowledge of salvation, remission of sins, holiness, guidance, peace (Lk 1[74-79]). In Christ's own teaching the political aspect altogether disappears, and the salvation He brings in is something wholly spiritual. He connects it with His Person, and in certain well-known passages with His death (Jn 3[14-16] 6[51-56], Mt 20[28] ‖ and 26[26-28] ‖ etc.). In the Apostolic teaching (Acts, Paul, Peter, Heb., Rev.) Christ's work is distinctively a 'redemption.' Redemption, moreover, is not used here simply in the general sense of deliverance, but with definite emphasis on the idea of purchase (Ac 20[28], 1 Co 6[20], Eph 1[7], 1 Ti 2[9], 1 P 1[18. 19], Rev 5[9] etc.). This glances back to Christ's own saying that He came 'to give his life a ransom (*lutron*; cf. *antilutron* in 1 Ti 2[6]) for many' (Mt 20[28]). Further, 'ransom,' 'price,' 'purchase,' 'redeem,' are not to be taken simply figuratively, in the sense that Christ has procured salvation for us at the cost of great suffering, even of death, to Himself. This is true; but the consensus of Apostolic teaching gives a much more definite interpretation to the language; one in accordance with Christ's own intimation. His death was an expiatory sacrifice by which those who avail themselves of it are literally redeemed from the wrath of God that rested on them, and from all other effects of sin. It is St. Paul who works out this idea most systematically (cf. Ro 3[23-26], 2 Co 5[18-21], Gal 3[10-13] 4[4. 5], Tit 3[14] etc.), though all the NT writers share it. The immediate effect of Christ's redeeming death is to free from guilt and annul condemnation (Ro 8[1. 33. 34]), but it carries in its train deliverance from sin in every form (from sin's dominion, from the tyranny of Satan, from an evil world, from 'all iniquity,' Ro 6, Gal 1[4], Tit 2[14], He 2[14] etc.); ultimately from death itself (Ro 8[23]). It not merely redeems from evil, but puts in possession of the highest possible good—'eternal life' (Ro 6[23], Eph 1[3] etc.). It is a redemption in every way complete. See, further, artt. Atonement, Propitiation, Reconciliation, Salvation. James Orr.

REED.—**1.** *qāneh*, tr. 'reed,' 1 K 14[15], 2 K 18[21], Is 36[6] 42[3]; 'stalk,' Gn 41[5. 22]; 'sweet cane' (RVm '*calamus*'), Is 43[24], Jer 6[20]; 'calamus,' Ca 4[14], Ezk 27[19]; 'spearmen,' Ps 68[30] (AV, but RV 'reeds'); also metaphorically used for a 'bone,' Job 31[22]; the arm of 'a balance,' Is 46[6]; and 'branches' of a candlestick, Ex 25[31. 32]. The *qāneh* is probably the familiar *qasāb* (*Arundo donax*), which flourishes on the banks of all the streams and lakes of the Jordan Valley. Miles of it are to be seen at the '*Aïn Feshkhah* oasis on the Dead Sea shore, and at the Huleh marshes. It is a lofty reed, often 20 feet high, brilliantly green in the late summer, when all around is dry and bare; but dead-looking, from a distance, in the spring, when it stands in full flower and the lofty stems are crowned by beautiful silken pannicles. In the district mentioned the reeds are cleared from time to time by fire, that the young and tender shoots may grow up to afford fodder for cattle. The covert of the reeds is often the only possible shade (Job 40[21]). The bruised reed, which, though standing, a touch will cause to fall and lie bedraggled on the ground, is a familiar sight (2 K 18[21], Is 36[6], Ezk 29[6-7]). A reed forms a most convenient **measuring-rod**, being straight and light (Ezk 40[3. 5], Rev 11[1] etc.). In certain passages where *qāneh* is tr. '**calamus**,' **or** '**sweet cane**,' some imported aromatic cane or bark is meant. For the use of reeds as pens, see Writing, **6.**

2. '*ārōth*, Is 19[7] (AV '**paper reeds**,' RV 'meadows'). See Meadow.

3. '*ăgammīm*, lit. 'pools' (see Pool), is in Jer 51[32] tr. 'reeds.' For bulrushes see Rush.

4. '*āchū*, Job 8[11] EV '**flag**,' RVm 'reed-grass.' See Meadow.

5. '*ēbeh*, Job 9[26] (RVm 'reed'). The reference is to light skiffs of papyrus. E. W. G. Masterman.

REELAIAH.—See Raamiah.

REELIAS, 1 Es 5[8], corresponds in position to **Bigvai** in Ezr 2[2], Neh 7[7]; the form of the name may be due to a duplication of **Reelaiah** in the same verse of Ezra.

REFINER, REFINING.—The ancient Egyptians purified gold by putting it into earthen crucibles with lead, salt, a little tin, and barley bran, sealing the crucibles with clay, and then exposing them to the heat of a furnace for five days and nights. Refining silver by cupellation is a very old process. The silver mixed with lead is put into a crucible made of bone earth, and placed in a reverberatory furnace. As the oxide of lead forms, it is blown off by bellows, and towards the end of the process the thin covering of oxide becomes iridescent and soon disappears, and the pure bright surface of the silver flashes out. This process of refining silver is referred to in Jer 6[29]. The

reference in Mal 3[2f.] is to the purifying influence of affliction on the people of God; their sinful impurities gradually disappear, and at last the Divine image is reflected from the soul, as the face of the refiner from the surface of the purified silver.

REFUGE, CITIES OF.—1. Origin of the right of asylum.—The city of refuge was the product of two primitive religious ideas that were employed to neutralize one another,—the sacredness of blood or life and the sacredness of locality; both were based on the presence of the Divine in the blood and the locality. There was a community of blood or life between the god and his people that made it an unpardonable offence to slay one of his people; it mattered not whether the slayer was within or without his people, whether the deed was intentional or accidental. A wrong had been done that could be atoned for only by blood (Robertson Smith, *RS*, [1907] p. 32 ff.). On the other hand, the god chose certain places for his manifestation, and there it was customary for his people to meet and worship him. Within the precincts claimed by his presence all life was sacred, and so it came about that even a **murderer**, if he escaped to the haunts of a god, would be safe from those to whom he had forfeited his life, so long as he remained within their sacred limits (*ib.* p. 148 f.). The murderer thus escaped the penalty of his wrong, but he remained an ineffective unit for his tribe; immediately he left the asylum of the god he was at the mercy of the **avenger of blood,** and so both tribe and individual were in a measure punished. This primitive usage still prevails in savage communities, and has been widened by extending the privilege of asylum to places occupied by former kings and to the graves of former rulers (Frazer, *Fort. Review*, 1899, pp. 650–654).

2. Development of asylum in OT.—In this absolute form the right of asylum is not recognized anywhere in the OT. It is extended only to one who has without intention committed **homicide** (Ex 21[13]). One who has treacherously sullied his hands with blood can find no refuge at the altar of God; he may be taken from it to death (Ex 21[14]), or he may even be struck down at the altar, as was the fate of Joab (1 K 2[30. 31. 34]). The community came between the fugitive and the avenger of blood, and determined whether he should be handed over to death. This was likely the result of the fusion of different tribes and the necessity of recognizing one common authority. We can trace three stages of development of this right of asylum in the OT.

(1) Every **altar** or **sanctuary** in the land could extend its protection to one who had without intention taken the life of another. He had to justify his claim to protection by showing to the authorities of the sanctuary that his deed was unpremeditated. But after the fugitive had submitted satisfactory evidence, he was allowed to remain within the sacred precincts. He could not, however, return home, and had evidently to pass the remainder of his life in the refuge to which he had fled. He could not appease the avenger by money. His want of prudence must entail some punishment, and so he could not pass beyond the city boundaries without risk of death at the hands of the avenger of blood. What provision was made for his maintenance is not revealed, but very likely he had to win his subsistence by his work. Whether his family could join him in his asylum is a question that is also unanswered. This is the stage of development in Ex 21[13. 14], 1 K 1[50] 2[28. 34]. It is not at all likely that Joab's death was brought about at the altar in Jerusalem because of some exceptional authority exercised over it by the king. Joab evidently knew he could be put to death there (1 K 2[39]).

(2) When the provincial high places and altars were suppressed by Josiah in B.C. 621, the right of asylum there fell with them, and provision had to be made for the continuance of ancient usage on a modified basis. Very likely there was less need for it, as the power of the Crown had been growing. Cities of refuge, situated at convenient distances, were set apart for the **manslayer** (Dt 19[2-7]), and it may even be that the roads thither were specially kept and marked to make escape easy (Dt 19[3]; but cf. Steuernagel, *Deut.* p. 71 f.). The fugitive had to justify his claim to protection by showing to the elders of the city whither he had fled his innocence of murderous motives. Any one who failed to convince them of the validity of his defence was handed over to the elders of his own city, and they in turn surrendered him to the avenger of blood. Practically, then, the community administered justice, but when the death penalty was to be exacted, it was exacted not by the community, but by the avenger of blood in accordance with primitive usage (Dt 19[12. 13]).

(3) In post-exilic times the cities of refuge established under the Deuteronomic Code remained, and the judicial procedure followed was very much the same, only the community—presumably at Jerusalem—and not the elders of the city of refuge (Nu 35[12. 24. 25]) was to determine the guilt or the innocence of the fugitive. Jos 20[4], however, contemplates a provisional inquiry by the elders of the city before protection is granted. The law was mitigated so far that the unwitting manslayer was no longer doomed to spend all his days there but was free to return to his home on the death of the high priest of the time (Nu 35[25. 28], Jos 20[6]). This points to the post-exilic origin of this modification. The high priest was then the only constituted authority that Jewish law could recognize.

3. Number of cities of refuge.—The statements bearing on the number of the cities of refuge are conflicting (Nu 35[11. 13-15], Dt 4[41-43] 19[7-10], Jos 20[2. 7. 8]; cf. Driver, *Deut.* pp. 78, 233; Gray, *Num.* p. 469). Ultimately there were six, but at first there appear to have been only three (Dt 19[2. 7]). They were established first in the time of Josiah when the boundaries and the population of the Jewish State would be comparatively small, and Jewish authority did not likely cross the Jordan to the east. In such conditions three cities would be ample. But when in post-exilic times the Jews covered a wider area, there would naturally be need for more cities; and so we find the number in Numbers and Joshua stated at six, and additions made to the text in Dt 4[41-43] and 19[8] to suggest that the number six had been contemplated from the beginning. These six cities were Kedesh, Shechem, and Hebron on the west,—all well-known sanctuaries from early times,—and Golan, Ramoth, and Bezer on the east. Of the situation of these last we know nothing definitely; even the site of Ramoth, to which reference is made elsewhere in the OT (1 K 4[13] 22[3ff.]), is a subject of doubt (see G. A. Smith, *HGHL* p. 587; Driver, *Deut.* xviii, xix), but they probably shared the sacred character of the cities on the west.

J. Gilroy.

REFUSE.—The vb. 'to refuse' has lost much of its vigour. In AV it often means 'to reject.' Thus Ps 118[22] 'The stone which the builders refused.' Cf. Tindale's trans. of Mt 24[40] 'Then two shalbe in the feldes, the one shalbe receaved, and the other shalbe refused.'

REGEM.—The eponym of a Calebite family (1 Ch 2[47]).

REGEM-MELECH.—One of the deputation sent to the prophet Zechariah (Zec 7[2]).

REGENERATION.—In the language of theology, 'regeneration' denotes that decisive spiritual change, effected by God's Holy Spirit, in which a soul, naturally estranged from God, and ruled by sinful principles, is renewed in disposition, becomes the subject of holy affections and desires, and enters on a life of progressive sanctification, the issue of which is complete likeness to Christ. The term, however, to which this

word corresponds (Gr. *palingenesia*), occurs only twice in the NT (Mt 19[28], Tit 3[5]), and in the first instance denotes, not the renewal of the individual, but the perfected condition of things at the Parousia (cf. Ac 3[21], 2 P 3[13]; see RESTORATION). In the other passage (Tit 3[5]), the expression 'the washing [laver] of regeneration' connects 'the renewing of the Holy Ghost' with the rite of baptism, which is its outward symbol and seal (see below). The doctrine, nevertheless, is a thoroughly Scriptural one, and the change in question is expressed by a great variety of terms and phrases: 'born,' 'born anew,' 'a new creation,' 'renewed,' 'quickened,' etc., to which attention will immediately be directed. The fundamental need of regeneration is recognized in the OT as well as in the NT (*e.g.* Ps 51[10. 11]), though, necessarily, the prophecies speak more frequently of *national* renewal (Jer 31[31ff.] 32[38-40], Ezk 36[25-28], Hos 6[1-3] etc.) than of individual.

The classical passage on the *need* of regeneration is Jn 3[3ff.]. Spiritual life, it is taught, can come only from a spiritual source, and man, naturally, has not that life (v.[6]). Hence the declarations: 'Except a man be born anew, he cannot see the kingdom of God'; 'Except a man be born of water and the Spirit, he cannot enter into the kingdom of God. . . . Marvel not that I said unto thee, Ye must be born anew' (vv.[3. 5]). The miracle is wrought by the Spirit of God, whose action is sovereign (v.[8]). Many do marvel, like Nicodemus, at the strangeness and universality of this demand of Christ; yet the strangeness will disappear, and the need of a supernatural agent to effect the change will be felt, if due consideration is given (1) to the vastness of the change, and (2) to the condition of the human nature in which the change is to be made.

(1) It is sufficient, to show the vastness of this change, to reflect that here, and elsewhere, regeneration means nothing less than a revolution of such a kind as results in the whole man being brought round from his ordinary worldly way of feeling, and thinking, and willing, into harmony with God's mind and will; truly brought round to God's point of view, so that he now sees things as God sees them, feels about things as God feels about them, judges of things as God judges of them, loves what God loves, hates what God hates, sets God's ends before him as his own. Who can doubt, if this is the nature of the change, that it does not lie in man's own powers to produce it; that it can be effected only through a higher power entering his being, and working the change?

(2) The need of a supernatural agency in the change is further evident from the condition of the human nature in which the change is wrought. The testimony of Scripture is uniform that man has turned aside from God (Ps 14[1-3], Ro 3[9ff.]), and that his nature has undergone a terrible depravation (Gn 6[5] 8[21], Ps 51[5], Is 1[2-4], Ro 7[14ff.], Eph 2[1-3] 4[17. 18] etc.); that the bent of the will is away from God (Ro 8[7. 8]); that the love of God has been replaced by love of the world, and the self-seeking principles connected therewith (1 Jn 2[15. 16], cf. Jn 5[42. 44]); that the better nature is in bondage to a law of sin, which works lawlessness in thought, feeling, and desire (Ro 7[22. 23], 1 Jn 3[4] RV). Is it not obvious, leaving out of account altogether the darker forms in which evil manifests itself, that this is a condition of soul which only a Divine power can rectify?

Nothing, therefore, is more plainly taught in Scripture than that this spiritual change we call regeneration is one which nothing short of Divine power can effect. It is spoken of as a being born of God (Jn 1[12. 13] 3[5], 1 Jn 3[9] etc.); as a new creation (2 Co 5[21]); as a being raised from the dead (Eph 2[5. 6]). It is compared to that great work of the omnipotence of God in raising Christ Himself from the dead (Eph 1[19. 22] 2[1. 6]). It is a complete renewal, transformation, of the inner man (Ro 12[2], Eph 4[23], Col 3[10], Tit 3[5], 1 P 1[22. 23]). Yet, while so distinctively a supernatural work, it is made equally clear that it is not a *magical* work; not a work bound up with rites and words, so that, when these rites and ceremonies are performed, regeneration is *ipso facto* effected. This is the error of sacerdotalism, which binds up this spiritual change with the rite of **baptism.** It would be wrong to say that baptism has no connexion with the change, for it is often brought into most intimate relation with it (Ro 6[4], Tit 3[5], 1 P 3[21]; perhaps even in Christ's words, Jn 3[5]; with the historical examples of the connexion of the receiving of the Spirit with baptism, Ac 2[38] 19[2-6] etc.). Baptism is connected with regeneration as outwardly representing it, and being a symbol of it; as connected with profession (1 P 3[21]), and pledging the spiritual blessing to faith; but it neither operates the blessing, nor is indispensable to it, nor has any virtue at all apart from the inward susceptibility in the subjects of it. In some cases we read of those on whom the Spirit of God fell, that they were baptized afterwards (Ac 10[44. 48]), and in *all* cases faith is presumed to be already present before baptism is administered; that is, the inward decisive step has already been taken.

On the other hand, when we look to the means—the instrumentality—by which the Holy Spirit effects this change, we find it always in Scripture declared to be one thing, namely, **the word.** This is what is meant by saying that regeneration is effected, not magically, but by the use of rational means. It is connected with the outward *call* of the gospel (hence the older divines were wont to treat of this subject under the head of 'vocation,' or 'effectual calling'). We speak, of course, only of adults, of those who are capable of hearing and understanding the call, and are far from limiting the grace of God in infants, or others whom this call does not or cannot reach. What is affirmed is, as regards those who have come to years of intelligence, that God's dealing with them is through the word, and this is the constant representation. The OT equally with the NT extols the saving, converting, quickening, cleansing, sanctifying power of the word of God (*e.g.* Ps 19[7ff.] 119). Jesus declares the word to be the seed of the Kingdom (Lk 8[11]). He prays: 'Sanctify them in the truth; thy word is truth' (Jn 17[17]). Conversion, regeneration, sanctification, are connected with the word (Ac 11[19-21], Eph 1[13], Col 1[5], 1 Th 2[13], 2 Th 2[13], Ja 1[18], 1 P 1[23-25] ['Begotten again, not of corruptible seed, but of incorruptible, through the word of God,' etc.])

If this is the nature, generally, of regeneration, then it has what may be termed a *psychology*; that is, there is a process which the mind goes through in the experience of this spiritual change. The Spirit of God, doubtless, has innumerable ways of dealing with human souls; still, if we look closely, it will be found that there are certain elements which *do* in some degree enter into all experience in regeneration, and furnish, so far, a test of the reality of the change. There is first, of necessity, the *awakening* of the soul out of its customary spiritual dormancy—out of that deep insensibility to spiritual things in which ordinarily the natural mind is held (Eph 5[14], cf. Ro 14[11. 12]). Especially there comes into view here the peculiar awakening of the soul through the conscience, which takes the form of what we call *conviction of sin* towards God (cf. Ac 16[29. 30]). Probably no one can undergo this spiritual change without in some degree being brought inwardly to the realization of his sinful condition before God, and to the sincere confession of it (Ps 51[4]). The law of God has its place in producing this conviction of sin; but law alone will not produce spiritual contrition. See REPENTANCE. For this there is needed the exhibition of mercy. Hence the next stage in this spiritual process is that described as *enlightenment*—growing enlightenment in the knowledge of Christ.

This also, like the preceding stages, is a Divine work (Jn 16[14. 15], 2 Co 4[4]). Even with this, however, the work of regeneration is not complete. The will of God for man's salvation has not only to be understood, it has also to be obeyed. There is the *will* to be laid hold of—the will, the centre and citadel of the being. So the work of the Holy Spirit is directed, finally, to the renewing of the will. It is directed to the renewing of the will, first of all, in the form of *persuasion*, for the Holy Spirit does none of His work by violence. Everything that God accomplishes is accomplished in accordance with the nature He has given us; but God most graciously, most lovingly, brings His persuasions to bear upon our wills, and by the power of appropriate motives draws us to the acceptance of Christ (Jn 6[44]). With this there goes what, in the next place, may be called the *potentiation* of the will—the enabling of it, or imparting to it the power needful in order to lay hold on Christ with full and fast faith (Eph 4[16]). Last of all, this work of regeneration is completed when the soul is brought to the point of absolute *surrender* of itself to Christ—when, drawn and persuaded, and at length enabled by the Spirit, it yields itself up entirely to Christ as its Saviour, and lays hold on Christ for a complete salvation. There is now union with Christ by faith, and, with that, entrance into the life—the experience—of the newborn child of God. 'If any man is in Christ, he is a new creature; the old things are passed away; behold, they are become new' (2 Co 5[17]). JAMES ORR.

REGISTER (*i.e.* genealogical record).—See GENEALOGY, 2.

REHABIAH.—A Levitical family (1 Ch 23[17] 24[21] 26[25]).

REHOB.—**1.** A town at the northern end of the valley of the Jordan (Nu 13[21], 2 S 10[8]), most probably the same as **Beth-rehob**, of which the exact site is unknown. **2, 3.** Two Asherite towns, neither of which has been identified (Jos 19[28] 21[31], 1 Ch 6[75], Jos 19[30], Jg 1[31]). **4.** The father of Hadadezer (2 S 8[3. 12]). **5.** A signatory to the covenant (Neh 10[11]).

REHOBOAM, son of Solomon, is said to have reigned seventeen years. The statement that his mother was Naamah, the Ammonitess (1 K 14[21]), has nothing improbable about it. The LXX may even be right in calling her a daughter of Nahash, the Ammonite king. In the history of Rehoboam the chief point is his indiscreet treatment of the tribes at his accession—treatment which resulted in the revolt of the best part of the nation and the establishment of a rival kingdom (1 K 12). The coherence of the tribes was evidently imperfect under Solomon. Ephraim, which had always been conscious of its own strength, was not minded to recognize the young king without some concessions on his part. For this reason Rehoboam went to Shechem to be crowned. Here the hereditary chiefs demanded that he should lighten the yoke. In this they had reference particularly to the forced labour exacted by Solomon. Rehoboam's arrogant answer is well known, and the result.

It was natural that an effort should be made to reduce the rebel tribes to subjection. But Rehoboam seems not to have had either adequate resources or military capacity. The brief notice that there was war between Rehoboam and Jeroboam continually is all that we are told. Besides this, the Biblical author describes the religious condition of the people in this reign in dark colours. This condition, however, is no more than prevailed under Solomon. The chief event in the secular history of the time was the invasion of the country by Shishak, king of Egypt. This monarch claims to have reduced the whole country to subjection, probably reviving ancient claims to suzerainty. The author of our Books of Kings is chiefly concerned at the Egyptian's plundering the Temple (1 K 14[26]), while the Chronicler (2 Ch 12) as usual is ready to make an edifying story out of the incident. It would interest us to know whether Egypt maintained its claims on the successors of Rehoboam, but on this point we are left in the dark.

H. P. SMITH.

REHOBOTH.—**1.** A well dug by the servants of Isaac and finally conceded to him, after two others, dug also by them, had become a subject of quarrel with Abimelech, king of Gerar (Gn 26[22]). Several identifications have been proposed, of which the most probable is that made by Palmer with *er-Ruhaibeh*, about 20 miles S. of Beersheba. **2.** The name of a king of Edom in Gn 36[37], where he is called 'Rehoboth of the River.' 'The River' here may not be, as usually, the Euphrates, but the 'River of Egypt' (see EGYPT [RIVER OF]).

J. F. M'CURDY.

REHOBOTH-IR (lit. 'broad places of the city').—One of the four cities in Assyria built by Nimrod (Gn 10[11]). It immediately follows Nineveh, and might mean a suburb of that city, originally separate from it, but later annexed and containing some of its most spacious streets or market-places. A suitable identification has been found in the Assyr. *rēbīt Ninâ* ('broad places of Nineveh'), mentioned by king Esarhaddon (B.C. 681–668). This is the exact equivalent of the Biblical name. In taking it over, 'the city' was substituted for 'Nineveh.'

J. F. M'CURDY.

REHUM.—**1.** One of the twelve heads of the Jewish community (Ezr 2[2]; in Neh 7[7], perhaps by a copyist's error, **Nehum**; in 1 Es 5[8] **Roimus**). **2. 'The chancellor'** (Ezr 4[8. 9. 17. 23]; in 1 Es 2[16] **Rathumus**). See BEELTETHMUS. **3.** A Levite who helped to repair the wall (Neh 3[17]). **4.** One of those who sealed the covenant (Neh 10[25 (26)]). **5.** The eponym of a priestly family (Neh 12[3]). See HARIM, 2.

REI ('J" is a friend').—The name is given to one of the supporters of Solomon at the time of Adonijah's attempt to secure the throne (1 K 1[8]). He is mentioned along with **Shimei**, and was likely an officer in the royal guard. These troops seem to have had an enormous influence in determining the succession to the throne.

The reading, however, is not above suspicion, and Jos. (*Ant.* VII. xiv. 4) reads 'Shimei, the friend of David,' and thus gets rid of Rei as a personal name (so Lucian). Several attempts have been made to identify him with other figures, as Ira or Jair (Winckler, *Gesch.* ii. 247) or Raddai (Ewald, *Gesch.* iii. p. 266 note).

W. F. BOYD.

REINS.—See KIDNEYS.

REKEM.—**1.** One of the five kinglets of Midian slain by Moses (Nu 31[8], Jos 13[21]). **2.** A Calebite family (1 Ch 2[43]). **3.** A clan of Machir (1 Ch 7[16] [AV and RV **Rakem**, but this is simply the pausal form of the Heb. name]). **4.** An unidentified city of Benjamin (Jos 18[27]).

RELIGION.—The word 'religion,' wherever it occurs in AV, signifies not the inner spirit of the religious life, but its outward expression. It is thus used of one form of religion as distinguished from another; as in 2 Mac 14[38], where the same word is translated in the middle of the verse 'Judaism,' and in the end of it 'the religion of the Jews.' It is also used by St. James (1[26. 27]) to contrast moral acts with ritual forms.

REMALIAH.—The father of Pekah (2 K 15[25ff.] 16[1. 5], 2 Ch 28[6], Is 7[1ff. 8]).

REMETH.—See RAMOTH, 1.

REMNANT.—See ISRAEL, p. 387[b].

REMPHAN.—See REPHAN.

REPENTANCE.—Repentance, in the sense of turning from a purpose, is frequently predicated of God in the OT (Gn 6[6. 7], Ex 32[14] etc.). Repentance for sin is commonly expressed by 'turn' or 'return' (*e.g.* Dt 4[30], Is 55[7], Ezk 3[2], Hos 14[2]). Repentance has a prominent place in the NT, alone (Mt 4[17], Lk 15[7], Ac 2[38] etc.), or in conjunction with faith (Mk 1[15], Ac 20[21] etc.), as an indispensable condition of salvation. The word

ordinarily used (*metanoia*) means literally 'change of mind.' The change, however, is one in which not the intellect only, but the whole nature (understanding, affections, will), is involved. It is such an altered view of God and sin as carries with it heartfelt sorrow for sin, confession of it, and decisive turning from it to God and righteousness (Lk $15^{17.\ 18}$, Ro $6^{17.\ 18}$, 2 Co $7^{10.\ 11}$ etc.). Its reality is tested by its fruits (Mt 3^{8}, Lk 6^{43-46}). From this 'godly sorrow', which works 'repentance unto salvation' (2 Co $7^{10.\ 11}$), is distinguished a 'sorrow of the world' which 'worketh death' (v.^{10}), *i.e.* a sorrow which has no relation to God, or to the intrinsic evil of sin, but only to sin's harmful consequences. There may be keen remorse, and blaming of one's self for one's folly, yet no real repentance.

Disputes have arisen in theology as to the priority of faith or repentance, but unnecessarily, for the two, rightly viewed, are but the positive and negative poles of the same state of soul. There can be no evangelical faith which does not spring from a heart broken and contrite on account of sin; on the other hand, there can be no true repentance which has not the germ of faith in God, and of hope in His mercy, in it. The Law alone would break the heart; the Gospel melts it. Repentance is the turning *from* sin; Gospel faith is the turning *to* Christ for salvation. The acts are inseparable (Ac 20^{21}).

JAMES ORR.

REPHAEL.—A family of gatekeepers (1 Ch 26^{7}).

REPHAH.—An Ephraimite family (1 Ch 7^{25}).

REPHAIAH.—**1.** A Judahite (1 Ch 3^{21}). **2.** A Simeonite chief (1 Ch 4^{42}). **3.** A descendant of Issachar (1 Ch 7^{2}). **4.** A descendant of Saul (1 Ch 9^{43}); called in 8^{37} **Raphah.** **5.** One of those who helped to repair the wall (Neh 3^{9}).

REPHAIM.—A name given in several Biblical passages to some pre-Israelitish people. In Gn 14^{5} they are said to have dwelt in Ashteroth-karnaim. Gn 15^{20} classes them with Hittites and Perizzites (similarly Jos 17^{15}). Dt $2^{11.\ 20}$ calls certain peoples 'Rephaim' whom the Moabites and Ammonites called respectively **'Emim'** and **'Zamzummin.'** Dt 3^{11} says that Og, king of Bashan, alone remained of the Rephaim (so also Jos 12^{4} 13^{12}), while Dt 3^{13} says that Argob was a land of Rephaim. A valley near Jerusalem was also called the **'Vale of Rephaim'** (see 2 S $5^{18.\ 22}$ 23^{13}, 1 Ch 11^{15} 14^{9}, Is 17^{5}). Because Dt 2^{11} counts them with the **Anakim,** who were giants, and 2 S 21^{16-22} says that the sons of a certain **Rapha** (see RVm) were giants, it has been supposed by some that *Rephaim* means 'giants,' and was given to a race as their name by their neighbours because of their stature. Cf. art. GIANT.

The word *rĕphā'ĭm* in Hebrew means also 'shades' or disembodied spirits. At least it is used to describe the dead, as in Ps 88^{10}. Schwally is probably right, therefore (*Leben nach dem Tode*, 64 ff. and *ZATW*, xviii. 127 ff.), in holding that the word means 'shades,' and that it was applied by the Israelites to people who were dead and gone, and of whom they knew little.

GEORGE A. BARTON.

REPHAN (AV **Remphan**).—A word which replaces **Chiun** of the Hebrew text of Am 5^{26}, both in the LXX and in the quotation in Ac 7^{43}. The generally accepted explanation of this word is that *Rephan* (the preferable form) is a corruption and transliteration of *Kewan* (*Kaiwan, Kaawan*—see CHIUN)—*r* having somehow mistakenly replaced *k*, and *w* (the Hebrew *wau* or *vav*) having been transliterated *ph* (the Gr. *phi*).

W. M. NESBIT.

REPHIDIM.—A stage in the Wanderings, between the wilderness of Sin and the wilderness of Sinai (Ex $17^{1.\ 8}$ 19^{2}; cf. Nu $33^{14f.}$). Here water was miraculously supplied, and Israel fought with Amalek. Those who accept the traditional Sinai generally place Elim in *Wâdy Gharandel*, and Rephidim in *Wâdy Feirân*, about four miles N. of Mt. Serbal (Palmer, *Desert of the Exodus*, Index). The tribesmen would naturally wish to defend the springs in the valley against such a host as Israel. Moses might have surveyed the conflict from the height of Jebel Tahûneh, on the N. of the valley. Only we should hardly expect the Amalekites so far to the south. If the scholars who place Sinai east of the Gulf of 'Akabah, identifying Elath and Elim, are right, then Rephidim must be sought somewhere in that district. (Sayce, *HCM*, p. 269.)

W. EWING.

REPROBATE.—The Heb. word so rendered in Jer 6^{30} (AV; RV 'refuse') has its meaning explained by the context. 'Refuse silver shall men call them, because the Lord hath rejected them.' Like metal proved to be worthless by the refiner's fire (v.^{29}), they are thrown away (cf. Is 1^{22}). In the NT, in accordance with the meaning of the Gr. word (*adokimos*), 'reprobate' is used of that which cannot abide the proof, which, on being tested, is found to be worthless, bad, counterfeit, and is therefore rejected. 'A reprobate mind' in Ro 1^{28} (with tacit reference to the previous clause, 'they did not approve to have God in their knowledge') is, as the context shows, a mind depraved and perverted by vile passions. To such a mind God abandoned those who wilfully exchanged His truth for a lie (v.^{25}). In 1 Co 9^{27}, St. Paul declares that he 'buffets' his body and 'brings it into bondage,' lest, having preached to others, he himself should be rejected (reprobate). The figure is that of an athlete who, through remissness in training, fails in the race or fight (for the opposite figure, cf. 2 Ti 2^{15}). In 2 Co 13^{5-7}, the word ('reprobates') occurs three times, in each case as opposed to genuine, true. Christ is in them, except they be reprobates, *i.e.* false to their profession, hence rejected by God. Let them 'prove' themselves by this test (v.^{5}). St. Paul trusts that they will know that he abides this test (v.^{6}); but let them think of him what they will, if only they themselves do what is honourable (v.^{7}). 'Reprobate' here is contrasted with what is 'approved,' 'honourable'; it is identified with 'doing evil.' In 2 Ti 3^{8}, certain are described as 'corrupted in mind, reprobate concerning the faith,' where both moral corruption and false speculation as the result of this corruption seem intended. They fail, brought to the test of 'sound' or 'healthful' doctrine ($1^{13.\ 14}$ 4^{3}). Similarly Tit 1^{16} speaks of those who, denying God by their works, are 'unto every good work reprobate.' Their hypocrisy is brought home to them by their wicked lives. 'Professing that they know God,' they are proved by their works to be counterfeits, imposters. The word occurs, finally, in He 6^{8}, where those whom it is impossible 'to renew again to repentance' are compared to ground which, receiving the rain oft upon it, and being tilled, brings forth only thorns and thistles, and is 'rejected.' From all this we may conclude that 'reprobate,' generally, denotes a moral state so bad that recovery from it is no longer possible; there remains only judgment (cf. He 6^{8}). It is only to be added that the term has no relation in Scripture to an eternal decree of reprobation; at least, to none which has not respect to a thoroughly bad and irrecoverable condition of its objects. Cf. PREDESTINATION.

JAMES ORR.

RESAIAS.—See RAAMIAH.

RESEN.—The last of the four cities built by Asshur, or, according to the RV, by Nimrod, and described as lying between Nineveh and Calah (*i.e.* Kouyunjik and Nimroud), on the E. bank of the Tigris (Gn 10^{12}). From its position the site referred to should be at or near the present *Selamîyeh*, which lies between the two points named. Resen seemingly represents the Assyrian place-name *Rêsh-êni*, 'fountain-head,' but is probably not to be confused with the *Rêsh-êni* mentioned by Sennacherib in the Bavian inscription, which is regarded

as being the modern *Rās el-'Ain* a little N. of Khorsabad. That the words 'the same is a great city' should refer to Resen alone seems unlikely—more probably Nineveh, Rehoboth-ir, and Calah are included, the two latter forming, with Resen, suburbs of the first.

T. G. Pinches.

RESH.—The twentieth letter of the Hebrew alphabet, and as such employed in the 119th Psalm to designate the 20th part, each verse of which begins with this letter.

RESHEPH.—An Ephraimite family (1 Ch 7^{25}).

REST.—The conception of rest as a gift of God runs through the Bible, the underlying idea being not idleness, but the freedom from anxiety which is the condition of effective work. It is promised to Israel in Canaan (Ex 33^{14}, Dt 3^{20}), and Zion is the resting-place of J" (Ps $132^{8.\ 14}$), the Temple being built by 'a man of rest' (1 Ch 22^{9}; a contrast is implied with the desert wanderings in Nu 10^{33-36}). At the same time no earthly temple can be the real resting-place of J" (Is 66^{1}, Ac 7^{49}). The rest of the Sabbath and the Sabbatical year are connected with the rest of God after creation (Gn 2^{2}, Ex 20^{11}, Lv 25^{4}; see art. Sabbath). The individual desires rest, as did the nation (Ps 55^{6}); it is not to be found in ignoble ease (Gn 49^{15} Issachar), but in the ways of God (Ps 37^{7}, Jer 6^{16}); it is the gift of Christ (Mt 11^{28}). Sinners fail to find it (Is 28^{12} 57^{20}), as Israel failed (Ps 95^{11}). He 4 develops the meaning of this failure, and points to the 'sabbath rest' still to come. This heavenly rest includes not only freedom from labour, as in OT (Job $3^{13.\ 17}$ [in Ps 16^{9}, see RV]), but also the opportunity of continued work (Rev 14^{13}).

C. W. Emmet.

RESTITUTION.—See Crimes and Punishments, 8.

RESTORATION.—In a variety of phrases—**'regeneration'** (*palingenesia*, Mt 19^{28}), 'restitution of all things' (Ac 3^{21}), 'summing up all things in Christ, the things in the heavens, and the things upon the earth' (Eph 1^{10}), 'new heavens and a new earth' (2 P 3^{13}, Rev 21^{1}), 'make all things new' (Rev 21^{5})—the NT points forward to a perfected condition which shall supervene upon the present imperfect condition of mingled good and evil (cf. Mt $13^{39.\ 40.\ 49.\ 50}$), including a renewal of nature, the quelling of all evil (Ph $2^{10.\ 11}$), and restoration of order and harmony in the universe, with Christ as Head. The hope is connected with OT prophecy (Ac 3^{21}, 2 P 3^{13}), and the transformation itself is invariably associated with the Parousia (cf. Mt 19^{28} etc.). The question of chief interest is, how far these predictions of a coming **'restitution** (*apokatastasis*) of all things' point forward to a future universal salvation. Gladly as one would read this meaning into them, sober exegesis shows that they will not bear so large an interpretation. The passage which speaks of 'restitution' tells also of those who will not hearken, and shall be destroyed (Ac 3^{23}). The Parousia, when the new state of things is represented as introduced, is always connected in the NT with an awful judgment. St. Paul speaks of all things being summed up in Christ, of Christ subduing all things to Himself, etc. (Eph 1^{10}, 1 Co 15^{24-28}, Ph $2^{10.\ 11}$); but unbiassed study of the passages and their context shows that it is far from the Apostle's view to teach an ultimate conversion or annihilation of the kingdom of evil. It must be owned, however, that the strain of these last passages does seem to point in the direction of some ultimate unity, be it through forcible subjugation or in some other way, in which active opposition to God's Kingdom is no longer to be reckoned with.

James Orr.

RESURRECTION.—**1. In OT.**—In our study of the OT doctrine of the resurrection we recognize the need for taking into consideration the chronological order of the different documents of which it is composed. No other belief, perhaps, presents a history into which the process of slow and halting development enters so visibly and consistently. That the later orthodox Jews advocated the existence in their earlier Scriptures of the principles which give vitality and a rational basis to this doctrine, is seen in their satisfaction with the answer of Jesus to the Sadducean cavils of His day (see Mk 12^{28}; cf. Lk 20^{39}, Mt 22^{34}). The gradual awakening of human consciousness in this respect is the best attestation to the Divine self-accommodation to the needs and limitations of the race. Beginning with the vague belief in the existence of a germinal principle of Divine life in man (cf. Gn 2^{7}), the latest passages of the OT dealing with the subject embody a categorical assertion of the resurrection of individual Israelites (cf. Dn $12^{2f.}$). Between these two utterances we have the speculations of Psalmists and Prophets, while death became gradually shorn of many of its terrors and much of its power. The common Jewish belief in the time of Jesus finds expression in the words of Martha concerning her brother Lazarus (Jn 11^{24}), while this formed one of the deep lines of religious cleavage between the Pharisees and the Sadducees (Ac $23^{6ff.}$; cf. Jos. *BJ* II. viii. 14; Schürer, *HJP* II. ii. 13).

A peculiar feature of Jewish thought as to human life, marking it off clearly from some of the ethnic speculations and philosophic conceptions, consists in their habit of regarding the body as essential to man's full existence. The traditions embodied in the stories of the translations of Enoch and Elijah (Gn 5^{24}, 2 K 2^{11}) receive their explanation on the assumption that in this way alone would they be enabled to enjoy the continuance of a full and complete life beyond the grave. It was this idea also that gave such a strong feeling of the incompleteness of the existence in Hades, and inspired the Psalmist's assurance, 'Thou wilt not leave my soul to Sheol, neither wilt thou suffer thine Holy One to see corruption' (Ps 16^{10}, cf. Job $14^{13ff.}$ $19^{25f.}$).

The first specific mention of the hope of a resurrection is found in Hosea, where the prophet's words are rather of the nature of an aspiration than the distinct announcement of a future event (6^{2}, cf. 13^{14}). This is, however, the expression not of an individual who looks forward to being raised from the dead, but of one who sees his nation once more quickened and 'brought up again from the depths of the earth' (Ps 71^{20}; cf. Kirkpatrick, *The Psalms*, *ad loc.*). A similar hope finds expression in Ezekiel's vision of the valley of dry bones (Ezk 37^{1-14}). A distinct advance on these utterances is found in the post-exilic prophecy, Is 26^{19}, where the prophet breathes a prayer for the resurrection of the individual dead. When this passage is contrasted with the confident assertion of v.^{14} it is seen that as yet there was no thought of a resurrection save for the Israelite. The same restriction is also found to exist at the later date, when the Book of Daniel was written. In this book there is a clear, unambiguous assertion of the resurrection of individuals, and at the same time a no less clear announcement that there is a resurrection of the wicked as well as of the righteous (Dn 12^{2}). It is true that these words not only have no message of a resurrection hope for nations other than Israel, but even limit its scope to those of that nation who distinguish themselves on the side of good or of evil (cf. Driver, 'Daniel,' *ad loc.*, in *Camb. Bible*). At the same time it is easy to see that a great stride forward had been taken already, when the atrocities of Antiochus Epiphanes brought religious despair to the hearts of all true Israelites, and roused the fervid patriotism of Judas Maccabæus and his followers.

2. In the Apocrypha.—The development of this doctrine in the deutero-canonical and apocryphal literature of the Jews presents a varied and inharmonious blend of colours. Inconsistencies abound, and can be explained only on the ground that each writing was influenced by the individual experience as well as by the theological idiosyncrasies of its author.

Sirach.—The oldest of the deutero-canonical books

is that of ben-Sira, and in his work we look in vain for the idea of a resurrection, either national or individual. On the other hand, the eschatological conceptions of this author do not seem to advance beyond those of Ecclesiastes (cf. Sir 17^{30}).

Book of Enoch.—Very different from the foregoing are the ideas prevalent in this composite apocalyptic writing. The oldest portion contains an elaborate theory of Sheol, and teaches the resurrection of all righteous Israelites, and so many of the wicked as have escaped 'without incurring judgment in their lifetime' ($22^{10f.}$). The sinners who have suffered here 'will not be raised from thence' (22^{13}), inasmuch as retribution, in part at least, has overtaken them. Another writer of a somewhat later date speaks of the resurrection of righteous Israelites only. These shall be raised, after judgment and retribution have been meted out to sinners, to share in the glories of the Messianic Kingdom (90^{29-33}). A similar opinion is expressed in another part of this writing. None but the righteous shall rise (91^{10}); but the author seems to interpret the resurrection as that of the spirit only, and not of the body ($103^{3f.}$).

The most important and best known section of the Book of Enoch (chs. 37–70), which is known as the *Similitudes*, contains an explicit assertion of a general resurrection (51^{1}). Whether, however, the writer intended to convey the idea of a resurrection of the Gentiles is somewhat doubtful. The words of this passage, if taken literally, would certainly convey the impression that a universal resurrection is meant. At the same time we must remember that this thought would be quite contrary to the whole habit of Jewish eschatological thinking, and would stand unique in Jewish pre-Christian literature. (For discussions of this question see the admirable critical edition of the Book of Enoch by R. H. Charles, *passim*.)

Psalms of Solomon.—These are probably the product of the 1st cent. B.C. Here, too, a resurrection of the righteous alone is taught (3^{16} 13^{9}, cf. 4^{6}). Moreover, no resurrection of the body is mentioned explicitly, though it would be rash to assume from his words that the author did not hold this doctrine.

2 Maccabees.—A very definite doctrine of the resurrection is taught in this book, though the author expressly denies its applicability to the Gentiles (7^{14}, cf. 2 Es 7 [$79^{f.}$]). The resurrection of the body is strongly held, as affording a powerful incentive and a glorious hope for those who underwent a cruel martyrdom (14^{46} 7^{11}, cf. $7^{9.\ 14}$). At times the writer seems to be controverting the denial of a resurrection, as when he stops to praise the action of Judas in offering sacrifices and prayers for those who had fallen in battle, on the ground that he did so because 'he took thought for a resurrection' (12^{43}). If there were no resurrection of the dead, such a course of action would be superfluous and idle (12^{44}).

Book of Wisdom.—It is only necessary to say of this writing that it is an Alexandrian work, written about the beginning of the Christian era, and that according to it the body is an incubus dragging the soul, which is destined for incorruption (2^{23} 3^{1}), earthwards (9^{15} [cf. art. 'Wisdom, Book of,' in Hastings' *DB* iv. 930 f.]).

3. Position of the doctrine at and immediately subsequent to the time of Jesus Christ.—It might be said, and said with justice, that the foregoing views were representative, not of contemporary popular beliefs and ideas, but of conceptions prevalent among the educated and thinking classes. It is reasonable, however, to expect that by the time of Jesus these lines of thought would have penetrated to the masses, with such modifications as they were likely to assume in and during the process. This expectation is found to be in harmony with what we observe to have actually existed; for, with one or two exceptions, when He felt called on to make a specific declaration (cf. Mk 12^{18-27} = Mt 22^{23-33} = Lk 20^{27-38}, Jn $5^{28f.}$), Jesus everywhere in His teaching assumed the truth of, and belief in, the resurrection of the dead. We know that materialistic views of this doctrine were held side by side with the more spiritual ideas so prominent in the Book of Enoch (cf. 51^{4} $104^{4.\ 6}$ $62^{15f.}$ etc.).

In the Apocalypse of Baruch, for example, the questions were asked, 'In what shape shall those live who live in thy day?' 'Will they then resume this form of the present, and put on these entrammelling members, which are now involved in evils, and in which evils are consummated, or wilt thou perchance change these things which have been in the world, as also the world?' ($49^{2f.}$). To these the answer is given, that the bodies of the dead shall be raised exactly as they were when committed to the ground, in order that they may be recognized by their friends ($50^{2ff.}$). After this object has been achieved, a glorious change will take place: 'they shall be made like unto the angels, and be made equal to the stars, and they shall be changed into every form they desire, from beauty into loveliness, and from light into the splendour of glory' (51^{10}, cf. Mk 12^{25} = Lk 20^{36} = Mt 22^{30}). Even in Rabbinical circles sensuous conceptions were frequent, so that even the clothes in which one was to be buried became a subject of anxious care (see *The Apoc. of Baruch* ed. R. H. Charles, notes on chs. 50–51, and Introd. p. lxxx).

At this period, too, the ideas of a universal and of a first and a second resurrection were held and taught (Apoc. Bar 30^{2-5}, 2 Es $7^{28.\ 31-37}$). For our purpose it is not necessary to do more than refer to the Hellenistic or Pythagorean speculations of the Essenes to which Josephus makes reference (see *BJ* II. viii. 11; Schürer, *HJP* II. iii. 205). The only form of Judaism which contained principles of continuity and life was represented by Pharisaism. The view of this, the most religious and the most orthodox of the Jewish sects, with regard to the resurrection, limited it to the righteous, for whom they postulated a new and a glorified body (see *BJ* II. viii. 14, cf. *Ant.* XVIII. i. 3). While this doctrine of a personal resurrection seems to have made much more headway in the Judaism of this age than the other ideas referred to above, it also clearly appears that the limitation of its scope to the righteous was more universally held than its extension to the wicked, in spite of the teaching in Daniel (12^{2}), Apoc. of Baruch (30^{2-5}), and 2 Esdras (7^{32-37}). Moreover, a difference of opinion continued to exist as to the time when it was supposed to take place, some writers placing it immediately before (cf. En $51^{1f.}$) and others immediately after the close of the Messianic era (cf. En 91^{10} 92^{3}, Apoc. Bar 40–42, 2 Es 4^{41}, Ps-Sol 3^{16} 13^{9} etc.).

4. Teaching of Jesus.—(*a*) *The Synoptics.*—Many of the passages in which Jesus' teaching on the resurrection is recorded by the Synoptists might be interpreted as leaving no room for the doctrine that the wicked shall rise again from the dead. The most conspicuous, perhaps, of these is that incorporated in the Lukan narrative of His controversy with the Sadducees (Lk $20^{35f.}$). The form of the expression 'the resurrection from the dead,' as has been pointed out, 'implies that some from among the dead are raised, while others as yet are not' (see Plummer, 'St. Luke' in *ICC*, *ad loc.*). The other expression, 'sons of the resurrection,' is remarkable for a similar reason. There seems to be an implied antithesis between those whose sonship results in immortality and those who can have no such hope (cf. Plummer, *op. cit.* Lk 20^{36} n.). Other instances, which might be considered as lending countenance to this view, speak of the 'resurrection of the just' (Lk 14^{14}), and contain promises of restoration in the glory of His Kingdom to 'his elect' (Mk 13^{27} = Mt 24^{31}). When, on the other hand, we take a general survey of the eschatological teaching of Jesus, we find that the doctrine of a general bodily resurrection occupies a very assured position even in the Synoptic records. Not only do we find, as already noted, that His teaching on this subject, as against Sadducean negations, was pleasing in Pharisaic circles (cf. Lk 20^{39}), but He is also seen to refer to this question in terms of current Jewish orthodoxy. The future life is personal in the fullest

sense, and it is not incorporeal, for 'many shall come from the east and the west and shall sit down with Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob in the kingdom of heaven' (Mt 8^{11}, cf. Lk 13^{29}).

(*b*) *The Fourth Gospel.*—The Johannine record of Jesus' eschatological teaching reveals a profounder view of the resurrection life than that contained in the Synoptics, for it is there dealt with as a spiritual process intimately connected with the quickening life which is 'given to the Son' (Jn 5^{26}; cf. 17^{2} 1^{4}). When Martha expresses her assurance that her brother 'shall rise again in the resurrection at the last day' (Jn 11^{24}), Jesus at once lays broader and deeper the foundations upon which this belief is to rest for the future. While tacitly acquiescing in her conviction as a 'sure and certain hope,' He establishes an organic relationship, immediate and spiritual, between Himself and those committed to Him. This living relationship, in which all believers share, contains the germ of that resurrection life which springs into being at present, and will be perfected at 'the last day' (Jn 11^{25}, cf. $6^{40.\ 44}$ 5^{21} 3^{36}).

It is true that Jesus seems to have given no thought to the difficulty of conceiving a resurrection of the wicked on the ground that all resurrection life has its origin in Himself; at the same time no doubt can be reasonably entertained that He looked for the resurrection of all men (see Jn 12^{48}; cf. those passages which speak of the body being cast with the soul into Gehenna, Mt 10^{28} $5^{29f.}$). Perhaps He considered that a sufficient explanation consisted in asserting the omnipotence of 'the Father' after the manner of the OT; 'The Father raiseth the dead and quickeneth them' (Jn 5^{21}; cf. Dt 32^{39}, 2 Co 1^{9}). In the Lukan version of Jesus' argument with the Sadducees we may understand a reference to the idea of the resurrection of all men based on the truth that 'all live unto him' (Lk 20^{38}, cf. a slightly different expression in Ac 17^{28}).

It may be pointed out here that Jesus seems to have made no attempt to answer the often debated question of the curious as to the nature of **the resurrection body.** He compared the condition of those who had arisen to that of the angels (Mk 12^{25}), a comparison which is noteworthy for what it implies as well as for the reserve which Jesus used when speaking on this subject. At the same time, we must remember that certain incidents in the post-resurrection life of Jesus on earth appear to have been designed to meet what is legitimate in speculation of this kind. He was anxious to prove that His was a bodily resurrection (Lk $24^{41ff.}$, Jn 20^{20}; cf. Ac 10^{41}), and that His risen body was capable of being identified with the body to which His disciples had been accustomed for so long (Jn 20^{27}). On the other hand, the conditions of His existence underwent a complete alteration. For Him now physical limitations, as regards time or space, did not exist (Mt 28^{2}, Jn $20^{19.\ 26}$, Lk 24^{15}, cf. 24^{34}); and this freedom from temporal conditions resulted in a life which transcended ordinary experience. Sometimes He remained unrecognized until a well-known characteristic phrase or act revealed His personality (Jn $20^{14f.}$ 21^{4}, Lk 24^{16}; cf. the author's comment 'but some doubted' in Mt 28^{17}).

5. Apostolic teaching.—(*a*) *The Acts.*—Although the Apostles do not seem at first to have shaken themselves free from Judaistic conceptions of the Messianic Kingdom (Ac 1^{6}), it is plain that they looked on the *fact* of Jesus' resurrection as of primary importance (see Ac 1^{22}). At all costs this must be placed in the forefront of their evangelistic work, and the principal element of their Apostolic claims to the attention of their Jewish hearers lay in their power, as eye-witnesses, to offer irrefragable proof of **the resurrection of Jesus** from the dead (Ac $2^{24.\ 32}$ 3^{15} $4^{10.\ 33}$ $5^{30.\ 32}$; cf. $10^{40f.}$). When we compare the fragmentary reports of Petrine teaching in the Acts with the doctrine of 1 Peter, we find that in the latter document the Apostle is no less insistent on the fact (1 P 1^{21}), while he has learned to assign to it the power of penetrating the present life and renewing it 'unto a living hope' (1^{3}). Christian Baptism for him receives its spiritual validity 'through the resurrection of Jesus Christ,' which enables us to satisfy 'the appeal of a good conscience toward God' (3^{21}). At the same time we must not forget that elements of this power are recognized more than once in his discourses in Acts. The Pentecostal outpouring, the work of healing, the gifts of repentance and forgiveness of sins, are all described as flowing from the risen life of Jesus (see Ac 2^{33} 4^{10} 5^{31}; cf. 5^{20}, where the angelic messenger speaks of the Apostolic teaching as having reference to 'this life').

(*b*) *St. Paul.*—When we turn to the teaching of St. Paul as it gradually comes into contact with Hellenic and Gentile thought, we find the doctrine of the resurrection assuming a new and developed prominence in connexion with the resurrection of Jesus. When addressing Jewish audiences, he emphasizes the fact that God raised up Jesus according to certain promises recorded in the OT (cf. Ac $13^{32f.}$ $26^{6ff.}$), and at the same time bases his doctrine of the resurrection on its necessity, and on the relationship of Jesus and the human race. When, however, he came face to face with the Greek mind, his experience was entirely different. The philosophers of Athens met his categorical assertion of the resurrection of Jesus not merely with a refusal to credit his statement, but with a plain derision of the very idea (Ac 17^{32}, cf. 26^{8}). It was doubtless the calm mockery of the Athenian Stoics that made him feel that his mission to them was hopeless (Ac 18^{1}), and caused him, when writing afterwards to the essentially Greek community of Corinthian Christians, to expound fully his doctrine of the resurrection. In the first of the two letters addressed to this Church he establishes the fact of the resurrection of Jesus, by revealing its harmony with the Divine plan set forth to the Jews in the OT, and showing that it was attested by numerous witnesses of His post-resurrection existence. He next goes on to demonstrate the organic connexion between this resurrection and that of those 'who are fallen asleep in Christ' (1 Co $15^{16ff.}$), and the necessity of accepting the doctrine as fundamentally essential to Christian belief and hope ($15^{3f.\ 19}$, cf. He 6^{1}).

St. Paul's eschatological doctrine included a belief in *a real bodily resurrection.* This is quite certain not only from the chapter we have been considering, but also from incidental references scattered throughout his Epistles (cf. the expression, He 'shall fashion anew the body of our humiliation,' Ph 3^{21}; see Ro 8^{11} 4^{14}, 2 Co 5^{1-5} etc.). Perhaps the most remarkable feature of the Apostle's contribution to this doctrine is contained in his conception of the nature of **the resurrection body.** It is evident from the analogies he employs that he intended to establish the identity of the mortal and the glorified bodies (1 Co 15^{35-41}). This idea he puts on a rational, though an apparently paradoxical, basis by postulating the existence of 'a spiritual body' as distinct from 'a natural body' (v.^{44}), and at the same time by insisting on their strict continuity (cf. the repeated doublets 'it is sown' . . . 'it is raised,' v.$^{42ff.}$). Doubtless his presentment of this speculative and mysterious question was founded on what he had already learned regarding the nature of the traditional appearances of the risen Jesus. 'The body of his glory' (Ph 3^{21}) is the ultimate attainable glory of those whose 'citizenship is in heaven' (Ph 3^{20}; cf. Col 3^{10}, Ro 8^{29}, 1 Jn 3^{2}, 1 Co 15^{49}).

Side by side with the doctrine of a literal, bodily resurrection, St. Paul's writings are rich with another conception which is more especially connected with the present life. Following the teaching of Jesus, who claimed to be the power by which resurrection life was alone possible, the Apostle declares that Christ gives this new and glorious life here and now. It is rooted, so to speak, in the earthly life of men, and its final growth and fruit are consummated hereafter (cf. Col 2^{12} 3^{1}, Ph $3^{10f.}$ Ro 6^{5}). This inchoative resur-

rection life has its origin in the spiritual union of baptized Christians with Christ (cf. Ro $6^{3f.}$, Col 2^{12}, Gal 3^{27}), and the tremendous possibilities of development are, according to St. Paul, due to a transcendent fellowship with the glorified Jesus (see Eph 1^{20}–$2^{10.\ 19ff.}$). His resurrection is the power by which this union, in all its aspects, is perfected (Ph $3^{10f.}$, cf. Ro 1^{4}). It was doubtless the one-sided presentation of Pauline eschatology that led to the heresy of Hymenæus and Philetus (2 Ti 2^{18}), and the Apostle seems to have felt the necessity of balancing his mystical interpretation by an emphatic insistence on the literal truth that the resurrection is a future objective fact in the progressive life of man.

That St. Paul held the doctrine of the resurrection of the wicked as well as of the righteous is evident not only from the words of his defence before Felix at Cæsarea (Ac 24^{15}, cf. Lk 14^{14}), but also from incidental remarks in his Epistles (see 1 Th 4^{16} and 1 Co $15^{22f.}$, where the emphasis which is laid on the first resurrection implies a second and a separate event; cf. Ac $26^{7f.}$ and Ph 3^{11}, where the same implication may be observed). What the connexion is, however, between these two distinct resurrections does not appear to have occurred to the Apostle's mind, and there seems to be little ground for the supposition that he believed in a distinction between them as regards time. Indeed, the particular passage upon which millenarians rely to prove the affinity of the Pauline and Apocalyptic doctrines in this respect says nothing of any resurrection except that of 'those that are Christ's' (cf. 1 Co $15^{22ff.}$). The resurrection of the wicked occupies a very subordinate place in Pauline eschatology, and we need not be surprised at the scanty notice taken of it, when we remember how constantly he is pressing on his readers' attention the power by which the resurrection to life is brought about (Ro 8^{11}, 1 Co 15^{45}; cf. Jn $6^{40.\ 44.\ 54}$ 5^{21} for the teaching that it is the quickening Spirit of Christ which causes the resurrection 'at the last day'). It is sufficient for him to urge men to the attainment of this resurrection which was the goal of his own aspirations (cf. Ph 3^{11}), and to warn them of the fate attendant on the rejection of Christ (note the expressions 'day of wrath and revelation of the righteous judgment of God,' Ro 2^{5}; 'eternal destruction from the face of the Lord,' 2 Th 1^{9}; cf. 1 Th 1^{10}, Ph 3^{19} etc.).

6. The Apocalypse.—The principal contribution of the apocalyptic eschatology to the doctrine of the resurrection is contained in ch. 20. Although there is no specific reference to the resurrection of the wicked, this is implied in the expression 'the first resurrection' (20^{5}), as well as in the connexion established between the Resurrection and the Judgment. Rewards and punishments are meted out to all as they stand 'before the throne,' for 'death and Hades gave up the dead which were in them; and they were judged every man according to their works' (v.$^{12f.}$). What precisely is the interpretation by which the millennial reign of the martyrs and loyal followers of Jesus is to be adequately explained it is difficult to conjecture. See, further, artt. Chiliasm, Millennium.

For the Resurrection of Christ, see, further, Jesus Christ, p. 456 ff. J. R. Willis.

REU.—Son of Peleg (Gn 11^{18-21}, 1 Ch 1^{25}, Lk 3^{35}).

REUBEN.—The firstborn of Jacob by Leah, Gn 29^{32} (J) 35^{23} (P) 46^{8} (R). The popular etymology connects the name with Leah's distress, because of Jacob's previous dislike of her. She called his name Reuben: for she said, because Jahweh hath looked upon my affliction (*rā'āh be'onyi*). This, however, is clearly a paronomasia, though evidently intended seriously; otherwise the passage has no meaning. The Hebrew word = 'Behold ye a son.' In Josephus the form is *Rubel*, and in Syriac it is *Rūbēl*. Lengthy discussions have been given of the name, and numerous theories advanced by way of solution of the problems it raises, but no conclusion that can be accepted has been reached. Cheyne regards *Reubel* as the correct form, and makes both it and *Reuel* corruptions of *Jerahme'el*, but this conclusion is based upon his own peculiar theories of the history of Israel and of the Hebrew text.

The remarkable thing about Reuben is that he was of so little importance in the history of Israel, and yet in all the traditions he is represented as the firstborn. He, however, lost his birthright, the reason for which is apparently given by J (Gn 35^{22}), viz., because he had lain with his father's concubine, Bilhah. Unfortunately, the remainder of the story, which probably told what Israel did when 'he heard of it,' has been dropped. The Blessing of Jacob (Gn $49^{3.\ 4}$) attributes his decadence to the curse pronounced upon him for the act:

> 'Reuben, thou wast my firstborn,
> My strength, and the first of my virility;
> Over-impetuous, exceedingly passionate,
> Seething like water, thou shalt not excel;
> For thou didst ascend thy father's bed,
> Then *cursed I* my couch *thou didst ascend*.'

[Reading the first part of the last line with Gunkel (p. 434) and the second part with LXX.]

In the 'Blessing of Moses' (Dt 33^{6}) the curse has sealed his doom, and a pitiful remnant depleted in strength is all that remains:

> 'Let Reuben live, and let him not die,
> Yet, let his men be very few.'

The meaning of this alleged incest, stated in the language of tribal history, seems to be that the Reubenites committed some outrage upon the Bilhah clans, which was resented and punished by Israel, Dan, and Naphtali and perhaps other tribes. As Dan and Naphtali were settled together in the north, it is not improbable (and there are some indications of this) that at an earlier time they may have been neighbours in the south, and there have come into conflict with Reuben.

It is worth noticing in this connexion that two of the descendants of Reuben given in the genealogy of Reuben (Gn 46^{9} etc.), viz. Hezron and Carmi, reappear as Judahites; Hezron as the grandson of Judah (Gn. 46^{12} etc.) and Carmi in Jos $7^{1.\ 18}$. Moreover, Shimei is a Reubenite 1 Ch 5^{4}, a Simeonite 1 Ch 4^{27}, and a Levite Ex 6^{17}. In Jos 15^{6} P, in describing the lot of Judah, makes the north border 'go up by the stone of Bohan, the son of Reuben.' Either, then, as it would seem, Reuben must have first settled in the West, or else Reubenite clans migrated thither from the East. These facts are not conclusive, but they support the theory that Reuben was first settled in the West. Another explanation is given, *e.g.* by Stade (*GVI*, p. 151), to the effect that the Reuben-Bilhah story may refer to the custom in vogue among the heathen Arabs of inheriting the father's concubines with his other possessions, and that the tribe of Reuben may have held to it, being less advanced culturally than the others. In this way, therefore, it is implied, they may have brought upon themselves the displeasure of the other tribes who stood upon a higher moral plane. This is not in harmony with the tradition which makes Reuben's offence one against Israel. Besides, it is an illustration of OT writing in which the virtues of a later age are ascribed to the earlier. Bathsheba did not scruple to ask Abishag for Adonijah, and Solomon did not object on moral grounds (1 K 2).

P in his Sinai census (Nu 1^{21} 2^{11}) enumerates the tribe at 46,500 fighting men. At Moab it had decreased to 43,730 (26^{7}).

Reuben is linked with Gad (Nu 32) in connexion with the conquest. The inviting pasturage of the East Jordan is said to have determined these pastoral tribes to settle on the east. Moses, however, requires of them that they shall first cross over and aid the other tribes in getting possession of their respective lots. When this was effected, we are told in Jos $22^{7ff.}$ that Joshua sent them back with great riches of spoils to their tents (see Gad). Nothing is said, however, of the previous settlement of Judah; nor, indeed, are we told of that anywhere.

The territory of the tribe is said in Nu $32^{37.\ 38}$ (P) to

have included six cities, which appear to have formed a sort of enclave within Gadite territory. 'The children of Reuben built Heshbon, and Elealeh, and Kiriathaim; and Nebo, and Baal-meon (their names being changed), and Sibmah: and gave other names unto the cities which they builded.' The names given here must be the original names, as it is improbable that the author would allow the worshippers of Jahweh to couple with the names of their cities the gods Nebo and Baal. But we nowhere read of the new names. Their list of cities is increased in Jos $13^{15ff.}$ without regard to the above list, Kiriathaim and Sibmah being the only ones in it that are mentioned. Three cities elsewhere assigned to Gad and four assigned elsewhere to Moab are here given to Reuben.

Reuben is rebuked in the Song of Deborah, because it did not participate in the war against Sisera, in words that reflect the pastoral occupation of its people. It is there followed by Gilead (Gad). In the Mesha inscription (9th cent.), though the 'men of Gad' are referred to as having dwelt in Ataroth 'from of old,' the name of Reuben is omitted, though some of the cities ascribed to the tribe in the genealogies are said to have been taken or rebuilt. As we have seen in the above reference to the Blessing of Moses (probably about the first half of the 8th cent.), the tribe was apparently reduced at that time to an inconsiderable remnant—'men of number,' *i.e.* so few that they might easily be counted. It is, however, still mentioned in 2 K 10^{33} as though it maintained its separate organization when Hazael of Damascus overran and smote the eastern Israelites. Its name appears more than one hundred years later, when Tiglath-pileser III. deported the tribes to Assyria in 734 (1 Ch 5^{26}). In all probability, however, it had long before ceased to exist as an independent unit (see GAD). See also TRIBES. JAMES A. CRAIG.

REUEL.—**1.** A son of Esau (Gn $36^{4.\ 10.\ 13.\ 17}$, 1 Ch $1^{35.\ 37}$). **2.** Ex 2^{18}, Nu 10^{29} (AV in the latter **Raguel**). See HOBAB and JETHRO. **3.** The father of Eliasaph (Nu 2^{14}; called [probably by mistaking *r* for *d*] **Deuel** in 1^{14} $7^{42.\ 47}$ 10^{20}). **4.** A Benjamite (1 Ch 9^{8}).

REUMAH.—The concubine of Nahor (Gn 22^{24}).

REVELATION.—1. Meaning of revelation.—The English word, which comes from the Latin, implies the drawing back of a veil, the unveiling of something hidden. It is the almost exact equivalent of the NT word *apocalypse* or 'uncovering' (Rev 1^{1}). For our present purpose the word is specially applied to the revelation of God, the 'unveiling' of the unseen God to the mind and heart of man. The application of the word is very varied. The widest sense is that in which it is used by Gwatkin (*Knowledge of God*, vol. i. p. 5): 'Any fact which gives knowledge is a revelation, . . . the revelation and the knowledge of God are correlative terms expressing two sides of the same thing.' The following specific uses of the term need consideration: (*a*) *The revelation of God through nature.* This refers to the indications of wisdom, power, and purpose in the material world around (Ro 1^{20}). (*b*) *The revelation of God in man.* This applies to the traces of God in man's conscience with its sense of obligation, in his emotional nature with its desire and capacity for fellowship, in his personality which demands personality for its satisfaction. (*c*) *The revelation of God in history.* This means the marks of an over-ruling providence and purpose in the affairs of mankind, of a Divinity that has shaped man's ends, the traces of a progress and onward sweep in history. All these aspects of revelation are usually summed up in the term 'natural religion,' and do not touch the specific meaning of revelation which is associated with Christianity. (*d*) *The revelation of God in Judaism and Christianity.* By revelation, as applied in this way, we mean a special, historical, supernatural communication from God to man. Not merely information about God, but a revelation—a disclosure of God Himself in His character and His relation to man. In addition to revelation through nature, conscience, and reason, Christianity implies a special revelation in the Person of Christ.

2. Problem of revelation.—The statement of the full content of the Christian revelation is naturally excluded from this article, but for our purpose we may say briefly that its essence is the self-manifestation of God in the Person of Christ for the redemption of mankind. Christianity is the revelation of God's grace for man through the historic Personality of Christ. The problem is to correlate this supernatural content with the historical process by means of which it has been revealed, and to do justice at once to the superhuman fact and content, and the human media and conditions of the revelation. In so doing we shall be brought face to face with the antitheses of revelation and discovery, of revelation and speculation, of revelation and evolution; and, while we recognize to the full the historical processes by which Christianity has come to us, we shall see that the gospel of Christ is not adequately accounted for except by means of a personal revelation of God, using and guiding history for the purpose, and that it cannot be explained merely in terms of history, discovery, philosophy, and evolution.

3. Possibility of revelation.—We argue this on two grounds. (*a*) *From the Being of God.* Granted a God as a Supreme Being (which for our present purpose we assume), He must necessarily be able to reveal Himself to man. Given God as personal, this includes the power of self-revelation. Belief in a Divine Being at once makes revelation possible. A bare theism has never been a permanent standing-ground, for men either have receded from it or have gone forward in the direction of the Christian revelation. (*b*) *From the nature of man.* The fact of personality, with all its possibilities, implies man's capacity for communion with a Being higher than himself, or higher than any other human personality. 'Thou hast made us for Thyself, O Lord, and our heart is restless until it rests in Thee' (Augustine).

4. Probability of revelation.—This also we argue on two grounds: (*a*) *from the nature of God*, and (*b*) *from the needs of man.* Granted a Supreme Personal Being, we believe not only in His ability, but in His willingness to reveal Himself to man. Belief in God prepares us to expect a revelation. Human personality with its capacity for God prepares us to expect a revelation, which thus becomes antecedently probable. The desire for it is an argument for expecting it. Man, as man, needs a revelation to guide him, an authority above and greater than himself in things spiritual and Divine. Still more does man as a sinner need such a Divine revelation. Amid the sins and sorrows, the fears and trials, the difficulties and perplexities of life, man needs some Divine revelation that will assure him of salvation, holiness, and immortality. No one can say that the light of nature is sufficient for these needs, and that therefore a revelation could add nothing. Most men would agree that there is at least room for a revelation in view of the sin and suffering in the world. Our deepest instincts cry out against the thought that sin is final or permanent, and yet it is equally clear that nothing but an interposition from above can deal with it. It is impossible to conceive of God leaving man to himself without a definite, clear, and sufficient manifestation of His own character, His will, His love, His grace.

5. Credibility of revelation.—The proofs of a Divine revelation are many, varied, converging, and cumulative. (*a*) *Speculatively*, we may argue that 'the universe points to idealism, and idealism to theism, and theism to a revelation' (Illingworth, *Reason and Revelation*, p. 243). (*b*) *Historically*, the Christian revelation comes to us commended by its witnesses in (1) miracle, (2) prophecy, and (3) spiritual adaptation to human nature. (*c*) Behind all these are *the presuppositions*

of natural religion as seen in nature, man, and history, (*d*) But ultimately the credibility of Christianity as a revelation rests on *the Person of its Founder*, and all evidences converge towards and centre in Him. Christ is Christianity, and Christians believe primarily and fundamentally in the fact and trustworthiness of Christ. Herein lies the final proof of the credibility of Christianity as a Divine revelation. If it be said that God has made other manifestations of Himself in the course of history, we do not deny it. All truth, however mediated, must necessarily have come from the primal Source of truth. The genuineness of Christianity does not necessarily disprove the genuineness of other religions as 'broken lights.' Each system claiming to be a revelation, whether partial or final, must be tested by its own evidence, and a decision made accordingly. The real criterion of all religions claiming to be Divine is their power to save. It is not truth in itself, but truth as exemplified in human life and delivering from sin, that constitutes the final proof of a religion. Not the ideal, but the ideal practically realized in human experience, is the supreme test. When this is applied, the true relation of Christianity to other systems is at once seen.

6. Methods of revelation.—(*a*) The Christian revelation is first and foremost a revelation of *life*. Christianity is primarily a religion of facts rather than of truths, the doctrines only arising out of the facts. All through the historic period God's manifestation has been given to life. Whether we think of the patriarchs, kings, and prophets of the OT, or of Christ and His Apostles in the NT, revelation has ever been connected with human life and personality. (*b*) But mediately it has been given in *word*, first oral and then written. Both in the OT and in the NT we notice first what God *was* and *did* to men, and afterwards what He *said*. We can and must distinguish between the revelation and the record, the former being necessarily prior to the latter, but nevertheless the revelation needed the record for accuracy and availability. At the same time it is essential to remember that Scripture is not simply a record of a revelation, but that the history itself is a revelation of God. On the one hand, the Bible is a product of the Divine process of self-manifestation; and, on the other, the Bible itself makes God known to man. Christianity, therefore, like Judaism before it, is a book religion (though it is also much more), as recording and conveying the Divine manifestation to man. A revelation must be embodied somewhere to be made available for all generations, and of the three possible *media*—human reason, an ecclesiastical institution, and a book,—the last-named is by far the most trustworthy as a vehicle of transmission. It matters not *how* God reveals Himself, so long as we can be sure of the accuracy of that which is transmitted. Christ is our supreme and final authority, and our one requirement is the purest, clearest form of His historic personal manifestation. We do not set aside reason because it is human, or an institution because it is liable to error, nor do we accept the book merely as a book; but we believe that the two former do not, and the latter does, enshrine for us the record of Christ's revelation in its best available form.

7. Development of revelation.—Revelation has been mediated through history, and has therefore been progressive. (*a*) *Primitive revelation* is the first stage. How men first came to conceive of God must remain a matter of conjecture. As there is so little known about primitive man, so also there must be about primitive religion. One thing, however, is quite clear, that the terms 'savage' and 'primitive' are not synonymous, for the savage to-day often represents a degeneration from primitive man. All analogy favours the idea that primitive revelation was such a manifestation of God when man was created as would be sufficient to maintain a true relation with Him, that at the Creation man had an immediate capacity, however immature, of entering into fellowship with God; and with this religious endowment we may assume a measure of Divine revelation sufficient to enable man to worship in an elementary way, and to keep true to God. No one is able to prove this, but there is no reason to deny its possibility or probability. Without some such assumption, all idea of revelation vanishes, and religion is resolved into merely human conceptions of God. Revelation is more than the soul's instinctive apprehension of God, for the simple reason that the instinctive apprehension itself has to be accounted for. The difficulties urged by some writers on the philosophy of religion against primitive revelation arise out of the assumption that all revelations are mere natural processes. There is no argument against primitive revelation which is not valid against all revelation, Christianity included. The power and possibility of man's self-development towards God are inconsistent with the fact of sin and man's bent towards evil. (*b*) *OT revelation.* However and whenever the OT came into existence, we cannot help being conscious of something in it beyond that which is merely human and historical. There is that in the OT characters and record which cannot be explained solely in terms of historic continuity. The OT does not merely represent an endeavour to obtain an ever worthier idea of God; it records a true idea of God impressed on the people in the course of history, under a Divine direction which we call a revelation. The OT conception of God is so vastly different from that which obtained in the surrounding nations, that unless we predicate something supernatural, there is no possibility of accounting for so marked a difference between people who were in other respects so very much alike. As Wellhausen truly says, 'Why did not Chemosh of Moab, for instance, develop into a God of Righteousness, and the Creator of heaven and earth?' It is possible to give a satisfying answer to this question only by predicating a Divine revelation in the OT. (*c*) *The NT revelation.* The historical revelation culminated in the manifestation of Jesus Christ. It was given at a particular time and place, mediated through One Person, and authenticated by supernatural credentials. In Christ the self-disclosure of God reached its climax, and the NT is the permanent witness of the uniqueness of Christianity in the world. 'God, who in ancient days spoke to our forefathers in many distinct messages and by various methods through the prophets, has at the end of these days spoken unto us through a Son' (He 1^1, Weymouth). And the Person of Christ is utterly inexplicable in terms of history, or discovery, and requires the hypothesis of revelation.

This brief sketch of the historical development of revelation will enable us to understand the importance of the truth of the progressiveness of revelation. God taught men as they were able to bear it, leading them step by step from the dawn to the noonday of His self-disclosure. While each stage of the revelation was adequate for that time, it was not necessarily adequate with reference to succeeding stages. This principle of progress enables us to avoid a twofold error: it prevents us from undervaluing the OT by reason of the fuller light of the NT; and it prevents us from using the OT in any of its stages without guidance from the completer revelation of the NT. We thus distinguish carefully between the dispensational truth intended absolutely for immediate need at each stage, and those permanent elements in the OT which are of eternal validity. It is necessary to remember the difference between what is written *for* us and *to* us. 'All Scripture was written *for* our learning,' but not all was written *to* us directly. If it be said that revelation should be universal, and not limited to one time or place or nation, the answer is that the historical method is in exact accordance with the method of communicating and receiving all our knowledge. It is obvious that in the course of history some nations and men have influenced mankind more than others, and this fact constitutes an analogy, and argues the possibility that a special revelation might also be mediated through some particular race and person. Further, by limiting revelation in this way, God

took the best means of preserving the revelation from corruption. Continuous and universal tradition has very few safeguards against deterioration, as the Jewish history only too clearly shows. Our acceptance of the revelation enshrined in the NT is based on the belief that it comes through men uniquely authorized and equipped to declare God's will. Its authority depends on the fact that their special relation to Christ and their exceptional possession of the Spirit gave them the power to receive and declare God's truth for mankind. Not fitness to edify, or age, or the possession of truth, but with these, and underlying them, the presence of a Divine element in the men whose writings we possess, gives the books their authority for us as a record and vehicle of Divine revelation. This uniqueness may be seen by a simple appeal to fact. The comparison of the Apostolic and sub-Apostolic ages shows the uniqueness of the NT. Between the first and second centuries there is a chasm 'sheer, abrupt, abysmal' (Schaff), and no transition exists which was so silent, and yet so sudden and remarkable. The most beautiful product of the second century, the *Epistle of Diognetus*, is incomparably inferior to any book of the NT. 'There is no steeper descent in history than that which directly follows the Apostolic age. We pass at once from writings unsurpassed in creative power to writings of marked intellectual poverty, . . . the distinction commonly made between the books of the Canon and the rest is fully justified' (Gwatkin, *Knowledge of God*, ii. 80). This difference marks the distinction between the Spirit of God in revelation and in illumination. Since the close of the NT times there has been strictly no addition to the revelation, but only its manifold realization and application in the Christian Church and the world. It should be carefully noted that we believe in the Divine revelation contained in the Scriptures, without holding any particular theory of inspiration. The supreme question is whether they contain a revelation of Divine truth. Are they true and trustworthy for our spiritual life? If so, they are authoritative whatever may have been the precise method of their delivery. The primary question is not the method of inspiration, but the fact of authority. Yet, however difficult it may be to define its character or limits, we believe in a special inspiration of the Bible based on the authority of its authors and on their unique power to reveal God's will. This special inspiration is (1) testified to by the Scriptures themselves, (2) has ever been held in the Christian Church, and (3) constantly authenticates itself to the Christian conscience through the ages.

8. Purpose of revelation.—The essential purpose of revelation is *life*: the gift of the life of God to the life of man. Its practical character is stamped on every part. The 'chief end of revelation' is not philosophy, though it has a philosophy profound and worthy. It is not doctrine, though it has a doctrine satisfying and inspiring. It is not enjoyment, though it has its experiences precious and lasting. It is not even morality, though it has its ethic unique and powerful. Christianity *has* all these, but *is* far more than them all. It is the religion of redemption, including salvation from sin, equipment for holiness, and provision for life to be lived in fellowship with God and for His glory. The 'chief end' of revelation is the union of God and man, and in that union the fulfilment of all God's purposes for the world. The elements of sonship, worship, stewardship, fellowship, heirship, practically sum up the purpose of Divine revelation as it concerns man's life—a life in which he receives God's grace, realizes God's will, reproduces God's character, renders God service, and rejoices in God's presence in the Kingdom of grace below and the Kingdom of glory above.

W. H. Griffith Thomas.

REVELATION, BOOK OF.—This single representative of the literature of apocalypse (Gr. *apokalypsis*, whence the alternating name, **'The Apocalypse'**) preserved in the NT belongs to a large group of Christian writings of a similar sort. It was characteristic of the early Church to build up a literature about the names of the various Apostles. Normally this literature consisted of a narrative, an apocalypse, and some form of doctrinal writing; as, for example, the *Gospel of Peter*, the *Apocolypse of Peter*, and the *Preaching of Peter*. With the exception of the present book, no Christian apocalypse is held to be even possibly authentic.

1. Canonicity.—The Revelation was not universally accepted by the early Church as canonical. There is no evidence of its existence worthy of consideration in the writings of the Apostolic Fathers, although it is just possible that Papias may have known of it. By the middle of the 2nd cent., however, Revelation is well known, and is declared by Justin to be by the Apostle John (*Dial.* lxxxi. 15). It is also used, among others, by Melito, Tertullian, Clement of Alexandria, and Origen, and attributed to the Apostle John by the first-named as well as by Irenæus. The fact that it appears in the Canon of the Muratorian Fragment is evidence that by the middle of the 2nd cent. it was accepted in the West. After its defence by Hippolytus its position was never seriously questioned except in the East. Jerome is, in fact, the only Western theologian of importance who doubts it, and he puts it among those books which are 'under discussion,' neither canonical nor apocryphal.

In the East, as might be expected, it was rejected by Marcion, and, because of disbelief in its Apostolic authorship, by Dionysius of Alexandria (middle of the 3rd cent.). Palestinian and Syrian authors (*e.g.* Cyril of Jerusalem) generally rejected it, in large measure because of the struggle with the Montanists, by whom Revelation was used as a basis of doctrine. It does not appear in the lists of the Synod of Laodicea, the *Apostolic Constitutions*, Gregory of Nazianzus, Chrysostom, the *Chronography* of Nicephorus, the 'List of the Sixty Books,' or in the Peshitta version of the NT. It was included by the Gelasian Decree at the end of the 5th cent. as canonical, and was finally recognized by the Eastern Church. Yet as late as 692 a Synod could publish two decrees, the one including the Apocalypse in the Canon, the other excluding it. It was not held in high repute by the reformers Carlstadt, Luther, Zwingli, all of whom doubted its Apostolicity, or apparently by Calvin, who omitted to comment upon it. At most, the first two of these theologians were apparently inclined to recognize a division of sacred writings similar to that of Jerome.

2. Authorship.—The title, 'Revelation of John,' which occurs in several MSS, including the Codex Sinaiticus, is an obvious expression of a belief regarding authorship. This John was believed by many in the early Church to be the Apostle. Whether this view was correct or not is to-day a subject of lively debate. The book itself contains little internal evidence serving to substantiate this claim, for the author simply states that he is named John ($1^{1.\ 4.\ 9}$ 22^{8}). Justin (*Dial.* lxxxi. 15) distinctively states that Revelation is by 'John, one of the Apostles of Christ,' and Tertullian along with the Western Church generally held to its Apostolic authorship. Eusebius, however, suggests that it may have been written by John **'the Presbyter,'** mentioned by Papias but otherwise unknown. At the present time the belief is divided as to whether the author of Revelation is John the Apostle or John the Presbyter. The chief argument against the view that the author is John the Apostle lies in the differences existing between Revelation and the Gospel and the Epistles of John, both in style and in method. Notwithstanding the use of the term 'Logos' (19^{13}), these divergences are too obvious to need specifying. If Johannine authorship be assigned the Gospel and Epistles, it is difficult to claim it for Revelation; but, on the other hand, it is difficult to believe it to be either pseudonymous or written by the mysterious John the Presbyter. As the case now stands, criticism seems to have reached an *impasse*, and the plain reader may best use the book in disregard of questions of authorship,—a procedure the more justifiable because its teaching is independent of personal matters.

3. Date.—Although the fixing of the date of Revelation presupposes conclusions as to its composition and purpose, it may here be said that in all probability the book reached its present form in the latter part of the reign of Domitian (A.D. 81–96).

4. Composition.—The prevailing hypotheses may be grouped in three classes.

(1) The currently accepted view that *it was written entirely by the Apostle John.* Such a view is, however, open to serious objections, because of the similarities, if not identities, existing between Revelation and other apocalyptic literature of the period, as well as because of the evidences of composite character of the writing, implying sources of different origins and dates, such as the various breaks in the process of the vision (the lack of any single historical point of view is seen by a comparison of 12^3 13^1 17^3, in an effort to identify historically the two breaks, or in a comparison of 11^{1-13} with 17^{11}).

(2) The view that the work, while essentially a literary unit, is *a Christian redaction of a Jewish writing.* This view would attribute to the Christian redactor the first three chapters and important sections like 5^{9-14} 7^{9-17} $13^{11ff.}$ 22^{6-21}, in addition to separate verses like 12^{11} $14^{1.\ 5}$ $12^{13.\ 15}$ 16^{15} 17^{14} $19^{9.\ 10.\ 13b}$ 20^{4-6} 21^{5b-8}. The difficulties with this position are not only those which must be urged against any view that overlooks the evidences of the composite authorship of the work, but also the impossibility of showing that ch. 11 is Jewish in character.

(3) *Theories of composite origin.*—These are of various forms—(*a*) The theory according to which an original work has been interpolated with apocalyptic material of various dates ($7^{1-8.\ 9-17}$ 11^{1-13} $12^{1-11.\ 12-17}$ 13^{17}) and subjected to several revisions. (*b*) The view that Revelation is a Christian book in which Jewish apocalypses have been framed. (*c*) The theory according to which Revelation is composed of three sources, each of which has subdivisions, all worked together by a Christian redactor. (*d*) Notwithstanding the difficulty in determining the sources, critics are pretty thoroughly agreed that, as the book now stands, it has a unity which, though not inconsistent with the use of older material by its author, is none the less easily recognized. Some of this older material, it is now held, undoubtedly represents the general stream of apocalyptic that took its rise in Babylonian mythology. The structural unity of the book appears in the repetition of sevenfold groups of episodes, as well as in a general grammatical and linguistic similarity. In achieving this remarkable result, the redactor so combined, recast, and supplemented his material as to give the book an essentially Christian rather than Jewish character.

5. Analysis.—As it now stands, literary and critical analyses do not altogether coincide, but until criticism has finished its task, literary analysis must be of primary importance. Authorities here differ, but the following analysis does not differ fundamentally from that of other writers.

i. Introduction (ch. 1).
ii. The message of the Spirit to the Seven Churches (chs. 2,3).
iii. The period of struggle and misery (chs. 4–7).
iv. The final Messianic struggle (chs. 8–14).
v. The victory of the Messiah (chs. 15–20).
vi. The vision of the Messianic Kingdom (chs. 21–22^5).
vii. Epilogue (22^{6-21}).

6. Interpretation.—No Biblical writing, with the possible exception of the Book of Daniel, has been so subjected to the vagaries of interpreters as Revelation. (*a*) On the one extreme are those ('Futurists') who have seen in its pictures a forecast of universal Christian history, as well as all the enemies of Christianity, both within and without the Church. To such interpreters the book has been a thesaurus of that chiliastic doctrine which the Greek as well as the modern scientific attitude of mind has found so repugnant. (*b*) At the other extreme there are those interpreters who see in Revelation simply a reference to the historical conditions of the first century of the Christian era. (*c*) There is a measure of truth in each of these two methods, but the real method of interpretation must be independent of dogmatic presuppositions. As narrative matter must be interpreted by the general principles applicable to all literature of its class, so must Revelation be interpreted in accordance with the general principles applicable to apocalypses as a form of literary expression. The fundamental principles of such interpretation involve the recognition of the facts—(i.) that apocalypses are the outgrowth of definite historical situations; (ii.) that they attempt to stimulate faith by an exposition in symbolic terms of the deliverance which God will give His suffering people from actually existing sufferings; (iii.) that the message of deliverance gains authority because of its claim to superhuman origin reinforced by pseudonymous authorship; (iv.) that the deliverance which is thus supernaturally portrayed is dependent upon the introduction of a new age whose conditions are set miraculously by God rather than by evolving historical forces, and is not described with the same detail as are the conditions from which God is to deliver His people.

An application of these principles to the interpretation of Revelation demands (1) that an historical interpretation be given the pictures describing the miseries of the Church. The conditions of such interpretation are most naturally fulfilled in the persecution under Domitian (81–96), although there may be references to that under the dead Nero. The persecuting force is clearly Rome, as represented both by the Emperor and by Emperor-worship, whatever the origin of the pictures with which the oppression of the Church is set forth. A point of departure for the identification of the historical figures who are to be subjected to the Messianic punishment might be thought to be **the number of the Beast**—666—that is to say, the Emperor Nero, who was expected to return from the dead (see BEAST [IN APOC.]). Pseudo-Nero did, in fact, appear in Asia Minor in A.D. 69, and among the Parthians in 79–81 and 88. The identification, however, is not altogether satisfactory, as the Hebrew letters, whose numerical equivalents give by the process of Gematria 666, are not precisely those in Cæsar Nero. If the correct reading be 616, the equivalent is Gaius Cæsar. Another interpretation would make 'the Latin *or* the Roman Empire.' The best that can be said, however, is that if the interpretation by Gematria is unsatisfactory, the interpreter is forced back upon the general references of 'the hills,' 'the city,' and 'the horns' or kings, as a basis for regarding Rome as the great enemy of the Christian and his Church.

A further difficulty in formulating precisely the historical situation, arises from the fact that the author, though producing a book of great literary unity, has embodied sources which refer to conditions of different times. Thus 11^{1-13} would naturally infer the existence of the Temple, which was destroyed in 70; ch. 13 may have come from the days of Caligula; 17^{10} most naturally implies some time in the reign of Nero; 17^{11} apparently implies Domitian, the eighth emperor; 17^8 would also argue that the book was written during the period that believed in *Nero redivivus.* The redactor (or redactors) has, however, so combined these materials as to give a unified picture of the approaching Messianic struggle.

(2) On the other hand, the deliverance of the Church is, like all apocalyptic deliverances, miraculous, and described transcendentally. Besides the martyrs, the only identification possible in this connexion is that of the conquering Lamb with Jesus the Christ. The fall of Rome is foretold definitely in ch. 17, but the seer is true to the general apocalyptic form in that he makes Rome and its religion the agents of Satan. The ultimate victory of the Church is similarly portrayed as the victory of God, and is identified with the return of Jesus to establish His Messianic Kingdom.

Such a method of interpretation, based upon general characteristics of apocalypses, preserves the element of truth in both the futurist and the historical methods of interpretation, the pictures of persecution symbolizing actual historical conditions, but the forecast of

deliverance reverting to the general Messianic expectation of events lying outside of history.

The sublime theme of Revelation thus becomes evident—the victory of the Messiah over the Roman Empire, together with the miseries to be inflicted on His enemies and the blessings to be enjoyed by His followers.

7. Religious value.—If properly interpreted, Revelation is of really profound religious value. It cannot serve as a basis of theology, but, like any piece of imaginative writing, will serve to stir the emotion and the faith of the Christian. Its literary form is so remarkable, the passages descriptive of the triumph of the Messianic Kingdom are so exquisite, its religious teaching is so impressive, as not only to warrant its inclusion in the Canon, but also to make it of lasting value to the devotional life. More particularly the **Letters to the Churches** are of value as criticism and inspiration for various classes of Christians, while its pictures of the New Jerusalem and its insistence upon the moral qualifications for the citizens of the Messianic Kingdom are in themselves notable incentives to right living. Stript of its apocalyptic figures, the book presents a noble ideal of Christian character, an assurance of the unfailing justice of God, and a prophecy of the victory of Christianity over a brutal social order.

SHAILER MATHEWS.

REVENGE.—See AVENGER OF BLOOD, KIN [NEXT OF].

REVISED VERSION.—See ENGLISH VERSIONS, **35.**

REVIVE.—In 1 K 17^{22}, 2 K 13^{21}, Neh 4^{2}, Ro 14^{9}, 'to revive' is literally 'to come to life again,' as in Shaks. *1 Henry VI.* I. i. 18—'Henry is dead, and never shall revive.' We thus see the force of Ro 7^{9} 'When the commandment came, sin revived, and I died.'

REZEPH.—A city mentioned in the message of the Rabshakeh of Sennacherib to Hezekiah (2 K 19^{12}, Is 37^{12}). It is the *Ratsappa* or *Ratsapi* of the Assyrian inscriptions, the modern *Rasafa*, between Palmyra and the Euphrates. This district belonged for several centuries to the Assyrians, and many of the tablets show it to have been an important trade-centre. Between B.C. 839 and 737 the prefects who had authority in the place were, to all appearance, Assyrians, only one, of unknown but apparently late date, having a name which may be West Semitic, namely, Abda', possibly a form of '*Abda* or '*Obadiah*. T. G. PINCHES.

REZIN.—From the ancient versions and the cuneiform inscriptions it is clear that the form should be *Razon* or *Razin*.

1. The last king of Damascus. Towards the close of the 8th cent. B.C. Damascus and Israel were under the suzerainty of Assyria. Tiglath-pileser III. enumerates the articles paid him in tribute by *Ra-sun-nu* of Damascus and Menahem of Israel (B.C. 738). **Pekah,** one of Menahem's successors, joined Rezin in the attempt to throw off the yoke. Failing to secure the co-operation of Ahaz, they turned their arms against Judah (B.C. 734). 2 K 16^{6} mentions, among the incidents of the campaign, that Rezin 'recovered Elath to Syria, and drave the Jews from Elath.' [This statement originated in a scribal error, the *r* in *Aram* ('Syria') having been accidentally substituted for the *d* of *Edom*, and Rezin's name being added still later for the sake of completeness (cf. 2 Ch 28^{17}).] The two allies besieged Jerusalem, greatly to the alarm of the populace, and Isaiah strove in vain to allay the terror (Is 7–9). Ahaz implored aid from Tiglath-pileser, to whom he became tributary (2 K 16^{8}). On the approach of the Assyrians, Pekah was murdered by his own subjects. Damascus sustained a siege of more than a year's duration, but was eventually taken (B.C. 732), and Rezin was slain (2 K 16^{9}). Rawlinson found an inscription on which this was recorded, but the stone has unfortunately disappeared. It is not quite certain who **'the son of Tabeel'** (Is 7^{6}) is. Winckler (*Alttest. Untersuch.*, p. 74f.) fails to carry conviction in his attempt to identify this man with Rezin. More probably he was the tool whom the confederates proposed to seat on the throne of Judah.

2. The 'children of Rezin' are mentioned as a family of Nethinim (Ezr 2^{48}, Neh 7^{50}). Like the Nethinim generally, they were very likely of foreign descent. In 1 Es 5^{31} they are called 'sons of **Daisan,**'—another instance of the confusion of *r* and *d*. J. TAYLOR.

REZON.—According to the Heb. text of 1 K 11^{23-25}, Rezon, son of Eliada, was one of the military officers of that Hadadezer, king of the little realm of Zobah (cuneiform, *Subiti*), S. of Damascus and not far from the Sea of Tiberias, whom David overthrew (2 S $8^{3ff.}$). For some unknown reason he deserted Hadadezer, gathered a band of freebooters, seized Damascus, and founded there the dynasty which created the most powerful of the Syrian kingdoms. He was a thorn in Solomon's side, and his successors were bitter adversaries of Israel. Unfortunately, the text presents a suspicious appearance. Vv.$^{23-25a}$ have evidently been interpolated between ^{22} and ^{25b}, and in the best MSS of the LXX the story, with some variations, follows v.^{14}. In either position it interrupts the course of the narrative, and the best solution of the difficulty is to regard it as a gloss, embodying a historical reminiscence. There is not sufficient evidence for the view maintained by Thenius and Klostermann, that the name should be spelled *Hezron* and identified with **Hezion** (1 K 15^{18}).

J. TAYLOR.

RHEGIUM (now *Reggio*) was an old Greek colony near the south-western extremity of Italy, and close to the point from which there is the shortest passage to Sicily. Messana (modern Messina) on the opposite side is but 6 or 7 miles distant from Rhegium. The whirlpool of Charybdis and the rock of Scylla are in this neighbourhood, and were a terror to the ancient navigators with their small vessels. Rhegium was in consequence a harbour of importance, where favourable winds were awaited. The situation of the city exposed it to changes of government. In the 3rd cent. B.C. Rome entered into a special treaty with it. In NT times the population was mixed Græco-Latin. St. Paul's ship waited here one day for a favourable south wind to take her to Puteoli. Ac 28^{13} describes how the ship had to tack to get from Syracuse to Rhegium, owing to the changing winds. A. SOUTER.

RHEIMS VERSION.—See ENGLISH VERSIONS, **29.**

RHESA.—A son of Zerubbabel (Lk 3^{27}).

RHODA.—The name of the maid-servant in the house of Mary, John Mark's mother, when St. Peter came there on his release from prison by the angel (Ac 12^{13}).

A. J. MACLEAN.

RHODES was one of the most important and successful cities in ancient Greece. It was founded in B.C. 408, at the N.E. corner of the island of the same name, which is 43 miles long and 20 miles wide at its widest. The situation was admirable, and the people were able to take advantage of it and to build up a splendid position in the world of commerce. It reached the summit of its success in the 2nd cent. B.C., after the settlement with Rome in 189 made it mistress of great part of Caria and Lycia. Rome's trade interests were seriously interfered with by this powerful rival, and in B.C. 166 Rome declared the Carian and Lycian cities independent, and made Delos a free port. Its conspicuous loyalty to Rome during the first Mithradatic War was rewarded by the recovery of part of its former Carian possessions. It took the side of Cæsar in the civil war, although most of the East supported Pompey, and suffered successive misfortunes, which reduced it to a common provincial town, though it remained a free city in St. Paul's time, and retained its fine harbours, walls, streets, and stores. St. Paul touched here on his way from Troas

to Cæsarea (Ac 21[1]), as it was a regular port of call on that route. Rhodes is mentioned in 1 Mac 15[23] as one of the free States to which the Romans sent letters in favour of the Jews. Ezk 27[15], according to the LXX, reads 'sons of the Rhodians': this is an error; the mention of them in Gn 10[4] (LXX) and 1 Ch 1[7] (LXX) is probably correct. The famous *Colossus* was a statue of the sun-god at the harbour entrance, 105 feet high. It stood only from B.C. 280 to 224. A. SOUTER.

RHODOCUS.—A Jewish traitor (2 Mac 13[21]).

RIBAI.—The father of Ittai (2 S 23[29] = 1 Ch 11[31]).

RIBLAH.—1. An important town (mod. *Ribleh*) and military station on the eastern bank of the Orontes, 50 miles S. of Hamath. It is mentioned in the Bible only in the literature of the Chaldæan period, and was apparently the headquarters of Nebuchadrezzar the Great for his South-Syrian and Palestinian dominions. From this position the Phœnician cities of the coast were within easy command, as also were Cœle-Syria and the kingdom of Damascus, along with the land-routes leading farther south. Here judgment was pronounced upon Zedekiah and his officers (2 K 25[6. 20. 21], Jer 39[5f.] 52[9ff.]).

The statement of 2 K 23[33], that Pharaoh-necho put Jehoahaz in bonds at Riblah in the land of Hamath, is to be corrected by the parallel passage 2 Ch 36[3], where the transaction is said to have taken place in Jerusalem itself. The true reading is, 'and Pharaoh-necho removed him from reigning in Jerusalem' (cf. also the LXX). It was the later action of Nebuchadrezzar with regard to Zedekiah, above referred to, that suggested the change in the text. The phrase 'in the land of Hamath' (2 K 25[21]) is to be compared with the 'nineteen districts of Hamath' enumerated in the Annals of Tiglath-pileser III.

Riblah should be read for **Diblah** in Ezk 6[14]. See No. **2.**

2. Riblah (with the article) is, if the reading is correct, mentioned as one of the eastern boundary marks of Israel in Nu 34[11]. The place intended was not far N.E. of the Sea of Galilee, but the exact site is unknown.

It was, of course, not the Riblah on the Orontes. It is remarkable, however, that this Riblah is mentioned in connexion with the 'approach to Hamath' (v.[8]), which, as Winckler has shown, was on the S.W. of Mt. Hermon, and the centre of the kingdom of Hamath of the time of David. Cf. Ezk 6[14] as above corrected. J. F. McCURDY.

RIDDLES.—See GAMES, and PROVERB, **2.**

RIE (the AV spelling of **'rye'**) occurs twice (Ex 9[32], Is 28[25]) in AV as rendering of *kussemeth*, which in Ezk 4[9] is rendered 'fitches.' In all three passages RV has **'spelt.'** Whatever *kussemeth* was, it was neither true rye, which is a cereal unknown in Palestine, nor spelt. See FITCHES. E. W. G. MASTERMAN.

RIGHTEOUSNESS.—I. In OT.—

'Righteousness,' 'righteous' (except in a few passages) stand in EV for some offshoot of the Semitic root *tsdq* which is met with as early as the Tell el-Amarna letters in the sense of 'to be innocent.' The Heb. derivatives are the adjective *tsaddîq* and the nouns *tsedeq* and *tsĕdāqāh* (which seem to be practically indistinguishable in meaning), and the verbal forms *tsādaq*, *hitsdîq*, etc. This group of words is represented in EV in about 400 passages by 'righteousness,' 'righteous,' etc.; in the remainder, about one-fifth of the whole, by 'just,' 'justice,' 'justify,' 'right.' Whether the primary notion was 'straightness' or 'hardness' is uncertain, and quite immaterial for the present inquiry.

The material can be conveniently arranged under two heads: (1) righteousness in common speech; (2) righteousness in religious terminology. The order is not without significance. It has been justly remarked that the development of the idea of righteousness in OT moves in the opposite direction to that traversed by the idea of holiness. Whilst the latter starts from the Divine and comes down to the human, the former begins with the human and ascends to the Divine.

1. Righteousness in common speech.—(*a*) It is perhaps safest to begin with the *forensic* or juristic application. The plaintiff or defendant in a legal case who was in the right was 'righteous' (Dt 25[1], Is 5[23]); and his claim resting on his good behaviour was 'righteousness' (1 K 8[32]). A judge who decided in favour of such a person gave 'righteous judgment,' lit. 'judgment of righteousness' (Dt 16[18]), judged 'righteously' (Dt 1[16]). The Messianic King, who would be the ideal judge, would be 'swift to do righteousness' (Is 16[5]), would 'judge the poor with righteousness' (11[4]), and would have 'righteousness for the girdle of his loins' (v.[5]). A court of justice was, in theory, 'the place of righteousness' (Ec 3[16]). The purified Jerusalem would be 'a city of righteousness' (Is 1[26]). On the other hand, corrupt judges 'cast down righteousness to the earth' (Am 5[7]), and 'take away the righteousness of the righteous from him' (Is 5[23]). (*b*) From the forensic use is readily developed the *general meaning* 'what is right,' 'what ought to be' [some scholars invert the order of *a* and *b*, starting with the idea of 'rightness']. In Pr 16[8] we read: 'Better is a little with righteousness (*i.e.*, a little got by right conduct) than great revenues with injustice.' Balances, weights, and measures which came up to the required standard were 'just balances,' etc., lit. 'balances of righteousness' (Lv 19[36]), whilst their converse were 'wicked balances,' lit. 'balances of wickedness' (Mic 6[11]) or 'balances of deceit' (Am 8[5]). (*c*) Righteous speech also, *i.e.* truthful speech, came under the category of 'righteousness.' 'Righteous lips,' lit. 'lips of righteousness,' 'are the delight of kings' (Pr 16[13]).

2. Righteousness in religious terminology.—(*a*) For the ancient Hebrew, 'righteousness' was especially *correspondence with the Divine will*. The thought of God, indeed, was perhaps never wholly absent from his mind when he used the word. Note, for this conception of righteousness, Ezk 18[5-9], where 'doing what is lawful and right (*tsĕdāqāh*)' is illustrated by a number of concrete examples followed up by the general statement, 'hath walked in my statutes and kept my judgments to deal truly,' The man who thus acts, adds the prophet, is 'just,' rather 'righteous' (*tsaddîq*). The Book of Ezekiel has many references to righteousness thus understood.—(*b*) As the Divine will was revealed in the Law, 'righteousness' was thought of as *obedience to its rules* (Dt 6[25]). Note also the description of a righteous man in Ps 1 (cf. v.[1f.] with v.[5b] and v.[6a]). The expression was also used of obedience in a single instance. Restoring a pledge at sun-down was 'righteousness' (Dt 24[13]). The avenging deed of Phinehas was 'counted to him for righteousness' (Ps 106[31]). So we find the word in the plural: 'The Lord is righteous: he loveth righteous deeds' (Ps 11[7] RVm).—(*c*) In most of the passages quoted, and in many places in Ezk., Job, Prov., and Eccles., the righteousness of the *individual* is referred to; but in others *Israel* (Ps 14[5] 97[11] 118[20] etc., Is 41[8-11], and other parts of Deutero-Isaiah, Hab 1[13] etc.), or *a portion of Israel* (Is 51[1. 7] etc.), is represented as 'righteous.'—(*d*) Since righteousness is conformity to the Divine will, and the Law which reveals that will is righteous in the whole and its parts (Ps 119[7. 62. 75. 172] etc.), *God Himself* is naturally thought of as essentially righteous (Dt 32[4] where 'just' = 'righteous'; Jer 12[1], Is 42[21], Ps 7[9 (10) 11 (12)]), His throne is founded on righteousness and judgment (Ps 89[14. (15)]), and all His ways exhibit righteousness (Ps 145[17]). As, however, Israel was often unrighteous, the righteousness of Jehovah could then be revealed to it only in judgment (Is 1[27] 5[16] 10[22]). In later times it was revealed in judgment on their heathen oppressors (Ps 40[9f.] 98[2] etc.).—(*e*) So in a number of passages, especially in Is 40–66, 'righteousness' is almost synonymous with *justification, salvation* (Is 45[8] 46[13] 51[5f.] 58[8] 59[9] 61[11] 62[1]; many passages in Psalms [22[31] (32)] 24[5] etc.], Mal 4[2] [Heb 3[20]]). For more on this subject cf. art. JUSTIFICATION.

II. In NT.—

The Greek equivalents of *tsaddîq*, *tsedeq*, etc., are *dikaios* (81 times), 'righteous,' 'just'; *dikaiōs* (5 t.), 'justly,'

'righteously'; *dikaiosynē* (92 t.), 'righteousness'; *dikaioō* (39 t.), 'justify'; *dikaiōma* (10 t.), 'righteousness' (4 t. [AV] 'righteous act,' 'judgment,' 'ordinance,' 'justification'); *dikaiōsis* (2 t.), 'justification'; *dikaiokrisia*, 'righteous judgment' (Ro 2^5).

In the teaching of Jesus (Mt $5^{6.\ 10.\ 20}$ $6^{1.\ 33}$ 21^{32}, Jn $16^{8.\ 10}$), and in NT generally, 'righteousness' means, as in OT, conformity to the Divine will, but with the thought greatly deepened and spiritualized. In the Sermon on the Mount righteousness clearly includes right feeling and motive as well as right action. In Mt 6^1 (where *dikaiosynē* is unquestionably the true reading) there may be an echo of the later meaning acquired by *tsĕdāqāh*, its Aramaic equivalent, the beginnings of which can be traced in LXX (Dt 6^{25} and 8 other passages) and the Heb. Sirach about B.C. 200 (3^{14} 40^{17})—'benevolence,' **'almsgiving.'** If, as cannot be reasonably doubted, the Sermon on the Mount was originally in Aramaic, the word for 'righteousness' can hardly have been used in such a connexion without a side glance at a common popular application of it. Still, it is not safe to find more than a hint or echo.

In Mt 3^{15}, Zahn has observed, *dikaiosynē* seems to be used in the sense of *dikaiōma*, 'ordinance.' In the Pauline Epistles, where *dikaiosynē* and *dikaioō* are most frequently used (85 times out of 131), the former in a considerable number of cases describes not the righteousness required by God, but the righteousness bestowed by God and accepted by faith in Christ (Ro 1^{17} etc.).

For fuller treatment cf. art. JUSTIFICATION.

W. TAYLOR SMITH.

RIMMON (god).—*Rimmon* is the Hebraized form of *Rammān*, the Bab. air-, weather-, and storm-god assimilated by popular etymology to the word for 'pomegranate.' He is mentioned, however (in 2 K 5^{18}), not as a Palestinian or Babylonian, but as a Syrian, deity, who was honoured as the chief god of Damascus. Elsewhere there are many indications that the chief Aramæan divinity was called by that people not Rimmon or Rammān, but **Hadad** (wh. see). Rammān (meaning the thunderer) was, in fact, indigenous in Babylonia, where he played a great mythological and religious rôle, in his twofold aspect of a beneficent deity, as the giver of rain, and of a maleficent, as the maker of storms and the wielder of the thunderbolt. His symbol was the axe and a bundle of lightning-darts. He was thus in some features the analogue of Zeus or Jupiter and Thor.

In Assyria, both the Aram. and the Bab. forms of the name were current (see HADAD). The currency of the latter among the Hebrews (as *Rimmon*) is to be attributed to the long Babylonian occupation of Palestine before Aramæan times. The same combination as the Assyrian is indicated in the Biblical **Hadad-rimmon** (wh. see).

J. F. McCURDY.

The emblem of Rammān was the bull, and the widespread cult of the air-god may have had something to do with nationalizing the worship of Jahweh as represented by that animal. Cf. also the name **Tab-rimmon.**

J. F. McCURDY.

RIMMON.—**1.** A Beerothite (2 S $4^{2.\ 5.\ 9}$). **2.** The rock whither the remnants of the Benjamites fled (Jg 20^{45} 21^{13}). It has been identified with a lofty rock or conical chalky hill, visible in all directions, on the summit of which stands the village of *Rummōn*, about 3 miles E. of Bethel. **3.** A city in the south of Judah, towards the border of Edom, Jos 15^{32}; in 19^7 counted to Simeon; in Zec 14^{10} named as lying to the far south of Jerusalem. See, further, EN-RIMMON. **4.** In Jos 19^{13} one of the boundaries of Zebulun is given as 'Rimmon which stretcheth to the Nē'āh' (AV wrongly 'Remmon-methoar to Neah'). In 1 Ch 6^{77} [Heb. 62] the name appears as **Rimmono,** and in Jos 21^{35} as **Rimmonah** (for which, by a textual error, MT has **Dimnah**). This Rimmon is the modern *Rummāneh*, north of Nazareth.

RIMMONAH, RIMMONO.—See RIMMON, No. 4.

RIMMON-PEREZ.—A 'station' (unidentified) of the children of Israel (Nu $33^{19f.}$).

RING.—See ORNAMENTS, **2, 4.** In Ca 5^{14} RVm **'cylinder'** is preferable to EV 'ring,' the comparison being probably with the fingers of the hand.

RINGSTRAKED.—See COLOURS, **6.**

RINNAH.—A Judahite (1 Ch 4^{20}).

RIPHATH.—One of the sons of Gomer (Gn 10^3). The parallel passage 1 Ch 1^6, by a scribal error, reads **Diphath.**

RISSAH.—A 'station' of the Israelites (Nu $33^{21f.}$).

RITHMAH.—A 'station' of the Israelites (Nu $33^{18f.}$).

RIVER.—For the meaning and use of *'āphīq*, *ye'ōr*, and *nachal*, sometimes rendered 'river,' see art. BROOK. *yūbal* (Jer 17^8), *'ūbal* (Dn $8^{2.\ 3.\ 6}$), are from the root *yābal*, 'to flow.' *peleg*, 'division,' signifies an artificial water-channel, used for irrigation (Ps 1^3 etc.), by which the water from cistern or stream is led to the various parts of field, garden, or orchard requiring moisture. It is used poetically of the stream bringing the rain from the great storehouses on high (Ps 65^9). *te'ālāh* (Ezk 31^4) is properly a 'channel' or 'conduit' (so 2 K 18^{17} 20^{20}, Is 7^3 36^2, also Job 38^{25} RV). The usual word for river in OT is *nāhār* (Job 40^{23}, Ps 46^4 etc.). It is often used of rivers that are named: *e.g.* the rivers of Eden (Gn 2^{10} etc.), the Euphrates (Gn 15^{18} etc.), the rivers of Damascus (2 K 5^{12}). The Euphrates is called **'the river'** (Gn 31^{21} etc.), and **'the great river'** (Gn 15^{18}, Dt 1^7), a title given also to the Tigris (Dn 10^4). *Aram-naharaim* (Ps 60 [title], also Heb. Gn 24^{10}, Dt 23^4), 'Aram of the two rivers,' is Mesopotamia. The word appears to have been used like the Arab. *nahr*, only of perennial streams. It is applied, indeed, to the Chebar (Ezk 1^1) and the Ahava (Ezr 8^{21}), while in Ps 137^1, Nah 2^7, Ex 7^{19} 8^5, canals seem to be intended. But in all these cases they were probably not mere temporary conduits, but had become established as permanent sources of supply, so that, as with Chebar and Ahava, they might have names of their own. The NT word is *potamos* (Mk 1^5 etc.).

In the fig. language of Scripture the rising of a river in flood signifies the furious advance of invading armies (Jer $46^{7f.}$ 47^2, Is 8^7). The trials of affliction are like the passage of dangerous fords (Is 43^2). The river is significant of abundance (Job 29^6 etc.), and of the favour of God (Ps 46^4). To the obedient peace is exhaustless as a river (Is 48^{18} 30^{28}). Prevailing righteousness becomes resistless as an overflowing stream (Am 5^{24}).

Palestine is not rich in rivers in our sense of the term. The Jordan is perhaps the only stream to which we should apply the name. Apart from the larger streams, the *wādy* of the mountain is sometimes the *nahr* of the plain, before it reaches the sea, if in the lower reaches it is perennial. Bearing the name *nahr* in modern Palestine, there are: in the Philistine plain, the *Sukreir* and the *Rūbīn*; to the N. of Jaffa, *el-'Aujā*, *el-Fālik*, *Eskanderūneh*, *el-Mefjīr*, *ez-Zerkā*, and *ed-Difleh*; to the N. of Carmel, *el-Muqatta'* (the ancient Kishon), *Na'mein* (the Belus), and *Mefsūh*. The streams that unite to form the Jordan in the N. are *Nahr el-Hasbāni*, *Nahr el-Leddān*, and *Nahr Bāniās*. The only *nahr* flowing into the Jordan from the west is the *Jalūd*, near Beisān. From the east *Nahr Yarmūk* drains the *Jaulān* and *Haurān*, and at its confluence with the Jordan is almost of equal volume. *Nahr ez-Zerkā* is also an important stream, draining a wide region.

The rivers are crossed to-day, as in ancient times, almost entirely by **fords.** When the rivers are in flood, tragedies at the fords are not infrequent. The rivers that open into the Mediterranean have their main fords at the mouth. The sand washed up by the waves forms a broad bank, over which the water of the stream spreads, making a wide shallow.

W. EWING.

RIVER OF EGYPT.—See EGYPT [RIVER OF].

RIZIA.—An Asherite (1 Ch 7^{39}).

RIZPAH.—Daughter of Aiah, concubine of Saul, seized by the ambitious Abner after he had placed Ishbosheth (Ishbaal) on the throne. When accused by the king, Abner, who was the real ruler of Israel, promptly proffered the Northern Kingdom to David (2 S 3$^{6f.}$). A three years' famine was divined to be due to the displeasure of Jehovah at the slaughter of the Gibeonites by Saul. When David inquired what expiation he should make, the Gibeonites refused money compensation, but demanded descendants of Saul to expose before Jehovah. The king gave them two of Rizpah's, and three of Michal's (Merab's) sons, who were slain and exposed on Mount Gibeah (2 S 21$^{1-14}$). Rizpah spread sackcloth on the rock,—a sign that the land repented,—and watched the dead till the anger of Jehovah relented and the rain came. Her vigil ended, she was at liberty to perform the rite of burial. J. H. Stevenson.

ROADS AND TRAVEL.—See Trade and Commerce. **'Byways'** in Jg 5^{6} should rather be 'roundabout ways.' In Jer 18^{15} **'bypaths'** (RV) are opposed to the old tracks.

ROBBERS OF CHURCHES.—See Churches [Robbers of].

ROBE.—See Dress.

ROCK represents various Heb. words, which, generally speaking, have the same ideas as the Eng.—strength, security, height, etc. (cf. Stanley, *SP*, Appendix). The rocks named in OT are Oreb (Jg 7^{25}, Is 10^{26}), Etam (Jg 15^{8}), Rimmon (20^{45} 21^{13}), the crags Bozez and Seneh (1 S 14^{4}), Sela-hammahlekoth (23^{28}). In 2 K 14^{7}, Is 16^{1} 42^{11} 'the Rock' (RV **'Sela'**) is a proper name, Sela or Petra, the rock-city *par excellence*; in Jg 1^{36} (RVm 'Sela') the identification is doubtful; *es-Safieh*, 'a bare and dazzling white sandstone promontory 1000 ft. high,' near the south of the Dead Sea, is probably intended. Rocks were the haunt of the eagle (Job 39^{28}), of the wild goat (v.^{1}), or the coney (Pr 30^{26}); cf. Ps 104^{18}. Pr 30^{19} refers to the mysterious gliding of the serpent over a rock; Am 6^{12}, to the proverbial impossibility of horses running over crags. Dt 32^{13} emphasizes the fact that in Palestine even the rocks are the home of bees (Ps 81^{16}, Is 7^{19}), and the rocky soil produces olives (Job 29^{6}). Besides this natural marvel, we have the miracles of Ex 17^{6}, Nu 20^{8} etc. In 1 Co 10^{4} St. Paul follows a wide-spread Jewish *haggādāh*, which can be traced to the 1st century A.D., according to which the rock (perhaps originally *the well*) followed Israel; when the Tabernacle was pitched, the water gushed out afresh, the princes singing the song of Nu 21^{17}. The epithet 'spiritual' does not deny the literal reality of that to which it refers; the manna was literal to St. Paul, and the water and rock must have been so too. He sees in the literal fact a foreshadowing of the Christian sacraments. Further, he identifies the rock with Christ, implying His pre-existence and care for His people; cf. Philo's identification of it with the Wisdom and Word of God.

Rocks, particularly the soft sandstone of Edom, were primitive dwelling places (Job 24^{8} 30^{6}; cf. cave-dwellers of Dt 2^{12}), and were used for sepulchres (Is 22^{16}, Mk 15^{46}). Job 19^{24} refers to the permanence of the rock inscription; 28^{9} (a somewhat unusual word, 'flinty rock' RV) to mining. In Jg 6^{20} 13^{19} the rock is a natural monolithic altar; in 6^{26} tr. 'strong-hold' with RV. Rocks as dangers to ships are mentioned in Ac 27^{29}, and metaphorically in Jude ^{12} RV [but RVm and Bigg retain 'spots' of AV, which has the support of the parallel 2 P 2^{13}]. The barrenness and desolation of a rock is the point of Ezk 26$^{4.\ 14}$, with a pun on *Tyre* (=rock); cf. the unfruitful 'rock' (Lk 8^{6}), or 'rocky places' (Mt 13^{5} RV) of the parable of the Sower; *i.e.* rock with a thin layer of earth. The rock meets us continually as a place of refuge, literal or metaphorical (Nu 24^{21}, 1 S 13^{6}, Is 2^{19}, Jer 48^{28} 49^{16}, Ob ^{3}); cf. 'feet on rock' (Ps 27^{5} 40^{2}). in Is 32^{2} it is a shade from the heat. And so it is a frequent *title for God*, as the unvarying strength and support of His people (Dt 32$^{4ff.}$ [6 times], Ps 18^{2} etc., Is 17^{10} 30^{29}, Hab 1^{12}). It is often represented by 'God,' and vague terms ('help,' etc.) in the ancient versions, as well as AV and Pr. Bk. (*e.g.* Ps 95^{1}). A sufficient explanation of the use is found in the natural scenery of Palestine. It is doubtful how far 'Rock' (*Zur*) was a definite name for God. It has been found in compounds in two S. Arabian inscriptions, and occurs in the proper names of Nu 1$^{5.\ 6.\ 10.}$ 3^{35}. 'Great Rock' is a common title of Asshur and Bel in Assyria. In Dt 32^{31}, Is 31^{9} the title is given to heathen gods, but in the latter passage the word *sela* is used. And the fact that this word is freely employed in this connexion side by side with *zur* rather contradicts the supposition that the latter was technically a proper name. Convulsions of nature and the power of God are connected with breaking the rock (1 K 19^{11}, Job 14^{18}, Jer 23^{29}, Nah 1^{6}, Mt 27^{51}), and in Jer 5^{3} it is a symbol of obstinacy. In Mt 7^{24} it represents the sure foundation; cf. Mt 16^{18} and art. Power of the Keys, p. 742^{b}. The name 'Peter' is a tr. of the Aram. **Cephas**, the Heb. form of which is used Jer 4^{29}, Job 30^{6} (see art. Peter). For the 'rock of offence *or* stumbling,' see Is 8^{14} 28^{16}, Ro 9^{33}, 1 P 2^{6}. Precipitation from a rock was a form of execution (2 Ch 25^{12} [? 2 S 21$^{6.\ 10}$], cf. Lk 4^{29}). C. W. Emmet.

ROCK BADGER (Lv 11^{5} RVm) is *Hyrax syriacus*. See Coney.

ROD.—The rods, sticks, staves, and clubs carried or otherwise used by the Hebrews were probably as varied in size and shape as those in use among the inhabitants of Palestine at the present day, of which a minute description, with illustrations, is given by Baldensperger in *PEFSt*, 1905, 35 ff. No hard-and-fast distinction can be made out between the *matteh*, the *shēbet*, and the *maqqēl*—all three rendered in EV by 'rod' or 'staff.' The context must generally decide which of the two is the better rendering. For example, the twigs which Jacob peeled in the device recorded in Gn 30$^{37ff.}$ are true rods; but in 32^{10} the same word (*maqqēl*) is properly rendered **'staff.'** On the other hand, Moses' 'rod' (so EV) is rather his shepherd's 'staff' (Ex 4^{2} etc.).

For the rod as an instrument of punishment, *shēbet* is more frequently employed than *matteh*, as Pr 10^{13} 13^{24} 26^{3}, although both are not seldom employed in parallel lines (Is 10^{24} 30$^{31f.}$ etc.). The former also denotes the shepherd's **club** (described and figured in Hastings' *DB* iv. 291^{a}, *PEFSt*, 1905, 36), as in Ps 23^{4}, Lv 27^{32} etc. (EV 'rod'). See also Sceptre. A. R. S. Kennedy.

RODANIM.—See Dodanim.

ROE, ROEBUCK.—**1.** *zĕbī* and *zĕbīyyāh*.—See Gazelle. **2.** *ya'ălāh*, Pr 5^{19}, RV **'doe'**; see 'Wild Goat' in art. Goat. **3.** *'ōpher*, Ca 4^{5} 7^{3}, AV 'young roe,' RV **'fawn.'** **4.** *yachmūr* (lit. 'red'), Dt 14^{5}, 1 K 4^{23}, AV **'fallow deer,'** RV 'roebucks.' The true fallow-deer is the *'ayyāl* or hart; see Hart. In the LXX *yachmūr* is tr. *boubalos*, the bubale; but it is much more probable that it is the roebuck (*Cervus capreolus*), still called the *yahmur* by some Arabs. It is a gazelle-like animal with three-branched upright horns. E. W. G. Masterman.

ROGELIM.—The native place of Barzillai the Gileadite (2 S 17^{27} 19^{31}). The exact site is unknown.

ROHGAH.—An Asherite (1 Ch 7^{34}).

ROIMUS (1 Es 5^{8}).—See Rehum, **1.**

ROLL.—See Writing, **6.**

ROMAMTI-EZER.—A son of Heman (1 Ch 25$^{4.\ 31}$).

ROMANS, EPISTLE TO THE.—**1. Time, occasion, and character.**—The letter to the Romans belongs to the central group—which includes also Galatians, and the two letters to the Corinthians—of St. Paul's Epistles. Marcion's order—Gal., Cor., Rom.—is not unlikely to be the order of writing. A comparison

of the data to be found in the letter, with statements in Acts, suggests that Rom. was written from Corinth at the close of the so-called third missionary journey (*i.e.* the period of missionary activity described in Ac 18[23]–21). After the riots in Ephesus (Ac 19[23-40]) St. Paul spent three months in Greece (20[3]), whither Timothy had preceded him. He was thus carrying out a previous plan somewhat sooner than he had originally intended. Ac 19[21. 22] informs us that the Apostle wished to make a tour through Macedonia and Achaia, and afterwards, having first visited Jerusalem once more, to turn his steps towards Rome. From the letter itself we learn that he was staying with Gaius (16[23]), who is probably to be identified with the Gaius of 1 Co 1[14]. At the time of writing, Paul and Timothy are together, for the latter's name appears in the salutation (16[21]). Sosipater, whose name also appears there, may be identified with the Sopater mentioned in Ac 20[4]. Phœbe, the bearer of the letter, belongs to Cenchreæ, one of the ports of Corinth. The allusions in the letter all point to the stay in Corinth implied in Ac 20. Above all, the letter itself, apart from such important passages as 1[10. 11] and 15[22. 30], is ample evidence of St. Paul's plans to visit Rome,—the plans mentioned in Ac 19[21. 22]. It is then more than probable that the letter was written from Corinth during the three months' stay in Greece recorded in Ac 20[3].

A comparison of Ro 15[22. 30] with Ac 19[21. 22] brings out one of the most striking of Paley's 'undesigned coincidences.' The parallel references to Jewish plots in Ro 15[31] and Ac 20[3] are also noteworthy. It should, however, be mentioned that if on critical grounds ch. 16 has to be detached from the original letter, and regarded as part of a lost letter to the Ephesians, much of the evidence for the place and date of Romans is destroyed, though the remaining indications suffice to establish the position laid down above.

The date to which the letter is to be assigned depends on the chronology of St. Paul's life as a whole. Mr. Turner (Hastings' *DB*, *s.v.* 'Chronology of NT') suggests A.D. 55–56. But for further treatment of this subject, readers must consult the general articles on Chronology of NT and Paul.

The immediate *occasion* for the letter is clearly the prospective visit to Rome. St. Paul is preparing the way for his coming. This explains why he writes to the Romans at all; it does not explain why he writes the particular letter we now possess. A shorter letter would have been sufficient introduction to his future hosts. How are we to account for the lengthy discussion of the central theme of the gospel which forms the larger part of the letter? Some suspect a controversial purpose. The Church at Rome contained both Jews and Gentiles; through Priscilla and Aquila and others St. Paul must have known the situation in Rome; he could, and doubtless did, accommodate his message to the condition of the Church. The objections he discusses may be difficulties that have arisen in the minds of his readers. But the style of the letter is not controversial. St. Paul warns the Romans against false teachers, as against a possible rather than an actual danger (16[17-20]). Similarly, the discussion of the reciprocal duties of strong and weak (ch. 14) is marked by a calm conciliatory tone which suggests that the writer is dealing with problems which are probable rather than pressing. In fact, St. Paul seems to be giving his readers the result of his controversial experiences in Corinth and Galatia, not so much because the Church in Rome was placed in a similar situation, as because he wished to enable her members to profit from the mistakes of other Churches. If the letter is not controversial, it is not, on the other hand, a dogmatic treatise. Comprehensive as the letter is, it is incomplete as a compendium of theology. The theory that St. Paul is here putting his leading thoughts into systematic form 'does not account for the omission of doctrines which we know Paul held and valued—his eschatology and his Christology, for instance' (Garvie). Romans is a true letter, and the selection of topics must have been influenced by the interest of the Church to which he was writing.

But apart from the position of the Roman Christians, and apart from the wish of the Apostle to prepare the way for his visit to them, the *form and character* of the letter were probably determined by the place Rome held in the Apostle's mind. St. Paul was proud of his Roman citizenship. He was the first to grasp the significance of the Empire for the growth of the Church. The missionary statesmanship which led him to seize on the great trade-centres like Ephesus and Corinth found its highest expression in his passionate desire to see Rome. Rome fascinated him; he was ambitious to proclaim his gospel there, departing even from his wonted resolve to avoid the scenes of other men's labours.

It should be noted that the Church at Rome was not an Apostolic foundation. The Christian community came into existence there before either St. Paul or St. Peter visited the city.

He explains his gospel at some length, because it is all-important that the capital of the Empire should understand and appreciate its worth. He is anxious to impart some spiritual gift to the Roman Christians, just because they are in Rome, and therefore, lest Jewish plots thwart his plans, he unfolds to them the essentials of his message. Indeed, his Roman citizenship helped to make St. Paul a great catholic. The influence of the Eternal City may be traced in the doctrine of the Church developed in Ephesians, which was written during the Roman captivity. The very thought of Rome leads St. Paul to reflect on the universality of the gospel, and this is the theme of the letter. He is not ashamed of the gospel or afraid to proclaim it in Rome, because it is as world-wide as the Empire. It corresponds to a universal need: it is the only religion that can speak to the condition of the Roman people. It is true he is not writing for the people at large. His readers consist of a small band of Christians with strong Jewish sympathies, and perhaps even tending towards Jewish exclusiveness. His aim is to open their eyes to the dignity of the position, and to the world-wide significance of the gospel they profess.

Jülicher further points out that Rome was to be to St. Paul the starting-point for a missionary campaign in the West. Consequently the letter is intended to win the sympathy and support of the Roman Church for future work. It is to secure fellow-workers that the Apostle explains so fully the gospel which he is eager to proclaim in Spain and in neighbouring provinces.

2. Argument and content.—Romans, like most of the Pauline letters, falls into two sections: doctrinal (chs. 1–11) and practical (chs. 12–16). In the doctrinal section, it is usual to distinguish three main topics: justification (chs. 1–4), sanctification (chs. 5–8), and the rejection of the Jews (chs. 9–11). It is not easy to draw any sharp line between the first two. The following is a brief analysis of the argument:—

The salutation is unusually long, extending to seven verses, in which St. Paul emphasizes the fact that he has been set apart for the work of an Apostle to all the Gentiles. Then follows a brief introduction. The Apostle first thanks God for the faith of the Roman Christians, and then expresses his earnest desire to visit them and to preach the gospel in Rome. For he is confident—and here he states his central theme—that the gospel is the power of God unto salvation for all men, if they will only believe (1[1-17]).

Salvation for all through the gospel—that is the thought to be developed. And first it is necessary to show that such a saving power is a universal need. The evidence for this is only too abundant. Nowhere have men attained God's righteousness: everywhere are the signs of God's wrath. The wilful ignorance which denies the Creator has led to the awful punishment of moral decay with which St. Paul had grown sadly familiar in the great cities of the Empire. Indeed, so far has corruption advanced that the consciences of many have been defiled. They not only commit sin without shame; they openly applaud the sinner (vv.[18-32]). Nor can any one who still perceives this failure hold himself excused. The very fact that he recognizes sin as such, con-

ROMANS, EPISTLE TO THE

demns him in so far as he commits it. His keener conscience, if it leaves him unrepentant, will evoke the heavier penalty. God will judge all men according to their deeds. Both Jew and Gentile will be judged alike, the conscience in the Gentile corresponding to the Law in the case of the Jew (2^{1-16}). This passage is usually referred to the Jews, whose habit of judging and condemning others is rebuked in Mt 7^{1}. It may have a wider application. The remainder of the chapter deals with the Jews. The principle of judgment according to deeds will be applied without distinction of persons. The privileges of the Jew will not excuse him in the eyes of God. Neither the Law nor circumcision will cover transgression. The true Jew must be a Jew inwardly: the actual Jews have by their crimes caused the name of God to be blasphemed. A Gentile who does not know the Law and yet obeys it is better than the Jew who knows and disobeys (2^{17-29}). But is not this condemnation a denial of the Jews' privileges? No, the privileges are real, though the Jews are unworthy of them; and the mercy of God is magnified by their ingratitude. Yet even so, if God's mercy is brought to the light by their sin, why are they condemned? The full discussion of this difficulty is reserved to chs. 9–11. Here St. Paul only lays down the broad truth that God must judge the world in righteousness, and apparently he further replies to Jewish objectors by a *tu quoque* argument. Why do they condemn him if, as they say, his lie helps to make the truth clearer? (3^{1-8}). St. Paul now returns to his main point, the universality of sin, which he re-states and re-enforces in the language of the OT. The whole world stands guilty in the sight of God, and the Law has but intensified the conviction of sin (3^{9-20}).

To meet this utter failure of men, God has revealed in Christ Jesus a new way of righteousness, all-embracing as the need. Here too is no distinction of persons; all have sinned, and salvation for all stands in the free mercy of God, sealed to men in the propitiatory sacrifice of His Son, whereby we know that our past sins are forgiven, and we enter the new life, justified in the sight of God. The righteousness of God is thus assured to men who will receive it in faith. Faith is not defined, but it seems to mean a humble trust in the loving God revealed in Jesus. There can no longer be any question of establishing a claim on God by merit, or of superiority over our fellows. All need grace, and none can be saved except by faith. Jew and Gentile here stand on the same level (3^{21-30}).

Does not this righteousness through faith make void the Law? St. Paul scarcely answers the general question, but at once goes on to prove that the father of the race, Abraham, was justified by faith, *i.e.* by humble trust in God, in whose sight he could claim no merit. His trust in God was reckoned unto him for righteousness. His blessedness was the blessedness of the man whose sins are hidden, St. Paul here introducing the only beatitude found in his letters. This blessing came to Abraham before circumcision, on which clearly it did not depend. Similarly, the promise of inheriting the earth was given to him apart from the Law, and the seed to whom the promise descends are the faithful who follow their spiritual ancestor in believing God even against nature, as Abraham and Sarah believed Him. Surely it was for our sakes that the phrase 'was reckoned unto him for righteousness' was used in the story of Abraham. It enables us to believe in salvation through our faith in Him who raised Jesus from the dead (3^{31}–4^{25}).

At this point opens the second main stage in the doctrinal section of the letter. The fact of justification by faith has been established. It remains to say something of the life which must be built on this foundation. Jesus has brought us into touch with the grace of God. His death is the unfailing proof of God's love to us sinful men. What can lie before us save progress to perfection? Reconciled to God while yet enemies, for what can we not hope, now that we are His friends? Christ is indeed a second Adam, the creator of a new humanity. His power to save cannot be less than Adam's power to destroy. Cannot be less? Nay, it must be greater, and in what Jülicher rightly calls a hymn, St. Paul strives to draw out the comparison and the contrast between the first Adam and the Second. Grace must reign till the kingdom of death has become the kingdom of an undying righteousness (5^{1-21}).

Does this trust in the grace of God mean that we are to continue in sin? Far from it. The very baptismal immersion in which we make profession of our faith symbolizes our dying to sin and our rising with Christ into newness of life. If we have become vitally one with Him, we must share His life of obedience to God. The fact that we are under grace means that sin's dominion is ended. If we do not strive to live up to this we fail to understand what is involved in the kind of teaching we have accepted. If we are justified by faith, we have been set free from sin that we may serve God, that we may win the fruit of our faith in sanctification, and enjoy the free gift of eternal life (6^{1-23}). The new life likewise brings with it freedom from the Law; it is as complete a break with the past as that which comes to a wife when her husband dies. So we are redeemed from the Law which did but strengthen our passions (7^{1-6}). Not that the Law was sin; but as a matter of experience it is through the commandment that sin deceives and destroys men (7^{7-12}). Is, then, the holy Law the cause of death? No, but the exceeding sinfulness of sin lies in its bringing men to destruction through the use of that which is good. And then in a passage of intense earnestness and noble self-revelation St. Paul describes his pre-Christian experience. He recalls the torturing consciousness of the hopeless conflict between spirit and flesh, a consciousness which the Law only deepened and could not heal. The weakness of the flesh, sold under sin, brought death to the higher life. But from this law too, the law of sin and of death, Christ has set him free (7^{13-25}). For the Christian is not condemned to endure this hopeless struggle. God, in sending His Son, has condemned sin in the flesh. The alien power, sin, is no longer to rule. The reality and the strength of the Spirit of God have come into our lives with Jesus, so that the body is dead, to be revived only at the bidding of the indwelling Spirit (8^{1-12}). We are no longer bound to sin. God has put it into our hearts to call Him 'Abba, Father.' We are His little ones already. How glorious and how certain is our inheritance! That redemption for which creation groans most surely awaits us, far more than recompensing our present woes; and patience becomes us who have already received the first-fruits of the Spirit. The Spirit of God prays for us in our weakness, and we know that we stand in God's foreknowledge and calling. All must be well (8^{12-31}). And then in a final triumph-song St. Paul asks, 'If God be for us, who can be against us?' The victory of the Christian life requires a new word: we are more than conquerors. Nothing can separate us from the love of God in Christ Jesus our Lord (8^{31-37}).

Almost abruptly St. Paul turns to his third main question. The rejection of the Jews, by which the grace of God has come to the Gentile, grieves him to the heart. How is God's treatment of the Jews to be justified? There was from the first an element of selectiveness in God's dealings with the race of Abraham. The promise was not the necessary privilege of natural descent. It was to Isaac and not to Ishmael, to Jacob and not to Esau (9^{1-13}). God's mercy is inscrutable and arbitrary but it must be just. Whom He wills, He pities: whom He wills, He hardens. If it be said, 'Then God cannot justly blame men; how can the clay resist the potter?', St. Paul does not really solve the problem, but he asserts most emphatically that God's right to choose individuals for salvation cannot be limited by human thought (9^{14-21}). The justice of God's rejection of the Jews cannot be questioned *a priori*. But what are the facts? The Jews, in seeking to establish their own righteousness, have failed to find the righteousness of God. They have failed, because the coming of Christ puts an end to legal righteousness, a fact to which Moses himself bears testimony. They ought to have realized this, and they cannot be excused on the ground that they have had no preachers. They are responsible for their own rejection: they have heard and known and disobeyed (9^{30}–10^{21}). But though God has the right to reject His people, and though the Jews are themselves responsible for their refusal to accept the gospel, yet St. Paul cannot believe that it is final. Even now a remnant has been saved by grace; and the present rejection of Israel must have been intended to save the Gentiles. What larger blessing will not God bestow when He restores His people? The Gentiles must see in the fall of Israel the goodness of God towards themselves, and the possibilities of mercy for the Jews. This is enforced by the illustration of the wild olive and the natural branches (11^{17-24}). The Jews are enemies now, in order that God may bless the Gentiles. But they are still beloved, for the sake of the fathers. No, God has not deserted His people. If they are at present under a cloud, it is God's mercy and not His anger that has willed it so. And the same unsearchable mercy will one day restore them to His favour (11^{25-36}).

With the thought of the infinite mercies of God so strikingly evidenced, St. Paul begins his practical exhortation. Self-surrender to God is demanded as man's service. 'Thou must love Him who has loved thee so.' A great humility becomes us, a full recognition of the differing gifts which God bestows on us. A willingness to bear wrong will mark the Christian. He must be merciful, since his confidence is in the mercy of God. The conclusion of ch. 11 underlies the whole of ch. 12. St. Paul goes on to urge his readers to obey the governing powers; to pay to all the debt of

love, which alone fulfils the Law; to put off all sloth and vice, since the day is at hand (ch. 13). The duties of strong and weak towards each other will call for brotherly love. We must not surrender the principle of individual responsibility. Each standeth and falleth to the Lord. We have no right to judge, and we must not force our practices on our fellows. On the other hand, we must not push our individual liberty so far as to offend our brothers. Let us give up things we feel to be right, if we cause strife and doubt by asserting our liberty. The strong must bear the infirmities of the weak. Even Christ pleased not Himself. May we find our joy and peace in following Him! (14–15[12]).

St. Paul then concludes by explaining why he was so bold as to write to them at all, and by unfolding his plans and hopes for the future (15[13-33]). The last chapter contains a recommendation of Phœbe who brings the letter, and a number of detailed salutations to individual members of the Church, and to some house-churches. A brief warning against teachers who cause division, greetings from St, Paul's companions, and an elaborate doxology bring the letter to a close (ch. 16).

The theology and leading ideas of the letter cannot be treated here. In a sense, however, the importance of Romans lies rather in its religious power than in its theological ideas. The letter is bound together by St. Paul's central experience of the mercy of God. In God's grace he has found the strength which can arrest the decay of a sinful, careless world. In God's grace he has found also the secret of overcoming for the man who is conscious of the awfulness of sin, and of his own inability to save his life from destruction. The problem of the rejection of the Jews is really raised, not so much by their previous privileges as by God's present mercy. St. Paul cannot be satisfied till he has grasped the love of God, which he feels must be at the heart of the mystery. The reality and nearness of God's mercy determine the Christian character and render it possible. It is noteworthy that, though St. Paul seldom refers to the sayings of Jesus, he arrives at the mind of Christ through the gospel of the grace of God. A comparison of the Sermon on the Mount with Ro 12–14 makes the antithesis, 'Jesus or Paul,' appear ridiculous. Above all, the glowing earnestness with which in chs. 4–8 he seeks to share with the Roman Christians—(note the use of 'we' throughout that section)—the highest and holiest inspirations he has learnt from Christ, reveals a heart in which the love of God is shed abroad. As Deissmann suggests, we do not recognize the special characteristic of St. Paul if we regard him as first and foremost the theologian of primitive Christianity. Romans is the passionate outpouring of one who has come into living touch with his heavenly Father.

3. Some textual points: integrity and genuineness.—The omission in manuscript G of the words *en Rōmē* in 1[7. 15] is an interesting indication of the probability that a shortened edition of Romans, with the local references suppressed, may have been circulated in quite early times. The letter to the Ephesians seems to have been treated in the same way. This shorter edition may have concluded at 14[23], where the final doxology (16[25-27]) is placed in several MSS (ALP, etc.). But the shifting position of this doxology in our authorities perhaps indicates that it is not part of the original letter at all (see Denney, in the *EGT*). But there is further evidence to show that some early editions of the letter omitted chs. 15 and 16. Marcion apparently omitted these chapters. Tertullian, Irenæus, and Cyprian do not quote them. There is also some internal evidence for thinking that ch. 16 at least may be part of a letter to Ephesus. The reference to Epænetus in 16[5] would be more natural in a letter to Ephesus than in a letter to Rome. In view of Ac 18[2] it is difficult to suppose that Aquila and Priscilla had returned from Ephesus to Rome. Moreover, it is not likely that St. Paul would have so many acquaintances in a church he had not visited. On the other hand, none of these considerations affects or explains ch. 15, and the two chapters cannot be separated very easily. Further, Sanday and Headlam have collected an imposing array of evidence to prove the presence at Rome of persons with such names as are mentioned in ch. 16 ('Romans' in *ICC* xxxiv f.). The question must still be regarded as open.

But while there is some probability that ch. 16 is part of a distinct letter, the theories of dismemberment, or rather the proofs of the composite character of Romans advanced by some Dutch scholars, cannot be considered convincing. The views of the late Prof. W. C. van Manen have received perhaps undue attention, owing to the fact that the art. on 'Romans' in the *EBi* is from his pen. His criticism was certainly arbitrary, and his premises frequently inaccurate. Thus he quotes with approval Evanson's statement that there is no reference in Acts to any project of St. Paul's to visit Rome—a statement made in direct contradiction of Ac 19[21] (*EBi*, vol. iv. col. 4137). The year A.D. 120 is regarded as the probable date of Romans, in face of the external evidence of 1 Clement (*ib.* col. 4143). The general argument against the genuineness of Romans, which weighs most with van Manen, lies in the fact that 'it has learned to break with Judaism, and to regard the standpoint of the law as once for all past and done with.' This is 'a remarkable forward step, a rich and far-reaching reform of the most ancient type of Christianity; now, a man does not become at one and the same moment the adherent of a new religion and its great reformer' (*ib.* col. 4138). Of this disproof of Pauline authorship it is quite sufficient to say with Prof. Schmiedel, 'Perhaps St. Paul was not an ordinary man.' Indeed, Prof. Schmiedel's article on 'Galatians' (*ib.* vol. ii. col. 1620f.) is a final refutation of the Dutch school represented by van Manen. They have advanced as yet no solid reason for doubting the genuineness of Romans.

H. G. Wood.

ROME.—The beginnings of Rome are shrouded in obscurity. The city was situated on the left bank of the Tiber, about 18 miles from its mouth. The original Rome was built on one hill only, the Palatine, but the neighbouring hills were successively included, and about the middle of the sixth century B.C., according to tradition, a wall was built to enclose the enlarged city. The whole circuit of this wall was about 5 miles, and it was pierced by nineteen gates. Within these was a large area of vacant spaces, which were gradually built on later, and at the beginning of the Empire (roughly middle of 1st cent. B.C.) not only was the city congested with buildings, but large areas without the wall were also covered with houses. The Roman Forum, an open space measuring over 300 ft. in length, and about 150 ft. in breadth, was the centre of political, legal, and commercial life. At one end was the *rostra* or platform, from which speeches were delivered to the public; at the other end were shops. It was flanked by the senate-house and law-courts. On the top of the Capitoline Hill was the *Capitolium*, or great temple dedicated to Jupiter, Juno, and Minerva, and on the Palatine Hill the principal residence of the Emperor, and the Temple of Apollo, containing the public libraries, Greek and Latin. In the Imperial period four additional *fora* were built, devoted entirely to legal, literary, and religious purposes—the *Forum Iulium* begun by Julius Cæsar, the *Forum Augustum* built by Augustus, the *Forum Transitorium* completed by Nerva, and the *Forum Traiani* built by Trajan—the most splendid work of Imperial times. Various estimates of the population of Rome in the time of Christ have been given: 2,000,000 seems not unlikely. All nationalities in the Empire were represented—among them many Jews, who were expelled by Claudius in A.D. 50, but returned at his death four years later. The slave population was very large.

The Romans began as one of the members of the Latin league, of which, having become presidents, they eventually became masters. After conquering Latium they were inevitably brought into conflict with the other

races of Italy, over most of which they were sovereign about the middle of the 3rd cent. B.C. The extension of Roman territory steadily continued until, in the time of Christ, it included, roughly, Europe (except the British Isles, Norway, Sweden, Denmark, Germany, and Russia), the whole of Asia Minor, Syria, Egypt, and the north-west of Africa.

The Roman State was at first ruled by kings, but these gave place to two rulers, known later as *consuls*. Their powers were gradually circumscribed by the devolution of some of their duties on other magistrates. The period of steady accession of territory was coincident with a bitter struggle between the patrician and the plebeian classes, both of which comprised free citizens. The contest between the orders lasted for about two centuries, and at the end of that period all the offices of State were equally open to both. This was not, however, the establishment of a real democracy, but the beginning of a struggle between the governing class and the mass of the people, which eventually brought the Republic to an end. The civil wars, which during the last century of its existence had almost destroyed it, had shown clearly that peace could be reached only under the rule of one man. The need of the time was satisfied by Augustus, who ruled as autocrat under constitutional forms: the appearance of a republic was retained, but the reality was gone, and the appearance itself gradually disappeared also. For the city of Rome the Empire was a time of luxury and idleness, but the provinces entered upon an era of progressive prosperity. The Emperor was responsible for the government of all provinces where an army was necessary (for instance, Syria), and governed these by paid deputies of his own. The older and more settled provinces were governed by officials appointed by the senate, but the Emperor had his financial interests attended to by procurators of his own even in these. Under the Empire the provinces were much more protected against the rapacity and cruelty of governors than in Republican times. The Emperors themselves stood for just as well as efficient administration, and most of them gave a noble example by strenuous devotion to administrative business.

The resident Romans in any province consisted of (1) the officials connected with the Government, who were generally changed annually; (2) members of the great financial companies and lesser business men, whose interests kept them there; (3) citizens of *coloniæ* (or military settlements), which were really parts of Rome itself set down in the provinces; (4) soldiers of the garrison and their officers; (5) distinguished natives of the province, who, for services rendered to the Roman State, were individually gifted with the **citizenship**. Such must have been one of the ancestors of St. Paul. The honour was not conferred on all the inhabitants of the Empire till 212 A.D., and in NT times those who possessed it constituted the aristocracy of the communities in which they lived.

The Romans have left a great legacy to the world. As administrators, lawyers, soldiers, engineers, architects, and builders they have never been surpassed. In literature they depended mainly on the Greeks, as in sculpture, music, painting, and medicine. In the arts they never attained more than a respectable standard.

A. Souter.

ROOF.—See House, § 5.

ROOM.—See House, § 2. For the 'upper room,' see *ib.* § 5, and for the now obsolete use of 'room' in the sense of place at table, as 'the chief room' (Lk 14^{7}), the 'highest room' (v.^{8}—RV in both cases 'chief seat'), or 'the uppermost room' (Mt 23^{6}, Mk 12^{39}, RV 'chief place'), see Meals, § 6. A. R. S. Kennedy.

ROPE.—See Cord.

ROSE.—1. *chăbazzeleth* [Heb.], Ca 2^{1} **['rose of Sharon']**, Is 35^{1}. All authorities are agreed that the tr. 'rose' adopted in the EV is incorrect. The *chăbazzeleth* appears to have been a bulbed flower. The RVm suggests 'autumn crocus' (*Colchicum autumnale*); on the other hand, many good authorities suggest the much more striking and sweeter-scented plant—the narcissus, which is a great favourite to-day in Palestine. Two species are known—*N. Tazetta* and *N. serotinus*. In Wis 2^{8}, Sir 24^{14} 39^{13} 50^{8} we have mention of *rhodon* (Gr.). Whether this is, as Tristram maintains, the Rhododendron or the true rose is uncertain; both occur in parts of Palestine. E. W. G. Masterman.

ROSH.—1. A descendant of Benjamin (Gn 46^{21} [text doubtful]). 2. In Ezk $38^{2f.}$ 39^{1} the word *Rosh* is thought by many interpreters to refer to a people, otherwise unknown, but coupled with *Meshech* and *Tubal* (wh. see). It is possible, however, that the word meaning 'head' is used as a preposition 'over,' so that the phrase here applied to Gog (wh. see) simply means, 'prince over Meshech and Tubal'; cf. AVm. J. F. McCurdy.

RUBY.—See Jewels and Precious Stones.

RUDDER.—See Ships and Boats, 2 (2).

RUE (Lk 11^{42}).—The rue of Palestine is *Ruta chalepensis*, a variety of the officinal plant, which is cultivated as a medicine. E. W. G. Masterman.

RUFUS.—1. The brother of Alexander and son of Simon of Cyrene (Mk 15^{21} only). 2. A Christian at Rome greeted by St. Paul (Ro 16^{13}) as 'the chosen in the Lord,' together with 'his mother and mine.' It has been conjectured that these two are the same person, that Simon's widow (?) had emigrated to Rome with her two sons, where they became people of eminence in the Church, and that this is the reason why the brothers are mentioned by St. Mark, who probably wrote in Rome.

A. J. Maclean.

RUG.—Jg 4^{18} (RV). The tr. is doubtful.

RUHAMAH.—The second child (a daughter) of Gomer, Hosea's wife, was called **Lo-ruhamah,** 'unpitied' (Hos $1^{6.\ 8}$). The name was given symbolically to indicate that God had ceased to pity Israel, and given her over to calamity. The return of God's mercy is indicated in Hos 2^{1} 'Say ye unto your brethren, *Ammi* (*i.e.* 'my people,' in opposition to **Lo-ammi,** 'not my people'); and to your sisters, *Ruhamah*' (*i.e.* ye are 'pitied'). A similar play on the word is found in Hos 2^{23} 'I will *have mercy on* ''her that had not obtained mercy'' (*Lo-ruhamah*).' W. F. Boyd.

RULE.—See Arts and Crafts, § 1.

RULER OF THE FEAST.—See Governor, Meals, 6.

RULER OF THE SYNAGOGUE.—See Synagogue.

RULERS OF THE CITY.—EV tr. in Ac $17^{6.\ 8}$ of the Gr. *politarchai*, which was the special local title of the magistrates of Thessalonica.

RUMAH.—The home of Pedaiah, the maternal grandfather of Jehoiakim (2 K 23^{36}). Josephus (*Ant.* x. v. 2) reads *Abouma*, no doubt a scribal error for *Arouma*, which may be the **Arumah** of Jg 9^{41} near Shechem. There was another Rumah in Galilee (Jos *BJ* iii. vii. 21), perhaps the modern *Rumeh* near Nazareth; and Pedaiah may have been a Galilæan. W. F. Boyd.

RUNNERS.—See Footman, Guard.

RUSH, RUSHES.—1. *gōme'*, Ex 2^{3} (EV **'bulrushes'** RVm 'papyrus'), Job 8^{11}, Is 18^{2} (AV 'bulrushes,' RV 'papyrus') 35^{7}. This was probably the once famous plant the **papyrus** (*Cyperus papyrus*, Arab. *babīr*), which now flourishes in the Huleh swamps. The bulrush (*Scirpus maritimus*) and other species may have been included in the Heb. name *gōme'*. 2. *'agmōn*, Job 41^{2} (AV 'hook,' RV 'rope,' RVm 'Heb. a rope of rushes') 41^{20} (AV 'caldron,' RV '[burning] rushes'), Is 9^{14} 19^{15} 58^{5} (AV 'bulrush'). There are some twenty kinds of rushes in Palestine, but it is impossible to fit the

references to any one kind, and, indeed, some kind of 'reed' (wh. see) is quite as probable, especially in Is 58[5].

E. W. G. Masterman.

RUTH (meaning uncertain).—A woman of Moab, who, like her mother-in-law Naomi, and her sister-in-law Orpah, was left a widow. On Naomi desiring to return to her own people in Bethlehem-Judah—which she had left with her husband owing to a famine—Ruth refused to leave her, and the two returned together to Bethlehem. Here she became the wife of **Boaz,** and bore him Obed, who became the father of Jesse; she therefore figures in the genealogy of Christ (Mt 1[5]). See, further, the next article. W. O. E. Oesterley.

RUTH (Book of).—1. Contents.—The book is really the narrative of a family story, told in a charmingly idyllic way. The fact of most far-reaching interest which it contains is that the Moabitess Ruth, *i.e.* one who is non-Israelite, is represented as the ancestress of the house of David; this is very important, as testifying to a spirit which is very different from ordinary Jewish exclusiveness, and as far as the OT is concerned can be paralleled only by the Book of Jonah. A point of subsidiary but yet considerable interest in the book is its archæology; the notices concerning the laws of the marriage of next-of-kin (2[20] 4[1ff.]), and of the method of transferring property (4[7. 8]), and of the custom of the formal ratification of a compact (4[11. 12]), are all evidently echoes of usages which belonged to a time long anterior to the date at which the book was written, though in part still in vogue.

2. Date.—The language of the book has an 'Aramaicizing tendency'; it implicitly acknowledges itself to have been written long after the time of the events it professes to describe (1[1] 4[7]); in the Hebrew Canon it is placed among the *Hagiographa*; these considerations lead to the conclusion that the book must be of late date. That it is post-exilic cannot admit of doubt; but to assign to it a date more definite than this would be precarious. This much, at least, may be said: the third portion of the Hebrew Canon was completed, at the earliest, after the close of the 3rd cent. B.C. Now it is not likely that a book which purported to contain a fuller genealogy of David than that of 1 Samuel would have been long in existence without being admitted into the Canon. W. O. E. Oesterley.

RYE.—See Rie.

S

SABACHTHANI.—See Eloi, Eloi, etc.

SABÆANS.—See Sheba.

SABANNEUS (1 Es 9[33]) = **Zabad,** Ezr 10[33].

SABANNUS (1 Es 8[63]) = **Binnui,** Ezr 8[33].

SABAOTH.—See God, 2 (*h*), and Lord of Hosts.

SABATEUS (1 Es 9[48]) = **Shabbethai,** Neh 8[7].

SABATHUS (1 Es 9[28]) = **Zabad,** Ezr 10[27].

SABBATEUS (1 Es 9[14]) = **Shabbethai,** Ezr 10[15].

SABBATH.—1. Origin of the Sabbath.—The name 'Sabbath' (Heb. *shabbāth*, from a verb *shābath*, meaning 'to desist') might be applied to any sacred season as a time of cessation from labour, and is so used of the Day of Atonement, which was observed annually on the tenth day of the seventh month (Lv 16[31] 23[32]). But in usage it is almost confined to the day of rest which closed each week of seven days, the cycle running continuously through the calendar without regard to the month or the year. The origin of this institution, and its early history among the Israelites, are involved in much obscurity. That it has affinities with certain **Babylonian observances** is obvious; but the differences are very marked, and a direct dependence of the one on the other is difficult to understand. It is known that in two months (possibly in all) the 7th, 14th, 21st, and 28th days (those in which the moon enters a new phase), and also the 19th (the [7×7th=] 49th from the beginning of the previous month), were regarded in Babylonia as unlucky days, on which certain actions had to be avoided by important personages (king, priest, physician). The name *shabattu* has also been found in the inscriptions, where it is explained as *ūm nūḥ libbi*='day of the appeasement of the heart' (of the deity),—in the first instance, therefore, a day of prayer or atonement. But that the five unlucky days mentioned above were called *shabattu* has not been proved, and is, indeed, rendered improbable by the more recent discovery that *shabattu* was a name for the day of the full moon (the 15th of the month). When we turn to the early references to the Sabbath in the OT, we find a state of things which seems at first sight to present a parallel to the Babylonian usage. It is a singular fact that except in the expansions of the Fourth Commandment in Ex 20[9-11] and Dt 5[13-15] (which are evidently no part of the original Decalogue), there is nothing in the pre-exilic literature which explicitly indicates that the word 'Sabbath' denoted a weekly **day of rest.** In the kernel of the Decalogue (Ex 20[8], Dt 5[12]), the observance of the Sabbath is enjoined; but neither the manner of its observance nor the period of its recurrence is prescribed. Where, on the other hand, the weekly rest is inculcated (Ex 23[12] 34[21]), the name 'Sabbath' does not occur. In the prophetic and historical books 'Sabbath' and **'new moon'** are associated in such a way as to suggest that both were lunar festivals (Am 8[5], Ho 2[11], Is 1[13], 2 K 4[23]); and the attempt has been made to trace the transition from the Babylonian institution to the Hebrew Sabbath by the hypothesis that originally the Sabbath in Israel was the feast of the full moon, just as in Babylonia. This theory, however, is little but an ingenious paradox. It is arbitrary to deny the antiquity of Ex 23[12] or 34[21]; and if the word 'Sabbath' is not found in these passages, yet the related verb *shābath* is used in both, as is rarely the case except in connexion with the Sabbath. Moreover, the way in which the Sabbath is isolated from all other sacred seasons (Decalogue, 2 K 11[5ff.] 16[18]) goes far to show that even in the pre-exilic period it was a festival *sui generis*, and had already acquired something of the prominence which belonged to it in later times. How little force there is in the argument from the connexion of 'new moon' and 'Sabbath' may be seen from Is 66[23], Col 2[16f.]. The most reasonable conclusion is that the weekly Sabbath is everywhere presupposed in the OT, and that, if it be connected historically with Babylonian institutions, the development lies behind the range of Israelite tradition, and in all probability was a feature of Canaanitish civilization when the Hebrews settled in the country. It must be remembered, however, that the hypothesis of a Babylonian origin does not exhaust the possibilities of the case. Although a regularly recurring day of rest is neither necessary nor possible for pastoral nomads, it is quite conceivable that some form of Sabbath observance, depending on the phases of the moon, was practised

by the Hebrews in the desert, and that the transformation of this primitive lunar festival into the Sabbath as we find it in the OT was due to the suppression of its superstitious associations under the influence of the national religion of Israel.

2. Religious significance of the Sabbath.—The distinctive characteristics of the Hebrew Sabbath were mainly these two: it was, first, a day sacred to Jahweh, and second, a day of rest. In the earlier period cessation from labour may have been merely a consequence of the festal character of the day; although the reinforcement of the ceremonial sanction by humanitarian motives in the legislation (Ex 23[12], Dt 5[14]) shows that already the religious mind of the nation had grasped the final justification of the Sabbath as an institution made for man, and not one for which man was made. This conception of the Sabbath underwent a radical modification in the age of the Exile. It is hardly accurate to say that the change was entirely due to the fact that the Sabbath was one of the few religious ordinances by which the Israelite in a foreign land could mark his separation from heathenism. The idea of the Sabbath as a covenant between Jahweh and Israel, which is elaborated in Ezekiel and the code called the Law of Holiness, is foreshadowed in Dt 5[15]; and even the more imposing conception of it as a memorial of the Creation finds expression in Ex 20[11], which is quite possibly of older date than the Priestly account of Creation in Gn 1. The truth is that in this, as in many other cases, the real turning-point was not the deportation of the people but the suppression of the popular ritual by Josiah's reformation. None the less it is important to observe that, for whatever reason, a profound transformation of the character of the Sabbath emerges in writings of the Exilic and post-exilic period. The obligation of rest, from being a necessary concomitant of acts of worship, or a means to a higher end, becomes an end in itself, a form of self-denial, pleasing to the Deity as an act of implicit obedience to His positive command. The whole of the subsequent legislation proceeds from this point of view. In Ezekiel and the Law of Holiness the Sabbath (as has just been observed) is conceived as an arbitrary sign of the covenant between Jahweh and Israel, and of the individual's fidelity to that covenant. The Priestly Code not only exalts the Sabbath by basing its sanction on the example of the Creator (Gn 2[2-4], Ex 31[17]), but seeks to enforce its observance by the imposition of the death penalty (Ex 31[14], Nu 15[32-36]), and sets the example of guarding its sanctity by prohibitive regulations (Ex 35[3]). The memoirs of Nehemiah reveal at once the importance attached to the Sabbath as a mark of the distinction between the faithful Jews and their heathen neighbours (10[31] 13[15]), and the stern determination which was necessary to compel obedience (13[17ff.]). In post-exilic prophecies there are several allusions to Sabbath observance as a supreme religious duty, and a condition of the fulfilment of the Messianic expectations (Jer 17[19ff.], Is 56[2ff.] 58[13f.] 66[23]). At the commencement of the Maccabæan revolt, regard for the Sabbath was so ingrained in the mind of the people that strict Jews allowed themselves to be slaughtered by their enemies rather than use arms for their own defence (1 Mac 2[31ff.]); though after one incident of this kind the maxim was laid down that defensive operations in war were legitimate on the Sabbath (v.[41]).

3. The Sabbath in the NT.—The Gospels show that by the time of Christ the casuistry of the scribes had hedged round the Sabbath with many of those petty and vexatious rules which are preserved in the Rabbinical literature, and which completely eviscerated the institution of any large principle of religion or humanity. Accordingly the Sabbath law was (next to His own Messianic claims) the chief subject of contention between our Lord and the Pharisees (see Mt 12[1ff. 10f.], Lk 13[14ff.] 14[1ff.], Jn 5[5ff.] 7[23] 9[14ff.] etc.). As regards our Lord's own attitude, it is enough to say that it combined reverence for the ordinance, in so far as it served religious ends (Lk 4[16] etc.), with a resolute vindication of the principle that 'the Sabbath was made for man and not man for the Sabbath' (Mk 2[27]). Similarly, in the Pauline Epistles the Sabbath is relegated, either inferentially (Ro 14[5f.], Gal 4[9ff.]) or expressly (Col 2[16f.]), to the category of things morally indifferent, with regard to which each man must follow the dictates of his conscience. It is significant also that the decree of the Council of Jerusalem does not impose the observance of the Sabbath on the Gentile Churches (Ac 15[29]). On the later Christian observance of the first day of the week, and its assimilation to the Jewish Sabbath, see LORD'S DAY.

J. SKINNER.

SABBATH DAY'S JOURNEY.—See WEIGHTS AND MEASURES, I.

SABBATICAL YEAR (including **year of Jubilee**).—**1. OT references.**—In a consideration of the regulations connected with the Sabbatical and Jubilee years, it is of the greatest importance to keep distinct the various stages of the Jewish legislation on the subject. The various ordinances differ greatly in character and detail; and in order to comprehend this diversity it is necessary to assume as granted the main conclusions of OT criticism, and to admit at any rate that a separation in time and difference in spirit characterize the several parts of the 'Mosaic Law.'

Exodus. In 23[10. 11] an entire cessation of all field-work is ordered to take place in every 7th year. This is said to be dictated by a regard for the poor and the beasts of the field. In effect the gift of one year's produce to the poor is prescribed, that the landless may receive the usufruct of the soil. In 21[2-6] it is laid down that a Hebrew slave can be kept in bondage only for six years. After this period he was automatically emancipated, though his wife and children must remain in servitude, if he had married after his term of service began. But provision was made for cases where a slave might desire to remain in this condition. A public ceremony took place which signified his acceptance of the position in perpetuity. Nothing is here said which leads us to suppose that there was one simultaneous period of emancipation all over the country, and no reference is made to redemption of land or remission of debts.

Deuteronomy. In 15[1-3] the 7th year is assigned as the period at which all the liabilities of a Jew were suspended (or possibly, as Josephus supposes, entirely cancelled); this provision was to be of universal operation. 15[12-18] repeats the ordinances of Ex 21 with regard to the emancipation of slaves; here again no simultaneity of redemption can be inferred. 31[10-13] prescribes that the Law is to be read every 7th year (the 'year of release') at the Feast of Tabernacles (cf. Neh 8[13-18]). Nothing is said in Deuteronomy about a possible redemption of land.

Leviticus. In 25[1-55] provision is made for a seventh-year fallow; but there is no mention of the poor. The reason assigned is that the land, being Jehovah's land, must keep Sabbath, *i.e.* the Sabbath principle is extended to cover nature as well as man. We also find here the jubilee ordinances. After 49 years had elapsed, every 50th year was to be inaugurated as a jubilee by the blowing of the trumpet on the Day of Atonement. All slaves were to be emancipated (this may be a modified substitute for the earlier provisions with regard to emancipation after 7 years); no mention is made of the possibility of perpetual slavery, but it is ordained that the Hebrew slave of a foreigner may be redeemed by a relative, all Jews being essentially Jehovah's servants. The land was to lie fallow, and providential aid is promised to ensure sufficiency of produce during the period of three years when no harvest could be gathered, viz. the 49th

year, which would be a sabbatical fallow, the year of jubilee, and the following year, when tillage would be resumed. Here also we find elaborate directions for the redemption of land in the jubilee year. They may be thus summarized: (1) No landed property may be sold, but only the usufruct of its produce up to the next jubilee, and the price must be calculated by the distance from that period. (2) A kinsman may redeem land thus mortgaged, or (the meaning may possibly be) exercise a right of pre-emption upon it. (3) The mortgager may redeem at the selling price, less the yearly proportion for the time elapsed since the sale. (4) House property in walled towns (not in villages) may be sold outright, and is redeemable only during one year. Such property was presumably regarded as human and artificial, whilst all land was essentially the property of Jehovah. (5) The Levitical possessions were redeemable at any time, and did not come under the jubilee provisions. (6) Nothing is said in Lev. as to the remission of debts, but there is a general prohibition of usury. (7) In Lv 27^{16-25} a field devoted to Jehovah must be valued at once at a fixed rate, and might be redeemed at this price, plus a fine of 20 per cent., up to the year of jubilee. If not redeemed by then it became sacred property; no redemption of it was thereafter possible.

2. Purposes of the Sabbatical rules.—The purposes underlying the ordinances above catalogued may be classified under 4 heads; but it is practically impossible to assign any certain priority of time to any one of the classes. (*a*) *The periodical fallow.* This is a very common provision in agriculture, and the seven years' period is still observed in Syria. Since the fallow year was not at first everywhere simultaneous, the earlier historical books are silent about it; and indeed it cannot have been generally observed. For the 70 years' captivity and desolation of the land was regarded as making up for the unobserved Sabbaths of the land (2 Ch 36^{21}, cf. Lv $26^{34.\ 43}$). The reference in Neh 10^{31} may be to the periodical fallow or to the remission of debts. But 1 Mac $6^{49.\ 53}$ shows that the fallow year was observed later. (*b*) *The emancipation of slaves* (cf. Jer $34^{8.\ 9}$). Such a provision must have been very difficult to enforce, and we find no other possible reference to it. (*c*) *The remission or suspension of debts.* The only reference is the dubious one in Neh 10^{31}. (*d*) *The redemption of real property.* The kind of tenure here implied is not uncommonly found in other countries, and Jer $32^{6ff.}$, Ru 4, Ezk 7^{13} show that something akin to it did exist in Palestine (cf. also Ezk 46^{17}). But that it was in no sense universal may be inferred from Isaiah's and Micah's denunciations of land-grabbing; on the other hand, 1 K $21^{3.\ 4}$ furnishes an instance of the inalienability of land. Cf. Leviticus, p. 543[b].

In general we have no sign that the sabbatical and jubilee provisions were ever strictly observed in Biblical times. Their principles of rest and redemption, though never practised as a piece of social politics, were preached as ideals, and may have had some effect in discouraging slave-owning, land-grabbing, and usury, and in encouraging a more merciful view of the relations between Jew and Jew. Thus Is 61^{1-3} is steeped in the jubilee phraseology, and Christ adopted this passage to explain His own mission (Lk $4^{16ff.}$). A. W. F. Blunt.

SABBEUS (1 Es 9^{34}) = **Shemaiah,** Ezr 10^{31}.

SABI (1 Es 5^{28}) = **Shobai,** Ezr 2^{42}, Neh 7^{45}.

SABIAS (1 Es 1^{9}) = **Hashabiah,** 2 Ch 35^{9}.

SABIE.—'The children of Pochereth-hazzebaim,' Ezr 2^{57}, Neh 7^{59}, appear as 'the sons of Phacereth, the sons of Sabie' in 1 Es 5^{34}.

SABTA, SABTAH.—In the genealogical list of Gn 10^{7} a son of Cush, named between Havilah and other Arabian districts. It was probably a region on or near the east coast of Arabia, but in spite of several conjectures it has not been identified with any historical tribe or country. The relationship with Cush is to be accounted for on the ground that the Cushites were held to have extended across the Red Sea from Nubia north-eastward over the great peninsula. J. F. McCurdy.

SABTECA.—The youngest son of Cush according to Gn 10^{7}. The only identification at all plausible has been made with *Samydake* on the E. side of the Persian Gulf. But this is improbable, since that region did not come within the Cushite domain, as judged by the names of the other sons of Cush. Possibly *Sabteca* is a miswriting for **Sabtah** (wh. see). J. F. McCurdy.

SACAR.—**1.** The father of Ahiam (1 Ch 11^{35} = 2 S 23^{33} **Sharar**). **2.** A family of gatekeepers (1 Ch 26^{4}).

SACKBUT.—See Music, etc., § 4 (*c*).

SACKCLOTH.—The sackcloth of OT was a coarse dark cloth made on the loom from the hair of goats and camels. In the extant literature it is almost always associated with mourning for the dead (Gn 37^{34}, 2 S 3^{31} and oft.); and especially with the public expression of humiliation and penitence in view of some national misfortune, present or impending (1 K 21^{27}, Neh 9^{1}, Jon 3^{5} etc.). For other tokens of grief and penitence, associated with the donning of sackcloth, such as ashes or dust on the head, and the rending of garments (this being a later substitute for their entire removal), see Mourning Customs. In such cases the person or persons concerned are generally said to 'gird' themselves with sackcloth, or to have sackcloth about their loins, from which it is evident that the sackcloth was worn in the form of a loincloth or waistcloth, tied in the ancient manner in a knot in front (cf. Is 20^{2} 'loose the sackcloth,' lit. 'untie the knot'). It was worn by women as well as by men (Is 32^{11}, Jth 9^{1}). The putting of it upon cattle, however, as mentioned in Jon 3^{8} and Jth 4^{10}, and even upon an altar (4^{11}), is, from the nature of the passages cited, rather a literary than a historical extravagance.

In this custom most modern scholars recognize an illustration of conservatism in religious practice. The waistcloth is known to have been the oldest article of dress among the Semites (see Dress, § 2), and as such it appears to have been retained in mourning customs and in humiliation before God, and perhaps in the exercise of the cultus, long after it had ceased to be the only garment of the people. The *ihram* or waistcloth still worn by the Moslem pilgrims during their devotions at the sacred shrine at Mecca, has often been cited as a modern parallel. A. R. S. Kennedy.

SACRAMENTS.—**1. The term.**—Although applied by common consent to certain institutions of the NT, the word 'sacrament' (Lat. *sacramentum*) is not a Scriptural one. In classical Lat. *sacramentum* (fr. *sacrare*, 'to consecrate') is used esp. in two senses: (*a*) passively, as a legal term, to denote a sum of money deposited by the parties to a suit, which was forfeited by the loser and appropriated to sacred uses; (*b*) actively, as a military term, to denote the oath taken by newly enlisted soldiers. When it came to be applied to Christian uses, the word retained the suggestions of both of those earlier employments. A sacrament was something set apart for sacred purposes; it was also, in certain cases, of the nature of a vow of self-consecration, resembling the oath of the Roman soldier (cf. Tertullian: 'We were called to the warfare of the living God in our very response to the sacramental words,' *ad Mart.* iii.). But the application and history of the word in the Christian Church were determined chiefly by the fact that in the Old Lat. and Vulg. VSS it was repeatedly employed (*mysterium*, however, being employed more frequently) to render the Gr. *mystērion*, 'a mystery.' [Thus Vulg. tr. St. Paul's 'This mystery is great' (Eph 5^{32}) by 'Sacramentum hoc magnum est';—a rendering that had not a little to do with the subsequent erection of marriage into a sacrament.] This identification of the idea of a sacrament with that

of a mystery was carried still further by Tertullian, and was greatly fostered by the fact that about this time a tendency was rapidly growing in the Church to an assimilation of Christian worship to the Mystery-worship of the Græco-Roman world (see art. MYSTERY). Tertullian (end of 2nd cent. and beginning of 3rd) is the first writer to apply the name 'sacrament' to Baptism, the Eucharist, and other rites of the Christian Church.

When Pliny (*c.* A.D. 112), in his account of the worship of the Christians of Bithynia, describes them at their morning meetings as 'binding themselves by a *sacramentum* to commit no kind of crime' (*Ep.* x. 96), it has been suggested by some that he was using the word in the Christian sense, and was referring either to the baptismal vow or to participation in the Eucharist. The fact, however, that we do not find such a use of the word, even in Christian writers, for nearly a century afterwards makes this extremely unlikely; and the probability is that Pliny intended it in the old Roman sense of an oath or solemn obligation.

2. Nature and number.—(1) Though used especially of Baptism and the Eucharist, the application of the term by Christian writers was at first exceedingly loose, for it was taken to describe not only all kinds of religious ceremonies, but even facts and doctrines of the Christian faith. The vagueness of prevailing notions is illustrated by Augustine's remark that 'signs pertaining to things Divine are called sacraments,' and by his well-known definition of a sacrament as 'the visible form of an invisible grace.' It is otherwise illustrated by the fact that Hugo of St. Victor (12th cent.) enumerates about 30 sacraments that had been recognized in the Church. The Council of Trent defined the nature of a sacrament more closely, by laying it down that not all signs of sacred things have sacramental value, and that visible forms are sacraments only when they *represent* an invisible grace and become its channels. It further delimited the sacramental area by re-enacting in its 7th session (1547) a decision of the Council of Florence (1439) in which effect was for the first time authoritatively given to the suggestion of Peter Lombard (12th cent.) and other Schoolmen that the number of the sacraments should be fixed at 7, namely, Baptism, Confirmation, the Eucharist, Penance, Extreme Unction, Orders, and Matrimony—a suggestion that was evidently influenced by the belief that 7 was a sacred number.

(2) In the Reformed Churches criticism of this scheme was based on the fact that it proceeds on no settled principle. The number 7 is perfectly arbitrary; while the definition of a sacrament is still so vague that anything but an arbitrary selection of particulars is impossible. While, therefore, the Reformers retained the term 'sacrament' as a convenient one to express the general idea that has to be drawn from the characteristics of the acts classed together under this name—a term, moreover, that is sanctioned by the usage of the Church from the days of Tertullian—they found the distinguishing mark of a sacrament in the fact of its being instituted by Christ Himself and enjoined by Him upon His followers. And as **Baptism** and the **Lord's Supper** are the only two rites for which this can be claimed, it follows that there are only two sacraments in the proper sense of the word. The uniqueness that belongs to these as resting upon Christ's personal appointment and being bound up with His own words (Mt 28^{19}, Mk $16^{[16]}$; Mt $26^{26\ 29}$||, 1 Co $11^{23\text{-}25}$) justifies us in separating them from all other rites and ceremonies whatsoever, however seemly and suggestive any of these may appear to be, and raises them to the dignity of forming an integral part of the historical revelation of God in Christ, and so of being not signs merely, but in very truth, in Augustine's phrase, 'the word made visible.' A justification of this segregation of Baptism and the Lord's Supper from all other rites, and their association together under a common name, is furnished in the NT by Ac $2^{41.\ 42}$ and 1 Co $10^{1\text{-}4}$. A further justification may perhaps be found in the fact that St. Paul traces an analogy between Circumcision and the Passover—the two most distinctive rites of the Old Covenant—on the one hand, and Baptism (Col 2^{11}) and the Lord's Supper (cf. 1 Co 5^{7} with 11^{26}) respectively, on the other.

3. Efficacy.—According to the Roman view, sacraments are efficacious *ex opere operato*, i.e. by a power inherent in themselves as outward acts. The Reformed doctrine, on the other hand, maintains that though they are Divinely appointed channels of the heavenly grace, their benefits to the recipient are contingent upon subjective spiritual conditions, and above all upon the exercise of faith in Christ Himself. See, further, BAPTISM, CONFIRMATION, EUCHARIST, LAYING ON OF HANDS.

J. C. LAMBERT.

SACRIFICE AND OFFERING.—**1. TERMINOLOGY OF SACRIFICE.**—(*a*) *General.* Since every sacrifice was an offering, but all offerings were not sacrifices, this preliminary study of the usage of these two important terms in our EV may start from the more comprehensive **'offering.'** It is true that in the majority of the occurrences of 'offering,' both in AV and in RV, it is simply a synonym of 'sacrifice' (cf. German *Opfer*). This is the case more particularly in the extensive nomenclature of the various sacrifices, as 'burnt offering,' which also appears in AV as 'burnt sacrifice,' 'meal (AV meat) offering,' etc. (In AV and RV the names of the sacrifices are printed separately, in Amer. RV they are more correctly joined by a hyphen, burnt-offering, etc.) As will presently appear (§ **2**), the compound expression in such cases represents but a single word in the original, which is the technical term for the particular sacrifice.

In the remaining occurrences, however, 'offering,' or its synonym 'oblation,' is used in a more extended application to denote a gift offered to God, as opposed to a secular gift, in the form of a present, bribe, or the like, to a fellow-creature. Such 'holy gifts' (Ex 28^{38}) or offerings may be divided into three classes, namely, (1) altar-offerings, comprising all such offerings as were brought into contact with the altar (cf. Mt 23^{19}), mostly for the purpose of being consumed thereon; (2) the stated sacred dues, such as tithes, first-fruits, etc.; and (3) special votive offerings, *e.g.* those specified in Nu 7. In this comprehensive sense of the term, 'offering,' or—as almost uniformly in RV—**'oblation,'** corresponds to the Heb. *qorbān*, a word peculiar to Ezekiel and the priestly legislation. It is the **corban** of Mk 7^{11}, 'that is to say, Given *to God*' (RV; AV 'a gift'), and means 'something brought near,' *i.e.* to the altar, or at least presented at the sanctuary, in other words, a present to God. The term, as has been said, appears late in the history of OT sacrifice (Ezk 20^{28} 40^{43} and the various strata of P *passim*), the nearest corresponding term in the older literature being *minchāh*, for which see § **2**.

The classification of OT offerings above suggested serves, further, to bring into relief the relation of 'sacrifice' to 'offering.' The former may be defined as *an offering which is consumed, in whole or in part, upon the altar*, or, more briefly, as an altar-offering. It is in this more restricted sense of altar-offering that 'sacrifice' and 'offering' are employed synonymously in our English nomenclature of sacrifice.

But there is still another use of these terms in which they are not synonymous but contrasted terms. In the sacrificial system of OT, altar-offerings—'sacrifices,' in the sense above defined—are of two kinds, **animal** offerings and **cereal** offerings, using the latter term *a fortiori* for all non-bloody altar-offerings, including not merely cereal oblations in the strict sense (flour, cakes, etc.), but also offerings of wine, oil, and the indispensable salt. Now the characteristic and significant Heb. designation of an animal, or, as it is often termed, a bloody, offering is *zebach*, lit. 'slaughter,' from the

verb *zābach*, originally to slaughter generally, then specially to immolate the sacrificial victim, to sacrifice—hence also the word for **'altar,'** *mizbēach*, lit. the place of slaughter (for sacrifice). The complement of *zebach* in this sense of animal sacrifice is *minchāh*, in the later specialized sense of cereal offering (see, further, for both terms, § 2), so that 'sacrifice and offering' came to denote the whole category of altar offerings (Ps 40^6, 1 S 2^{29}, Am 5^{25}—also Is 19^{21} 'sacrifice and oblation'). In this sense, also, they are to be understood in the title of this article. The results now reached may be thus summed up: 'sacrifice' is used as a convenient term for both kinds of OT altar-offerings, but in the EV, and in strict usage, it corresponds to the Heb. *zebach*, which is always used of animal sacrifice, while 'offering' is used in three different senses—for all sacred gifts (*qorbān*), for such gifts only as 'came up' upon the altar, and, finally, in the special sense of cereal offering.

2. Terminology of sacrifice.—(*b*) *Special.* To the foregoing study of the more general terms may now be added a brief review of the more specific renderings of the names of the principal altar-offerings, reserving for later sections the examination of their characteristic features. Following the order of the manual of sacrifice, Lv 1–5, we have (1) the **burnt offering,**—so RV uniformly, AV also 'burnt sacrifice'—Heb. *'ōlāh*, lit. 'that which goes up' (on the altar). The name is supposed to point to the feature by which the *'ōlāh* was distinguished from all other sacrifices, viz., the burning of the whole victim as a holocaust upon the altar. This characteristic is more explicitly brought out by the rare designation (2) *kālīl*, the **'whole burnt offering'** of Dt 33^{10} RV (AV 'whole burnt sacrifice') and Ps 51^{19}. 'Whole offering' would be a more exact equivalent of (1) and (2).

(3) **Meal offering** (RV) and **meat offering** (AV) are the equivalents of *minchāh* in its restricted sense of cereal or vegetable offering, as already explained. The Heb. word 'does not express the neutral idea of a gift, but denotes a present made to secure or retain goodwill' (Driver, art. 'Offering,' in Hastings' *DB* iii. 587), such as Jacob's 'present' to Esau (Gn $32^{13.\ 18}$), and the 'presents' which subjects were expected to offer to their sovereigns (1 S 10^{27}). From the latter usage there is but a step to the further sense of an 'offering' to the Divine sovereign. In the older literature, *minchāh*, as a present or offering to J″, includes both animal and cereal offerings, as in the case of the 'offering' brought by Abel and Cain respectively (Gn $4^{3ff.}$) In the later Priests' Code, however, *minchāh* is restricted to the cereal offering. For this the 'meal offering' of RV is better than the older rendering, 'meat' being now obsolete in the sense intended, but is still not sufficiently comprehensive; hence **cereal offering** or **cereal oblation** is the rendering now generally preferred. With the cereal offering may be taken (4) the **drink offering,** first met with in Gn 35^{14}.

(5) **Peace offering** (RVm **thank offering**).—The meaning of the special name of this sacrifice (*shelem* Am 5^{22}, elsewhere always plural *shĕlāmīm*) is still uncertain,—a fact reflected in the alternatives of RV. Most scholars, following the LXX, connect the word with *shālōm*, 'peace,' as reflecting the harmonious relations of worshipper and worshipped brought about by the sacrifice. Others, with greater probability, would derive the name from another meaning of the same root—'to recompense, repay, pay one's vows' (see Pr 7^{14}). On this view, **recompense offering** is perhaps as good a rendering as any, and leaves (6) **thank offering** (2 Ch 29^{31}, *tōdhāh*, lit. 'thanksgiving,' hence the expression 'a sacrifice of thanksgiving,' Am 4^5, Ps $50^{14.\ 23}$ RV) for an important variety of the recompense offering (cf. Lv 7^{13} RV 'the sacrifice of his peace offerings for thanksgiving'). Other two varieties, named together Lv 7^{16}, Nu 15^3 etc., are (7) the **votive offering** (EV 'vow'), defined in the latter passage as 'a sacrifice to accomplish a vow,' and (8) the **freewill offering** (RV), which explains itself.

The probable meaning of the difficult terms rendered (9) **sin offering,** and (10) **trespass** (AV) or **guilt** (RV) **offering** will be more profitably discussed when the precise nature and object of these offerings are under consideration (§ 14 f.). All the various offerings (1) to (10) are explicitly or implicitly included in a favourite term of the Priestly legislation, namely (11) *'ishsheh*, **fire offering,** in EV 'the offering (or sacrifice) made by fire.' The fire offering is also mentioned in Dt 18^1 and 1 S 2^{28} (a Deuteronomic passage).

Two other significant terms may be taken together, namely, the **heave offering** and the **wave offering.** The former is the rendering, in this connexion, of (12) *tĕrūmāh*, which etymologically signifies not something 'heaved up' (so Ex 29^{27}), but rather 'what is *lifted off* a larger mass, or separated from it for sacred purposes.' The Heb. word is used in a variety of applications—gifts of agricultural produce, of the spoils of war, etc., and in these cases is rendered 'offering' or 'oblation' (see Driver, *DB* iii. 588, and *Com. on Deut.* 142, who considers 'that "contribution" is perhaps the English word which . . . best suggests the ideas expressed by the Heb. *tĕrūmāh*'). In connexion with sacrifice, however, it denotes certain portions 'taken or lifted off' from the rest and assigned to the priests as their due, in particular the 'heave thigh' (Lv 7^{34} RV), or 'the thigh of the heave offering' (Ex $29^{27f.}$). 'Heave offering' accordingly in the sacrificial terminology is the equivalent of 'priest's portion' (cf. Lv 6^{17}, where, however, a different word is used).

(13) With the *tĕrūmāh* is closely associated the *tĕnūphāh* or **wave offering.** The Heb. word denotes a movement to and fro, swinging, 'waving,' the priest lifting his share of the victim and moving it to and fro in the direction of the altar, thus symbolizing the presentation of the part of J″, and J″'s return of it to the priest. It is applied specially to the breast of the sacrificial victim, hence termed 'the breast of the wave offering' (Ex $29^{26f.}$), or more tersely 'the wave breast' (Lv 7^{34} $10^{14f.}$). Further, like *tĕrūmāh*, *tĕnūphāh* is also used in the more general sense of 'offering' (Ex 35^{22}; cf. Nu $8^{11.\ 13}$ of the Levites, where the change from 'offering' (AV) to 'wave offering' (RV) is not an improvement).

(14) The last entry in this vocabulary of OT sacrifice is reserved for the obscure term *'azkārāh*, **memorial offering,** applied especially to the handful of the cereal offering burnt by the priest upon the altar (Lv $2^{2.\ 9.\ 16}$ etc., EV 'memorial'). According to the usual, but uncertain, derivation of the term (*zākar* 'remember'), the *'azkārāh* is understood as an offering designed to bring the offerer to J″'s remembrance.

3. Sacrifice and offering in the pre-exilic period.—The history of OT sacrifice, like the history of the religion of Israel of which it is the most characteristic expression, falls into two main divisions, the first embracing the period from Moses to the end of the monarchy (B.C. 586), the second the period from the Babylonian exile to the destruction of the Temple in A.D. 70. For the latter period we have the advantage of the more or less systematic presentation of the subject in the various strata of the complex legislation of P (esp. Lv 1–7); for the former we must have recourse to the numerous references to sacrifice in the non-Priestly sources of the Pentateuch, in the early narratives of the historical books, and in the writings of the pre-exilic prophets.

Now, according to J, sacrifice as an institution is as old as the human race itself (Gn $4^{3ff.}$). In this significant narrative, sacrifice appears as the spontaneous expression of man's need of God, who 'made of one every nation of men . . . that they should seek God, if haply they might feel after him and find him' (Ac $17^{26f.}$ RV).

Our study of the terminology of sacrifice has shown that the dominant conception of sacrifice in the OT from first to last is that of *a gift, present,* or *offering.* The object of the gift, reduced to its simplest terms, may be said to be threefold—to secure and retain the favour of J", to remove His displeasure incurred, and to express gratitude for benefits received. In this, Hebrew sacrifice differed from sacrifice elsewhere, even in the lowest religions, only in respect of the deity to whom it was offered.

The sacrificial worship of the earlier differs from that of the later period mainly in the greater freedom as regards the occasion and in particular the place of sacrifice, in the greater simplicity of the ritual, and in the joyousness of the cult as compared with the more sombre atmosphere of the post-exilic worship, due to a deepened sense of sin and the accompanying conviction of the need of expiation.

As regards, first of all, the **place of sacrifice,** every village appears to have had its sanctuary or 'high place' with its altar and other appurtenances of the cult, on which the recent excavations have thrown so much new and unexpected light (see HIGH PLACE). Not that sacrifice could be offered at any spot the worshipper might choose; it must be one hallowed by the tradition of a theophany: 'in every place where I record my name I will come unto thee and I will bless thee' (Ex 20^{24} RV). With the abolition of the local sanctuaries by Josiah in B.C. 622–21, the Temple at Jerusalem became, and henceforth remained, the only legitimate place of sacrifice, as required by the legislation of Deuteronomy ($12^{2ff.}$).

The **occasions of sacrifice** were manifold, and in the days of the local sanctuaries, which practically means the whole of the period under consideration, these occasions were naturally taken advantage of to an extent impossible when sacrifice was confined to the Temple of Jerusalem. Only a few of such occasions, whether stated or special, can be noted here. Of the regular or stated occasions may be named the daily sacrifices of the Temple—a burnt offering in the morning followed by a cereal offering in the afternoon (2 K 16^{15}, cf. 1 K $18^{29.\ 36}$, which, however, may refer to one or more of the large sanctuaries of the Northern Kingdom, *e.g.* Bethel or Samaria), the 'yearly sacrifice' of the various clans (1 S 20^{6}), those at the recurring festivals, such as the new moon and the three agricultural feasts (Ex $23^{14ff.}$ $34^{22ff.}$), at which the oldest legislation laid down that 'none shall appear before me empty' (23^{15} 34^{20}), that is, without an offering in token of gratitude and homage. Still more numerous were the special occasions of sacrifice—the installation of a king (1 S 11^{15}, the arrival of an honoured guest, family events such as the weaning of a child, a circumcision, a marriage, the dedication of a house (Dt 20^{5}): no compact or agreement was completed until sealed by a sacrifice (Gn 31^{54} etc.); at the opening of a campaign the warriors were 'consecrated' by a sacrifice (1 S $13^{9ff.}$, Is 13^{3} RV). One of the most fruitful occasions of sacrifice was undoubtedly the discharging of a vow, of which those of Jacob (Gn 28^{20-22}), Jephthah (see **5**), Hannah (1 S 1^{11}), and Absalom (2 S 15^{7}) may be cited as typical specimens, just as in Syria to-day, among *fellahin* and *bedouin* alike, similar vows are made to the *welys* of the local shrines by or on behalf of sick persons, childless women, or to avert or remove plague or other threatened calamity.

4. THE VARIETIES AND MATERIAL OF SACRIFICE IN THIS PERIOD.—Three varieties of sacrifice are met with in the older Hebrew literature, viz. the **burnt offering,** the **'peace' offering,** and the cereal or **'meal' offering.** The two former, appearing sometimes as 'burnt offerings and sacrifices' (Ex 18^{12}, Jer 7^{22} etc.), sometimes as 'burnt offerings and peace offerings' (Ex 24^{5}, 1 S 13^{9} etc.), exhaust the category of animal sacrifices, the special 'sin' and 'guilt' offerings being first definitely named by Ezekiel (see §§ **13-15**). The typical animal offering in the pre-exilic period is that now termed 'sacrifice' (*zebach*) simply, now 'peace offering' (Am 5^{22}) to differentiate it more clearly from the burnt offering, now still more explicitly 'sacrifice of peace offerings' (perhaps rather 'of recompense,' *shĕlāmīm,* § **2**). Almost all the special offerings and most of the stated ones were of this type. Its distinguishing feature was **the sacrificial meal,** which followed the sacrifice proper. After the blood had been returned to the Giver of life (we have no details as to the manipulation of the blood in the earliest period, but see 1 S 14^{32-34}), and the fat burned upon the altar (1 S 2^{15}; cf. Is 1^{11}), the flesh of the victim was eaten at the sanctuary by the sacrificer and his family (1 S 1^{3-7}) or, in the case of a communal sacrifice, by the representatives of the community (9^{22-25}). The last passage shows that a special 'guest-chamber' was provided at the 'high place' for this purpose.

The underlying idea of this, by far the commonest, form of sacrifice was that of sharing a common meal with the deity. The worshippers were the 'guests' (Zeph 1^{7}) of God at His sanctuary, and as such secure of His favour. To this day among the Arabs 'the act of eating together is regarded as something particularly solemn and sacred,' and, as is well known, creates a solidarity of interest between guest and host, and imposes upon the latter the duty of protecting his guest so long as, in Arab phrase, 'his salt is in his belly' (see Jaussen, *Coutumes des Arabes* [1908], 86–88). This idea of **table communion,** as it is termed, is accordingly one which may be reckoned a common possession of the Semitic stock. Even to St. Paul the eating of meat that had been sacrificed to heathen deities appeared as an act of 'communion (AV 'fellowship') with demons' (1 Co 10^{20} Amer. RV). References to this solemn—one might almost say sacramental—eating of the sacrifice are too frequent to require citation, but we may recall the favourite expression of Deuteronomy, 'ye shall eat (and drink) before the Lord your God' (12^{7} etc.), often followed by the equally characteristic 'ye shall rejoice before the Lord your God.' Here we meet with the dominant note of Hebrew worship in this period, the note of joyousness above referred to—an element which not infrequently led to the excesses deplored by the prophets.

Much less frequent in the older documents is the mention of the **burnt offering,** more precisely the 'whole' offering (see above, § **2**). The fact that the whole was consumed upon the altar enhanced its value as a 'holy gift,' and accordingly we find it offered when the occasion was one of special solemnity (Gn 8^{20}, 1 K 3^{4} etc.), or was otherwise extraordinary, as *e.g.* 1 S 6^{14}. In most cases the burnt offering appears in conjunction with the ordinary 'sacrifice' above described (Ex 18^{12}, 1 S 6^{17}, 2 S 6^{17}, 2 K $16^{13.\ 15}$; cf. Is 1^{11}, Jer 7^{22} 17^{26}).

Apart from the special offering of the **first-fruits,** the cereal or **meal offering** (AV 'meat offering' § **2**) is rarely mentioned as an independent offering in this period, but is frequently named along with the two more important offerings discussed above, as Jg 13^{23}, Am 5^{22}, Jer 14^{12} (with the burnt offering), 1 S 2^{29} 3^{14}, Is 19^{21} (EV 'oblation'), and often. 'When the Hebrew ate flesh, he ate bread with it and drank wine, and when he offered flesh on the table of his God, it was natural that he should add to it the same concomitants that were necessary to make up a comfortable and generous meal' (*RS*^{2} 222). The various forms which the meal offering might assume are attested for a later period by Lv 2, for which see § **11.** One form occurring there is undoubtedly ancient, viz. parched ears of corn (2^{14}; cf. FOOD, § **2**).

Another very ancient form of offering, although not an altar-offering in the strict sense (yet strangely reckoned among the fire offerings, Lv 24^{9}), is that named the **presence bread** (EV **'shewbread'**), which perpetuates

the primitive idea of an offering as a meal for the deity (1 S 21^{4-6}, 1 K 7^{48}). The mention in a later passage of 'the flagons thereof and the bowls thereof to pour out withal' (Ex 25^{29}, see, further, SHEWBREAD) shows that, as for an ordinary meal, the 'holy bread' was accompanied by a provision of wine, in other words by a **drink offering.** This species of offering occurs as an independent offering only in Gn 35^{14}. The skins of wine mentioned in 1 S 1^{24} 10^{3} doubtless served in part for a drink or 'wine offering' (Hos 9^{4}), in part, like the accompanying flour and loaves, for the sacrificial meal. More explicit reference to the wine of the drink offering as an accompaniment of animal sacrifice is found in Dt 32^{38} (cf. the early reference, Jg 9^{13}, to wine 'which cheereth God'). For the ritual of the later drink offering, see § **11.** It is significant of the predominant part played by the drink offering in early Babylonian ritual, that the word for libation (*niqu*) has there become the usual term for sacrifice (*KAT*^{3} 595).

A brief reference must suffice for **oil** in early ritual (Gn 28^{18}, Jg 9^{9}, Mic 6^{7}—for the later ritual, see § **11**). A **water** offering appears only in the isolated cases 1 S 7^{6}, 2 S 23^{16}, but emerges as an interesting survival in the rites of the Feast of Tabernacles (wh. see). **Honey,** although offered among the **first-fruits** (2 Ch 31^{5}), was excluded, along with milk, from the altar (Lv 2^{11}), on the ground that both were liable to fermentation (see also LEAVEN).

5. MATERIAL AND RITUAL OF SACRIFICE IN THIS PERIOD.—From the details just given it is evident that 'among the Hebrew offerings drawn from the vegetable kingdom, meal, wine, and oil take the chief place, and these were also the chief vegetable constituents of man's daily food' (*RS*^{2} 219). The same remark holds good of the animal sacrifices, which were drawn chiefly from 'the herd,' *i.e.* neat cattle, and from the 'flock,' *i.e.* sheep and goats. Excluded from the altar, on the other hand, were not only all unclean animals, but also game and fish, which, not being reared by man, were probably regarded as God's special property, and therefore inadmissible as a present from man. This idea that only what was a man's 'very own' constituted an appropriate sacrifice is reflected in David's words to Araunah, 2 S 24^{24} (offerings 'which cost me nothing' RV). Males of the various species,—a heifer is mentioned in connexion with ordinary sacrifice only 1 S 16^{2} (Gn 15^{9}, Dt $21^{3ff.}$, 1 S 6^{14} do not belong to this category),—and of these, yearlings, as in the later legislation, were doubtless the commonest victims, although we read of 'a bullock of three years old' (1 S 1^{24}, see RVm; Jg 6^{25} is corrupt, 'seven years old').

The question of **human sacrifice** cannot be passed over, even in this brief sketch of a vast subject. The recent excavations at Gezer and elsewhere (see HIGH PLACE, § 3) have revealed the surprising extent to which this practice prevailed among the Canaanites (cf. 2 K 3^{27}), and well-attested instances are recorded even among the Hebrews (Jg 11^{30-40}, 1 K 16^{34} RV, for which see HOUSE, § 3), apart altogether from the child sacrifices to Molech. Indeed, the familiar story of Abraham's frustrated sacrifice of Isaac is now regarded as a polemic against this inhuman custom, which certainly had no sanction in the religion of OT.

As regards the ritual of sacrifice in this period, we have little information, 1 S 2^{13-16} being the only passage that touches definitely on this subject. This much is certain, that much greater latitude prevailed while the local sanctuaries existed than was afterwards the case; and also, that the priest played a much less conspicuous part in the rite than he does in the developed system of the Priests' Code. The chief function of the priest in the earliest times was to give 'direction' (*tōrāh*) by means of the oracle, and to decide in matters pertaining to the sphere of 'clean and unclean.' The layman—as father of the family or head of the clan, still more the anointed king—offered his sacrifice without the intervention of the priest. The latter, however, as the custodian of the sanctuary, was entitled to his due (see 1 S *l.c.*, Dt 18^{3}). At the more frequented sanctuaries—Jerusalem, Bethel, Beersheba, etc.—a more or less elaborate ritual was gradually evolved, for which the priest, as its depositary, became indispensable.

But even from the first the deity had to be approached with due precaution. The worshippers 'sanctified' themselves by ablutions (1 S 16^{5}), and by washing (Ex 19^{10}) or changing their garments (Gn 35^{2}); for only those who were ceremonially 'clean' could approach the altar of J″. The sacrificer then entered the high place and immolated the sacrificial victim, originally, it would appear, upon the altar itself (Gn 22^{9}, 1 S $14^{33f.}$), so that the blood ran over it; later, near to the altar, care being taken that the blood was caught and poured out at its base. The victim was next cut up and the fat of the viscera removed. In the case of an ordinary sacrifice (*zebach*), to judge from 1 S 2^{16}, the flesh was boiled for the sacrificial meal, and not until the latter was ready was the fat, J″'s special portion, burned upon the altar. By this simultaneous consumption of the sacrifice the table-fellowship of J″ and His guests was more strikingly realized, the latter 'eating and drinking before the Lord,' as the 'sweet smoke' (*qĕtōreth*) ascended from the altar, an 'odour of soothing (EV 'sweet savour') unto the Lord.'

While the normal attitude of the worshippers on such occasions was one of rejoicings, as became those who, by thus renewing their covenant relation to J″ in the way appointed, felt themselves secure of His favour and protection, a more serious note, implying a sense of alienation and the need of propitiation, is not infrequently found even in pre-exilic sacrifice, as will appear in a later section (§ **13**).

6. THE DEVELOPED SACRIFICIAL SYSTEM OF THE POST-EXILIC PERIOD—ITS GENERAL FEATURES.—In an earlier section it was shown how intimately connected with the everyday life of the family were the free, joyous sacrifices at the local sanctuaries. The abolition of the latter by Josiah, in accordance with the demands of Deuteronomy (for the justification of this measure, see HIGH PLACE, § 6), marks an epoch in the history of OT sacrifice. Hitherto every slaughter of a domestic animal for the entertainment of a guest, or to celebrate a family 'event,' was a form of sacrifice (for a remarkable list and description of such 'immolations' as practised by the Arabs of Moab at the present day, see Jaussen, *Coutumes des Arabes au pays de Moab* [1908], 337–363). Henceforward this was no longer so. The restriction of legitimate sacrifice to the one distant sanctuary at Jerusalem meant in practice the divorce from common life of the principal rite of religion. The Temple, from being only one, although certainly the most important, of the local sanctuaries of Judah, became the one national sanctuary; the cultus assumed an official character, while its dignity was enhanced by the presence of a numerous priesthood and a more elaborate ritual. Sacrifice, in short, lost its former spontaneity and became a statutory obligation. The Jewish *nation* had taken the first step towards becoming the Jewish *Church.*

A still more potent factor, making for change, soon appeared in the shape of the crushing calamity of the Exile. Then, at last, the words of the prophets came home to men's hearts and minds, and it was recognized that the nation had received the due reward of its deeds. A deepened sense of **sin** and a heightened conception of the Divine **holiness** were two of the most precious fruits of the discipline of the Exile. The confident assurance of J″'s protection and good-will, which marked the relations of worshipper and worshipped in the days of Israel's prosperity, had passed away. In its place arose a conviction of the need of expiation and propitiation—a conviction reflected in the whole sacrificial system, as gradually systematized and elaborated, on the basis of the usage of the Temple, by successive generations

of Priestly writers from Ezekiel onwards. In its fully developed form, as we find it in the middle books of the Pentateuch, we see how the cultus as a whole has become the affair of the community: the old sacral units, the family and the clan, have disappeared.

Great—one is tempted to say, the main—stress is now laid on the technique of sacrifice, on the proper observance of the prescribed ritual: the slightest want of conformity thereto invalidates the sacrifice; the old latitude and freedom are gone for ever. The necessary corollary is the enhanced status and importance of the **priest** as the indispensable intermediary between the worshipper and the Deity. Beyond immolating the victims, the laity are no longer competent to perform the sacrificial rites. The relative importance of the two older animal sacrifices, the *'ōlāh* and the *zebach*, is now reversed. The typical sacrifice is no longer the latter with its accompanying meal, but the 'continual burnt offering,' an act of worship performed every morning and evening in the Temple in the name of the community, whose presence is unnecessary for its due performance. Still more characteristic of the later period, however, is the emergence of special propitiatory sacrifices (*piacula*)—the allied sin offering and guilt offering. The older varieties of sacrifice, although still retaining their propitiatory efficacy, are no longer sufficient to express and adequately to satisfy the new consciousness of man's sinfulness, or, more accurately expressed, of God's exacting holiness.

7. The five kinds of altar-offerings in P.—The numerous altar-offerings mentioned in the various strata of the Priestly legislation are divided by Josephus into two classes: (i) those offered 'for private persons,' and (ii) those offered 'for the people in general,'—a classification corresponding to the Roman *sacra privata* and *sacra publica* (*Ant.* III. ix. 1). The public sacrifices were either stated or occasional, the former and more important group comprising the daily burnt offering (see § **10**) and the additional sacrifices at the stated festivals—Sabbath, New Moon, New Year, the three great feasts, and the Day of Atonement.

Since it is impossible within present limits to attempt to enumerate, much less to discuss, the multifarious varieties and occasions of public and private sacrifices, it will be more convenient to follow, as before, the order of the five distinct kinds as given in the systematic manual, Lv 1–7. These are (1) the burnt offering, (2) the cereal or meal (AV 'meat') offering, (3) the peace offering and the two propitiatory sacrifices, (4) the sin offering, and (5) the guilt (AV 'trespass') offering. Arranged according to the material of the offering, these fell into two groups represented by the terms 'sacrifice' and 'offering' (§ **1**); in other words, into animal and vegetable or cereal offerings (including the drink offering). The four animal or bloody offerings may be classified according to the destination of the flesh of the victim, thus (cf. the relative §§ below)—

(i) The flesh entirely consumed upon the altar—the burnt or whole offering.

(ii) The flesh not consumed upon the altar—the peace offerings and the two propitiatory offerings.

The second group may again be subdivided thus—

(*a*) The flesh, apart from the priest's dues, assigned to the offerer for a sacrificial meal—the peace offering.

(*b*) The flesh assigned to the priests to be eaten within the sanctuary—the guilt offerings and the less important of the sin offerings.

(*c*) The flesh burned without the sanctuary—the more important sin offerings.

8. The material of sacrifice in P.—*'Holy' and 'most holy.'*—The material of all these remains the same as in the pre-exilic period (§ **5**), with the addition of pigeons and turtle-doves to meet the needs of the poor, but the victim for each special kind of sacrifice, and its qualifications, are now definitely prescribed. As regards neat and small cattle, the victims must be males for the most part, entire and without blemish (see Lv 22 for list of imperfections—an exception, however, was made for the freewill offering, v.[23]). For the peace offering both sexes were equally admissible (3[1]), and a female victim is specially prescribed for the less important sin offerings (4[28. 32]). The animals were eligible for sacrifice from the eighth day onwards (22[27]), but the typical sacrifice was the yearling. For the material of the cereal offering see below.

Here may be noted an interesting contrast between such offerings as were regarded as merely 'holy' and those reckoned 'most holy.' The limits of the former category are somewhat vague, but it certainly included firstlings and **first-fruits,** the tithe and the portions of the peace offerings falling to the priests, whereas the shewbread (Lv 24[9]), the sacred incense (Ex 30[36]), the meal offering (Lv 2[3]), and the sin and guilt offerings (6[25. 29] 7[1. 6]) are all classed as 'most holy.' One practical effect of the distinction was that the 'most holy things' could be eaten only by the priests, and by them only within the Temple precincts (6[16. 26], Nu 18[10]; cf. Ezk 42[13] 46[20]). As charged with a special potency of holiness, which was highly contagious, the 'most holy things'—there were many other entries in the category, such as the altar and the high priest's dress—rendered all who came in contact with them 'holy,' in modern phrase 'taboo' (Lv 6[18. 27]). The 'holy things,' on the other hand, might be eaten by the priests and their households, if ceremonially clean, in any 'clean place,' *i.e.* practically in Jerusalem (10[14] 22[3. 10-16], Nu 18[11ff.]).

9. The Ritual of post-exilic sacrifice.—This is now, like all else, matter of careful regulation. The ritual, as a whole, doubtless continued and developed that of the pre-exilic Temple, where the **priest** had long taken the place of the lay offerer in the most significant parts of the rite. After the offerer had duly 'sanctified' himself as explained in § **5**, and had his sacrifice examined and passed by the Temple officials, the procedure comprised the following 'actions':—

(1) The formal presentation of the victim to the priest officiating at the altar.

(2) The *sĕmīkhāh* or laying on of hands; the offerer leaned his right hand—in the later praxis, both hands—upon the head of the victim, in token of its being withdrawn from the sphere of the 'common' and transferred to the sphere of 'holy things' (cf. for the two spheres, 1 S 21[4]), and of his personal assignation of it to the Deity. There is no suggestion in this act of the victim being thereby made the substitute in a penal sense of its owner and donor (see the Comm., and, for recent discussions, the reff. in *DB* Ext. Vol. 720[b]).

(3) The immolation of the victim, on the north side of the altar (Lv 1[11] 6[25]), by severing the arteries of the neck. In private sacrifices this was always done by the person presenting them.

(4) The manipulation of the blood by the priest. This, the central action of the whole rite, varied considerably for the different sacrifices. After being caught by the priest in a large basin, the blood was in most cases tossed against the sides of the altar ('sprinkle' of EV, Lv 1[5] 3[2] etc., is misleading, being the proper rendering of a different term occurring 4[6] 16[14], and elsewhere). Generally it may be said that the more pronounced the propitiatory character of the sacrifice, the nearer the blood was brought to the presence of the deity (see § **14**), the climax being reached in the blood-rite of the Day of Atonement (16[14], see Atonement [Day of]).

(5) The skinning and dismemberment of the animal, including the removal of the internal fat, as specified 3[3. 4] and 4[8f.]. The hide fell to the officiating priest, except in the case of the sin offering, when it was burned with the flesh (Ex 29[14]).

(6) The arrangement of all the pieces upon the altar in the case of the burnt offering, of the specified portions of 'the inwards' in the case of the others; and finally—

(7) The burning—lit. the turning into 'sweet smoke'

—of these upon the altar of burnt offering, the fire on which was kept continually burning (Lv 6^{13}).

Of these various elements of the ritual, those requiring contact with the altar as a 'most holy thing,' viz. (4), (6), and (7), represent the priest's, the rest the layman's, share in the rite of sacrifice.

10. The burnt offering (Lv 1^{1-17} 6^{8-13}, Ex 29^{15-18}).—The first place in the manual of sacrifice, Lv 1–7, is occupied by the sacrifice which alone was entirely consumed upon the altar, hence the older and more correct designation 'whole offering' (§ 2)—a feature which constituted it the typical honorific sacrifice, the fullest expression of homage to J″ on the part alike of the community and of the individual. The victim from the flock and the herd was always a male—young bull, ram, or he-goat. The turtle-dove and the young pigeon of the poor had their special ritual (1^{14-17}). The most important of the stated sacrifices in the period under review was the **'continual burnt offering'** (Ex 29^{38-42}, Nu 28^{3-8}), so called because it was presented every morning and evening along with a cereal oblation by the particular 'course' of priests on duty in the Temple. The victim was a yearling lamb, which was offered on behalf of the whole community of Israel throughout the world. An interesting survival of the primitive anthropomorphic conception of sacrifice, as affording a complete meal to the deity, is seen in the provision that every burnt offering (as also every peace offering) must be accompanied by both a meal offering and a drink offering (see next §).

11. The meal (AV **meat**) **offering** (Lv 2. 6^{14-23}, Nu 15^{1-16} etc.).—As pointed out in an early section, the term *minchāh*, which originally was applicable both to an animal and to a cereal offering, is in the later legislation limited to the latter species. As such it appears in a large variety of forms, and may be either an independent offering, as contemplated in Lv 2, or, as in most cases, an accompaniment of the burnt and peace offerings (Nu 15^{1-16}). One of the oldest forms of the *minchāh* was, undoubtedly, the 'meal offering of **first-fruits,**' as described Lv 2^{14-16}; another antique form survived in the unique offering of barley meal in the **jealousy offering** (Nu 5^{15}). As an ordinary altar-offering the *minchāh* consisted of 'fine flour,' and was presented either cooked or uncooked, as prescribed in detail in Lv 2^{1-7}. In the latter case the flour was placed in a vessel and mixed with oil, the equivalent of our butter in matters culinary. The dough was then covered with frankincense, when it was ready for presentation at the altar. The priest took off all the frankincense, then removed a handful of the dough, which he put into another vessel, added salt, the unfailing accompaniment of every species of altar-offering (2^{13}, Mk 9^{44}), and the frankincense, and proceeded to burn the whole upon the altar. The portion burned was termed the *'azkārāh* (§ 2), or 'memorial' (so EV from Vulg. *memoriale*). The remainder of the offering fell to the priests, by whom it was eaten as 'a thing most holy' (§ 8). The priests' own meal offerings, on the other hand, were wholly burned (Lv 6^{23}).

In Nu 15^{1-16} and elsewhere, minute instructions are given as to the precise amounts of fine flour, oil, and wine which should accompany the burnt and peace offerings (cf. Ezk 46^{5-14} and the tabular comparison of the quantities in the two passages in Gray, 'Numbers' [*ICC*], 170). These were regulated by the importance of the animal sacrificed, the **drink or wine offering** (Hos 9^{4}), for example, being uniformly ½ hin for a bullock, ⅓ hin for a ram, and ¼ hin for a lamb,—the hin may be taken approximately as 12 pints.

No instructions have been preserved as to how the wine was to be offered, but from later evidence it appears that, like the blood, it was 'poured out at the foot of the altar' (Sir 50^{15}; cf. Jos. *Ant.* III. ix. 4). For the importance of incense in the later ritual, see INCENSE.

12. The peace or **thank offering** (Lv 3^{1-16} $7^{11-21.}$ $^{28-34}$ 17^{1-9} 22^{21-33} etc.). The latter rendering, which is that of RVm. is nearer what we consider to be the meaning of the original term, 'sacrifice of recompense' (§ 2). Its distinguishing feature continued to be the sacrificial meal which followed the actual sacrifice. Three varieties are named—(*a*) the **thanksgiving offering** ($7^{13.\ 15}$ *tōdhāh*, also rendered 'thank offering' in the narrower sense, 2 Ch 29^{31}), in recognition of some special mercy; (*b*) the **votive offering** (EV 'vow,' Lv 7^{16}), in discharge of a vow; and (*c*) the **freewill offering,** a spontaneous and unprescribed recognition of God's goodness. The last was clearly of less importance than the others, since for it alone imperfect victims were admitted to the altar (22^{23}). As a fourth variety may be reckoned (*d*) the priests' **installation offering** (Ex 29^{19-26}).

The *modus operandi* was essentially the same as for the burnt offering,—female victims, however, being admitted equally with males. Special instructions are given as to the removal of the fat adhering to the inwards (see the coloured illustrations in *SBOT*, 'Levit.,' *in loc.*), along with the 'caul of the liver,' *i.e.* the caudate lobe (G. F. Moore; see *EBi* iv. col. 4206, and the ref. in *Oxf. Heb. Lex.* 1124b), and the two kidneys. The parts falling to the priests, the breast and the right hind leg,—these varied at different times, cf. Dt 18^{3} with Ex 29^{26}, Lv $7^{31f.}$—were symbolically presented to and returned by J″, by being 'waved' towards the altar (see § 2 for this ceremony, and for the expressions 'heave thigh' and 'wave breast'). The fat was then salted and burned, while the remainder of the flesh furnished the characteristic meal. Both sexes, if ceremonially clean, might partake of this meal, but only on the day of the sacrifice or the day following (Lv 7^{16-18} 19^{5-8}). The flesh of the special thanksgiving offering (*tōdhāh*), however, had to be eaten on the day it was offered (7^{15} $22^{29f.}$).

13. THE SPECIAL PROPITIATORY SACRIFICES.—**The sin offering** and the **guilt offering.**—One of the characteristic features of the later period, as has already been pointed out, is the stress laid on the propitiatory aspect of sacrifice. It is not, of course, to be supposed that this element was absent in the earlier period. Such passages as 1 S 3^{14} 26^{19}, 2 S 24^{25}, Mic $6^{6.\ 7}$ and others prove the contrary, even were it not the fact that the idea of propitiating the unseen powers is one lying at the root of all sacrifice (see above, § 3). But, as shown by the passages now cited, expiation and propitiation were sought through the medium of the ordinary sacrifices. The special propitiatory sacrifices with which we have now to deal probably made their appearance in the dark days which preceded the fall of the Jewish monarchy, although, so far as our literary evidence goes, Ezekiel is the first to differentiate them by name, as the *chattā'th* (sin) and the *'āshām* (guilt), from the older types of offering (40^{39} 42^{13} etc.).

The study of these newer sacrifices is complicated, in the first place, by the divergent regulations found in the different sections of the completed Pentateuch, which seem to reflect the practice of different periods, or perhaps the views of different schools; and, in the second place, by the consequent difficulty of detecting a clear line of demarcation between the two allied offerings (see §15). From the point of view of ritual, the chief points of difference are these: (1) In the guilt offering the manipulation of the blood agrees with that prescribed for the older sacrifices; in the sin offering, on the other hand, the blood ritual is more complicated and varies in intensity according to the theocratic and social position of the offerer. This feature alone is sufficient to distinguish the sin offering as *par excellence* the sacrifice of expiation and atonement. (2) For the guilt offering the victim is uniformly a ram ('the ram of atonement,' Nu 5^{8}); for the sin offering the victim varies according to the same principle as the blood ritual, the higher the position of the offerer in the

theocratic community the more valuable the victim. On the other hand, both agree as compared with the older sacrifices: (1) in the disposal of the flesh of the sacrifice in so far as it was neither entirely burned on the altar as in the whole offering, nor assigned to the offerer for a sacred meal as in the peace offering, but was otherwise disposed of (see next §§); and (2) in the absence of the cereal and wine offerings which were the regular accompaniments of the other animal sacrifices.

14. The sin offering (Lv 4^{1}–5^{13} 6^{24-30}, Ex 29^{11-14}, Nu 15^{22-29} etc.).—Leaving aside the question of the relation of these sections to each other as to origin and date—all-important as this is for the evolution of the sin offering—we find from a comparison of Lv 4. 5^{7-13}, the most systematic as it is probably the latest exposition of the subject, with other sections of the code where this special sacrifice is required, that the latter was the prescribed medium of expiation for two main classes of offences. These are (1) sins committed in ignorance or by inadvertence ($4^{2.\ 13.\ 22}$, Nu 15^{24-29}) as opposed to sins committed 'with an high hand' (v.^{30} RV), *i.e.* in conscious and wilful defiance of the Divine law, for which no sacrifice could atone; (2) cases of defilement or uncleanness, contracted in various ways and having no connexion with 'sin' in the modern sense of a breach of the moral law, such as the defilement of childbirth and of leprosy, the uncleanness of the altar and the like.

At this point it will repay us to examine the origin of the term *chattā'th*, omitted from § 2, as likely to afford a clue to the true significance of the sacrifice. Derived from the verb signifying 'to sin' in the sense of 'to miss (the mark or the way),' *chattā'th* denotes sin, then a sacrifice for sin. It may be questioned, however, whether this transference of meaning was as direct as is usually implied. The intensive stems of the root-verb are repeatedly used in the 'privative' sense best expressed by 'to unsin' (Germ. *entsündigen*) by some rite of purification, as Lv 8^{15}, Ezk 43^{20-23}, of 'unsinning,' *i.e.* purifying or purging the altar; Nu 19^{19}, of 'unsinning' a person defiled by contact with a corpse; 8^{21} 'the Levites unsinned themselves (RV purified themselves from sin) and washed their clothes,' where the 'sin' of RV refers only to ceremonial uncleanness. From this use of the verb, *chattā'th* itself acquired the secondary sense of 'purification,' *e.g.* Nu 8^{7} (AV rightly 'water of purifying' —RV 'expiation') and 19^{9-17}, where the red heifer and her ashes are described as a *chattā'th*, that is, as the means of removing the uncleanness caused by the dead. It follows from the above that 'purification offering' better expresses to the modern mind the purposes of the *chattā'th* than does 'sin offering,' with its misleading associations.

These considerations lead us directly to the heart of the sacrificial doctrine, if the term may be allowed, of Ezekiel and the Priests' Code. Sacrifice is the Divinely appointed means by which the ideal holiness of the theocratic community is to be maintained. God's all-devouring holiness requires that the people shall keep themselves free not only from moral imperfection, but also from every ceremonial defilement that would interrupt the relations between them and God. In the sphere of morals only 'unwitting faults' are contemplated, for 'these are the only faults of which the redeemed and restored people will be guilty' (A. B. Davidson), and, in so far as the ritual of the sin offering provides for their expiation, these sins of inadvertence are conceived as defiling the sinner who, because of his uncleanness, becomes a source of danger to the community. From this point of view the gradation in the victims prescribed first becomes intelligible; for the higher the theocratic rank of the sinner, the greater, according to the antique view of the contagion both of holiness and of uncleanness, was his power of contamination. It is to be noted, finally, that the order is first the removal of the defilement by means of the sacrifice, and then the Divine forgiveness of his sin as a moral offence (see Lv $4^{20.\ 26.\ 31.\ 35}$).

Returning to Lv 4^{1}–5^{13}, we find that, apart from the gradation of the prescribed victims already referred to, the distinguishing feature in the ritual of the sin offering is the more intense application of the blood. In this respect two grades of sin offering are distinguished, a higher and a lower. In the higher grade, which comprises the offering of the high priest and that of the 'whole congregation,' the blood is carried by the officiating priest into the Holy Place of the Tent of Meeting—in practice the Temple. There some of it is sprinkled with the finger seven times before the veil, and some applied to the horns of the altar of incense, while the rest is poured out at the base of the altar of burnt offering. The victim in both cases is a young bull, the flesh of which is so sacrosanct that it has to be burned without the camp.

In the lower grade, part of the blood was smeared upon the horns of the altar of burnt offering, while the rest was poured out, as before, at its base. It is interesting to note, as bearing on the evolution of the ritual, that in a presumably older stratum of P (Ex 29^{11-14}), the blood ritual, even for the high priest's offering, does not exceed that of the lower grade of Lv 4. The flesh of the latter, which was also 'most holy,' was eaten by the priests within the sanctuary (6^{24-30}). To meet the requirements of the poor man, provision was made for the admission of 'two turtle-doves or two young pigeons,' and in cases of extreme poverty of 'the tenth part of an ephah of fine flour' (about 7 pints), offered without oil and without incense (5^{11-13}).

If the conclusion reached above be accepted, that the *chattā'th* is essentially a sacrifice of purification, it is evident that the victim cannot be regarded here, any more than in the other sacrifices, as the substitute for the offerer, presumed to have incurred the penalty of death (see, further, for the doctrine of the *pœna vicaria*, § 16).

15. The guilt or trespass offering (Lv 5^{14}–6^{7} 7^{1-7}, Nu 5^{5-8}).—

The Heb. word *'āshām* signifies generally a wrong done to another and the guilt thereby incurred, and specially the property of another wilfully withheld (Nu 5^{7-8}). In the earlier period it came to denote also the gift (1 S $6^{3f.}$) or money payment (2 K $12^{16f.}$) by which, in addition to restitution, it was sought to make amends for the wrong; in the later period, finally, *'āshām* is the sacrifice which accompanied the act of restitution.

The references in the Pentateuch to the guilt (RV) or trespass (AV, RVm) offering are not entirely consistent in their representation of its nature and purpose. The guilt offering of the leper, for example (Lv $14^{12ff.}$), can scarcely be distinguished from the sin offering (cf. 5^{17-19}). Taking the most explicit of the passages, however, Lv 6^{1-7}, we see that the guilt offering deals with the misappropriation of the property of another. In 5^{14-16} this misappropriation takes the form of unwittingly withholding part of the sacred dues, 'the holy things of the Lord.' In both cases the offender has to restore the property or due withheld, together with a fine amounting to one-fifth of its value as compensation for the loss sustained, and to offer a sacrifice as expiation of his breach of faith (5^{15}, EV 'trespass'). Provision is also made for a public confession (Nu 5^{7}). The victim in these typical cases is invariably a ram, and the ritual is that of the ordinary sacrifices, except that the flesh can be eaten, like that of the lower grade of sin offerings, only by the priests 'in a holy place.'

For the various occasions on which one or more of the five varieties of sacrifice above enumerated had to be offered, see, among others, the following articles:—Atonement [Day of], Clean and Unclean, Covenant, Feasts, Nazirite, Tithe, Vow, etc.

16. The significance of sacrifice in OT.—The origin and significance of sacrifice is a problem on which students of religion are still greatly divided. So far as the OT student is concerned, the question of origins does not necessarily arise, for the institution of sacrifice had already a long life behind it when the Hebrew tribes first entered upon the stage of history. One fact, at least, seems to be well established. The ancestors of the Hebrews, like the Arabs of the present day, had no 'offerings made by fire,' but were content to pour the blood over the sacred stone without burning any part of the flesh. (For the view that the Hebrews of the historic period still retained a recollection of this

older custom, see Kittel, *Studien zur heb. Archäologie* [1908], 96–108.) For the rest the wisest word recently spoken on this subject is that of the late Professor Stade (*Bibl. Theol. d. AT*, 156): 'The sacrificial worship of ancient Israel is a very complicated phenomenon, which has grown up out of different conceptions and customs, and is by no means to be derived from a single fundamental idea (*aus einem Grundgedanken*).' Let us proceed to illustrate this word of wisdom.

(*a*) In the whole period covered by the OT literature, sacrifice, as the terminology proves (see § 1), was thought of as a gift or present to God. The motives which prompted the gifts are nowhere stated in so many words, but may be clearly inferred. In the earliest period, at least, the gifts are offered, now as to an earthly ruler in token of homage, now as an expression of gratitude for benefits received; again, particularly in the very numerous cases of vows, with a view to obtain a coveted boon, for among the Hebrews as among the Greeks it was believed that 'gifts persuade the gods, gifts the revered kings.' We are not surprised, therefore, to find in the oldest Hebrew law-codes the command that none shall appear before J" 'empty,' that is, without a gift (Ex 23^{15} 34^{20}). From first to last, the OT witnesses to this 'conviction that the gift of piety really produces a gratifying, propitious, and in the end conciliatory effect on God' (Schultz, 'Significance of Sacrifice in OT,' *AJTh* iv. 284).

The form which these 'gifts of piety' assumed was chiefly that of food. The Hebrew offered to God of the things with which his own table was furnished, and these only of the best. This naïve conception of sacrifice as 'the food (EV 'bread') of God' is still found as an interesting survival in the later literature (Ezk 44^{7}, Lv 3^{11} 21^{6} etc.). Cf. 'my food' (Nu 28^{2}), 'the table of the Lord' (Mal $1^{7.\ 12}$), and the institution of the shew-bread. In the historical period, as we have seen, this food of God was always 'etherealized' by being converted into 'sweet smoke' upon the altar; it thus became, in the recurring phrase, 'a soothing odour (EV 'a sweet savour') unto the Lord.' Cf. 1 S 26^{19} 'let him accept (lit. smell) an offering' (as a propitiation).

(*b*) But this antique conception of sacrifice as the food of the deity by no means exhausts its significance to the Hebrew mind. The typical sacrifice in the pre-exilic period was the peace offering, of which the characteristic feature was the common meal which followed the actual sacrifice. The OT is silent regarding the significance to the Hebrew worshipper of this part of the sacrificial worship. Robertson Smith, as every student knows, would have us see in this 'act of communion in which the god and his worshippers united by partaking of the flesh and blood of a sacred victim' (*RS*^{2} 226 f., and *passim*), the unconscious survival of the sacramental eating of their god by the members of the totem clan of pre-historic days. This is not the place to enumerate the difficulties of this theory when applied to Semitic sacrifice, the absence of convincing proof of the existence of totemism in the Semitic field being not the least of these.

It is more natural, as suggested above (§ 4), to recognize in the Hebrew sacrificial feast a transference to the sphere of religion of the Semitic idea of the friendship and fellowship which are formed and cemented by partaking of a common meal. By thus sharing, as the guests of God, the common meal of which the worshipped and the worshippers partook within the sanctuary, the latter renewed the bond which united them to their covenant God; they 'ate and drank before the Lord' in full assurance of the continuance of all the blessings which the covenant relation implied.

(*c*) In the later period of Jewish history, this conception of sacrifice as a table-communion with the deity receded in favour of another to which less prominence was given in the early period, and in which, as has been pointed out (§ 14), sacrifice was regarded as the most important of the Divinely appointed means by which the ideal relation of a holy God to a holy people was to be maintained unimpaired. For inadvertent omissions and transgressions, and for all cases of serious ceremonial defilements, which interrupted this ideal relation, sacrifice in all its forms—not the special propitiatory offerings merely—is said to 'make atonement.'

The Heb. is *kipper*, of which the original signification is still uncertain. But whether this be 'to cover' or 'to wipe off,' it gives little help in deciding the special meaning of the word in the terminology of sacrifice. There it is used in neither of the senses given above, but always in close connexion with the verbs signifying 'to purify' (*tihar*) and to 'unsin' (*chittē'*)—terms belonging specially to the terminology of purification (see § 14). Applied to material objects, such as the altar, *kipper* is little more than a synonym of *tihar* and *chittē'*; applied to persons, it is the summary expression of the rites by which the offender against the holiness of God is made fit to receive the Divine forgiveness and to be re-admitted to the fellowship and worship of the theocratic community. The agent is the priest, who *performs the propitiatory rites* on behalf of the offender. The words in italics, clumsy though they are, fairly express the meaning of this much discussed term of the Heb. ritual (see, further, Driver's exhaustive study under 'Propitiation' in Hastings' *DB* iv. esp. p. 131, on the difficulty of finding a satisfactory English rendering). See, further, the small print in § 14.

Now, although it is true, as G. F. Moore reminds us (*EBi* iv. 4220), that 'the whole public cultus is a means of propitiating God and obtaining remission for sin and uncleanness' (Ezk $45^{15.\ 17}$), it is equally true that the propitiatory efficacy of sacrifice is represented by the Priestly writers as especially bound up with the **blood** of the sacrificial victim. When we ask the question, In virtue of what property does the blood make atonement?, we find the answer incidentally in the oft-quoted passage Lv 17^{11}. We say incidentally, because v.^{11} really contains the answer to an entirely different question—Why is blood taboo as an article of food? Now the verse runs in RV: 'For the life of the flesh is in the blood: and I have given it to you upon the altar to make atonement for your souls: *for it is the blood that maketh atonement by reason of the life*' (*that is in it*). Strictly speaking, therefore, it is not the blood but the life that is in it that is the medium of propitiation. Beyond this we cannot go in our search for the explanation of the 'how' of atonement on OT ground.

Along other and extra-Biblical lines students have diligently sought for the ultimate basis of this efficacy of blood. It is doubtless to be connected with 'the almost universal belief that blood is a fluid in which inheres a mysterious potency, no less dangerous when misused than efficacious when properly employed' (G. F. Moore, *EBi* iv. 4218; cf. Trumbull, *The Blood Covenant*, *passim*; and Farnell, *The Evolution of Religion*, 94 f.). Just because of its 'mysterious potency,' and its association with 'the great primeval mysteries of life and death' (Farnell), blood was felt to be too sacred, and indeed too dangerous (see 1 S $14^{33f.}$), to be used otherwise than as the proper due of the Author of all life. It was at once the most persuasive of gifts at His altar, and the most potent cathartic by which the sinner was purged of uncleanness and sin.

The traditional view that the blood of the sacrifice atoned for the sins of the offerer, because the victim suffered the death which the sinner had incurred, is now rarely maintained. This theory of a *pœna vicaria* is untenable for these among other reasons: (1) The sins for which the OT sacrifices made atonement were not such as involved the penalty of death (§ 14). (2) Had the guilt of the offerer been transferred to the victim by 'the laying on of hands'—for the meaning of this rite, see § 9—the flesh of the sacrifice would have been in the highest degree unclean, and could not have been eaten by either priests or people. (3) The idea that the Divine forgiveness was procured by the blood of the victim as its owner's substitute is excluded by the admission, for the propitiatory sacrifice *par excellence*,

of a bloodless offering in the shape of an oblation of flour (§ 14, end). Nevertheless, although the doctrine that the death of the victim was a vicarious punishment for the sin of the offerer is not to be found in the legislation itself, the thought was one that could scarcely fail to suggest itself to the popular mind—a conclusion to which it was doubtless assisted by the representation of the vicarious sufferings of the Servant in Is 53.

Summing up the conclusions of this section on the significance of sacrifice in OT, we find it represented in all periods as a gift, mainly of homage to the Divine Sovereign, in the earlier period also as a rite of table communion with the covenant God of Israel, and finally in the later period as pre-eminently the appointed means of purification and expiation as *the preliminary to forgiveness*, in other words of atonement.

Of the *ultima ratio* of sacrifice no explicit statement is found in OT. The explanation of the Priestly writers would doubtless have been—'God hath so appointed it.' Beyond this we cannot go. The 'conclusion of the whole matter' may therefore be given in the words of Jesus ben-Sira: 'See that thou appear not in the presence of the Lord empty; for all these things are to be done *because of the commandment*' (35[4]). The final ground of the sinner's pardon and restoration is thus not the precedent sacrifice but the free grace of a merciful and loving God.

A. R. S. Kennedy.

SADDUCEES.—Probably the name 'Sadducee' is derived from the name **Zadok**, a notable priest in the time of David and Solomon (2 S 8[17] 15[24], 1 K 1[34]). His descendants long played the leading part among the priests, so that Ezekiel regarded them as the only legitimate priests (Ezk 40[46] 43[19] 44[15] 48[11]). The name indicates the fact that is most decisive for the right understanding of the Sadducees. About the year 200 B.C., when party lines were beginning to be drawn, the name was chosen to point out the party of the priests. That is not saying that no priest could be a Pharisee or a Scribe. Neither is it saying that all the priests were Sadducees. In our Lord's time many of the poor priests were Pharisees. But the higher priestly families and the priests as a body were Sadducees. With them were joined the majority of the aristocratic lay families of Judæa and Jerusalem. This fact gives us the key to their career. It is wrapped up in the history of the high priesthood. For two centuries after the Exile the high priesthood earned the right to the leadership of the Jewish nation. But in our Lord's time its leadership lay far back in the past. Its moral greatness had been undermined on two sides. On one side it had lost touch with what was deepest in the being of the Jews. For the most part this was due to its aristocratic bias. The Levitical priesthood was a close corporation. No man not born a priest could become a priest. More and more, as the interests of the nation widened and deepened, the high priesthood failed to keep pace. Its alliance with the aristocratic families made things worse. The high priesthood and the people drifted apart. No great institution can do that and remain great.

From another side also—the political—the high priesthood was undermined. Owing to the mixture of Church and State the high priests were necessarily in politics all the time. Consequently the historical process, which ended by incorporating Palestine in the Roman Empire, sucked out of the high priesthood all the moralizing influences involved in the handling of large affairs. So, undermined on two sides, the high priesthood lost the right to lead. And the party built up around it—the Sadducees—became the party of those who cared more for their own well-being and for the maintenance of things as they were than for the Kingdom of God.

When we turn to the tenets of the Sadducees, it is still the contrast with the **Pharisees** that puts them in an intelligible light. Pharisaism, with all its faults, was the heart and soul of the nation, the steward of its treasures—the Holy Scriptures—the trustee of its vitalizing hope. The Sadducees stood for the tenaciously conservative tendencies in the nation. They lay under the curse which rests upon all aristocracies, the inability to realize that the best things must grow. They denied the Pharisaic doctrine of **the resurrection of the body** (Mk 12[18], Mt 22[23], Lk 20[27], Ac 23[8]). The NT is a better guide in this field than Josephus, who affirms (*BJ* II. viii. 14, *Ant.* XVIII. i. 4) that they denied the immortality of the soul. Josephus overstated things in his desire to make the Jewish parties look like the philosophical schools of Greece. The Sadducees did not deny the immortality of the soul. But they lingered in the past, the period when the belief in immortality was vague, shadowy, and had not yet become a working motive for goodness. They did not accept the developed faith in immortality which was part and parcel of the Pharisaic teaching regarding the Kingdom of God. And this meant that their nation had outgrown them. The Sadducees also denied the Pharisaic doctrine regarding **angels** and ministering spirits (Ac 23[8]). Thereby they maintained a certain sobriety. They even emancipated themselves from a considerable amount of superstition bound up with Pharisaism. But they paid for it by a wholly disproportionate sacrifice of vital piety.

From this sketch we can see why our Lord had almost no dealings with the Sadducees during His ministry. His interests were with the common people. This brought Him into continual conflict with the Pharisees. It was not until His popularity seemed to threaten the peace of Jerusalem that the high priest, with the Sadducees at his back, was moved to decisive action. We can also see why the Apostolic Church, in her first years, had most to fear from the Sadducees (Ac 4 and 5). See also artt. Pharisees, Scribes.

Henry S. Nash.

SADDUK (1 Es 8[2]) = **Zadok**, Ezr 7[2].

SADOC.—**1.** (2 Es 1[1]) = **Zadok**, Ezr 7[2]. **2.** An ancestor of Jesus (Mt 1[14]).

SAFFRON (Ca 4[14]).—The Heb. *karkōm* is identical with the Arab. *kurkum* or *za'farān* (whence is derived the Eng. 'saffron'), the name of a variety of crocus (*Crocus sativus*), of which the yellow styles and stigmas are used for dyeing and for flavouring food. A similar dye, also called saffron, is more commonly derived from the florets of the *Carthamus tinctorius* (*Compositæ*) cultivated everywhere in Palestine for this purpose.

E. W. G. Masterman.

SAHIDIC VERSION.—See Greek Versions of OT, 11 (*b*), and Text of NT, § 27.

SAILS.—See Ships and Boats, p. 850[b].

SAINTS.—See Holiness, II. 2, and Sanctification.

SALAMIEL.—An ancestor of Judith (Jth 8[1]).

SALAMIS, which must not be confused with the scene of the great battle between Xerxes and the Greeks in B.C. 480, was the first place visited by Paul and Barnabas on the first missionary journey (Ac 13[5]). It existed as early as the 6th cent. B.C. as an important Greek town on the E. coast of Cyprus. In Roman times it remained a flourishing commercial city, and the eastern half of the island was governed from there. There were very many Jews in Cyprus. Christianity was early preached there (Ac 11[19. 20]), and among early converts were Mnason (Ac 21[16]) and Barnabas (Ac 4[36]).

A. Souter.

SALASADAI.—An ancestor of Judith (Jth 8[1]).

SALATHIEL.—**1.** (1 Es 5[5. 48. 56] 6[2]) = **Shealtiel** (wh. see). **2.** Another name of Esdras (2 Es 3[1]).

SALECAH (Dt 3[10], Jos 13[11] 12[5], 1 Ch 5[11]) was the most easterly of the towns claimed by Israel. It was assigned to the tribe of Gad, and is always described as being on the eastern frontier of Bashan. But it is better indicated less theoretically as being in the extreme south-east of

the Hauran. On account of its commanding position it has always been of strategic importance; but it was probably never permanently occupied by any of the Israelitish people. It was a Nabatæan and Roman stronghold, and a station on the great trade and military road from Gadara and Edrei eastward through the desert to the Persian Gulf. It is now inhabited by Druses, and bears the name *Salkhad*.

J. F. McCurdy.

SALEM (1 Es 8[1]) = **Shallum**, Ezr 7[2]; called also **Salemas** (?), 2 Es 1[1].

SALEM.—**1.** A place mentioned only in Gn 14[18] as the kingdom of the mysterious **Melchizedek** (wh. see). It is natural to identify it with **Jerusalem** (wh. see), especially since the Tell el-Amarna tablets show that *Urusalīm* existed as a name for that city even before the Israelite immigration. But the only real links between 'Salem' and Jerusalem' are two in number: (1) the mention of the '**King's Vale**,' where, apparently, Melchizedek met Abram, which seems to be the place where Absalom reared his memorial (2 S 18[18]): it would presumably be somewhere near Jerusalem, but, *pace* Josephus, this is not certain. (2) The allusion to Jerusalem by the name *Salem* in Ps 76[2]. This poetical abbreviation, however, which occurs nowhere else, may have been suggested by Salem in the ancient record, just as was the name Moriah (wh. see), and the reference to Melchizedek in Ps 110[4]. There is some similarity between the name of Melchizedek and that of the Jebusite king Adonizedek (Jos 10[1]), but upon the whole the identification of Salem with Jerusalem is rather shadowy. Jerome records another tradition, connecting Salem with *Salīm* (Salumias) in the Jordan Valley, where there is a *tell* with the tomb of 'Sheik Selīm.' **2.** The Valley of Salem (Jth 4[4]), possibly the Jordan Valley, or a part of it. **3.** The LXX reads *Salem* for **Shiloh** in Jer 41[5]. This must be a Salem near Shechem, if this reading is to be followed. There is a place called *Salīm*, east of Nāblus.

R. A. S. Macalister.

SALEMAS (2 Es 1[1]) = **Shallum**, Ezr 7[2]; called also **Salem** (?) in 1 Es 8[1].

SALIM, near to which was **Ænon** (Jn 3[23]), lay on the west of Jordan (cf. 1[28] 3[26] 10[40]). Ænon is placed by the *Onomasticon* eight Roman miles south of Scythopolis (*Beisān*), 'near to Salim and Jordan.' This points to the neighbourhood of the ruin *Umm el-'Amdān*, with Tell er-Ridhghah on the north, where the tomb of Sheik Selīm probably preserves the ancient name. *Ænon*, 'place of springs,' we may find in the seven copious fountains near by. In Christ's time the district belonged probably to Scythopolis, not to Samaria. The difficulties of other suggested identifications can be got over only by doing violence to the text (Cheyne, *EBi*, *s.v.*), or to the sense. W. Ewing.

SALIMOTH (1 Es 8[36]) = **Shelomith**, Ezr 8[10].

SALLAI.—**1.** A Benjamite, Neh 11[8]. **2.** A priestly family, Neh 12[20]; called in v.[7] **Sallu**.

SALLU.—**1.** A Benjamite family (1 Ch 9[7], Neh 11[7]). **2.** See Sallai, 2.

SALLUMUS (1 Es 9[25]) = **Shallum**, Ezr 10[24]; called **Salum**, 1 Es 5[28].

SALMA.—See Salmon.

SALMAI.—A family of Nethinim, Neh 7[48]; called in Ezr 2[46] **Shamlai**, in 1 Es 5[30] **Subai**.

SALMANASAR (2 Es 13[40]) = **Shalmaneser** (wh. see).

SALMON, or **SALMA.**—The father of Boaz (Ru 4[20. 21]), and therefore in the direct line of the ancestry of our Lord (Mt 1[4. 5], Lk 3[32]). If the **Salma** of 1 Ch 2[51. 54] is the same person, he was the 'father' or founder of Bethlehem, but it is to be noticed that that Salma is reckoned as one of the sons of Caleb the son of Hur.

SALMONE.—A promontory at the N.E. end of Crete, now *Cape Sidero*. St. Paul's ship, after reaching Cnidus with difficulty, was met by a powerful N.W. wind, which forced the captain to alter the course. Off Salmone (Ac 27[7]) he decided to work his way westward under the lee of Crete. A. Souter.

SALOAS (1 Es 9[22]) = **Elasah**, Ezr 10[22].

SALOM.—Greek form of **Shallum** (Bar 1[7]).

SALOME.—**1.** The daughter (unnamed in NT) of Herodias, who danced before Herod and received as a reward the head of John the Baptist (Mt 14[3-11], Mk 6[17-29]). **2.** One of the women who were present at the crucifixion (Mk 15[40]) and who afterwards visited the sepulchre (16[1]). By comparing Mk 15[40] and Mt 27[56] it has been almost certainly concluded that Salome was the wife of Zebedee, who also figures in the incident Mt 20[20-23]. The conjecture that Salome was the sister of Mary the mother of Jesus has no adequate support. W. F. Boyd.

SALT.—Salt is rightly included by ben-Sira among 'the chief of all things necessary for the life of man' (Sir 39[26] RV). The Hebrews of the Southern Kingdom, at least, had access to inexhaustible stores of salt both in the waters of the Dead Sea,—hence named in OT 'the Salt Sea' (Dt 3[17] etc.)—whence it could easily be obtained by evaporation, and in the deposits of the *Jebel Usdum* at its south-western extremity. References to **saltpits** or saltpans, or to both, are found in Zeph 2[9], 1 Mac 11[35]. One hundred pounds of water from the Dead Sea are said to yield 24½ lbs. of salt, compared with 6 lbs. obtained from the same quantity of water from the Atlantic.

In addition to its daily use as a condiment in the preparation of food (cf. Job 6[6]), and its important place in the sacrificial ritual, salt was employed by the Hebrews in an even greater variety of ways than it is among ourselves. New-born infants, for example, were rubbed with salt (Ezk 16[4])—a practice in which a religious, rather than a hygienic, motive may be detected. A grain of salt placed in the hollow of a decayed tooth was considered a cure for the universal evil of toothache (Mishna, *Shabbath*, vi. 5). In other treatises of the Mishna we find frequent references to the use of salt for salting fish, for pickling olives, vegetables, etc. The salting of meat for preservation is referred to in the 'Epistle of Jeremy' (Bar 6[28]). The modern Jewish custom of laying all meat in salt for the purpose of more thoroughly draining it of the blood was doubtless observed in Bible times. In Palestine, under the Seleucids, salt formed a government monopoly (1 Mac 10[29] 11[35]), as it did in Egypt under the Ptolemys.

As regards the presence of salt in the ritual of sacrifice, the words of Mk 9[49] AV, 'every sacrifice shall be salted with salt,' although omitted by RV following the best authorities, are nevertheless true to fact. The legislation of the Priests' Code, at least, expressly ordains: 'with all thine offerings thou shalt offer salt' (Lv 2[13])—a passage which expressly specifies that the cereal or vegetable offerings (the 'meal offerings' of RV) had to be salted as well as the more important and more evident animal or flesh sacrifices (cf. Ezk 43[24]). A special 'salt chamber' is mentioned among the chambers adjoining the Priests' Court in the description of Herod's Temple given in the Mishna. The sacred incense, also, had to be 'seasoned with salt' (Ex 30[35] RV), as was also the case with the shewbread, according to the better Gr. text of Lv 24[7]. The original idea in this extended ritual use of salt was doubtless this—that just as salt was an indispensable accompaniment of man's daily food, so it could not be absent from the 'food of God,' as the sacrifices are termed in Lv 21[8. 17].

In the developed priestly legislation, however, there can be little doubt that the presence of salt had a symbolical significance. From its use as a preservative, reflected in our Lord's figure, 'Ye are the salt of the earth' (Mt 5[13]), and as an antidote to decay, it is natural that salt should become a symbol of permanence, and

even of life as opposed to decay and death. 'Salt,' it has been said, 'seems to stand for life in many a form of primitive speech and in the world's symbolism' (Trumbull, *Covenant of Salt*). From this symbolical standpoint we probably reach the true explanation of the striking expression **'a convenant of salt'** (Nu 18^{19}, 2 Ch 13^{5}), which denotes a covenant that is inviolable and valid in perpetuity. The presence of salt, therefore, with every sacrifice may have come to symbolize the irrevocable character of J″'s covenant with Israel (cf. G. B. Gray's *Com.* on Nu 18^{19}).

This seems preferable to the usual explanation which connects the expression in question with the well-known code of Arab hospitality, by which a traveller in the desert, and even an enemy, if he has once partaken of an Arab's hospitality, has a right to his host's protection; since this 'ordinance of salt' as it is termed, is valid only for a limited period (see Jaussen, *Coutumes des Arabes* [1908], 87 f.). On the other hand, the obligations which the partaking of one's hospitality imposes on a guest are emphasized in the words of Ezr 4^{14} 'because we eat the salt of the palace' (RV).

In marked contrast to the above-mentioned employment of salt as a symbol of life, stands its parallel occurrence as a symbol of barrenness, desolation, or death (Dt 29^{23} and elsewhere). By this aspect of the symbolism of salt it has been usual to explain the treatment meted out by Abimelech to the city of Shechem in the early narrative, Jg 9^{45}: 'He beat down the city and *sowed it with salt*.' It is more in harmony, however, with the fundamental conception of the ban (see BAN) to regard the strewing of the site of the city with salt as symbolizing its complete dedication to J″ (see the parallels adduced in *EBi* iv. col. 4249 f.).

A. R. S. KENNEDY.

SALT, CITY OF.—A city of Judah (Jos $15^{61.\ 62}$). It may be inferred to have occupied some position on the western shore of the Dead Sea, between En-gedi and *Khashm Usdum* (the salt mountain).

SALT SEA.—See DEAD SEA.

SALT, VALLEY OF.—The scene of memorable victories of David over the Edomites (2 S 8^{13}, 1 Ch 18^{12}), and, at a later period, of Amaziah over the same enemies (2 K 14^{7}, 2 Ch 25^{11}). It may be identified with the plain extending from the southern end of the Dead Sea to the foot of the cliffs which cross the valley from side to side and form the southern margin of the Ghor.

SALTWORT (Job 30^{4} RV).—See MALLOWS.

SALU.—The father of Zimri (Nu 25^{14}, 1 Mac 2^{26}).

SALUM (1 Es 5^{28}) = **Shallum,** Ezr 2^{42}; called **Sallumus,** 1 Es 9^{25}.

SALUTATION (or **greeting**) is a serious matter in the East; some knowledge of immemorial practice is necessary in dealing with Orientals. The subject salutes his king by prostration; the humble his superior by touching the ground with his hand, and then his lips and brow. The young salutes the aged, the rider the footman, etc. In crowded streets only men of age, rank, and dignity need be saluted (Mt 23^{7} etc.). Common forms of salutation are, 'Peace be upon you'; response, 'And upon you': 'May your day be happy'; response, 'May your day be happy and blessed': and, in the highway, 'Blessed be he that cometh' (Jg 18^{15}, Mt 10^{12}, Lk 24^{36}, Ps 118^{26}, Mt 21^{9} etc.). Salutations are frequently prolonged, and repeated inquiries after health and welfare extremely tedious (1 K 4^{29}, Lk 10^{4}). See also GESTURES, KISS.

W. EWING.

SALVATION, SAVIOUR.—'Salvation' is the generic term employed in Scripture to express the idea of any gracious deliverance of God, but specially of the spiritual redemption from sin and its consequences predicted by the OT prophets, and realized in the mission and work of the Saviour Jesus Christ.

1. In the OT.—The root meaning of the principal OT words for 'save,' 'salvation,' 'saviour' is, *to be broad, spacious*; salvation is enlargement. As illustrations of this OT meaning of salvation may be taken the words of Moses at the Red Sea, 'Stand still, and see the salvation of Jehovah' (Ex 14^{13})—'He is become my salvation' (15^{2}); or the avowal of the psalmist, 'This poor man cried, and Jehovah heard him, and saved him out of all his troubles' (Ps 34^{6}). Jehovah is said to have given 'saviours' to Israel in the time of the Judges (Neh 9^{27}). Victory in battle is 'salvation' (Ex 14^{14}, 1 S 14^{45}, Ps 20 etc.). Salvation, or deliverance, of this kind is sometimes national, but sometimes also individual (cf., of David, 2 S 22, Ps 18). Such external deliverances, however, it is to be observed, are never divorced from spiritual conditions. It is the righteous or penitent alone who are entitled to look to God for His saving help; no others can claim Him as the rock of their salvation (Ps 18^{1-3}, cf. 4^{1}). When, therefore, the people had turned their backs on Jehovah, and abandoned themselves to wickedness, salvation could come only through a change of heart, through repentance. The chief need was to be saved from the sin itself. In the prophets, accordingly, the perspective somewhat changes. External blessings, deliverance from enemies, return from exile, are still hoped for, but the main stress is laid on a changed heart, forgiveness, restoration to God's favour, righteousness. In the pictures of the Messianic age, it is these things that come to be dwelt on (cf. Jer 31^{31-34}, Ezk 36^{26-28}, Hos 14 etc.). As the idea of salvation becomes more spiritual, it likewise becomes more universal; the Gentiles are to share its blessings (Is $45^{23.\ 24}$ 49^{8-12} 60^{1-12}).

The teaching of the prophets bore fruit in the age preceding the advent of Jesus in deepening ideas of the future life, of resurrection and a future perfected state, of the connexion of prosperity with righteousness—though mostly in the sense of outward legal obedience, the very error against which the prophets declaimed—and in more concrete representations of the Messiah. But there never failed a godly kernel, who cherished more spiritual hopes, and waited in patience and prayer for 'the consolation of Israel' (Lk 2^{25}).

2. In the NT.—In the NT the word 'salvation' (*sōtēria*, from *sōtēr*, 'saviour') is sometimes applied to temporal benefits, like healings (*e.g.* Mt 9^{22} 'thy faith hath made thee whole,' lit. 'saved thee'), but most generally it is employed as a comprehensive term for the spiritual and eternal blessings brought to men by the appearance and redeeming work of Jesus Christ. The name *Jesus* was given Him because 'it is he that shall save his people from their sins' (Mt 1^{21}); He is distinctively the 'Saviour' (Lk 2^{11}); His work on earth was 'to seek and to save that which was lost' (Lk 19^{10}); His death and resurrection were a means to salvation (Ro $5^{9.\ 10}$); He is exalted 'to be a Prince and a Saviour' to give repentance and remission of sins (Ac 5^{31}); 'in none other is there salvation' (4^{12}). In Apostolic usage, therefore, salvation is the all-embracing name for the blessings brought by the gospel (cf. 'the gospel of your salvation,' Eph 1^{13}; 'the word of this salvation,' Ac 13^{26}; 'repentance unto salvation,' 2 Co 7^{10} etc.). To expound fully the contents of this term, accordingly, would be to expound the contents of the gospel. Enough here to say that it includes deliverance from all sin's evils, and the bestowal of all spiritual blessings in Christ (Eph 1^{3}). It begins on earth in forgiveness, renewal, the bestowal of the Holy Spirit, enlightenment, guidance, strengthening, comfort; and is perfected in the blessedness and glory, in which body and soul share, of the life everlasting. The fact never to be forgotten about it is, that it has been obtained at the infinite cost of the redeeming death of God's own Son (cf. Rev. 5^{8}). For further elucidations, see artt. ATONEMENT, MEDIATOR, REDEMPTION.

JAMES ORR.

SAMAIAS.—**1.** (1 Es 1^{9}) = **Shemaiah,** 2 Ch 35^{9}. **2.** (1 Es 8^{39}) = **Shemaiah,** Ezr 8^{13}. **3.** (1 Es 8^{44}) = **Shemaiah,** Ezr 8^{16}.

SAMARIA.—A city built on a hill purchased by Omri, king of Israel, from a certain **Shemer**, and by him made the capital of the Israelite kingdom (1 K 16[24]). We gather from 1 K 20[34] that Ben-hadad I., king of Syria, successfully attacked it soon afterwards, and had compelled Omri to grant him favourable trade facilities. Ahab here built a Baal temple (1 K 16[32]) and a palace of ivory (22[39]). Ben-hadad II. here besieged Ahab, but unsuccessfully, and was obliged to reverse the terms his father had exacted from Omri. Jehoram attempted a feeble and half-hearted reform, destroying Ahab's Baal-pillar, though retaining the calf-worship (2 K 3[2]) and the *ashērah* (13[6]). The city was again besieged in his time by Ben-hadad II. (2 K 6. 7). After this event the history of Samaria is bound up with the troublesome internal affairs of the Northern Kingdom, and we need not follow it closely till we reach B.C. 724, when Shalmaneser IV. besieged Samaria in punishment for king Hoshea's disaffection. It fell three years later; and Sargon, who had meanwhile succeeded Shalmaneser on the Assyrian throne, deported its inhabitants, substituting a number of people drawn from other places (2 K 17). In B.C. 331 it was besieged and conquered by Alexander, and in B.C. 120 by John Hyrcanus. Herod carried out important building works here, large portions of which still remain. He changed the name to *Sebaste* in honour of Augustus. Philip preached here (Ac 8[5]). The city, however, gradually decayed, fading before the growing importance of Neapolis (Shechem). The Crusaders established a bishopric here.

Extensive remains of ancient Samaria still exist at the mound known as *Sebustīyeh* (Sebaste), a short distance from Nāblus. It is one of the largest and most important mounds in ancient Palestine. Excavations under the auspices of Harvard University were begun in 1908. R. A. S. Macalister.

SAMARITANS.—The descendants of the Cuthites, Avvites, Sepharvites, and Hamathites, established by Sargon in Samaria after he had put an end to the Israelite kingdom. They were instructed in a form of the Hebrew religion (which they grafted on to their own worships) in order to appease the 'God of the land' (2 K 17[24]). To these colonists Ashurbanipal made considerable additions (Ezr 4[9. 10]). The enmity between Jews and Samaritans began to make its appearance immediately after the return from the Captivity. The Samaritans endeavoured to prevent the re-building of Jerusalem (Ezr 4[7], Neh 4[7]), and from time to time their subsequent aggressions and insults to the re-founded Jewish State are recorded by Josephus. After the battle of Issus the Samaritans offered assistance to Alexander, and were allowed to build a temple on **Gerizim**, where they sacrificed after the manner of the Jews—though they were quite ready to repudiate Jewish origin, rite, and prejudice whenever occasion arose (see Jos. *Ant.* XII. v. 5). This temple was destroyed by John Hyrcanus. The disputes between the Jews and the Samaritans were at last referred to Rome (*BJ* II. xii. 3–7). Throughout the Gospel history the ill-feeling is conspicuous: the Samaritans were 'strangers,' (Lk 17[18]), and their admixture of heathen worship seems still to have persisted (Jn 4[22]). Vespasian inflicted a crushing blow upon them by massacring 11,000 on Mt. Gerizim. From this and other sufferings later inflicted by Zeno and Justinian they never recovered. They still persist, to the number of about 150, in Nāblus. They acknowledge the Pentateuchal legislation only, and endeavour to preserve intact the Mosaic rites and ordinances. R. A. S. Macalister.

SAMATUS (1 Es 9[34]) = **Shallum**, Ezr 10[42].

SAMECH.—The fifteenth letter of the Hebrew alphabet, and as such employed in the 119th Psalm to designate the 15th part, each verse of which begins with this letter.

SAMELLIUS (1 Es 2[16. 17. 25. 30]) = **Shimshai**, Ezr 4[8] etc.

SAMEUS (1 Es 9[21]) = **Shemaiah**, Ezr 10[21].

SAMGAR-NEBO.—One of the Babylonian princes who, at the taking of Jerusalem by Nebuchadnezzar, in the 11th year of Zedekiah, came and sat in the middle gate (Jer 39[3]). There has been much discussion concerning this name, due to the varying forms of the Greek version. The most probable explanation is that of Schrader, namely, *Shumgir-Nabū*, a name meaning 'Be gracious, O Nēbo.' As, however, *Rab-saris* and *Rab-mag* are titles, the question arises whether *Samgar-nebo* may not be one also. If so, it may be a corruption of *sangu Nebo*, 'the priest of Nebo,'—an office possibly held by **Nergal-sharezer**, who, if identical with king Neriglissar, was closely connected with E-zida, the temple of Nebo at Borsippa. His daughter married a priest of E-zida in the first year of his reign.
T. G. Pinches.

SAMLAH.—An Edomite king (Gn 36[36f.] = 1 Ch 1[47f.]).

SAMMUS (1 Es 9[43]) = **Shema**, Neh 8[4].

SAMOS was an important island in the Ægæan Sea off the coast of Ionia. It was a centre of luxury, art, and science. In B.C. 84 it was united to the province of Asia, and in B.C. 17 was made a free State by Augustus. This it was when St. Paul touched here (Ac 20[15]) on his way home from his third journey. There were many Jewish residents on the island, and it was one of the places addressed by the Romans in favour of the Jews (1 Mac 15[23]). A. Souter.

SAMOTHRACE.—An island S. of Thrace and N.W. of Troas, from which place St. Paul had a straight run to it (Ac 16[11]). The town of the same name was on the N. side of the island. The island is mountainous, and has a summit nearly a mile above the sea level. It owes its name perhaps to its resemblance to **Samos** (wh. see). Samothrace played little part in Greek history, but was famous as the seat of the mysterious cult of the divinities known as Cabeiri. A. Souter.

SAMPSAMES.—One of the places to which the Romans wrote in favour of the Jews (1 Mac 15[23]); usually identified with *Samsun*, a seaport town on the Black Sea. RVm, with Vulg., has **Lampsacus**.

SAMSON (LXX and Vulg.; Heb. *Shimshōn*; probably derived from *shemesh*, 'sun,' either as a diminutive, or better 'sun-man').—Mentioned in OT in Jg 13–16, and in NT in He 11[32].

1. The story need not be recapitulated, but certain details require explanation. 13[25] seems to be the prelude to a first exploit, now lost. 14 is not clear as it stands; probably 'his father and his mother' in vv.[5. 6b. 10a] are glosses introduced to avoid the appearance of disobedience. He goes down alone, meets the lion alone, returns to his home after his visit to his bride (v.[8] 'to take her' being another gloss); then after an interval he goes back to celebrate the marriage he has arranged; v.[10a] is particularly absurd as it stands. The 'thirty companions' of v.[11] are the 'friends of the bridegroom,' chosen on this occasion from the bride's people (see below, § 4); the companion of v.[20] is their leader, 'the best man.' The 'linen garments' of v.[12] are pieces of fine linen, costly and luxurious (Pr 31[24], Is 3[23]); 'the changes' are gala dresses. The Philistines give up the riddle 'after three days' (v.[14]), and appeal to the woman on the seventh (v.[15]; LXX Syr. 'fourth'); yet she weeps for the whole week, imploring Samson to tell her (v.[17]). Perhaps the figures of vv.[14. 15] are interpolations, the Philistines giving up at once. 'Before the sun went down' (v.[18]) is ungrammatical in Heb., with a rare word for 'sun'; with best modern edd., read by a slight alteration 'before he went into the bridal-chamber' (cf. 15[1]). In ch. 16, words, variously represented by LXX, have fallen out between v.[13] and v.[14]; the sense is '. . . and beat them up with the pin, I shall become weak, So while he was asleep she took the seven locks and wove them into the web, and beat

them tight with the pin,' etc. We are to imagine an upright loom with a piece of unfinished stuff; **Delilah** weaves the hair into this, and beats it tight with the 'pin.' Samson pulls up the posts of the loom by his hair which is fastened to the web. For v.[21], cf. the blinding of captives as shown on Assyr. monuments; to be put to the mill was a frequent punishment of slaves. Nothing is known of the worship of Dagon (cf. 1 S 5); the etymology 'fish-god' and the connexion with the Assyr. god 'Dagan' are uncertain.

2. Origin and nature of the story.—(*a*) The narrative seems to belong entirely to J, the Judæan source of the early history of Israel; there are no traces of a double source, as in other parts of Judges. It has been but slightly revised by the Deuteronomic editor. Ch. 16, though an integral part of the original cycle of stories, was apparently at one time omitted by the compiler; see the repeated note in 15[20] 16[31]. Perhaps it gave too unfavourable a picture of the hero's love-affairs. (*b*) Though it is said that Samson 'judged Israel twenty years' (15[20]), and that he should 'begin to deliver' his nation from the Philistines (13[5]), there is no hint of his ever having held any official position, nor does he appear as a leader of his people; on the contrary, he is disowned by his neighbours of Judah (15[11]). His exploits have only a local significance, and are performed single-handed in revenge for his private quarrels. The story evidently belongs to the class of popular tales, common to every country-side. Every people has its hero of prodigious strength, to whom marvellous feats are ascribed, and it becomes a hopeless task to discover the precise historical basis of the legends, which in this case are undoubtedly of great antiquity. (*c*) It is not necessary to look for a further explanation in the theory of a 'solar myth.' The name 'Samson,' and the existence of a 'Beth-shemesh' ('house of the sun') near his home, offer an obvious temptation to such a theory, but it is entirely unnecessary and is now generally abandoned. (*d*) It is more probable that in ch. 15 we find the workings of folk-etymology ('ætiological myth'), *i.e.* stories suggested by the fancied meaning of names. *Ramath-Lehi* ('the height of Lehi') is taken to mean 'the casting away of the jawbone'; *En-hakkore* ('Partridge spring'), 'the spring of him who called'; and incidents are suggested to explain the supposed meanings. (*e*) The parallels with other popular stories, especially the exploits of Hercules, are obvious, *e.g.* the killing of the lion, the miraculous satisfying of the hero's thirst, and his ruin at the hand of a woman. For the lion episode, cf., further, the stories of Polydamas, David (1 S 17[34]), Benaiah (2 S 23[20]); for the sacred hair or lock, cf. the story of Nisus. Ovid (*Fasti*, iv. 681–712) has a remarkable parallel to the burning of the corn by the foxes (or jackals?); at the Cerealia, foxes with lighted torches tied to their tails were let loose in the Circus; he explains the custom as originally due to the act of a mischievous boy, who burned his father's corn in the same way. The conclusion to be drawn from such parallels is not necessarily identity of origin, but the similar working of the mind and imagination under similar conditions.

3. Historical value.—Regarded as a picture of early conditions and customs, the narrative is of the greatest significance. *Politically* it takes us to the time when Dan, perhaps weakened by the departure of its 600 men of war (Jg 1[34] 18), acquiesces in the rule of the Philistines; Timnah is in their hands. There is no state of war between the two peoples, but free intercourse and even intermarriage. As already pointed out, Samson is in no sense the leader of a revolt against the foreign dominion, and his neighbours of Judah show no desire to make his private quarrels an excuse for a rising (15[11]); there is no union even between the tribes of the south. None the less, his exploits would be secretly welcomed as directed against the common foe, and remembering that Jg 17–21 is an appendix, we see how the narrative paves the way for the more defined efforts of Saul and David in 1 Samuel to shake off the foreign yoke. *Socially* the story gives us a picture of primitive marriage customs. Ch. 14 is the clearest OT example of a *sadîka* marriage (see MARRIAGE, § 1). We get a good idea of the proceedings, essentially the same as in the East to-day. The feast lasts for a week, and is marked by lavish eating and drinking, songs, riddles, and not very refined merriment. The whole story gives us a valuable insight into the life of the people; we note the grim rough humour of its hero, so entirely natural (ch. 14, the three deceptions of ch. 16, 16[28] RVm).

4. Religious significance.—Samson is a popular hero, and we shall expect the directly religious interest of the story to be subordinate. It appears in the account of his birth, perhaps hardly a part of the original cycle, but added later to justify his inclusion among the Judges. As a child of promise, he is in a peculiar sense a gift of God, born to do a special work; an overruling providence governs his acts (14[4] 16[30]). The source of his strength is supernatural; at times it is represented as due to a demonic frenzy, an invasion of the spirit of J" (13[25] 14[6. 19] 15[14]), but in 13. 16 it lies in his hair; he is a Nazirite of God. The rules for the Nazirite are given in Nu 6[1]; those in Jg 13 are the same, with the general prohibition of 'unclean' food. The essence of the conception lay in a vow to sacrifice the **hair** at a sacred shrine, the life-long vow being probably a vow to do so at stated periods. The hair, like the blood, was regarded as a seat of life, and was a common offering not only among the Semites, but in all parts of the world. In Arabia the vow to leave the locks unshorn was particularly connected with wars of revenge (Dt 32[42] RVm, Ps 68[21]). As soon as a vow was taken, the life of the votary became a continuous act of religion; particularly must the body, which nourishes the hair (now the property of the deity), be kept clean from all defilement; the taboo of the vine and its products is esp. common (cf. Am 2[11. 12]). In the story itself no stress is laid on any such precautions on the part of Samson (*e.g.* in 14[8] he eats from a carcase), and hence no doubt the taboos were transferred to his mother (13[4]). There is unfortunately little basis for the religious feeling with which Milton has invested the character of Samson. He is a popular hero, and the permanent value of the story is to be sought in its *ethical lessons*. It is true, its morality is on a low level; revenge is Samson's ruling idea, and his relations with women have been a stumbling-block to apologists. But once we recognize the origin of the story, we shall not feel bound to justify or explain away these traits, and the lessons stand out clearly. The story emphasizes the evils of foreign marriages (14[3]), of laxity in sexual relations, and of toying with temptation. It teaches that bodily endowments, no less than spiritual, are a gift from God, however different may be our modern conception of the way in which they are bestowed, and that their retention depends on obedience to His laws. But if Samson stands as an example 'of impotence of mind in body strong,' he also stands, in Milton's magnificent conception, as an example of patriotism and heroism in death, to all who 'from his memory inflame their breast to matchless valour and adventures high.'

C. W. EMMET.

SAMUEL.—The life of Samuel is viewed from widely differing standpoints in different sections of the books that bear his name. In the oldest narrative, found in 1 S 9, he appears as a **seer** from the land of Zuph, to whom **Saul** and his servant, who are seeking the lost asses of Kish, Saul's father, apply for help. Saul had hesitated about applying to the man of God, on the score of not having a gift to present, but the servant produced the fourth part of a shekel of silver with which to compensate the seer. Samuel, who had been Divinely apprised of their coming, met them while he was on his way to worship at the high place, and after they had partaken of his hospitality and passed the night with

him, he nominated and anointed Saul as Israel's coming king. He further gave Saul signs by which he should know that the promises would be fulfilled, and committed him to the Spirit of God. In another narrative (chs. 1–3), which differs in point of view rather than in trustworthiness, are recited the incidents of Samuel's early life and relations to the kingdom. **Hannah,** his mother, the wife of **Elkanah,** was barren. During the celebration of the yearly feast she vows that if God will give her a son she will give him to Jehovah. Samuel is therefore the son of answered prayer, and is in due time dedicated to the Temple service at Shiloh, where he assists **Eli,** is warned by Jehovah of the coming destruction of Eli's house, and receives the call to the prophetic office.

After the death of Eli and the return of the ark from the Philistines, Samuel becomes 'judge' of Israel, calls the people to repentance at Mizpah, and saves them miraculously from the invading Philistines (ch. 7). He is succeeded in the judgeship by unworthy sons, and Israel, outraged at their sinfulness and worthlessness, demands a king—a proposition, in the estimation of Samuel, tantamount to a rejection of Jehovah, though no such suggestion was made when he voluntarily appointed Saul. Nevertheless he yields to their wish, but describes in sombre colours the oppressions they must endure under the monarchy (ch. 8). Accordingly the people are assembled at Mizpah, again accused of forsaking Jehovah, and Saul is selected by lot (10^{17-24}). Samuel now makes his farewell address (ch. 12), defends his administration, warns the people, by references to their past history, of the danger of disobeying Jehovah, and compels nature to attest his words by a thunderstorm in harvest time.

The insignificant rôle played by Samuel in the first narrative cited is very noticeable when compared with the position accorded him in that which follows. In the first he is an obscure seer, and takes but a minor part in the establishment of the kingdom. In the latter he is a commanding and dominating figure. He is a judge of the people, adjudicating their affairs yearly at Bethel, Gilgal, and Mizpah. Saul, as well as the monarchy, is controlled and directed by him.

The narrative of Samuel's prominence is succeeded by an account (ch. 13)—from a different source—of Saul's attack on the Philistines. The story is interrupted at 13^{8-15} by a complaint that Saul had disobeyed in offering sacrifice before the battle, although he had waited the required seven days as instructed by Samuel. It is difficult to see wherein Saul was guilty. Samuel had not appeared according to agreement. The Philistines were closing in upon Saul, his army was fast melting away, it was necessary to give battle, and it would have been considered irreligious to inaugurate the battle without sacrifice. For this rebellion Samuel informs him that his kingdom is forfeit, and that Jehovah has chosen another, a man after His own heart, to take his place.

Again Saul is instructed by Samuel (ch. 15) to destroy Amalek—men, women, children, and spoil—but he spares **Agag** and the best of the booty. All his excuses are rejected, and Samuel now attributes the loss of his kingdom to the new disobedience. This narrative does not seem conscious that the kingdom was already lost to Saul. The king confesses his fault, and after repeated persuasion Samuel agrees to honour him before his people by worshipping with him. Agag is then brought before Samuel, who hews him to pieces before the Lord. After this Samuel is sent to the home of Jesse to select and anoint a successor to Saul. One by one the sons of Jesse are rejected, till **David,** the youngest, is brought from the field, and proves to be the choice of Jehovah (ch. 16). With this significant act Samuel practically disappears. We find an account of his keeping a school of the prophets at Ramah, whither David flees to escape Saul (19^{18-24}). Later we have a short account of his death and burial at Ramah (25^{1}). There is also a mention of his death in ch. 28, and the story of Saul's application to the witch of Endor to call up Samuel from the dead. J. H. Stevenson.

SAMUEL, BOOKS OF.—1. Title.—The two Books of Samuel are really parts of what was originally one book. This is shown not only by the fact that the narrative of Book I. is continued without the slightest interruption in Book II., and that the style, tone, point of view, and purpose are the same throughout, but also by their appearance as one book bearing the simple title 'Samuel' in the oldest known Hebrew MSS. The division of the Hebrew text into two books was first made in print by Daniel Bomberg in his Hebrew Bible (2nd ed. 1517). In doing so he was in part following the text of the Septuagint and the Vulgate, in which the Books of Samuel and Kings are described as the First, Second, Third, and Fourth Books of Kingdoms (LXX), or Kings (Vulgate). The title 'Samuel,' less accurately descriptive of the contents than that of 'Kingdoms' or 'Kings,' owes its origin to the prominent place held by Samuel in 1 S 1–16. A late Jewish interpretation regarded it as declaring Samuel's authorship of the narrative; but this is impossible, in view of the fact that the history extends through the reign of David, long after the death of Samuel ($1\ S\ 25^{1}$).

2. Contents.—The period covered by the Books of Samuel extends from the birth of Samuel to the close of David's reign, *i.e.* approximately from B.C. 1070 to B.C. 970. The narrative falls into three main divisions:—I.: Samuel and Saul, 1 S 1–15; II.: The Rise of David, 1 S 16–2 S 5^{3}; III.: David as king of United Israel, 2 S 5^{4}–24. Division I. is made up of three sections: (1) The childhood and youth of Samuel, to the downfall of Eli's house and the captivity of the Ark ($1\ S\ 1–7^{1}$); (2) Samuel's career as Judge, including his defeat of the Philistines, his anointing of Saul, and his farewell address ($1\ S\ 7^{2}–12$); (3) Saul's reign till his rejection (1 S 13–15). Division II. likewise includes three sections: (1) David at Saul's Court ($1\ S\ 16^{1}–21^{1}$); (2) David as a fugitive outlaw ($1\ S\ 21^{2}–2\ S\ 1$); (3) David as king in Hebron ($2\ S\ 2–5^{3}$). Division III. forms three more sections: (1) establishment of Jerusalem as the religious and national capital, and a brief summary of David's reign ($2\ S\ 5^{4}–8$); (2) supplementary narratives, setting forth particularly David's great sin and subsequent troubles (2 S 9–20); (3) a series of appendixes (2 S 21–24). $1\ K\ 1–2^{11}$ really belongs to 2 Sam., since it relates the circumstances attending the death of David, and thus brings the narrative to its natural close.

3. Text and Versions.—The text of Samuel is the worst in the OT; only Ezekiel and Hosea can approach it in this respect. Many passages are unintelligible on the basis of the Massoretic text. The large amount of corruption may be due in part to the relatively great antiquity of the text, much of the narrative being among the oldest writings in the Hebrew Bible; and, in part, to the fact that these books were not used in the ordinary synagogue services, and so were not so carefully transmitted as they otherwise would have been. Unfortunately, the oldest existing Hebrew manuscript of Samuel dates its origin no farther back than the tenth century of our era. With each copying and recopying during the many preceding centuries fresh opportunity for error was afforded; and the wonder is not that there are so many errors, but that there are not more. In any effort to recover the original text large use must be made of the Septuagint, which is based upon a Hebrew text at least as old as the 3rd cent. B.C., and has preserved the original reading in many cases, while showing traces of it in others. The Syriac and Vulgate versions are also useful, but to a far less extent.

4. Sources and Date.—The Books of Samuel, like almost every other OT writing, are a compilation from various sources, rather than the result of a careful study of earlier sources presented in the form of a unified, logical, and philosophical statement of facts and con-

clusions. We are here given the sources themselves, and are in large part left to draw our own conclusions. The composite character of the books is evidenced (1) by the existence of differing literary styles within them; (2) by the presence of varying and conflicting theological standpoints; (3) by the fact that they exhibit radically different attitudes towards the founding of the monarchy (cf. *e.g.* 1 S $8^{1\text{-}22}$ and $9^{1\text{-}10.\ 16}$); and (4) by the appearance of two or more narratives of one and the same event. In illustration of this last point we may cite (*a*) the three accounts of Saul's choice as king given in 1 S 9–11; (*b*) the two accounts of David's introduction to Saul in 1 S $16^{17ff.}$ and $17^{55ff.}$; (*c*) the twofold announcement of the fate of Eli's house in 1 S $2^{27\text{-}36}$ and $3^{11ff.}$; (*d*) the double rejection of Saul in 1 S $13^{7\text{-}15}$ and $15^{1\text{-}35}$; (*e*) the two accounts of David's flight to Achish in 1 S $21^{10ff.}$ and $27^{1ff.}$; (*f*) the two narratives of David sparing Saul's life in 1 S $23^{19ff.}$ and $26^{1ff.}$—one of the most marked examples of a doublet; (*g*) the differing descriptions of the death of Saul given in 1 S 31 and 2 S 1; (*h*) the varying traditions of Absalom's family found in 2 S $14^{25ff.}$ and 18^{18}; (*i*) the inconsistency of 1 S $7^{13f.}$ with 13–14; and (*j*) the story that Goliath was slain by David in 1 S 17, but by Elhanan in 2 S 21^{19}. Phenomena of this kind are much more easily accounted for on the supposition that we are dealing here with the works of different hands, than on the hypothesis of a single author upon whom alone all the responsibility for the contents of the books must be placed.

This fact of composite origin is granted by all students of the Books of Samuel. In the attempt, however, to resolve the narrative into its original elements, two different schools of analysts have been formed. To the one belong such scholars as Budde, Cornill, H. P. Smith, Driver, Nowack, Stenning, and Kent; to the other, Wellhausen, Kuenen, Löhr, Kittel, Stade, and Kennedy. Budde and his followers find two main sources running through the books and covering practically the same ground, though from differing points of view. These sources, which Budde himself assigns to the same school of prophetic writers that produced the J and E narratives of the Hexateuch, are supposed to have originated from the 9th to the 8th cents. B.C.; the J source being the older of the two. These two sources were then supplemented and united by editors somewhere in the early part of the 7th cent. B.C.; and finally the books were given their present form by a Deuteronomic editor who revised the existing materials and added materials of his own some time in the Exile. Budde's distribution of the materials among the sources is as follows [figures within parentheses in J indicate later elements; in E they designate the older portions of the document]:—

J = 1 S 9^{1}–10^{7}, (10^{8}), $10^{9\text{-}16a}$, $13^{2\text{-}7a}$. $(7b\text{-}15a.)$ $15b\text{-}18$. $(19\text{-}21)$ 22, $14^{1\text{-}46}$, 14^{52}, $16^{14\text{-}23}$, $18^{6\text{-}11}$, $18^{20\text{-}30}$, $19^{1.\ 4\text{-}6.\ 7b\text{-}18a}$, $20^{1\text{-}3.\ 18\text{-}39}$, $22^{1\text{-}4.\ 6\text{-}10a.\ 11\text{-}18}$, 22^{20}–$23^{14a.\ 19a}$, 23^{20}–24^{20}, $25^{2ff.}$, 27^{1}–28^{15}, 28^{19}–31^{13}; 2 S 1 $^{1\text{-}4.\ 11.\ 12.\ 17\text{-}23}$, 2^{1}–6^{23}, $8^{3\text{-}14a.\ 16\text{-}18}$, 9^{1}–21^{22}, $23^{7bff.}$, $24^{1\text{-}25}$.

E = 1 S $1^{1\text{-}5.\ 7\text{-}28}$, $2^{11\text{-}26}$, $3^{1\text{-}10.\ 15\text{-}21}$, $(4^{1\text{-}18a}$, 5^{1}–$7^{1})$, 7^{2}–8^{22a}, $12^{1\text{-}25}$, 15^{1}, $(15^{2\text{-}23})$, $15^{24\text{-}31}$, $(15^{32f.})$, $15^{34f.}$; 2 S $(16^{1\text{-}10.\ 13\text{-}16})$, $7^{1\text{-}29}$.

Pre-exilic Editors = 1 S 1^{6}, 2^{22b}, $4^{15.\ 22}$, $6^{11b.\ 15.\ 17.\ 18a.\ 19}$, 8^{22b}, $9^{2b.\ 9}$, $10^{9a.\ 16b.\ 25\text{-}27}$, $11^{7.\ 8b.\ 12\text{-}14}$, $13^{19\text{-}22}$, $16^{1\text{-}13}$, $17^{12f.}$, 18^{21b}, $19^{2f.\ 7a.\ 18\text{-}24}$, $20^{4\text{-}17.\ 40\text{-}42}$, $21^{11\text{-}16}$, $22^{1.\ 10b}$, 23^{19b}, $24^{21\text{-}23a.\ 24}$, 25^{1}, $28^{3.\ 16\text{-}18}$, $30^{6.\ 18b}$; 2 S 1^{5}, 2^{23b}, $3^{5a.\ 30}$, $8^{6b.\ 11\ 12}$, 11^{21a}, $13^{18a.\ 38a}$, $14^{25\text{-}27}$, $20^{23\text{-}26}$, $21^{2b.\ 3a.\ 7}$, $23^{14a.\ 23a}$.

Exilic Editor = 1 S $2^{27\text{-}36}$, $3^{11\text{-}14}$, 13^{1}, $14^{47\text{-}51}$; 2 S $2^{10a.\ 11}$, $5^{4f.}$, 7^{13}, $18^{1\text{-}6.\ 14b.\ 16}$; 2 S $12^{7.\ 8.\ 10\text{-}12}$, 24^{1a}.

Of uncertain Origin = 1 S $2^{1\text{-}10}$; 2 S $22^{1ff.}$, $23^{1ff.}$.

This, which we may call the two-source theory because of the predominant place of the two main sources, is in its general features the prevailing view at the present time. In the assignment of certain passages, however, there is considerable variety of opinion, and in the identification of the two main sources with J and E, Budde and Cornill are not followed by several adherents of the two-source view.

The analysis presented by the opposing school (Wellhausen, Stade, Kennedy, *et al.*) differs from the foregoing chiefly (*a*) in denying the unity of the two sources, J and E respectively; (*b*) in refusing to recognize any relationship of these sources to J and E; and (*c*) in proposing another chronological assignment of the sources. Kennedy, *e.g.*, the latest representative of this school, resolves Budde's J into three main elements, and dates these three documents from the middle of the 10th cent. B.C. Budde's E likewise falls into three fragments under Kennedy's examination; one of these is a life of Samuel dating from about B.C. 630; another and larger portion is from a Deuteronomic writer; and a small remainder consists of pre-exilic duplicates of some narratives appearing in Budde's J.

The precise delimitation of the various sources and the exact way in which the Books of Samuel assumed their present form must remain for the future to determine. The unmistakable fact is that these books in their present form are due to the labours of late exilic editors who wrought them out of existing documents, some of which show Deuteronomic colouring, while others come from early pre-exilic times, somewhere about B.C. 900. As compared with the Books of Kings and Chronicles, or even the Book of Judges, Samuel shows far less evidence of editorial additions and modifications. The various sources are for the most part allowed to tell their stories in their 'own way. There is a total absence of any such theological straitjacket as is found in the editorial framework of the Books of Kings. We thus have in the Books of Samuel some of the finest examples of the historical writings of the Hebrews in the various stages of their development.

5. Historical value.—In estimating the historical value of the Books of Samuel, care must be taken to discriminate sharply between the books themselves and the sources which constitute them. The books themselves are the product of a long literary history, the work of various men living in widely scattered periods. They thus form a source-book, rather than a history in the modern sense. It is for this reason that they are so extremely valuable to the modern historian of Israel. For a correct picture of the times of Samuel, Saul, and David, it goes without saying that the oldest sources are the most trustworthy. Failure to paint original scenes and characters with a proper perspective increases in direct proportion to the distance of the narrator from the things he describes. Hence the later elements in these books are primarily of value not as sources of information concerning the times of the early monarchy, but as reflecting the point of view and the background of their writers. The older sources, however, coming from a period within a century or two of the events they narrate, furnish us with accurate information and are among the best historical records in the OT. They are especially rich in biographical materials. They help us to see Saul and David and their contemporaries as they really were. They give us glimpses of Samuel as the local seer, known only within the narrow limits of his own immediate district; of David as the fugitive, the freebooter, the outlaw, the idol of his men, the devoted servant of Jehovah, and yet capable of the most dastardly deeds; of Saul as the brave warrior, the patriot, the religious enthusiast, the moody chieftain of his clan. These men, with Joab, Absalom, and others, live and move before our eyes.

A still further service of the Books of Samuel is in the light they throw upon the development of religious practices and ideas in Israel. Kennedy rightly says: 'The study of this book has contributed more than anything else to the more accurate views of the historical development of religious thought in OT times, which are characteristic of the present day.' The books represent from first to last a period of about five hundred years, during which time the religion of Israel

was advancing by leaps and bounds under the leadership of the prophets. They contain, therefore, the record of this progress. Instances of this may be seen in the wide difference between the attitude towards foreign gods ascribed to David in 1 S 26^{19} (an early source), and that appearing in 12^{21} (a late source); in the primitive conception of revelation presented in the story of Samuel's call ($3^{1ff.}$); in the narratives dealing with the origin of prophecy ($9^{7ff.}$), and the sons of the prophets (*e.g.* $10^{5ff.}$); in the use of the teraphim ($19^{13ff.}$) and the ephod (23^{6-12}); and in the advanced conception of God appearing in such passages as 2 S 7^{22}. The Books of Samuel are thus invaluable to the historian of Israel's religious, social, and political life.

6. Purpose.—But the purpose of these books is not to serve as a bare, cold record of events and their causes; such matters are of only secondary importance; they are but means to an end. Their great purpose is to teach religion; they give sermons, not annals; they are prophecy, not history. In the Hebrew canon they occupy a place alongside of the prophetic books, and the entire division to which they belong is entitled 'the Prophets.' Just as Amos and Isaiah deal with the facts of the present, interpreting them as expressions of Jehovah's will and using them to drive home moral and spiritual truth to the hearts and consciences of their hearers, so these writers have dealt with the facts of the past. What they have given us, then, is history seen through the eyes of prophets. The horizon of the prophets, however, was filled with religion; they themselves were nothing if not religious; their whole being throbbed with the energy of religion. Consequently it is not surprising that everything in the narratives is presented from the point of view of religion, and in such a way as to count most for the furtherance of religious ideals. This is not saying that these writers consciously and deliberately changed the course of events, or shifted the emphasis from one point to another in order to accomplish their purpose; but rather that they wrote things as they themselves conceived of them, and that, being prophets, they could conceive of Israel's history in no other way than as through and through religious, as the embodiment of Jehovah's revelation of Himself and His will to His people. This is the prophets' philosophy of history, and as such must commend itself to the mind and conscience of the Christian Church. J. M. P. Smith.

SANAAS (1 Es 5^{23}).—See Senaah.

SANABASSAR, SANABASSARUS.—Variants in 1 Es 2^{12} $6^{18.\ 20}$ of the name **Sheshbazzar** (wh. see).

SANASIB.—A family that returned with Zerub. (1 Es 5^{24}; Ezr 2^{36} omits).

SANBALLAT (Assyr. *Sin-ballit* = 'Sin, save the life'). —The most inveterate of the opponents of Nehemiah. He was a native of Beth-horon, and apparently belonged to an old Bab. family holding office under the Persian government. When Nehemiah came to Jerusalem to repair the walls, he, with his allies (**Tobiah** the Ammonite and **Geshem** the Arabian), met him with derision; and after the work was well under way he stirred up the garrison of Samaria and planned an attack against the builders. This was prevented by the watchfulness of Nehemiah and the workmen. Several devices aimed against the life of Nehemiah were also thwarted by the sagacity of the latter. On Nehemiah's second visit he banished from Jerusalem **Manasseh** (a son-in-law of Sanballat, and grandson of **Eliashib**), who founded the Samaritan sect. See Neh $2^{10.\ 19}$ $4^{1ff.}$ $6.$ 13^{28}.

J. F. McCurdy.

SANCTIFICATION, SANCTIFY.—'Sanctify' (Latin, from the Vulgate) = the native Eng 'hallow' (i.e. *make, count, keep holy*), the latter word being in use somewhat the loftier EV employs 'hallow' 35 times in OT and twice in NT (Mt 6^{9} = Lk 11^{2}), 'sanctify' thrice as often in OT and 26 times in NT—for identical Hebrew and Greek terms. For the meaning of the root word 'holy,' see art. Holiness. The noun 'sanctification'—denoting first the *act* or *process* of making holy (hallowing), then the resultant *state* (hallowedness)—appears in 5 NT passages in the AV, giving way to 'holiness' in others (Ro $6^{19.\ 22}$, 1 Th 4^{7}, 1 Ti 2^{15}, He 12^{14}) though the Greek noun is the same, where RV makes the needed correction; everywhere, except in 1 P 1^{2}, the *state* rather than the process is implied. To Paul belong 8 out of the 10 examples of the noun, and 11 out of the 28 examples of the verb in NT (including Ac 20^{32} and 26^{18}); 7 of the latter are found in Hebrews. AV employs the synonymous **'consecrate'** for 'sanctify' in 7 OT passages, which the RV emends in three instances, leaving 'consecrate' for the regular Hebrew verb in 2 Ch 26^{18} 29^{33} 31^{6}, Ezr 3^{5}; the 'consecrate' of He 7^{28} and of 10^{20} is corrected by the RV to **'perfect'** and **'dedicate'** respectively.

1. In the Israelite, as in other ancient religions, that is 'holy' which is set apart for Divine use, so that the 'sanctified' is the opposite of the 'common,' secular, profane. Is $65^{3ff.}$ 66^{17} illustrate the application of this term in heathenism. With this broad signification it is applicable to whatever is devoted to the public service of J″: to persons—priests, Nazirites, etc.; to sacrifices; to vessels, garments, buildings, days (especially the Sabbath). In Is 13^{3}, Jl 3^{9}, Jer 6^{4} (see RVm), even a 'war' is 'sanctified' and the warriors are J″'s 'sanctified ones,' when it is put under J″'s auspices (cf. the Mohammedan *Yihad* or Holy War); accordingly, in Nu 21^{14} we hear of a 'book of *the wars of J″*.' The numerous Levitical and other kindred uses of the verb bear this formal sense. But as 'holy' came to designate the specific character of J″—'the Holy One of Israel' (see Is. *passim*)—in distinction from heathen gods, 'sanctify' acquired a corresponding ethical connotation; holiness came to imply a *character* (actual or ideal) in the holy people, accordant with its status. For Israel, being J″'s servant, is 'brought near' to Him (Ex $19^{4ff.}$, Dt 4^{7}, Jer 2^{2}, Ps 65^{4} $73^{27f.}$ 148^{14}; contrast Ex 19^{12-24}, Jer 2^{13}, Hos 9^{1} etc.), and such proximity necessitates congeniality—that *congruity of nature* whereof circumcision and the ceremonial cleansings were symbolical (Ps 15. 24^{3-6}; cf. Is $1^{4.\ 16f.}$ 3^{8} 6^{3-8}, Jer 4^{1-4}, Hab $1^{12f.}$, Ezk 36^{16-28}, Ps 51 etc.). The refrain I am Jehovah resounds through the Law of Holiness in Lv 17–26; this code blends the ritual and the moral in the holiness it demands from Israel, which is the corollary of J″'s own holiness. Such is the OT doctrine of sanctification. The prophets, it is said, taught an ethical monotheism—which is to say, in effect, they *ethicized holiness*. The sanctification binding Israel to J″ was, in a sense, reciprocal: 'Ye shall not profane my holy name (cf. Ex 20^{7}, Lv 19^{12} 22^{2}, Am 2^{7}, Mal $1^{11f.}$); but *I will be hallowed* among the children of Israel: I am J″, *which hallow you*' (Lv 22^{32}); 'to sanctify' J″ or His 'name' is to recognize and act towards Him as holy, to 'make him holy' in one's thoughts and attitude (see Is 8^{13}; cf. 1 P 3^{15}). This expression is characteristic of Isaiah (5^{16} 29^{23}) and Ezekiel (20^{41} $28^{22.\ 25}$ 36^{23} 38^{16} 39^{27}), who regard J″ as 'sanctified' when His awe-awakening judgments bring men to acknowledge His Deity and character; in this connexion 'sanctify' is parallel to 'magnify,' 'glorify,' 'exalt,' as in Ezk 36^{23} 38^{23}. J″ is even said to 'sanctify himself,' or His 'great name,' when He vindicates His holiness and 'makes' Himself 'known in the sight of many nations' for what in truth He is.

2. In the NT we must distinguish the usage of our Lord, of the Author of the Epistle to the Hebrews, and of the Apostle Paul.

(1) Adopting the language of Lv 22^{32} and of the prophets, Jesus bids the disciples pray, 'Our Father . . . *hallowed* be thy name . . . on earth' (Mt $6^{9f.}$ = Lk 11^{2})—the unique example of such use of 'sanctify' in the NT, apart from the citation in 1 P 3^{15}; elsewhere 'glorify thy name' (Jn 12^{28} etc.). To bring about this 'hallowing' is the very work of Jesus, who for this end 'makes known' the Father's 'name' (Jn $1^{14.\ 18}$ 14^{7-9} $17^{6.\ 25f.}$, Mt 11^{27}; cf. Jn 17^{3}, 2 Co 4^{6}, also Jer $9^{23f.}$ 31^{34}).

In (*a*) Jn 10^{36} and (*b*) 17^{17-19} our Lord makes *Himself* the object of the verb,—in the second instance the subject also. (*a*) The Father **'consecrated'** Him for His world-mission (a pre-incarnate destination; see 1^{18}, 1 Jn $4^{9.\ 14}$; cf. Jer 1^{5}); (*b*) at the Last Supper the Son endorses that consecration in view of its dread issue, and proposes to share it with His disciples, as He dedicates Himself to the sacrifice of the cross. Thus in the Person of Jesus Christ sanctification assumes a new and very definite character; as *Christian* holiness, general consecration to the service of God becomes a specific consecration to the mission of redemption. In Mt 23^{17-19} Jesus speaks *ad hominem*, appealing to the axiom that 'the holy place' sanctifies whatever is devoted to it.

(2) The Epistle to the Hebrews builds upon the OT conception of holiness. Its doctrine of sanctification is found in 2^{11} 9^{11-13} $10^{10-14.\ 19-22}$ 12^{14} 13^{11-12}. Being 'the captain of salvation' and 'high priest' of mankind, it is the office of Jesus to 'sanctify' His brethren, *i.e.* to consecrate them to God's service, for which as sinners they have been disabled (5^{1} 10^{22}). This He effects God-ward by 'making propitiation for' their 'sins' (2^{17}), and man-ward by 'cleansing their conscience' with the virtue of 'his blood'—by removing the sense of personal guilt before God—even as the animal sacrifices 'sanctified' the Israelites 'unto the cleanness of the flesh' ($9^{13f.}$), and made their ritual worship possible. The chasm which sin has opened between man and God was bridged by the mediation of Jesus Christ; no longer is he kept aloof from the Divine presence, but is bidden to 'come with boldness unto the throne of grace' (4^{16} 10^{19-22}). 'Once for all' this access has been secured, this qualification bestowed on 'the people' whom 'Jesus sanctified by means of his own blood' (13^{12}): 'we *have been sanctified*' according to 'the will of God,' which Jesus embraced and whose demands He met on our behalf with perfect loyalty, in 'the offering of his body' (10^{5-10}). By that 'one offering he has perfected for ever them that are sanctified'—He has assured, for all who will accept it, till the world's end, a full qualification for fellowship with God (10^{14}). Hebrews supplies the link between the 'I sanctify myself' of Jesus, and 'that they also may be sanctified in truth' (Jn 17^{19}). With the writer of Heb., 'cleansing' and 'sanctification' define, on the negative and positive sides, all that St. Paul means by 'justification' and 'sanctification'; only, the second term is here made more prominent and wider in meaning than with the Apostle. St. Paul sees the sinner confronted by the Law of God, guilty and impotent; his fellow-teacher sees him standing outside the temple of God, defiled and banned. Sanctification means, for the former, engagement to God's service (Ro 6^{12-22}); for the latter, empowerment for God's worship. That this grace imports, however, in Hebrews more than a status once conferred, is evident from 12^{14}; it is a state to be increasingly realized, an ideal to be pursued to the end.

(3) St. Paul addresses his readers constantly as **'saints'** (see art. Holiness); once as 'sanctified in Christ Jesus' (1 Co 1^{2}),—a phrase synonymous with 'called saints,' *i.e.* made holy by God's call which they obeyed, when He summoned them into His Kingdom (cf. vv.$^{9.\ 26-30}$, 1 Th 1^{4} 2^{12}). The former expression points to the completed act of God by which they have become His saints (cf. 1 Co 6^{11}, Ac 20^{32} 26^{18}). That sanctity, with St. Paul, is a term of relationship, not primarily of character, is evident from 1 Co 7^{14}, where 'the unbelieving husband' or 'wife' is said to 'have been sanctified in' the Christian wedded partner, so that their offspring are 'holy': the person of the unbeliever, under the marriage-bond, is holy in the believer's eyes, as indeed every possession and instrument of life must be (see 1 Ti 4^{3-5}). In the case of the believer himself, who 'in Christ Jesus' is brought into immediate personal contact with God (Col 3^{3}), destination and use imply moral condition—'the vessels of the Lord' must be 'clean' and 'made ready for every good work' (2 Ti 2^{19-22}; cf. **1** above, touching the OT Law of Holiness); so that, while 'sanctity' does not denote character, it normally connotes this; all virtue comes under the category of that which 'becometh saints' or 'is fit in the Lord' (Eph 5^{31}, Col $3^{12.\ 18}$ etc.). Accordingly, in 1 Th $4^{4.\ 7}$ 'sanctification' is opposed specifically to 'lust' and sexual 'uncleanness'—by contrast, probably, with the pagan 'consecration' to impure deities, as in the case of the *hieroduloi* of Corinth (cf. 1 Co 6^{13-20}).

Sanctification completes **justification** (wh. see); together, these constitute the present work of salvation, the re-instatement of the sinful man before his Maker, his instatement into the Christian standing and condition (see 1 Co 6^{11}, and the connexion between chs. 5 and 6 of Ro.). In principle the former depends on the latter, in experience they are concomitant (Ro $6^{6f.\ 22}$). They are alike acts of God, dealing with men in His grace through Christ (Ro $8^{30.\ 33}$, 1 Th $5^{23f.}$, Jn 17^{17}; cf. Lv $22^{32f.}$). The 'anointing' and 'sealing' of 2 Co $1^{21f.}$, while referring formally to baptism, substantially describe sanctification, since God consecrates the believer for His use and marks him in baptism with His 'broad arrow.'

As the writer of Hebrews shows in his own way—see (2) above—Christ is the mediator of sanctification no less than of justification. He 'bought' men with the 'price' of His blood—the bodily 'limbs' along with the inner self—so that we are no longer 'our own' and may not 'live for ourselves,' but are, from the hour we know this, men 'living for God in Christ Jesus'; and Christ 'presents' His redeemed 'to God as holy' and makes them God's 'sure possession,' destined 'for the praise of His glory' (1 Co $6^{19f.}$, Ro 6^{11-14} 12^{1}, Col 1^{22}, Eph 1^{14}, 1 P 2^{9}, Rev 1^{6} etc.). Once, in relation to the Church His bride, Christ is Himself called the 'sanctifier' (Eph 5^{26}; cf. He 13^{12}). Being our Head and Representative before God, dedicating 'all his own' (Jn 17^{10}) to the Father in the offering of Calvary, Jesus virtually accomplished the sanctification of His people, with their justification, once for all (1 Co 1^{30}): Paul's saying, 'I have been crucified with Christ' (Gal 2^{20} 6^{14}), implies that he has been, by anticipation, included in the perfect sacrifice; he thus unfolds the implicit doctrine of Jn $17^{19f.}$ and $^{17-19}$ (see (1) above; cf. He 10^{14}).

Collectively, believers were sanctified in the self-devotion of their redeeming Lord; individually, they are sanctified when they accept the Redeemer's sacrifice and personally endorse His action. From the latter point of view, sanctification is the man's own deed: he 'presents himself to God as alive from the dead' (Ro $6^{13.\ 18}$); but the sinner is never, as in OT phrase, said to 'sanctify himself,'—though 1 Ti 4^{3-5} approaches this mode of statement. **The Holy Spirit** is, with much emphasis, identified with the work of sanctification; Christian believers are 'sanctified in the Holy Spirit' (Ro 15^{16}, 1 Co 6^{11}; also 1 Th $4^{7f.}$, Eph 4^{30}; cf. 1 P 1^{2} etc.). To receive 'the gift of the Spirit' and to be sanctified are the same thing; when God takes possession of the believer, his 'body' becomes a 'temple of the Holy Ghost' (1 Co 6^{19}) —then he is a holy man; and to possess 'the Spirit' is, in effect, to have 'Christ dwelling in the heart' (Eph 3^{16-19}). This twofold identity ('sanctified' = 'in the Spirit' = 'joined unto the Lord') holds alike of the Church and of the individual Christian (1 Co $3^{16f.}$, Eph $2^{21f.}$; cf. 1 P 2^{9}). **Faith** conditions this experience (Ac 26^{18}, Eph $1^{13f.}$). Like the author of Hebrews, Paul recognizes a progressive holiness based upon the fundamental sanctification of the believer, the former being the growing and finally complete realization of the latter. Holiness is the starting-point, perfect holiness the goal of the Christian course—the progress 'is a growth *in* holiness rather than *to* holiness' (Bartlet). Hence in Ro 6^{19-22} the aim of one's 'service to God' and 'righteousness' is found in 'sanctification'; and in 1 Th $5^{23f.}$ the Apostle prays that God will 'sanctify to full completeness' his readers, who are still lacking in many respects (3^{10}), so that their 'spirit, soul, and body in full integrity may be

preserved,' and thus found 'blameless in holiness before God at the coming of our Lord Jesus' (3[13]). This supplication touches the ideal life in Christ; but it is an ideal to the present Christian state, and is not to be relegated to the visionary or the celestial: 'Faithful is he who calleth you; who also will *do* it' (1 Th 5[24]).

St. John does not employ in his Epistles either 'sanctify' or 'sanctification,' but their whole substance is there. 1 Jn 1[6f.] and 2[1f.] recall the teaching of Hebrews in speaking of 'the propitiation' made by our 'Advocate,' whose 'blood cleanses from all sin' and thus brings the sinner into 'fellowship with the Father.' Paul's doctrine of holiness is resumed in such passages as 3[23f.] 4[13f.] 5[2f.] [20], setting forth union with Christ through the indwelling Spirit as the spring of a new, eternal life for the man, in the strength of which God's commandments are kept in love, sin and fear are cast out, and the world is overcome. G. G. FINDLAY.

SANCTUARY.—See HIGH PLACE; TABERNACLE, **11**(*b*); TEMPLE.

SAND.—Minute particles of silex, mica, felspar, etc., easily rolled before the wind; hence, probably, its Heb. name, *chōl*. It lies in great stretches along the Palestinian and Egyptian sea-board—an apt symbol of the incalculably vast or numerous (Gn 22[17] 41[49], Jer 33[22] etc.). For 'sand,' in Job 29[18], we should probably read, with RVm, 'phœnix.' However compact and firm, sand at once becomes soft at the touch of water (Mt 7[26] etc.). W. EWING.

SANDAL.—See DRESS, **6**.

SAND FLIES.—See LICE.

SAND LIZARD.—See LIZARD.

SANHEDRIN.—The Gr. word *synedrion* (EV **council**) became so familiar to the Jews that they adopted it in the form of *Sanhedrin*, which occurs very frequently both in Josephus and in the Talmud.

1. According to Rabbinical tradition, the Sanhedrin was originally created by Moses in obedience to Divine command (cf. Nu 11[16]), and it is taught that this assembly existed, and exercised judicial functions, throughout the whole period of Biblical history right up to Talmudic times. That this cannot have been the case is seen already in the fact that, according to Biblical authority itself, king Jehoshaphat is mentioned as having instituted the supreme court at Jerusalem (2 Ch 19[8]); but that this court cannot have been identical with the Sanhedrin of later times is clear from the fact that, whereas the latter had governing powers as well as judicial functions, the former was a court of justice and nothing else. It is possible that the **'elders'** mentioned in the Book of Ezra (5[5. 9] 6[7. 14] 10[8]) and 'rulers' in the Book of Nehemiah (2[16] 4[8 (14). 13 (19)] 5[7] 7[5]) constituted a body which to some extent corresponded to the Sanhedrin properly so called. But seeing that the Sanhedrin is often referred to as a *Gerousia* (*i.e.* an aristocratic, as distinct from a democratic, body), and that as such it is not mentioned before the time of Antiochus the Great (B.C. 223–187), it is reasonably certain that, in its more developed form at all events, it did not exist before the Greek period. The Sanhedrin is referred to under the name *Gerousia* (EV **senate**) in 2 Mac 1[10] 4[44], Jth 4[8] 11[14] 15[8] and elsewhere in the Apocr., in Ac 5[21], and frequently in Josephus, *e.g. Ant.* IV. viii. 41.

The Sanhedrin was conceived of mainly as **a court of justice,** the equivalent Heb. term being *Beth Dīn*, and it is in this sense that it is usually referred to in the NT (see, *e.g.*, Mt 5[22] 26[59], Mk 15[1], Lk 22[66], Jn 11[47], Ac 4[15] 5[21] 6[12] 22[30] etc.). Sometimes in the NT the terms *Presbyterion* and *Gerousia* are used in reference to the Sanhedrin (Ac 5[21] 22[5]). A member of this court was called a *bouleutes* ('councillor'). Joseph of Arimathæa was one (Mk 15[43], Lk 23[50]). The Sanhedrin was abolished after the destruction of Jerusalem (A.D. 70).

2. As regards the *composition* of the Sanhedrin, the hereditary high priest stood at the head of it, and in its fundamental character it formed a sacerdotal aristocracy, and represented the nobility, *i.e.* predominantly the Sadducæan interest; but under Herod, who favoured the Pharisaic party in his desire to restrict the power and influence of the old nobility, the Sadducæan element in the Sanhedrin became less prominent, while that of the Pharisees increased. So that during the Roman period the Sanhedrin contained representatives of two opposed parties, the priestly nobility with its Sadducæan sympathies, and the learned Pharisees. According to the Mishna, the Sanhedrin consisted of seventy-one members (*Sanhed.* i. 6); when a vacancy occurred the members co-opted some one 'from the congregation' to fill the place (*Sanhed.* iv. 4), and he was admitted by the ceremony of the laying on of hands.

3. The *extent of the Sanhedrin's jurisdiction* varied at different times in its history; while, in a certain sense, it exercised civil jurisdiction over all Jewish communities, wherever they existed, during the time of Christ this was restricted to Judæa proper; it was for this reason that it had no judicial authority over Him so long as He remained in Galilee. Its orders were, however, very soon after the time of Christ, regarded as binding by orthodox Jews all over the world. Thus we see that it could issue warrants for the apprehension of Christians in Damascus to the synagogue there (Ac 9[2] 22[5] 26[12]); but the extent to which Jewish communities outside of Judæa were willing to submit to such orders depended entirely on how far they were favourably disposed towards the central authority; it was only within the limits of Judæa proper that real authority could be exercised by the Sanhedrin. It was thus the supreme native court, as contrasted with the foreign authority of Rome; to it belonged all such judicial matters as the local provincial courts were incompetent to deal with, or as the Roman procurator did not attend to himself. Above all, it was the final court of appeal for questions connected with the Mosaic Law; its decision having once been given, the judges of the lower courts were, on pain of death, bound to acquiesce in it. The NT offers some interesting examples of the kind of matters that were brought before it: Christ appeared before it on a charge of blasphemy (Mt 26[57], Jn 19[7]), Peter and John were accused before it of being false prophets and deceivers of the people (Ac 4[5f.]), Stephen was condemned by it because of blasphemy (Ac 7[57. 58]), and Paul was charged with transgression of the Mosaic Law (Ac 22[30]). It had independent authority and right to arrest people by its own officers (Mt 26[47], Mk 14[43], Ac 4[3] 5[17. 18]); it had also the power of finally disposing, on its own authority, of such cases as did not involve sentence of death (Ac 4[5-23] 5[21-40]). It was only in cases when the sentence of death was pronounced that the latter had to be ratified by the Roman authorities (Jn 18[31]); the case of the stoning of Stephen must be regarded as an instance of mob-justice.

While the Sanhedrin could not hold a court of supreme jurisdiction in the absence, or, at all events, without the consent, of the Roman procurator, it enjoyed, nevertheless, wide powers within the sphere of its extensive jurisdiction. At the same time, it had sometimes to submit to the painful experience of realizing its dependent position in face of the Roman power, even in matters which might be regarded as peculiarly within the scope of its own jurisdiction; for the Roman authorities could at any time take the initiative themselves, and proceed independently of the Jewish court, as the NT testifies, *e.g.* in the case of Paul's arrest (see also Ac 23[15. 20. 28]).

4. The Sanhedrin met in the Temple, in what was called the *Lishkath ha-Gazith* (the 'Hall of hewn-stones') as a general rule, though an exception is recorded in Mt 26[57ff.], Mk 14[53ff.]. The members sat in a semicircle in order to be able to see each other; in front stood clerks of the court, and behind these, three rows of the disciples

of the 'learned men.' The prisoner had always to be dressed in mourning. When any one had spoken once in favour of the accused, he could not afterwards speak against him. In case of acquittal the decision might be announced the same day, but a sentence of condemnation was always pronounced on the day following, or later; in the former a simple majority sufficed, in the latter a majority of two-thirds was required.

W. O. E. Oesterley.

SANSANNAH.—An unidentified town in the Negeb (RV 'the South') allotted to Judah (Jos 15^{31}).

SAPH.—One of four Philistine champions slain by David's heroes (2 S 21^{18}, 1 Ch 20^{4} [**Sippai**]).

SAPHAT (1 Es 5^{34}).—His 'sons' returned with Zerub. [Ezr. and Neh. omit]. **2.** 1 Es 5^{9} = **Shephatiah,** Ezr 2^{4}.

SAPHATIAS (1 Es 8^{34}) = **Shephatiah,** Ezr 8^{8}; called **Saphat** in 5^{9}.

SAPHUTHI (1 Es 5^{33}) = **Shephatiah,** Ezr 2^{57}.

SAPPHIRA.—See Ananias, No. **1.**

SAPPHIRE.—See Jewels and Precious Stones.

SARABIAS (1 Es 9^{48}) = **Sherebiah,** Neh 8^{7}.

SARAH or SARAI.—1. 'Sarai' is the form used previous to Gn 17^{15}, and 'Sarah' afterwards, in harmony with the change of name there narrated (by P). It is probable that there is no real significance in the change, *-ai* being an old feminine ending found in Syriac, Arabic, and Ethiopic, while *-ah* is the common feminine ending. *Sarah* means 'princess.' The occurrence of the name *Sa-ra-a-a* in an Assyrian letter (K 1274) adds no definite information. Sarah was the wife of Abraham, and also his half-sister (Gn 12^{13} 20^{12}); her parentage is not given further. She was taken as wife by the king of Egypt and also by Abimelech king of Gerar, and afterwards restored to Abraham ($12^{10\text{-}20}$ 20). The former incident is in J, the latter in E; they may be different versions of the same story. The statement that she was at least 65 years old at this time (Gn 12^{4}, cf. 17^{17}) seems inconsistent with these incidents, and especially with the statement concerning her beauty (12^{11}). It is to be remembered, however, that the dates belong to P. Sarah was long barren, but finally Isaac was born after supernatural intervention, when she was 90 years old ($21^{1\text{-}7}$ [P]). Through jealousy Sarah illtreated **Hagar,** her handmaid, the concubine of Abraham, and finally drove her away with her son Ishmael (16. $21^{8\text{-}21}$). The incident is in harmony with the regulations of the Babylonian Code of Hammurabi (§§ 144–147). Sarah died at the age of 127 (P), and was buried in the cave of Machpelah (Gn 23). In the NT she is mentioned in Ro 4^{19} 9^{9}, He 11^{11}, 1 P 3^{6}, Gal 4^{21}–5^{1}.

2. Sarah, daughter of Raguel and wife of Tobias (To $3^{7.\ 17}$ and elsewhere). George R. Berry.

SARAIAS.—See Seraiah, **2.**

SARAMEL (RV **Asaramel**).—An expression, 'in Asaramel,' in 1 Mac 14^{28} in the inscription upon the memorial pillar of Simon Maccabæus. A place-name is indicated by the Greek text. This reading, however, is unsuitable, and it is best to assume, as has been proposed, that there was originally written a Heb. title of Simon, additional to 'the high-priest,' meaning 'prince of the people of God' (*Sar-'am-'ēl*). See, for other explanations, *ExpT* Aug. 1900, p. 523 ff.

J. F. McCurdy.

SARAPH.—A descendant of Shelah (1 Ch 4^{22}).

SARCHEDONUS (To $1^{21\text{f.}}$) = **Esarhaddon** (wh. see).

SARDIS was the capital of the ancient kingdom of Lydia on the western coast of Asia Minor, and in the 6th cent. B.C. one of the most powerful cities of the world. It stood on one of the alluvial hills between Mount Tmolus and the sea, about 1500 feet above and south of the great plain of the river Hermus, and was inaccessible except by a neck of land on the south. The date of its foundation must be about B.C. 1200, and the situation was ideal for an early fortified capital of a kingdom. As time advanced, extension was necessary, and a lower city was built on the west and north sides of the original city, near the little river Pactolus, and probably also on the east side. The older city now acted as acropolis, or citadel, for the later. This rich Oriental city, whose wealth depended on well-cultivated land and incessant commerce, was for centuries to the Greek the type of an Oriental despotism, under which all must sooner or later bend. Its absorption was not without its effects on the conquerors, and Sardis became the home of a newer Hellenism, different from the old.

Crœsus was king of Lydia in the second half of the 6th cent. B.C., and planned a campaign against Cyrus, the Persian king. He proceeded with the greatest caution, and crossed the river Halys. There he was completely defeated. He returned to prepare a second army, but Cyrus pursued him in haste, and besieged him in Sardis before he could get it ready. The citadel was captured by means of a climber who worked his way up by an oblique crevice in the perpendicular rock. The city was similarly captured by Antiochus the Great from Achæus late in the third century B.C. The patron deity of the city was Cybele, but she is conceived as possessing different attributes from those usually associated with the name. A special characteristic was the power of restoring life to the dead. The city suffered greatly from an earthquake in A.D. 17, and received a large donation as well as a remission of five years' taxation from the Emperor Tiberius. The greatness of the city under the Roman empire was due entirely to its past reputation. The acropolis ceased to be inhabited, being no longer necessary for purposes of defence. Its use was revived in the earlier Turkish days, but for long there has been no settlement at Sardis. Its place is taken by Salikli, above 5 miles to the east.

According to the view of Sir W. M. Ramsay, Sardis is alluded to in the Apocalypse, as are all the other six churches, as a centre of influence in its district. One of the cities within its sphere was Magnesia. The letter addressed by the writer of the Apocalypse to Sardis, with which, as with the other six cities named there, he was obviously well acquainted, shows that the church at Sardis was practically dead. It had degenerated and decayed from its early promise to an extent equalled by no other city. There were in it only a few faithful souls. That there is a remarkable analogy between the history of the city and the history of the church may be seen even from the bald account of the former just given. The instability of the city in history finds its parallel in the immorality of the church members. Most of the Christians had fallen back to the pagan level of life. The few noble ones shall have their names enrolled in the list of the citizens of heaven. The letter doubtless had a good effect. Christianity survived at Sardis. It was the capital of the province Lydia, instituted about A.D. 295. The bishop of Sardis was metropolitan of Lydia, and sixth in order of precedence of all the bishops subject to the patriarch of Constantinople. Not far from Sardis there dwells in the present day a people whose customs differ so much from those of Mohammedanism that it is probable they would become Christian if they dared.

A. Souter.

SARDIUS.—See Jewels and Precious Stones.

SARDONYX.—See Jewels and Precious Stones.

SAREA.—One of Ezra's swift scribes (2 Es 14^{24}).

SAREPTA.—See Zarephath.

SARGON (Is 20^{1}).—The father of Sennacherib and successor of Shalmaneser IV., king of Assyria (B.C. 722–705). Samaria was captured early in his reign, and Sargon carried away 27,200 of the chief inhabitants, the city being placed under Assyrian governors.

Sargon's advent to the throne marked a change of dynasty, and he had to subdue insurrection right and left. Merodach-baladan, once king of the Chaldæan State of Bît-Yakîn, seized Babylon, and was supported by the Elamites. Sargon defeated the latter, but was obliged to leave Merodach-baladan undisturbed for twelve years, while he subdued the northern rivals of Assyria, Armenia and its neighbours. In B.C. 720 he faced a combination of the W. States under Ilu-bihdi, who drew Hamath, Arpad, Damascus, and Palestine into revolt. This was soon put down, Hamath was colonized by Assyrians, and the Philistines and Egyptians were defeated at Raphia. Then Carchemish was captured and absorbed into the empire (B.C. 717). But Sargon's greatest difficulty was with Armenia, and the rebellions it perpetually stirred up. He was, however, successful in the end, and subdued all the region S. of the Caucasus and parts of Cilicia, as well as parts of Media. In B.C. 711 an Assyrian army was sent against Palestine, where Merodach-baladan had been intriguing and had drawn Hezekiah into the conspiracy. Ashdod was captured, and Judah, Moab, and Edom submitted. Merodach-baladan was expelled from Babylon (B.C. 709), and then chased from Bît-Yakîn, whither he had retreated. Sargon was welcomed as the deliverer of the native Babylonians, and became king of Babylon. He sent his statue to be erected at Idalion, in Cyprus. In B.C. 708 Commagene was annexed. Sargon was killed B.C. 705,—how or where is not yet clear. He founded a magnificent city at Dûr-Sargon, the modern Khorsabad. C. H. W. JOHNS.

SARID.—A border town of Zebulun (Jos $19^{10.\ 12}$). Probably Sarid is a copyist's error for Sadîd, which may be identified with *Tell Shadûd*, to the N. of the plain of Esdraelon.

SAROTHIE.—A family of 'Solomon's servants' (1 Es 5^{34}).

SARSECHIM seems to be the name of a Bab. official (Jer 39^{3}), but the versions—*Nabousachar*, *Nabousarach*, *Sarsacheim*—suggest that the text was early corrupt. There is no known Bab. name which exactly corresponds to any of these variants, and it is impossible to identify the person intended. C. H. W. JOHNS.

SATAN.—1. In the OT.—The term *Satan* is Hebrew and means 'adversary.' In the earlier usage of the language it is employed in the general sense of 'adversary,' personal or national: (cf. *e.g.* Nu 22^{22}, 2 S 19^{22}, 1 K 5^{4} 11^{25} etc.). In such passages no trace of a distinct being designated 'Satan' is to be seen. Such a being meets us for the first time in the OT in the prologue (chs. 1 and 2) of the Bk. of Job, in the person of one of 'the sons of God' who bears the title of 'the Satan.' Here Satan appears as a member of the celestial council of angelic beings who have access to the presence of God. His special function is to watch over human affairs and beings with the object of searching out men's sins and accusing them in the celestial court. He is thus invested with a certain malevolent and malignant character; but it is to be observed that he has no power to act without the Divine permission being first obtained, and cannot, therefore, be regarded as the embodiment of the power that opposes the Deity. In Zec 3^{2} essentially the same view of 'the Satan' is presented. But in 1 Ch 21^{1} ('And Satan stood up against Israel, and moved David to number Israel') the personality of this being is more distinct: he appears now as 'Satan' (a proper name without the article), the tempter who is able to provoke David to number Israel. This is the Chronicler's (4th or 3rd cent. B.C.) reading of the incident which in the earlier narrative (2 S 24^{1}) is ascribed to the direct action of God Himself. Here (in Chron.) the work of Satan is apparently conceived of as more or less independent of, and opposed to, the Divine action.

2. In the extra-canonical literature of the OT.—In the later (apocryphal) literature of pre-Christian Judaism the dualistic tendency becomes more pronounced—a tendency powerfully affected by Persian influence, it would seem, which is also apparent in the development of an elaborate Jewish angelology and demonology. This is most clearly visible in the *apocalyptic literature*. In the oldest part of the Bk. of Enoch (chs. 1–36), dating, perhaps, from about B.C. 180, the origin of the demons is traced to the fall of the angelic watchers, the 'sons of God' who corrupted themselves with the 'daughters of men' (Gn $6^{1f.}$). It was from the offspring of these sinful unions—the 'giants' or *nephîlîm*—that the demons were sprung. Of these demons the **Asmodæus** of the Bk. of Tobit ($3^{8.\ 17}$) seems to have been regarded as the king (Bab. *Pes.* 110*a*). The name *Asmodæus* (or in Heb. *Ashmedai*) has plausibly been connected with the ancient Persian *Aeshma daeva*, *i.e.* 'the covetous or lustful demon'; in its Hebrew form it suggests the meaning 'destroyer' or 'bringer of destruction,' and this demon may be intended by 'the destroyer' of Wisdom 18^{25} and by the **Apollyon** (='Destroyer') of Rev 9^{11}. In the latest part of the Bk. of Enoch, however, the so-called 'Similitudes' (chs. xxxvii–lxxi), which perhaps dates from about B.C. 64, 'the fallen watchers' (and their descendants) are carefully distinguished from the Satans, who apparently belong to 'a counter kingdom of evil' which existed before the fall of the watchers recorded in Gn 6^{1}, the latter, in consequence of their fall, becoming subject to the former. Apparently these 'Satans' are ruled by a single chief, who is styled 'Satan' in one passage (Enoch 54^{6}). 'Their functions were threefold: they tempted to evil ($69^{4.\ 6}$); they accused the dwellers upon earth (40^{7}); they punished the condemned. In this last character they are technically called "angels of punishment" (53^{3} 56^{1} 62^{11} 63^{1})' (Charles).

In the Bk. of Wisdom (2^{24}: 'by the envy of the devil death entered into the world') we already meet with the identification of the **Serpent** of Gn 3 with Satan, which afterwards became a fixed element in belief, and an allusion to the same idea may be detected in the Psalms of Solomon 4^{11}, where the prosperous wicked man is said to be 'like a serpent, to pervert wisdom, speaking with the words of transgressors.' The same identification also meets us in the Book of the Secrets of Enoch (? 1st cent. A.D.), where, moreover, satanology shows a rich development (the pride, revolt, and fall of Satan are dwelt upon). Cf. art. FALL.

The secondary Jewish (Rabbinical) Literature which is connected with the text of the OT (esp. the Targums and the Midrashim) naturally reflects beliefs that were current at a later time. But they are obviously connected closely with those that have already been mentioned. The Serpent of Gn 3 becomes 'the old serpent' who seduced Adam and Eve. The chief of the Satans is Sammael, who is often referred to as 'the angel of death': and in the Secrets of Enoch he is prince of the demons and a magician. It is interesting to note that in the later Midrash one of the works of Messiah ben-Joseph is the slaying of Sammael, who is 'the Satan, the prime mover of all evil.' In the earlier literature his great opponent is the archangel Michael. The Rabbinic doctrine of the 'evil impulse' (*yetser ra'*), which works within man like a leaven (*Berak.* 17*a*), looks like a theological refinement, which has sometimes been combined with the popular view of Satan (Satan works his evil purpose by the instrumentality of the 'evil impulse').

3. In the NT.—In the NT, Satan and his kingdom are frequently referred to. Sometimes the Hebrew name 'Satan' is used (*e.g.* Mk 3^{26} 4^{15} etc.), sometimes its Greek equivalent (*diabolos*: cf. our word 'diabolical'), which is translated 'devil,' and which means 'accuser' or 'calumniator.' In Mt $12^{26.\ 27}$ (cf. 10^{25}) Satan is apparently identified with **Beelzebub** (or Beelzebul),

and is occasionally designated 'the evil one' (Mt 13[19. 38] etc.; so, perhaps, also in the Lord's Prayer: 'deliver us from *the evil one*'). Some scholars are of opinion that the name Beelzebub means not 'fly-god' but 'enemy' (*i.e.* the enemy of God). He is called the 'prince of the devils (or demons)' in Mt 12[24], just as Sammael, 'the great prince in heaven,' is designated the 'chief of Satans' in the Midrash.

The demonology that confronts us in the NT has striking points of contact with that which is developed in the Enochic literature. The main features of the latter, in fact, reappear. The 'angels which kept not their first estate' (Jude[6], 2 P 2[4]) are the angelic watchers whose fall through lust is described in Enoch 6–16. Their punishment is to be kept imprisoned in perpetual darkness. In Enoch the demons, who are represented as the evil spirits which went forth from the souls of the giant offspring of the fallen watchers, exercise an evil activity, working moral ruin on the earth till the final judgment. In exactly the same way the demons are described in the NT as disembodied spirits (Mt 12[43-45], Lk 11[24-26]). The time of their punishment is to be the final judgment (cf. Mt 8[29]: 'Art thou come hither to torment us *before the time*?'). They belong to and are subject to Satan. As in the Book of Enoch, Satan is represented in the NT as the ruler of a counter-kingdom of evil (cf. Mt 12[26], Lk 11[18] 'if Satan cast out Satan, how shall his kingdom stand?'); he led astray angels (Rev 12[4]) and men (2 Co 11[3]); his functions are to tempt (Mt 4[1-12], Lk 22[31]), to accuse (Rev 12[10]), and to punish (1 Co 5[5]: impenitent sinners delivered over to Satan for destruction of the flesh). It should be added that in the Fourth Gospel and Johannine Epp. the lesser demonic agencies disappear. Opposition is concentrated in the persons of Christ and the devil. The latter is the ruler of this world (Jn 16[11]), and enslaves men to himself through sin. The Son of God is manifested for the express purpose of destroying the devil's works (1 Jn 3[8]).

Both in St. Paul (cf. Ro 16[20], 2 Co 11[2. 3]) and in the Apocalypse Satan is identified with the **Serpent** of Gn 3. It is also noteworthy that St. Paul shared the contemporary belief that angelic beings inhabited the higher (heavenly) regions, and that Satan also with his retinue dwelt not beneath the earth, but in the lower atmospheric region; cf. Eph 2[2], where 'the prince of the power of the air'=Satan (cf. also Eph 6[12] and Lk 10[18] 'I beheld Satan fallen as lightning *from heaven*'). For Satan's rôle in the Apocalypse see art. Eschatology. Cf. also art. Devil.

4. The attitude of our Lord towards the Satan-belief.—Our Lord, as is clearly apparent in the Synoptic tradition, recognized the existence and power of a kingdom of evil, with organized demonic agencies under the control of a supreme personality, Satan or Beelzebub. These demonic agencies are the source of every variety of physical and moral evil. One principal function of the Messiah is to destroy the works of Satan and his subordinates (Mk 1[24. 34] 3[11. 12. 15] etc.). Maladies traced to demonic possession play a large part in the Synoptic narratives (see Devil, Possession). In the expulsion of demons by His disciples, Jesus sees the overthrow of Satan's power (Lk 10[18]). The evil effected by Satanic agency is intellectual and moral as well as physical (Mk 4[15], Mt 13[19. 39]; cf. 2 Co 4[4]). That our Lord accepted the reality of such personal agencies of evil cannot seriously be questioned; nor is it necessary to endeavour to explain this fact away. The problem is to some extent a psychological one. Under certain conditions and in certain localities the sense of the presence and potency of evil personalities has been painfully and oppressively felt by more than one modern European, who was not prone to superstition. It is also literally true that the light of the gospel and the power of Christ operate still in such cases to 'destroy the works of darkness' and expel the demons. G. H. Box.

SATCHEL.—See Bag.

SATHRABUZANES (1 Es 6[3. 7. 27] 7[1])=**Shethar-bozenai,** Ezr 5[3. 6] 6[6. 13].

SATRAPS.—RV tr. of *'ăchashdarpĕnīm,* Ezr 8[36], Est 3[12] 8[9] 9[3] (AV **lieutenants**), Dn 3[2. 3. 27] 6[1ff.] (AV **princes**). The term stands for the Pers. *khshatrapāvan* (='protectors of the realm'). The satrap was the governor of a whole province, and he held the position of a vassal king. His power, however, was checked by the presence of a royal scribe, whose duty it was to report to the 'great king' on the administration of the province.

SATYR.—The Heb. word *sā'îr* means primarily 'he-goat,' but the plur. *sĕ'îrīm* is tr. in Lv 17[7] and 2 Ch 11[15], AV 'devils,' RV '**he-goats**'; in Is 13[21] 34[14] EV 'satyrs,' RVm 'he-goats.' Probably too in 2 K 23[8] *shĕ'ārīm* ('gates') should be *sĕ'îrīm,* and tr. as in Lv 17[7]. In these passages some 'hairy' demon is to be inferred to whom 'sacrifices' were made (Lv 17[7]), 'high places' erected (2 K 23[8]), and 'priests' set apart (2 Ch 11[15]). The association of these creatures with the mythological **Lilith** (wh. see) in Is 34[14] is specially noticeable.

E. W. G. Masterman.

SAUL.—1. Son of Kish, a Benjamite, the first king of Israel. We first meet him about to abandon the search for his father's asses, when his servant suggested consulting **Samuel.** As it was customary to bring a present to a seer, and the wallet was empty, Saul hesitated till the servant produced the fourth part of a shekel of silver to give to the man of God. The seer, Divinely prepared for their arrival, met them as he was on his way to the high place to sacrifice. A banquet was made ready, and special honour paid to Saul by Samuel. The seer told the seekers that the asses had been found, and broached the matter of the kingdom to Saul, and anointed him as he was leaving. Saul was given certain signs in attestation of Samuel's message, and after leaving the seer's house, where he and his servant spent the night, he met a band of prophets, and soon was prophesying among them, to the marvel of his acquaintances (1 S 10[10]). This narrative gives no hint that the people asked for a king, or that his selection would be displeasing to either Samuel or Jehovah.

The account is interrupted at 10[17] by one of a different temper. The people demand a king, which Samuel interprets to be a rejection of Jehovah, their true king, and Saul, after protest, is elected by lot at Mizpah. He remained quietly at home till Nahash's cruel demand that the men of Jabesh-gilead should surrender to him, and each one lose the right eye, roused him. He was ploughing in the field when the news reached him, and immediately sacrificed the oxen, sending out parts of the sacrifice to his brethren with the command that they should follow him. When the army was mustered he marched to Jabesh-gilead and administered a crushing defeat to Nahash, after which his grateful countrymen made him king at *Gilgal* (ch. 11). A still greater necessity for a king appears in the encroachments of the Philistines. Saul and **Jonathan,** his son, were encamped in Michmash and Gibeah (Geba), when Jonathan smote the 'garrison'(?) of the Philistines in Geba, thus precipitating the struggle. The plan of the Philistines was to send out plundering parties, and Jonathan threw the whole camp into confusion by surprising one of its guerilla headquarters (13[1-3] 14[1f.]). When Saul heard of the flight of the enemy he inquired of the oracle what to do, but the rout was so apparent that he joined pursuit without the answer. The destruction of the enemy would have been greater had not Saul put a taboo on food. In the evening the famished warriors fell upon the cattle, and ate without sacrificing till the reported impiety reached the ears of Saul, who legitimated the meal by sacrificing at a great stone. As he failed to receive an answer from the oracle, when he inquired whether he should pursue the Philistines farther, Saul concluded that some one had

sinned. An inquiry was taken to the oracle, and the fault was found to lie with Jonathan, who confessed to having tasted honey. He was, however, delivered by the people from the penalty, for Saul had sworn that he should die (14[17-46]).

This narrative (chs. 13. 14) is interrupted at 13[8-15] by an account which represents Samuel as taking issue with Saul for sacrificing at the end of an appointed period of seven days, and announcing his rejection (see art. SAMUEL, p. 823[a]). We have from another source (ch. 15) a story of the encounter with **Amalek,** against whom Samuel sent Saul with instructions to destroy men, women, children, and spoil. Saul, however, spares Agag, and part of the booty. This is now assigned as the reason for his rejection. Saul acknowledged his fault, but begged Samuel to honour him before the people by sacrificing with him. In his importunity he lays hold of Samuel's garment, which is rent, and becomes the symbol of the kingdom wrested from Saul. Samuel relents and worships with him.

The second stage of Saul's life concerns his relations with **David.** Saul is advised to employ music as a relief from a deep-seated mental trouble, called 'an evil spirit from the Lord.' David, a skilled harper and celebrated soldier, is engaged. Saul loves him, and makes him his armour-bearer (16[14-23]). The Philistines again assemble, this time at Socoh; Goliath issues his challenge, but no one responds. The lad David, who had come to the camp to visit his brethren, learns of the proffered reward, meets the boaster in single combat, and kills him. In this story Saul seems weak, irresolute, and unacquainted with David (ch. 17). David's growing popularity and prowess lead Saul to attempt his life. Michal, Saul's daughter, is offered to him in marriage in return for one hundred Philistines. The hazard involved failed to accomplish his death. Then David's house is surrounded, but Michal manages David's escape through a window (18[6-9] 20[29] 19[11-17]). Merab, Saul's elder daughter, was also offered to David, but withdrawn when he should have had her. This seems to be an effort to explain why David did not receive Saul's daughter after he had slain the giant. David flees to Ramah, and Saul, seeking him there, is seized with the prophetic frenzy and rendered powerless (19[18-24]). David again flees, and receives help from the priests at Nob. So enraged was Saul that he ordered the slaughter of the entire priesthood there (chs. 20–21). Saul had David all but captured in the hills of Ziph, when a raid of the Philistines called him away (23[14-29]). Twice Saul was in the power of David, who refused to harm the Lord's anointed (chs. 24. 26).

The circumstances connected with Saul's death are told in a dramatic way. The Philistines had gathered together at Aphek, while Saul held the fateful plains of Megiddo at Jezreel. Answer came from neither prophet nor priest. Then in despair he applied to the necromancer at Endor, but received only a hopeless message. The battle joins; Saul's sons are slain; sore pressed, he calls on his armour-bearer to slay him, but being refused he falls upon his sword and dies. The following day the Philistines severed the heads of Saul and his sons, and exposed the bodies on the walls of Beth-shan, whence the grateful Jabesh-gileadites brought them away by night (chs. 28. 31). An Amalekite, who brought the story of Saul's death to David, claimed that he himself slew him, and was promptly executed by David (2 S 1[1-16]).

2. Saul of Tarsus. See PAUL. J. H. STEVENSON.

SAVIAS (1 Es 8[2]) = **Uzzi,** Ezr 7[4].

SAVIOUR.—See SALVATION.

SAVOUR.—The word 'savour' is used in AV literally for *taste,* as Mt 5[13] 'If the salt have lost his savour,' and for *smell,* as 2 Es 2[12] 'an ointment of sweet savour.' It is also used figuratively in the sense of *reputation,* Ex 5[21] 'Ye have made our savour to be abhorred in the eyes of Pharaoh' (lit. 'our smell to stink' as AVm).

The verb 'to savour' is either 'to taste *or* smell of,' as in Pref. to AV 'to savour more of curiosity than of wisdom'; or 'to seek out *or* to search by tasting or smelling,' used fig. in Mk 8[33] 'Thou savourest not the things that be of God.'

SAW.—See ARTS AND CRAFTS, § 1.

SCAB.—See MEDICINE, p. 599[b].

SCALING LADDER.—See FORTIFICATION AND SIEGECRAFT, § 6.

SCALL.—See MEDICINE, p. 600[a].

SCAPE-GOAT.—See AZAZEL, ATONEMENT [DAY OF].

SCARLET.—See COLOURS, § 4.

SCEPTRE, as tr. of *shēbet,* may stand either for a short ornamental sceptre such as appears in some representations of the Assyrian king, or for a long staff reaching to the ground, which characterizes some portrayals of the Persian monarchs. The long sceptre is simply an ornamented **staff,** the short one is a development of the **club** or *mace.* On Gn 49[10] see LAWGIVER and SHILOH. On the difficulty of approaching the presence of the Persian kings referred to in Est 4[11], cf. also Herod. iii. 118, 140.

SCEVA.—At Ephesus, where St. Paul worked 'special powers' (Ac 19[11ff.]), certain itinerant Jews (RV 'strolling' perhaps conveys too much the idea of 'vagabond') endeavoured to exorcise evil spirits by naming over them the name of Jesus. Among them were seven sons of one Sceva, a Jewish 'chief priest' (probably one of the high-priestly family). In v.[16] the demoniac overcomes 'both of them' (RV). Sceva himself is not said to have been present. The incident led to many conversions, and several brought and destroyed their books of magic.

There is a difficulty in the text. Seven sons are mentioned in v.[14], and these are reduced to two in v.[16]. Perhaps St. Luke is here abbreviating a written source which detailed the incident more fully, and explained that two out of the seven sons tried to exorcise this particular demon. Inferior MSS (followed by AV) substitute 'them' for 'both of them,' and the Bezan Codex (D) omits the word 'seven' altogether, calls Sceva merely 'a priest,' and adds other phrases which are expansions of our text. But these seem to be but explanations of a difficult original text; and the RV is probably correct. The word 'seven' could never have been inserted if it were not St. Luke's.

Prof. Ramsay thinks that the whole passage is unworthy of Luke (*St. Paul the Traveller*[6], p. 272f.). But it is unsafe to judge first-century thought by that of our own day. The Apostolic age firmly believed in possession by evil spirits; and there is really nothing in this chapter unlike what we read elsewhere in NT.

A. J. MACLEAN.

SCHISM.—See HERESY.

SCHOOL, SCHOOLMASTER.—'School' occurs in EV only in Ac 19[9] for the lecture-room of an Ephesian rhetorician (cf. EDUCATION, p. 204[a]); 'schoolmaster' only in Gal 3[24. 25] AV, for which RV has **'tutor.'** The original is *paidagōgos,* lit. 'child-conductor,' 'pedagogue'—an old and trusty slave, who accompanied the Greek child to and from school and 'was bound never to lose sight of him, to carry his lyre and tablets, and to keep him out of mischief' (Gardner and Jevons, *Manual of Gr. Antiq.* 303). He had nothing to do with the *teaching,* as is suggested by both the English renderings. The same word is rendered 'instructors' in 1 Co 4[15] AV (RV, as before, 'tutors'). In AV the latter word is found only in Gal 4[2] as the tr. of an entirely different word, correctly rendered 'guardians' by RV. For the duties of guardians in Gr. law see *op. cit.* 552 f. A. R. S. KENNEDY.

SCHOOLS.—See EDUCATION.

SCIENCE.—The word 'science' occurs in AV only twice (Dn 1[4], 1 Ti 6[20]), and in both places it simply means 'knowledge'; as in Barlowe's *Dialoge,* p. 109,

'There is no truthe, no mercye, nor scyence of god in the yerth.'

SCIMITAR.—See FAUCHION.

SCORPION (*'aqrāb* [Arab. same name], Dt 8^{15}, Ezk 2^{6}; *skorpios*, Lk 10^{19} 11^{12}, Rev $9^{3.\ 10}$).—The scorpion belongs to the *Arachnidæ* or spider family. It occurs plentifully in Palestine, ten species being known; it is nocturnal in its habits, and kills small insects, spiders, etc., for food by means of the poisonous sting at the end of its tail. The effect of the poison on human beings is severe pain, and sometimes collapse and even death, the latter in young children only. The 'scorpions' of 1 K $12^{11.\ 14}$, 2 Ch $10^{11.\ 14}$ are clearly used only figuratively. It is possible, but hardly likely (see Hastings' *DCG*, art. 'Scorpion'), that the language of our Lord in Lk 11^{12} is suggested by the egg-like form of the 'scorpion' when at rest. More probably He has in mind some such form of proverb as was current among the Greeks: 'Instead of a perch, a scorpion.' E. W. G. MASTERMAN.

SCOURGING.—See CRIMES AND PUNISHMENTS, **9**, and CRUCIFIXION, **4**.

SCREECH OWL.—See OWL.

SCRIBE.—See KING, p. 516b.

SCRIBES.—Sometimes a phrase gives the key to a great history. Such is the case here. 'The scribes of the Pharisees' (Mk 2^{16}) points us to the inseparable connexion between the **Pharisees** and the Scribes. In other places in the Gospels they are also grouped together (Mt 12^{38}, Lk 6^{7}, Mk 7^{5}). If we would understand the Scribe or **Lawyer**, we must set him against the background of Pharisaism (see art. PHARISEES).

For every community that carves out for itself a great career the supreme problem is law and its administration. Now, after the Exile, the task being to hold together the parts of a nation widely scattered and lacking the unifying power of a common and sacred fatherland, the Mosaic Torah, the Divine Law for Israel, became, in course of time, the moral and spiritual constitution of Israel, its code of duty, the fabric of its right. The Torah is the informing principle of the community. To grasp this principle and apply it to the changing conditions and questions of the nation's life was the supreme need of the time. This need was analogous to the similar need of any great State. And it always necessitates, as at Rome, a great body of lawyers. A fundamental need gives rise to an authoritative function, and the function creates for itself the agents to exercise it. So, in course of time, appears in Judaism a new type, the Scribe. There is, however, a peculiarity in the case of the Scribe that sets him apart from the Roman lawyer or the modern judge. The Torah which he interpreted and applied was a good many things in one. It was the text-book of a society which was both Church and State; it was at once the constitution and the catechism of the Jews. So the mastery and administration of it developed in the Scribe a variety of functions which with us are parcelled out among preacher, scholar, lawyer, and magistrate. It is easy to see that history owed him a fortune. He came to occupy a great position in the Jewish community. By the 1st cent. he had forced his way into that aristocratic body, the Sanhedrin (Gamaliel in Ac 5; Nicodemus in Jn 3 and 7). He sat in 'Moses' seat' (Mt 23^{1}). He had the power of 'binding and loosing,' *i.e.* of publishing authoritative judgments upon the legality and illegality of actions.

We see here a situation which had the making of great men in it. To grasp and administer the Mosaic Law, to 'sit in Moses' seat' and become the trustee of the supreme interests of a great people,—there can be no better school. Naturally, there were many noble Scribes, men whose character and learning were commensurate with their task. Such were Hillel and Shammai, elder contemporaries of our Lord. Such also was the Gamaliel at whose feet St. Paul sat (Ac 22^{3}), and who spoke, with noble feeling, against the persecuting zeal of the Sadducees ($5^{34ff.}$). As a class, too, they had their noble side. Their work, both educational and judicial, was gratuitous. They were to receive no pay. Probably this rule grew out of the idea of an impartial judge (Ex 23^{8}, Dt 16^{19}). Of course, there must have been many exceptions. Yet the mere idea was ennobling, and must have served to enkindle devotion. But, on the other hand, their position encouraged vast pride and vanity. They stood on their prerogatives as 'Teachers.' They loved the title of 'Rabbi.' So our Lord, when He bids His disciples refuse such title (Mt $23^{7f.}$), has the Scribes in mind.

This leads us to the deeper defect of the Scribes as a class. All their training went to unfit them for understanding our Lord. As we have seen, the situation of the Jews in the centuries after the Exile called for a new type of man. The prophet passed off the stage. The Scribe or Lawyer took his place. In the 1st cent. of our era he had become antipathetic to Prophetism. So he had no sympathy with John the Baptist, and to the meaning of the creative force in spiritual things brought into history by the Saviour he was totally blind. Hence our Lord's fearful denunciation of the Scribes (Mt 23). See also artt. PHARISEES and SADDUCEES.

HENRY S. NASH.

SCRIP.—See BAG.

SCRIPTURE.—1. The word 'Scripture' (Lat. *scriptura*, 'a writing,' 'something written') is used for the Bible as a whole, more often in the plural form 'Scriptures,' and also more properly for a passage of the Bible. It appears as tr. of the Greek *graphē*, which is used in the singular for a portion of the OT (*e.g.* Mk 12^{10}), and also for the whole OT (Gal 3^{22}), and more frequently in the plural (*haigraphai*). The specific idea of Scripture contains an element of sanctity and authority. Thus it becomes usual to refer to Holy Scripture, or the Holy Scriptures (*en graphais hagiais*, Ro 1^{2}).

2. This specific conception of Scripture as distinguished from ordinary writing is due to the reception of it as a record of the word of God, and is therefore associated with inspiration. The earliest reference to any such record is in the narrative of the finding of the Book of the Law by Hilkiah the scribe in the time of Josiah (2 K $22^{8ff.}$). Since this book is now known to have been Deuteronomy or part of it, we must reckon that this was the first book treated as Scripture. Still greater sanctity was given to the enlarged and more developed Law in the time of Ezra and Nehemiah, and from that time the whole Pentateuch, regarded as the Law given by God to Moses, is treated as especially sacred and authoritative. The special function of the scribes in guarding and teaching the Law rested on this Scriptural character attached to it, and in turn rendered it the more venerable as Scripture. Later the reception of the *Hagiographa* and *the Prophets* into the Canon led to those collections being regarded also as Scripture, though never with quite the authority attached to the Law.

The Rabbis cherished great veneration for Scripture, and ascribed to it a mechanical inspiration which extended to every word and letter. Philo also accepted plenary inspiration, finding his freedom from the bondage of the letter in allegorical interpretations.

Unlike the Jerusalem Rabbis, in this respect followed by most of the NT writers, who quote the various OT authors by name, Philo quotes Scripture as the immediate word of God, and in so doing is followed by the author of Hebrews. Thus, while St. Mark says, 'as it is written in Isaiah, the prophet' (Mk 1^{2}), and St. Paul, 'David saith' (Ro 11^{9}), in Hebrews we read, 'He (*i.e.* God) saith '(He 1^{7}), 'the Holy Ghost saith' (3^{7}), or, more indefinitely, 'it is said' (3^{15}), which is quite in the manner of Philo. Still, the technical expression 'It is written' (*gegraptai*) is very common both in the Gospels and in St. Paul's Epistles. As a Greek perfect, it has the peculiar force of a present state resulting

from a past action. Thus it always conveys the thought that Scripture, although it was written long ago, does not belong to the past, but is in existence to-day, and its inherent present authority is thus emphasized as that of a law now in force. The impersonal character of the passive verb also adds dignity to the citation thus introduced, as something weighty on its own account.

3. No NT writings during the Apostolic age are treated as Scripture—a title, with its associated authority, always reserved by the Apostles for the OT. There is an apparent exception in 2 P $3^{15.\ 16}$, where the Epistles of 'our beloved brother Paul' are associated with 'the other scriptures'; but this is a strong argument in favour of assigning 2 Pet. to a late period in the second century. Apart from this, we first meet with the technical phrase 'it is written' attached to a NT passage in Barn. iv. 4; but here it is a Gospel citation of a saying of Christ: 'As it is written, Many are called but few chosen.' Thus the authority of Christ's words leads to the record of them being cited as Scripture. In Polycarp (*Phil.* xii. 1) we have the title 'Scripture' applied to the source of a NT quotation, but only in the Latin tr. (*his scripturis*). In 2 Clem. ii. 4 a saying of Christ is cited as Scripture. But, apart from these rare instances, no writer previous to the second half of the second century appeals to the NT as technically Scripture. Clement of Rome, Barnabas (with the one exception referred to), Hermas, and even Justin Martyr use the title for the OT only. Theophilus of Antioch (*c.* 180) cites passages from St. Paul as 'the Divine word' (*ad Autol.* iii. 14). Irenæus (180), on the other hand, constantly treats NT passages as the word of God and authoritative Scripture. For an explanation of this remarkable development, see CANON OF NT.

W. F. ADENEY.

SCULPTURE.—See ART.

SCURVY.—See MEDICINE, p. 599b.

SCYTHIANS.—A wandering race of the Indo-European stock who lived between the Danube and the Don, and spread over the territory between the Caucasus and the Caspian. They were a cruel and savage people, of huge build. The Athenians employed them as police. In Col 3^{11} they are mentioned as a degree worse than barbarians. The latter word simply connoted those who spoke neither Greek nor Latin. A. SOUTER.

SCYTHOPOLIS.—See BETH-SHEAN.

SEA in Scripture generally means the Mediterranean, when the context introduces no distinction by which the particular sea is defined, *e.g.* in Nu 33^8, Jos $24^{6f.}$ etc. 'The **Great Sea**' is the Mediterranean (Nu 34^6, Ezk 47^{10} etc.). 'The **Sea of the Arabah**' is the Dead Sea (2 K 14^{25} etc.). The '**Sea of Chinnereth**' is the Sea of Galilee (Nu 34^{11} etc.). The '**Sea of the Philistines**' is the Mediterranean off the Philistine coast (Ex 23^{31}). *Yām Sūph*, 'Sea of Weeds' (Ex 10^{19} etc.), is identical with 'the **Red Sea**' of He 11^{29}, Jth 5^{12} etc., and is always so translated. The Nile, as in modern Arabic (*el Bahr*), is called 'the sea' (Is 18^2 etc.), so also the Euphrates (Is 21^1, Jer 51^{36}). 'The sea' of Jazer is a scribal error (Jer 48^{32}; cf. Is 16^8). *yām*, 'sea,' is the usual word for 'West'; the Mediterranean forming the W. boundary of Palestine (Gn 12^8 etc.). The phrase 'from sea to sea' (Am 8^{12} etc.) probably signified the ends of the earth. The influence of the Babylonian myth of the conflict of the gods with the primeval sea may be traced in certain Scripture representations of the sea (Job 7^{12} etc. See art. 'Cosmogony' in Hastings' *DB*). *Tĕhōm* (EV 'deep') of Gn 1^2 etc. resembles the Bab. *Tiāmat*. By the dismemberment of this **monster** the ordered world is produced (Gn 1^6). The turbulent and dangerous character of the sea is often referred to in Scripture (Ps 46^2 89^9, Is 17^{12}, Jer 49^{23} etc.). From the sea came up the monsters of Daniel's vision ($7^{2ff.}$); so also in the Apocalypse (13^1). If in the literature of the Hebrews there is manifest a certain horror of, and shrinking from, the sea, which seem strange to a seafaring people, we must remember that, as a nation, Israel never knew the sea; nor need we wonder if, viewed from their mountain heights, stretching vast and mysterious into the far horizons, it seemed to them the very home of storms and vague terrors. So when the Jewish seer depicts the future home of the blessed there is 'no more sea' (Rev 21^1). Cf. DUALISM, **1**, RAHAB, **2**.

W. EWING.

SEA (BRAZEN).—See TEMPLE, § 6 (*c*).

SEA OF GALILEE.—See GALILEE [SEA OF].

SEA OF GLASS.—One of the features of the heavenly landscape described in Rev 4^6 15^2. By its side stood those who had been victorious in the struggle with the beast, singing to the glory of God. Its location was apparently before the throne of God. Just what the symbolism here intended is, it is difficult to state. The probability is, however, that there is no distinct symbolism whatever, but that the reference is rather to the brilliancy of the waters as one element in the supremely beautiful land of heaven. SHAILER MATHEWS.

SEAH.—See WEIGHTS AND MEASURES, II.

SEAL, SIGNET.—The existence of seals is attested for the early dynasties of Egypt, and for an equally remote period in the history of Babylonia. The first mention of a seal in the OT is in connexion with the patriarch Judah, who fared forth with his staff in his hand and his seal hung round his neck by a cord (Gn 38^{18} RV), precisely as was the custom of every Babylonian gentleman in the days of Herodotus (i. 195). The seals hitherto found in Palestine show little initiative on the part of the Hebrews in this branch of the fine arts, the great majority plainly showing the predominant influence of Egypt, or to a less extent of Babylonia.

As regards material, almost every variety of precious stone was used for this purpose, although ordinary limestone, and even baked clay, were used by those who could afford nothing better. An almost equal wealth of form is attested by the extant seals. Thus the scarab and the scaraboid forms were distinctive of Egypt, as the cylinder was of Babylonia. Other seals, again, were conical in shape, while the square form is not unknown.

Most of the extant seals bearing evidence of a Hebrew origin, however, are oval in outline. This was also the usual form for seals intended to be set in the bezel of a **ring.** In this case it was customary to wear the ring on one of the fingers of the right hand (Jer 22^{24}; cf. Gn 41^{42}). The distinctively Jewish type of seal is marked by two features: (*a*) the absence of figures, Divine or human, in the field, and (*b*) the presence of two parallel lines, set close together, which cross the field longitudinally, and divide the inscription into two parts. The legend, as a rule, contains the name of the owner, preceded by the preposition signifying 'belonging to'—thus '[the property] of X, the son of Y,' or 'of M, the daughter of N,' for women also had their seals. Many seals, however, whose owners, to judge from their names, were Hebrews, bear figures and symbols in the field, one of them showing the earliest example of the so-called 'shield of David.'

Another of this class is the finest known specimen of a Hebrew seal. It is of jasper, and oval in shape; the greater part of the field is occupied by a lion, of the most delicate workmanship in the Babylonian style, while above and below is the legend: '[The property] of Shema, the servant [*i.e.* court official] of Jeroboam.' This seal was discovered in 1904 during the German excavations on the site of the ancient Megiddo, and is fully described by Kautzsch in *MNDPV* 1904, 1–14, 81–83; cf. Lidzbarski, *Ephemeris f. Sem. Epigraphik*, ii. 140 ff., where other seals are also discussed; and *PEFSt* 1904, 287 ff., with reproductions of the size of the original and enlarged. It is impossible to decide whether or not the Shema of the Megiddo seal is identical with the original owner of another seal of the more severe type above described, the legend of which runs: '[the property] of Shema, the servant of the king.'

A series of excellent reproductions of typical seals found in Palestine is given by Benzinger in his *Heb. Arch.*[2][1907],82, 179f., 225–230, while a collection of twenty seal inscriptions, dating from 9th–6th cent. B.C., with ample references, will be found in Lidzbarski's *Altsemit. Texte*, part i., 10 f.

The engraving of seals was done by means of a graver with a diamond point (Jer 17[1]). Ben-Sira (*c.* B.C. 180–175) makes honourable mention of them 'that cut gravings of signets' (Sir 38[27] RV).

As regards the varied uses of the seal in antiquity, one of the most important was to authenticate written documents (1 K 21[8], Jer 32[10f.]), after the manner of a modern signature (cf. Neh 10[1]). A roll or other document intended for preservation was sealed up before it was parted with (Dn 12[4]); the seals, accordingly, had to be broken before it could be read (Rev 6[3] etc.). In the ordinary business of life sealing was continually employed as a precaution against a deposit of any sort being tampered with by unauthorized persons. Wine jars, for example, invariably had their stoppers covered with soft clay, on which the owner impressed his seal. Such impressions are referred to in Job 38[14].

Newberry in his *Scarabs* illustrates the Egyptian (and doubtless Hebrew) practice of sealing doors by means of a piece of string attaching the door to the jamb, and sealed with a clay seal. Darius' 'den of lions' (Dn 6[17]) and the sepulchre of our Lord (Mt 27[66]) were both in all probability sealed in this way by means of a cord which passed over the stone covering the entrance, and was sealed at either end by a lump of clay impressed with one or more seals (cf. Dn. *l.c.*).

From the universal use of the seal in ratifying and authenticating documents, and safeguarding deposits, the writers both of the OT and of the NT have derived a rich variety of figures. Thus, in Dn 9[24], sealing is a figure for the ratification of prophecy; in Jn 6[27] the figure is based on the public acknowledgment of the seal as one nowadays acknowledges one's signature. St. Paul's converts, again, are the 'seal' of his Apostleship (1 Co 9[2]), in other words, they authenticate his status and mission as a true Apostle. As a document or vessel, finally, is sealed up until the time for opening it arrives, so the Christian believer is sealed by the Holy Spirit 'unto the day of redemption' (Eph 4[30]; cf. 1[13], 2 Co 1[22]). A. R. S. KENNEDY.

SEAMEW.—See CUCKOW.

SEA-MONSTER.—See DRAGON, LEVIATHAN, RAHAB, SEA.

SEBA.—The eldest son of Cush in Gn 10[7] (1 Ch 1[9]), named along with **Sheba** in Ps 72[10], and with Egypt and Cush in Is 43[3] 45[14]. In the latter passage its people are referred to as of high stature. A comparison with Is 18[2] points to a supposed connexion with the tall Cushites or Nubians, though there is no evidence which directly associates either the people or the country with Nubia proper, in the region of the Nile. More specific seem to be the references by Strabo and Ptolemy to a seaport *Saba* and *Sabat*, near the modern Massowa on the west of the Red Sea. This location, nearly opposite the ancient Sheba, gives some colour to the hypothesis that *Seba* is an African differentiation of **Sheba** (wh. see), the latter being naturally the parent community.
J. F. MCCURDY.

SEBAM.—A place in the east-Jordan territory of Reuben (Nu 32[3]). In all the other passages (Nu 32[38], Jos 13[11], Is 16[8. 9], Jer 48[32]) the name appears in the fem. form **Sibmah.** The 'vine of Sibmah' is mentioned by Isaiah and Jeremiah as one of the possessions of Moab on which destruction was to fall. The place has been located near Heshbon. H. L. WILLETT.

SECACAH.—A town mentioned (Jos 15[61]) among the possessions of Judah 'in the wilderness' (*midbār*). It was probably in the rocky district above the W. shore of the Dead Sea. H. L. WILLETT.

SECHENIAS.—**1.** 1 Es 8[29] = **Shecaniah,** Ezr 8[3] **2.** 1 Es 8[32] = **Shecaniah,** Ezr 8[5].

SECOND COMING.—See PAROUSIA.

SECT.—See HERESY.

SECU.—A place name which appears only in the late narrative of 1 S 19[22] in connexion with Ramah, Samuel's home, and especially with the 'great cistern' or 'well of the threshing-floor.' Perhaps the name represents a word in the original best rendered 'the height,' referring to the highest part of the town of Ramah. H. L. WILLETT.

SECUNDUS.—A man of Thessalonica who accompanied St. Paul on his journey to Jerusalem (Ac 20[4]), perhaps as a delegate to carry alms from his city. The Greek of the verse is obscure, but the meaning probably is that Aristarchus and Secundus and those mentioned afterwards went direct to Troas from Corinth and waited there for the Apostle, who came with Sopater by way of Macedonia. See SOPATER. A. J. MACLEAN.

SECURE.—To be secure, in the language of AV, does not mean to be free from danger; it means not to anticipate danger. Thus, Jg 8[11] 'Gideon smote the host, for the host was secure.' The vb. 'to secure' occurs in Mt 28[14] 'And if this come to the governor's ears, we will persuade him, and secure you,' where the Greek means literally *make you free from care, i.e.* make it all right for you.

SEDEKIAS.—**1.** An ancestor of Baruch (Bar 1[1]). **2.** 1 Es 1[46], Bar 1[8] = **Zedekiah** (wh. see), king of Judah.

SEDUCTION.—See CRIMES AND PUNISHMENTS, § 3.

SEED, SEEDTIME (Heb. *zera'*; Gr. *sperma, sporos, spora*).—**1. Literal.**—(*a*) *Vegetable* (Gn 1[11] 8[22] etc.). See AGRICULTURE, § 1. (*b*) *Animal* (Lv 15[16-18] etc.). **2. Metaphorical.**—(*a*) *Offspring, race, family* (Gn 3[15] 9[9] 12[7] etc.; Mk 12[19ff.], Lk 1[55], Jn 7[42] etc.). In NT it is especially frequent in the phrase 'the seed of Abraham'—a favourite Pauline equivalent for 'Israel' (cf. Ro 11[1], 2 Co 11[22]). In Gal 3[16] St. Paul argues from the use of the sing. 'seed' instead of the plur. 'seeds' in Gn 13[15] 17[8], that the Messiah in person is denoted and not Abraham's progeny in general. As a proof the argument has no force, for the same word *zera'* occurs in the sing. form in every passage in the OT where it expresses the idea of offspring. It is a verbal subtlety due to the Apostle's Rabbinical training. But the argument as a whole is independent of this grammatical refinement. St. Paul's meaning is that the Messiah was clearly in view in the promises made to Abraham. Israel was the type of Christ, and in Him the seed of Abraham was summed up. From this follows that further extension of the fig. 'seed of Abraham' to denote those united to Christ by faith (Gal 3[7. 29]), the spiritual Israel or 'Israel of God' (Ro 2[29], Gal 6[16]). (*b*) *Vital energy.* In 1 Jn 3[9] 'seed' denotes the indwelling principle of the Divine life by which the Christian is kept from sin.
J. C. LAMBERT.

SEER.—See pp. 413[a], 757[b].

SEETHE.—This verb, which means to *boil*, occurs occasionally in AV, especially in the command (Ex 23[19] etc.), 'Thou shalt not seethe a kid in his mother's milk.' The past tense was **sod,** as Gn 25[29] 'Jacob sod pottage'; and the past part. **sodden,** as La 4[10] 'The hands of the pitiful women have sodden their own children.'

SEGUB.—**1.** The youngest son of Hiel who re-built Jericho (1 K 16[34]). He died, or was possibly sacrificed by his father, when the gates were set up. See HOUSE, p. 369[a]. **2.** Son of Hezron (1 Ch 2 [21f.]).

SEIR.—**1.** The name of a mountainous district east of the 'Arabah, peopled by the Edomites. It was originally occupied by *Horites* or 'cave-dwellers' (Gn 14[6]). **Mt. Seir** is practically synonymous with

Edom (cf. Gn 32^3 'the land of Seir, the field of Edom'). **2.** 'Mt. Seir' mentioned in Jos 15^{10} among the points defining the boundaries of Judah. The name may still be preserved in that of the ruins at *Sārîs*, S.W. of Kiriath-jearim.

SEIRAH.—The place to which Ehud escaped after killing Eglon, king of Moab (Jg 3^{26}); unidentified.

SELA means 'rock,' 'cliff,' or 'crag,' and as a common noun is of frequent occurrence in Hebrew. In three or four passages (Jg 1^{36}, 2 K 14^7, Is 16^1, and, according to some, Is 42^{11}) the word appears to be a proper name. In Jg 1^{36} a site near the southern end of the Dead Sea is required by the context. Such a site would also satisfy the requirements of 2 K 14^7 and Is 16^1. But it is not improbable that more than one place was known as 'the Cliff (*or* Crag).' It is therefore not impossible, though far from certain, that the Sela of 2 K 14^7 (cf. JOKTHEEL) and Is 16^1 is, as RVm in the latter passage suggests, and as many have held, the place known later as **Petra** (which also means 'rock'). Petra lay about 50 miles nearly due south of the Dead Sea, in a valley 'enclosed on every side by nearly perpendicular rocks of considerable height' and 'composed of sandstone of many different colours.' It was the capital of the Nabatæans from the close of the 4th cent. B.C. to the beginning of the 2nd cent. A.D. (when it became a Roman province), and during that period a busy commercial centre. For some description of the buildings of Petra and the rock architecture which have given the city great fame, see Bædeker's *Palestine*, p. 206, and the literature there cited. 'The general character of the buildings at Petra is that of the debased Roman style of the 3rd and 4th centuries A.D.' Apart from the Biblical statements enumerated above, the history of Petra before the Nabatæan period is unknown.

G. B. GRAY.

SELA-HAMMAHLEKOTH.—A rock or cliff in the wilderness of Maon, at which Saul 'returned from pursuing after David' (1 S 23^{28}). The site is uncertain.

SELAH.—A Heb. liturgical-musical term of uncertain meaning. It occurs (*a*) in the OT, (*b*) in the Psalms of Solomon, and (*c*) in the Jewish (Synagogue) Liturgy.

In the OT the term occurs 74 times altogether in the Heb. text, viz. 71 times in the Psalter, and 3 in the Prayer of Habakkuk (Hab 3). In the Gr. tr. of the OT (the LXX) the Gr. equivalent (*diapsalma*) does not always appear in the same places as in the Heb. text; the number of occurrences is also rather larger in the LXX. Possibly in some cases 'Selah' has fallen out of the Massoretic text accidentally. In the *Psalms of Solomon* 'Selah' occurs twice (17^{31} and 18^{10}), and in the oldest parts of the Jewish Liturgy (apart from the canonical Psalms, which are incorporated in it) 5 times (3 in the 'Eighteen Blessings' and 2 in the morning Benedictions preceding the *Shema'*).

Various explanations have been proposed as to the etymology and meaning of the term. Perhaps the least improbable of these is that which regards it as a liturgical direction intended to indicate the place for *lifting up* the voices in a doxology at the close of a section; such a doxology might have been sung at the end of a psalm or section of a psalm which liturgically was separated from the following (cf. the use of the 'Gloria' at the end of Psalms or [in the case of the 119th] at the end of sections of the Psalm in Christian worship). Or it may have been a direction to the orchestra—'Lift up! loud!'—to strike in with loud music (after the soft accompaniment to the singers' voices) during a pause in the singing. Other theories, such as that it represents a Heb. transliteration of a Greek word (*e.g. psalle*) or an abbreviation of three words, have little probability. The meaning of the LXX rendering (*diapsalma*) is as uncertain as that of the Heb. word itself.

G. H. BOX.

SELED.—A Jerahmeelite (1 Ch 2^{30}).

SELEMIA.—One of Ezra's swift scribes (2 Es 14^{24}).

SELEMIAS (1 Es 9^{34}) = **Shelemiah**, Ezr 10^{39}.

SELEUCIA. on the coast of Syria, at the mouth of the river Orontes, was the port of the great Antioch. It was strongly fortified. Situated on the S. side of Mt. Pieria, and on the level ground at its foot, it was protected on three sides both naturally and by fortifications. It was captured by Ptolemy Euergetes (1 Mac 11^8), and afterwards recovered (in B.C. 219) by Antiochus the Great. Its greatness increased in Roman times. Then it was a 'free city.' Commercially its importance in the Levantine trade was of the highest. Extensive remains of the ancient city exist.

A. SOUTER.

SELEUCUS.—1. Seleucus I. (*Nikator*), originally a cavalry officer of Alexander the Great, became satrap of Babylon on the death of the king. After some vicissitudes his position there was securely established in B.C. 312, from which date the Seleucid era was reckoned (1 Mac 1^{16}). The battle of Ipsus, B.C. 301, made him master of Syria and great part of the East. He founded Antioch and its fortified port Seleucia (1 Mac 11^8), and is said by Josephus (*Ant.* XII. iii. 1) to have conferred on the Jews the privileges of citizenship. He is the 'one of his [*i.e.* the king of Egypt's] princes' (Dn 11^6). He died B.C. 280.—**2. Seleucus II.** (*Callinicus*, B.C. 246–226), son of Antiochus *Soter*, is entitled the 'king of the north' in the passage (Dn 11^{7-9}) which alludes to the utter discomfiture of the Syrian king and the capture of Seleucia.—**3. Seleucus III.** (*Ceraunus*, B.C. 226–223), 'one of his [Seleucus II.'s] sons' (Dn 11^{10}), was murdered during a campaign in Asia Minor: the struggle with Egypt was continued by his brother Antiochus (Dn 11^{10-16}).—**4. Seleucus IV.** (*Philopator*; but Jos., *Ant.* XII. iv. 10, calls him *Soter*), son of Antiochus *The Great*, reigned B.C. 187–176. He it was who despatched Heliodorus to plunder the Temple (2 Mac 3^{1-40}, cf. Dn 11^{20}).—**5. Seleucus V.** (B.C. 125–124) and **VI.** (B.C. 95–93) are not of importance to the Biblical student. The four first-named belong to the 'ten horns' of Dn 7^{24}.

J. TAYLOR.

SELF-CONTROL.—See TEMPERANCE.

SELF-SURRENDER.—1. The military metaphor underlying the idea of 'surrendering oneself' is suggestive. The keys of the citadel of self are handed over to the rightful Lord, whose most powerful weapons of attack have been the entreaties of His love. The surrender is not for demolition, but for restoration in beauty and strength. It is a voluntary act, implying the 'presenting' of ourselves unto God, and involving the 'presenting' of our 'members as instruments of righteousness unto God' (Ro 6^{13}, cf. 12^1). A similar conception finds expression in the Gr. word (*hypotassesthai*) which RV tr. 'to be subject to,' *lit.* 'to set oneself under.' The proof that in 'the mind' the ruling element is not 'flesh' but 'spirit' is the absence of hostility to God; this state of 'life and peace' is the result of 'subjecting oneself to the law of God' (Ro $8^{6f.}$; cf. 10^3, Ja 4^7). In He 12^9 this unreserved surrender of ourselves to God is represented as the only worthy recognition of His absolute claims, and as, therefore, thoroughly consistent with a due regard to the development of our own personality. To 'be in subjection to the Father of spirits' is indeed to 'live.' 'Such absolute subjection is crowned by the highest blessing. True life comes from complete self-surrender' (Westcott, *Com., in loc.*).

2. It depends upon the point of view whether the Christian ideal of life is described as the life of self-surrender or as the life of self-development. Repentance and faith are alike acts in which, at one and the same time, self-will is surrendered and the higher self is realized.

'Our wills are ours, we know not how,
Our wills are ours to make them Thine.'

Our self-surrender is the condition of the Divine co-operation; His working in us 'both to will and to do' enables us to respond to the exhortation: 'work out your own salvation' (Ph $2^{12f.}$). 'Every real sacrifice is at the same time self-preservation, namely, preservation of the ideal self' (Paulsen, *System of Ethics*, p. 248). 'To yield oneself up as the organ of a higher spirit which disposes of us as may be fit constitutes the mystic ideal of perfect life' (Martineau, *Types of Ethical Theory*, ii. 273). The open secret of that life is revealed in St. Paul's profound words: 'I have been crucified with Christ, and it is no longer I that live, but Christ liveth in me' (Gal 2^{20}). J. G. Tasker.

SEMACHIAH.—A Korahite family of gatekeepers (1 Ch 26^{7}). Perhaps the same name should be substituted for **Ismachiah** in 2 Ch 31^{13}.

SEMEI (1 Es 9^{33}) = **Shimei**, Ezr 10^{33}.

SEMEIAS (Ad. Est 11^{2}) = **Shimei**, Est 2^{5}.

SEMEIN.—The father of Mattathias (Lk 3^{26}).

SEMEIS (1 Es 9^{23}) = **Shimei**, Ezr 10^{23}.

SENAAH.—The children of Senaah, or more correctly **Hassenaah**, were a clan or family who, according to Ezr 2^{35}, Neh 7^{38}, 1 Es 5^{23} [**Sanaas**], were among the exiles of the first Restoration under Zerub., and had a share in re-building the walls (Neh 3^{3}). They are elsewhere unknown, unless they should be identified with **Hassenuah**, a clan of Benjamin (1 Ch 9^{7}, Neh 11^{9}). The latter would then be the correct reading. Other conjectures are less probable. J. F. McCurdy.

SENATE is the tr. of Gr. *gerousia* in Ac 5^{21}, where 'all the senate of the children of Israel' is intended to explain the preceding '**council**' (*synedrion*). See Sanhedrin. It is the Jewish 'senate' that is meant likewise in 2 Mac 1^{10} 4^{44}. The Roman senate is alluded to in 1 Mac $8^{17ff.}$

SENEH.—One of the steep cliffs forming the walls of the gorge of Michmash, where Jonathan's exploit occurred (1 S $14^{4f.}$). The name may signify 'tooth,' though this is uncertain. The precise cliffs, called respectively Seneh and Bozez, are not identified. H. L. Willett.

SENIR.—The name of **Hermon** among the Amorites, according to Dt 3^{9}, but in Ca 4^{8} and 1 Ch 5^{23} distinguished from Hermon. It was famous for its large fir-trees (Ezk 27^{5}). This Amoritic name was, naturally enough, the one in vogue among the Babylonians and Assyrians. In Deut. it appears, like Hermon and Sirion, to designate the whole of Anti-Lebanon. When taken more strictly, it stood, we may assume, for the northern portion. The Arab geographers gave the name to that part of the range lying between Baalbek and Homs. J. F. McCurdy.

SENNACHERIB (Assyr. *Sin-akhē-erba*, *i.e.* 'Sin [the Moon-god] has increased the brothers'), son of Sargon, succeeded him on the throne of Assyria, on the 12th of Ab, B.C. 705. He was at once faced by troubles in Babylon, where Merodach-baladan had re-established himself. Sennacherib expelled him and placed Bēl-ibni of the Babylonian seed royal on the throne as a vassal king. After wars against the Kassites and Elamites in B.C. 701, Sennacherib set out to reduce the West to order. The king of Tyre fled to Cyprus, Sidon and the rest of Phœnicia were taken or submitted, and placed under a king Ethbaal. Ashdod, Ammon, Moab, Edom sent tribute. Ashkelon and Ekron were captured, and Hezekiah had to restore Padi to the throne of Ekron after keeping him some time in prison. The Egyptians and their allies who had moved to support Hezekiah were defeated at Eltekeh. Then Sennacherib devastated Judæa, capturing 46 cities and 200,150 prisoners. Hezekiah seems to have attempted to bribe him to retreat, sending immense tribute to Sennacherib while he was besieging Lachish. Lachish fell, and the Tartan, the Rab-shakeh and Rab-saris were sent to demand the surrender of Jerusalem (2 K $19^{8ff.}$). The miraculous dispersion of his army compelled Sennacherib to retreat without accomplishing the capture of Jerusalem. There is some reason to think that the Biblical accounts refer partly to a second campaign of Sennacherib after B.C. 690. His annals, however, do not extend so far. Troubles in Babylonia led him to recall Bēl-ibni and set his own son Ashur-nādin-shum on the throne. He then had once more to expel Merodach-baladan from Lower Babylonia. Building a fleet on the Tigris and Euphrates, he pursued the Chaldæan to the mouth of the Eulæus, and there captured and destroyed the Chaldæan stronghold, thus invading Lower Elam. He was too far from his base, and the Elamites fell on his rear and captured Babylon, carried off Ashur-nādin-shum to Elam, making a Chaldæan Nergal-ushēzib king in his stead; B.C. 694. The Assyrians soon re-asserted their supremacy, but a fresh rebellion placed a Babylonian on the throne of Babylon. In B.C. 691 Sennacherib brought both Elamites and Babylonians to bay at Khalule. Two years later he invaded Elam. In B.C. 689 Babylon was captured and razed to the ground. From that time till B.C. 681, when Sennacherib was murdered (2 K 19^{37}), we have no history of his reign. His great achievement was the creation of Nineveh as a metropolis of the Empire. He built the great palace of Kouyunjik and the great wall of Nineveh. Cf. Adrammelech. C. H. W. Johns.

SEORIM.—The name of the fourth priestly course (1 Ch 24^{8}).

SEPARATION, WATER OF.—See Red Heifer.

SEPHAR.—Mentioned as a boundary of the descendants of Joktan in Gn 10^{30}. The most probable identification is that with *Zafar*, the ancient capital of the Himyarites, which is probably the seaport of Hadramaut of the same name (see Hazarmaveth). J. F. McCurdy.

SEPHARAD.—A country in which was a community of exiles from Judah in the days of the prophet Obadiah (Ob ^{20}). It is probably to be understood as *Sparda* (*Çparda*), a Persian province of Asia Minor, not definitely treated in its earliest use, but in the time of the Seleucidæ employed for Asia Minor as a whole. Cf. Obadiah, p. 664^{b}. J. F. McCurdy.

SEPHARVAIM.—**1.** A city mentioned in 2 K 18^{34} (Is 36^{19}) and 19^{13} (Is 37^{13}) as among those captured by the Assyrians, all apparently in Syria. Probably it answers to the *Shabara'in* named in the Babylonian Chronicle as taken just before the fall of Samaria. Sibraim of Ezk 47^{16} may then be the same city. **2.** A word of exactly the same form as the above occurs in 2 K 17^{24-31} as the name of a place whose inhabitants were deported to Samaria. The context favours the supposition that the famous city Sippar in North Babylonia is intended. Probably the similarity between the words led some early copyist to write *Sepharvaim* by mistake. J. F. McCurdy.

SEPTUAGINT.—See Greek Versions of OT, § 1.

SEPULCHRE.—See Tomb.

SERAH.—A daughter of Asher (Gn 46^{17}, Nu 26^{46} $^{(30)}$, 1 Ch 7^{30}).

SERAIAH.—**1.** (2 S 8^{17}) See Shavsha. **2.** High priest in the reign of Zedekiah. He was put to death, with other distinguished captives, by order of Nebuchadnezzar at Riblah, 2 K $25^{18.\ 21}$, Jer $52^{24.\ 27}$. He is mentioned in the list of high priests, 1 Ch 6^{14}. Ezra claimed descent from him, Ezr 7^{1} (1 Es 8^{1} **Azarias**, 2 Es 1^{1} **Saraias**). His name occurs also in 1 Es 5^{5} **Saraias**. **3.** One of 'the captains of the forces' who joined Gedaliah at Mizpah (2 K 25^{23}, Jer 40^{8}). **4.** Second son of Kenaz father of Joab, and brother of Othniel (1 Ch $4^{13.\ 14}$) **5.** Grandfather of Jehu, a prince of Simeon (1 Ch 4^{35}) **6.** One of the twelve leaders who returned with Zerubbabel, Ezr 2^{2} = Neh 7^{7} **Azariah**, 1 Es 5^{8} **Zaraias**

7. A priestly clan (Neh 10^{2} 11^{11} $12^{2.\ 12}$, 1 Es 5^{8} = 1 Ch 9^{11} **Azariah**). **8.** One of those sent to apprehend Jeremiah and Baruch (Jer 36^{26}). **9.** Son of Neriah and brother of Baruch (Jer $51^{59\text{-}64}$). He held the office of *sar menūchāh* (AV 'a quiet prince,' mg. '*or* prince of Menucha *or* chief chamberlain'; RV 'chief chamberlain,' mg. '*or* quartermaster').

SERAPHIM.—The seraphim are mentioned only in a single passage of Scripture (Is $6^{2ff.}$). In his inaugural vision, Isaiah sees these supernatural creatures grouped about Jehovah's throne in His heavenly palace. The prophet furnishes no elaborate description of the form of these beings, and apparently assumes that his readers will be able to fill in what he omits; but he does make clear that they are six-winged creatures. With one pair of wings they hover around Jehovah's throne; and with the other two they cover their faces and their feet,—actions symbolical of humility and adoration. The seraphim are arranged in an antiphonal choir, singing the Trisagion, and their chorus is of such volume that the sound shakes the foundations of the palace. In the prophet's vision they have human voices and hands ($v.^{6}$), but it cannot be asserted with equal certainty that they possess human bodies. The prophet leaves us in no doubt about the function of these creatures. They are ministers of Jehovah, occupied in singing the praises of their Sovereign, and in protecting Him from the approach of sin and evil. The seraphim may be traced in the imagery and symbolism of the NT Apocalypse, where the four living creatures, in both their function and their form, are a combination of the seraphim with the cherubim of Ezekiel's vision (cf. Is $6^{2ff.}$, Ezk 1. 2, and Rev 4^{8}).

It was customary with the prophets to transform and purify popular conceptions, by bringing them into relation with their ethical idea of God. The seraphim are an illustration of this process. The popular mythical seraphim were a personification of the serpent-like flash of lightning. The usage and meaning of the singular *sārāph* (='**fiery serpent,**' Nu 21^{6}, Is 14^{29}), as well as the etymology of the word, suggest this view of the origin of the seraphim. The later Jewish tradition, according to which they are serpents, points in the same direction (Enoch 20^{7} 61^{10} *et al.*). The brazen serpent, **Nehushtan,** which was removed from the Temple by Hezekiah, was a relic probably connected with the popular mythical conception, and it may have suggested the seraphim of the heavenly palace to Isaiah's mind.

Two other theories of the origin of the prophetic conception have been advanced, but there is little that can be said in their favour. Some would derive the name from the Babylonian *Sharrapu*, a name for Nergal the fire-god, and consequently would regard the seraphim as the flames that enveloped this deity. Others have endeavoured to associate them with the Egyptian griffins (*seref*), half-lion and half-eagle, which are represented as guardians of graves. According to the latter view, the duty of guarding the threshold of the Temple would be the function that must be assigned to the seraphim of Isaiah's vision. In criticism, it may be remarked that the Egyptian griffin is more akin to the Hebrew **cherub,** and the latter should be sharply distinguished from the seraph (cf. art. Cherub). James A. Kelso.

SERAR (1 Es 5^{32}) = **Sisera,** Ezr 2^{53}, Neh 7^{55}.

SERED.—A son of Zebulun (Gn 46^{14}, Nu $26^{26\ (22)}$ [gentilic name **Seredites**]).

SERGIUS PAULUS.—See Paulus (Sergius).

SERJEANTS.—EV tr. in Ac $16^{35.\ 38}$ of Gr. *rhabdouchoi* (='rod-bearers'), which represents the Lat. *lictores* (RVm **lictors**), officials whose duty it was to attend the Roman magistrates, to execute their orders, and especially to administer the punishments of scourging or beheading. For this purpose they carried, as their mark of office, the *fasces*, a bundle of rods with an axe inserted. Cf. art. Philippi.

SERON.—A Syrian commander defeated by Judas Maccabæus at Beth-horon (1 Mac $3^{13.\ 23f.}$).

SERPENT.—

1. *nāchāsh*, generic name (cf. Arab. *chanash*), Gn $3^{1.\ 3}$ etc.; the most commonly used word, occurs frequently.

2. *'eph'eh* (root to 'groan' or 'hiss,' cf. Arab. *af'a*) is applied to the **viper** (Job 20^{16}, Is 30^{6} 59^{5}).

3. *'akshūb*, Ps 140^{3} '**adder.**' The root meaning (cf. Arab. *'akasa*) seems to be 'bending back,' as a serpent does before striking.

4. *pethen*, tr. 'asp,' Dt 32^{33}, Job 20^{14}, Is 11^{8}; tr. 'adder,' Ps 58^{4}, where it is referred to as the favourite of the serpent-charmer.

5. *shĕphīphōn* Gn 49^{17}, tr. 'adder,' AVm '**arrowsnake,**' RVm '**horned snake**' (cf. Arab. *sheffūn*).

6. *tsepha'*, Is 14^{29}, AV 'cockatrice,' RV 'basilisk,' EVm 'adder.'

7. *tsiphō'nī*, Pr 23^{32} 'adder'; Is 11^{8} 59^{5}, Jer 8^{17}, 'cockatrice,' RV '**basilisk,**' mg. '*or* adder.'

8. *qippōz*, Is 34^{15}, AV 'great owl,' RV 'arrowsnake.' See Owl.

9. *sārāph*, Is 14^{29} 30^{6} '**fiery serpent,**' coupled with *nāchāsh* in Nu 21^{6}, Dt 8^{15}.

10. *zōchălē 'āphār*, Dt 32^{24}; *zōchălē 'erets*, Mic 7^{17}; some creature that glides on or into the earth, probably therefore a serpent. Cf. Worm, **5.**

11. *tannīn*, tr. 'serpent,' Ex $7^{9.\ 10.\ 12}$, RVm 'any large reptile'; Ps 91^{13}, AV and RV '**dragon.**' See Dragon.

12. (Gr.) *echidna*—any poisonous serpent (Mt 3^{7} 12^{34} 23^{33}, Lk 3^{7}, Ac 28^{3}).

Serpents are very common in the Holy Land and in the wilderness to the south. Over 30 species are known. Though the great majority are really harmless, all are dreaded by the natives, and several kinds are most deadly. Fatal snake bites are by no means uncommon; the writer knows of seven cases at first hand. The Egyptian cobra (*Naja haji*) is found, but fortunately is not common. It is the favourite with snake-charmers, and is very probably the *pethen*, tr. '**asp**' in OT. It was held in much veneration by the ancient Egyptians, and a little bronze serpent recently found in the excavations of ancient Gezer—probably an object of worship in pre-Israelite times—was of this form. Another very dangerous snake is the horned sandsnake (*Cerastes hasselquistii*), supposed to be the 'asp of Cleopatra.' It lies in ambush (Gn 49^{17}) in depressions of the road and bites the passer-by. It is called by the Arabs *shiffūn*, which corresponds to the Heb. *shĕphīphōn*. Other poisonous Palestine snakes belonging, like the last mentioned, to the **viper** family are *Vipera euphratica*, *V. ammodytes*, *Daboia xanthina*—a large, nocturnal species—and the small *Echis arenicola* which haunts sandy deserts. These vipers are all included under the Heb. *'eph'eh* (Arab. *af'a*). The viper of Ac 28^{3} was probably *Vipera aspis*, which is common on most of the larger isles of the Mediterranean, though extinct in Malta. The expression '**fiery serpent**' probably refers to the burning sensation produced by the bite; in Ps 140^{3} their poison is supposed to reside in their tongues.

Some of the references to serpents do not apparently refer to any natural object. This view is taken in the translation in Is 14^{29} of *tsepha'*, and in Is 11^{8} 59^{5}, Jer 8^{17} of *tsiph'ōnī*, where '**cockatrice**' occurs in AV and '**basilisk**' in RV. The former was, among early English writers, a creature with a head and body like a cock, but the tail of a serpent, with a sting at its extremity. The *basiliskos* of the LXX was probably the golden *uræus*, the ornament of the royal headdress among the Egyptians. There is no clear reason why in the passages quoted the references should not be to an actual species of snake. The reference in Am 9^{3} to the serpent (*nāchāsh*) at the bottom of the sea may have some reference to the Babylonian myth of Tiāmat. See also Dragon and Leviathan. For the serpent of Gn 3 see Fall (4), and Satan, p. 829b f.

E. W. G. Masterman.

SERPENT, BRAZEN.—Nu $21^{4\text{-}9}$ relates that Moses was commanded by God to make a serpent of brass (or rather, of bronze) and to set it upon a standard (RV), that those who had been bitten by the serpents might look on it and be healed. This was in harmony with

a wide-spread belief that the image of a hurtful thing drives the evil away. In the absence of a direct statement we cannot say whether it was Jahweh who was worshipped under the form of the bronze serpent of 2 K 18[4]—**the Nehushtan,** or piece of bronze, as it was called. Some think it represented the Celestial Dragon, others the spirit of an ancestor, others a chthonic deity: Robertson Smith believed that it was the totem of David's house. There are traces of serpent-worship in Israel (1 K 1[9] *Zoheleth* = 'snake'; Neh 2[13]). The two points of comparison present to our Lord's mind in Jn 3[14] are—(1) the lifting up of the serpent on the pole and Himself on the Cross, and (2) the voluntary looking of the Hebrews to the serpent—for the verb employed means more than simply seeing—and the faith of believers (see Sir 16[5-7]). J. Taylor.

SERUG.—Son of Reu (Gn 11[20. 22. 23], Lk 3[35]).

SERVANT.—See next art. and Slave.

SERVANT OF THE LORD.—In this phrase, as repeatedly in the EV of the OT, 'Lord' is substituted for 'Jahweh,' the proper name of the God of Israel, which stands in the Hebrew text.

1. Originally the term **'servant'** in this phrase is simply correlative to such terms as 'lord,' 'master,' which the ancient Hebrews, in common with their Semitic kinsmen, applied to their god. In the first instance, the phrase 'the servant of Jahweh' merely defines a man as one who acknowledges Jahweh as his god; it corresponds closely to what we might rather call a worshipper of Jahweh. Naturally, therefore, it may stand in antithesis to a similar phrase in which the name of another deity takes the place of that of Jahweh. Thus the 'servants of Jahweh' and 'the servants of the (Tyrian) Baal' are contrasted in 2 K 10[23], though the fact that the same word is used in both phrases is obscured by the RV, which exaggerates a distinction capriciously introduced by the punctuators into the Hebrew text.

2. Thus it will be readily understood that any Israelite might be called 'the servant of Jahweh,' and as a matter of fact a large number of individuals received this phrase as their name; it is familiar to English readers in the form *Obadiah*, which was originally pronounced, as the LXX indicates, *Abdiyah* (cf. the parallel name *Abdiel*—'servant of God'). Adherents of other gods received similar proper names, such as *Ebed-melech* (wh. see) = 'servant of the god Melech,' or *Abd-Melkarth*, *Abd-Eshmun*, and *Abd-Manāt*, typical Phœnician and Nabatæan names meaning respectively servant of the gods Melkarth, Eshmun, and Manāt.

3. But just as modern terms denoting religious attachment, like 'Christian' or 'believer,' may, according to the connexion in which they occur, differ greatly in the fulness of their meaning, so 'the servant of Jahweh' might imply a higher degree, or more special form, of service than is necessarily involved in the proper name Obadiah, or in the distinction between 'servants of Jahweh' and 'servants of Baal.' Such fuller significance attaches to the phrase when prophets (Am 3[7], 2 K 9[7], Jer 7[25], and often) or priests and Levites (Ps 134[1]) are specified as 'the servant of Jahweh'; so also when particular individuals are thus described. Among the individuals specifically termed 'the servant of Jahweh' (which in speeches of Jahweh of course becomes 'my servant') are Abraham (Gn 26[24]), Moses (Ex 14[31], Nu 12[7f.], and often), Joshua (Jos 24[29]), Caleb (Nu 14[24]), Job (Job 1[8]), David (2 S 3[18] and often), Eliakim (Is 22[20]), Zerubbabel (Hag 2[23]), and the person who is termed 'the Shoot' (EV text 'the Branch,' Zec 3[8]).

4. The use of the term in Deutero-Isaiah (Is 40–55) is peculiar. In certain passages this writer clearly uses the term to describe the nation: the entire people is personified, spoken of as an individual, and called by Jahweh 'my servant,' or, by the prophet speaking in his own name, 'the servant of Jahweh.' These passages are 41[8f.] 44[21] 49[3] 44[1f.] 45[4]. The same use of the term is found in Ps 136[22], which was written much later; but it does not occur in any extant literature that is unquestionably earlier than the Deutero-Isaiah, for Jer 30[10] (not found in the Greek text) = 46[27f.] is probably not a saying of the prophet Jeremiah's, and in Ezk 37[25] 28[25], sometimes cited as parallel, the phrase is used of an *individual* of the past, the patriarch Jacob, not of the nation of the present.

5. But though the particular character of 'the servant of Jahweh' in which the nation is personified may be peculiar to the Deutero-Isaiah, and one or two writers influenced by him, similar personifications are common enough with Hebrew writers, and are sometimes so remote from our habits of thought and expression that the RV has sacrificed the figure to gain intelligibility, as, *e.g.*, in Jos 9[7], which, literally rendered, runs, 'and the man of Israel said unto the Hivite, perhaps thou art dwelling in my midst' (for further examples see G. B. Gray, *Divine Discipline of Israel*, 79 f., or 'Numbers,' in *ICC* p. 265 f.). Other notable instances of personification retained even in RV are Hos 11[1] 'When Israel was a child, then I loved him, and called my son out of Egypt' (where son = the Hebrew nation), and Ps 129[1ff.], where Israel is to say, 'Many a time have they afflicted me from my youth up, yet have they not prevailed against me. The plowers plowed upon my back; they made long their furrows.'

6. But while the personification of the nation as the 'servant of Jahweh' is *certain* in the passages cited in § 4, there are other passages in which most scholars in the past, and many of the present, have concluded that the title has another application—that it refers prophetically to Jesus Christ, or to some individual known historically to the writer, such as Jeremiah, Jehoiachin, Zerubbabel, or the Eleazar of 2 Mac 6[18-31], or to the pious section of Israel. In so far as this conclusion rests on the individualizing traits in the description of the servant in such passages as Is 50[4-9] 52[13]–53[12], it is unconvincing; for the facts can be equally well, and, so far as the death, burial, and resurrection (cf. Ezk 37) of the servant are concerned, far better, explained by the analogy of the personifications referred to in the last paragraph, as *figurative* descriptions of the history of the nation in the past, and of the prophet's hopes for it in the future.

7. In one passage (Is 50[10f.]), indeed, 'the servant of Jahweh' is probably not the nation Israel; for the audience addressed appears to consist of Jews; if so, the servant here is either an individual or a comparatively small class—not the whole of the pious Israelites, for he is distinguished from 'those that fear Jahweh.' This passage is commonly considered to be the work of a later writer than the Deutero-Isaiah.

8. The most important differences of interpretation are concerned with four passages, 42[1-4] 49[1-6] 50[4-9] 52[13]–53[12]. These are commonly, though not unanimously, held to be the work of one writer, but several scholars hold that this writer was not the Deutero-Isaiah. The critical question is largely an exegetical one; if there really is the wide difference, which some claim to discover, between the use of the term 'servant of Jahweh' in, and the religious standpoints of, these passages and the Deutero-Isaiah, differences of authorship may not unnaturally be inferred; otherwise the grounds for disintegration are slight. Unfortunately the interpretation of the passages is rendered difficult and ambiguous by the state of the text; that the text is to *some* extent corrupt, especially in 52[13]-53[12], is now generally admitted; but as to the exact extent, and the nature of the corruption, differences of judgment prevail. No consistent interpretation of 'the servant of Jahweh' given in these four passages is possible on the basis of the present text; for in 49[3] the servant is identified with the nation, but in 53[8] he is distinguished

from the nation, for 'my people' (if the text be sound) cannot be made to mean anything but Israel except by very forced exegesis. Consequently, in the interests of consistency some scholars have struck out the word 'Israel' in 49^3, others have corrected 'the transgression of my people' in 53^8 to 'our transgressions,' or 'their transgression,' or 'the transgression of peoples' (all comparatively slight changes in the Hebrew text). It may be observed that 53^8 is in other respects admittedly obscure, if not also corrupt.

It must suffice to refer briefly here to one or two of the chief points for or against the two main alternatives —that in these passages, as elsewhere in Deutero-Isaiah, the servant is Israel, or something less than Israel (whether a section of the nation or an individual). We shall consider the latter alternative first.

(1) Two passages have been considered to demand a distinction between the servant and Israel. One of these, 53^8, as already stated, certainly does demand it, if the text be sound; but this is doubtful. The other passage is $49^{5.\ 6}$, which follows the statement in the present text that the servant is Israel (49^3). These verses as *translated* in RV imply that the servant and Israel are distinct. But though the translation of RV in v.^{5} is grammatically correct, it is not necessary; other grammatically correct translations are: 'and now Jahweh that formed me to be his servant hath determined to bring back Jacob again to himself, and that Israel should be gathered to him,' or 'and now saith Jahweh that formed me from the womb to be his servant in that he brought Jacob again to him, and drew Israel unto him.' Either of these translations allows of the identity of Israel and the servant. In v.^{6} RV is incorrect. The Hebrew is extremely awkward and questionable, but literally translated v.^{6} runs: '(a) lighter (thing) than thy being my servant is the raising up of the tribes of Jacob and the restoring of the preserved of Israel, and I will give thee for a light of the nations,' etc. The 'also' in 'I will also give' of RV, which suggests that the illumination of the nations is a second function of the servant, in addition to one already described, is absolutely unrepresented in and unsuggested by the Hebrew text. Thus v.^{6} is ambiguous as to the point at issue; it may mean (if it means anything) *either*, You do not exhaust your service by restoring Israel, you have also to illumine the nations; *or*, The fact that you are my servant means more than that I shall rescue you, it means that I shall make use of you for carrying out my purpose of illumining the nations.

(2) Apart from the passages just discussed, which are either textually open to suspicion or ambiguous in meaning, there is nothing that directly forbids identifying the servant with Israel in 42^{1-4} 49^{1-6} 50^{4-9} 52^{13}–53^{12}, as he is unmistakably identified with Israel by the Deutero-Isaiah in many passages (see § 4). In the present text of 49^3 the identification is actually made. But the strongest argument for the correctness of this identification is to be found in the fact that it does fuller justice to the general tenor of the passages: this is perfectly clear in 42^{1-4}; here the Divine speech and the writer's mind are alike filled with two subjects—the Servant and the Nations of the world; the servant is to instruct the nations in the religion of Jahweh: granted that the servant is Israel, we have here a constantly recurring contrast, Israel and the nations; otherwise Israel is totally disregarded. In 49^{1-6} the servant addresses the nations of the world, and the function of the servant, which on some interpretations (see above) alone is mentioned, and on any interpretation alone receives *prominence*, is that of spiritually illumining the nations; in 52^{13-15} Jahweh states that, as the past humiliation of the servant by its very extent attracted far-spread attention, so his coming exaltation will impress nations and kings. Here again, nothing is said of Israel, unless the servant is Israel. In $53^{1ff.}$ certain speakers make a confession that they had misjudged the servant of Jahweh, terming him not the righteous one but a sinner, and regarding the unparalleled sufferings which they now perceive had been borne for them, as due to the fact that he was abandoned by Jahweh. Again, the least difficult view as to the speakers who make this confession is that they are the nations referred to in 52^{15}, and that the servant is the Hebrew nation. That Israel suffered for the nations is certainly a remarkable idea, but that all the sufferings of Israel were not due to its own sins appears to be the thought of Deutero-Isaiah in 40^2. Again, the relative righteousness of Israel, which is all that need be implied if we see in ch. 53 a confession of the nations, is implied elsewhere, *e.g.* in 40^{27}.

It is impossible even to indicate here all the difficulties that beset, or the points that favour, the several theories of interpretation. The case for identifying the servant with Israel throughout Is 40–55 has been ably presented in English by K. Budde in *AJTh*, iii. pp. 499 ff., and by A. S. Peake in the *Problem of Suffering in the OT*, pp. 34–72 and 180–193, who gives on pp. 44–59 a valuable critical translation of the chief passages. With equal ability the identification of the servant with the *ideal* Israel is maintained by J. Skinner in the *Cambridge Bible for Schools*, 'Isaiah xl.–lxvi.,' pp. xxx.–xxxvii. and 233–238, together with the notes on the relevant passages. The case for interpreting the servant in some passages as an individual has not been fully re-stated in English over against the recent thorough arguments for other interpretations; the student may best turn to Delitzsch's *Com.* (Eng. tr. 1890), or G. A. Smith's 'Isaiah,' vol. ii. (*Expositor's Bible*). T. K. Cheyne, in *EBi* 4398–4410, offers a very valuable and penetrating criticism of all these theories, as a prelude to his own Jerahmeelite theory, for which he has hitherto found no supporters.

9. In NT some of the passages in the Deutero-Isaiah are frequently cited or referred to: and in most cases, though not in all (see Ac 13^{47}, cf. 2 Ti 2^{24}), the servant is identified with Jesus (*e.g.* Mt 8^{17} 12^{18-21}, Lk 22^{37}, Ac $8^{32f.}$). This, of course, proves nothing with regard to the original meaning; for Christian, like Jewish, exegesis was capable of individualizing terms that originally had a wider application; for an instance of this, see He 2^{6-8}, where what is stated in Ps 8 of man in general is referred specifically to our Lord. G. B. Gray.

SESIS (1 Es 9^{34}) = **Shashai**, Ezr 10^{40}.

SESTHEL (1 Es 9^{31}) = **Bezalel**, Ezr 10^{30}.

SET.—'Set at' is *valued at*, as 2 K 12^4 'The money that every man is set at.' 'Set at nought' means *treat with contempt*, as Lk 23^{11} 'Herod with his men of war set him at nought.' 'Set by' is to *value*, *esteem*, as 1 S 18^{30} 'His name was much set by.' 'Set to' means to *affix*, as Jn 3^{33} 'He that hath received his testimony hath set to his seal that God is true.'

SETH.—The third son of Adam, Gn 4^{25} (J) 5^3 (P), 1 Ch 1^1, Lk 3^{38}. In the first of these passages J assigns a characteristic etymology for the name, Eve being made to say, 'God hath set (*shāth*) for me another seed instead of Abel,' for which reason she called him *Shēth* (*i.e.* 'setting' or 'slip'). In Sir 49^{16} Seth is coupled with Shem as 'glorified among men.'

SETHUR.—The Asherite spy (Nu $13^{13\ (14)}$).

SETTLE (RVm 'ledge').—Ezk 43^{14} (only) as tr. of *'ăzārāh*, which is used of the two ledges between the base and the hearth of the altar.

SEVEN.—See Number, § 7.

SEVENEH (Syene).—A town at the First Cataract, the southern extremity of Egypt proper: Egyp. *Swn*, now *Assuan* (Aswan). It lies on the east bank, opposite the island of Elephantine, where lay the capital of the first nome of Upper Egypt, and behind it are the celebrated granite quarries. 'From Migdol to Syene' is the correct tr. in Ezk 29^{10} 30^6, as LXX and RVm. At Syene-Elephantine there was a colony of Jews with a sumptuous temple of Yahu (Jehovah; cf. Is 19^{19}) earlier than Cambyses' conquest in B.C. 525, and throughout the Persian occupation. For this we have the evidence of papyri written there in the Aramaic language.

The dates of the documents hitherto found range from 471 to 410, in the reigns of Xerxes, Artaxerxes, and Darius II. One of these is a petition to Bagoas, the governor of Judæa, for the re-building of the temple, which had been destroyed by the nations in 411. To this a favourable reply was given. But the temple was probably swept away in the final revolt of Egypt against the Persians about 405. Since the seventh century the frontier garrison against the Ethiopians had been posted there, and the military element predominated. F. Ll. Griffith.

SEVENTY.—See Number, § 7.

SHAALABBIN.—See next article.

SHAALBIM.—A town mentioned with Mt. Heres and Aijalon as being occupied by the Amorites (Jg 1^{35}). It was, with Makaz and Beth-shemesh, in the district of one of Solomon's commissariat officers (1 K 4^{9}); and if it be the same place as **Shaalabbin**, it is mentioned with Aijalon and Beth-shemesh in Jos 19^{42}. It is probably identical with **Shaalbon,** the home of one of David's heroes, who is called 'the **Shaalbonite**' (2 S 23^{32}, 1 Ch 11^{33}). It may perhaps be identified with *Selbīt*, about 8 miles N. of Beth-shemesh. Possibly Shaalbim should be read for **Shaalim** in 1 S 9^{4}.

SHAALBON, SHAALBONITE.—See Shaalbim.

SHAALIM, LAND OF.—See Shaalbim.

SHAAPH.—**1.** The son of Jahdai (1 Ch 2^{47}). **2.** A son of Caleb by his concubine Maacah (1 Ch 2^{49}).

SHAARAIM.—**1.** A town of Judah, in the Shephēlah, mentioned in Jos 15^{36}. Some identify it with *Khurbet S'aīreh*, west of *Beit 'Atāb*; others with *Zakarīya*. Shaaraim is perhaps mentioned again in the pursuit of the Philistines after the death of Goliath (1 S 17^{52}, RVm 'the two gates'). **2.** A town of Simeon (1 Ch 4^{31}); called **Sharuhen** in Jos 19^{6}, and **Shilhim** in Jos 15^{32}.

SHAASHGAZ.—A chamberlain of Ahasuerus (Est 2^{14}).

SHABBETHAI.—A Levite who opposed Ezra in the matter of the foreign marriages (Ezr 10^{15}) = **Sabbateus** of 1 Es 9^{14}. Cf. Neh 8^{7} [1 Es 9^{48} **Sabateus**] 11^{16}.

SHACHIA.—A Benjamite (1 Ch 8^{10}).

SHADDAI.—See art. God, **2** (*c*).

SHADRACH.—The name given to **Hananiah** (Dn 1^{7}).

SHAFTS.—See Armour Arms, **1** (*d*).

SHAGE.—See Shammah, **3.**

SHAHARAIM.—A Benjamite (1 Ch 8^{8}).

SHAHAZUMAH.—A town allotted to Issachar (Jos 19^{22}). Its site has not been identified.

SHALEM.—In Gn 33^{18} we read 'Jacob (on his return from Haran) came to Shalem a city of Shechem' (RV reads 'in peace to the city of Shechem'; so Luther in his German translation). The word *shalem* means 'peace,' and the preposition *b* 'in' may have fallen out owing to the final letter of Jacob. Otherwise we must suppose Shalem to be a small town (in the neighbourhood of Shechem), which has been identified with a village called *Salim*. W. F. Boyd.

SHALISHAH.—A region through which Saul travelled with his servant in search of the lost asses (1 S 9^{4}). The route as given probably describes a circuitous journey, to the N.W., the E., and finally S. through Benjamin. This would place the 'land of Shalishah' somewhere on the hills W. of Shiloh. **Baal-shalishah** (2 K 4^{42}) was doubtless a place in the same district. H. L. Willett.

SHALLECHETH.—See Jerusalem, II. **4.**

SHALLUM, an inhabitant of Jabesh, was nominally king of Israel for one month in the period of anarchy which preceded the extinction of the nation. As he assassinated his predecessor Zechariah, so in turn he was 'removed' by his successor **Menahem** (2 K $15^{10ff.}$). H. P. Smith.

SHALLUM.—**1.** See preced. article, **2.** See Jehoahaz, **2. 3.** The husband (or son, LXX in 2 Kings) of Huldah (2 K 22^{14}, 2 Ch 34^{22}). **4.** A Judahite (1 Ch $2^{40f.}$). **5.** A descendant of Simeon (1 Ch 4^{25}). **6.** A high priest (1 Ch $6^{12.\ 13}$; Ezr 7^{2} = **Salem** of 1 Es 8^{1} and **Salemas** of 2 Es 1^{1}). **7.** A son of Naphtali (1 Ch 7^{13}), called in Gn 46^{24} and Nu 26^{49} **Shillem,** with the gentilic name **Shillemites** (Nu 26^{49}). **8.** The eponym of a family of gatekeepers (1 Ch 9^{17} *bis*, Ezr 2^{42} = Neh 7^{45}); called in 1 Es 5^{28} **Salum,** and (possibly) in Neh 12^{25} **Meshullam. 9.** A Korahite gatekeeper (1 Ch $9^{19.\ 31}$), called in $26^{1.\ 2.\ 9}$ **Meshelemiah,** and in 26^{14} **Shelemiah.** It is not at all unlikely that this name should be identified with the preceding. **10.** Father of Jehizkiah, an Ephraimite chief (2 Ch 28^{12}). **11.** One of the porters who had married a foreign wife (Ezr 10^{24} [1 Es 9^{25} **Sallumus**]). **12.** One of the sons of Bani who had committed the same offence (Ezr 10^{42} [1 Es 9^{24} **Samatus**]). **13.** The son of Hallohesh (Neh 3^{12}). **14.** The uncle of Jeremiah (Jer 32^{7}). **15.** Father of Maaseiah (Jer 35^{4}).

SHALLUN.—The son of Col-hozeh (Neh 3^{15}).

SHALMAN.—This name occurs only in the clause 'as Shalman spoiled **Beth-arbel** in the day of battle' (Hos 10^{14}). The person and place referred to are both unknown. *Shalman* may be a contraction for *Shalmaneser*, but it is impossible to say which, if any, of the four kings of Assyria bearing that name suits the connexion. It has been suggested that the Moabite king Salmanu (mentioned in Tiglath-pileser's triumphal inscription, II Rawl. 67, line 60) may be the person referred to by the prophet. The Vulg. version seems to think of the slaughter of Zalmunna by Gideon (Jg 9). See also art. Beth-arbel. W. F. Boyd.

SHALMANESER (Assyr. *Shulman-asharīdu, i.e.* 'Shulmanu [a god] is chief').—In 2 K 17^{3} 18^{9-11} the Shalmaneser is obviously a king of Assyria who succeeded Tiglath-pileser (wh. see) and preceded Sargon. This was Shalmaneser IV., who reigned over Assyria B.C. 727–722. He ruled Babylonia as Ululai. No monuments of his are preserved. The Eponym Canons give campaigns for his last three years. The siege of Samaria was probably begun in his reign and finished under Sargon. The name *Shalmaneser* appears in 2 Es 13^{40} as **Salmanasar.** C. H. W. Johns.

SHAMA.—One of David's heroes (1 Ch 11^{44}).

SHAMBLES.—See Arts and Crafts, § 7; Food, § 11.

SHAME.—**1.** In the first Biblical reference to this emotion (Gn 2^{25}, cf. 3^{7}) 'shame' appears as 'the correlative of sin and guilt'; it is 'the overpowering feeling that inward harmony and satisfaction with oneself are disturbed' (Delitzsch, *Com., in loc.*). From the OT point of view the crowning shame is idolatry: 'As the thief is ashamed when he is found, so is the house of Israel ashamed; they say to a stock, Thou art my father' (Jer 2^{26}; cf. Is 41^{11} 42^{17}). The all-inclusive promise to those who trust in God is 'none that wait on thee shall be ashamed' (Ps 25^{3} RV; cf. $119^{6.\ 80}$, Is $45^{16f.}$ 49^{23} $54^{4f.}$, Jer 17^{13}, Jl $2^{26f.}$, Ro 5^{5} 9^{33} 10^{11}). The absence of shame is always regarded as an aggravation of sinful conduct: Job (19^{3}) reproaches his friends because they are 'not ashamed' of dealing hardly with him; the climax of Jeremiah's complaint (6^{15}) against those who had 'committed abomination' is that 'they were not at all ashamed, neither could they blush' (cf. 8^{12}, Zeph $3^{5.\ 11}$). The culmination of shamelessness is seen in those 'whose glory is in their shame' (Ph 3^{19}); but in this passage, as elsewhere (Is 50^{6}; cf. Pr 10^{5} 25^{8}), 'shame' is, by a natural transference of ideas, applied not to the inward feeling, but to its outward cause. The degradation of those 'whose god is their belly' is seen in their boasting of conduct which ought to have made them ashamed of their perversion of gospel liberty into sinful licence.

The return of shame is a sign of true repentance: 'then shalt thou remember thy ways and be ashamed' (Ezk 16^{61}, cf. Ezr 9^{6}).

2. The consciousness of shame varies with the conventional standards adopted in any society. For example, poverty (Pr 13^{18}), leprosy (Nu 12^{14}), widowhood (Is 54^{4}) may be viewed as involving 'shame,' though there is no blame. In the sense of violation of propriety St. Paul applies the word to men who wear their hair long and to women who wear it short (1 Co $11^{6.\ 14}$, cf. 6^{5} 14^{35}); by an analogous adaptation of its meaning he describes God's ideal 'workman' as one 'that needeth not to be ashamed' (2 Ti 2^{15}).

3. In the NT *sin* is pre-eminently the shameful thing (Ro 6^{21}, Ph 3^{19}, Eph 5^{12}, Jude ^{13}, 1 Jn 2^{28}; cf. 3^{6}). But the distinguishing characteristic of the early Christian use of the word is 'the transvaluation of values.' 'Jesus, the author and perfecter of faith, . . . endured the cross, despising shame' (He 12^{2}). When St. Paul says 'I am not ashamed of the gospel' (Ro 1^{16}), by a well-known figure of speech his negative statement emphatically asserts his positive glorying (Gal 6^{14}). To 'suffer as a Christian' and 'not (to) be ashamed' is to 'glorify God' (1 P 4^{16}; cf. 2 Ti $1^{8f.\ 12.\ 16}$). The same heightening of the contrast is implied when, on the one hand, the Son of Man declares that in the day of judgment He will be ashamed of all who are now ashamed of Him and of His words (Mk 8^{38}, Lk 9^{26}); and on the other hand, St. John's assurance is that those who abide in Christ 'may have boldness and not be ashamed before him at his coming' (1 Jn 2^{28}). Of them who desire a heavenly country 'God is not ashamed . . . to be called their God'; for the city He has prepared, they are being prepared by the sanctifying grace of Him 'who is not ashamed to call them brethren' (He 11^{16} 2^{11}).

J. G. Tasker.

SHAMGAR smote 600 Philistines with an ox-goad (Jg 3^{31}). There is no mention of his judging Israel, or of the duration of his influence. The exploit belongs to the latest redaction of the book; 4^{1} continues the story of 3^{30}. Nothing is known of any Philistine dominion at so early a period, and in some Gr. MSS the verse follows 16^{31}. His exploit resembles that of Shammah in 2 S 23^{11} (cf. 21^{15-22}), and may have been attached to him as an expansion of the reference in the song of Deborah (Jg 5^{6}). There, however, he appears to be a foreign oppressor, and the connexion of the two passages is obscure, the song having to do with Canaanite oppression in the North. The name is foreign, Hittite or Assyrian. He is the 'son of **Anath.**' *Anati* occurs in the Tell el-Amarna tablets, and *Anatu* is an Assyr. goddess, traces of whose worship are found in Egypt, Phœnicia, and Syria (cf. place-names Beth-anath [Jg 1^{33}], Beth-anoth [Jos 15^{59}]). The names are important as showing Babylonian influence after the period of the Tell-el-Amarna tablets.

C. W. Emmet.

SHAMHUTH.—See Shammah, **4.**

SHAMIR.—**1.** A Kohathite (1 Ch 24^{24}). **2.** A town in the hill-country of Judah (Jos 15^{48}). It is perhaps *Khurbet Sōmerah*, west of *Debīr*. **3.** The home and burial-place of Tola (Jg $10^{1.\ 2}$). The site is uncertain.

SHAMLAI.—See Salmai.

SHAMMA.—An Asherite (1 Ch 7^{37}).

SHAMMAH.—**1.** Son of Reuel, son of Esau, a tribal chief (Gn 36^{13}). **2.** Third son of Jesse, present when Samuel sought a successor to Saul (1 S 16^{9}); with Saul in the battlefield when David visited the camp (17^{13}). He is the same as **Shimeah,** father of Jonadab (2 S 13^{3}), the **Shimea** of 1 Ch 2^{13}, and the **Shimei,** father of Jonathan who slew the giant (2 S 21^{21}). In 1 Ch 20^{7} Jonathan is called son of Shimea. **3.** Son of Agee, a Hararite, one of the three mighty men of David. Alone he held the field against the Philistines (2 S 23^{11}). The parallel passage, 1 Ch $11^{10f.}$, wrongly attributes the feat to Eleazar. He is probably identical with 'Shammah, the Harodite' (Hararite) of 2 S 23^{25}. V.^{33} should read 'Jonathan son of Shammah, the Hararite.' In 1 Ch 11^{34}, 'son of **Shage**' is probably confused with 'son of Agee.' Read, with Lucian, 'son of Jonathan.' **Shimei,** son of Ela (1 K 4^{18}), should also appear here if we accept Lucian's reading of 'Ela' for 'Agee' (2 S 23^{11}). **4.** An officer in David's employ, called **Shammoth** in 1 Ch 11^{27}, and **Shamhuth** in 1 Ch 27^{8}. Probably the same as No. **3.**

J. H. Stevenson.

SHAMMAI.—**1.** A Jerahmeelite (1 Ch 2^{28}). **2.** The 'son' of Rekem and 'father' of Maon (1 Ch $2^{44f.}$). **3.** A Judahite (1 Ch 4^{17}).

SHAMMOTH.—See Shammah, **4.**

SHAMMUA.—**1.** The Reubenite spy (Nu 13^{4}). **2.** One of David's sons (2 S 5^{14}, 1 Ch 14^{4}; called in 1 Ch 3^{5} **Shimea**). **3.** A Levite (Neh 11^{17}) = **Shemaiah** of 1 Ch 9^{16}. **4.** The head of a priestly family (Neh 12^{18}).

SHAMSHERAI.—A Benjamite (1 Ch 8^{26}).

SHAPHAM.—A Gadite (1 Ch 5^{12}).

SHAPHAN ('coney' or 'rock-badger'; an old totem clan-name—so W. R. Smith).—**1.** 'The scribe' (secretary of state) of Josiah in 621 B.C., 'son of Azaliah,' who laid before the king the law-book discovered by Hilkiah (wh. see) in the Temple (2 K 22^{3-11} = 2 Ch 34^{8-18}). Shaphan appears to have been the chief lay leader in the execution of Josiah's reforms. His family for two following generations played a worthy part as servants of Jehovah, and friends of the prophet Jeremiah: the Ahikam of 2 K 22^{12-14} (= 2 Ch 34^{20-22}) and Jer 26^{24}, the Gemariah of Jer $36^{12.\ 25}$, and Elasah (Jer 29^{3}) were Shaphan's sons; the Micaiah of Jer $36^{11.\ 12}$, and Gedaliah (wh. see), whom the Chaldæans made governor of Judæa after the Captivity of 586 B.C., his grandsons. **2.** The 'Jaazaniah, son of Shaphan,' denounced in Ezk 8^{11} as ringleader in idolatry, was possibly, but not certainly, a son of the same Shaphan.

G. G. Findlay.

SHAPHAT.—**1.** The Simeonite spy (Nu 13^{5}). **2.** The father of Elisha (1 K $19^{16.\ 19}$, 2 K 3^{11} 6^{31}). **3.** A name in the royal genealogy of Judah (1 Ch 3^{22}). **4.** A Gadite (1 Ch 5^{12}). **5.** One of David's herdmen (1 Ch 27^{29}).

SHAPHIR.—A city, probably on the Philistine plain (Mic 1^{11}). It has been located by some a few miles S.E. of Ashdod. Attempts have been made to identify it with the **Shamir** of Jos 15^{48}.

H. L. Willett.

SHARAI.—One of those who had married a foreign wife (Ezr 10^{40}).

SHARAR.—See Sacar.

SHAREZER would answer to the Assyr. *Shar-usur*, 'preserve the king,' but that is only part of a name. **1.** It is given 2 K 19^{37} = Is 37^{38} as the name of a son of Sennacherib who with **Adrammelech** (which see) murdered his father. *Shar-etir-Ashur* was the name of a son of Sennacherib, who in a fragmentary letter is addressed as monarch, about the time of Esarhaddon's reign. The name might give rise to Sharezer. At present, however, the Assyrian accounts mention only one murderer, and do not name him. A satisfactory explanation of the Hebrew narrative is yet to be found. **2.** Sharezer (the name is prob. incomplete) appears in Zec 7^{2} as one of a deputation sent to consult the spiritual heads of the Jewish community.

C. H. W. Johns.

SHARON.—**1.** *ha-shārōn*, lit. 'the plain,' 1 Ch 27^{29}, Ca 2^{1}, Is 33^{9} 35^{2} 65^{10}; Gr. *ho Sarōn*, whence AV **Saron,** Ac 9^{35}. This is the great Maritime Plain extending from Jaffa, or a little south of it, to Mount Carmel in the north. Though called a plain, it is of an undulating character, and was in parts, particularly towards the N., a forest of oaks (Is 35^{2}). Although but poorly cultivated, it has a great depth of rich soil and is capable of much development; left now largely to weeds, it yields annually a magnificent crop of beautiful wild flowers.

It has always been a pasturage of flocks (1 Ch 27[29], Is 65[10]). Around Ramleh and Ludd are forests of olives, and the orange gardens of Jaffa are too well known to need more than a passing reference; wherever the hand of man has been diligent, there the soil has bounteously responded. Over a great part of the plain, especially near the sea, water may be tapped at no great depth. Its rivers are the marshy *Nahr Zerka* or Crocodile River, just below Carmel, *Nahr el-Mufjir*, *Nahr Iskanderuneh*, and *Nahr el-Aujeh*, the last mentioned close to Jaffa. The chief town of Sharon was in ancient days Dor (Jos 11[2] 12[23], 1 K 4[11]), in NT times Cæsarea, and in later Crusading times (1218–1291) the fortified port of Athlit. In Jos 12[18] **Lassharon** is mentioned as one of the royal cities of Canaan; as 'the king of' is omitted in the original, the passage may read 'king of Aphek in the Sharon.' For 'rose of Sharon' see Rose.

2. A second Sharon (*Saronas*) is mentioned by Eusebius and Jerome as between Mt. Tabor and Tiberias, and this is to-day represented by the village of *Sārōna* in the *Ard el-Hamma* N.E. of Tabor. This may be the place mentioned in Jos 12[18] (see above).

3. The suburbs (RVm 'pasture lands') of Sharon (1 Ch 5[16]) are mentioned as among the possessions of Gad along with Gilead and Bashan.

E. W. G. Masterman.

SHARUHEN.—See Shaaraim, **2.**

SHASHAI.—One of the sons of Bani who had married a foreign wife, Ezr 10[40] = **Sesis** of 1 Es 9[34].

SHASHAK.—A Benjamite family (1 Ch 8[14]).

SHAUL.—**1.** A king of Edom, Gn 36[37f.] = 1 Ch 1[48f.]. **2.** A son of Simeon (Gn 46[10], Ex 6[15], Nu 26[13], 1 Ch 4[24]). The clan of which he is the eponym was of mixed Isr. and Can. descent, hence Shaul is called in Gn 46[10] and Ex 6[15] 'the son of the Canaanitess.' In Nu 26[13] the patronymic **Shaulites** occurs. **3.** An ancestor of Samuel (1 Ch 6[24] (9), called in v.[36] (21) **Joel**).

SHAVEH, VALE OF.—A broad valley (*'ēmeq*), known also as **'the king's vale'** (Gn 14[17]), which was near Salem. It is apparently the same place as **'the king's dale'** (2 S 18[18]), in which Absalom set up a pillar or monument. Shaveh was possibly the broad open head of the valley of Hinnom which, lower down, contracts to a ravine.

SHAVEH-KIRIATHAIM ('the plain of Kiriathaim'). —The place where the Emim were smitten by the allied kings from the East (Gn 14[5]). It probably derived its name from the Moabite Kiriathaim (Nu 32[37], Jos 13[19]).

H. L. Willett.

SHAVSHA occurs in the list of David's officers in 1 Ch 18[16] as 'scribe' (RVm 'secretary'), an office made necessary by the growth of the court and relations with other states. His name, and the fact of his father's not being mentioned, make it probable that he was a foreigner chosen to deal with foreign correspondence. His name was evidently unfamiliar; in the list of 2 S 20[25] it appears as **Sheva**; in that of 8[15-18] (otherwise identical with Ch.) **Seraiah** has been substituted; LXX varies greatly in all passages. It is generally held that *Shavsha* is correct. Apparently in Solomon's time he was succeeded by his sons (1 K 4[3] **Shisha** being probably only another variation of the name).

C. W. Emmet.

SHEAL (Ezr 10[29]).—One of those who had married a 'strange' wife; called **Jasaelus** in 1 Es 9[30].

SHEALTIEL (**Salathiel** of 1 Es 5[5. 48. 56] 6[2], AV of Mt 1[12] and Lk 3[27]).—The father of **Zerubbabel** (Ezr 3[2. 8] 5[2], Neh 12[1], Hag 1[1. 12. 14] 2[2. 23]). According to 1 Ch 3[17], Shealtiel was the eldest son of king Jeconiah. In v.[19] the MT makes **Pedaiah** (a brother of Shealtiel) the father of Zerubbabel.

SHEARIAH.—A descendant of Saul (1 Ch 8[38] 9[44]).

SHEARING-HOUSE, THE.—A place at which Jehu, on his way from Jezreel to Samaria, met and slew the brethren of Ahaziah, king of Judah (2 K 10[12. 14]). Possibly the original should be left untranslated and appear as a place-name *Beth-eked*, which has not been identified.

SHEAR-JASHUB ('a remnant shall return,' Is 7[3]). —A symbolical name given to a son of Isaiah to signify the return of the remnant to God after the punishment at the hands of the Assyrians. See 8[18] 10[20. 21], and cf. 7[14] 8[1-4], and art. Isaiah, p. 387[b].

SHEATH.—See Armour Arms, **1** (*c*).

SHEBA.—**1.** The OT name for the people and country of the **Sabæans** in S.W. Arabia, the modern Yemen. In Gen. and Chron. the racial relationships of the people are diversely given. Gn 10[7] (P) and 1 Ch 1[9] make them Hamites, Gn 10[28] (J) Semites. Again, whilst Gn 10[28] has *Joktan* as the immediate ancestor of Sheba, Gn 25[3] has *Jokshan*. These discrepancies are sufficiently accounted for by the extensive commerce of the Sabæans, the number of their settlements in distant regions, and the connexions which they were thus led to form. The language and script of Abyssinia, for instance, prove that a Sabæan colony was established there; hence the genealogy in Gn 10[7].

The following are the salient points in the information which the OT gives us. The country was rich in gold (Ps 72[15]) and incense (Jer 6[20]); the people were great traders (Ezk 27[22f.]), dealing in costly wares (Ezk 38[13]); their caravans were well known throughout the East (Job 6[19]); they were given to raiding (Job 1[15]), possibly uniting trade and robbery, when convenient (cf. *Odyss.* xv. 415 ff.); and they were not averse to the slave-trade (Jl 3[8]); eventually, it was hoped, they would become tributaries of Israel (Is 60[6], Ps 72[10]).

The notices in Greek and Latin authors correspond with the Biblical statements. Strabo, *e.g.*, mentions myrrh, incense, cinnamon, balsam, amongst the products of the land, and states that their commerce made them exceedingly wealthy; that they had abundant furniture of gold and silver, beds, tables, bowls, cups, in costly houses. The panels, walls, and ceilings were adorned with ivory, gold, silver, mosaics. He affirms that they frequently laid waste the Syrian desert.

The Sabæans are also mentioned in Assyrian inscriptions. Tiglath-pileser III. (B.C. 745–727) enumerates the articles which he received from them in tribute: 'gold, silver, camels, female camels, spices of all sorts.' In an inscription of B.C. 707, Sargon declares that he 'received the tribute of Pir'u, king of the land of Musuru (Egypt), Samsē, queen of the land of Aribu (Arabia), It'amara, king of the land of the Saba'aa (Sabæans), gold, products of the mountains, horses, camels.'

During the 19th century a few European travellers succeeded in penetrating Yemen and bringing back a moderately full account of its natural features, and a large amount of material for reconstructing its history. It is incomparably superior to the rest of Arabia, both in climate and in soil. The central district is a highland region, with mountains some 8000 ft. above the sea level. Fertile valleys branch out from the hills, 'well timbered in places, and threaded by silvery streams of dancing waters; sloping fields, gay with crops and wild flowers; terraced or jungle-covered slopes.' Here are grown the best vines that Arabia produces. The air is pure and comparatively cool. The present capital is Sana, a town of about 20,000 inhabitants, on the southernmost of three great plateaux. The ancient capital, Marib, N.E. of Sana, lies between the rich valleys of the west and the 'wadys of Hadramaut, which were the sources of Arabian gum.' Inscriptions relating to the Sabæan kingdom have been found in various parts of the Arabian peninsula. They are written in a dialect which closely resembles Ethiopic, but there are no vowel letters, or modifications of the consonants, to indicate vowel sounds. Many come from the vicinity of Marib, where the ruins are of astonishing extent. The remains of its great dam, in particular, are very striking: a gigantic wall, two miles long and 175 paces wide, was built to connect two

hills, and the water was run off for irrigation purposes by dykes which were cut at different levels. The construction of this work lies back in remote antiquity, B.C. 1700 being the date given by one authority, and B.C. 700 by another. About A.D. 100 it seems to have burst, and the streams which it once served to retain are now wasted in the sands. The Koran (*Sura* 34) adduces this event as an instance of the punishment of disobedient ingratitude. In addition to the inscriptions, coins have been found and the names of the kings whose monograms they bear have been determined. From these two sources forty-five royal names have become known, six kings having been called *It'amara* (see Sargon's list of tributaries). From some of the records it appears that two kings reigned contemporaneously (cf. Ps 72^{10}), and this has been explained by the fact that the prince next in age to the king was designated as his successor, sometimes to the temporary exclusion of the king's son.

Experts have differed with respect to the number of periods into which the history of the Sabæan kingdom falls. All recognize three such divisions: (1) That of the *mākarib* or priest-kings; (2) that of the kings of Sheba; (3) that of the kings of Sheba and Dhû-Raidân. Glaser (*Skizze der Gesch. Arabiens*) prefixes to the first of these a Minæan empire, and adds a fifth period, during which the dated inscriptions supply a more exact chronology. These five ages cover the time from about B.C. 2000 to the conquest by Abyssinia in the 6th cent. A.D. Many of the statements which have been copied from the rocks and slabs relate to war and agriculture. They bring before us a set of traders disposing of the products of their own country, and also carrying goods from India and Africa to the great emporium Tyre and the powerful empires of Mesopotamia. They give us a glimpse of the life led by a class of powerful nobles who dwelt on their estates in castles and towers. And they furnish a considerable amount of information respecting the Sabæan religion, its offerings of incense and animals, its pilgrimages to certain shrines, its special month for pilgrimage, Dhu Hijjatān. The heavenly bodies were worshipped, the sun as a female, the moon as a male, deity. Many other divinities were recognized: a male Athtar (cf. the female Ashtoreth), Almakah, Ta'lab, Sami', Kawim, Bashir, Haubas. The precise significance of some of these titles is open to doubt. But the cognate Heb. words justify us in saying that *Sami'* is 'the Hearer,' *Kawim*, 'the Sustainer,' *Bashir*, 'the Tidings-bringer'; and the Arabic word of the same form indicates that *Ta'lab* is a spirit of the trees. Three other names, *Wadd* ('Love'), *Jaghuth* ('He helps'), and *Nasr* ('Vulture' or 'Eagle'), are spoken of in the Koran (*Sura* 72) as though they were antediluvian idols. On inscriptions which date from the 4th and 5th centuries of our era, *Rahman* ('the Merciful') appears. This is due to Jewish influence, and it is interesting to observe that the Jews now living in Yemen have a tradition that their ancestors left Palestine before the Christian era. Cf. also art. SEBA.

2. A worthless adventurer, who snatched at what he thought was a chance of winning the sovereignty of Northern Israel (2 S $20^{1ff.}$). His appeal was addressed to the deep-seated inter-tribal jealousy. David took a serious view of the situation thus created (v.$^{4ff.}$), but his rival lacked the personal qualities which might have rendered him formidable. He traversed the entire centre of the country seeking adherents in vain. Knowing that Joab and Abishai were on his heels, he shut himself up in Abel-beth-maacah (modern *Abil*), a town in the extreme north. There, according to a probable emendation of the text (v.^{14}), he was supported by his clansmen the *Bichrites* (not **Berites**, cf. 'son of *Bichri*,' v.^{1}). The place would speedily have been carried by assault had not a woman, whose judgment was highly esteemed by the inhabitants, persuaded them to throw Sheba's head over the wall to Joab (vv.$^{16-22}$). **3.** A Gadite, (1 Ch 5^{13}). **4.** The Sheba of Jos 19^{2} is out of place after Beer-sheba. V.^{6} shows that we ought to find thirteen, not fourteen, names. The LXX retains that number by omitting Sharuhen from the list. Sharuhen, however, should not be dropped, for it is identical with the Shilhim of 15^{32}. Some Heb. MSS leave out Sheba, as does also the parallel passage **1 Ch** 4^{28}. The **Shema** of the LXX is from the list of 15^{26}. There can be little doubt that *Shema*, inserted by mistake in the Heb. text and transliterated by the LXX, was subsequently changed to *Sheba*.

J. TAYLOR.

SHEBA, QUEEN OF.—1 K 10^{1-13} narrates a visit of the contemporary queen of Sheba to king Solomon. At the present day there is a strong tendency to regard this as a legendary addition made by the later editor for the purpose of emphasizing Solomon's wealth and wisdom. The reasons adduced are not quite conclusive. It is no doubt true that the inscriptions hitherto discovered fail to mention any queen of the Sabæans. But the names are given of queens who reigned over other Arabian countries, and, curiously enough, in Sargon's inscription, quoted on p. 842^{b}, Samsē, queen of Aribu, immediately precedes It'amara, king of Sheba. It must be admitted, however, that the narrative in 1 K 10 is not free from difficulties. We cannot satisfactorily explain the words 'concerning the name of the Lord' (v.^{1}): the LXX '*and*' etc. being an obvious attempt to evade the difficulty, and the Chronicler (2 Ch 9^{1}) omitting all the words. It is hard to believe that the monarch of a highly civilized and exceedingly wealthy State would be dumbfounded by the luxury of the court of Jerusalem (v.^{5}); that reads as though the chieftain of a petty tribe of Arabs was in question. Moreover, it is likely enough that the motive of the visit was other than our author supposed. Riddles, proverbs, apologues, and stories supply much of the material for the leisured conversation of the Arabs, but the queen of Sheba would visit her brother monarch with a more practical object than these. Commercial intercourse between the two countries was of extreme importance for the prosperity of both: Kittel (*Die Bücher der Könige*, p. 89) is justified in suggesting that she wished to promote this.

The fantastic legends which gathered round this journey may be conveniently read in *Sura* 27 of the Koran, and the notes on that chapter from Mohammedan sources which Sale has collected. Mohammed himself no doubt derived his account from Jewish sources. A lengthy history of queen Bilkis, from Ta'labi's *Lives of the Prophets*, may be found in Brünnow's *Arabic Chrestomathy*. Solomon marries the queen, and the Abyssinians, to whom the story passed from the Arabs, call her Makeda, and trace from this marriage the lineage of all their kings. In this connexion two facts should be noted. First, that Abyssinia was undoubtedly colonized by the Sabæans. Second, that Jos. (*Ant.* II. x. 2) speaks of 'Saba, a royal city of Ethiopia,' and (VIII. VI. 5 f.), without naming Sheba, gives an account of the visit to Solomon of a woman who was 'queen of Egypt and Ethiopia.' He is mistaken as to the locality, but it is interesting to observe the tradition which he reports, 'that we possess the root of that balsam which our country still bears by this woman's gift.'

J. TAYLOR.

SHEBANIAH.—**1.** A Levitical family (Neh 9^{4} 10^{10}). **2.** A priest or Levite who sealed the covenant (Neh 10^{4} 12^{14} [see SHECANIAH]). **3.** Another Levite who sealed the covenant (Neh 10^{12}). **4.** A priest (1 Ch 15^{24}).

SHEBARIM.—A place mentioned (Jos 7^{5}) in the description of the pursuit of the Israelites by the men of Ai. RVm gives 'the quarries,' but the text is probably corrupt.

SHEBAT.—See TIME.

SHEBER.—A son of Caleb (1 Ch 2^{48}).

SHEBNA (in 2 K $18^{18.\ 26}$ **SHEBNAH**).—A *major-domo* or palace-governor of king Hezekiah, against whom is directed one of the recorded utterances of Isaiah (Is 22^{15-25}). The prophetic denunciation appears to have found its fulfilment in Shebna's degradation to the office of 'scribe' or secretary, and the elevation of **Eliakim** (wh. see) to the post of palace-governor (2 K $18^{18.\ 26.\ 27}$ 19^{2} = Is $36^{3.\ 11.\ 23}$ 37^{2}). Shebna was in all probability a foreigner.

SHEBUEL.—**1.** A son of Gershom (1 Ch 23^{16} 26^{24}), called in 24^{20} **Shubael**, which is prob. the original form

of the name. **2.** A son of Heman (1 Ch 25^4 [v.^{20} **Shubael**]).

SHECANIAH.—**1.** A descendant of Zerub. (1 Ch $3^{21.\ 22}$, cf. Ezr 8^3 [1 Es 8^{29} **Sechenias**]). **2.** An exile who returned (Ezr 8^5 [1 Es 8^{32} **Sechenias**]). **3.** Chief of the tenth course of priests (1 Ch 24^{11}). **4.** A priest (2 Ch 31^{15}). **5.** A contemporary of Ezra (Ezr 10^2 [1 Es 8^{92} **Jechonias**]). **6.** The father of Shemaiah (Neh 3^{29}). It is possible that he and No. **1** are identical. **7.** The father-in-law of Tobiah the Ammonite (Neh 6^{18}). **8.** The eponym of a family which returned with Zerubbabel (Neh 12^3). It is the same name which, by interchange of *b* and *k*, appears as **Shebaniah** in Neh 10^4 12^{14}.

SHECHEM.—**1.** Gn 33^{19} $34^{2.\ 4}$ etc. See Jacob, Hamor. **2.** A Manassite clan, Nu $26^{31\ (35)}$ (the **Shechemites**), Jos 17^2, 1 Ch 7^{19}. **3.** See next article.

SHECHEM.—The place in which Jacob for a while established himself (Gn 33^{18}, Jn 4^{12}). Here he is said to have dug the well consecrated by Christ's conversation with the Samaritan woman, and still shown to travellers, with a claim to authenticity which is lacking in the vast majority of the so-called 'holy places.' It was evidently a place of sanctity: there was a great oak (or terebinth) here—no doubt a sacred tree—where Jacob hid his teraphim (Gn 35^4), and under which Joshua gave his parting address to the elders (Jos 24). A great stone under the tree was traditionally connected with the latter event (24^{26}). This is no doubt the reason why Shechem was a Levitical city, and also a city of refuge (20^7). The city, however, remained Canaanite after the conquest, serving the local god Baal-berith (Jg 9^4): Gideon's concubine, mother of Abimelech, was a Canaanitess from Shechem, and her relatives set up her son as a king, to his and their own destruction (Jg 9). Here Rehoboam alienated the Northern Kingdom by his overbearing speech (1 K 12^1), and Jeroboam for a time was established here (12^{25}). It was not a place of importance before the Exile, though continuously inhabited down to and after that event (Jer 41^5). The development of the Samaritan nation led to its rise. It was known at this period to the natives by the name *Mabortha* (Jos. *BJ* iv. viii. 1), but the name by which it was generally known, after its re-building by Titus Flavius Vespasianus, was *Flavia Neapolis*, or, more briefly, *Neapolis*—a name which still persists in the modern Arabic form *Nāblus*, though usually Roman or Greek names imposed on Palestinian sites have disappeared, the older names persisting.

In the Byzantine period there was a bishopric at Neapolis, of which we know little—save that the Samaritans in A.D. 474 wounded the bishop, and were in consequence severely punished by the emperor Zeno. The city fell to the Crusaders in 1099, and several churches were there built by them—one of which still survives in part as a mosque. In 1184 it was re-conquered by Saladin. The inhabitants have always been noted for turbulence and lawlessness. Towards the end of the 18th century it was a storm-centre of the inter-tribal wars of the *fellahīn*, the leader of the district being the notorious Kasim el-Ahmad.

It is now a town of some 24,000 inhabitants, all Moslems except about 150 Samaritans and 700 Christians. They are concerned in extensive soap manufacture, and in trade in wool and cotton with Eastern Palestine. There are Protestant and Roman Catholic missions, and an important English hospital directed by the Church Missionary Society.

In or near the town are shown 'Jacob's well,' which, as already said, is not improbably authentic; and a shrine covering the traditional 'tomb of Joseph,' the genuineness of which is perhaps less unassailable.

R. A. S. Macalister.

SHEDEUR.—The father of Elizur (Nu 1^5 2^{10} 7^{30} 10^{18}).

SHEEP.—

1. *tsōn*, 'small cattle,' such as sheep and goats, Gn 4^2 etc.; a single sheep or goat, Ex 22^1. **2.** *seh*, Dt 14^4 etc., a sheep or goat; collectively, like **1**, in Is 7^{25} etc. **3.** *'ayil*, Gn 15^9 **'ram.'** **4.** *rāchēl*, Gn 31^{38} 32^{14}, Ca 6^6 etc., **'ewe.'** See prop. name Rachel. **5.** *kar*, Dt 32^{14} etc., 'young **lamb.**' **6.** *kebes*, Nu 7^{15}, Is 5^{17}, and *keseb*, Lv 3^7, a **lamb** from one to three years old; the lamb of sacrifice. **7.** *taleh* (Arab. *tully*), 1 S 7^9, Is 40^{11} 65^{25}, a **lamb**, older than the preceding. **8.** *'immar* (*Aram.*), Ezr 6^9, **'lamb.'** **9.** In Gn 33^{19} AVm has **'lambs'** as tr. of *qēsīṭāh*. See Kesitah. **10.** (Gr.) *amnos*, Jn 1^{29} etc., **'lamb.'** **11.** *arēn*, Lk 10^3 etc., **'lamb.'** **12.** *arnion* Rev 5^6 etc., the equivalent of Heb. *keseb*. **13.** *probaton*, Jn $10^{1.\ 2.\ 3.\ 4}$ etc., a general term like Nos. **1** and **2**.

The common sheep of Palestine is the fat-tailed sheep (*Ovis aries*, var. *laticaudata*). The mass of tail-fat is sometimes enormous; it is the 'whole rump' (Heb. and Arab. *'alyāh*) of Ex 29^{22}, Lv 3^9 etc. Sheep are usually pastured with goats except when the land is too rocky and barren for the former. The **flock** is led by the **shepherd**, though the shepherd's boy may bring up the rear; on a journey a shepherd of experience must drive the flock (Gn 33^{13}), while another leads. When away from villages, the sheep are herded at night in **folds**, which are roughly made enclosures of piled-up stones; the shepherd lives in a cave or hut adjoining, and is in very intimate touch with his sheep, each of which he knows unfailingly at a glance. The skin of a sheep, roughly tanned with all the wool on, is the common winter jacket (*furweh*) of a shepherd or peasant. To kill a sheep or lamb for a stranger's meal is one of the first acts of Bedouin hospitality. In the country, sheep are killed only in such circumstances or in honour of some festive occasion (cf. 1 S 25^{18}, 1 K 1^{19}). E. W. G. Masterman.

SHEEP GATE.—See Jerusalem, II. 4.

SHEERAH.—A 'daughter' of Ephraim, 'who, according to the MT of 1 Ch 7^{24}, built the two Beth-horons and a place of doubtful identity called **Uzzen-sheerah** = 'portion [? lit. something weighed] of Sheerah.'

SHEHARIAH.—A Benjamite (1 Ch 8^{26}).

SHEET.—See Dress, 4 (*d*).

SHEKEL.—See Money, Weights and Measures, III.

SHEKINAH (from Heb. *shākan*—'to dwell,' meaning 'dwelling' [abstract], or 'that which dwells').—The word is not found in OT, but occurs often in other Jewish literature, always of God. The OT, particularly in certain of its writings, uses 'anthropomorphisms' freely, *e.g.* it speaks of God dwelling in a place or being seen. Later thought objected to this, as materializing the Divine nature; hence in the Targums (Aram. paraphrases of the OT used, though not in their present form, by the 1st cent. A.D.) various devices were adopted to prevent popular misunderstandings. Periphrases were used for the Divine name, 'the Word' (*Memra*), 'Spirit,' or 'Wisdom' being substituted. One of the most important of these was the 'Shekinah.' 'God dwells' usually became 'the Shekinah rests'; 'the temple of God' became 'the house of the S.' (note the Tabernacle was the *mishkān*, from the same root). Gn 28^{16} becomes 'the glory of the S. of J" is in this place'; Is 6^5 'my eyes have seen the glory of the S. of the King of the world.' God's hiding His face is the removal of the S. Now the presence of God (especially in P and related writings) was often manifested by a fiery appearance, or a light in a cloud. It was so in nature (Ps 18^{10}), on Sinai (Ex 24^{16}), in the wilderness and in the Tabernacle (16^7 29^{43} 40^{34}, Nu 14^{10}), in the Temple (1 K 8^{11}); cf. Ezk 1^{28} etc. This glory was not God, but an effluence from Him, or from His Shekinah. For the S. was not 'the glory,' as is usually imagined, but the source and centre of it. It is a stage nearer to God Himself, and, though often used in connexion with the physical manifestation, represents an invisible and universal presence. *E.g.* it is the source of inspiration. Eli failed to recognize Hannah's condition, because it had left him. It was present where three were gathered to administer justice. According to some, it was inseparable from Israel, still hovering over the west wall of the Temple.

But it was commonly taught that it had always been absent from the second Temple, as had been 'the glory' (cf. Ezk 11^{23} 43^{2}); or again, that on the successive sins of Adam and his descendants it had been withdrawn from earth to the first heaven, and finally to the seventh. The conception, in fact, varied. It was disputed whether it was an entity distinct from God, or only the essence of God as manifested. Though at first regarded as impersonal and passive, as distinct from the Memra, the agent of creation, in the Talmud it becomes active and takes the place of the latter. The tendency to personification is significant. Insisting one-sidedly on the transcendence or aloofness of God, the Jew had to bring Him to earth again by such mediatorial agencies, which were semi-personal and Divine, but not God, and by the development of an elaborate angelology. In the NT the word **'glory'** seems often to refer to the Shekinah (cf. Eth. Enoch 'Lord of glory,' and 'the Great Glory,' as titles of God). Ro 9^{4} speaks of 'the glory' as a Jewish privilege; He 9^{5} of 'the cherubim of glory.' It was believed that the Shekinah would return with the Messiah; 'the glory of the Lord shall be seen and the cloud' (2 Mac 2^{8}). (*a*) It is connected with Christ (Lk 2^{9}, Mt 17^{5}; cf. 2 P 1^{17} RVm, where the Shekinah is personified). In 1 P 4^{14} 'the spirit of glory' rests upon Christ, as upon the Tabernacle; in He 1^{3} He is 'the effulgence of the glory'; in Ja 2^{1} He is apparently called 'the Shekinah.' Of special significance is Jn 1^{14}, which combines the expressions 'glory' and 'tabernacle' (Gr. *skēnoun*, probably intentionally chosen to represent 'Shekinah,' as in Rev 21^{3}). It connects the personal presence of God in Christ with the earlier presence in the Tabernacle; what was formerly symbol is now manifest 'in flesh.' The vagueness of the Jewish conception gives place to the definite presence of the personal Christ. Cf. with Mt 18^{20} and 1 Co 11^{11}, sayings such as 'when two sit together and are occupied with the words of the Law, the Shekinah is with them,' or 'the man is not without the woman, nor the woman without the man, nor both of them without the Shekinah.' (*b*) It is connected with the Christian. The first of the six things lost by Adam was 'the glory,' *i.e.* the reflexion upon him of the Divine glory, or perfection. Of this we fall short (Ro 3^{23}), but it is in process of being recovered by the Christian (5^{2} $8^{18.\ 30}$, 2 Co 3^{18} 4^{6}; cf. 2 Es $7^{97.\ 98}$). C. W. Emmet.

SHELAH.—**1.** The youngest son of Judah by Shua (Gn $38^{5.\ 11.\ 14.\ 26}$ 46^{12}, Nu 26^{20} (16), 1 Ch 2^{3} 4^{21}). He gave his name to the family of the **Shelanites** (Nu 26^{20} (16)). Probably 'the Shelanite' should be read also for 'the **Shilonite**' of Neh 11^{5} and 1 Ch 9^{5}. **2.** The son of Arpachshad (Gn 10^{24} *bis* 11^{13} (12). 14. 15, 1 Ch $1^{18.\ 24}$, Lk 3^{35}). **3.** Neh 3^{15}. See Siloam.

SHELEMIAH.—**1.** **2.** Two of the sons of Bani, who married a 'strange' wife (Ezr $10^{39.\ 41}$ [**Selemias** in 1 Es 9^{34} (41)]). **3.** Father of Hananiah (Neh 3^{30}). **4.** A priest (Neh 13^{13}). **5.** The father of Jehucal or Jucal (Jer 37^{3} 38^{1}). **6.** The father of Irijah (Jer 37^{13}). **7.** 1 Ch 26^{14}. See Meshelemiah. **8.** Ancestor of Jehudi (Jer 36^{14}). **9.** Son of Abdeel (Jer 36^{26}).

SHELEPH.—A son of Joktan (Gn 10^{26}) and therefore a tribe in Southern Arabia. It is not yet identified.

J. F. McCurdy.

SHELESH.—An Asherite (1 Ch 7^{35}).

SHELOMI.—Father of an Asherite prince (Nu 34^{27}).

SHELOMITH.—**1.** The mother of the man who was stoned to death for having blasphemed 'the Name' (Lv 24^{11}). **2.** Daughter of Zerubbabel (1 Ch 3^{19}). **3.** One of the 'sons of Izhar' (1 Ch 23^{18}, called in 24^{22} **Shelomoth**). **4.** A son of Rehoboam (2 Ch 11^{20}). **5.** A family which returned with Ezra (Ezr 8^{10} [1 Es 8^{36} **Salimoth**]).

SHELOMOTH.—**1.** (1 Ch 24^{22}) = **Shelomith** of 23^{18}. **2.** A descendant of Moses (1 Ch 26^{25}). **3.** A Gershonite (1 Ch 23^{9}).

SHELUMIEL.—Prince of the tribe of Simeon, Nu 1^{6} 2^{12} $7^{36.\ 41}$ 10^{19} (cf. Jth 8^{1}). See also Shemuel.

SHEM.—The word signifies 'name,' which can also denote 'fame,' 'renown' (cf. 'the men of name,' Gn 6^{4}). Possibly it is an abbreviation; cf. *Shemuel* (Samuel), 'name of God.' In one of the two traditions combined in J (Gn $6^{18f.}$ 10^{21-31}) Shem, the 'son' of Noah, is the eponymous ancestor of several peoples, occupying, roughly speaking, the central portions of the known world. P has a parallel list in 11^{10-26}. It is clear that Shem (from which is formed the frequently used title **Shemites** or **Semites**) stands merely for a geographical division, for some of the nations traced to him—*e.g.* Elam, and Lud (probably Lydians)—are certainly not Semitic. In the other tradition (9^{20-27}) 'Shem' stands for a people in Palestine —the Hebrews, or some portion of them—with whom 'Japheth' lived in close conjunction, and to whom 'Canaan' was subjugated. See Ham.

A. H. M'Neile.

SHEMA.—**1.** A Reubenite, 1 Ch 5^{8}. See Shimei, No. **5**. **2.** One of those who put to flight the inhabitants of Gath (1 Ch 8^{13}, called in v.^{21} **Shimei**). **3.** One of those who stood at Ezra's right hand, at the reading of the Law (Neh 8^{4}, called in 1 Es 9^{43} **Sammus**). **4.** A town of Judah, situated in the Negeb. The site is unknown. It is probably this Shema that appears in 1 Ch 2^{43} as a 'son' of Hebron. Cf. also Sheba, **4**.

SHEMAAH.—A Benjamite (1 Ch 12^{3}).

SHEMAIAH ('Jahweh has heard').—**1.** The prophet who with Ahijah encouraged the revolution of the ten tribes from Jeroboam. In MT he appears after the revolution has begun (1 K 12^{22-24}, 2 Ch 11^{2-4}). In the second LXX account, however, he appears at the beginning, at the assembly in Shechem (1K 12^{24}). He is mentioned further in 2 Ch 12^{5-8}, and his history in 12^{15}. **2.** Son of Shecaniah, descendant of Zerubbabel (1 Ch 3^{22}). **3.** Son of Shecaniah, 'keeper of the east gate,' and assistant to Nehemiah in repairing the wall (Neh 3^{29}). **4.** A Simeonite (1 Ch 4^{37}), perhaps **Shimei** of vv.$^{26.\ 27}$. **5.** A Reubenite (1 Ch 5^{4}), apparently called **Shema** in v.^{8}. **6.** A Merarite Levite dwelling in Jerusalem (1 Ch 9^{14}, Neh 11^{15}). **7.** A Levite of the family of Jeduthun (1 Ch 9^{16}), called **Shammua** in Neh 11^{17}. **8.** Head of the Levitical Kohathite clan of Elizaphan in the time of David (1 Ch $15^{8.\ 11}$). **9.** The scribe who registered the names of the priestly courses in the time of David, son of Nethanel (1 Ch 24^{6}). **10.** A Korahite Levite, oldest son of Obed-edom (1 Ch $26^{4.\ 6.\ 7}$). **11.** A Levite, teacher of the Law in Judah under Jehoshaphat (2 Ch 17^{8}). **12.** A Levite of the family of Jeduthun, engaged in purifying the Temple under Hezekiah (2 Ch 29^{14}). **13.** A Levite 'over the freewill offerings of God' (2 Ch 31^{15}). **14.** A chief of the Levites (2 Ch 35^{9}), called **Samaias** in LXX and in 1 Es 1^{9}. **15.** A chief man under Ezra (Ezr 8^{16}), called **Maasmas** and **Samaias** in 1 Es $8^{43.\ 44}$. **16.** One of the family of Adonikam (Ezr 8^{13}), in 1 Es 8^{39} **Samaias**. **17.** A priest of the family of Harim who married a foreign wife (Ezr 10^{21}), in 1 Es 9^{21} **Sameus**. **18.** A layman of the family of Harim who did the same (Ezr 10^{31}), in 1 Es 9^{32} **Sabbeus**. **19.** A prophet, son of Delaiah, hired by Sanballat and Tobiah to terrify Nehemiah (Neh 6^{10-14}). **20.** One of the 24 courses of priests (Neh 10^{8} $12^{6.\ 18}$). **21.** A man present at the dedication of the wall (Neh 12^{34}). **22.** A priest, descendant of Asaph (Neh 12^{35}). **23.** A singer (or clan) having part in the dedication of the wall (Neh 12^{36}). **24.** Another, or perhaps the same (Neh 12^{42}). **25.** Father of Uriah the prophet (Jer 26 [Gr. 33] ^{20}). **26.** A prophet, called 'the Nehelamite,' carried into captivity at Babylon with Jehoiachin, actively engaged in opposing Jeremiah (Jer 29^{24-32}). Jeremiah predicted the complete cutting off of his family. **27.** Father of Delaiah, who was a prince in the reign of Zedekiah (Jer 36 [Gr. 43] ^{12}).

28. 'The great,' kinsman of Tobias (To 5^{13}). In several cases two of these may be the same individual. The identification has the most probability in reference to **2** and **3**, **8** and **9**, and **12** and **13**.

GEORGE R. BERRY.

SHEMARIAH.—**1.** A Benjamite who joined David at Ziklag (1 Ch 12^{5}). **2.** A son of Rehoboam (2 Ch 11^{19}). **3. 4.** Two men who had married foreign wives (Ezr $10^{32.\ 41}$).

SHEMEBER.—King of Zeboiim (Gn 14^{2}).

SHEMED.—See SHEMER, No. **4.**

SHEMER.—**1.** The owner of the hill purchased by Omri (1 K 16^{24}). **2.** A Merarite (1 Ch $6^{31\ (46)}$). **3.** An Asherite (1 Ch 7^{34}, called in v.^{32} **Shomer**). **4.** A Benjamite (1 Ch 8^{12}). The Heb. MSS show here some confusion between *r* and *d* as the final letter of the name. The AV (**Shamed**) and RV (**Shemed**) retain the reading of the Geneva version, which is based on the Vulg. *Samad.*

SHEMIDA.—A 'son' of Gilead, according to Nu 26^{32} [P]; called in Jos 17^{2} [JE] a 'son' of Manasseh; his descendants are enumerated in 1 Ch 7^{19}. The gentilic name **Shemidaites** occurs in Nu 26^{32}.

SHEMINITH.—See art. PSALMS, p. 772^{a}.

SHEMIRAMOTH.—A Levitical family (1 Ch $15^{18.\ 20}$ 16^{5}, 2 Ch 17^{8}).

SHEMUEL.—**1.** The Simeonite appointed to assist in the dividing of the land (Nu 34^{20}). It is not improbable that the MT should be corrected to **Shelumiel,** the form in 1^{6} 2^{12} $7^{36.\ 41}$ 10^{19}. **2.** Grandson of Issachar (1 Ch 7^{2}).

SHEN ('the tooth *or* crag').—A well-known place 'the *Shen*,' named with Mizpah to indicate the position of the stone which was set up by Samuel to commemorate the defeat of the Philistines (1 S 7^{12}). The site is unknown.

SHENAZZAR.—See SHESHBAZZAR.

SHEOL.—The Semitic equivalent of the classical conception of **Hades.** The word has been derived from a number of roots. The two main probable origins seem to be those from the Assyr. root *sha'al* ('to consult an oracle'), and *shilu* ('chamber'). The latter derivation seems somewhat more in accordance with the synonym of **pit.** In any case, according to this derivation of the word, Sheol was regarded as an underworld of the dead in which the shades lived. Hebrew eschatology, although somewhat obscure in its early phase, probably tended to perpetuate the animistic conception. The habit of burying the family in communal tombs may also have lent some meaning to the word. In Sheol the dead continued to live as on earth. It seems to have been a somewhat common belief that they could be summoned by some process of necromancy (1 S 2^{6}). In the absence of any consistent Hebrew eschatology, however, it is impossible to determine whether the dead were believed to be conscious or active. Apparently different opinions existed on this point (cf. Ps 88^{13} 94^{17} 30^{10}, Job 14^{3}, with Ezk 32^{27}). From the latter it would appear that the non-activity of the dead was the more current opinion.

According to Eth. Enoch 22^{1-14}, Sheol was divided into four sections, intended respectively for the martyrs, the righteous who were not martyrs, sinners who had lived prosperously, and sinners who had been to some degree punished. The situation of those in these four sections varied from extreme bliss in the first case to loss of all hope of the resurrection in the fourth. The souls in the third division were to be 'slain' in the day of judgment; but the meaning of this is obscure. Nor is it at all clear that this fourfold division was commonly held. The twofold division into the abode of the blessed and the abode of those suffering punishment seems the more generally held. At the resurrection, which preceded the judgment, it was believed, at least by those under the influence of Pharisaism, that the righteous shades would rise from Sheol, and, after receiving new bodies, ascend to heaven.

The NT conception of Sheol is not fundamentally other than that of Judaism, if we may judge from the few references. The most important is that of Lk 16^{23}, the parable of Dives and Lazarus. **Hades** (AV **hell**) in the NT is either the synonym of death, or of complete loss and misery, although the idea of punishment is usually expressed by **Gehenna.** It would appear that the idea of purgatorial cleansing, which Rabbinical Judaism introduced into the conception, was altogether absent from NT thought. Christ is said (Rev 1^{18}) to have 'the keys of death and Hades,' and in 1 P 3^{19} He is said to have preached to 'spirits in prison,' *i.e.* in Sheol (cf. Apoc. Baruch 23^{4}, 2 Es $7^{85.\ 95}$). Generally speaking, however, the NT does not develop any new doctrine of Sheol, and is as far as possible from favouring the extreme speculation of either Rabbinic Judaism or of Patristic Christianity. SHAILER MATHEWS.

SHEPHAM.—A place on the eastern boundary of the Promised Land (Nu $34^{10.\ 11}$). The site has not been identified. Perhaps Zabdi, the **Shiphmite** (1 Ch 27^{27}), was a native of Shepham.

SHEPHATIAH ('Jah has judged').—**1.** One of David's sons (2 S 3^{4} = 1 Ch 3^{3}). **2.** A family which returned with Zerub. (Ezr 2^{4} = Neh 7^{9}) and Ezra (Ezr 8^{8}). The name appears in 1 Es 5^{9} as **Saphat** and in 8^{34} as **Saphatias.** **3.** A family of the 'sons' of Solomon's servants' (Ezr 2^{57} = Neh 7^{59}) = 1 Es 5^{33} **Saphuthi.** **4.** A Judahite family (Neh 11^{4}). **5.** A Benjamite family (1 Ch 9^{8}). Either this or the preceding should perhaps be identified with No. **2** above. **6.** A contemporary of Jeremiah (Jer 38^{1}). **7.** A Benjamite warrior who joined David at Ziklag (1 Ch 12^{5}). **8.** A Simeonite prince (1 Ch 27^{16}). **9.** A son of Jehoshaphat (2 Ch 21^{2}).

SHEPHELAH.—See PLAIN (5).

SHEPHER.—A 'station' of the children of Israel (Nu $33^{23.\ 24}$). Nothing is known about its position.

SHEPHERD.—See SHEEP.

SHEPHI (1 Ch 1^{40}) or **SHEPHO** (Gn 36^{23}).—A Horite chief.

SHEPHUPHAM (Nu $26^{39\ (43)}$) or **SHEPHUPHAN** (1 Ch 8^{5}).—A Benjamite family = Gn 46^{21} **Muppim** and 1 Ch $7^{12.\ 15}$ 26^{16} **Shuppim**; gentilic **Shuphamites** in Nu $26^{39\ (43)}$.

SHEREBIAH.—One of the Levites who joined Ezra (Ezr $8^{18.\ 24}$, Neh 8^{7} 9^{4} $10^{12\ (13)}$ $12^{8.\ 24}$). The name appears in 1 Es 8^{47} as **Asebebias,** v.^{54} **Eserebias,** and 9^{48} **Sarabias.** Cf. MAHLI.

SHERESH.—A Manassite clan (1 Ch 7^{16}).

SHERIFF.—In Dn $3^{2.\ 3}$ 'sheriffs' is the EV tr. of Aram. *tiphtāyē'*, a word of quite uncertain meaning.

SHESHACH.—A cryptic name of Babel, found in the received text of Jer 25^{26} 51^{41}. It is formed by the method called Atbash, that is a substitution of *tau* for *aleph*, *shin* for *beth*, and so on. The word is, however, no part of the original text of Jeremiah, being a conceit of later editors. In both passages it is lacking in LXX. Cf. LEB-KAMAI. J. F. McCURDY.

SHESHAI.—A clan resident in Hebron, driven thence by Caleb (Nu 13^{22}, Jos 15^{14}, Jg 1^{10}).

SHESHAN.—A Jerahmeelite (1 Ch $2^{31.\ 34.\ 35}$).

SHESHBAZZAR.—This name is of Bab. origin, and appears in LXX in several forms, some of which point to the sun-god *Samas*, others (*e.g.* **Sanabassar**) to the moon-god *Sin* as the derivation, the meaning being 'O sun-god [or moon-god], protect the lord [or the son].' The person Sheshbazzar is described as 'the prince of Judah,' and is said to have received from Cyrus the sacred Temple vessels and to have taken them to Jerusalem (Ezr $1^{8.\ 11}$, cf. 1 Es $2^{12.\ 15}$). The same fact is stated in Ezr $5^{14.\ 16}$, where Sheshbazzar is designated 'the

governor' (*pechāh*), and is also said to have laid the foundations of the Temple (cf. 1 Es $6^{18.\ 20}$). It is probable that the Persian title 'Tirshatha' in Ezr 2^{63}, Neh $7^{65.\ 70}$ refers to Sheshbazzar.

Some have identified Sheshbazzar with **Zerubbabel** on the ground that the laying of the foundation of the Temple is in Ezr 3^{8} ascribed to Zerubbabel and in 5^{16} to Sheshbazzar, while instances of men bearing two different names occur not infrequently (*e.g.* 2 K 23^{34} 24^{17}, Dn 1^{7}). But, when we compare Ezr 3^{8} and 5^{16}, it does not seem necessary to assume that the two men are identical. Both may have returned from Babylon at the same time, and while Sheshbazzar was the ruling official, Zerubbabel may in all likelihood have been the moving spirit in building the Temple. Ezr 3^{8} gives the Chronicler's own account of the work, while Ezr 5 purports to be an *official* report, and would naturally mention the official head of the community as the person responsible for what occurred during his term of office. Then the possibility of the one person bearing two names, while not impossible, seems unlikely here, because (1) both names are of foreign origin, unlike the double names *Daniel* and *Belteshazzar*, where the one is Hebrew and the other foreign; and (2) as a rule the Chronicler is careful to note the identification—*e.g.* 'Daniel *whose name was* Belteshazzar.'

If, then, Sheshbazzar and Zerubbabel were two different men, was Sheshbazzar a Jew or a foreigner? In all probability he was a Jew. It was quite in accordance with the policy of the Persians to appoint a Jew to act as governor in Jerusalem, while the name *Sheshbazzar*, being of Bab. origin, would not likely be borne by a Persian. It has been conjectured that Sheshbazzar is identical with the **Shenazzar** of 1 Ch 3^{18}, a son of Jehoiachin and uncle of Zerubbabel; and this would justify the title 'prince of Judah' given to him in Ezr 1^{8}. Then, further, it is not unlikely that the younger man, Zerubbabel, took the leading part in the work of restoration, and as a result his uncle's memory would fall into the background. This theory is made more probable by the fact that Zerubbabel succeeded to the governorship as early as the reign of Darius Hystaspis, B.C. 520 (cf. Hag $1^{1.\ 14}$ 2^{2}). W. F. Boyd.

SHETH.—In Nu 24^{17} (only) AV and RVm tr. *bĕnē shēth* 'children (sons) of Sheth,' but there can be little doubt that the correct tr. is that of RV, 'sons of tumult.'

SHETHAR.—One of the seven princes who had the right of access to the royal presence (Est 1^{14}).

SHETHAR-BOZENAI.—One of those who corresponded with Darius about the re-building of the Temple (Ezr $5^{3.\ 6}$ $6^{6.\ 13}$). Called in 1 Es $6^{3.\ 7.\ 27}$ 7^{1} **Sathrabuzanes.**

SHEVA.—1. A son of Caleb (1 Ch 2^{49}). **2.** See Shavsha.

SHEWBREAD.—In one of the oldest historical documents preserved in the OT we find, in a passage telling of David's flight from Saul, the first mention of an offering in the shape of 'holy bread,' which was presented to J″ in the sanctuary at Nob (1 S 21^{1-6}). Here this holy bread is also termed **'the bread of the presence'** (v.^{6}), *i.e.* of J″, which appears in EV as 'shewbread'—a rendering due to Tindale, who adds the note, 'shewbrede, because it was alway in the presence and sight of the Lorde' (cf. v.^{6}, which ends literally thus: 'the presence-bread, that was taken from the presence of J″'). 'Presence-bread' is also the name for this special offering generally used in the Priests' Code—but 'continual bread' in Nu 4^{7}, contracted from the fuller expression 2 Ch 2^{4}. The Chronicler, however, prefers another designation, which may be rendered 'pile-bread' (1 Ch 9^{32} 23^{29} etc., EV 'shewbread') and is to be explained by the arrangement of the loaves in two piles (see below and cf. Lv 24^{6} RVm).

After its first historical mention in connexion with the sanctuary of Nob, where it was periodically renewed—at what intervals is not stated—the presence-bread is next met with in the Temple of Solomon. Here was an 'altar of cedar' (1 K 6^{20}), which modern scholars regard as an altar for the presentation of the offering of the shewbread. It stood, according to the restored text, in front of the *dĕbīr*, or Most Holy Place, and it is to be identified with 'the table whereupon the shewbread was,' mentioned in 7^{48} in a section of later date (see, for the composite text of these chapters, the authorities cited in art. Temple, and cf. *ib.* § 5). The same interchange of 'altar' and 'table' is found in Ezk 41^{22}, cf. 44^{16}.

The **table of shewbread** to be provided for the Tabernacle of P is discussed in the art. Tabernacle, § 6 (*a*) (cf. Temple, § 9). The preparation of the shewbread itself, which in the time of the Chronicler was the privilege of a division of the Levites (1 Ch 9^{32}), is prescribed in another section of P (Lv 24^{5-9}). The offering consisted of twelve unleavened cakes of considerable size, since each cake contained a fifth of an ephah—an ephah held more than a bushel—of fine flour. The cakes or loaves were arranged on the table in two piles; on the top of each pile was placed an oblation of frankincense. The cakes were renewed 'every Sabbath day' (v.^{8} RV); those removed were eaten by the priests alone within the sanctuary precincts, the shewbread being among 'the most holy of the offerings of the Lord' (v.^{9}).

As regards the original significance of the shewbread offering there can be no doubt. This antique form of oblation had its origin in pre-historic times in the naïve desire to propitiate the deity by providing him with a meal (see Sacrifice and Offering, § 16). This view is confirmed by the fact that it was accompanied, even in the later period, by a provision of wine, as is clear from the mention of 'the flagons thereof, and the bowls thereof, to pour out withal' (Ex 25^{29} RV, Nu 4^{7}). The analogy of the classical *lectisternia* will at once suggest itself. Less familiar is the similar offering among the Babylonians, who laid cakes of 'sweet,' *i.e.* unleavened, bread on the altars of various deities (see Zimmern's list in *KAT*^{3} 600). The analogy between the Babylonian and Hebrew ritual is rendered still more striking by the identity of the name 'bread of the presence' (*loc. cit.*), and of the number of cakes offered—twelve or a multiple of twelve. This number had probably an astrological origin, having reference originally to the twelve months of the year, or the twelve signs of the Zodiac. For the later Hebrews, at least, the twelve loaves of the presence-bread doubtless represented the twelve tribes of Israel, and were interpreted as a symbolical expression of the nation's gratitude to God as the continual source of every material blessing.

A. R. S. Kennedy.

SHIBAH.—A name given to a well dug by Isaac (Gn 26^{33}), which gave its name to the town **Beersheba** (wh. see). The word means, according to the writer, 'an oath'; and *Beersheba* is 'the well of the oath,' so named from the swearing of the oath of friendship between Isaac and Abimelech (Gn 26^{31}). In Gn 21^{22-31} we have another account, according to which the well was dug by Abraham and received its name from the oath between Abraham and Abimelech. There is also a play on the word *shĕbū'ah*, 'oath' and *sheba'*, 'seven,' as a sacrifice of seven lambs was offered. Perhaps the name, however, was already in existence before Abraham's time, and the writer simply gives a more or less plausible explanation of its derivation. W. F. Boyd.

SHIBBOLETH (means both 'ear of corn' and 'stream').—In the strife that arose between the Gileadites, under Jephthah, and the Ephraimites, an episode occurred which is recounted in Jg 12^{1-6}. According to this, the Gileadites were holding the fords of Jordan in order to cut off the fugitive Ephraimites; but the only way of differentiating between friend and foe was to test a fugitive as to his pronunciation of such a word as 'Shibboleth,' in which the Ephraimite peculiarity

of pronouncing *sh* as *s* would immediately be noticed. If, on uttering this word, the fugitive pronounced it **'Sibboleth,'** he was known to be an Ephraimite, and was forthwith slain. In this way there fell, according to the obviously exaggerated account in J, 'forty and two thousand.' W. O. E. Oesterley.

SHIELD.—See Armour Arms, § 2 (*a*).

SHIGGAION.—See Psalms, p. 772[a].

SHIHOR in Is 23[3], Jer 2[18] seems to mean Egypt (?), the Nile (?), or the waters of Egypt: in 1 Ch 13[5], Jos 13[3], it is the S.W. frontier of Canaan. If the name is Hebrew it may mean 'the Black,' in allusion to the dark waters or even to the black alluvial land itself: the Egyp. name of Egypt is *Kemi*, meaning 'black.' But, as Brugsch pointed out, *Shi-Hōr* is the Egyp. name of a stream or canal, possibly the Pelusiac branch of the Nile, on or near the eastern border of Egypt (see Shur). The black alluvium might well be counted as the boundary of Canaan: but elsewhere the boundary is the 'Brook' (or 'River') of Egypt, *i.e.* the *Wady el-Arish* (see Shur). F. Ll. Griffith.

SHIHOR-LIBNATH.—One of the boundaries of Asher (Jos 19[26]). It stands apparently for a river, most probably the *Nahr ez-Zerka*, the Crocodile River.

SHIKKERON.—A place on the northern boundary of Judah (Jos 15[11]). The site is unknown.

SHILHI.—Father of Asa's wife (1 K 22[42], 2 Ch 20[31]).

SHILHIM.—A town of Judah (Jos 15[32]). Cf. Shaaraim, 2.

SHILLEM, SHILLEMITES.—See Shallum, No. 7.

SHILOAH.—See Siloam.

SHILOH.—1. Here the Israelites assembled at the completion of the conquest, and erected the Tent of Meeting; portions were assigned to the still landless tribes, and cities to the Levites (Jos 18[1] etc. 21[1] etc.). At Shiloh the congregation deliberated regarding the altar built by the men of the eastern tribes in the Jordan Valley (22[12ff.]). During the period of the Judges, it was the central sanctuary (Jg 18[31]), the scene of great religious festivals and pilgrimages (21[19], 1 S 1[3]). On one of these occasions the Benjamites captured as wives the women who danced among the vineyards (21[18ff.]). Here the youth of Samuel was spent, and from this narrative we gather that the 'tent' had given place to a permanent structure, a **'temple'** (*hēkāl*), under the care of the high priest Eli and his family. The loss of the ark and the disaster to his sons proved fatal to Eli (1 S 4[12ff.]), and Shiloh apparently ceased to rank as a sanctuary. The destruction of its temple, possibly by the Philistines, is alluded to in Jer 7[12. 14] 26[6. 9] (cf. Ps 78[60]). Eli's descendants are afterwards found at Nob (1 S 14[3] 22[11]). The prophet Ahijah was a native of Shiloh (1 K 11[29] 14[2. 4]).

The original name, as shown by the gentilic **Shilonite**, was *Shilōn*. This form survives in the mod. *Seilūn*, a ruined site on a hill E. of the road to Shechem, about 9 miles N. of Bethel, and 3 miles S.W. of *Khān el-Lubbān* (Lebonah, Jg 21[19]). A terrace on the N. of the hill, with a rock-hewn quadrangle, *c.* 400 ft. × 80 ft., may have been the site of the ancient temple. There is an excellent spring in the valley to the east. There are also numerous rock-hewn tombs. The terraced slopes tell of vineyards, long since disappeared.

2. The real meaning of the clause **'until Shiloh come'** (Gn 49[10] EV) is doubtful. If 'Shiloh' were a name applied to the Messiah, it would have a special significance; but this cannot be discovered. No ancient version so reads it. The Targg. (Onk., Jerus., and pseud.-Jon.) all interpret it of the Messiah. The Peshitta, on the other hand, reads 'until he shall come whose it [*i.e.* the kingdom] is.' Three possible readings are given in RVm. (1) 'Till he come to Shiloh'; grammatically correct, and supported by many scholars. Elsewhere in Scripture, Shiloh means the Ephraimite town. This is taken to refer to Judah's laying down the leadership he had exercised, when, the conquest finished, Israel assembled at Shiloh. Apart from other objections, however, *shēbet*, 'sceptre,' seems to denote something more than a mere tribal supremacy, and it is not certain that Judah possessed even that pre-eminence. (2) 'Until that which is his shall come'; so LXX 'till the things reserved for him come.' (3) 'Until he shall come whose it is' (Pesh., Targg. as above). While no certain decision as to the exact meaning is possible, the Messianic character of the verse is clear. It contemplates the ultimate passing of the power of Judah into the hands of an ideal ruler.

Shilonite = 'native of Shiloh' is used of—**1.** Ahijah (1 K 11[29] etc.). **2.** A family dwelling in Jerusalem (1 Ch 9[5] etc.). In the latter passage the true reading is prob. 'the **Shelanite**' (cf. Nu 26[20]). W. Ewing.

SHILONITE.—**1.** See Shiloh, **2.** **2.** See Shelah, **1.**

SHILSHAH.—An Asherite (1 Ch 7[37]).

SHIMEA.—**1.** See Shammua, No. **2.** **2.** A Merarite (1 Ch 6[30 (15)]). **3.** A Gershonite (1 Ch 6[39 (24)]). **4.** See Shammah, No. **2.**

SHIMEAH.—**1.** A descendant of Jehiel (1 Ch 8[32], called in 9[38] **Shimeam**). **2.** See Shammah, No. **2.**

SHIMEAM.—See Shimeah, No. **1.**

SHIMEATH.—A name given to the father or mother of one of the murderers of Joash (2 K 12[21], 2 Ch 24[26]). The murderer himself is called **Zabad** in 2 Ch. and **Jozacar** in 2 Kings. Probably for *Zabad* in 2 Ch. we ought to read *Jehozabad*, and undoubtedly *Jozacar* and *Jehozabad* are identical, and by scribal repetition (dittography) we have the two really identical names and the varying forms *Shimeath*, **Shimrith**, and **Shomer**. The descriptions 'Ammonitess' and 'Moabitess' in 2 Ch. are certainly later embellishments of the story, and Shimeath was probably the father of the one murderer, Jehozabad, and an Israelite. The **Shimeathites** were a family or division of the tribe of Caleb (1 Ch 2[55]). They may be included in the description 'the families of the scribes, which dwelt at Jabez,' but the whole passage leaves us uncertain. The Vulg. regards the name as referring to the function of a section of the scribes (*resonantes*) after the Exile. W. F. Boyd.

SHIMEI, SHIMEITES.—Shimei was a popular name among the Hebrews, being especially common in Levitical circles. Of most of the persons bearing it, absolutely nothing except the name is known. **1.** The personage of this designation, of whom the historian has given us some details, is a Benjamite of the clan of Saul. On account of his tribal and family connexions, it is quite natural for him to be David's bitter enemy. As the latter is fleeing before Absalom, Shimei meets him and heaps curses and insults on the fugitive monarch. David's triumphant return, however, brings him in abject penitence to the feet of his sovereign, who pardons him (2 S 16[5ff.] 19[17ff.]). Nevertheless, David in his dying charge is represented as enjoining Solomon to 'bring his hoar head to Sheol with blood.' After this Shimei is not permitted to go beyond the walls of Jerusalem on pain of death; but presuming three years later to go to Gath in quest of fugitive slaves, he is executed by Benaiah at the command of the king (1 K 2[8ff. 36ff.]). **2.** In the court intrigues connected with the royal succession, a courtier, Shimei (cf. art. Rei) by name, espoused the cause of Solomon (1 K 1[8]). The official at the head of one of the prefectures which were erected by this monarch, is probably identical with him (1 K 4[18]). **3.** A master of the vineyards under David (1 Ch 27[27]). **4.** A prince of the Judæan royal house, a brother of Zerubbabel (1 Ch 3[19]). **5.** The name occurs in the tribal genealogies of both Simeon and Reuben (1 Ch 4[26. 27] 5[4] [in v.[8] **Shema**]). **6.** The grandson of Levi (Ex 6[17], Nu 3[18. 21], 1 Ch 6[17] 23[7. 9]). **7.** A son of

Merari (1 Ch 6^{29}). **8.** In the genealogy of Asaph (1 Ch 6^{42}). **9.** The tenth course of Levitical singers who were appointed by David (1 Ch 25^{17}). **10.** A Levite who took part in the cleansing of the Temple under Hezekiah, probably identical with one mentioned later as having charge of the tithes and oblations (2 Ch 29^{14} $31^{12.\ 13}$). **11.** In post-exilic times the name appears among those who had married foreign wives (Ezr 10^{23} [1 Es 9^{23} **Semeis**] ^{33}. [1 Es 9^{33} **Semei**] ^{38} [1 Es 9^{34} **Someis**]). The individuals referred to in vv. ^{33} and ^{38} belong to the laity. In Zec 12^{13} the family of the **Shimeites** are mentioned as participants in the mourning for national guilt; they appear in this connexion as representatives of the Levites. **12.** The name occurs in the genealogy of Mordecai (Est 2^{5} [Ad. Est 11^{2} **Semeias**]). **13.** Shammah, the brother of David, appears as **Shimei** in 2 S 21^{21}. **14.** 1 Ch 8^{21} = **Shema** of v.^{13}.

JAMES A. KELSO.

SHIMEON.—One of the sons of Harim, who had married a foreign wife (Ezr 10^{31} [1 Es 9^{32} **Simon Chosameus**]).

SHIMON.—A Judahite family (1 Ch 4^{20}).

SHIMRATH.—A Benjamite (1 Ch 8^{21}).

SHIMRI.—**1.** A Simeonite (1 Ch 4^{37}). **2.** The father of one of David's heroes (1 Ch 11^{45}). **3.** A family of gatekeepers (1 Ch 26^{10}). **4.** A Levite (2 Ch 29^{13}).

SHIMRITH.—See SHIMEATH.

SHIMRON.—**1.** The fourth son of Issachar (Gn 46^{13}, Nu $26^{24\ (20)}$, 1 Ch 7^{1}); gentilic **Shimronites** in Nu $26^{24\ (20)}$. **2.** One of the towns whose kings Jabin called to his assistance (Jos 11^{1}). It was afterwards allotted to the tribe of Zebulun (Jos 19^{15}). Its site is unknown. Cf. next article.

SHIMRON-MERON.—A Canaanite town, west of Jordan, whose king was among those whom Joshua smote (Jos 12^{20}). Comparing its position in the list with that of **Shimron** in the list given in Jos 11^{1}, we may infer that the two places are identical.

SHIMSHAI.—The scribe or secretary of Rehum (Ezr $4^{8.\ 9.\ 17.\ 23}$), called in 1 Es 2^{16} **Samellius.**

SHIN and **SIN.**—The twenty-first letter of the Hebrew alphabet, and as such employed in the 119th Psalm to designate the 21st part, each verse of which in Heb. begins with this letter in one or other of its two forms.

SHINAB.—The king of Admah (Gn 14^{2}).

SHINAR.—A term employed in the OT for the greater part, if not the whole, of **Babylonia** (Gn 10^{10} 11^{2} $14^{1.\ 9}$, Jos 7^{21}, Is 11^{11}, Zec 5^{11}, Dn 1^{2}). Its former identification with *Sumer*, or Southern Babylonia, never regarded as very satisfactory, is now given up. Equally untenable is the view that it is to be identified with *Shankhar*, a land or district the king of which is mentioned in a letter from Tell el-Amarna along with the king of Khatti. There is little doubt that Shinar is to be identified with the land of Babylonia, but the origin of the name has not been determined. L. W. KING.

SHION.—A town of Issachar (Jos 19^{19}), prob. *'Ayūn esh-Sha'ṭn*, about 3 miles east of Nazareth.

SHIPHI.—A Simeonite prince (1 Ch $4^{37\ (36)}$).

SHIPHMITE.—See SHEPHAM.

SHIPHRAH.—One of the two Hebrew midwives (Ex 1^{15}).

SHIPHTAN.—An Ephraimite prince (Nu 34^{24}).

SHIPS AND BOATS.—**1. In OT and Apocrypha.**—(1) *Among the Israelites.*—In spite of the long line of coast by which Palestine is bordered, the Israelites were an agricultural rather than a maritime people. In fact a large part of the coast was occupied by the Phœnicians in the North and the Philistines in the South. That in the earliest times the people as a whole were ignorant of navigation is shewn by their version of the Flood, in which an unnavigable box takes the place of the navigated ship of the ancient Accadian story. Exceptions more or less to the rule in relatively ancient times were the tribes of Asher on the north, and Dan, before its emigration, on the south.

> 'And Dan, why did he remain in ships?
> Asher sat still at the haven of the sea,
> And abode by his creeks' (Jg 5^{17}).

It is very doubtful whether **boats** were originally used, even by the Phœnicians and the Philistines, except for fishing, and perhaps for purely local traffic and communication. Zidon, the earliest Phœnician settlement, was, like its synonym, Beth-saida, derived from a root meaning to catch prey, and was doubtless first noted as a fishing town. Again, Dagon, the chief god of the Philistines, is derived from the word *dag*, meaning a fish.

At a somewhat later period we find Zebulun described as a **'haven of ships'** (Gn 49^{13}), and later still, probably after the division of the kingdom, Issachar is mentioned with Zebulun as deriving wealth from naval commerce (Dt 33^{19}).

In any case, it is not till the time of Solomon that we hear definitely of any important development of commercial enterprise. Under the direction, and with the co-operation, of the Phœnicians, cedar and cypress timbers from Lebanon were cut and floated down the rivers to the coast and formed into **rafts** (AV **floats**), which carried the sawn stones to Joppa. Here they were broken up, and both were conveyed to Jerusalem for the building of the Temple (1 K 5^{9}, 2 Ch 2^{3-18}). Solomon had also a **navy** of ships navigated by Phœnician sailors. They were stationed at **Ezion-geber,** at the head of the Gulf of Akabah, and traded with Ophir, probably in the south-east of Arabia, in gold and precious stones (1 K 9^{26-28}). The 'ivory and apes and peacocks' of 1 K 10^{22} may have been imported into this region from India and more distant Eastern lands, or the ships of Hiram and Solomon may themselves have made more distant voyages. In addition to this, there was a regular trade maintained with Egypt, whence Solomon imported chariots and horses ($10^{28.\ 29}$).

The conflict between the Northern and Southern Kingdoms after Solomon's death put a stop to the commercial activities of the Jews, and there does not appear to have been any attempt to revive them till the time of Jehoshaphat, whose fleet of ships made for trading for gold to Ophir was wrecked at Ezion-geber. An offer of Ahaziah to join in a renewal of the enterprise was afterwards rejected (1 K $22^{48.\ 49}$). The mention in Is 2^{16} of 'ships of Tarshish' among the objects against which J"'s judgment would be directed, makes it likely that there was again a revival of naval commerce in the prosperous reigns of Jotham and Uzziah. Finally, in the time of the Maccabees we read that Simon, the brother of Judas, made **Joppa** a seaport (1 Mac 14^{5}). It was probably at this period that the Jews first began to have experience of **ships of war** (1 Mac 1^{17} 15^{3}; cf. Dn 11^{30}), though they must have been in use at a much earlier period. There are figures of such ships, with sharp beaks for ramming, in Layard's *History of Nineveh*, and Sennacherib in his expedition against Merodach-baladan had ships manned by Tyrians. In Is 33^{21} the allusion is certainly to hostile ships, but the reference may be to ships of transport, rather than warships. In any case the distinction between a merchantman and a warship in early times was obviously not so definite as it afterwards became.

(2) *Among neighbouring nations.*—Unlike the Israelites, the Phœnicians were the great navigators of the ancient world. Their country was particularly favourable for such a development. Dwelling on a narrow piece of sea-board, unsuited for agriculture (they imported corn from Palestine, 1 K 5^{11}, Ac 12^{20}), they had behind them the Lebanon range, famed for its great cedars, and a coast with good natural harbours. By the time of Solomon they would seem already to have had an extensive trade. The phrase **'ships of Tarshish'** which probably meant originally ships accustomed to trade with

SHIPS AND BOATS

Tartessus in Spain, had come to be used in a secondary sense, like our 'East-Indiaman,' of large vessels suited for such a trade. It is believed that by this time they had penetrated as far as Cornwall, and had even found their way to the Canaries. Their numerous colonies, at any rate the most distant, of which Carthage is the best known, probably began to be founded soon after. The form of their ships was, it would appear, a gradual development from the hollowed trunk of a tree to the vessel of three banks of oars, known among the Greeks as a trireme (see Hastings' *DB*, art. 'Ships'). With the Assyrians navigation seems to have been confined to the Tigris and Euphrates, where small timber boats, supported by inflated skins (*keleks*), and coracles of plaited willow (*kufas*), were largely in use (see *EBi*, art. 'Ships'). On the other hand, the Babylonians seem quite to have justified the phrase 'ships of their rejoicing' *i.e.* in which they take pride (Is 43^{14}), having extended their voyages to the Persian Gulf, and even engaged in commerce with India since the 7th cent. B.C. The Egyptians used **'vessels of papyrus'** for the navigation of the Nile (Is 18^{2}, cf. Job 9^{26}), but it is not quite certain whether they were boats constructed out of papyrus, or rafts composed of bundles of these reeds bound together. We learn from Egyptian monuments that they had also ships of considerable size. We have very little to guide us in determining the form or size of ships during these early periods, but it is probable that while at first they appear to have varied greatly, they gradually approximated to the type of vessel used in the Levant in NT times. It is not possible to say at what time **sails** were first introduced. We find them, or more correctly the sail, in the one great sail mentioned in Ezk 27^{7} in addition to the oars. In Is 33^{23} the sail only is mentioned. In v.[21] the **'galley with oars'** is mentioned distinctively, and in contrast to the **'gallant ship,'** which probably means the larger vessel provided with a sail.

(3) *In literature.*—That the Israelites, though, generally speaking, unused to navigation, had some acquaintance with and took an interest in shipping, is clear from the constant reference to ships in their literature. Is 33^{23}, in which Israel is compared to a disabled vessel, has been already alluded to. Ezekiel's famous comparison of Tyre to a ship in 27^{4-11} gives a fair general idea of the different parts of a ship of that period, though some of them—the deck-planks of ivory, the sail of fine bordered linen, the awnings of blue and purple—are evidently idealized. The graphic picture in Ps 107^{23-27} of the terrors experienced by those 'who go down to the sea in ships' was almost certainly written by one who had experienced a storm at sea. In Ps 104^{26} the ships are, as much as leviathan, the natural denizens of the deep. Of special beauty is the simile of the ship that passes over the waves and leaves no pathway of its keel behind (Wis 5^{10}), to express the transitoriness of human life and human hope. The danger of ship-faring is pointed out in Wis 14^{5}. That people should commit their lives to a small piece of wood would be absurd but for Divine Providence.

2. In the NT.—We are concerned chiefly with our Lord's Galilæan ministry and St. Paul's voyages. (1) *On the Sea of Galilee.*—The Galilæan **boats** were used primarily for fishing, and also for communication between the villages on the Lake, and probably for local trade. At least four of our Lord's disciples were fishermen, and were called while engaged in their work. He frequently crossed the Lake with His disciples, and sometimes preached from a boat to the people on the shore (Lk 5^{3}, Mk 4^{1}). Among the most picturesque incidents of His life as recorded in the Gospels are the miracle of stilling the tempest and the miraculous draughts of fishes. The boats were small enough to be in danger of sinking from a very large catch of fish, and yet large enough to contain our Lord and at least the majority of His twelve Apostles, and to weather the storms which are still frequent on the Lake. It appears from the frequent use of the definite article, 'the boat,' that one particular boat, probably St. Peter's, was usually employed.

(2) *In the Levant.*—Ships played an important part in St. Paul's missionary journeys. It was frequently necessary for him to cross the Ægæan, and sometimes to make longer voyages to and from Syria. That he was frequently exposed to great danger we learn not only from the detailed account of his shipwreck in Ac 27, but from an express statement in 2 Co 11^{25}, in which, writing *before this event*, he says 'thrice I suffered shipwreck, a night and a day have I been in the deep,' which certainly seems to mean that he drifted for this space of time upon the spar or some part of a wrecked ship. But our interest is centred chiefly in the account of his voyage from Cæsarea to Puteoli in Ac 27. 28. From this we learn that the larger vessels were of a considerable size, that of the shipwreck containing, according to what is probably the correct text, 276 persons (27^{37}; according to B, 76). It was impelled only by **sail**, the only **oars** mentioned being the paddles used as **rudders**, which were braced up, probably in order to allow the ship to be more easily **anchored** at the stern (vv.[29. 40]). This, a custom not infrequently resorted to when some special purpose was served by it, was to enable them to thrust the vessel into a favourable place on shore without the necessity of turning her round. In addition to the **mainsail**, the vessel had a **foresail** (*artemōn*), which was used for the same purpose, as more easily adapted for altering the ship's course (v.[40]). The vessel had one small **boat**, which was usually towed behind, but was taken up for greater security during the storm (v.[16]). Another remarkable practice is that described in v.[17] as 'using helps, undergirding the ship.' These **helps** or 'under girders' were chains passed under and across the ship, and tightened to prevent the boards from springing. It was a common practice of ancient times, and is not unknown even in modern navigation. **Soundings** were taken to test the near approach to land, much as they would be at the present day. Though ships had to depend mainly on one great square sail, by bracing this they were enabled to sail within seven points of the wind. In this case, allowing another six points for leeway, the vessel under a north-easter (*Euraquilo*, v.[14]) made way from Cauda to Malta, a direction considerably north of west. As, however, the vessel could not safely carry the mainsail, or even the yard-arm, these were first lowered on deck, and then the vessel must have been heaved to and been carried along and steadied by a small storm-sail of some kind. Had she drifted before the wind she would inevitably have been driven on to the Syrtis, the very thing they wished to avoid (v.[17]). This has been shown very clearly by Smith in his classical work, *The Voyage of St. Paul*, ch. iii. The same writer draws attention to the thoroughly nautical character of St. Luke's language, and the evidence of its accuracy by a comparison with what is known of ancient naval practice; and, what is perhaps even more striking, the evidence of skilful navigation to which the narrative points. He justly observes that the chief reason why sailing in the winter was dangerous (27^{9} 28^{11}) was not so much the storms, as the constant obscuring of the heavens, by which, before the discovery of the compass, mariners had chiefly to direct their course.

The fact that two of the ships in which St. Paul sailed were ships of Alexandria engaged in the wheat trade with Italy ($27^{6. 38}$ $28^{11. 13}$; Puteoli was the great emporium of wheat), is especially interesting, as we happen to know more about them than any other ancient class of ship. In the time of Commodus a series of coins with figures of Alexandrian corn-ships was struck to commemorate an exceptional importation of wheat from Alexandria at a time of scarcity. One of these ships, moreover, was driven into the Piræus by stress of weather. Lucian lays the scene of one of his dialogues (*The Ship* or *Wishes*) on board of her. From the coins and the dialogue together we get a very good idea of the ships of that time (2nd cent. A.D.) and their

navigation. Lucian's ship was 180 ft. by 45 ft., with a calculated tonnage of about 1200. It is not surprising, then, that the *Castor and Pollux* was large enough to contain, in addition to her cargo and crew, the 276 persons of the shipwrecked vessel (Ac 28^{11}). Josephus was wrecked in a ship containing 600. The ships had one huge square sail attached to an upright **mast** about the centre of the vessel, with a very long yard-arm. There was also a second small mast, set diagonally near the bow, and looking not unlike a modern bowsprit, which carried the foresail. On the principal mast there was also sometimes a small triangular topsail. Both ends of the vessel curved upwards and were pointed horizontally, and terminated, the former especially, in some sort of decoration, very frequently a swan. The two **rudder paddles**, the universal method of steering till about the 12th cent., were usually in the larger vessels passed through port-holes, which could also serve as hawse holes when the vessel was **anchored** by the stern.

(3) *In literature.*—In the books of the NT, shipping provided the writers with some striking similes. In the Ep. to the Heb. (6^{19}), Christian hope is called 'the **anchor** of the soul, both sure and steadfast, and entering into that which is within the veil.' Again, St. James compares the tongue, in the control which its constraint exercises on the character, to the very small **rudders** by which ships, though they be so great, are turned about (3^{4}). F. H. Woods.

SHISHA.—See Shavsha.

SHISHAK (Egyp. *Shoshenk* or *Sheshonk I.*).—Founder of the 22nd Dyn. (*c.* B.C. 950). He reigned at least 21 years. Jeroboam fled to him (1 K 11^{40}), and he plundered Jerusalem in the fifth year of Rehoboam (14^{25}, 2 Ch 12^{2}). A long list of Palestinian towns of Israel, as well as of Judah, was engraved by Sheshonk on the south wall of the temple of Karnak, but Jerusalem has not been recognized among the surviving names in the list. Max Müller suggests that these towns may not have been conquered but that they merely paid tribute, hence the appearance of Israelitish towns among them. F. Ll. Griffith.

SHITRAI.—A Sharonite who was over king David's herds that fed in Sharon (1 Ch 27^{29}).

SHITTAH TREE (*shittāh*, Is 41^{19} RV '**acacia tree**'; **shittim wood** [*'ăṣē-shīṭṭīm*], Ex $25^{5.\ 10.\ 13}$ $26^{15.\ 26}$ $27^{1.\ 6}$, Dt 10^{3}, RV 'acacia wood').—*shittāh* was originally *shintāh*, and is equivalent to Arab. *sunt*, which is the *Acacia nilotica*; but the word no doubt included other desert acacias. The *seyāl* of the Arabs, which includes the gum-arabic tree (*A. seyal*), and *A. tortilis* would both furnish suitable wood. Both these trees are plentiful around the Dead Sea, particularly at '*Ain Jidy*.
E. W. G. Masterman.

SHITTIM.—**1.** The name of the last encampment of the Israelites, on the east of the Jordan opposite Jericho. There the Israelites began to intermarry with Moabites (Nu $25^{1ff.}$), and from there Joshua sent out the spies to Jericho (Jos 2^{1} 3^{1}). The name means 'acacias,' and the place is called in Nu 33^{49} *Abel-shittim*, or 'Meadow of acacias.' Josephus (*Ant.* IV. viii. 1, v. i. 1) identifies the place with *Abila*, which he says is 7½ Roman miles east of the Jordan, and which Jerome says was 6 miles east of it. Several modern scholars identify Abila with *Khirbet Kefrên* at the entrance of the *Wady Kefrên*, at the base of the mountains of Moab.

2. Joel's reference to the 'Valley of Shittim' (3^{18}) must refer to some valley leading from Jerusalem to the Dead Sea (cf. Ezk $47^{1ff.}$)—perhaps the 'Valley of the brook Kidron,' the modern *Wady en-Nār*. It is certainly not the same as No. **1**, although confused with it by Ochser (*JE* xi. 297 f.). The reference to Shittim in Mic 6^{5}—'from Shittim to Gilgal'—is geographically unintelligible, and is rightly thought by many scholars to be a gloss. George A. Barton.

SHIZA.—Father of a Reubenite chief (1 Ch 11^{42}).

SHOA.—A race named in Ezk 23^{23} along with Babylonians, Chaldæans, Pekod, Koa, and Assyrians. The *Sutū* were nomads, frequently named in the same company by Assyrian and Babylonian writers, and among other seats inhabited the E. of the Tigris. C. H. W. Johns.

SHOBAB.—**1.** One of David's sons (2 S 5^{14}, 1 Ch 3^{5} 14^{4}). **2.** A Calebite (1 Ch 2^{18}).

SHOBACH.—The captain of the host of Hadarezer, the Aramæan king of **Zobah** (wh. see), who commanded the forces of that king when he aided the Ammonites in their war with king David. David defeated him, and Shobach lost his life (2 S 10^{16-18}). In 1 Ch 19^{16} the name is spelled **Shophach.**

Perhaps because so little was known of Shobach, he played an important part in later imaginative tradition. The Mishna (*Sotah*, viii. 1) makes him a giant of the Ammonites equal to Goliath, while the Samaritan Chronicle, sometimes called 'the book of Joshua,' tells a long tale concerning him (chs. 26–38), making him the son of Haman, a king of Persia whom Joshua had killed, and who stirred up a great coalition to avenge the death of his father! All authentic information concerning Shobach is contained in 2 S 10^{16-18}, which 1 Ch 19^{16} repeats. George A. Barton.

SHOBAI.—A family of porters (Ezr 2^{42}, Neh 7^{45} [1 Es 5^{28} **Sabi**]).

SHOBAL.—**1.** A 'son' of Seir the Horite, and one of the 'dukes' of the Horites (Gn $36^{20.\ 23.\ 29}$ = 1 Ch $1^{38.\ 40}$). **2.** A Calebite family in the tribe of Judah. This Shobal is called in 1 Ch $4^{1.\ 2}$ a 'son' of Judah, and in 2^{50} 'son' of Caleb and 'father' of Kiriath-jearim. The name is probably to be connected, if not identified, with No. **1.**

SHOBEK.—A signatory to the covenant (Neh $10^{24\ (25)}$).

SHOBI.—According to 2 S 17^{27}, a son of **Nahash** the king of Ammon, who, with Machir of Lo-debar, showed kindness to David when he fled to Mahanaim at the time of Absalom's rebellion. There is some doubt about the name, however, as in 1 Ch $19^{1f.}$ the son of Nahash who succeeded him was Hanun. S. A. Cook (*AJSL* xvi. 164) suggests that the text of 2 S 17^{27} is corrupt, and that it originally read 'and Nahash came,' instead of 'Shobi, son of Nahash.' The very existence of Shobi seems, therefore, uncertain. If, however, the present text of Samuel is sound, it is a better historical authority than Chronicles.
George A. Barton.

SHOCK, STACK.—In Jg 15^{5} the former, and in Ex 22^{6} the latter, is in AV the rendering of the same word—RV uniformly 'shocks,'—which in both places is opposed to the 'standing corn' or 'standing grain' (so Amer. RV for 'corn' throughout). The former, at least, is misleading, since the Hebrews did not set up their sheaves in shocks (*Scoticē* 'stooks'), but piled them in **heaps** for conveyance to the threshing-floor (Agriculture, § 3). So in the beautiful figure, Job 5^{26}, render 'like as a heap of corn cometh up (to the threshing-floor) in its season.' A. R. S. Kennedy.

SHOE.—See Dress, § 6, where also reference is made to the custom, widely prevalent in antiquity, of removing the shoes before entering a temple, or other sacred precinct, in order to save the latter from ceremonial defilement. (For the original motive see *RS*^{2} 453.)

The shoe played a part, further, in certain symbolical actions in Hebrew law. Thus in Ru 4^{7} we are informed that it was an ancient custom in Israel, on completing a purchase, for the seller to draw off his shoe and hand it to the buyer, as a symbol of the transference of the property sold. A parallel symbolism is disclosed by the frequent occurrence, in early Babylonian deeds of sale dealing with house property, of the phrase, 'the pestle [of the mortar] has been transferred' (Meissner, *Aus dem altbab. Recht*, 6). In times when writing was the accomplishment of the few, such a symbolic act in the presence of witnesses was doubtless held equivalent to the later formal deeds (Jer $32^{9ff.}$).

The same passage of Ruth and Dt 25$^{9ff.}$ shows that this symbolism, somewhat differently performed, with another still more expressive, was also adopted in the case of one renouncing his right to his deceased brother's wife (see MARRIAGE, § 4).

In the expression 'upon [or over] Edom will I cast my shoe' (Ps 60^{8} 108^{9}) many authorities find a reference to an extension of this shoe symbolism, the actual taking possession of the property being symbolized by throwing a shoe over or upon it. Others, however, rendering as RVm 'unto Edom,' see in the words an assertion of Edom's servitude, it being the part of a slave to carry his master's shoes. The context and the singular 'shoe' (not 'shoes') favour the former interpretation. A. R. S. KENNEDY.

SHOHAM.—A Merarite (1 Ch 24^{27}).

SHOMER.—1. 1 Ch 7^{32}. See SHEMER, No. **3**. **2.** 2 K 12^{21}. See SHIMEATH.

SHOPHACH.—See SHOBACH.

SHOSHANNIM, SHOSHANNIM-EDUTH.—See PSALMS, p. 772^{a}.

SHOVEL.—1. Ex 27^{3} 38^{3}, Nu 4^{14}, 1 K 7$^{40.\ 45}$, 2 K 25^{14}, 2 Ch 4$^{11.\ 16}$, Jer 52^{18}, of a utensil for removing the ashes from the altar. **2.** Is 30^{24}, for the broad, shallow, winnowing shovel with which corn after threshing was thrown up against the wind to clear it of the chaff.

SHRINE.—See DIANA.

SHROUD.—This word is used in Ezk 31^{3} in the general sense of 'shelter,' 'covering,' as in Milton's *Comus*, 147—'Run to your shrouds, within these brakes and trees.'

SHUA.—1. The father of Judah's Canaanite wife (Gn 38$^{2.\ 12}$), who appears in 1 Ch 2^{3} (RV) as **Bath-shua. 2.** A daughter of Heber (1 Ch 7^{32}).

SHUAH.—A son of Abraham and Keturah, Gn 25^{2}, **1** Ch 1^{32}. The tribe represented by this name may perhaps be the *Suchu* of the cuneiform inscriptions, on the right bank of the Euphrates. Bildad the **Shuhite** (Job 2^{11} 8^{1} 18^{1} 25^{1} 42^{9}) is prob. intended to be thought of as belonging to this tribe.

SHUAL.—An Asherite (1 Ch 7^{36}).

SHUAL, LAND OF.—A region referred to in 1 S 13^{17} as the destination of one of the three bands of Philistine raiders. The close connexion of Ophrah with the district named indicates that this was one of its towns. H. L. WILLETT.

SHUBAEL.—See SHEBUEL.

SHUHAH.—A brother of Chelub (1 Ch 4^{11}).

SHUHAM.—A son of Dan (Nu 26^{42}), called in Gn 46^{23} **Hushim**; gentilic **Shuhamites** in Nu 26^{42}.

SHUHITE.—See SHUAH.

SHULAMMITE.—See SHUNEM, SONG OF SONGS.

SHUMATHITES.—A family of Kiriath-jearim (1 Ch 2^{53}).

SHUNAMMITE.—See next article.

SHUNEM.—A border town of Issachar (Jos 19^{18}), and the camping-ground of the Philistines before Saul's last battle (1 S 28^{4}). It has been identified from early times with *Sōlam*, a village five miles south of Tabor, on the south slope of Little Hermon. It is on the north of the Valley of Jezreel, and opposite to Gilboa, where Saul was encamped; the situation suits the scene of the battle well. A Shunem is also the scene of Elisha's miracle in 2 K 4$^{8ff.}$, where the identification is more doubtful. The narrative suggests a place on the road from Samaria, his home (v.^{1}), to Carmel, and not too far from the latter (v.$^{25ff.}$); Solam satisfies neither of these conditions. **Shunammite** is applied (1) to Abishag (1 K 1^{3}), who is perhaps the original of the **Shulammite** of Ca 6^{13}, the interchange of *l* and *n* being exemplified in the modern Solam = Shunem; (2) to the unnamed friend of Elisha in 2 K 4$^{8ff.}$ 8$^{1-6}$. The narrative gives us a picture of Heb. home-life at its best, and shows how the legal and theoretical subjection of the wife was often modified in practice. She is 'a great woman,' perhaps an heiress, and takes the lead in both stories; by the time of the latter she may have been a widow. For the miracle, cf. 1 K 17$^{8ff.}$. C. W. EMMET.

SHUNI.—A son of Gad (Gn 46^{16}, Nu 26$^{15\ (24)}$ [gentilic Shunites]).

SHUPHAM, SHUPHAMITES, SHUPPIM. — See MUPPIM and SHEPHUPHAM.

SHUR.—A place or district on the N.E. border of Egypt (Gn 16^{7} 20^{1} 25^{18}, Ex 15^{22}, 1 S 15^{7} 27^{8}). The name in Aramaic means 'wall,' and, as Egyp. *th* is regularly rendered by *sh* in Aramaic, Shur is probably the Egyp. city *Thor* (the vocalization is uncertain), a fortress near the N.E. frontier, and capital of the 14th nome of Lower Egypt. This Thor lay on a stream or canal named *Shi-Hōr* (see SHIHOR), and malefactors were sent thither after having their noses cut off. It is tempting to identify it with Rhinocorura (see EGYPT [RIVER OF]), but it was on the banks of a fresh-water canal and 10 days' march from Gaza. Perhaps it is the later Sele, near el-Kantara, on the Suez Canal. F. LL. GRIFFITH.

SHUSHAN (Dn 8^{2}, Neh 1^{1} etc.).—The **Susa** (Ad. Est 11^{3}) of the Greeks, now *Sus* or Shush in S.W. Persia, between the Shapur and the river of Dizful (the ancient Koprates). It was for many centuries the capital of Elam, and afterwards one of the three capitals of the Persian empire. Cf. also ELAM.

SHUSHANCHITES, *i.e.* inhabitants of Shushan (Susa), are mentioned in Ezr 4^{9} among the colonists settled by Osnappar (Ashurbanipal) in Samaria.

SHUSHAN-EDUTH.—See PSALMS, p. 772^{a}.

SHUTHELAH.—One of the three clans of the tribe of Ephraim (Nu 26^{35}. [gentilic **Shuthelahite**] ^{36}). In the parallel passage, 1 Ch 7$^{20.\ 21}$, the foundation text has been expanded and mis-written. J. F. MCCURDY.

SHUTTLE.—Only Job 7^{6}, where it is doubtful whether the reference is to the shuttle-rod of the loom or to the loom itself. The Heb. word has the latter meaning in its only other occurrence, Jg 16^{14}. See SPINNING AND WEAVING, §§ **3** and **4** (*b*).

SIA (Neh 7^{47}) or **SIAHA** (Ezr 2^{44}).—A family of Nethinim (1 Es 5^{29} **Sua**) who returned with Zerubbabel.

SIBBECAI.—See MEBUNNAI.

SIBBOLETH.—See SHIBBOLETH.

SIBMAH.—See SEBAM.

SIBRAIM.—A point on the ideal northern boundary of the Holy Land (Ezk 47^{16}); site uncertain. Cf. ZIPHRON.

SICCUTH.—A word which is found in parallelism with **Chiun** in Am 5^{26}. The present form is probably due to the Massoretic combination of the consonants of *Sakkuth* with the vowels of *shiqquts* ('abomination')—the same vocalization which we find in *Chiun*. *Sakkut* is another name for the Assyr. god Ninib, god of the planet Saturn. *Kaiwanu* (*Chiun*) is also a name of Ninib. This would make Chiun and Siccuth synonymous—or at least different manifestations of the same deity. As evidence that this is the correct reading of the names, Rogers points out that the Babylonians themselves invoked Sakkut and Kaiwanu together, just as they appear in Amos. (See CHIUN and REPHAN.) W. M. NESBIT.

SICK, SICKNESS.—See MEDICINE.

SICKLE.—The Hebrew sickles (Dt 16^{9} 23^{25} etc.) or reaping-hooks were successively of flint, bronze, and iron, and set in handles of bone or wood. In Palestine the flint sickle goes back to the later Stone age (Vincent, *Canaan d'après l'exploration récente*, 388 ff. with illust.);

a specimen was found by Bliss at Lachish. Similar flint sickles, with bone hafts, have been found in Egypt. The ancient sickles were of two kinds, according as the cutting edge was plain or toothed; the modern Palestinian reaping-hook is of the latter kind and somewhat elaborately curved (illust. Benzinger, *Heb. Arch.*[2] 141). In Jer 50[16] the reaper is described as 'he that handleth the sickle' (*maggāl*, AVm '**scythe**,' which is also wrongly given as an alternative in AVm of Is 2[4], Mic 4[3] for 'pruning hooks'). The same word is rendered 'sickle' in Jl 3[13] 'put ye in the sickle, for the vintage is ripe' (RVm), where the context, the LXX rendering, and the same figure in Rev 14[19. 20] all show that the reference is to the smaller but similarly shaped **grape-knife**, expressly named *maggāl* in the Mishna, with which the grape-gatherer cut off the bunches of ripe grapes.

A. R. S. Kennedy.

SICYON.—This was one of the numerous places written to by the Romans on behalf of the Jews in B.C. 139 (1 Mac 15[23]). It was situated on the Gulf of Corinth, about 18 miles W. of Corinth. It was distinguished in plastic art, and was in early times very important and wealthy, but sank to insignificance early in the Christian era. A. Souter.

SIDDIM, VALE OF.—The scene of the defeat of the five Canaanite kings by Amraphel and his three allies (Gn 14[8ff.]). It is described as full of **'slime pits'** or bitumen wells, *i.e.* holes in the ground from which there issued petroleum, which, when exposed to the air, hardened into solid bitumen. In the rout of the five kings by the four, these holes proved disastrous to the forces of the former, hampering them in their efforts to escape (Gn 14[10]). The battlefield is doubtless thought of as being in the neighbourhood of the Dead Sea, where bitumen is still abundant, masses of it, which have been detached from the bottom, being often found floating on the surface after shocks of earthquake; and the Vale of Siddim is expressly identified in Gn 14[3] with **the Dead Sea** by the explanatory insertion, 'the same is the Salt Sea.' If by this is meant that the vale was *co-extensive with* the Dead Sea, the statement must be erroneous, for the greater part of the Dead Sea (the N. half of which has in places a depth of 1300 feet) is the remains of an inland sea which existed 'long before the appearance of man on the earth,' and consequently long before the age of Abraham. But it is possible that the Vale of Siddim is intended to be identified with only a portion of the Dead Sea; and those who consider Sodom and the other four 'cities of the plain' to have been situated at the S. end of the Dead Sea (where the morass of *es-Sebkha* now is) have taken the site of *Siddim* to be the southern portion of the Sea itself, which is very shallow and may once have been dry ground that has been covered by water through subsidence (cf. art. 'Siddim' in Hastings' *DB*). By other observers, however, the shallows at the southern extremity of the lake are thought to be the result of elevation rather than of submersion; and if Sodom and the other four cities associated with it were situated at its N. end, a barren plain, in its N.W. corner, may have been the scene of the engagement recorded in Gn 14. G. W. Wade.

SIDE, a Greek colony, was situated on the coast of Pamphylia, on a low promontory about 10 miles E. of the river Eurymedon. It had two harbours and was well fortified. The remains are extensive and interesting (*Eski Adalia*). It was one of the cities addressed on behalf of the Jews by the Romans in B.C. 139 (1 Mac 15[23]).

A. Souter.

SIDON.—See Zidon.

SIEGE.—See Fortification and Siegecraft.

SIEVE.—See Agriculture, 3.

SIGN.—Any outward fact which serves as a pledge of a Divine word or a proof of a Divine deed is a *sign*, whether it be natural or supernatural in its character. The rainbow served as the sign of the Noahic, as the rite of circumcision of the Abrahamic, covenant (Gn 9[12] 17[11] 'token,' Ro 4[11]). That God was with, and worked for, the Israelites was shown in the plagues of Egypt (Ex 10[2]). Gideon asks for and receives a sign that it is Jehovah who speaks with him (Jg 6[17]), and Saul also receives signs to confirm the words of Samuel (1 S 10[7]). The prophetic word is thus proved from God (Is 7[14] 38[7], Jer 44[29], Ezk 14[8]). The sign need not be supernatural (1 S 2[34], Is 8[18] 20[3]); but the Jews in the time of Christ desired miracles as proofs of Divine power (Mt 12[38] 16[1], Jn 4[48], 1 Co 1[22]), a request which Jesus refused and condemned. The message of the Baptist, though not confirmed by any sign, was seen to be true (Jn 10[41]). It is Jonah's preaching that is probably referred to when Jesus speaks of him as a sign to his generation (Mt 12[39]). The 'babe wrapped in swaddling clothes, and lying in a manger,' is the simple and humble sign to the shepherds of the birth of a Saviour, Christ the Lord (Lk 2[12]); and He is welcomed by Simeon as 'a sign which is spoken against' (v.[34]). The Fourth Gospel frequently describes the **miracles** of Jesus as signs (3[2] 4[54]), and attributes to them an evidential value which is not prominent in Jesus' own intention. This confirmation of the gospel was found in the Apostolic Church (Mk 16[20], Ac 4[16] 6[8] 8[6. 13] 15[12], 2 Co 12[12]). The last things will be ushered in by extraordinary signs (Mt 24[30], Lk 21[25], 2 Th 2[9]—the working of Satan with all power and signs and lying wonders, Rev 12[1] 13[13] etc.). The faith that depends on signs, if not altogether condemned (Jn 6[26]), is by Jesus deprecated (4[48], cf. 1 Co 1[22]). Cf. also p. 568[b]. Alfred E. Garvie.

SIGNET.—See Seal.

SIHON.—A king of the Amorites at the time of the conquest of Canaan. His dominion lay beyond the Jordan, between Jabbok on the N. and Arnon on the S., extending eastward to the desert (Jg 11[22]). He refused to allow Israel to pass through his land, and was defeated at Jahaz (Nu 21[21-24], Dt 2[26-36], Jg 11[19-22]). **Heshbon**, his capital, was taken; and his land, along with that of Og king of Bashan, became the possession of Reuben, Gad, and the half tribe of Manasseh. Frequent reference is made to his defeat (Nu 32[33], Dt 1[4] 3[2. 6] 4[46. 47] 29[7] 31[4], Jos 2[10] 9[10] 12[2] 13[10. 21. 27], 1 K 4[19], Neh 9[22], Ps 135[11] 136[19]). Sihon in Jer 48[45] stands for Heshbon, the city of Sihon. W. F. Boyd.

SILAS (Acts) and **SILVANUS** (Epistles).—There can be little doubt that the Silvanus of the Pauline Epistles (2 Co 1[19], 1 Th 1[1], 2 Th 1[1]) is the same as the Silas of Acts.

Probably *Silas* is an abbreviation, like *Lucas* (Luke), *Hermas*, *Amplias*, *Epaphras*, *Nymphas*, etc. In Acts we find many such familiar names (cf. esp. *Priscilla* in Acts = *Prisca* Ro 16[3] RV, *Sopater* Ac 20[4] = *Sosipater* Ro 16[21]). We might indeed have expected 'Silvas' not 'Silas,' but these abbreviations are very irregular. It has been suggested that *Silas* was the real name, and of Semitic origin, while *Silvanus* was adopted for a Roman name as being similar in sound; but then we should have expected for the latter 'Silanus,' not Silvanus.

Silas was a Christian prophet (Ac 15[32]), one of the 'chief men among the brethren' (therefore doubtless of Jewish birth), who with 'Judas called Barsabbas' was sent as a delegate from the Apostolic Council with Paul and Barnabas, to convey the decision of the Council (15[22ff.]). He was also probably a Roman citizen (16[37]), though this inference is denied by some. It is uncertain if he returned from Antioch to Jerusalem (15[34] is of doubtful authenticity), but in any case he was soon after chosen by Paul to go with him on the Second Journey, taking Barnabas' place, while Timothy afterwards took John Mark's. For this work Silas' double qualification as a leading Jewish Christian and a Roman citizen would eminently fit him. He accompanied Paul through S. Galatia to Troas, Philippi (where he was imprisoned), Thessalonica, and Berœa. When Paul

went to Athens, Silas and Timothy were left behind, perhaps to bring the latest news from Thessalonica (in case it was possible for the Apostle to return thither), with injunctions to follow at once; and this they probably did. But they seem to have been sent back on a mission to Macedonia (1 Th 3^{1}: Paul was 'left behind at Athens *alone*'), Timothy to Thessalonica, Silas perhaps to Philippi; they rejoined Paul at Corinth, and are associated with him in the letters, probably written thence, to the Thessalonians. Here Silas disappears from the Pauline history. But there is no reason for suspecting a defection like that of Mark; the cordial reference to his former preaching in 2 Co 1^{19} (written on the Third Journey) contradicts this. We afterwards find him attending on St. Peter, acting as bearer and perhaps scribe of his First Epistle (1 P 5^{12}); for there is no reason to suppose that the Petrine Mark and Silvanus were other than those connected with St. Paul. Whether this attendance was before or after the death of St. Paul depends on the date we give to 1 Peter; see a full Excursus in Dr. Bigg's edition of that Epistle. A. J. MACLEAN.

SILK.—See DRESS, **1.**

SILLA.—The servants of king Joash smote him 'at the house of Millo [read rather 'at Beth-Millo'] *on the way* that goeth down to Silla' (2 K 12^{20}). Where or what Silla may have been there is nothing to show. The LXX reads *Gaalla* or *Gaallad*. R. A. S. MACALISTER.

SILOAM ('waters of **Shiloah,**' Is 8^{6}; 'pool of **Siloah**' [RV **Shelah**], Neh 3^{15}; 'tower in Siloam,' Lk 13^{4}; 'pool of Siloam,' Jn 9^{7}; probably identical with the '**king's pool**' of Neh 2^{14}).—The name survives to-day in *Silwān*, the name of the village which occupies the steep E. slopes of the valley of the **Kidron** from opposite the 'Virgin's Fount' (**Gihon**) to near *Bīr Eyyub* (En-rogel). The village consists of a northern, older section inhabited by Moslem *fellahīn*, and a small, southern quarter belonging to immigrant Yemenite Jews from Arabia, while still farther down the valley is an isolated row of huts allotted to the lepers. All the site now occupied by the *fellahīn* has been built upon in ancient times, and the whole area is riddled with cave dwellings, cisterns, rock-cut steps, and ancient tombs. Some of the caves have apparently served the purposes successively of tombs and chapels, while to-day they are dwellings or store-houses. It may be considered as certain that in NT times, and probably for some centuries earlier, there was a considerable village in this situation. The 'tower' which fell (Lk 13^{4}) may have been a building similar to many to-day perched on the edge of the precipitous rocks above the Kidron. Immediately across the valley, to the N. of Siloam, in the very bed of the Kidron, is the Virgin's Fount (see GIHON), the original spring of Jerusalem. In early times the water of this spring, after probably filling a pool here, ran down the valley; at a later period the surplus supply was conducted by an aqueduct built along the N. side of the valley (partially excavated near its W. end), to a spot where is situated to-day a dry pool known as *Birket el-Hamra*. Remains of this aqueduct have been traced. As the water supply was, under this arrangement, vulnerable to attack, king Hezekiah 'stopped the upper watercourse of Gihon and brought it straight down to the west side of the city of David' (2 Ch 32^{30}; cf. 32^{4}, 2 K 20^{20}). The work thus described is the famous **Siloam tunnel**, 1700 feet long. This runs in an extraordinarily serpentine course from the Virgin's Fount, and opens in the Tyropœon Valley under the name '*Ain Silwān*, or the 'Spring of Siloam,' to pour its waters into the pool known as *Birket es-Silwān*, or the 'Pool of Siloam.' These may have been 'the waters of Shiloah that go softly,' a great contrast to the mighty Euphrates (Is $8^{6.\ 7}$). Close to the lower opening of the tunnel was found, in 1880, a Heb. inscription giving an account of the completion of the work. Although undated, there is every reason to believe that this is a contemporary account of Hezekiah's work, and if so, it is the oldest Heb. inscription known.

The original Pool of Siloam, of which the present *Birket* occupies but a part, was excavated by Dr. F. Bliss, and was shown to have been a rock-cut reservoir 71 feet N. to S. by 75 feet E. to W.; and just outside its W. edge was found a flight of ancient rock-cut steps, probably those mentioned in Neh 3^{15}. A covered arcade, 12 feet wide, had been built, probably about NT times, round the four sides of the pool, and a division ran across the centre to separate the sexes when bathing. Such was probably the condition of the pool at the time of the events of Jn 9^{7}. The surplus water of the pool leaves by a sluice at its S. end, and traverses a rock-cut channel to reach the gardens of the Siloam villagers. S. of the *Birket es-Silwān* is a walled-in area which in recent times was a kind of cesspool for the city, the sewage coming down the Tyropœon Valley (now diverted to its proper sewer again) being there stopped by a great dam across the valley. On this dam, at one period, ran the city wall, and Dr. Bliss proved by excavations that it was supported by buttresses of great strength. The area shut off by this dam is the so-called 'lower Pool of Siloam' or *Birket el-Hamra*, and may have been used at one time to store surplus waters from the upper pool. Probably it was the 'reservoir' (RV) or 'ditch' (AV) 'between the two walls, for the water of the old pool' (Is 22^{11}), that is, the reservoir to which the water from the 'old pool' at Gihon was conducted by the earlier aqueduct referred to above, while the dam itself is with some probability considered to be the 'wall of the pool of Siloah by the '**king's garden**' (Neh 3^{15}). The water of the '*Ain Silwān* is naturally, like that of its source (Gihon), brackish and impregnated with sewage; it also runs intermittently.

E. W. G. MASTERMAN.

SILVANUS.—See SILAS.

SILVER.—See MINING AND METALS.

SILVERLING.—Only Is 7^{23}, where the original reads 'a thousand of silver,' the denomination to be supplied being 'shekels' (see MONEY, p. 628^{b}).

SIMEON (Lk 3^{30}, Ac 13^{1} 15^{14} **Symeon**).—**1.** The second son of Jacob and Leah (Gn 29^{33} [J]). By R he, together with Levi, is closely related to Dinah, she being a full sister (cf. 34). From Gn 30^{20} (E) we learn that he had five full brothers, but we are not told how many other sisters or half-sisters he had. J (Gn 37^{35}) speaks of 'all' Jacob's 'daughters,' but their names are nowhere recorded (cf. 46^{7} [P]). J, who is specially inclined to etymologizing (see RVm of Gn 3^{20} $4^{1.\ 25}$ 5^{29} 11^{9} $16^{11.\ 14}$ etc.), connects the name, as in the case of Reuben, with Jacob's 'hatred' of Leah: 'Because Jahweh hath heard (*shāma'*) that I am hated, etc., and she called his name *Shim'ōn*' (29^{33}). The meaning of the name is unknown, but it has been connected by many scholars with the Arabic *sim'*, the hybrid offspring of the hyæna and the female wolf. This word *sim'* appears as a tribal name among the Arabs, and it is well known that numerous tribal names are those of animals; Leah and Rachel probably belong to this class. In such cases the names probably point to the totem worship of the ancestors. If the name appears, as is supposed by some scholars, in the inscriptions of Esarhaddon, it may be of importance in connexion with the history of the tribe, but no light is derived from the form as to its meaning.

In the Blessing of Jacob (Gn 49) Simeon is coupled with **Levi** (wh. see) as sharing in the curse of Jacob and in the consequent dispersion of the tribe among the other tribes of Israel. This is an indication that at the time the 'Blessing' was composed, the tribe was practically dissolved. P's census of the tribes ascribes 59,300 fighting men to Simeon at Sinai (Nu 1^{23}). At Moab there were only 22,200 (26^{14})—another indication

of the future fortune of the tribe. Jg 1[3. 17] makes Simeon join with Judah, at the latter's request, in making the first attack upon the Canaanites, over whom they won a decisive victory at Bezek. Judah in return was to aid Simeon in gaining his possession. Together they attacked and defeated the inhabitants of Zephath-hormah. Hormah is connected with Arad (Nu 21[1-3]) about 17 miles to the S.E. of Hebron. Hormah in Jos 15[30] is assigned to the tribe of Judah, but re-appears in 19[4] as a city of Simeon. We are not told in Judges of the settlement of Simeon, but it is implied in the **Dinah** story (Gn 34) that both he and Levi secured a temporary foothold about **Shechem**. On account of their treachery, however, they were dispossessed and well-nigh annihilated by the revenge taken upon them by the Canaanites. Levi was permanently shattered; Simeon, however, managed to recover sufficiently to establish itself on the southern border of Judah. There, however, they came into contact with nomad tribes of Edomites and Arabs—a circumstance which doubtless contributed to their failure to rehabilitate themselves and win a permanent abode among the original occupants of the land. They are not mentioned in the Song of Deborah (Jg 5), but this may be accounted for by their position. Judah also had no part in that important struggle, and is passed over in silence. In historical times nothing is heard of them, and the conclusion is justified that they eventually became merged with the neighbouring tribes, and were later, with them, absorbed by Judah, as Reuben was afterwards by Gad. This conclusion is supported by the fact that the cities which are assigned to Simeon in the list given in Jos 19[1-9] re-appear elsewhere as cities of Judah (cf. Jos 15[26-32. 42], 1 K 19[3], Neh 11[26-29], 1 S 27[6] 30[30]). In connexion with David's ventures to win over the Edomites and other tribes to the south, the name of Simeon does not appear, as might have been expected if the tribe had preserved its solidarity. According to 1 Ch 4[39ff.], Simeonites advanced against Gedor and Mt. Seir, in the time of Hezekiah apparently, and there secured permanent possessions. Instead of *Gedor*, the LXX reads *Gerar*, the name of the Philistine city of Abimelech. It must be admitted that our sources are too uncertain and too indefinite to enable us to speak decisively on almost any point of interest in connexion with this tribe. On the one hand, too much credence is given to statements of late writers, as though they furnished indubitable evidence; on the other hand, far-reaching conclusions are often drawn from fragmentary and isolated expressions, both Biblical and extra-Biblical, which are little warranted. See also Tribes of Israel.

2. The great-grandfather of Judas Maccabæus (1 Mac 2[1]). **3.** The 'righteous and devout' (*dikaios kai eulabēs*) man who took the infant Jesus in his arms and blessed Him, on the occasion of the presentation in the Temple (Lk 2[25ff.]). The notion that this Simeon is to be identified with a Rabbi who was the son of Hillel and the father of Gamaliel I. is very precarious. James A. Craig.

SIMON (a Greek form of *Simeon*).—**1.** Simon Chosameus, who was found to have a 'strange' wife (1 Es 9[32] = Ezr 10[31] **Simeon**). **2.** The subject of the encomium in Sir 50[1ff.], 'son of Onias, the great (or high) priest.' It is doubtful if Simon I. or Simon II. (both 3rd cent. B.C.) is meant. **3.** The Maccabæan high priest and ethnarch, son of Mattathias, slain by his son-in-law Ptolemy, B.C. 135 (1 Mac 16[16]; see Maccabees, 4). **4.** A Benjamite, guardian of the Temple in the time of Onias III., who suggested to Apollonius, the governor, to plunder it (2 Mac 3[4]). **5.** See Peter. **6.** See Simon Magus. **7.** Simon the Cananæan, one of the Twelve (Mt 10[4], Mk 3[18]). The surname is an Aramaic equivalent of 'Zealot' (Lk 6[15], Ac 1[13]). **8.** See Brethren of the Lord. **9.** Simon the Leper, our Lord's host at Bethany (Mt 26[6], Mk 14[3]; cf. Jn 12[2]), possibly husband or father of Martha, doubtless cured of his leprosy at some time before the anointing by Mary (cf. Mary, 2). **10.** The Pharisee who was our Lord's host when the sinful woman anointed Him (Lk 7[40]). The contradictions between these two stories are so great that it is difficult to suppose that they relate the same event in different versions. Two such incidents may well have happened, and one may have suggested the other (cf. Mary, 2). **11.** Father, or brother, of Judas Iscariot, himself surnamed Iscariot (Jn 6[71] 13[26] 'Judas of Simon Iscariot,' 14[2] 'Judas Iscariot of Simon'). **12.** The Cyrenian who bore our Lord's cross (Mt 27[32], Mk 15[21], Lk 23[26]); see Alexander and Rufus. The followers of Basilides in the 2nd cent. said that Simon was crucified instead of Jesus. **13.** The tanner, Peter's host at Joppa (Ac 9[43]).

A. J. Maclean

SIMON MAGUS.—Mentioned in Ac 8[9-24], and described as using sorcery in Samaria and thereby amazing the people. He claimed to be 'some great one,' and was regarded by all as 'that power of God which is called Great.' When Philip reached Samaria, and, preaching the gospel, gathered many into the Church, Simon also fell under the influence of his message. We are told that he 'believed,' which cannot mean less than that he recognized that the Evangelist exerted, in the name of Jesus Christ, powers the reality of which he could not deny, and the efficacy of which 'amazed' him. He therefore sought baptism, and, being baptized, continued with Philip. The Apostles Peter and John came down to Samaria to establish the work begun by Philip, and by the laying on of their hands gave the Holy Ghost to the converts. This was no doubt evidenced by the miraculous gifts which were vouchsafed by God to His Church during its early years. The shallowness of Simon's belief was now shown, for he offered to buy from the Apostles the power of conferring the Holy Ghost. Peter rebuked him in language of such sternness as to lead him to beg of the Apostle to pray that the judgment of God might not fall upon him for his sin.

Simon holds the unenviable position of being the one outstanding heretic in the NT: and from then until now his character has been held in particular odium. Ignatius, the earliest of the Fathers, calls him 'the first-born of Satan': Irenæus marks him out as the first of all heretics: and later centuries have shown their sense of the greatness of his sin by using the word *simony* to indicate the crime of procuring a spiritual office by purchase. Justin Martyr mentions three times in his *Apology*, and once in his *Dialogue*, a Simon as a leader of an heretical sect. He states that Gitta, a village in Samaria, was his birthplace, and speaks of him as visiting Rome, and being so successful in his magical impostures as to have secured worship for himself as God, and to have been honoured with a statue, which bore the inscription Simoni Deo Sancto ('to Simon the Holy God'). He further mentions that 'almost all the Samaritans, and even a few of other nations,' worshipped him as 'first God' (cf. Ac 8[10] 'this man is that power of God which is called Great'). He also adds that Helena, a fallen woman who accompanied him, was 'the first idea generated by him.' Justin does not specifically identify this Simon with the Simon of the Acts, but there can be no reasonable doubt that he held them to be one and the same.

There was discovered in Rome in 1574 the base of a statue bearing the inscription 'Semoni Sanco Deo fidio sacrum Sex. Pompejus . . . donum dedit.' It is therefore generally assumed, and no doubt correctly, that Justin, being shown by the Simonians at Rome this statue of the Sabine deity Semo Sancus, was led to believe erroneously that it had been erected in honour of Simon. But this error of his regarding what had occurred in Rome need not invalidate his statements regarding Simon himself in Samaria and the progress and tenets of his sect, for he himself was a Samaritan and thus cognizant of the facts. Irenæus deals more fully with Simon and his followers, though there is good reason for assuming that he is really indebted to a lost work of Justin for his

information. He directly identifies him with the Simon of Ac 8, places him first in his list of heretics, and makes him the father of Gnosticism. From the account he gives of the doctrines of the Simonians, it is clear that by his time they had developed into a system of Gnosticism; but it is very doubtful whether he is right in making the Simon of the NT the first setter forth of Gnostic myths. The beginning of Gnosticism is very obscure, but we may be fairly certain that it had not arisen as early as the scenes described in Ac 8. The Simonian doctrines as given by Irenæus are therefore doubtless *developments* of the heretical teaching of Simon, which, even from the short account in the Acts, would seem to have lent itself readily to Gnostic accretions. As time went on many fanciful additions were made to his history, until in the 4th cent. the legend reached its completeness. Throughout these romances Simon is found travelling about from place to place in constant opposition to Peter, uttering calumnies against the Apostle; but being pursued by Peter he is ultimately vanquished and discredited. The earlier forms of the story lay the scene of the travels chiefly in Asia Minor, and describe the final conflict as taking place at Antioch. The later forms, however, make Rome, in the days of Nero, the ultimate goal of the journeyings. Here Simon is said to have met his death through his conflict with Peter or with Peter and Paul. By one tradition the magician, seeing his influence waning, desired his followers to bury him in a grave, promising to rise again the third day. They obeyed, and he perished, for, as Hippolytus adds, 'he was not the Christ.' By another tradition Simon is depicted as deciding to give to the Emperor a crowning proof of his magical powers by attempting to fly off to God. He is reported to have flown for a certain distance over Rome, but, through Peter's prayers, to have fallen and broken his leg, and to have been ultimately stoned to death by the populace. Another form of the tradition represented Paul as a companion of Peter in the contest, and as praying while Peter adjured the demons that supported Simon in his flight, in the name of God and of Jesus Christ, to uphold him no longer. Simon thereupon fell to the earth and perished.

Renewed interest in the history of Simon was aroused in modern times by Baur's maintaining that in the Clementine literature, where the most developed form of the legend occurs, Simon is intended to represent not the actual Simon of the Acts, but rather Paul, whom he (Baur) conceived to have been fiercely opposed theologically to Peter. Full information on this theory may be found in Hastings' *DB* iv. 523f., where its unsoundness is shown. It may be said to be now generally rejected.

It should be added that Hippolytus ascribes a work entitled 'The Great Revelation' to Simon, and quotes largely from it; and that the sect of the Simonians did not long survive, for Origen states that he did not believe that there were in his day thirty of them in existence.

CHARLES T. P. GRIERSON.

SIMPLICITY.—**1.** In the OT 'simple' is, with one exception, the translation of a word (*pĕthî*), whose root-idea is 'openness.' Openness of mind is praiseworthy when it implies willingness to receive instruction; it becomes blameworthy when it connotes a disposition equally receptive of good and of evil, or an incapacity to distinguish between right and wrong. In Proverbs 'the simple' are represented as needing 'prudence' (1^4 RVm), and they are exhorted to 'understand prudence' (8^5 RVm). In $14^{15.\ 18}$ 'the prudent' are favourably contrasted with 'the simple' who 'believe every word,' and therefore 'inherit folly.' It is 'the testimony of the Lord' that makes the simple wise (Ps 19^7; cf. 119^{130}). In 2 S 15^{11} 'simplicity' means 'integrity' (*tōm*). In the LXX the Heb. word (*yōsher*) for 'straightness' or 'uprightness' is translated by the NT equivalent of 'simplicity' (*haplotēs*).

2. In the NT 'simple' (*akeraios* = Lat. *integer*) is used twice (Mt 10^{16} RVm, Ro 16^{19}) to describe the character in which there is 'no foreign admixture'; the RV retains 'simplicity' as the rendering of *haplotēs* only in 2 Co 11^3, where it denotes those in whose character there are 'no folds,' who are whole-hearted in their devotion to Christ (Trench, *NT Synonyms*, § lvi.). The Christian ideal is 'simplicity toward Christ' (2 Co 11^3). In the life of His loyal disciples dove-like simplicity is blended with the wisdom of the serpent (Mt 10^{16}). Their 'eye' being 'single' (*haplous*), their 'whole body' is 'full of light' (Mt 6^{22}). Christ Jesus being made unto them 'wisdom from God' (1 Co 1^{30}), they are no longer beguiled like Eve, but are 'wise unto that which is good, and simple unto that which is evil' (Ro 16^{19}).

J. G. TASKER.

SIN.—The teaching of the Bible with regard to the doctrine of sin may be said to involve a desire, on the part of the leaders of Jewish thought, to give a rational account of the fact, the consciousness, and the results of human error. Whatever be the conclusion arrived at respecting the compilation of the early chapters of Genesis, one thought, at least, clearly emerges: the narratives are saturated through and through with religious conceptions. Omnipotence, sovereignty, condescending active love, and perfect moral harmony, all find their place in the narratives there preserved, as attributes of the Divine character. The sublime conception of human dignity and worth is such that, in spite of all temptation to the contrary belief, it remains to-day as a firmly rooted, universally received verity, that man is made 'in the image of God' (Gn 1^{27}).

I. THE OLD TESTAMENT.—**1. The early narratives.**—It is remarkable that in the story of the Fall the writer (J) attributes the sin to a positive act of conscious disobedience to God, and not only so, but he regards it as an entity standing over against 'good' (2^{17}). This is more clearly brought out in the same writer's narrative of the murder of Abel, where sin is represented as 'couching at the door,' lying in wait for the overthrow of the sullen homicide (4^7). The profound psychological truth that the power of sin grows in the character of him who yields to its dictates is also noticed in this story. Falsehood and selfishness and defiance of God are heard in Cain's answer to the Divine voice. These stories are the beginning of the history of a long process of development which resulted in the Flood. From individual acts of wrong-doing we are brought face to face with the condition, 'every imagination of the thoughts of his heart was only evil continually' (6^5). Hitherto God is represented as commanding, punishing, pleading with man, and even encouraging him with hopes of future restoration (3^{15}). The growth and arrogance of sin in the human race became so pronounced and universal that He is said to have rejected man completely, and in His wrath to have destroyed His creation, which was infected by man's corruption. He is 'grieved at his heart,' and is repentant for having 'made man on the earth' ($6^{6f.}$). The same narrator, in giving the current explanation of the diversity of human language, notes another racial rebellion against God, which was punished by the overthrow of Babel (11^{1-9}).

A change in the Divine method of dealing with sinful man is now noticeable. The writers lead gradually up to this, beginning with Noah, whose righteousness (walk with God, cf. 6^9) stands in solitary contrast to the universal decadence. The educative elective principle enters into the relationships of God and man. A covenant is established by which these relationships are defined, and by consequence human consciousness is gradually deepened. As a result, temptation to sin becomes more formidable and many-sided. In individual cases outside the covenant we see, indeed, evidences of a higher standard of moral obligation than that reached by the Patriarchs (cf. Gn $12^{18f.}$ $20^{9f.}$). At the same time, the history of Esau furnishes us with proof that already glimmerings of a more profound ethical basis upon which to build human character, than that recognized elsewhere, had begun to obtrude themselves. If in the case of Abraham 'faith was reckoned for righteousness' (Ro 4^9), and belief in the fidelity of God's promises, in the face of the most untoward conditions, constituted the foundation-stone of the patriarch's noble character, so in Esau's case it was the lack of this belief, with the consequent inability to appreciate the dignity to which he was born, that lay at the root of his great and pathetic failure. The secret of Joseph's power to resist tempta-

tion lay, not merely in his natural inability to be guilty of a breach of trust towards his master, but still more in his intense realization that to yield would be a 'great wickedness and sin against God' (Gn 39[9]). Thus, while it is true to say that the dominant conception of sin in the OT is that it is the great disturbing element in the personal relations of God and man, it seems to have been realized very early that the chief scope for its exercise lay in the domain of human intercourse. The force of Abimelech's complaint against Abraham lay in the fact that the former was guiltless of wronging the latter, whereas he was in serious danger of sinning against God in consequence of the patriarch's duplicity.

2. The Sinaitic Law.—The next great critical point in the evolution of human consciousness of sin is reached in the promulgation of the Law from Sinai. Here the determinative process of Divine election is seen in its widest and most elaborate working. The central purpose of the Law may be considered as of a twofold character. Not only are the restrictions tabulated in order to the erection of barriers against the commission of sin ('God is come to prove you, and that his fear may be before you, that ye sin not,' Ex 20[20]), but positive enactments regulating the personal communion of God and Israel provide frequently recurring opportunities of loving and joyful service (Ex 23[14ff.]). The law of restitution, as given in Ex 21–22, may be regarded as harsh in some of its enactments, but it may be easily conceived as an immense stride forward on the road to 'the royal law, Thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself' (Ja 2[8]). Nor can it be said that restitution and mutual service between God and His people are left out of sight in those chapters of Exodus which are universally recognized as containing the oldest part of the Mosaic Code. These anthropopathic conceptions of God abound, and are seen in the idea of His jealousy being roused by idolatrous practices (Ex 20[5]), in the promises made to Israel that, in return for services to Jehovah, He will save His people in the face of their enemies (Ex 23[25ff.]). Thus it will be easily understood that, as the Levitical and Priestly Codes were gradually elaborated into a somewhat intricate system of legal and ceremonial obligations, the nomenclature of sin in its various aspects came to be accordingly enlarged. For example, in one verse three distinct words occur in connexion with Divine forgiveness ('forgiving **iniquity** and **transgression** and **sin**,' Ex 34[7]), and though there is a certain vagueness in the precise meaning to be attached to each of these words, whether it be guilt or punishment, rebellion or sin-offering, wickedness considered as a condition, or trespass, which is in the writers' minds, the thoughts underlying each have to do with the relations between God and His people. It must not be forgotten, moreover, that the ceremonial enactments provided a circle of ideas of permanent importance in the Hebrew conception of Jehovah's character. The law of clean and unclean animals and things paved the way for truer and nobler thoughts of God's holiness, and of the uncleanness of sin as being its contradiction. The 'trespass' of Achan, involving as it did the whole of Israel in his guilt and punishment, did not consist so much in his stealing of the common spoil taken from the enemy, as in his appropriating what was 'holy,' or 'devoted' unto the service of God (Jos 7[1. 11ff.]). The presence of 'the devoted thing' with the common property of the army dragged the whole people into a position of guilt, which could be expiated only by the death of the offender. In this way alone could they be restored to Divine favour, and their army receive Divine succour.

3. Deuteronomy and the Historical Books.—In the Deuteronomic summary of the Law, whatever be the date at which it was edited, a loftier ground of obedience is attained. Love, of God and of their fellow-men, is more explicitly dwelt on as the motive power of human life (Dt 6[5] 10[12] etc.), and the heart is again and again referred to as the seat of that love, both passively and actively (11[18] 6[6] 10[16]). The basis upon which it is rested is the fact of God's love for them and their fathers evidenced in many vicissitudes and in spite of much to hinder its activity (4[37] 7[7f.] 10[15]). Though there are numerous echoes of the older conception that the keeping of God's commandments is one side of a bargain which conditions men's happiness and prosperity (4[24. 40] 6[15]), yet we observe a lofty range of thought bringing in its train truer ideas of sin and guilt. The sternness of God is insisted on, but as having for its objective the good of His people (10[13] 6[24]). It is a necessary phase of His love, compelling them to recognize that sin against God is destructive of the sinner. The ultimate aim of the Deuteronomist is the leading of men to hate sin as God hates it, and to love mercy and righteousness as and because God loves them (cf. Dt 10[18f.], Lv 19[33f.]), by establishing the closest relationship and communion between Him and His people (cf. Dt 14[1f.] 7[6] 26[18f.] 27[9] 28[9] etc.).

One sin is specially insisted on by the Deuteronomist, namely, the sin of **idolatry**. No doubt this is largely due to the experience of the nation under the judges, and during the history of Israel subsequent to the great schism. The national disasters which recur so frequently during the former of these periods are always attributed to this sin; while the return of the people, under the guidance of a great representative hero, is always marked by the blessings of peace and prosperity. So in the story of the Northern Kingdom the constant refrain meets us in each succeeding reign: 'He cleaved unto the sins of Jeroboam the son of Nebat, wherewith he made Israel to sin' (2 K 3[3] 10[29] 13[2] etc.). During the vigorous and successful reign of Ahab and Jezebel, the seeds of national decay were sown, and the historian neglects not to point out the source to which the later mournful decline may be traced (1 K 16[31]). On the other hand, there is little reference to this sin during the reigns of Saul and David, and, in spite of the weaknesses of character displayed by the former, the historian pictures for us a great advance in national vigour and growth under these kings and their successors in the Southern Kingdom. The great rebellion against the Davidic dynasty is itself attributed to the declension of Solomon in his old age from the pure Jehovah-worship so zealously and consistently advocated by his father. We must remember also that, side by side with the introduction of foreign religious ideas, vice peculiar to Oriental despotism invaded the royal court and the nation of Israel. We are not, however, altogether limited to what is here inferentially taught as to national sin, with its consequent national punishment. David himself is represented as guilty of a sin which marred his character as an individual, and of an act of indiscretion which seems to have been regarded as a breach of that trust held by him as God's vicegerent on earth. Both these cases are of interest for the light which they throw on the doctrine of sin and its consequences. In the case of Bathsheba, which was a purely personal transgression, the prophet Nathan comes not only as the bearer of a message of Divine pardon to the repentant sinner, but also as the stern judge pronouncing sentence of severe and protracted punishment. The death of the newly born child and the subsequent distractions arising out of the affair of Absalom are looked on as expressions of God's wrath and of retributive justice (see 2 S 12[10-18]). Whatever the contemporary reasons may have been for regarding his public act as sinful, and even the reckless Joab considered it an act of wanton folly, we find the same features of repentance and forgiveness, and the same inclusion of others in the suffering consequent on its commission. The prophet Gad comes to the king as the revealer of God's wrath and the messenger of God's pardon (2 S 24[1-25]). Into this narrative, however, another element is introduced, telling of the difficulty

which was felt, even at this early stage of human history, as to the origin of sin. God is said by the early historian of David's reign to have been the author of the king's act, because 'His anger was kindled against Israel' (2 S 24^{1}). It is difficult to avoid the conclusion that at one stage of Hebrew thought God was looked on as, in some respects at least, the author of evil (cf. Ex 4^{21} 7^{3} 14^{8}, Jg 9^{23}, 1 S 16^{14} 18^{10} 19^{9}). Nor ought we to be surprised at this, for the problem is one which was sure to present itself very early to the minds of thoughtful men; while the numerous instances where the commission of a sin seemed to have been made subservient by God to the exhibiting of His power and love afforded presumptive *prima facie* evidence that He Himself willed the act as the minister of His glory (see the history of Joseph with the writer's comments thereon, Gn 45^{5} 50^{20}, Ps 105^{17}; cf. Job 1^{6-12} 2^{1-7}, Hos 2). It is interesting to note the advance made in speculative thought with regard to this still unsolved, and perhaps insoluble, problem, between the time of the above-mentioned historian and that of the later Chronicler (1 Ch 21^{1}). Here the name of Satan or 'Adversary' is boldly inserted as the author of the sin, a fact which reminds us of the categorical denial of the Son of Sirach, 'He hath not commanded any man to be ungodly; and he hath not given any man licence to sin' (15^{20}). That the origin of sin continued to be debated and speculated upon down to a very late period is evidenced by the vehement warning of St. James against imputing to God the temptation to evil (Ja 1^{13}), and by the counter assertion that God is the Author of nothing but good (v.^{17}).

4. The Prophets.—By far the most important stage in the history of the OT doctrine of sin is that which is marked by the teaching of the Prophets. The four practically contemporary prophets of the 8th cent. are Amos, Hosea, Micah, and Isaiah. The first named reveals a wide outlook on the world at large, and a recognition of the prevalence and power of sin in other nations than Israel. Damascus, Philistia, Tyre, Edom, Ammon, and Moab, as well as Judah and Israel, all come under the displeasure of the prophet Amos. Each had been guilty of cruelty and wrong to the people of Jehovah. The characteristic faults of these heathen peoples—lust and tyranny of the strong over the weak—had invaded Israel too. The love of money, with its attendant evils of injustice, and robbery of the poor by the wealthy, is inveighed against by both Amos and Hosea as deserving of the wrath of God (cf. Hos $12^{7f.}$, Am 4^{1} $8^{4ff.}$). This degeneracy of the people of the Northern Kingdom during the reign of Jeroboam II. was as much in evidence in the ranks of prophets and priests as among the other ruling classes, and to it, as the cause, is assigned the downfall which so speedily followed (Am 3^{11} 6^{1-7} 2^{7} $9^{8ff.}$, Hos 4^{9} $9^{7f.}$ 5^{1}, Mic $3^{5.\ 11}$ etc.). Both Isaiah and Micah mourn over the same moral declension (Is 5^{8} $1^{16f.}$, Mic 2^{2} etc.), and it may be said that it is owing to the preaching of these four prophets that the centre of gravity, as it were, of sin is changed, and the principles of universal justice and love, as the fundamental attributes of Jehovah's character and rule, are established. It was the prophetic function to deepen the consciousness of sin by revealing a God of moral righteousness to a people whose peculiar relationship to Jehovah involved both immense privileges and grave responsibilities (Am 3^{2}, Hos $3^{4ff.}$, Mic $3^{1ff.}$ etc.). Terrible, however, as were the denunciations, and emphatic as were the declarations of the prophets against the vices of greed, oppression, and lust, they were no less clear in their call to repentance, and in promises of restoration and pardon (Is $1^{18f.}$, Mic 7^{18}, Hos 6^{1}, Am $9^{11ff.}$). The story of Jonah of Gath-hepher is the revelation of a growing feeling that the righteous dominion of Jehovah was not, in the exercise of its moral influence, confined exclusively to Israel. The consciousness of sin and the power of repentance have now their place in the lives of nations outside the Abrahamic covenant.

Hitherto the prophetic teaching was largely confined to *national* sin and *national* repentance. It is not till the days of Jeremiah that the importance, in this respect, of the individual begins to manifest itself. The lament of Jeremiah, it is true, frequently expresses itself in terms of national infidelity (Jer 2^{5-37} 8^{7} 35^{14-17} 31^{28} $32^{32ff.}$ etc.). At the same time an element of individualistic thought enters largely into his teaching (cf. 17^{10} 32^{19}). On its darker side he notes how universally present sin is seen to be: 'from the least even unto the greatest,' 'from the prophet even unto the priest' all are infected (8^{10}, cf. v.^{6}). It is impossible to find a man either just or truth-loving (5^{1}); and the explanation is not far to seek, for sin is a disease which affects the individual heart, and therefore poisons the whole life of each man (cf. 13^{7} 5^{23} 7^{24} etc.). The nature of the disease he characterizes as desperate in the awful deceit which supervenes (17^{9}). A hopeless pessimism seems at times to have pervaded the prophet's teaching, and such of the people as were aroused by his appeals were smitten by a blank despair (10^{23} 2^{25} 18^{12} 13^{23} etc.). As the prophet grows older, however, and gains a wider knowledge from his own bitter experiences, he discovers a way of escape from the overpowering influences of sin. As the heart is the seat of evil, it is found that the creative act of God can provide a remedy (31^{33} 32^{39} 24^{7}). A new heart straight from the hand of God, beating with new and holy impulses, is the sure, as it is the only, hope for men (32^{40}). Every individual, from the least to the greatest, in whom the Divine activity has been at work shall have the felicity of hearing the blessed sentence, 'I will forgive their iniquity, and their sin will I remember no more' (31^{34}).

Following up and developing this tendency, Ezekiel is express in his declaration of the moral independence of each man. Repudiating, as Jeremiah did, the doctrine that the sin and moral guilt of the fathers are imputed to the children, he elaborates clearly and emphatically the truth, which to us seems axiomatic, that the soul of the father is personally independent of the soul of the son, with the terrible but inevitable corollary, 'the soul that sinneth, it shall die' (Ezk $18^{4.\ 20}$, cf. vv. $^{10-20}$). The profound truth which lies at the basis of the ancient belief in the close interaction of individual and racial guilt is, of course, valid for all time, and has been sanctified by the historical fact of the Incarnation. The life, work, and death of Christ have their value in the re-establishment of this truth, and in the re-creation, as it were, of the concurrent truth of the solidarity of the whole human race (cf. the expression 'we are all become as one that is unclean,' Is 64^{6}).

5. Psalms.—We turn now to the Psalms, and there find, as might be expected, the deepest consciousness of personal guilt on the part of the sinner. Of course, it is to be remembered that the Jewish Psalter is the product of different epochs in the national history, ranging probably from the heyday of prophetic religion to the age immediately succeeding the Captivity, if not much later. It may be said, indeed, that this volume of sacred poetry constitutes a kind of antiphonal response to the preaching of the Prophets. Confession of and repentance for sin, both personal and national, constitute the prominent features of the authors' attitude. A deep love for God breathes through each poem, and a profound hope that at some future date Israel may once again be restored to the favour of Jehovah.

The religious instinct of the compilers displays itself in their choice of those Psalms which form a preface or introduction to each of the five sections or books constituting the entire volume, setting the music, so to speak, of each part. The First Book (Pss 1–41) opens with a Psalm which is simply an expression of the power of sin and of the awful danger to which men are exposed by dallying with it. It is thus well fitted to be the prelude to such outbursts as occur in

Pss 6[8f.] 10[1ff.] 17[8ff.] 22[1ff.] etc. The Second Book (Pss 42–72) commences with a poem which is the language of a soul desperately longing for full communion with its God, and, in spite of an oppressive fear heightened by the mockery of sinners, triumphing in the hope that the lovingkindness of Jehovah will yet call forth praise and joy. It is in this section that we have teaching of the deepest import touching the consciousness of personal and racial guilt; and at the same time a detestation of sin accompanied by a spiritual longing after inward righteousness hard to be paralleled in the OT. Here, too, hope conquers; forgiveness and restoration are looked forward to with sublime confidence. Perhaps in 50[7-15] we have an echo of the Prophetic denunciation of legalism in its degenerate days (cf. Is 1[11-15], Jer 7[21ff.], Am 5[21], Mal 1[10]). The Third Book opens with a poem (Ps 73) in which the holiness of God is opposed to the folly and pride of sinners. The difficulty attaching to the problem of the relation between sin and suffering, so dramatically discussed and worked up in the Book of Job, is here dwelt on. For its answer we are referred to the certain fact that God is the strength and refuge of all those who are pure in heart. In Ps 90, which opens the Fourth section of the volume, the author puts the eternal and omniscient God over against man, with his iniquities and secret sins, as they call forth His terrible but just wrath (v.[11]). The beauty of holiness and the confident trust that God is the ultimate refuge of all who come to Him are again and again dwelt on in the Psalms of this book (cf. 103[11ff.]). In the Fifth division, beginning with Ps 107, the note of praise is struck, and is kept up almost without intermission to the end. The final exaltation of Zion, corresponding to the lasting overthrow of iniquity (Ps 107[42]), is proclaimed with a certainty which can express itself only in songs of loudest praise. With an insight which can only be termed inspiration, we find one of the poets co-ordinating the forgiveness of Jah and the fear of Him as cause and effect (130[3f.], cf. 'The Psalms' in *The Cambridge Bible*, by Kirkpatrick).

6. Job, Proverbs, Ecclesiastes.—The confidence thus expressed is all the more remarkable because of the general belief in the universality of sin and of its effects (cf. Ps 14[2f.] 51[5]), a belief which was shared by the authors of the Book of Job (14[4] 15[14ff.] 4[17]), Proverbs (20[9]), and Ecclesiastes (7[20], cf. 1 K 8[46]). In the Proverbs we have what might be described as an attempt to place the moral life on an intellectual basis. The antithesis of wisdom and folly is that which marks the life of the righteous man and the sinner. Ethical maxims, the compiled results of human experience, follow each other in quick succession, but the book is devoid of the bright, warm hopefulness so characteristic of the Psalms. The sinner is left to his fate, and the wise man is he who, ordering his own life aright, leaves the fool to pursue his folly and deserve his fate.

The author of the Book of Job sets himself to solve the problem of the connexion between sin and human suffering, and though he fails, as he was bound to fail, to clear up the difficulty, he makes it evident that the one cannot always be measured in terms of the other. The conviction of his own innocence—Job's most treasured personal possession—upholds his belief against the prevalent conception that sin is *always* punished here and now, and that righteousness is *always* rewarded in like manner. The end of this dramatic treatise, however, emphasizes the popular creed, though the experience of Job must have shaken its universal validity. The conception of sin is, of course, entirely ethical, but is very wide in its scope. In defending himself against the thinly veiled accusations of his friends, Job reveals his ideas of the range and depth of the ravages of sin in human life and conduct, and gives evidence of remarkable spiritual penetration (*e.g.* ch. 31, see R. A. Watson's commentary on this book in *The Expositor's Bible*). Mention may, perhaps, be usefully made here of Elihu's contribution to the discussion, in which he intervenes by a lengthened argument to prove that suffering may be looked on not merely as *punishment* for sin, but also as a means of *discipline*, and as designed by God as a *warning* against sin (cf. chs 33 ff.).

II. Apocryphal Books.—**Sirach** and **Wisdom of Solomon.**—The intellectualism which is characteristic of Proverbs and Ecclesiastes finds a prominent place in Sirach and the Wisdom of Solomon. There are here two sharply defined classes of men ('two and two, one against another,' Sir 33[15]), a dualistic conception which permeates all creation (cf. 42[24]). The sinner is to be dealt with unmercifully ('help not the sinner,' 12[4]), for no good can come from him who refuses instruction. It is possible, however, for the sinner to return unto the Lord and forsake his sins (17[25f.]). The only way in which righteousness may be pursued is by the cultivation of wisdom and instruction, and by paying heed to the experiences of daily life (34[9] 39[1-8] 14[20ff.]). Let reason be the guide of human action and all will be well (37[16], cf. 32[19]). It is possible for the educated man to acquire such a command over his inclinations that he is able of himself to make the great choice between life and death (15[17]), but for the fool there is little hope (15[7]). Looking back on the centuries of human history, the writer discovers that sin has brought in its train all the great physical calamities which mark its progress (39[28ff.]). The relation is, however, external, and is a mark of Divine vengeance and wrath against sinners (cf. 40[9f.]). There is no trace of the profound conception of spiritual sympathy between the different orders of creation, characteristic of the teaching of St. Paul (cf. Ro 8[19-22]).

The author of the Book of Wisdom displays the same fundamental thought that wisdom and sin are totally incompatible (Wis 1[4f.]). Ignorance and folly are identified with sin (2[21f.] 4[15] 5[4] etc.), and not merely the causes of sin. The only way to attain to righteousness is by the careful, unremitting discipline of the reason (cf. 2[1] 17[1] 6[15f.]). Running like a thread of gold through the whole book, however, is the conception of the immortality of righteousness and of those who cultivate wisdom (1[15] 2[23] 3[4] 6[18f.] 8[13. 17] etc.). In the beautiful personification of Wisdom (6[12]–8[21]) we find the writer not only speaking of the Spirit of God as being its Author and Diffuser, but practically identifying them with each other (cf. 9[17] 12[1], cf. 2 Es 14[22]). The universality of sin does not enter largely into his teaching (cf., however, 3[12] 12[10] 13[1]), and at times we feel as if he believed that some were born to be righteous and some to sin, the power of moral choice being really confined to the former (cf. 8[19ff.] 7[16f.]).

III. The New Testament.—**1. Synoptists.**—The practical outcome of the teaching of the OT is seen in the emphasis laid by the first of the Synoptists upon the function which it was the destiny of Jesus to discharge in connexion with sin. The angelic communication to Joseph (Mt 1[21]) may, without illegitimate criticism of origins, be considered as one of those illuminating flashes of Divine revelation which obtain their interpretative value in the light of subsequent history. At any rate, this is the feature of Jesus' work upon which the Apostles laid particular stress, in their earliest as in their latest teaching. It is true that the preparatory work of the Baptist aroused in the breasts of the multitudes who thronged to hear him an active consciousness of sin, together with the necessity for repentance and the possibility of consequent forgiveness (Mk 1[4]). The preaching of John was, however, necessarily lacking in one element which makes the life and work of Jesus what it pre-eminently is—a new power introduced into the world, giving unto men the gift of repentance (Ac 5[31], cf. 11[18]), and enabling them 'to turn away every one from their iniquities' (cf. Ac 3[26]). It is significant in this connexion that the recorded teaching of Jesus bears comparatively few traces of direct abstract instruction regarding sin. At the same time, we must not forget the scathing denunciation hurled by Him at the legalistic, and worse, conceptions of sin abounding in the Rabbinical schools of His time (cf. Mt 23[4-28], Mk 7[9ff.]), or the positive, authoritative declarations by which He drew from the ancient laws of Sinai the essential ethical ideas therein enshrined (cf. Mt 5[21-48], where the teaching may be described as an intension rather than

an extension of the area of sin). For Him 'the law and the prophets' had an abiding significance (Mt 7^{12}), but their regulative values needed re-adjustment. Sin, against which the Law was a deterrent, and the preaching of the Prophets a persistently solemn protest, has its domain not in the physical but in the spiritual region of man's life (cf. Lk 11^{38-44}). It is by poisoning the life at its roots that it destroys the whole upward growth, and it is here that the language of Jesus assumes its most formidable prophetic severity. There are certain classes of sins, however, against which He uttered His most solemn warnings. Their common characteristic is that of wilfulness or deliberateness. Remarkable amongst these is that described as **'blasphemy against the Holy Ghost'** (cf. Mk 3^{29} = Lk 12^{10} = Mt $12^{31f.}$), which St. Mark designates 'an eternal sin.' Taking into consideration the circumstances in which the words were spoken, it is clear that Jesus was pointing to a condition of the soul when it loses all power to retrace its steps, when it reaches a place where even God's forgiveness cannot follow. The sin of unreality was one to which the Pharisees were specially addicted, and to it, therefore, He drew their attention constantly (Mt 23^{5-7}, Mk $12^{38f.}$, Lk $20^{45f.}$ 11^{43}; cf. Mt 6^{1-16} 5^{20}).

Every sin is bound to exercise influence, not only on the life and character of those immediately guilty, but also on a circle outside. There is, however, a species having for its special object the dragging down of those who would otherwise be innocent. The terms of the emphatic warning against leading others astray, either by positive interference or by the force of example (cf. Mk 9^{42}, Mt 18^{6}, Lk 17^{2}), remind us of the sad presage by which Jesus foreshadowed the traitor's end (Mt 26^{24}). The word used to denote this sin is also employed in speaking of sin in its relation to the guilty individual. The fact that Jesus deals with both aspects at the same time shows how strongly He felt the impossibility of any sin remaining, in its working, a purely personal offence. There is always here in activity a force which may be described as centrifugal, inevitably bringing harm to those within the circle of its movement (cf. Ro $14^{7f.}$). Nor did Jesus hold Himself to be free from this danger of contamination ('thou art a stumbling-block unto me,' Mt 16^{23}), while He points to the ideal Kingdom of the Son of Man where nothing causing men to stumble shall be allowed a place (Mt 13^{41}). It is interesting to remember here that St. Paul uses the same word to express the result of the preaching of 'Christ crucified' to the Jews (1 Co 1^{23}; cf. Gal 5^{11}, Ro $9^{32f.}$, 1 P 2^{8}). This was, indeed, a contingency foreseen by Jesus Himself, as will be seen in His answer to the messengers of the imprisoned Baptist (Mt 11^{6}). Doubtless these words were intended to convey a gentle warning to the prisoner against permitting the untoward circumstances of his life to overcome his once firm faith in the Messiahship of One whom he had publicly proclaimed as 'the Lamb of God' (Jn 1^{29}). A direct reference to an OT example of this sin occurs in Rev 2^{14}, where the conduct of Balaam is held up to reprobation.

In the parable of the Pharisee and the Publican, Jesus taught the necessity for the realization of personal guilt on the part of the sinner in order to forgiveness and justification in the sight of God (Lk 18^{13}). In the same way, it was the lack of this sense by the Pharisees, so far as they were themselves personally concerned, that constituted the great obstacle to their conversion (Jn 9^{41}).

A prominent feature of Jesus' teaching has to do not so much with active, deliberate sins as with what may be termed 'sins of omission.' It seems as if He wished to inculcate, by repeated emphasis, the truth that the best way to combat temptation with success is to be active in the pursuit of good. The spiritual side of this doctrine He enshrined in the form of a parable, in which He pointed out the danger to the soul arising from neglect to invoke the active agency of the Holy Spirit, even though the 'unclean spirit' had been exorcized and banished 'out of the man' (see Mt 12^{43-45} = Lk 11^{24-26}). In the discourse descriptive of the General Judgment, Jesus marks the crucial test by which men shall be tried: 'Inasmuch as ye did it not unto one of these least, ye did it not unto me' (Mt 25^{45}). The same thought is conveyed frequently in parabolic form, as for example in the parables of the Ten Virgins (Mt 25^{1-13}), the Talents (25^{14-30}) in which is emphasized the profound lesson, 'from him that hath not, even that which he hath shall be taken away' (cf. Mt 13^{12}), Dives and Lazarus (Lk 16^{19-31}); while much of the teaching in the Sermon on the Mount is based on the same principle (cf. Mt 5^{38-44}).

2. St. Paul.—The presentment of the gospel message to the world outside the Jewish nation led St. Paul to review in detail the origin, cause, scope, and result of sin. Starting from his own individual experience, which was that of a sinner profoundly conscious of his position (cf. 1 Co 15^{9} 9^{27}, Ro $7^{18ff.}$, 1 Ti 1^{15}), and conscious also of the remedy inherent in Christ's gospel (2 Co 12^{9}), he insists on the universality of the presence and power of sin, in order to establish the co-ordinate universality of the presence and power of 'the manifested righteousness of God through faith in Jesus Christ' (Ro $3^{21f.}$; cf. the expression 'where sin abounded, grace did abound more exceedingly,' 5^{20}). The central feature of St. Paul's teaching is the activity of God's grace in forgiving, restoring, and justifying the sinner; and for the purpose of establishing the reasonableness and the necessity (cf. 1 Co 9^{16}) of bringing the gospel before the world, it was needful first to establish the guilt of all for whom it was intended, and to create, so to speak, in men a consciousness of moral failure and helplessness. This he does in the opening chapters of his Epistle to the Romans. Here, although he deals separately with Jews and Gentiles, he maintains the proposition that all alike are sinners (Ro 5^{12}, cf. Eph 2^{3}). It is true that the Jew was the recipient of the Law; and as such he occupied the position of the moral teacher of mankind. But instead of proving the means whereby a true 'knowledge of sin' (Ro 3^{20}, cf. 5^{13}) is gained, it became, through abuse, a hindrance rather than a help to his spiritual advancement (see $2^{17ff.}$). And just as the Jews stultified the Divinely given Law, by the exaltation of its merely transitory elements at the expense of its essential moral ideals, so the Gentiles defied 'the law written in their hearts, testified to by their conscience' (Ro 2^{15}).

This reduction of all mankind to the same level in the sight of God is further incidentally pressed by the establishment of a definite relationship between the sin of Adam and racial guilt ($5^{12, 18}$). What precisely were St. Paul's opinions as to this connexion it is impossible to discover. It is doubtful whether, in face of the intensely practical work in which he was engaged, he stopped to work out the problem of **'original sin.'** It is enough for him that 'sin entered into the world through one man' and that 'through the one man's disobedience the many were made sinners' (see Sanday-Headlam, 'Romans' [5] in *ICC*, p. 136 ff.).

Different interpretations have been given of the words translated 'for that all sinned' (5^{12}), some seeing in them an explicit statement that the whole human race was involved generically in the sin of Adam (cf. Bengel, *ad loc.*, and Liddon, *Epistle to the Romans*, p. 103). Others affirm that St. Paul is here asserting the freedom of the will, and is stating the plain proposition that all men have sinned as a matter of fact, and of their own choice. The Apostle, however, seems to have left room for a synthesis of these two ideas. It matters not whether he has done so consciously or not. As the result of Adam's transgression sin obtained an entrance and a sphere of action in the world, and not only so, but a predisposition to sin was inherited, giving it its present power over the human will. At the same time, the simple statement 'all sinned,' explanatory as it is of the universality of death, includes the element of choice and freedom. Even those whose consciousness of sin was weakened, if not

obliterated, by the absence of positive or objective law, were subjected to death. Here we have the assumption of generic guilt arising directly out of St. Paul's belief in the relation between sin and physical death, as that of cause and effect (cf. 1 Co 15^{22}). Not only is the connexion here mentioned insisted on, but, passing from physical death to that of which it is but a type, spiritual or moral death, he shows the awful depth to which sin has sent its roots in man's nature (Ro $6^{21ff.}$, cf. v.$^{8ff.}$ $7^{7ff.}$).

Mention has been made above of the power of choice, where sin is concerned, inherent in human personality. Into the very seat of this power, however, sin has made an entrance, and has found a powerful ally in 'the flesh' (7^{18}). The will to resist is there, but its activity is paralyzed. Though St. Paul makes **'the flesh'** or 'the members' of the body the seat of sin, he is far from teaching that human nature is essentially evil. The flesh may be crucified with its 'passions and lusts' (Gal 5^{24}; cf. 1 Co 9^{27}, Ro 6^{19}), and the bodily members instead of being 'servants to uncleanness' may become 'servants to righteousness unto sanctification' (cf. art. 'Flesh' in Hastings' *DCG*). An important feature of St. Paul's doctrine of sin consists in his exposition of the function of law in revealing and arousing the consciousness of sin. A curious expression, 'the mind of the flesh' (Ro 8^{7}), emerges in this connexion, and the impossibility of its being 'subject to the law of God' is insisted on. 'Apart from the law sin is dead,' but, once the Law came, sin sprang into life, its presence and power were revealed (cf. 1 Co 15^{56}), and by it man was confronted with his own moral weakness.

In spite of his belief in the all-pervading character and strength of sin, St. Paul's gospel is the reverse of a gospel of despair. If, on the one hand, there is a death which connotes moral corruption and slavery to sin, on the other hand there is a death unto sin which is not only a realization of, but a participation in the death of Christ. The fact of his employing the same word and idea in senses so completely contrasted lends a marvellous force and finality to his teaching on the remedial and restorative effects of Christ's work (cf. Ro 6^{2-14}, Eph 2^{1-10}). A favourite idea, relative to this, is that of crucifixion. The member of Christ as such has crucified his 'old man' (Ro 6^{6}), 'the flesh with the passions and lusts thereof' (Gal 5^{24}, cf. 2^{20}). This is the ultimate ideal result of the redemptive work of Christ. The experience of St. Paul forbade him to believe that the state of 'death unto sin' is fully realized here and now (1 Co 9^{27}, cf. Sir 37^{19}). His continuous references to the Christian life as one of warfare, in which it behoves the follower of Christ to be armed with weapons offensive and defensive, shows that his conception of the struggle against sin is that of one unceasing age-long conflict, issuing in victory for the individual, as for the race, only when the Kingdom of Christ is established in a peace that is everlasting (Eph 6^{11-17}, 2 Co $10^{4ff.}$ 6^{7}, Ro 13^{12}, 1 Ti 1^{18}; cf. Ph 2^{25}, Philem^{2} etc.).

3. St. John.—(*a*) In order to understand St. John's presentation of Jesus' teaching on sin, it will be useful to see his own individual doctrine as given in his *Epistles*. Here the mission of Christ is dwelt on as having for its objective the taking away of sins (1 Jn $3^{4.\ 8}$; cf. Jn 16^{11} 1^{29}), and 'abiding in him' is dwelt on as constituting the guarantee of safety against sin (1 Jn 3^{6}; cf. Jn $15^{4ff.}$), as it also affords power to live the active fruitful life of righteousness. Further, there is a law 'which expresses the Divine ideal of man's constitution and growth,' and whoever violates it, by wilfully putting himself in opposition to this law, is guilty of sin, for 'sin is lawlessness' (3^{4}). Another aspect of this law has to do with the mutual relationship of Christians who should be bound together by a love which is the reflexion of the eternal love of God for men (1 Jn 4^{7-21}). If the law of love is neglected or broken, even in the matter of intercessory prayer for brethren who have sinned, unrighteousness is present, and 'all unrighteousness is sin' (5^{13-17}). From this we see how intensely real was St. John's belief in the presence and power of sin amongst men. Indeed, one of the tests by which a man's sincerity may be discovered is his power of realizing this fact. He, moreover, gives as his reason for writing this Epistle, 'that ye may not sin' (2^{1}). The need of 'an Advocate' who is also 'the propitiation for our sins' is insisted on as being the special creation of Christ in Christian consciousness (1 Jn $2^{1f.}$; cf. Jn 14^{16}). All this brings into clearer relief and greater prominence his doctrine of the sinlessness of the professing follower of Jesus Christ. The Christian as such 'cannot sin, because he is begotten of God' (1 Jn 3^{9}; cf. 5^{18}, 3 Jn^{11}), and, on the other hand, 'he that doeth sin is of the devil' (1 Jn 3^{8}). The Christian abides in Christ (cf. Jn $15^{4ff.}$), and because he does so he sinneth not (3^{6}), whereas the committal of sin is the sure guarantee that he has neither seen nor known Him. The secret of his safety lies in the promise of Jesus that He 'keeps' (cf. Jn 17^{12}) His own so that 'the evil one toucheth him not' (1 Jn 5^{18}). The paradox in which St. John thus clothes his doctrine of sin reveals his profound conception of its character. Any sinful act by the Christian interrupts, and mars so far, his fellowship with God. If, however, the act be not the outcome of the man's habit or character, he cannot be said to do 'sin' in the sense of 'realizing sin in its completeness' (see Westcott, *Epistles of St. John*, on 1 Jn 3^{4}). The fruit of Divine fellowship is developed in the Christian's inner or central life from which sin is banished; and this reminds us somewhat of St. Paul's view of the crucifixion of the flesh with its 'passions and lusts.'

A peculiar reference is made by St. John to **'a sin unto death.'** This might be translated with perhaps a closer adherence to the writer's thought if the article were omitted. It is not any specific act or acts that he so characterizes. The saying must rather refer to sinful deeds of a *character* 'which wholly separates from Christ,' and thus tends to death (see Westcott, *op. cit.*, on 5^{16}). In so far as it springs from a heart which wilfully and with contumely rejects Christ, in so far may it be identified with the sin against the Holy Ghost (cf. Mk 3^{29}, Mt $12^{31.f.}$, Lk 2^{10}). The writer's refusal to insist on intercessory prayer for one thus guilty calls to mind the warnings in the Epistle to the Hebrews against the sin of apostasy or wilful sin after the reception of 'the knowledge of truth' (cf. He 6^{4-6} 10^{26}). It is probable that St. John has in his mind a class of sins which combines within itself the characteristics of both those mentioned (see art. 'Sin' in Hastings' *DB* iv. p. 535^{b}). One feature of 1 John connects this Epistle very closely with the Fourth Gospel, revealing itself in those passages which identify sin with falsehood, and righteousness with truth. It seems as if the writer traced all sin back to the spirit which leads men to deny 'that Jesus is the Christ' (1 Jn 2^{22} 4^{3}). On the other hand, the acceptance of this belief carries with it the assurance of God's abiding presence, wherein is the sure guarantee of the realization of His purpose in us—'that we might live through him' (1 Jn 4^{9}, cf. 4^{2} 5^{1}).

(*b*) *Fourth Gospel.*—It is this last aspect of sin that is the dominant note of the teaching of St. John's Gospel. Indeed, this writing may be said to be a record of the sad rejection foreshadowed in the general terms, 'He came unto his own, and they that were his own received him not' (1^{11}). This was more particularly true of the Jews of Jerusalem and Judæa, where the story of Jesus' ministry as told in this Gospel is for the most part laid. It is thus significant that in His last great discourse with His disciples, occurring as it did in Jerusalem, the centre of the activity hostile to His claims, Jesus lays special stress on the sin of unbelief in Him ('The Holy Ghost will convict the world of sin . . . because they believe not on me,' Jn $16^{8f.}$). The revelation of the Divine life, with its manifold evidences of love and mercy in and by Jesus, took away whatever excuse men might have in the presence of God's judgment. The real reason for the rejection of Jesus by the Jews lay in their hatred of 'the Father' (Jn 15^{24}, cf. v.^{22}). Indeed, it is this very revelation, designed by God as the eternal remedy against sin

(Jn 1^{29}), which in its process and achievement affords further possibilities to sin and its consequences (Jn 9^{41}; cf. Lk $12^{47f.}$).

Nor must we omit to note that in this Gospel sin is regarded as a species of slavery. The reference to this aspect occurs but once (Jn 8^{34}), but that it occupied an important place in early Christian teaching is evident from the incidental notices found scattered throughout the NT (cf. Ro 6^{16-20}, Tit 3^3, 2 P 2^{19}, Mt 6^{24}=Lk 16^{13} etc.).

The popular belief in the connexion between sin and physical suffering is noticed also in the Fourth Gospel, where Jesus is represented as denying its universal applicability (Jn 9^3). At the same time He recognized that in certain cases the belief was justified (Jn 5^{14}). It was, perhaps, His profound knowledge of a similar but a deeper relationship than this—the relationship of sin to the whole life—that gave to the words and actions of Jesus that exquisite tenderness in His treatment of individual sinners so noticeable in this Gospel (cf. Jn $4^{17f.}$ $8^{11.\ 15}$); a tenderness which He would fain impart to His followers in their dealings with fellow-sinners (cf. Jn 7^{24}, Mt $7^{1ff.}$, Ja 2^{13}).

We are thus enabled to see that the view of sin held and taught by Jesus is profounder and graver than any as yet existing, for it is an offence against One who is at the same time a righteous and loving Father and a just and holy God (Lk 15^{18}; cf. Mt 5^{48}, Jn $3^{16ff.}$ etc.). The life of Christ is the object-lesson which Christians are invited to imitate in their daily relationships and life (Mt 11^{28}, Jn 13^{15}, 1 Jn 2^6, Ph 2^5; cf. 1 P 2^{21} etc.), and St. John has pointed out to us, in the words of Jesus Himself, the standard to which His followers are asked to aspire, when He defied His bitter life-long enemies to convict Him of sin (Jn 8^{46}).

4. St. James.—The author of this circular letter views sin in its practical bearings on the daily life of men. Nevertheless, his conception of its character and results is as far-reaching as we have seen it to be in both the Pauline and the Johannine teaching. Its origin he traces to the surrender of the individual's will to 'desire' (Ja $1^{14f.}$). 'In itself the desire may be natural and innocent: it is when the man resolves to gratify it against what he feels to be the higher law of duty, that he becomes guilty of sin even before he carries out his resolve in act' (J. B. Mayor, *The Epistle of St. James*, note on 1^{15}). The writer combats the idea that God is the author of evil, by insisting on the fact that each man may make a good or a bad use of temptation. As a morally free agent he stands or he falls, and the result of this freedom may be the promised 'crown of life' (1^{12}) or hopeless 'death' (1^{15}). We are here reminded of the 'sin unto death' (1 Jn 5^{16}) referred to already, for 'sin when full-grown, when it has become a fixed habit determining the character of the man, brings forth death' (J. B. Mayor, *op. cit.* p. 53; cf. R. J. Knowling, *Epistle of St. James, ad loc.*). This Epistle betrays its Jewish origin in the attitude of the writer to the Law; for him the result of the Incarnation has been the transmuting of the Mosaic Law into 'the perfect law, the law of liberty' (1^{25}, cf. 2^{12}), 'the royal law' (2^8). It may be said that he sometimes merely echoes the well-known opinion of contemporary Jewish Rabbins about transgressing the minutest behest of the Law (see the extracts from Rabbinical writings quoted by R. J. Knowling, *op. cit.*, note on Ja 2^{10}). At the same time it must be admitted that his conception of sin, even when it finds expression in the seemingly trivial case of 'respect of persons' (2^9), 'is founded on a true spiritual view of the relation of man to God' (Hastings' *DB*, vol. iv. p. 533[b]). The law of love is the essential guiding principle of all Christian life, and where this law is transgressed in the social relations of that life, the expression in our Epistle 'ye commit sin' (lit. 'ye work sin,' 2^9) is not too strong or emphatic.

A further point in connexion with St. James' teaching occupies the closing passages of his Epistle. In this, as in the whole of his writing, he deals with it from the point of view of the daily life. In his exhortation to mutual confession of sins and intercessory prayer for forgiveness he is incidentally dwelling on the truth that all real Christian life is conditioned by its adherence, both in word and in deed, to the principle of love (cf. $2^{15f.}$). The same may be said of his advice with regard to the corporate prayer of the Church on behalf of one who is physically sick ($5^{14f.}$). It is probable that our author held the common Jewish belief that sin and disease were connected as cause and effect, and his conviction that 'the prayer of faith' reaches out in its power to the whole man, extending even to the forgiveness of his sins by God, is based on his belief in the solidarity of human life as well as of the law to which it owes its allegiance. As in the case of the member of the community whose bodily and spiritual needs are ministered to by the active intervention of the Church, so he urges each individual member to prayer on behalf of his erring brother. The twofold blessing promised to this act of brotherly love may well be taken as an expression of his conviction that the individual lives of the members of the Christian community are knit so closely together that no single act of sin can be committed without so far bringing death within range of all, and that no act of love can be exercised without so far bringing mercy and forgiveness to all, and thus 'covering a multitude of sins' (cf. 1 P 4^8).

5. Hebrews.—It cannot be said that there is any special doctrine of sin in this Epistle. Its readers were well acquainted with OT conceptions and teaching, and the writer deals mainly with the superiority of the New Covenant over the Old in supplying means whereby there shall be 'no more conscience of sins' (He 10^2; cf. Westcott, *The Epistle to the Hebrews*, Add. Note on 9^9). The central feature of this writing is the stress laid on the discovery by Christianity of 'a new and living way' (10^{20}) by which we have direct access to God. It is by the removal of guilt in the forgiveness of sins by the sacrifice of Jesus that this way is opened 'once for all' (10^{10}; cf. v.[18] 9^{12} etc.). Special emphasis is therefore laid on the failure of the Mosaic institutions to 'take away sins' (10^{11}, cf. 9^9), and on the awful character of the danger of harbouring 'an evil heart of unbelief' (3^{12}).

The temptation to which the 'Hebrews' were exposed was that, under stress of persecution, they would reject the final revelation of God in Christ, or revert, under the influence of the Hellenistic Judaizers, to the somewhat eclectic faith of the latter. This wilful sin the writer characterizes as 'crucifying the Son of God afresh' (6^6) and as treading Him under foot (cf. 10^{29}). In warning them against the dangers to which they would be exposed during the time of suffering and trial now imminent, he points out to them that these trials may become in their own hands the means of their spiritual advancement. Instead of being the sole outcome of sin, suffering is often the chastisement of a loving Father 'that we may be partakers of his holiness' (12^{10}). The great Example, whose solution of an age-long problem we are asked to study, was Jesus, 'who for the joy that was set before him endured the cross, despising the shame' (12^2), and who though 'in all points tempted like as we are, yet without sin' (4^{15}), was nevertheless made 'perfect through sufferings' (2^{10}).

See also artt. Atonement, Forgiveness, Guilt, Propitiation, Redemption, etc. J. R. Willis.

SIN.—'The stronghold (fortress) of Egypt,' Ezk $30^{15.\ 16}$, must be **Pelusium**, the Egyp. name of which is not clearly known, or some fortress in its neighbourhood. In the list of governors appointed by Esarhaddon and Ashurbanipal, while native princes were retained elsewhere, Sin is the only city put in charge of an Assyrian: no doubt he was placed at

Pelusium to keep open the gate of Egypt for the Assyrian king. F. Ll. Griffith.

SIN, WILDERNESS OF (name probably derived from the moon-god Sin).—A region on the route of the Hebrews from Egypt to Mt. Sinai. It is usually identified with the plain lying S. of the *Ras Abu Zenimeh*. Upon the view held in many quarters that Mt. Sinai must be located somewhere in the Negeb, the wilderness of Sin was on the more direct route from Egypt to Kadesh, near to if not identical with the desert of **Zin** (Nu 13^{21} 20^{1} 27^{14} 33^{36} 34^{3}, Dt 32^{51}, Jos 15^{1-3}). Cf. Zin.
H. L. Willett.

SINAI (Mountain).—A holy mountain in the Sinaitic peninsula (whose name is said to be derived from that of Sin, the moon-god). It is called **Horeb** by E and D, whereas J and P employ the name 'Sinai.' Here Moses was granted the vision of the burning bush (Ex 3^{1}), whereby he first received a call to lead the Israelites to adopt Jahweh as their covenanted God; and here took place the tremendous theophany which is the central event of the Pentateuch, wherein the covenant was ratified.

The identification of Mt. Sinai is a matter of some difficulty, and various attempts to discover it have been made from time to time. The traditional site is *Jebel Mūsa*, 'the mountain of Moses,' almost in the centre of the triangle; here there has been a convent ever since at least A.D. 385, about which date it was visited by St. Silvia of Aquitaine—whose account of her pilgrimage still survives in part. This identification has therefore the warrant of antiquity. It is not, however, wholly free from difficulty, principally connected with questions of the route of the Exodus; but it is possible that with further study and discovery these difficulties may be found to be evanescent.

In recent years the tradition has been questioned, and two suggestions have been made calling for notice. The first is that originally suggested by Lepsius, who would place Sinai at *Mount Serbal*, some distance north-west of Jebel Mūsa. This theory has been championed, with a good deal of force, by the latest investigator, Professor Petrie's assistant, Mr. C. T. Currelly (see Petrie, *Researches in Sinai*, ch. xvii.). The region appears more suitable for the occupation of a large host than the neighbourhood of Jebel Mūsa, and it accords better with the probable site of Rephidim.

The second view would place the mountain out of the peninsula altogether, *unless* it can be proved that the Land of Midian included that region. And, indeed, the close connexion evident between Sinai or Horeb and Midian, which appears, for example, in Ex 3, makes this a theory worth consideration. But we are still in the dark as to the limits of Midian: all we can say is that it is not known whether Midian extended west of the Gulf of 'Akabah, and that therefore it is not known whether Sinai was west of 'Akabah. It must, however, be freely granted that to place Sinai east or north of 'Akabah would entirely disjoint all identifications of places along the line of the itinerary of the Exodus.

For the allegorical use of 'Sinai' in Gal 4^{25}, see art. Hagar. R. A. S. Macalister.

SINAI (Peninsula).—The triangular tongue of land intercepted between the limestone plateau of the *Tih* desert in the north, and the Gulfs of Suez and 'Akabah, at the head of the Red Sea, on the south-west and south-east. It is a rugged and waste region, little watered, and full of wild and impressive mountain scenery. Except at some places on the coast, such as Tor, there is but little of a settled population.

This region was always, and still is, under Egyptian influence, if not actually in Egyptian territory. From a very early period it was visited by emissaries from Egyptian kings in search of turquoise, which is yielded by the mines of the Wady Magharah. There sculptured steles were left, and scenes engraved in the rock, from the time of Semerkhet of the first dynasty, and Sneferu of the third—dated by Professor Petrie in the fifth and sixth millennia B.C. These sculptures remained almost intact till recent years; till a party of English speculators, who came to attempt to re-work the old mines, wantonly destroyed many of them (see Petrie, *Researches in Sinai*, p. 46). What these vandals left was cut from the rock and removed for safety, under Professor Petrie's direction, to the Cairo Museum. A remarkable temple, dedicated to Hathor, but adapted, it would appear, rather to Semitic forms of worship, exists at *Serabīt el-Khadem*, not far from these mines. It was probably erected partly for the benefit of the parties who visited the mines from time to time.

Geologically, Sinai is composed of rocks of the oldest (Archæan) period. These rocks are granite of a red and grey colour, and gneiss, with schists of various kinds—hornblende, talcose, and chloritic—overlying them. Many later, but still ancient, dykes of diorite, basalt, etc., penetrate these primeval rocks. Vegetation is practically confined to the valleys, especially in the neighbourhood of water-springs.
R. A. S. Macalister.

SINCERE.—The Eng. word 'sincere,' as it occurs in 1 P 2^{2} 'the sincere milk of the word,' is used in its old sense of 'unmixed,' 'pure' (RV 'without guile').

SINEW (that shrank).—See Gn 32^{32} for the traditional origin of a special food-taboo (cf. Food, § 10), the result of which was that the Hebrews abstained from eating the sciatic muscle (RV 'the sinew of the hip') of animals otherwise clean. The prohibition is not mentioned in any of the legislative codes of the Pentateuch.
A. R. S. Kennedy.

SINGERS.—See Priests and Levites, iii. 1. 2.

SINIM.—The 'land of Sinim' (Is 49^{12}) must, from the context, have been in the extreme south or east of the known world. In the south, Sin (*Pelusium*, Ezk $30^{15f.}$) and Syene (Ezk 29^{10} 30^{6}) have been suggested. The latter is favoured by recent discoveries of papyri (cf. Seveneh). The LXX favours the view that a country in the east was intended, and some modern commentators have identified Sinim with China, the land of the Sinæ.

SINITES.—A Canaanite people (Gn 10^{17} = 1 Ch 1^{15}). Their identification is quite uncertain.

SIN-OFFERING.—See Sacrifice and Offering, § 14.

SION.—**1.** A name of **Hermon**, Dt 4^{48}. *Sion* is taken by some to be a textual error for **Sirion** (wh. see). **2.** See **Zion** in art. Jerusalem, ii. 1.

SIPHMOTH.—One of the places to which a portion of the spoil of the Amalekites was sent after David's return to Ziklag (1 S 30^{28}). The site has not been recovered.

SIPPAI.—See Saph.

SIRACH.—See Apocrypha, 13.

SIRAH, THE WELL OF.—The place at which Joab's messengers overtook Abner (2 S 3^{26}). It lay on the road from Hebron to Jerusalem, and is now probably *'Ain Sārah*, near Hebron.

SIRION.—The name said to be given by the Zidonians to Mt. Hermon, Dt 3^{9}. Like **Senir**, it may originally have been the designation of a particular part of the mountain. Cf. Sion, 1.

SISERA.—**1.** In Jg $4^{2ff.}$ Sisera is represented as captain of the host of **Jabin**, a Canaanite king; his army is overcome by the Israelites under Barak. In his flight after the battle, Sisera, overcome by fatigue, seeks refuge in the tent of **Jael**, who treacherously kills him while asleep. In another account (Jg 5, the older account) Sisera appears as an independent ruler, and Jabin is not even mentioned; the two accounts differ in a number of subsidiary details, but in two salient points

they agree, namely, as to the defeat of Sisera and as to the manner of his death. It is clear that two traditions, one concerning Jabin and another concerning Sisera, have been mixed up together; in order to harmonize them Sisera has been made Jabin's captain (see BARAK, DEBORAH, etc.). **2.** A family of Nethinim (Ezr 2^{53} = 1 Es 5^{32} **Serar**). W. O. E. OESTERLEY.

SISINNES.—The governor of Cœle-Syria and Phœnicia under Darius (1 Es $6^{3.\ 7.\ 27}$ 7^{1}). In Ezr 5^{3} etc., he is called **Tattenai** (wh. see).

SISMAI.—A Jerahmeelite (1 Ch 2^{40}).

SITH.—'Sith,' that is 'since,' occurs in Jer 15^{7} and other places; while 'sithence' occurs in 2 Es 10^{14}.

SITHRI.—A grandson of Kohath (Ex 6^{22}).

SITNAH ('strife').—The name given to a well dug by the herdmen of Isaac in the region of Gerar (Gn 26^{21}). The site is uncertain. H. L. WILLETT.

SIVAN.—See TIME.

SKIRT.—See DRESS **4** (*b*).

SKULL, PLACE OF A.—See GOLGOTHA.

SLANDER, TALEBEARING.—Both noun and verb 'slander' are used of malicious gossip of varying degrees of heinousness. The references are all to the slandering of persons, except Nu 14^{36} AV, where RV has 'an evil report against the land.' The expression 'walking with slanders' (Jer 6^{28}, cf. 9^{4}) is in the original identical with 'going about as a talebearer' (Lv 19^{16}, Pr 11^{13} 20^{19}; cf. Ezk 22^{9} in AV and RV). The element of falsehood in the gossip is seen in 2 S 19^{27}, where 'slandered' is synonymous with 'falsely accused.' 'Of no sin and wickedness are there so many complaints in OT as of slander and false accusation—whereof the Psalms are witness' (Cornill, *Jeremia*, 89). See, further, CRIMES AND PUNISHMENTS, § **5**. A. R. S. KENNEDY.

SLAVE, SLAVERY.—The Heb. '*ebhedh*, usually tr. '**servant**,' has a variety of meanings, between which it is not always easy to distinguish. *E.g.* in 2 S 9^{2} 'servant' =retainer, in $v.^{10b}$=bondman, in $v.^{11}$=a polite expression of self-depreciation (cf. 2 K 4^{1} and 1 K 9^{22}). In a discussion of Hebrew slavery only those passages will be dealt with in which the word probably has the sense of **bondage**.

1. *Legally the slave was a chattel.* In the earliest code (Book of the Covenant [=BC]) he is called his master's money (Ex 21^{21}). In the Decalogue he is grouped with the cattle (Ex 20^{17}), and so regularly in the patriarchal narratives (Gn 12^{16} etc.). Even those laws which sought to protect the slave witness to his degraded position. In the BC the master is not punished for inflicting even a fatal flogging upon his slave, unless death follows immediately. If [the slave lingers a day or two before dying, the master is given the benefit of the doubt as to the cause of his death, and the loss of the slave is regarded as a sufficient punishment (Ex 21^{21}). The *jus talionis* was not applicable to the slave as it was to the freeman (cf. $21^{26ff.}$ with $22ff.$); and it is the master of the slave, not the slave himself, who is recompensed if the slave is gored by an ox (Ex 21^{32}). In these last two instances BC follows the Code of Hammurabi [=CH] (§§ 196–199, 252).

In *practice* the slave as a chattel was often subject to ill usage. He was flogged (Ex 21^{20}, Pr 29^{19}), and at times heartlessly deserted (1 S $30^{11ff.}$). Though the master is here an Amorite, the cases of runaway slaves in Israel bear testimony to their sufferings even at the hands of their fellow-countrymen; cf. the experiences of the churl Nabal (1 S 25^{10}), of the passionate Shimei (1 K 2^{39}), and of Sarah (Gn 16^{6}); the implications as to the frequency of such cases in the law of Dt $23^{15ff.}$ and in later times (Sir 33^{24-31}). The position of the **maid-servant** was in general the same as that of the man-servant. In the BC it is assumed that the maid-servant is at the same time a concubine (Ex $21^{7ff.}$; cf. Hagar, Zilpah, and Bilhah in the patriarchal narratives). Even in P the idea of the slave-girl as property is still retained (Lv 19^{20}). Here the punishment for the violation of a slave-girl was almost certainly a fine to be paid to the master, if we may judge from the analogous law in Ex 22^{16}=Dt 22^{28}; *i.e.* it is an indemnity for injury to property. In practice the maid-servant, though the concubine of the master, is often the special property of the mistress (Gn $16^{6a.\ 9}$ 25^{12} 30^{3}), at times having been given to her at marriage (Gn 24^{59} $29^{24.\ 29}$). She is subject to field labour (Ru $2^{2ff.}$) and to the lowest menial labour (1 S 25^{41}, figurative, but reflecting actual conditions).

Slaves were *recruited* (1) principally from war, at least in earliest times. Captives or subject populations were often employed not only as personal attendants, but also as public slaves at the Temple (Jos $9^{23.\ 27}$ [21 a gloss], Neh 7^{57-60}, and see art. NETHINIM) or on public works in the *corvée* (Jos 16^{10}, Jg $1^{28ff.}$, 1 K 9^{20-22}=2 Ch 8^{7-9}), while captive women were especially sought as concubines or wives (Dt 21^{10-14}). (2) From the slave-trade, of which the Israelites undoubtedly availed themselves (cf. the implications in Gn 37^{28} 17^{12}, Lv 25^{44}). This trade was mainly in the hands of the Phœnicians and Edomites (Am $1^{6.\ 9}$, Ezk 27^{13}, Jl 3^{6}). (3) From native Israelites who had become enslaved as a punishment for theft (Ex 22^{1-4}), whether for other crimes also is not stated; Josephus (*Ant.* XVI. i. 1) knows of no other. (4) From native Israelites who, through poverty and debt, had been forced to sell themselves (Ex 21^{2}, Am 2^{6} 8^{6}, Dt 15^{12}, Lv 25^{39}, Pr 11^{29} [?] 22^{7} [?]) or their children (Ex 21^{7}, 2 K 4^{1}, Neh $5^{5.\ 8}$, Is 50^{1}, Job 24^{9}) into servitude.

Whether the creditor had the right to force the debtor into slavery against his will is not clear. Ex 21^{2} and 2 K 4^{1} (cf. Mt 18^{25}) rather favour this view. The reflexive verb in Lv 25^{39a} and in Dt 15^{12}, where the same verbal form should probably be again translated by the reflexive, not by the passive as in RV, favours voluntary servitude. But possibly the later codes are modifications of the earlier practice. Neh 5^{5} is ambiguous.

As to the *number* of slaves we have no adequate data. Gn 14^{14} cannot be used as evidence. The numbers in the *corvée* (1 K $5^{13.\ 15}$) are discrepant, and in any case probably do not refer to slaves proper. The prosperous retainer of Saul has 20 servants (2 S 9^{10}). The proportion of slaves to freemen in Neh $7^{66ff.}$ is 1 to 6. The *price* of slaves naturally varied. The BC (Ex 21^{32}) fixes the average price at 30 shekels (about £4). CH in the same law allows but 17 shekels (§ 252, cf. 214). Joseph is sold for 20 shekels (Gn 37^{28}). In later times the price in Exodus seems to have been maintained (2 Mac 8^{11}; *Ant.* XII. ii. 3).

2. But while the slave was a chattel, nevertheless certain *religious and civil rights and privileges* were accorded him. *In law* the slave was regarded as an integral part of the master's household (Ex 20^{17}), and, as such, an adherent of the family cult (cf. the instructive early narratives in Gn 24 and 16). Accordingly the BC (Ex 23^{12}) and the Decalogue (Ex 20^{10}) guarantee to him the Sabbath rest. Deuteronomy allows him a share in the religious feasts ($12^{12.\ 18}$ $16^{11.\ 14}$), the humanitarian viewpoint being chiefly emphasized. In P the more primitive idea of the slave as a member of the family, conceived as a religious unit, is still retained and utilized in the interest of religious exclusiveness. Thus, while the *gēr* (sojourner) cannot partake of the Passover unless circumcised, the slave must be circumcised and so is entitled to partake (Ex 12^{44}; cf. the narrative Gn $17^{12ff.}$). Again, while the *gēr* in a priest's family, or even the daughter of a priest who has married into a non-priestly family, may not eat of the holy things, the priest's slave is allowed to do so (Lv $22^{10ff.}$).

As to civil rights: In the BC, murder of the slave as well as of the freeman is punishable with death (Ex 21^{12}=Lv 24^{17}; the law is inclusive). If death results from flogging, the master is also punished, conjectur-

SLAVE, SLAVERY

ally by a fine (Ex 21$^{20ff.}$). If the slave is seriously maimed by his master, he is given his freedom (Ex 21$^{26ff.}$). At this point the BC contrasts very favourably with the CH. The latter does not attempt to protect the slave's person from the master, but only provides for an indemnity to the master if the slave is injured by another (199, 213, 214). While a man could be sold into slavery for debt (see above), **man-stealing** is prohibited on pain of death (Ex 21^{16} = Dt 24^{7}). Deuteronomy interprets the Exodus law correctly as a prohibition against stealing a fellow-countryman. Deut. also forbids returning a slave who has escaped from a foreign master (Dt 23$^{15ff.}$). If the slave in this case were a non-Israelite (which, however, is not certain), the law would be a remarkable example of the humane tendencies in Deut. and would again contrast favourably with CH, which prescribes severe penalties for harbouring fugitive slaves (16, 19). The humane law for the protection of captive wives (Dt 21$^{10-14}$) is also noticeable.

But *practice* often went far beyond law in mitigating the severity of servitude. Indeed, slavery in the ancient East generally was a comparatively easy lot. The slave is grouped with wife and child as part of the master's household (Ex 20^{17}). Children are property and can be sold as well as slaves (Ex 21^{7}; cf. 22^{16} = Dt 22^{28} where the daughter is regarded as the father's property). Children are flogged as well as slaves (Pr 13^{24}). Wives were originally bought from the parents, and wives and concubines are often almost indistinguishable. Hence the lot of the slave was probably not much harder than that of wife or child (cf. Gal 4^{1}), and the law implies the possibility of a genuine affection existing between master and man (Ex 21^{5} = Dt 15^{16}). Accordingly we find many illustrations of the **man-servant** rising to a position of importance. He may be intrusted with the most delicate responsibilities (Gn 24), may be the heir of his master (Gn 15$^{1-4}$), is often on intimate terms with and advises the master (Jg 19$^{3ff.}$, 1 S 9$^{5ff.}$), the custom of having body-servants (Heb. *na'ar*, Nu 22^{22}, 1 K 18^{43}, 2 K 4^{12}, Neh 4^{22} etc.) favouring such intimacies, and he may even marry his master's daughter (1 Ch 2$^{34ff.}$; cf. similar cases in CH § 175 ff.). Especially servants of important men enjoy a reflected dignity (1 S 9^{22}, 2 K 8^{4}). The rise of servants into positions of prominence was so frequent as to be the subject of proverb-making (Pr 14^{35} 17^{2} 19^{10} 30^{22a}).

Whether a servant could own property while remaining a servant is not clear. The passages adduced in favour of it (1 S 9^{8} [a gratuity], 2 S 9$^{2ff.}$ 16$^{1ff.}$ [Ziba is a retainer], Lv 25^{49b} [not a real servant]) are not pertinent. Dt 15^{13} makes against it, but not necessarily, and the fact that in Arabia and Babylonia (CH § 176) the slave could own property awakens a presumption in favour of the same custom in Israel.

Under a good house-wife the **maid-servant** would be well taken care of (Pr 31^{15}). At times she also seems to be the heir of her mistress (Pr 30^{23b} [?]). The son of the slave-concubine might inherit the property and the father's blessing (Gn 16$^{1ff.}$ 21^{13} 49$^{1ff.}$), but this depended on the father's will (Gn 25^{6}), as in Babylonia (CH § 170$^{ff.}$). The effect of occupying such positions of trust was often bad. Proverbs fears it (19^{10} 30$^{21-23}$), and such passages as 2 K 5$^{20ff.}$, Neh 5^{15}, Gn 16^{4} justify the fear. Servants also tended to become agents of their master's sins (1 S 2$^{13-15}$, 2 S 13^{17}).

3. Thus far no *distinction between native and foreign slaves* has been observed either in law or in practice, except possibly by implication at Ex 21^{16} = Dt 24^{7}, and Dt 23$^{15ff.}$. The view that the protective laws in Ex 21$^{20ff.}$ $^{26ff.}$ ^{32} apply only to the native slave is without exegetical justification, and Gn 17^{12}, Ex 12^{44}, Gn 15^{2} [if the text can be trusted] 39$^{1ff.}$ [probably equally applicable to conditions in Israel], 1 Ch 2$^{34ff.}$ and Gn 16$^{1ff.}$ show that the foreign man- or maid-servant may enjoy all the advantages of the native Israelite.

The distinction drawn between the subject Canaanites and the Israelites at 1 K 9$^{20ff.}$ = 2 Ch 8$^{7ff.}$ is clearly incorrect (cf. 1 K 5^{13}) and belongs to a later development in the ideas of slavery (see below). The distinction drawn in P between the 'home-born' slave and the one 'purchased with money' (Gn 14^{14} 17^{12} etc.) does not refer to the two classes of foreign and native slaves.

In apparently but one particular, though this is of vital importance, the native slave is legally better off than the foreign-born, namely, in the right to *release*. Already in CH (§ 117) provision was made for the release, after three years, of a wife or children who had been sold for debt. In the BC (Ex 21$^{1-6}$) this idea was associated with the Sabbath idea, and a release was prescribed after 6 years of servitude, but the law was extended to cover every Israelite man-servant. Yet in the specifications of the law (vv.$^{3.\ 4}$) the rights of the master still noticeably precede the rights of the husband and father. Provision is also made for the slave to remain in servitude if he prefers to do so. In this case the servant is to be brought to the door of the master's house, not of the sanctuary (the rite would then lose its significance), and have his ear pierced with an awl (a wide-spread symbol of servitude in the East), when he would become a slave for life.

The phrase **'unto God'** (v.^{6a}) can scarcely refer in this connexion to the local sanctuary, as has usually been held. It signifies the adoption of the slave into the family as a religious unit, and probably referred originally to the household gods (or ancestors?).

In the case of the **maid-servant** (Ex 21$^{7-11}$) no release was permitted under ordinary circumstances (v.^{7}), for it is assumed that the slave-girl is at the same time a concubine, and hence release would be against the best interests both of herself and of the home. Yet she is not left without protection. Her master has no right to sell her to a family or clan not her own ('foreign people,' v.^{8b}, probably has this restricted significance, sale of an Israelite to a non-Israelite being out of the question), but must allow her to be redeemed, presumably by one of her own family. Failing this, he may give her to his son, in which case she is to be treated as a daughter (v.^{9}). If neither of these methods is adopted, a third way is provided. He may take another (concubine or wife), but must then retain the first, provide for her maintenance and respect her marital rights (v.^{10}). If the master refuses to adopt any one of these three methods ('these three,' v.^{11}, refers to the three methods in vv.$^{8-10}$, not to the three provisions in v.^{10}), then, and then only, the maid-servant has a right to release.

The above is but one of several possible interpretations of this passage. Further, the meaning of v.^{8a} is doubtful. The text is corrupt. Instead of the phrase 'who hath espoused her to himself,' we should read either 'so that he hath not known her,' or 'who hath known her.' On the first reading the *two* methods of procedure in vv.$^{8.9}$ are allowable if she be still a virgin (in v.^{10} she is no longer such). On the second reading one of the *three* methods in vv.$^{8-10}$ must be followed when she is *de facto* a concubine. The latter reading is exegetically preferable. The resultant possibility of a father giving his concubine to a son was probably not offensive, at a time when wife and concubine were regarded as property which a son could inherit. Among the Arabs marriage with a stepmother was common till the rise of Islam. In later times these marriages were forbidden both in the Koran and in the Hebrew law (Dt 22^{30} 27^{20}, Lv 18^{8} 20^{11}).

The Deuteronomic re-formulation of the Law of Release (Dt 15$^{12-18}$) is noteworthy. (1) Release is extended to the maid-servant. Consequently the specifications in Ex 21$^{3.\ 4.\ 7-11}$ are allowed to lapse, and in the awl-rite only the possibility of the slave continuing in servitude through love of his master is considered. This change is due to the increasing respect for the marriage relation. The slave-husband's rights over the wife are now superior to the master's rights, and it is apparently no longer assumed that the maid-servant as such is the concubine of her master. Where concubinage does not exist, the maid-servant can be released without prejudice to the marital relation. (2) In Deut. the awl-rite is clearly only a domestic rite. This con-

firms the interpretation of the rite given above. The Deuteronomist, who localizes all religious observances at the central sanctuary, consequently drops the 'unto God' of Ex 21[6a]. (3) The characteristic humanitarian exhortation (vv.[13. 14]) is added, and the reasonableness of the law defended (vv.[15. 18]).

Jer 34[8-17] describes an abortive attempt to observe the law in its Deuteronomic formulation. The law had evidently not been observed in spite of its reasonableness, and was subsequently again allowed to become a dead letter.

A third version of the Law of Release is found at Lv 25[39-55]. Three cases are considered: (1) that of the Israelite who has sold himself, because of poverty, to his fellow-countryman (vv.[39-43]). Such an one is not to be regarded as a real slave but as a hireling, and is to be released in the year of Jubilee. (2) Actual slaves are to be obtained only from non-Israelite peoples (cf. 1 K 9[20]). For them there is no release (vv.[44-46]). (3) If an Israelite sells himself to a *gēr*, he may be redeemed at any time by his next of kin or by himself (power to acquire property assumed), but in any case he must be freed at the year of Jubilee (vv.[47-54]). The redemption-price is proportioned to the number of years he had yet to serve from the time of his redemption to the Jubilee year, in other words, to the pay he would receive as an hireling during that period. Thus the possibility of an Israelite becoming an actual slave is again obliterated. The differences between this law and the earlier legislation are marked. (*a*) It formulates the growing protest against the idea that an Israelite could be a slave (cf. Neh 5[5. 8]). (*b*) Through the institution of the Jubilee year it provides that even the *quasi*-servitude which is admitted should not be for life, and consequently it ignores the awl-rite.

A difficulty emerges at this point. The Levitical law, which postpones release till the 50th year, seems to work a greater hardship at times than the earlier laws, which prescribe release in the 7th year. Here three things are to be remembered: (*a*) the earlier law had probably become a dead letter long before the present law was formulated (cf. Jer 34, above); (*b*) the Jubilee law is the result of a theological theory (cf. vv. [23. 42. 55]), and never belonged to the sphere of practical legislation; (*c*) as such it is to be construed, not in antithesis to the 7th year of the earlier laws, but to the lifelong period of servitude often actually experienced. It will not lengthen the time until the year of release, but will theoretically abolish all lifelong servitude. This theoretical point of view so predominates that the prolongation of the time of servitude, if the law had ever become actually operative, is left out of account. The fact that the Israelite in servitude to another Israelite is really worse off than an Israelite attached to a *gēr*, who could be redeemed at any time, also shows that we are not dealing with practical legislation.

4. In these three laws of release we have three clearly marked stages in the recognition of the slave's personality. The BC provides for the release of the Israelite man-servant. Deut., with its humanitarian tendencies, extends this privilege to the maid-servant. Lev., on the basis of its theological conceptions, denies that any Israelite can be an actual slave. But all these laws remain within nationalistic limitations. *One step more must be taken.* The rights of the slave as a man, and not simply as a fellow-countryman, must be recognized. The growing individualism which accompanied the development of the doctrine of monotheism prepared the way for this final step, which was taken by Job in the noble passage 31[13-15]. In the same spirit Joel universalizes the primitive conception of the necessary attachment of the slave to the family cult, and makes him share equally with all flesh in the baptism of the Spirit of God (2[29]).

Note.—The relationship of servant to master is a favourite figure in the OT for the relationship of man to God (esp. in the Psalms). The nation, Israel, is also often thought of as the servant of Jehovah (cf. Is 41[8ff.])—a thought which finds its most profound expression in Is 42[1-4] 49[1-6] 50[4-10] 52[13]–53[12]. Cf. art. SERVANT OF THE LORD.

5. In the NT it is only the attitude of Jesus and St. Paul towards slavery that demands attention. Jesus was not a political agitator, or even a social reformer. In nothing is this fact more strikingly illustrated than in His allusions to slavery. He refers to it only for purposes of illustration (*e.g.* Mk 12[2. 4], Mt 24[45], Jn 8[35] etc.). He never criticizes it, even when it violates, as He must have realized, His own principles of love and brotherhood (Mt 18[25], Lk 17[7ff.]; contrast the figurative picture in Lk 12[37]). But, as Christianity reached into the world and developed into a social force, it became increasingly necessary to consider what its attitude towards slavery should be, especially as many slaves became Christians (in Ro 16[10. 11], 1 Co 1[11], Ph 4[22] 'them of the household' are the slave-retainers). In this connexion St. Paul enunciates just one great principle—In Christ all the distinctions of this world disappear; the religion of Jesus knows neither bond nor free (1 Co 12[13], Gal 3[28], Col 3[11]). But he did not use this principle to overthrow the institution of slavery. On the contrary, at 1 Co 7[21-23] he counsels one who has been called (into the Christian life) while a slave not to mourn his lot. He even advises him, if the opportunity to become free is offered, to remain in servitude (v.[21], but the interpretation is doubtful), the near approach of the Parousia (v.[29]) apparently throwing these external conditions of life into a perspective of insignificance for St. Paul. The Apostle does not seek 'to make free men out of slaves, but good slaves out of bad slaves' (Eph 6[5-9], Col 3[22–4]; cf. 1 P 2[18]). In these passages the corresponding duties of **master** to man are also insisted upon, as there is no respect of persons with Christ. It is significant that in the later Pastoral Epistles (1 Ti 6[1ff.], Tit 2[9-11]) the exhortations to the masters are omitted. It would seem as if some slaves had taken advantage of the Christian principle of brotherhood to become insurbordinate. In Philemon we have the classical illustration of St. Paul's attitude towards slavery exemplified in a concrete case. Here again he does not ask Philemon to free Onesimus; and it is clear from 1 Ti 6[1ff.] and the subsequent history of the Church that Christians in good standing owned slaves. But in Philem [16] the slave is transfigured into a brother in Christ. For further discussion of this point see art. PHILEMON.

Though the Church recognized slavery, it is a remarkable fact that in the epitaphs of the catacombs the deceased is never spoken of as having been a (human master's) slave, though often described as a slave of God. In death, at least, the Christian ideal was fully realized. The slave becomes with the master only the slave of God. Contrast the gloomy equality in Job 3[19]. KEMPER FULLERTON.

SLEEVES.—See DRESS, **2** (*d*).

SLEIGHT.—The word tr. 'sleight' in Eph 4[14], 'by the sleight of men,' means literally *dice-playing*. Tindale uses 'wylynes,' which is more intelligible now than 'sleight.'

SLIME.—See BITUMEN, SIDDIM [VALE OF].

SLING.—See ARMOUR ARMS, § **1** (*e*).

SMITH.—See ARTS AND CRAFTS, § **2**.

SMYRNA (also and more strictly *Zmyrna*) was founded as a colony from Greece earlier than B.C. 1000, but the early foundation, which had been Æolian, was captured by its southern neighbours the Ionian Greeks and made an Ionian colony. This second foundation became a powerful State, possessing territory far to the E., and as late as the 7th cent. B.C. fought on equal terms against the great Lydian power (see SARDIS). It gradually gave way, however, and was captured and destroyed about B.C. 600 by Alyattes, king of Lydia. It now ceased to be a Greek city, and it was not till the 3rd cent. B.C. that it became so again. There was a State called Smyrna between 600 and 290, but it was mainly a loose congeries of villages scattered about the plain and the surrounding hills, and not in the Greek sense a *polis* (city-State). Alexander the Great intended to re-found the city, but

did not carry out his plan. It was left for one of his successors, Lysimachus, who accomplished it in B.C. 290. The old city had been on a steep high hill on the N. side of the extreme eastern recess of the gulf; the new was planted on the S.E. shore of the gulf, about 2 miles away. The object of the change was to obtain a good harbour and a suitable point for the starting of a land trade-route to the E. There were in reality two ports—a small inner one with a narrow entrance, and a mooring ground; the former has gradually filled up through neglect. Its maritime connexion brought it into contact with the Romans, who made an alliance with Smyrna against the Seleucid power. In B.C. 195 Smyrna built a temple to Rome, and ever afterwards remained faithful to that State through good fortune and bad. Rome showed a thorough appreciation of this friendship and loyalty, and in A.D. 26 this city was preferred before all others in Asia as the seat of the new temple to be dedicated by the confederacy of that province to Tiberius.

The city was of remarkable beauty. Its claim to be the chief city of Asia was contested by Ephesus and Pergamum, but in beauty it was easily first. In addition to its picturesque situation it was commended by its handsome and excellently paved streets, which were fringed by the groves in the suburbs. The city was well walled, and in the *pagos* above possessed an ideal acropolis, which, with its splendid buildings in orderly arrangement, was known as the crown or garland of Smyrna. The protecting divinity of the city was a local variety of Cybele, known as the Sipylene Mother, and the towers and battlements of her head-dress bore an obvious resemblance to the appearance of the city. (The Greeks identified her with Nemesis, who here alone in the Greek world was worshipped, and not as one but as a pair of goddesses.) There was one street known as the Street of Gold. It went from W. to E., curving round the sloping hill, and had a temple on a hill at each end. For its length and fine buildings it was compared to a necklace of jewels round the neck of a statue. The life of the city was and is much benefited in the hottest period of the day by a west wind which blows on it with great regularity, dying down at sunset. This was counterbalanced by a disadvantage, the difficulty of draining the lowest parts of the city, a difficulty accentuated by this very wind. Smyrna boasted that it was the birthplace of Homer, who had been born and brought up beside the river Meles. This stream is identified by local patriotism with the Caravan Bridge River, which flows northwards till it comes below the *pagos*, then flows round its eastern base and enters the sea to the N.E. of it. But this is a mistaken view. The Meles is undoubtedly to be identified with the stream coming from the Baths of Diana and called Chalka-bounar, as it alone satisfies the minute description of the Smyrnæan orator Aristides (flourished 2nd cent. A.D.) and other ancient writers. It rises in the very suburbs of the city, and is fed by a large number of springs, which rise close to one another. Its course is circle-shaped at first, and afterwards it flows gently to the sea like a canal. Its temperature is equable all the year round, and it never either overflows or dries up. The city has suffered from frequent earthquakes (for instance, in A.D. 180), but has always risen superior to its misfortunes. It did not become a Turkish city till Tamerlane captured it in A.D. 1402. Even now the Christian element is three times as large as the Mohammedan, and the Turks call the city Infidel Smyrna. It has always been an important place ecclesiastically.

The **letter to the Church at Smyrna** (Rev 2^{8-11}) is the most favourable of all. The writer puts its members on a higher plane than any of the others. They have endured persecution and poverty, but they are rich in real wealth. They are the victims of calumny, but are not to be afraid. Some are even to be sent to prison as a prelude to execution, and to have suffering for a time. If they are faithful they shall receive real life. The church was dead and yet lived, like the city in former days. The Jews in Smyrna had been specially hostile to the Christians, and had informed against them before the Roman officials. Most of them were probably citizens of Smyrna, but became merged in the general population and were not confined to a certain tribe, since the Romans ceased to recognize the Jews as a nation after A.D. 70. The hatred of the Jews there can be explained only by the supposition that many of the Christians were converted Jews. Similarly they helped in the martyrdom of Polycarp (A.D. 155). The city and its Christianity have survived all attacks. A. SOUTER.

SNAIL.—**1.** *chōmet*, Lv 11^{30}. See LIZARD. **2.** *shabbĕlul*, Ps 58^{8} 'Let them be as a snail which melteth and passeth away.' The reference here appears to be to the slimy track which a snail leaves behind it, which gives the appearance of 'melting away.' E. W. G. MASTERMAN.

SNARES.—A cord with running noose (*mōqēsh*, Am 3^{5} etc.; cf. *yāqōsh* 'one who lays snares,' **'fowler'** Hos 9^{8}) was used to catch ground game and birds. The fowler also used a **net** (*resheth*, Pr 1^{17}, Hos 5^{1} etc.), under which he tempted birds by means of food, and then, concealed near by, pulled it down upon them. The *pach* (Ps 124^{7}, Pr 7^{23}, Ec 9^{12} etc.) probably corresponded to the Arab. *fakhkh*, a trap made of bone and gut, with tongue and jaws on the principle of the common rat-trap. It is light, and the bird caught by the foot easily springs up with it from the ground in its vain efforts to escape. Of this Amos gives a vivid picture (3^{5}). In later times the fowler used decoys to lure birds into his cage (Sir 11^{30}). Both *mōqēsh* and *pach* are several times rendered in EV by **gin.** The NT *pagis* (Ro 11^{9} etc.), and *brochos* (1 Co 7^{35}), may mean 'snare,' 'net,' or 'trap'; whatever seizes one unawares. W. EWING.

SNOW.—Every winter snow falls occasionally in the mountainous districts of Palestine, but seldom lies for more than a few hours—at most for a day or two. The greater part of the year, however, snow, glistening on the shoulders of Great Hermon, is easily seen from most of the higher hills in the country. It is frequently used as a symbol of whiteness and purity (Ex 4^{6}, Ps 51^{7}, Is 1^{18}, Mt 28^{3} etc.). It stands for the cold against which the good housewife provides (Pr 31^{21}). From Mt. Hermon snow has been carried since olden times to great distances, to refresh the thirsty in the burning heat of summer (Pr 26^{1}). Water *mithl eth-thilj* ('like the snow') for coolness, is the modern Arab's ideal drink. W. EWING.

SNUFFERS, SNUFF DISHES.—The former of these are the **'tongs'** of Ex 37^{23}, the latter the vessels in which the burnt portions of the wicks were deposited. See TABERNACLE, 6 (*b*). Cf. FIREPAN.

SO.—The king of Egypt (Mizraim), Hoshea's correspondence with whom led shortly to the captivity of Israel (2 K 17^{4}). In B.C. 725 the kingdom of Egypt was probably in confusion (end of Dyn. 23), the land being divided among petty princes, and threatened or held by the Ethiopians. It is difficult to find an Egyptian name of this period that would be spelt *So* in Hebrew. Assyrian annals, however, inform us that in 722, shortly after the fall of Samaria, a certain *Sib'i*, 'tartan' (commander-in-chief) of Musri, was sent by Pir'u, king of Musri (*i. e.* probably Pharaoh, king of Egypt), to the help of Gaza against Sargon. This Sib'i may be our So (or Seve), not king, but commander-in-chief. It has been thought that the Heb. So, Seve, and the Assyr. Sib'i might stand for the name of the Ethiopian Shabako of the 25th Dyn., as crown prince and then king, but they would be singularly imperfect renderings of that name. Shabako gained the throne of Egypt about B.C. 713. F. LL. GRIFFITH.

SOAP (*bōrīth*) occurs in EV (AV **'sope'**) only in Jer 2^{22} (washing of the person) and Mal 3^{2} (operations of the fuller). Properly *bōrīth* denotes simply 'that

which cleanses.' The cognate word *bōr* is commonly rendered 'cleanness,' but in Job 9^{30}, Is 1^{25} RVm gives **'lye.'** Soap in the modern sense of the word was unknown in OT times, and we do not know what precisely is referred to by *bōrīth*. As in Jer 2^{22} *nether* (AV 'nitre' [wh. see]), a mineral alkali, is set in antithesis to *bōrīth*, it is supposed that the latter was some kind of vegetable alkali which, mixed with oil, would serve the purposes of soap. This may be confirmed by the fact that in Jer 2^{22} and Mal 3^{2} LXX renders *bōrīth* by *poia* = 'grass.'

J. C. Lambert.

SOBRIETY.—See Temperance, **1.**

SOCO, SOCOH (RV has *Socoh* everywhere, except in 1 Ch 4^{18} and 2 Ch 28^{18}, where it has *Soco*).—**1.** A fortified town in the Shephēlah of Judah, mentioned in Jos 15^{35} along with Adullam and Azekah; the Philistines (1 S 17^{1}) 'pitched between Socoh and Azekah'; Ben-hesed, one of Solomon's twelve officers, had charge of it (1 K 4^{10}); it was re-fortified by Rehoboam (2 Ch 11^{7}); during the reign of Ahaz it was taken, along with other prominent fortress cities of the Shephēlah, by the Philistines. Its site was known to Eusebius and Jerome. It is now *Khurbet Shuweikeh* (dim. of Arab. *Shaukeh*), a ruin on a remarkable isolated hill in the *Wady es-Sunt* (Vale of Elah) near where it turns west. The hill is surrounded on three sides by deep valleys, while on the remaining, the E. end, a narrow, low neck, easily defended, connects it with the higher ground. Although there are few remains on the surface, the ancient city wall may be traced round most of the circumference: there is a plentiful spring to the S.W. Such a defensible site, lying close to main roads from Jerusalem, Bethlehem, Hebron, etc., to the great Philistine plain, must always have been of first-class importance. The **Suchathites** of 1 Ch 2^{55} are perhaps inhabitants of Socoh.

2. Another Socoh (apparently) is mentioned in Jos 15^{48}, along with Jattir and Debir. The site of this may be *esh-Shuweikeh*, 10 miles S.W. of Hebron. **3.** Soco in 1 Ch 4^{18} is probably one or other of these two towns.

E. W. G. Masterman.

SOD, SODDEN.—See Seethe.

SODI.—The father of the Zebulunite spy (Nu 13^{10}).

SODOM.—See Dead Sea, Plain [Cities of the].

SODOMITISH SEA, 2 Es 5^{7} = the Dead Sea (wh. see).

SOJOURNER.—See Stranger.

SOLDIER.—See Army, Legion, War.

SOLEMN, SOLEMNITY.—The adj. 'solemn' frequently occurs in AV, always with *assembly* or *meeting* or some such word, and always in its early sense of 'regular' or 'public.' Thus 'a solemn feast' means simply 'a stated feast'; there is no corresponding word in the Hebrew. In the same way 'solemnity' means 'public occasion.' How much this word, as used in AV, differs from its modern meaning, may be seen from Shaks., *Midsummer Night's Dream*, v. i. 376:

> 'A fortnight hold we this solemnity,
> In nightly revels and new jollity.'

SOLEMN ASSEMBLY.—See Congregation

SOLOMON.—1. Sources.—1 K 1–11 (cf. 11^{41}), with parallels in 2 Ch 1–9 (add references in closing chs. of 1 Ch.). In Chronicles the character of Solomon, as of the period as a whole, is idealized; *e.g.* nothing is said of the intrigues attending his accession, his foreign marriages and idolatry, or his final troubles, even with Jeroboam. Details are added or altered in accordance with post-exilic priestly conceptions ($5^{12.\ 13}$ 7^{8} 8^{11-16}); 1^{3} (cf. 1 K 3^{4}) makes the sacrifice at Gibeon more orthodox; the dream becomes a theophany; in $7^{1.\ 3}$ fire comes down from heaven. In 9^{29} reference is made to authorities, possibly sections of 1 K.; there is no evidence that the Chronicler was able to go behind 1, 2 K. for his materials. The books of OT and Apocrypha ascribed to Solomon are of value only as giving later conceptions of his career. Josephus (*Ant.* viii. i.–viii.) cannot be relied on where he differs from OT; the same holds good of the fragments quoted by Eusebius and Clemens Alexandrinus. Later legends, Jewish and Mohammedan, are interesting, but historically valueless; the fact that they have in no way influenced the OT narrative is an evidence of its general reliability; only two dreams and no marvels are recorded of Solomon. Archæology has so far contributed very little to our knowledge of his reign.

2. Chronology.—His accession is dated *c.* B.C. 969, *i.e.* about 50 years later than the traditional chronology. We have unfortunately no exact data, the dates of Hiram and Shishak (1 K 11^{40}) not having been precisely determined. The origin and interpretation of the 480 years in 6^{1} are very doubtful. The 'little child' of 3^{7} (cf. Jer 1^{6}) does not require the tradition that Solomon was only twelve at his accession (Josephus); the probabilities point to his being about twenty. The 40 years of his reign, as of David's (cf. Jg $3^{11.\ 30}$ 5^{31} 8^{28} etc.), would seem to represent a generation.

3. Early years.—Solomon was the son of David and Bathsheba (2 S $12^{24.\ 25}$), presumably their eldest surviving child; his position in the lists of 5^{14}, 1 Ch 3^{5} 14^{4} is strange, perhaps due to emphasis. The name means 'peaceful' (Heb. *Shelōmoh*; cf. *Irenæus*, *Friedrich*), indicating the longing of the old king (1 Ch 22^{9}); cf. *Absalom* ('father is peace'). The name given him by Nathan (2 S 12^{25}), **Jedidiah** ('beloved of J",' the same root as *David*), is not again referred to, perhaps as being too sacred. It was the pledge of his father's restoration to Divine favour. We have no account of his training. 'The Lord loved him' (2 S 12^{24}) implies great gifts; and v.^{25} and 1 K 1 suggest the influence of Nathan. His mother evidently had a strong hold over him (1 K 1. 2).

4. Accession.—The appointment of a successor in Eastern monarchies depended on the king's choice, which in Israel needed to be ratified by the people (1 K 12); where polygamy prevails, primogeniture cannot be assumed. 1^{13} implies a previous promise to Bathsheba, perhaps a 'court secret'; the public proclamation of 1 Ch 22^{2-19}, if at all historical, must be misplaced. Adonijah, 'a very goodly man' (1 K 1^{6}), relying on the favour of the people (2^{15}) [it is doubtful whether he was the eldest surviving son], made a bid for the throne, imitating the method of Absalom and taking advantage of David's senility. He was easily foiled by the prompt action of Nathan and Bathsheba; Solomon himself was evidently young, though soon able to assert himself. The careful and impressive ritual of the coronation was calculated to leave no doubt in the people's mind as to who was the rightful heir. The young king learned quickly to distinguish between his friends and enemies, as well as to rely on the loyalty of the Cherethites, his father's foreign bodyguard. The sparing of Adonijah (1 K 1^{53}) suggests that he was not a very formidable competitor; his plot was evidently badly planned. His request to Bathsheba (2^{13}) may have been part of a renewed attempt on the kingdom (as *heir* he claims his father's wives), or may have been due to real affection. At any rate the king's suspicion or jealousy was aroused, and his rival was removed; Canticles suggests that Solomon himself was believed to have been the lover of Abishag. The deposition of Abiathar, and the execution of Joab and Shimei, were natural consequences; and in the case of the two last, Solomon was only following the advice of his father ($2^{6.\ 9}$). He thus early emphasized his power to act, and as a result 'his kingdom was established greatly' at a cheap cost. We shall hardly criticise the removal of dangerous rivals when we remember the fate which he himself would have met if Adonijah had succeeded (1^{21}), and the incidents common at the beginning of a new reign (2 K 11^{1}; cf. Pr 25^{5}).

5. Policy.—The work of Solomon was to develop the ideas of his father. He consolidated the kingdom,

welding its disorganized tribal divisions together into a short-lived unity, by the power of an Oriental despotism. The subjugation of the Canaanites was completed (9[20]). The position of Jerusalem as the capital was secured by the building of the Temple and palaces and by the fortification of Millo (9[24] 11[27]). A chain of garrison and store cities was established (9[15]), together with a standing army which included 12,000 horsemen and 1400 chariots (4[26] 10[26]). The extent of his dominions (4[21. 24]) may represent the idea of a later age, and Eastern monarchs were ready to claim suzerainty where there was but little effective control. But inscriptions show us how kaleidoscopic were the politics of the period; kingdoms rose and fell very quickly, and the surrounding States were all at the time in a state of weakness. It was this that enabled his reign to be a generation of peace. His troubles (11[9-40]) were very few for so long a life. The hostility of Hadad (v.[14ff.]) was a legacy from David, but there is no evidence that he became king of Edom. Rezon (v.[23]) conquered Damascus and founded a dynasty, but we hear nothing of any serious war. Nothing is known of the Hamath-zobah which Solomon subdued (2 Ch 8[3]). More than any other Jewish king, he realized the importance of *foreign alliances*, which were closely connected with his *commercial policy*. (*a*) Early in his reign he married Pharaoh's daughter (1 K 3[1]), who brought as her marriage portion Gezer (9[16]). This Pharaoh was apparently the last of the Tanite (21st) dynasty—a confused period of which little is known; we have no other notice of the connexion between Egypt and Palestine at this period. Solomon was able to control, and no doubt profited by, the caravan trade between the Euphrates and the Nile. The caravanserai of Chimham (Jer 41[17]; cf. 2 S 19[37], 1 K 2[7]) may have been established at this period in connexion with that trade. From Egypt (unless a N. Syrian Musri is intended) came horses and chariots for Solomon's own use, and for the purposes of a Syrian trade (10[28. 29]). The alliance was apparently not disapproved at the time (cf. Ps 45), but it was not continued; Shishak protects Jeroboam (1 K 11[40]). (*b*) The alliance with Hiram of Tyre (according to Clem. Alex., Solomon also married his daughter, cf. 11[1. 6]) was a continuation of the policy of David [but unless this Hiram was the son of David's ally, the building of the palace in 2 S 5[11] is put too early]. This was in connexion with his building operations (5[1-12]). Timber from Lebanon was brought by sea to Joppa, together with skilled workmen from Tyre, especially the Gebalites (v.[18], cf. Ezk 27[9]); Hiram, a worker in brass, is particularly mentioned (1 K 7[13]). The yearly payment consisted of agricultural commodities (5[11]; note exaggerations in 2 Ch 2[10]). A grant of twenty cities in Galilee was unsatisfactory to Hiram, though he apparently paid for them (1 K 9[10-14]). A more substantial return was the security which Solomon was able to offer to Phœnician trade with the E., and, above all, access to the port of Ezion-geber on the Red Sea, made possible by his suzerainty over Edom. Tamar (1 K 9[18] RV [AV 'Tadmor']) in S. Judah apparently protected the route to the port. A lucrative trade was carried on by the two kings in partnership, in gold, spices, sandalwood, apes, peacocks, etc. (9[26] 10[11. 22]). The extent of their voyages is a mystery, the situation of both Ophir and Tarshish being unknown. Assuming that there was only one Tarshish, and that in the West, it is still very doubtful whether Solomon can have been allowed any share in the Mediterranean trade; 'ships of Tarshish' may be only a name for a particular type of vessel. The Ophir trade must have been connected with S. Arabia; hence no doubt the visit of the queen of Sheba (10[1]); the 'presents' exchanged would be really of the nature of barter, as illustrated by the Tell el-Amarna tablets. The Jews never took kindly to the sea, and, except for the abortive attempt of Jehoshaphat (22[48]), Solomon's policy found no imitators.

6. Internal condition of his kingdom.—The impression is given us of great wealth. Though the sums left by David (1 Ch 22[14]) are incredible (equal to a thousand million pounds), Solomon's own revenue (four millions, 1 K 10[14]) is possible for an exceptional year. But the gold was used chiefly in unproductive forms of display (v.[16ff.]), and probably but little was in circulation among the people; he had a difficulty in paying Hiram (9[11]). His passion for buildings was extravagant; the Temple was seven years in building (6[38]); his own house thirteen (7[1]); there was also the palace for his wife (v.[8]). He had an enormous court (note list of officers in 4[2]) and harem (11[1]), necessitating a luxurious daily provision (4[22]). The country was divided into twelve parts, under twelve officers, each responsible for a month's supplies (v.[7]); these did not coincide with the tribal divisions, and Judah was exempt. For the building operations a *mas* or forced levy was organized under Adoram (5[13], cf. 2 S 20[24]) with numerous subordinates (5[16] 9[23]); 30,000 men were sent to Lebanon, 10,000 a month; there were carriers and hewers (5[15]), and the aborigines were used as helots (9[20], Ezr 2[55] mentions their descendants). The *mas* was the very word used of the labour in Egypt, and beneath the apparent prosperity (4[20. 25]) was a growing discontent and jealousy of Judah, which broke out in the rebellion of Jeroboam. By his personal popularity and extravagant display Solomon won a great 'name' (4[31] 10[1. 7]), and gave Israel a position among the nations. His reign came to be idealized, but his policy was clearly economically and socially unsound, and could only lead to ruin. From the *religious point of view* the outstanding feature is the building of the Temple. It is an anachronism to represent it as the centralization of the worship of J″ according to the standard of Deut., to the exclusion of the 'high places,' and its effect was largely neutralized by the honour paid to other gods (11); none the less its elaborate magnificence was a visible proof of the triumph of J″ over the Baal worship of Canaan, and of His exaltation as supreme God of the nation. It cannot be maintained that the material and local conception of the Deity which it suggested made entirely for spiritual religion (Is 1[13], Jer 7[4], Ac 7[48]); it meant a concentration of power in the hands of the Jerusalem priesthood at the cost of the prophets, who had no influence during Solomon's reign (Nathan in 4[5] is probably his brother), and the attitude of Nathan, Ahijah, and Shemaiah makes it probable that they looked with suspicion on the new developments. It was, however, a necessary step in the religious history of the nation, and the Psalms prove that it made Zion the centre of its enthusiastic patriotism.

7. His wisdom was the special gift of God (3[5]). His 'judgment' (v.[16ff.]) is the typical instance. It presumably took place early in his reign (cf. the contemptuous laughter of the people in Jos. *Ant.* VIII. ii. 2), and simply shows a shrewd knowledge of human nature; many parallels are quoted. It proves his fitness for judicial functions, and 4[29-34] gives the general idea of his attainments. He was regarded as the father of Jewish proverbial (or gnomic) wisdom; 'wisdom books' existed in Egypt long before, but it seems impossible to distinguish in our present 'Proverbs' (*c.* B.C. 250) what elements may be due to him. Sirach and Wis. have no title to his name. 1 K 4[29. 33] suggest general and poetical culture, parables drawn from nature, rather than the beginnings of science. Ps 72 may possibly belong to his age, but not Ps 127 or Canticles. Later tradition added much; the solving of 'riddles' held a large place in the wisdom of the East, and we hear of the 'hard questions' of the queen of Sheba (10[1]), and of a contest between Solomon and Hiram (Jos. *Ant.* VIII. v. 3). Josephus also speaks of his power over demons; Rabbinical legend of his control over beasts and birds, of his 'magic carpet,' and knowledge of the Divine name. Examples of the legendary material are accessible in Farrar's *Solomon*.

8. Character.—Solomon evidently began his reign with high ideals, of which his dream (3[5]) was a natural

expression. His sacrifice at Gibeon (v.[4]) gives another aspect; his religion was associated with external display. So the magnificence of the Temple, the pageantry and holocausts of its dedication (8), certainly ministered to his own glory, no less than to God's. His prayer, however, if it be in any sense authentic, is full of true piety, and he seems to have had a real delight in religious observances (9[25]). His fall is connected with his polygamy and foreign wives (11, cf. Neh 13[26]). He not only allowed them their own worship, a necessary concession, but shared in it; the memory of his 'high places,' within sight of his own Temple, was preserved in the name 'Mount of Offence.' This idolatry was, in fact, the natural syncretism resulting from his habitual foreign intercourse. Self-indulgence and the pride of wealth evidently played their part in his deterioration. Of his actual end nothing is known; he was an 'old man' (1 K 11[4]) at sixty years, but Jeroboam's flight suggests that he could still make his authority felt. Ecclesiastes gives a good impression of the 'moral' of his life; but whether he actually repented and was 'saved' was warmly debated by the Fathers. Dt 17[16f.] criticises his Egyptian alliance and harem, his love of horses and of wealth, and Sir 47[12-21] is a fair summary of the career of one whose 'heart was not perfect with the Lord his God, as was the heart of David his father' (1 K 11[4]). His wisdom could not teach him self-control, and the only legacy of a violated home-life was a son 'ample in foolishness and lacking in understanding.'

C. W. Emmet.

SOLOMON'S PORCH.—See Temple, § 11 (*a*).

SOLOMON'S SERVANTS.—See Nethinim.

SOMEIS (1 Es 9[34]) = **Shimei,** Ezr 10[38].

SOMETIME, SOMETIMES.—There is no difference in the use of these two forms in AV, and except in Sir 37[14] ('For a man's mind is sometime wont to tell him,' etc.), where the meaning is 'occasionally,' as now, both forms are used in the sense of 'once upon a time.'

SON.—See Child, Family.

SON OF GOD, SON OF MAN.—See Person of Christ, I. §§ 3. 4.

SONG OF SONGS (or **CANTICLES**).—**1. Place in the Canon, interpretation, structure.**—(*a*) The Song of Songs is one of the *Kethūbīm, Hagiographa,* or Writings, the third of the three classes into which the Jewish Canon was divided. Printed copies of the Heb. OT follow the arrangement of the German and French MSS in placing it at the head of the five *Megillōth* or Rolls—the short books which are read at the great annual solemnities of Passover, Pentecost, the 9th Ab, Feast of Booths, Purim. Probably it owes its premier position to the fact that Passover is the earliest festival of the year. But there is reason for believing that a more ancient order survives in the LXX, where it stands by the side of Prov. and Eccles., the two other works to which Solomon's name was attached.

Grave doubts were long entertained by the Rabbis respecting the canonicity of **Canticles** (a common name of the book, from Vulg. *Canticum Canticorum*).

The Synod of Jamnia (A.D. 90–100), after some discussion, decided in favour of its reception, and Rabbi Akiba († A.D. 135) lent to this conclusion the weight of his great influence: 'All the Hagiographa are holy, but the Song of Songs is the most holy, and the whole world is not of such importance as the day in which it was given.' The opening words of the Targum are equally strong: 'Songs and praises which Solomon the prophet, the king of Israel, spake by the Holy Spirit before Jahweh, the Lord of the whole world. Ten songs were sung in that day, but this song was more to be praised than they all.' The Midrash asserts that 'Canticles is the most excellent of songs, dedicated to Him who one day will cause the Holy Ghost to rest on us; it is that song in which God praises us and we Him.'

(*b*) It was evidently admitted into the OT because it was supposed to treat of a religious theme. This is implied by its title in the Syriac Version: 'Wisdom of Wisdoms, which is Solomon's: the book which is called in Hebrew *Shirath Shirim* (*i.e.* "Song of Songs")." The theme was supposed to be the reciprocal love of Jahweh and Israel, and the story of that love in the history of the Chosen People. This was here enshrined in an allegory somewhat analogous to Hos 1–3 and Ezk 16. The Church adopted this line of interpretation from the Synagogue: Christ is the bridegroom, the Church or the soul is the bride.

The rubrics prefixed to many verses in Cod. Amiatinus of the Vulgate illustrate the manner in which this was worked out: 'Voice of the Synagogue,' 'Voice of the Church,' 'Voice of Christ,' 'Voice of Mary Magdalene to the Church,' 'Christ calls together the nations.' To some writers the Virgin Mary was the bride, and Canticles told the story of the Incarnation. Luther read here Solomon's thanksgivings for the blessings bestowed on his kingdom. The school of allegorists has lost ground considerably in modern times, but is not yet extinct. There were, however, almost from the beginning, exegetes who saw that the subject really treated of in Ca. is the mutual love of man and woman. In the early Church the great name of Theodore of Mopsuestia stands out on this side, and among the Jews that of Ibn Ezra. Castellio was driven out of Geneva by Calvin for asserting it, and Luis de Leon was thrown into prison by the Inquisition for the same cause.

(*c*) The question of form is closely connected with that of subject. Origen was the first to point out its affinity to *the drama,* but the earliest attempt to work this out thoroughly was made as late as 1722 by a German, G. Wachter. He has found many followers. Solomon and a country maiden were supposed to be the two leading characters. He married her, and his love for her led him to adopt a simpler mode of life. But is there not a third important character in the play? Later students answered in the affirmative. The revised explanation was that Solomon carried off **'the Shulammite'** to his harem, and, abetted by the women already there, the 'daughters of Jerusalem,' sought to divert her affections from her shepherd-lover: failing in this, he at last magnanimously resigned her to the shepherd. Leaving aside all detailed objections, the consideration which is fatal to these and all conceivable forms of the theory is that the drama has no place in Semitic literature. If Ca. had been an exception to the rule, how is it that there is not a single stage-direction, not a note of any kind to identify the speaker or regulate the action?

Certain important MSS of the LXX show how keenly this defect was felt; to each longer or shorter section they prefix 'The Bridegroom,' 'The Bride,' 'A second time the Bride adjures the maidens,' or the like, and one MS (23) runs to the following length, before 5[7], 'Not having found the bridegroom, the bride went out, and, as one found by the city-watchmen in the night, she is wounded and the keepers of the wall take her veil.'

And how is it that there is, within the poem itself, no movement towards a climax, no knot united or cut, no *dénouement*? Matters are as far advanced at 1[4] 2[4] as at 8[5].

Even during the period when the drama-theory was most vigorously maintained, some distinguished scholars held that Ca. is made up of a number of originally detached pieces, which were eventually brought together because they all treat of Love. Wetzstein's *Die Syrische Dreschtafel* (1873) furnished a strong reinforcement of this opinion. He had observed, whilst resident in Syria, that the peasant bridegroom and bride are entitled king and queen for the first week of married life [a contemporary Arabic epithalamium has since then been cited (*ZATW* xxiv. p. 42) in which the man actually bears the name of the reigning Sultan, Abd il-Hamīd]; they are attended by a vizier, have their throne on the threshing-floor, and receive the homage of the whole countryside. Songs and dances are executed by the 'friends of the bridegroom,' the bystanders, and the newly married pair. Some of these ditties, especially those which enumerate the charms of the bride, are of exactly the same character as certain sections of Canticles, and 7[12] corresponds precisely with the *wasf* ('descrip-

tion') which the bride sings as she goes through the sword-dance on the wedding night. These facts have induced a large number of expositors to believe that Ca. is a collection of love-songs, composed expressly for, or at any rate suitable for use at, marriage festivals.

Budde, who strongly advocates this view, admits that the book is not without marks of unity, but holds that these are sufficiently accounted for on the supposition that all these folk-songs originated in a single district and period. Haupt entirely rejects the idea of a unity, and, looking on the book in its present state as a disorganized mass, re-arranges it into twelve poems. The extent to which he carries the liberty of re-casting may be seen in his No. 3, 'Brothers of the Bride,' which is made up of 6^3 7^{11} 2^1 $1^{5.6}$ $8^{8\text{-}10}$ $8^{1.2}$. Even Budde's less drastic treatment scarcely does justice to the tokens of plan and unity which the book presents. The recurrence of certain phrases (2^7 3^5 8^4; 2^{17} 4^6 8^{14}) is meant to indicate connexions and transitions of thought, and there is no overwhelming reason against our ascribing them to the original writer.

The sentiments and the style are so similar throughout as to justify our thinking of a single author who composed erotic and nuptial pieces for several occasions, and afterwards wove them into a garland of verse (cf. 2^5 5^8; 1^{16} 4^1; 4^2 6^5; 2^{16} 6^3; 6^4 6^{10}; 2^9 8^{14}). A few of the smaller parts have probably been removed from their intended place, and it hardly admits of doubt that 4^8 is a belated fragment, unintelligible where it now stands. But when we remember the apparent irrelevance of the occasional verses sung in Palestine to-day, we shall be slow to deny that the singers and auditors of Ca. grasped allusions and perceived a fitness which we fail to apprehend. And in studying the song from this point of view it is well to bear in mind the facts collected by Dalman (*Paläst. Divan*, p. xii.). He points out that the *wasf* is not limited to wedding festivities, but is sung by the tent-fire, in the village inn, in the coffee-house where townsmen gather at night; that it is usually brief when descriptive of the beauty of bride or bridegroom; that in Palestine itself—however true Wetzstein's account of Damascus and the Hauran—there are but scanty traces of the temporary royalty of the bridal pair, and none of the threshing-sledge throne.

2. Contents.—These fall into what we may call seven cantos. I. (1^2–2^7): in $1^{2\text{-}4}$ the bride declares her affection; in v.$^{5f.}$ deprecates unfavourable criticism; in v.$^{7f.}$ inquires for her beloved. In 1^9–2^3 we have their praise of each other; in $2^{4\text{-}7}$ her experience of love. II. (2^8–2^{17}): vv.$^{8\text{-}14}$ a spring visit, v.^{15} the foxes, v.$^{16f.}$ close of the canto. III. (3^1–3^{11}): vv.$^{1\text{-}5}$ a dream, vv.$^{5\text{-}11}$ interlude. IV. (4^1–5^1): in $4^{1\text{-}7}$ he sets forth her charms; v.^{8} a fragment, vv.$^{9\text{-}11}$ his ecstasy of love, 4^{12}–5^1 a 'garden.' V. (5^2–6^9): 5^2–8 a dream, 5^9–6^3 *wasf* sung by bride; vv.$^{4\text{-}9}$ his praise of her. VI. (6^{10}–8^4): 6^{10} inquiry by women, v.$^{11f.}$ her rapture, 6^{13}–7^{10} *wasf* sung during sword-dance ('dance of camps,' 7^1), 7^{11}–8^4 songs of the bride. VII. ($8^{5\text{-}14}$): v.^{5} a reminiscence, v.$^{6f.}$ the power of love, vv.$^{8\text{-}10}$ the solicitude of the brothers, v.$^{11f.}$ an apologue, v.$^{13f.}$ conclusion.

We cannot regret that these canticles of human love have been preserved for us in the OT. The mutual attraction of the sexes is Divinely ordained. The love which finds expression in Ca. is regulated by marriage. The imagery is too luscious and the detail too complete for our taste, but they were produced by an Oriental for Orientals. More reticence does not necessarily mean more genuine purity. We should indeed have been glad to find some recognition of the loftier side of marriage, or something to remind us of Pr. 31. But the occasions for which these verses were composed and a comparison of the effusions which are still current on like occasions effectually disarm criticism. Dalman (*Pal. Divan*, p. xiii.) remarks justly concerning the folk-songs which he has brought together: 'The fact that the poems dwell only on the physical excellences of the beloved corresponds with the degree of civilization to which the Palestinian populace has attained. It does not follow that the Oriental ascribes no value to a woman's excellences of disposition and character.'

3. Authorship and date.—The title (1^1), according to which Solomon was the poet, is entirely destitute of authority. Its late and artificial origin is betrayed by the absence of the full form of the relative pronoun, which occurs nowhere in the poems themselves. The ascription of the authorship to the famous king is due partly to his being mentioned in 1^5 8^{12} ($3^{7.11}$ are doubtful), and partly to his reputation as the typically wise man, the composer of songs a thousand and five (1 K 4^{32}). But the canonicity of the book would not have remained an open question until the 1st cent. of the Christian era if it had then been extant a thousand years as an acknowledged product of his hand. Moreover, the language in which it is written belongs to the very latest stratum of Biblical Hebrew. The exclusive use of the abbreviated pronoun occurs in no early document, and cannot be explained as a peculiarity of the northern dialect. And there is no proof that the writer was specially connected with the North; if he mentions Lebanon, Amana, Shenir, Hermon, Tirzah, he also knows En-gedi, Heshbon, the wilderness (of Judah), the 'daughters of Jerusalem.' Considering the brevity of the book, there is a very considerable number of words which are seldom or never found elsewhere, or are employed here in place of more common ones, or are to be seen only in late writings. One of them *pardēs*, is Zend; another, *'ĕgōz*, is Persian; *'appiryōn* may be the Gr. *phoreion*; several are Aramaic. We should not look for these phenomena earlier than the period when Hebrew was yielding place to Aramaic, and if the exact age cannot be determined, the 3rd cent. B.C. is at least approximately correct.

4. Style.—It would be a dull eye that should miss the beauty of these poems. The verse moves lightly and gracefully, the imagery is charming. Our poet was deeply susceptible to the loveliness of nature, and fully capable of appreciating the art of his time. He carries us with him into the open air, to the vineyards, the villages, the mountains. He is awake at daybreak, to inhale the scent of the forest trees, to gather the apples and the pomegranates, to listen to the tinkle of the rills. Flocks of wild pigeons, timid and swift gazelles, fields embroidered with lilies, the breath of spring—all appeal to him. On the other hand, he is stirred by the pomp of a court, the magnificence of a royal litter, the glittering whiteness of an ivory tower, martial trophies, the rich attire of women, their jewels and perfumes. As a poem there is nothing else in the Bible to compare with this. Had it indeed been Solomon's, it would have been, as the title asserts, his Song of Songs, the *fine fleur* of his poetry.

5. Text.—This is not in a satisfactory state, but the critic should proceed with much caution. There are many passages where our view of the interpretation suggests alterations ($1^{2.\ 4.\ 8.\ 9}$ 2^9 3^{10} $4^{14.\ 16}$ $5^{1.\ 6}$ $6^{2.\ 6.\ 8}$ $7^{8.\ 9.\ 13}$), but it is obviously easy to allow ourselves too much licence. Bearing in mind what might be advanced on both sides, who shall determine whether *Nergal* is to be substituted for *nidhgaloth* ('banners') at 6^{10}? The Versions, especially LXX and Syr., supply a few better readings ($1^{3.\ 4.\ 7.\ 10}$ 2^{17} $3^{1.\ 6.\ 10}$ $4^{8\ 12}$ $5^{11.\ 13}$ 6^6 7^1 8^2). There are obvious errors of transcription: *nard* should not follow *nards* ($4^{13f.}$). Emendations suggested by the metre deserve attention (1^{15} $3^{9.\ 11}$ 7^8), but this has been carried much too far, not only by Bickell, but also in Kittel's edition of the Heb. Bible. Littmann (*ZATW* xxiv. p. 43) pertinently remarks that in many of the popular Arabic poems which he has collected there is an absence of definite verse-measure, and considers that 'in the OT also, verses of that kind, without definite metre, are at least possible.' There has been also a little too much readiness to delete verses, sentences, or words, on the ground that they occur in other parts of the poem in more suitable contexts. Martineau would omit $3^{1\text{-}5}$ because of its resemblance to $5^{2ff.}$ We must not forget that catchwords and refrains are characteristic of this class of poetry.

J. TAYLOR.

SONG OF THE THREE HOLY CHILDREN.—See APOCRYPHA, § 6.

SONS OF GOD.—See Children of God.

SONS OF THE PROPHETS.—See Prophecy, p.758a.

SOOTHSAYER.—See Magic Divination and Sorcery.

SOP.—See Meals, 5.

SOPATER, SOSIPATER.—These are two forms of the same name; St. Luke, as usual, adopts the more colloquial. **1.** In Ac 20[4] we read that Sopater, son of **Pyrrhus** (RV), of Berœa, accompanied St. Paul on his journey towards Jerusalem as far as Asia (if these last words are part of the true text), *i.e.* Troas [see Secundus]. The mention of the father's name, unusual in NT, is thought by Blass to denote that Sopater was of noble birth; by Alford, to be intended to distinguish him from—**2.** A 'kinsman,' *i.e.* fellow-countryman [see Jason], of St. Paul, who sends greetings in Ro 16[21]. It seems unlikely, but not impossible, that these are the same person.

A. J. Maclean.

SOPE.—See Soap.

SOPHERETH.—A family of Nethinim, Neh 7[57] = Ezr 2[55] **Hassophereth,** 1 Es 5[33] **Assaphioth.**

SOPHONIAS (2 Es 1[40]) = **Zephaniah** the prophet.

SORCERY.—See Magic Divination and Sorcery.

SOREG.—See Temple, 11 (*b*).

SOREK, VALLEY OF (perh. = 'valley of the *soreq* vine' [cf. art. Vine]).—The valley or *wādy* in which Delilah lived (Jg 16[4]). Eusebius and Jerome connect the valley with *Capharsorec*, a village to the north of Eleutheropolis and near Saraa, that is, Zorah, the home of Samson's father. Capharsorec is now *Khurbet Surīk*, to the north of *Wādy es-Surār*, which is identified with 'the valley of Sorek,' and not far from *Sur'ah*. See also Zorah.

SORREL.—See Colours, 3.

SOSIPATER.—See Sopater.

SOSTHENES.—**1.** Ruler of the synagogue at Corinth, whom 'they all' (RV) laid hold on and beat when Gallio dismissed the case against St. Paul (Ac 18[17]). He probably succeeded Crispus as ruler when the latter became a Christian (v.[8]), and the hostility of the rabble to the Jews showed itself when they were worsted in the courts. **2.** 'The brother' associated with St. Paul in addressing the Corinthians (1 Co 1[1]), and therefore probably a native of Corinth who had special relations with the Church there. If both references are to the same man, he must have been converted after the Gallio incident.

A. J. Maclean.

SOSTRATUS.—The governor of the citadel at Jerusalem under Antiochus Epiphanes (2 Mac 4[27 (28). 29]).

SOTAI.—A family of 'Solomon's servants' (Ezr 2[55] = Neh 7[57]).

SOUL.—The use of the term in the OT (Heb. *nephesh*) for any animated being, whether human or animal (Gn 1[20] 'life,' 2[7]), must be distinguished from the Greek philosophical use for the immaterial substance which gives life to the body, and from the use in the NT (Gr. *psyche*) where more stress is laid on individuality (Mt 16[26] RVm). As the Bible does not contain a scientific psychology, it is vain to dispute whether it teaches that man's nature is bipartite (body and soul or spirit) or tripartite (body and soul and spirit): yet a contrast between *soul* and **spirit** (Heb. *rūach*, Gr. *pneuma*) may be recognized; while the latter is the universal principle imparting life from the Creator, the former is the individual organism possessed of life in the creature (Gn 2[7]—'breath of life' and 'living soul').—In some passages the terms are used as equivalent (Is 26[9], Lk 1[46. 47], Ph 1[27] RV), in others a distinction is made (He 4[12], 1 Th 5[23]). The distinction is this: 'soul' expresses man as apart from God, a separate individual; 'spirit' expresses man as drawing his life from God (cf. Jn 10[11], 'life' = 'soul,' and 19[30]). This separate individuality may renounce its dependence and refuse its submission to God. Hence the adjective 'psychical' may be rendered *sensual* (Ja 3[15], Jude [19] [RVm 'Or, *natural*. Or, *animal*']), or *natural* (1 Co 2[14] 15[44-46]). Probably *sensual* in the two passages conveys more moral meaning than the term 'psychical' justifies, and *natural* is the better rendering, as expressing what belongs to the old unregenerate life in contrast with the characteristic of the new life in Christ, the *spiritual* (*pneumatic*). A parallel change in the use of the term 'flesh' and its corresponding adjective may be noted.

Alfred E. Garvie.

SOUTH.—See Negeb.

SOWER, SOWING.—See Agriculture, § 1.

SPAIN.—The extent of country to which in NT times the name Spain, or more strictly 'the Spains,' was given, was practically identical with modern Spain. In the earliest times of which we have any knowledge it was inhabited, at least in part, by a race supposed to be a mixture of the aboriginal Iberian population with immigrant Celts. In B.C. 236, Hamilcar, father of the great Hannibal, invaded the country from Carthage, and after nine years of conquest was succeeded by his son-in-law Hasdrubal, who in turn was succeeded by Hannibal, under whom about B.C. 219 the conquest of the country was practically completed. Hannibal used it as his base in the Second Punic War against Rome. The Romans first invaded Spain in 218, and after various successes and reverses constituted two provinces there in 197, known for centuries afterwards as *Hispania Citerior* (Tarraconensis) and *Hispania Ulterior* (Bætica), separated from one another by the Ebro. The mountainous districts in the NW. were not actually subdued till the time of the Emperor Augustus (B.C. 20). The country was valued for its agricultural products, as well as its precious metals. It became the most thoroughly Romanized of all the Roman provinces, and in nothing is St. Paul's Roman attitude more evident than in his determination to proceed from Rome to Spain, rather than to Africa or to Gaul (Ro 15[24]). It is not known whether he carried out his plan. Spain claims more honoured names in Roman literature than any other country in the 1st cent. A.D., having been the birthplace of the two Senecas, Columella, Mela, Lucan, Martial, and Quintilian.

A. Souter.

SPAN.—See Weights and Measures.

SPARROW (*tsippōr*, Ps 84[3] 102[7]). The Heb. word is probably equivalent of Arab. '*asfūr*, and includes any 'twittering' birds; generally tr. 'bird' or 'fowl'. See Bird. In the NT references (Mt 10[29], Lk 12[6. 7]) *strouthion* evidently refers to the sparrow, which to-day is sold for food as cheaply as in NT times.

E. W. G. Masterman.

SPARTA. SPARTANS.—See Lacedæmonians.

SPEAKING, EVIL.—See Evil Speaking.

SPEAR.—See Armour Arms, § 1.

SPECKLED BIRD.—Jer 12[9] (only). If the MT of this passage is correct, the tr. can hardly be other than 'Is mine heritage unto me (*i.e.* to my sorrow [a *dativus ethicus*, Cheyne, *ad loc.*]) (as) a speckled bird of prey? Are (the) birds of prey against her round about?' (so, substantially, RV). The people of Israel is compared to a bird *of prey*, just as, on account of its hostility to Jehovah, it is compared in v.[8] to a lion. But, as a speckled bird attracts the hostile attention of other birds, Israel becomes a prey to the heathen. The rendering proposed by some, 'mine heritage is unto me *the ravenous hyæna*,' cannot be obtained from the present text, which, however, is possibly incorrect.

SPELT.—See Fitches, Rie.

SPICE, SPICES.—**1.** *bāsām*, Ca 5[2], RVm **'balsam'**; *bōsem* [once, Ex 30[23], *besem*], plur. *bĕsāmīm*. In Ex 30[23] is a list of various aromatic substances included under the name *bĕsāmīm*. These were stored in the Temple

(1 Ch 9^{29}), and in Hezekiah's treasure-house (2 K 20^{13}); they were used for anointing the dead (2 Ch 16^{14}), and also as perfumes for the living (Ca 4^{10} etc.). **2.** *sammīm*, Ex 30^{34} 'sweet spices'; and, along with 'incense,' Ex 30^{7} 40^{27}, Lv 4^{7}, Nu 4^{16} etc. In the first passage the 'sweet spices' are enumerated as stacte, onycha, and galbanum (all of which see). **3.** *nĕkō'th*, Gn 37^{25} 'spicery' (RVm 'gum tragacanth *or* storax'), 43^{11} (RV 'spicery'). The gum **tragacanth** is the product of the *Astragalus gummifer*, of which several species are known in Syria. The **storax** (*Styrax officinalis*), a shrub with beautiful white flowers, also affords an aromatic gum valued by the ancients. Whether *nĕkō'th* corresponded definitely to one of these, or was a generic term for 'perfumes,' is an open question. **4. 5.** Gr. *arōmata* (Mk 16^{1}, EV 'spices') and *amōmon* (Rev 18^{13}, RVm **'amomum,'** RV 'spice,' AV omits) are probably both generic.

E. W. G. Masterman.

SPIDER.—**1.** *sĕmāmīth*; see Lizard (7). **2.** *'akkābīsh* (cf. Arab. *'ankabūt*), Job 8^{14}, Is $59^{5.\ 6}$. Both references are to the frailness of the spider's web.

E. W. G. Masterman.

SPIKENARD (*nērd*, Ca 1^{12} $4^{13.\ 14}$; also Gr. *nardos pistike*, Mk 14^{3}, Jn 12^{3}).—The fragrant oil of an Indian plant, *Nardostachys jatamansi*, which grows with a 'spike.' The Arab. name *sunbul hindi*, Indian spike, preserves the same idea. The perfume when pure was very valuable (Jn 12^{3}).

About the meaning of the Gr. epithet *pistikē* there has been much speulation. See note in RVm at Mk 14^{3}, and cf. art. 'Spikenard' in Hastings' *DCG*.

E. W. Masterman.

SPINDLE.—See Spinning and Weaving, § **3.**

SPINNING AND WEAVING.—**1.** *The raw material.*—In all periods of Hebrew history the chief textile materials were **wool** and **flax,** and to a less extent **goats' hair.** As for the last named, it will be remembered that St. Paul was proud of being 'chargeable to no man' (2 Co 11^{9}) in virtue of his trade as a weaver of tent **curtains** (Ac 18^{3}), doubtless from the goats' hair (*cilicium*) for which his native province was famed. The preparation of the various materials for the loom differed according to the nature of each. Wool, before being spun, was thoroughly scoured and carded, probably, as now in the East, by means of a bow-string. In the case of flax, the stalks were rippled and exposed to the sun till thoroughly dry (Jos 2^{6}); thereafter by repeated processes of steeping, drying, and beating, the fibres were ready for the 'heckling' or combing. Representations of these processes are preserved in the tombs of Egypt. Is 19^{9} also refers to the flax industry on the banks of the Nile; the emended text runs: 'And confounded shall be the workers in linen; the combing-women and weavers shall grow pale, and they that lay the warp shall be broken in spirit; (even) all that work for hire shall be grieved in soul.'

2. *Spinning.*—The spinning was done, as all the world over, by means of the distaff and spindle, and was pre-eminently women's work (Ex $35^{25\,f.}$, 2 K 23^{7}, Pr 31^{19}). Both men and women, on the other hand, plied the loom. The **distaff** probably consisted, as elsewhere, of a piece of cane slit at the top to hold the wool. The **spindle** everywhere consists of a round shank of wood, 9–12 inches in length, furnished with a hook at the top for catching the wool or flax, and having its lower end inserted into a circular or spherical whorl of clay, stone, or other heavy material to steady the rotary motion of the spindle (see Rich, *Dict. of Rom. and Gr. Ant. s.v.* 'Fusus'; cf. 'Colus'). Many spindle-whorls have been found in the course of the recent excavations in Palestine (for illust. see Bliss and Macalister, *Excavations*, etc., pl. lxx. viii.; *PEFSt* 1902, 39; 1904, 324 and oft.). Sometimes a piece of broken pottery served as a whorl (*id.* 1902, 338). Distaff and spindle are named together in Pr 31^{19}, RV, however, rightly reversing the renderings of AV. In 2 S 3^{29} for 'one that leaneth on a staff' recent scholars render 'one that holdeth a spindle,' expressive of the wish that Joab's descendants may be womanish and effeminate.

3. *The three varieties of loom.*—**'Loom'** does not occur in AV; in RV it wrongly appears (Is 38^{12}) for 'thrum' (so RVm). It is almost certain, however, that Delilah's loom is meant by the word rendered 'beam' in Jg 16^{14} (see **4** (*c*)). Three varieties of loom were in use around the Mediterranean in ancient times—the horizontal loom and two varieties of the upright loom, distinguished by the Romans as the *tela pendula* and the *tela jugalis*.

(*a*) The horizontal loom is at least as old as the twelfth Egyptian dynasty, and probably goes back to pre-historic times. That the Hebrews were early familiar with it is evident from the incident of Samson and Delilah above referred to, the true interpretation of which will be given in a later section, **4** (*c*). It is still, with some modifications, the loom in use to-day from Morocco to the Ganges and the farther East.

(*b*) The oldest variety of the upright loom is that familiar to classical students from the well-known representation, on a Greek vase, of Penelope's loom. It consisted of two uprights joined at the top by a cross-beam, from which, or from a second beam below it, depended the threads of the warp. These were kept taut by having small stone weights attached to their lower ends, hence the name *tela pendula*. In view of the numerous 'weavers' weights' recently unearthed at Gezer and elsewhere (illust. *PEFSt* 1903, 311, plate iv.; cf. 1904, 324), it can no longer be doubted that this form of the upright loom was also in use in Palestine, even as far back as the later Stone Age (Vincent, *Canaan d'après l'exploration récente*, 405).

(*c*) The second and later variety of the upright loom had for its distinguishing feature a second cross-beam at the foot of the uprights, which served as a **yarn-beam** or as a cloth-beam, according as the web was begun at the top or at the bottom of the loom. By providing a third cross-beam capable of revolving, a web of much greater length could be woven than if the latter were confined to the height of the loom. The loom in ordinary use in NT times was of this type, as is evident from many passages in the Mishna.

4. *OT references to the processes of weaving.*—In its simplest form the art of weaving consists in interlacing a series of parallel threads, called the **warp,** with another series called the **weft** or **woof,** in such a way that each thread of the weft passes alternately over and under each thread of the warp. In the beginnings of the art this interlacing was laboriously done by the fingers of the spinner as in plaiting, of which weaving is only a more complicated variety. Now the first process is to stretch the threads of the warp (Lv $13^{48ff.}$) evenly between the upper and lower beams of the loom. This process of warping is mentioned in the literal sense only, Is 19^{9} (§**1**), but is elsewhere used in a metaphorical sense, as Job 10^{11} (RV 'knit together'), Ps 139^{13} RVm, and the difficult passage Is 30^{1}. Of the four alternatives here given by the Revisers the only admissible rendering is the first of RVm 'weave a web,' or, still better, 'warp a warp,' an apposite figure for commencing a new 'web' of political intrigue (cf. the similar metaphor 59^{6}). The Heb. law forbade the use of wool and linen, the one as warp, the other as woof, in the same web.

In the process of uniting warp and woof there are 'the three primary movements,' as they are called, to be considered. These are (1) shedding, *i.e.* dividing the warp into two sets of odd and even threads for the passage of the weft; (2) passing the weft through the 'shed' by means of a rod or a shuttle; and (3) beating up the weft to form with the warp a web of uniform consistency. These three processes, so far as applicable

to the Egyptian and Hebrew looms, are the subject of a special study by the present writer in the article 'Weaving' in *EBi* iv. 5282–87 (with illustt.), to which the curious student is referred. It must suffice here to mention only such of the details as bear on certain OT references, most of them misunderstood hitherto.

(*a*) The formation of the shed was effected by at least two leash-rods or shafts, the Roman *liciatoria*, suspended from the upper cross-beam (see illust. Wilkinson, *Anc. Egyp.* ii. 171) or otherwise, connected by loops or leashes with each of the odd and even warp-threads respectively. The two sets of threads were alternately brought forward (or raised in the horizontal loom) by pulling the leash-rods, thus forming a shed for the passage of the shuttle-rod carrying the weft. Now, with a heavy warp, the rods must have been of considerable thickness,—a stout branch of a tree serves as a leash-rod, for example, in a modern Anatolian loom figured in Smith's *Dict. of Gr. and Rom. Ant.*[3] ii. 179. Accordingly, when the shaft of Goliath's spear is compared to a weaver's *mānōr* (1 S 17[7], 2 S 21[19], 1 Ch 20[5]; cf. 11[23]), it is not to either of the 'beams' of the loom but to 'a weaver's shaft' or leash-rod that the comparison applies. The original term above given, it may be added, is from the same root as *nīr*, one of the Mishna terms for the leash-rod (cf. Jerome's true rendering, *quasi liciatorium texentium*).

(*b*) The weft or **woof** (Lv 13[48ff.]) was passed through the shed by means of a staff or rod on which the **yarn** was wound. Homer, however, was already familiar with a shuttle-rod at one end of which was a revolving spool from which the weft-thread unrolled itself in its passage. It is uncertain whether Job 7[6], the only EV occurrence of **shuttle**, refers to a shuttle-rod, or to the loom as a whole.

(*c*) The weft was beat up at each passage of the shuttle-rod by a thin lathe or batten, or, as later, by a special comb.

In Egypt, however, under the Middle Empire, it would appear that the more efficient 'reed,' still used in modern weaving, had already been invented for this purpose (Garstang, *Burial Customs of Anc. Egyp.* [1907], 133 ff. with illust.); the two reeds there figured are 27 and 29 inches in length, showing approximately the width of the web. The Bedouin women of Moab to-day weave their tent curtains in strips about 5 yards long and from 16 to 20 inches wide, according to Jaussen (*Coutumes des Arabes*, etc. [1908], 74).

The Hebrews in early times used a batten simply to beat up the weft withal, as we learn from the true text of Jg 16[13f.], which reads thus: 'If thou weavest the seven plaits of my head with the warp [and beatest them up with the batten, then shall I become weak and be as other men; and she made him sleep, and wove the seven plaits of his head with the warp], and beat them up with the batten (EV 'pin'), and said (as in EV) . . . and he awaked out of his sleep and pulled up the loom together with the warp.' For Delilah, seated on the ground beside her *horizontal* loom with Samson's head upon her knees (v.[19]), it was an easy matter to use his flowing locks as weft and weave them into the warp of her loom. When Samson awoke he pulled up the loom, which was fastened to the ground with pegs.

With Penelope's type of loom, the web could be woven only from the top downwards. This was also the Jewish custom in NT times with the other form of upright loom. Our Lord's tunic, it will be remembered, 'was without seam, woven from the top throughout' (Jn 19[23]). For the weaving of such **seamless robes**, which were in vogue in Egypt under the later dynasties at least, it was necessary to mount a double warp and to weave each face of the warp with a continuous weft (see *EBi* iv. 5289).

5. When the web was finished, the weaver cut the ends of the warp threads, those left hanging being the **thrum** of Is 38[12] RVm, and rolled up the web. These two processes are the source of the figures for premature death in the passage cited. The 'new' cloth of Mt 9[16], Mk 2[21] AV was unfulled (RV 'undressed'), that is, cloth fresh from the loom. The milling or fulling was the work of the fuller (Arts and Crafts, § 6).

6. *Special kinds of fabrics.*—By appropriate arrangement of the warp, woof, and leash-rods, striped, checked, and other varieties of cloth were produced. The cloth intended by the **'chequer work'** of Ex 28[4] is quite uncertain. The Revisers probably mean by the phrase a species of check, produced by alternating different coloured bands in the warp, or in the woof, or in both. The 'work of the cunning workman' (Ex 26[1] etc.), of which the inner curtains of the Tabernacle were composed, was probably a species of **tapestry** (EV Pr 7[16] 31[22] but here doubtful), in which a design was traced by inserting short coloured threads behind a varying number of warp threads.

A weft of gold thread was employed for the high priest's robes (Ex 28[5f.] 39[2ff.]; cf. Jth 10[21], 2 Mac 5[3] 'cloth of gold'). Herod Agrippa's 'royal apparel' (Ac 12[21]) is said by Josephus to have been woven throughout of silver thread.

In OT times the finer textile fabrics were imported from Babylonia (Jos 7[21]), Phœnicia (Ezk 27[16f.]), Egypt, and in NT times even from India for the high priest's dress (Mishna, *Yōma*, iii. 7). In the days of the Chronicler the weavers formed a trade guild (1 Ch 4[21]), and so continued in later times. As a class they were held in disrepute by the mass of the people, so much so that the Talmud declares weaving to be 'the lowest of crafts.'

A. R. S. Kennedy.

SPIRIT.—The term is applied to God as defining His nature generally (Jn 4[24]), and also as describing one element in that nature, His self-consciousness (1 Co 2[11]). It expresses not only God's immateriality, but also His transcendence of limitations of time and space. In the phrases 'Spirit of God,' the 'Spirit of the Lord,' the 'Spirit of Jesus Christ,' the 'Holy Spirit,' the 'Spirit of Truth,' the third Person in the Godhead is described (see Holy Spirit). The term is applied to personal powers of evil other than man (Mt 10[1] 12[45], Lk 4[33] 7[21], 1 Ti 4[1]; cf. Eph 6[12]), as well as personal powers of good (He 1[14]), and to human beings after death, either damned (1 P 3[19]) or blessed (He 12[23]). It is used also as personifying an influence (1 Jn 4[6], Eph 2[2], Ro 8[15]). Its most distinctive use is in the psychology of the Christian life. The contrast between **'soul'** and 'spirit,' and between **'flesh'** and 'spirit,' has already been noted in the articles on these terms. While soul and spirit are not to be regarded as separate faculties, yet 'spirit' expresses the direct dependence of the life in man on God, first in creation (Gn 2[7]), but especially, according to the Pauline doctrine, in regeneration. The life in man, isolating itself from, and opposing itself to, God, is *soul*; that life, cleansed and renewed by the Spirit of God, is *spirit*; intimate as is the relation of God and man in the new life, the Spirit of God is distinguished from the spirit of man (Ro 8[16]), although it is not always possible to make the distinction. In Acts the phrase 'holy spirit' sometimes means the subjective human state produced ('holy enthusiasm'), and sometimes the objective Divine cause producing (see 'Acts' in the *Century Bible*, p. 386). As the Spirit is the source of this new life, whatever belongs to it is 'spiritual' (*pneumatikon*), as house, sacrifices (1 P 2[5]), understanding (Col 1[9]), songs (3[16]), food, drink, rock (1 Co 10[3. 4]); and the 'spiritual' and 'soulish' (rendered 'carnal' or 'natural') are contrasted (1 Co 2[14] 15[44. 46]). *Spirit* as an ecstatic state is also distinguished from *mind* (1 Co 14[14. 15]), as *inwardness* from *letter* (Ro 2[29] 7[6], 2 Co 3[6]). The old creation—the derivation of man's spirit from God (Gn 2[7], Is 42[5]), offers the basis for the new (Ro 8[1-17], 1 Co 2[11. 12]), in which man is united to God (see Inspiration).

Alfred E. Garvie.

SPIRITS IN PRISON.—See Descent into Hades.

SPIRITUAL GIFTS.—1. The term.—A special Gr. word, *charismata*, is used in NT for spiritual gifts. It

usually stands alone, but in Ro 1[11] it is coupled with the adjective *pneumatikon* ('spiritual'). It means concrete manifestations of the grace of God (*charis*), and is almost a technical term, though in Ro 6[23] etc. it is used generally of the gift of God, without reference to its visible result in the life of the believer. The principal passages which deal with spiritual gifts are Ro 12[6ff.], 1 Co 12. 13. 14, Eph 4[7ff.], 1 P 4[10]. The gifts may be divided into the apparently miraculous and the non-miraculous. (*a*) *The miraculous* include speaking with tongues (probably ecstatic utterances, usually unintelligible to the speaker; see TONGUES [GIFT OF]), and their interpretation; gifts of healing, and the working of miracles or 'powers'; of these we may instance the power of exorcism ([Mk] 16[17], Ac 16[18] 19[12]), and the punishment of offenders (Ac 5[1-11] 13[9], 1 Co 4[21] 5[5]). On the border-line come prophecy, discerning of spirits, and the receiving of revelations, where the miraculous element is less strongly marked. (*b*) From these we pass to the *non-miraculous* gifts, gifts of character, and mental and spiritual endowments of various kinds. We find mentioned the power of exhortation and of speech (closely akin to prophecy); wisdom, knowledge, and faith; helps and governments (*i.e.* powers of administration); mercy and almsgiving; money, as affording opportunity for service and hospitality; 1 Co 7[7] adds the gift of continence, and Gal 5[22] gives a list of the fruits of the Spirit, as shown in the Christian character. Ro 12[6] and 1 P 4[10] mention only non-miraculous gifts, and in the Epp. the chief evidence for the miraculous is connected with Corinth.

2. Their nature.—Most of these gifts may be regarded as the raising of natural endowments to a higher level. Without going at length into the question of miracles, we may note that the evidence of their reality in this connexion is very strong; they are referred to in the Epistles (contemporary documents) as matters of common knowledge; St. Paul speaks of his own powers in this respect as well known (1 Co 2[4] 14[18], 2 Co 12[2]); and He 2[4] mentions them as a recognized characteristic of the first age of Christianity. Further, these miraculous gifts of the Spirit belong to the class which may most easily be reduced to psychological law, and are to some extent paralleled in modern times, being mainly the well-attested manifestations which accompany times of revival, and are found in connexion with peculiarly gifted individuals.

'What we read about miracles—especially about the *charismata*—in the Epistles of St. Paul is of the nature of things unusual, obedient to laws that are somewhat recondite, distinctly implying Divine impulse and Divine guidance, and yet at most *non contra naturam sed contra quam est nota natura*' (Sanday, *Life of Christ in Recent Research*, p. 219).

A striking feature of these gifts is their apparently wide-spread and democratic nature. The new life, with its hopes and powers, had been offered to all classes of society, and the humblest Christian felt the thrill of being 'filled with the Spirit.' Hence—

'the first age of the Christian Church was characterized by a vivid enthusiasm which found expression in ways which recall the simplicity of childhood. It was a period of wonder and delight. The flood-gates of emotion were opened: a supernatural dread alternated with an unspeakable joy' (Robinson, *Ephesians*, p. 121).

The results of this enthusiasm, as described in 1 Cor., were startling and visible to all; that it could not be without its dangers is obvious. Slaves or women, people of no account before, found themselves in possession of mysterious powers, which gave them a position of importance among their fellow-Christians. There arose the temptation to covet and strive by artificial and illegitimate methods for the more striking gifts, and to look on them as marks of superior sanctity, or the means of personal advancement. Others, on the contrary, felt themselves forgotten, and yielded to jealousy or despair. Rivalry led to disorder where the gifts were used in the public services of the Church.

3. Hence the tone of St. Paul's teaching as to their use. (*a*) He insists on their *regulation*. The gifts may be sporadic and intermittent; none the less their use must be orderly (1 Co 14[40]); ecstasy is no excuse for loss of self-control (v.[32]). Each Christian must recognize the limitations of his powers and not attempt to transcend them (Ro 12[6]).

There arises the question of the relation of the *charismata* to the ministry. Some have maintained that there was originally no fixed ministry, but only unorganized *charismata*; others again have tried to assign a definite office to most of the *charismata*. The truer view would seem to be that the *charismata* and the official ministry existed side by side, but were by no means identical (see Sanday-Headlam, *Romans*, p. 358). All Christians had their share in the gifts of the Spirit, though there were special endowments which would be looked for in the case of officers of the Church; in 1 Ti 4[14], 2 Ti 1[6] a *charisma* is connected with 'the laying on of hands.'

(*b*) *The purpose of the gifts is the edification and the service of the whole body.* Chrysostom, in his remarkable homily on 1 Co 12, calls attention to the change of word in vv.[4. 5]. The 'gifts' are also 'ministrations' (*diakoniai*), *i.e.* opportunities of service; hence the greater the gift the greater the responsibility, and the harder the work to be done. And so St. Paul passes on to the doctrine of the one body, served in different ways by all its members. Similarly in Eph 4[11] the possessors of the endowments are themselves gifts 'given' to the Church. The same truth is emphasized in Ro 12, 1 Co 14, 1 P 4, in fact in every place where the *charismata* are mentioned at any length; St. Paul's own object is always to 'impart' to others (Ro 1[11], 1 Co 14[19]; cf. Jn 7[38]). It is obvious that this way of looking at the gifts would check ambition, pride, and selfishness in their use.

(*c*) *Relative importance of the gifts.* The more startling and apparently miraculous gifts are consistently treated as subordinate to gifts of character and edification. The former, indeed, are not decisive as to their origin; they are not peculiar to Christianity, and may be the accompaniment of evil and falsehood (Mt 7[22] 24[24], 2 Th 2[9], 1 Co 12[3], Rev 13[13. 14]). Indeed, in an age when exorcisms and miracles were associated with magic, and the heathen *mantis*, or frenzied prophet, was a familiar phenomenon, it was impossible to ascribe all 'powers' and ecstasy to the Holy Spirit. The test is on the one side doctrinal (1 Co 12[2. 3], 1 Jn 4[1-3]); on the other the moral life (Mt 7[15ff.], Ro 8[9], 1 Co 13) and the practical tendency to edification (1 Co 14). The 'discerning of spirits' is itself an important gift (1 Co 12[10], 1 Th 5[21], 1 Jn 4[1]). It is, indeed, remarkable how steadily the NT concentrates attention on the inner and less startling gifts of character, which the popular mind would ignore; and if it does not disparage, it certainly does not exaggerate, those which at first sight seemed to give more direct evidence of the presence of the Spirit. As a fact of history these tended to degenerate and finally to disappear. Justin and Irenæus mention them, and they played a large part in the Gnostic and Montanist movements, but after the 2nd cent. they practically died out as normal endowments of the believer, to be revived only sporadically in times of religious excitement.

C. W. EMMET.

SPITTING.—See GESTURES.

SPONGE (Gr. *spongos*, Mt 27[48], Mk 15[36], Jn 19[29], used in the Crucifixion scene).—Sponges have been used from early times, and are common along the Syrian coasts of the Mediterranean.

E. W. G. MASTERMAN.

SPOONS (Ex 25[29]).—See TABERNACLE, 6 (*a*).

SPRINGS.—See FOUNTAIN, ISRAEL, II. 1 (5).

SPY.—See WAR, § 3.

STACHYS.—A Christian greeted by St. Paul in Ro 16[9].

STACTE (*nāṭāph*, Ex 30[34] [cf. Sir 24[15]], lit. 'drop,'

cf. Job 36[27]).—Some fragrant gum collected in drops, either **storax**, or, more probably, myrrh.

E. W. G. Masterman.

STAFF.—See Rod, Sceptre.

STAIR.—See House, 5.

STALL.—See Manger.

STANDARD.—See Banner.

STARS.—The stars form part of the Divine creation in Gn 1. They are invisible in the sunlight, but begin to appear about sunset (Neh 4[21]). In poetical passages hyperbolical expressions are used concerning them. At the creation 'the morning stars sang together' (Job 38[7]); at the battle between Barak and Sisera 'the stars in their courses fought against Sisera' (Jg 5[20]): in the former passage it may be that the angels are described as stars (cf. Rev 1[20] 'the seven stars are the angels of the seven churches'). The difference of magnitude in the stars is recognized by St. Paul: 'one star differeth from another star in glory' (1 Co 15[41]). The stars were looked upon as innumerable: 'tell the stars, if thou be able to tell them' (Gn 15[5]). The appearance of a bright particular star was supposed to portend some great event. Thus Balaam prophesied 'There shall come forth a star out of Jacob' (Nu 24[17]), and this was afterwards interpreted as applying to the Epiphany star (Mt 2[2]; see Star of the Magi); and so in 2 P 1[19] we read of the day-star arising in men's hearts. Caution is given against the worship of the stars, in the legislation of Deuteronomy (4[19]), and the punishment of death assigned for the convicted worshipper (see Host of Heaven). In Apocalyptic literature (Rev 22[16]) our Lord describes Himself as 'the bright, the morning star'; whilst 'they that turn many to righteousness' are to shine 'as the stars for ever and ever' (Dn 12[3]). The day of the Lord is to be heralded by signs in the stars as well as in the sun and moon (Lk 21[25]). The appearance of shooting stars, which come out of the darkness and go back into it, is alluded to in Jude [13] 'wandering stars, for whom the blackness of darkness hath been reserved for ever.' Special numbers of stars are mentioned; in Rev (1[16] 12[1]), the seven stars and twelve stars illustrate a conventional use of those numbers common in apocalyptic literature. In the OT **the seven stars** of the AV of Am 5[8] are the **Pleiades**; and the 'eleven stars' which made obeisance to Joseph in his dream are simply a conventional number to correspond with that of his brethren.

Of individual stars or constellations, the Bear (AV **Arcturus**), **Orion**, and the **Pleiades** occur; all three in Job 9[9] 38[31. 32], the last two also in Am 5[8]. The **mazzaroth** (Job 38[32]) are most probably the signs of the Zodiac (RVm; cf. 2 K 23[5]. margin). In 2 K 23[5] the Heb. form of the word **mazzaloth** is different, and RV (text) renders it 'the planets.' The **chambers of the south** (Job 9[9]) are probably the stars of the southern hemisphere.

Of worship connected with the stars we have two notable instances. That of **'the queen of heaven'** was popular in Jerusalem (Jer 7[18]) immediately before the Captivity, and to the neglect of it the captives in Egypt ascribed their disasters, in an address to Jeremiah (44[15-23]) at Pathros. This worship consisted of the offering of incense and drink-offerings, and the making of cakes, with her figure, apparently, upon them. This Queen of Heaven seems to have been without doubt Venus, or Istar, whose star was considered the most beautiful in the heavens. This goddess is identical with Ashtoreth or Astarte. The second instance of star-worship is one that presents some difficulty. In Amos (5[26]) we meet with an image of **Chiun**, if the word be a proper name, who is called 'the star of your god.' This passage is quoted by St. Stephen (Ac 7[43]), where the expression is rendered 'the star of the god Rephan.' There seems little reason to doubt that Chiun is the same as the Assyrian *Kaiwān*, identical with the planet Saturn, to whom divine worship was paid. The form of name **'Rephan'** seems to have arisen from a corrupt reading of the Hebrew, which is as old as the Septuagint. There are very few allusions to **astrology** in the OT, but in Isaiah (47[13]) we have mention of 'the astrologers (Heb. 'dividers of the heavens') the star-gazers, the monthly **prognosticators'**; all these persons drew their utterances and professed knowledge of the future from the heavens. The magicians and soothsayers of the Book of Daniel were a similar class, to which belonged the Magi or wise men who had seen the star which heralded the birth of the King of the Jews (Mt 2[1. 2]). See next article.

H. A. Redpath.

STAR OF THE MAGI.—The character of the star which was seen by the Magi has been the source of many conjectures. While some consider it to have been an absolutely miraculous appearance, others have tried to connect it with some recognized form of celestial phenomenon. Some have held that it was a comet [the Greek word for the 'star' is applied to comets], and if such a comet as Donati's of 1858, which the present writer remembers well, had been visible at the time of the Nativity, it would have fulfilled the conditions of the narrative, and the difficulties about the star standing over 'where the young child was' (Mt 2[9]) would have been lessened. None such, however, seems to have been recorded. Others, noting that there were conjunctions of two of the brighter planets, Jupiter and Saturn (B.C. 7), and Jupiter and Venus (B.C. 6), have tried to connect this appearance with one of these. Others, again, have explained the appearance as that of what is known as a *stella nova*, *i.e.* a star which suddenly flashes out with great brightness in the firmament and then either dies out again altogether, or diminishes in the magnitude of its brightness, so as to be scarcely, if at all, visible to the naked eye. The difficulty connected with all these interpretations is due to the necessity that has been felt for giving a literal interpretation to the account that 'the star . . . went before them, till it came and stood over where the young child was.' But we may take it that the language here is of the same character as that which we constantly use about the sun or moon rising and setting. If, then, we assume that the star, whatever it was, was near the horizon in front of the wise men when they started on their journey, its relative position to them, so long as they kept a direct course, would vary but little. The place in the heavens of any fixed star varies only about one degree, or four minutes, each succeeding day.

A somewhat more difficult question than that about the appearance of the star is, Why did the wise men connect it with the birth of a king of the Jews? The traditional answer to this question is that there had been handed down from generation to generation among the wise men of Babylon a knowledge of Balaam's prophecy, 'There shall come forth a star out of Jacob' (Nu 24[17]), and that, when this notable star appeared, it was considered to be the herald of the appearance of a great person. There certainly was a Jewish population in Babylonia in our Lord's day, and if this prophecy was recognized as coming from a Hebrew document, and reference was made to the Jews, it would be most natural for the wise men, if they were Babylonians, to set their faces towards Jerusalem. There is this difficulty, however, about referring the 'star' of Balaam's prophecy to a phenomenon in the heavens, that from the parallelism of the Hebrew poetry we gather that the 'star' is intended to refer not to a star in the sky, but to some great prince or ruler (cf., for this use, Dn 8[10]). Still, the explanation of the journey may be much the same. There was a great ferment in the East and a wide-spread anticipation, even in the Roman world, of some great Saviour or deliverer to arise, as the poets Virgil and Horace testify, just about the time when the Saviour

was born. If some such brilliant star appeared, this would be taken as portending that the moment for the appearance of such an one had arrived, and search would be made for the Great One. So, in the Apocalypse (Rev 22[16]), our Lord is represented as claiming for Himself that He is not only 'the root and the offspring of David,' but also 'the bright, the morning star.'

H. A. Redpath.

STATE OF THE DEAD.—See Eschatology, Paradise, Sheol.

STATER.—See Money, § 7.

STEALING.—See Crimes, § 6 'Theft.'

STEEL.—See Mining and Metals.

STEPHANAS.—A Corinthian, apparently of some importance, whose household were baptized by St. Paul personally (1 Co 1[16]), and are called 'the first-fruits of Achaia' (16[15]). Stephanas himself had joined the Apostle at Ephesus when he wrote, and was of great assistance to him there. A. J. Maclean.

STEPHEN.—Early in the history of the Christian Church it was found necessary for the Apostles to devolve some of their duties on others. There is no reason for supposing (with Prof. Ramsay) that presbyters had yet been appointed, though they soon followed; but in Ac 6 seven persons, commonly (but not in NT) called 'deacons,' all but one probably Hellenistic or Greek-speaking Jews (see art. Nicolas), were appointed to manage the distribution of alms to the Hellenist widows. Of the Seven, Stephen was the most prominent. Their duties were not eleemosynary only; Stephen at once undertook evangelistic work and won great success, persuading many, and working miracles. His success resulted in the first persecution of the Church, and false witnesses were brought who accused him of blasphemy, and of speaking against the Temple and the Law. He made a long defence (Ac 7[2-53]), which is not easy of interpretation. He summarizes OT history from the call of Abraham to the building of Solomon's Temple (cf. St. Paul's sermon in Ac 13), in a manner which shows that he depended partly on tradition, for there are many discrepancies between his speech and OT. He speaks with great respect of the Mosaic Law (vv.[35-38. 53]). Some think that he disparages the Temple as having been built against God's will (v.[48ff.]). But this is very improbable. Perhaps the defence was not completed; yet what was delivered gives its drift. The Jews had misunderstood their own Law. God had not confined His presence to the Tabernacle and the Temple; He had appeared to Abraham and others before the Law was given; Isaiah (66[1f.]) had preached that God's worship was not confined to one place. But the people had persecuted the prophets as they now had killed Jesus. This defence provoked the Jews so much that they cast Stephen out of the city and stoned him—undoubtedly an illegal murder, not sanctioned by the Roman law. Stephen, whose dying prayer for his murderers (v.[60]) recalls that of his Master, thus became the first Christian martyr. His death led to a persecution, and to a dispersal of the disciples from Jerusalem. This caused the spread of the gospel to many lands. But the most prominent fruit of the martyrdom, doubtless, was the conversion of Saul of Tarsus, who was present (7[58] 8[1]), and of whom, as is generally acknowledged, Stephen was in his preaching the forerunner. A. J. Maclean.

STEWARD.—This term is found six times in AV of OT. It is applied to Eliezer in Gn 15[2], where RV rightly tr. 'he that shall be possessor of my house.' In Gn 43[19] 44[1-4] Joseph's 'steward' (AV and RV) is lit. 'he who was over his house' (cf. 43[16], 1 K 16[9] in RV). In 1 Ch 28[1] AV 'stewards' is tr. of Heb. *sārīm* (lit. 'princes,' RV 'rulers'). For the 'steward' of Dn 1[11. 16] (RV), see Melzar.

The NT terms are (1) *epitropos*, 'steward' in Mt 20[8], Lk 8[3]; also translated in Gal 4[2] AV 'tutors,' RV 'guardians.' (2) *oikonomos*, the usual term, found both literally and metaphorically, as is also the cognate noun *oikonomia* '**stewardship.**' The latter is used literally in Lk 16[2. 3. 4], and metaphorically in 1 Co 9[17], Eph 3[2], Col 1[25], 1 Ti 1[4] [in last three 'dispensation,' RVm 'stewardship'].

W. F. Boyd.

STOCKS.—See Crimes, 9; Prison, p. 756[b].

STOICS.—When St. Paul met representatives of the Stoic philosophy at Athens (Ac 17[18]), that school had been in existence for about three centuries and a half. The name came from the *Stoa* or Porch where Zeno (about B.C. 340–265), the founder of the school, taught at Athens.

The leading Stoic maxim is, 'Live according to nature.' Nature both in the world and in man is to be interpreted by its highest manifestation—Reason—which appears in the world as the all-pervading ethereal essence or spirit, forming and animating the whole; and in man as the soul. This World-spirit occupies the place of God in the Stoic system. Thus we find St. Paul quoting the words of a Stoic writer, 'We are also his offspring' (Ac 17[28]). The approximation, however, is in language rather than in reality. The theology of the Stoics is pure pantheism. Their so-called God has no independent or personal existence.

The supremacy of reason in man is pushed to such an extreme that virtuous conduct demands the entire suppression of the emotional side of man's nature. This rigorous moral standard became, for practical reasons, considerably modified; but Stoic morality was always marked by its rigidity and coldness.

The great quality of Stoicism, which set it above Epicureanism, and brought it into line with Christianity, was its *moral earnestness*. In his dissertation on 'St. Paul and Seneca' Bp. Lightfoot has said, 'Stoicism was the only philosophy which could even pretend to rival Christianity in the earlier ages of the Church.' Perhaps there was in St. Paul's mind at Athens the high hope of bringing to the side of Christ such a noble rival of the gospel. Yet Stoicism and Christianity ran parallel rather than came into contact with one another, until through the weakness inherent in its theology and its ethics the current of Stoic philosophy was dissipated and lost. W. M. M'Donald.

STOMACH.—This English word occurs in 2 Mac 7[21] with the meaning of 'courage,' 'Stirring up her womanish thoughts with a manly stomach.'

STOMACHER is the EV tr. of *pĕthīgīl*, whose meaning (Is 3[24] only) is very uncertain. The Eng. word 'stomacher' was applied to that part of a woman's dress which covered the breast and the pit of the stomach. It was usually much ornamented, and was looked upon as an evidence of wealth.

STONE.—I. **In OT.—1.** Several different words are rendered 'stone,' but the one of by far the most frequent occurrence is *'ebhen*, which has the same wide range of application as its English equivalent. Palestine is a stony country, and the uses to which stone was put were numerous and varied. In its natural state a stone served for a pillow (Gn 28[18]) or a seat (Ex 17[12]), for covering the mouth of a well (Gn 29[2f.]) or closing the entrance to a cave (Jos 10[18]; cf. Mt 27[60] etc.). Out of it, again, might be constructed a knife (Ex 4[25], Heb. *tsūr*, RV 'flint'), a vessel (7[19]; cf. Jn 2[6]), a mill (Dt 24[6]). Above all, stone was employed in architecture. Houses (Lv 14[42] etc.), walls (Neh 4[3], Hab 2[11]), towers (by implication in Gn 11[3]), and especially the Temple (1 K 5[17f.] etc.), are referred to as built of stone. We read of foundation-stones (1 K 5[17]), of a corner-stone (Ps 118[22]), of a head-stone or finial (Zec 4[7]); and in 2 K 16[17] mention is made of a pavement of stone. Masonry was a regular trade (2 S 5[11] etc.), and stone-hewing is frequently referred to (2 K 12[12] etc.). Belonging to the æsthetic and luxurious side of life are precious

stones and the arts of cutting and graving and setting them (Ex 28[9. 11] 31[5] etc.); see, further, JEWELS AND PRECIOUS STONES. The profusion of stones made it natural to use them as missiles. Stone-throwing might be a mark of hatred and contempt (2 S 16[6. 13]), or the expedient of murderous intentions against which provision had to be made in legislation (Ex 21[18], Nu 35[17]). In war, stones were regular weapons of offence. Usually they were hurled with slings (1 S 17[49], 1 Ch 12[2]), but, later, great stones were discharged by means of 'engines' (2 Ch 26[15], 1 Mac 6[51]). **Stoning to death** was a natural and convenient method of execution. At first an expression of popular fury (Jos 7[25]), it was afterwards regulated by law as an appointed means of capital punishment (Dt 17[5-7]; cf. Ac 7[58f.]). See, further, CRIMES AND PUNISHMENTS, § **10**. The use of stones as memorials was common. Sometimes a single large stone, at other times a heap of stones, was raised (Gn 31[45f.], Jos 8[29] 24[26]). Akin to this was their employment to mark a boundary (Jos 15[6] etc.). Stones would be the ordinary landmarks between the fields of one person and another, the removal of which was strictly forbidden (Dt 19[14] etc.). In religious worship stones were employed in the forms of the pillar (Gn 28[18. 22] 31[45] 35[14]) and the altar. The latter was at first a single great stone (1 S 6[14f.]), but afterwards was built of several stones, which must be unhewn (Ex 20[25], Dt 27[5. 6]). See, further, PILLAR and ALTAR. The use of stone for literary purposes (cf. the Moabite Stone) is illustrated by the tables of stone on which the Decalogue was written (Ex 24[12] etc.) and the inscribed stones of the altar on Mt. Ebal (Dt 27[2ff.], Jos 8[30ff.]).

2. Stones = testicles (Lv 21[20], Dt 23[1], Job 40[17]).

II. **In NT.**—Here *lithos* is the ordinary word, and is found in most of the connexions already referred to. Noteworthy is the fact that Jesus, after quoting Ps 118[22], took the rejected and exalted stone as a symbol of Himself (Mt 21[42ff.], Lk 20[17f.]). St. Peter adopts the symbol in his address to the Sanhedrin (Ac 4[11]), and enlarges it, with further reference to Is 8[14] 28[16], in his figure of the 'living stone,' which is at once the foundation of God's spiritual house and a stone of stumbling to the disobedient (1 P 2[4-8]). The stone (*petros*) of Jn 1[42] should be 'rock,' or still better 'Peter' (RV); 'stony' (*petrōdēs*) in Mt 13[5], Mk 4[5. 16] should be 'rocky.' The 'white stone' of Rev 2[17] represents Gr. *psēphos*, 'a pebble,' and the ref. perhaps is to the *tessara gladiatoria* bestowed on the victorious young gladiator. J. C. LAMBERT.

STONE-SQUARERS.—Only 1 K 5[18] AV; RV has **Gebalites** as Jos 13[5] RV, that is, men of the Phœnician city of Gebal, mentioned Ezk 27[9], where the ancients and wise men of Gebal are referred to as calkers of ships. It has recently been suggested that the gentilic name had become an appellative in the sense of 'stonecutter' (*SBOT*, 'Kings,' 83 f.), which is the meaning of AV. Others would emend to read 'did hew them and *border* them,' *i.e.* provide the stones with marginal drafts or with bevels. Cf. ARTS AND CRAFTS, § **3**. A. R. S. KENNEDY.

STONES, PRECIOUS.—See JEWELS AND PRECIOUS STONES.

STOOL.—'In older English (including AV) "stool" was used freely for any kind of seat' (*DB* iv. 621); similarly the Heb. *kissē'* includes both chairs and stools, see HOUSE, § **8**. In the difficult passage Ex 1[16] the word rendered 'stools' in the sense of birth-stools (*sella parturientis*) must be pointed to read 'stones' (*'abnáyim* for *'obnáyim*, both dual number), the reference being to the two stones or bricks on which a woman sat during her accouchement. This widely spread custom has been conclusively shown to have existed in ancient Egypt by Spiegelberg (*Ægypt. Randglossen*, 19–25), from the realistic representation preserved in an early hieroglyphic sign for birth, confirmed by literary references. A. R. S. KENNEDY.

STORAX.—See SPICE, STACTE.

STORK (*chăsīdāh*, Lv 11[19], Dt 14[18], Job 39[13], Ps 104[17], Jer 8[7], Zec 5[9]).—The stork (Arab. *abu saíd* 'father of good luck') is a bird much loved in Palestine, where in its migration northwards it arrives in the spring (Jer 8[7]); it does great good by clearing the crops of caterpillars and locusts: when the storks arrive plentifully, it is anticipated that the harvests will be unusually good. These birds may be seen walking through the grain or circling round and round in groups high in the heavens. No doubt this powerful flight caused its wings to be noted (Job 39[13], Zec 5[8]). No native would dream of harming it; its sacred character may have caused it to be an 'unclean' bird (Lv 11[19], Dt 14[18]). Its Heb. name, implying 'lovingkindness,' was given because of its tender care of its young. The above remarks apply specially to the white stork (*Ciconia alba*); a black stork (*C. nigra*) has also been identified in the Holy Land. E. W. G. MASTERMAN.

STORM.—See GALILEE [SEA OF], **3**; WHIRLWIND.

STORY (EV for 'storey').—See HOUSE, § **5**.

STRAIT.—This Eng. word is used in AV in the literal sense of 'narrow,' and in the figurative sense of 'strict' (of which it is simply another form). Once the verb 'strait' occurs, Sus [22] 'I am straited on every side.'

STRANGE FIRE.—See NADAB.

STRANGER.—This seems, on the whole, the most suitable English word by which to render the Heb. *zār*, which is a participle denoting primarily one who turns aside, one who goes out of the way, *i.e.* for the purpose of visiting or dwelling in another country. It has frequently the meaning **foreigner**, in contrast to 'Israelite,' especially with the added notion of hostility (cf. 'estranged'), and in antithesis to 'Israel' (*e.g.* Hos 7[9] 8[7], Is 1[7], Ezk 7[21] 11[9], Jl 3[17], Ob[11], Ps 54[3] etc.). In P the word takes on a technical meaning found nowhere outside the Hexateuch, and exclusively post-exilic. It means 'layman' (which might with advantage be substituted for EV 'stranger'), as opposed to a Levite (see Nu 1[51] 18[7]), or to a priest proper, or Aaronite (see Ex 29[33] 30[33], Nu 3[10. 38] 18[2], Lv 22[10. 12f.] (H)).

The 'strange woman' of Pr 2[16] etc. has the same technical sense as 'foreign woman' with which it stands in parallelism, viz. *hartot*.

Sojourner (sometimes tr. of *tōshāb*, 'settler' [see below]) is frequently substituted by RV for the AV 'stranger,' as tr. of *gēr*. The **ger** was originally a man who transferred himself from one tribe or people to another, seeking, and usually obtaining, some of the rights of natives. A whole clan or tribe might be *gērīm* in Israel, as *e.g.* the Gibeonites (Jos 9), the Beerothites (2 S 4[2]). The Israelites are themselves often spoken of as 'sojourners' in the land of Egypt (see Gn 15[13], Ex 22[21] 23[9], Lv 19[24] (H), Dt 10[19] 23[7] etc.). In the oldest Israelitish code (the Book of the Covenant, Ex 21[1] to 23[13]), the *gēr* is protected against injustice and violence (21[20] 23[9]). The D code (*c.* B.C. 620) goes much further, for, besides making more explicit and urgent the duty of defending, helping, and even loving the 'sojourner' (Dt 10[18] 14[29] 24[14. 19]), and also securing to him his rights (24[17] 27[1-9]), the *gēr* was to be allowed to participate in the three great annual feasts (Dt 16[11ff.]; cf. 5[14] and Ex 23[12]). He is not, however, compelled, though allowed, to follow his protector's religion (Dt 14[29], 1 K 11[7]). That he occupies a status inferior to that of the born Israelite is indicated by the fact that he is classed with the widow and orphan as needing special consideration (10[18] 14[29] 29[14. 19]), and that the right of intermarrying is denied him (7[1ff.] 23[4]). When, however, we come to P and to other parts of the OT which belong to the same stage of history and religion, we find the 'sojourner' almost on an equal footing with the native Israelite,—he is fast becoming, and is almost become, the **proselyte** of NT and Rabbinical times. His position has now religious rather

than political significance. He is expected to keep the Sabbath and to observe the Day of Atonement, as well as the three great feasts (Lv 16^{29}). He is to eat unleavened bread during Passover week (Ex 12^{19}; Passover and the Feast of Unleavened Bread are now blended), and, if circumcised (not otherwise), to keep the full Passover itself. But the *gēr* is not even yet the full equal of the Israelite, for he is not compelled to be circumcised, and no one can belong to the congregation who has not submitted to that rite (Ex $12^{47ff.}$, Nu 9^{14}); he has not yet received the right of intermarriage (Gn 34^{14}), and is prohibited from keeping Jewish slaves (Lv $25^{47ff.}$).

The closing of the ranks of Judaism, helped by the Exile, by the reforms of Ezra and Nehemiah, by the Samaritan schism, and consummated by the Maccabæan wars, led to the complete absorption of the 'sojourner.' The word *prosēlytos* (representing the Heb. *gēr*), common in classical Greek for one who has come to a place (Lat. *advena*), acquired in Hellenistic Greek the meaning which meets us often in the NT (Mt 23^{15}, Ac 2^{6} etc.). See Proselyte.

The indiscriminate use of 'stranger' with the meaning of 'sojourner,' and of **'alien'** and **'foreigner'** is very confusing. 'Foreigner' is the proper rendering of Heb. *nokri*. The Heb. *tōshāb* (lit. 'dweller') is a post-exilic substitute for *gēr* ('sojourner') in the original non-religeous sense of the latter. For the sake of distinction it might be uniformly rendered **'settler'** (EV 'sojourner,' 'stranger,' 'foreigner'). See, for the relations of Israel to foreigners proper, art. Nations.

T. Witton Davies.

STRANGLING.—This is suggested as a mode of death, Job 7^{15}. The cognate verb describes the manner of Ahithophel's self-inflicted death (2 S 17^{23}, EV 'hanged himself'; cf. Mt 27^{5} of Judas). The idea conveyed is death by suffocation, not necessarily produced by suspension. Elsewhere, where hanging is mentioned in EV as a mode of punishment, some form of impalement is intended (see Crimes and Punishments, § 10).

In the pastoral letter sent down by the Council of Jerusalem to the early converts from heathenism, these are instructed to abstain *inter alia* 'from blood and from **things strangled'** (Ac 15^{29}, cf. v.^{20} 21^{25}). Both belong to the category of Jewish food taboo (Food, § 10). The former refers to the prohibition against eating meat which had not been thoroughly drained of the blood, the second to the similar taboo affecting the flesh of animals not slaughtered according to the very minute Rabbinical rules then in force. Thus in the Talmudic treatise *Chullin*, specially devoted to this subject, it is laid down (i. 2) that 'any one may slaughter . . . with any instrument except a harvest-sickle, a saw, etc., *because these strangle*,' in other words, they do not make the clean incision required for proper slaughter. 'What is strangled' (Ac 15^{20} RV) or strangled meat is thus seen to be a current technical term of the Jewish *shēkhīṭā* or ritual of slaughter. In modern phrase the Gentile converts were to eat only *kōsher* meat.

A. R. S. Kennedy.

STRAW, STUBBLE.—In Heb. the former is *teben*, the latter *qash*, and to Western ideas the one is as much 'straw' as the other. The distinction between the two is as follows: *teben*, the modern *tibn*, is the mixture of chopped straw and chaff, produced by the action of the threshing-drag and winnowed out by the fan (Agriculture, § 3), as distinguished from the grains of wheat (so Jer 23^{28} where 'straw' RV, and 'chaff' AV are both inadequate). It is mentioned as the food of horses, asses, and camels. In reaping, as is still the custom, the stalks were cut knee-high or over; the length of stalk left standing is *qash*. Accordingly, when the Hebrews in Egypt 'gathered stubble for straw' (Ex 5^{12}), what they did was to pull up the stalks of wheat left standing in the fields and cut them up into short pieces suitable for brick-making, instead of being allowed to procure the *tibn* ready to their hand from the local threshing-floors. Since the cornstalks were usually burned as manure, 'stubble' is frequently found in metaphors suggested by this practice (Is 5^{24} 47^{14} etc.). In other passages containing reference explicit or implied to 'driven stubble' (41^{3}), the smaller fragments of chopped straw which the wind blew away with the chaff from the threshing-floor may be intended.

A. R. S. Kennedy.

STREET.—See City.

STRENGTH OF ISRAEL.—The EV tr. of the Divine title *nētsach Yisrā'ēl* in 1 S 15^{29}. Probably a more accurate rendering would be 'Glory of Israel.'

STRIPES.—See Crimes, etc. (**'Beating'**), **9.**

STRONG DRINK.—See Wine and Strong Drink.

STRONGHOLD.—See City, Fortification and Siegecraft.

STUBBLE.—See Straw.

STUFF.—In Lk 17^{31} and elsewhere in AV 'stuff' means 'furniture'; cf. Udall's tr. of Erasmus' *Paraphrase*, i. 7, 'All that ever they had about them of stuffe or furniture.'

STUMBLING-BLOCK (Gr. *skandalon*; AV **'offence,'** 'occasion to fall,' 'stumbling-block'; RV 'stumbling-block,' 'thing that causes stumbling,' 'occasion of stumbling').—Properly *the spring of a trap* (cf. Ro 11^{9}); hence something that *ensnares* or *trips up*. The verb is *skandalizein*; AV 'offend,' RV 'cause to stumble.'

David Smith.

SUA (1 Es 5^{29}) = Ezr 2^{44} **Siaha,** Neh 7^{47} **Sia.**

SUAH.—An Asherite (1 Ch 7^{36}).

SUBAI (1 Es 5^{30}) = Ezr 2^{46} **Shamlai,** Neh 7^{48} **Salmai.**

SUBAS.—A family of 'Solomon's servantse (1 Es 5^{34}).

SUBURB.—This word is used in AV in two quite distinct senses. (1) In 2 K 23^{11} a certain chamber, really within the Temple precincts, is said to have been 'in the suburbs' (Heb. *parvar*, RV 'precincts'). Practically the same original is retained as a proper name—**Parbar,** 1 Ch 26^{18} (RVm 'the Precinct'), where the reference is probably to the same spot as in the former passage. Modern scholars find in this mysterious *parbar* or *parvar* a designation of the western colonnade (or part thereof) of the Temple (see Parbar).

(2) In all other instances 'suburbs' occurs only in connexion with the so-called Levitical cities, as the rendering—derived from the Vulg. *suburbana* (fields, etc., close to a city)—of a Heb. word meaning 'pasture-grounds.' Each of the 48 cities, according to Nu $35^{2ff.}$, is to be provided with a square tract of land measuring 2000 cubits—roughly 1000 yards—each way, which is to serve the Levites as a common pasture ground 'for their cattle and for their substance and for all their beasts' (v.^{3} RV, cf. the lists in Jos 21^{2-42}, 1 Ch 6^{55-81}).

A. R. S. Kennedy.

SUCATHITES.—See Soco, **1.**

SUCCOTH.—A place first mentioned in Gn 33^{17}, where it is said to have been so called because Jacob, on his return from Haran to Canaan, halting at it after his wrestling with the angel at Penuel, built there 'booths' (Heb. *succōth*) for his cattle. Gideon also, after crossing the Jordan in his pursuit of the Midianites, passed Succoth, and afterwards 'went up' to **Penuel** (Jg $8^{5.\ 8}$). The name has not been preserved; and the site is thus matter of conjecture. From the passages quoted and other notices it is clear that it was E. of the Jordan; and it may further be inferred that, while Penuel was close to the Jabbok (Gn $32^{22.\ 30f.}$), on higher ground than Succoth, and to the E. or S.E. (Jg $8^{5.\ 8}$, cf. v.^{11}), Succoth was on the route between Penuel and Shechem, which would pass most naturally over the ford ed-Dāmiyeh (a little S. of the point at which the Jabbok enters the Jordan), in the territory of Gad, in a 'vale'

(Jos 13[27], Ps 60[6]),—presumably, therefore, in that part of the Jordan valley through which the Jabbok flows into the Jordan, and which is very fertile. Jacob came from Mizpah (see No. **1** in art. *s.v.*), which is most naturally to be sought somewhere on the N. or N.E. of the Jebel 'Ajlun; and any one journeying thence to the ford ed-Dāmiyeh would naturally descend as soon as possible into the Ghōr (or Jordan valley), and join the track which passes along it from N. to S. The rest of Jacob's route would be consistent and intelligible, if Mahanaim (his last halting-place before Penuel, Gn 32[2]) were (say) at Deir 'Allā, 4 miles N. of the ford by which the track down the Ghōr crosses the Jabbok, Penuel near where the same track crosses the route from es-Salt to ed-Dāmiyeh (see the map), and Succoth on one of the lower terraces of the Jordan valley (which here sinks from –500 ft. to –1000 ft.), W. of the point just suggested for Penuel, S. of the Jabbok, and in the territory of Gad (Jos 13[27]). Whether towns actually stood at or near the sites thus indicated can, of course, be determined only by excavation.

Succoth is said in the Talmud to have been called in later times *Tar'alah* or *Dar'alah*; and hence it has often been identified with *Deir 'Allā* mentioned above. But it is very doubtful whether Deir 'Allā has any connexion with this Talm. name; for *Deir* is a Syriac and Arabic word (common in names of places) meaning 'monastery,' which there is no reason whatever for seeing in the *Tar* or *Dar* (without the *yod*) of the Talm. name. Nor does the geographical position of Deir 'Allā seem to agree with the narrative of either Jacob or Gideon. See, further, Driver in *ExpT* xiii. (1902), p. 457 ff., more briefly in *Gen.* p. 300 ff. S. R. Driver.

SUCCOTH (meaning in Heb. 'booths').—The name of the first encampment in the Exodus, which started from Rameses (Ex 12[37] 13[20], Nu 33[5. 6]). It is probably the Egyptian *Thuke*, the same as or near to **Pithom** (wh. see), capital of the 8th nome, and situated in the Wady Tumilat. F. Ll. Griffith.

SUCCOTH-BENOTH (2 K 17[30]).—A deity whose image was made and set up in Samaria by the colonists from Babylon. 'Benoth' (LXX *Banith*) suggests 'Banitu' as it appears in the name *Zarpanītu*—in the inscriptions *Zer-banitu*—the wife of Marduk, patron god of Babylon. But there is no certainty. Sayce (in Hastings' *DB*) suggests that 'Succoth' may denote the 'processional shrines' in which the images were carried, 'Benoth' being corrupted from *Belith* or *Belit*, the classical *Beltis*, a common title and synonym of *Zer-banītu*.

W. Ewing.

SUD.—The name of a river or canal of Babylon named in Bar 1[1]. This name has not yet been found in the literature of Babylonia, and it seems probable that there is a mistake in the text, the true reading being *Sur*. A Babylonian text mentions a river or canal in the neighbourhood of Babylon called *Nār Suru*, and this may be the stream intended. Its position is unknown. T. G. Pinches.

SUDIAS (1 Es 5[26]) = Ezr 2[40] **Hodaviah**, Neh 7[43] **Hodevah**.

SUKKIIM.—The name of a tribe led by Shishak against Judæa (2 Ch 12[3]). The identification of the Sukkiim with the inhabitants of Suakin is very uncertain.

SUMER, SUMERIANS.—See p. 69[b].

SUN.—The first mention of the sun in the Bible is in Gn 1[16], as 'the greater light to rule the day.' It was looked upon as the greatest and most important of the heavenly bodies, and motion was attributed to it, as is still done in ordinary parlance. We read of the going down of the sun, and of its rising; of the increasing force of its heat as the day went on (Ex 16[21]), of its influence in the production of the crops of the ground ('the precious things of the fruits of the sun,' Dt 33[14]). The sun 'goeth forth in his might' (Jg 5[31]). The situation of a place is spoken of as 'toward the sunrising,' *i.e.* to the east (*e.g.* Nu 34[15]). Things that were notorious and done openly were said to be 'before *or* in the sight of the sun.' But while the sun is strong, the power of God is greater still. This is expressed in Job's assertion (9[7]) that God 'commandeth the sun and it riseth not.' The power of the sun affects the complexion ('I go blackened, but not by the sun,' Job 30[28] RVm; cf. Ca 1[6]), and even causes death. A case of death by **sunstroke** occurs in 2 K 4[18-19], and this power is alluded to in Ps 121[6] 'The sun shall not smite thee by day.' The light of the sun is cheering: 'a pleasant thing it is for the eyes to behold the sun' (Ec 11[7]). Contrivances for measuring the length of the day by the shadow cast by the sun were invented: we have some kind of **dial**, of which steps formed a part, indicated in 2 K 20[9. 11], Is 38[8]. Though there is no actual mention of an **eclipse** in the Bible, part of the language used in describing the terrors of the day of the Lord both in OT and NT is derived from such an event: 'the sun shall be turned into darkness' (Jl 2[31]), 'the sun became black as sackcloth of hair' (Rev 6[12]). On the other hand, the brilliance and glory of the future life is portrayed by comparison with the sun. 'Then shall the righteous shine forth as the sun' (Mt 13[43]); 'The light of the sun shall be sevenfold' (Is 30[26]); and even the sun will not be required, for, as in Ps 84[11] 'the Lord God is a sun,' so in Rev 21[23] (cf. 22[5]) 'the city hath no need of the sun . . . for the glory of God did lighten it.' The wonders of the day of Joshua's victory over the Amorites, when at his command the sun and moon are said to have stood still (Jos 10[12-14]), were long remembered by the Israelites (Hab 3[11], Sir 46[4]).

The power and influence of the sun over the natural world would soon lead to its being personified and worshipped, inasmuch as what was done upon earth was done 'under the sun.' In one of Joseph's dreams there is a personification of the sun (Gn 37[9]). In the Book of Deuteronomy (4[19]) there is a caution against **sun-worship**, and the punishment of death by stoning is assigned to the convicted worshipper of the sun (17[3]), whilst in Job (31[26]) there is an allusion to a superstitious salutation of the sun by the kissing of the hand. Sun-pillars, or obelisks used in the worship of the sun, are mentioned frequently in the OT, *e.g.* Ex 23[24], Lv 26[30], 2 Ch 14[3], Is 17[8], Ezk 6[4]; and in Phœnicia, a solar Baal, Baal-Hammon, was worshipped. Sun-worship itself was, in the later days of the kingdom of Judah at any rate, one of the permitted forms of worship in Jerusalem. Sun-images are mentioned in 2 Ch. (14[5]) as existing in all the cities of Judah as early as the reign of Asa. In Josiah's reformation those who burnt incense to the sun were put down (2 K 23[5]), while the chariots of the sun were burned with fire (after being hewn down according to 2 Ch 34[4. 7]), and 'the horses that the kings of Judah had given to the sun' were taken away (2 K 23[11]). There was a great chariot of the sun at Sippar in Babylonia. We gather from Ezk 8[16] that this sun-worship actually took place in the inner court at the door of the Temple, between the porch and the altar; the worshippers turned their backs upon the Temple itself, and worshipped the sun towards the east. Certain places where this worship appears to have been most popular took the name **Beth-shemesh** (wh. see), 'house of the sun,' from the fact.

We must not forget, in conclusion, that, in one Messianic passage (Mal 4[2]), the coming deliverer is spoken of as 'the sun of righteousness.'

H. A. Redpath.

SUNSTROKE.—See preced. art. and Medicine, p. 599[a].

SUPERSCRIPTION.—See Title, and Money, § 6.

SUPH.—A place-name in Dt 1[1] 'In the Arabah over against Suph'; AV reads 'over against the Red Sea,' in which case it has been assumed that the word for 'Sea' had fallen out in the received Hebrew text. *Suph* means 'weeds,' and the 'Sea of Weeds' was the

Hebrew name of the Red Sea. The AV is almost certainly correct; the expression was so understood also by LXX and Vulgate. It is evident that by the 'Red Sea' the Gulf of 'Akabah is meant, as in Nu 21^4 and elsewhere. J. F. McCURDY.

SUPHAH.—An unknown locality E. of Jordan (Nu 21^{14}).

SUPPER.—See MEALS, 2; and for the 'Last Supper' see EUCHARIST.

SUR.—**1.** A gate (2 K 11^6). See JERUSALEM (II. 4). **2.** A town on the seacoast of Palestine (Jth 2^{28}). The site, if a different place from Tyre, is unknown.

SUSA.—See SHUSHAN.

SUSANNA.—See APOCRYPHA, § 5.

SUSI.—A Manassite (Nu $13^{12\ (11)}$).

SWALLOW.—**1.** *dĕrōr* (Ps 84^3, Pr 26^2). The allusion to the nesting of this bird in the sanctuary and its swift (unalighting) flight fits the swallow. **2.** *'āgūr* (Is 38^{14}, Jer 8^7). See CRANE. **3.** *sūs, sīs*, should be tr. as in RV (Is 38^{14}, Jer 8^7), 'swallow' instead of '**crane**' (AV). See CRANE. Some ten species of swallows and swifts or martins are common in the Holy Land.

SWAN (*tinshemeth*, Lv 11^{18}, Dt 14^{16}).—Swans have been found in Palestine, but are very rare. The tr. of AV cannot be defended. See OWL, 5.

E. W. G. MASTERMAN.

SWEARING.—See OATHS.

SWEET CANE.—See REED.

SWINE (*chazīr*).—Domesticated swine were probably kept in the East in the earliest historic times, when they appear to have been regarded as sacred. In a cave associated with the earliest place of sacrifice at ancient Gezer, in use certainly before B.C. 2000, large quantities of pigs' bones were found. It was the sacrosanct character of swine that lay at the root of the prohibition in Lv 11^7 and Dt 14^8; and the eating of swine's flesh and offering of swine's blood (Is 65^4 $66^{3.\ 17}$) are clearly regarded as a sign of lapse into paganism. The heathen frequently tried to compel the Jews to eat swine's flesh (*e.g.* 2 Mac 6^{18} 7^1) and thus renounce their religion. The contempt felt for swine is shown by the proverbs quoted in Pr. 11^{22}, Mt 7^6, and 2 P 2^{22}. In the Talmudic writings the pig appears as the emblem of uncleanness, and those who keep swine are regarded with aversion. The same ideas colour the parable of the Prodigal Son (Lk 15^{15}), where he is depicted as reaching the lowest depth of infamy in being sent to feed swine, and actually being reduced to covet their food; and also the narrative of the demoniacs, where the Gentile inhabitants of Gerasa lose their great herd of swine (Mt 8^{30}, Mk 5^{13}, Lk 8^{32}).

In modern Palestine very much the same feeling survives. *Chanzīr* 'pig' is a common but very opprobrious appellation. Swine's flesh is loathed by Jews and Moslems; the latter, who otherwise eat the same food as Christians, are always very suspicious that any unknown food may be contaminated with it. Pigs are not common in Palestine; they are kept by German colonists and in a few places by native Christians. In Rameh in Galilee, for example, considerable herds are kept and pastured in the surrounding fields. Horses, unfamiliar with their smell are much perturbed on approaching the village, and it is said that the cattle will not touch the water of the stream below where the swine are accustomed to resort.

E. W. G. MASTERMAN.

SWORD.—See ARMOUR, ARMS, § 1 (*c*).

SYCAMINE (Lk 17^6).—*sykaminos* is, strictly speaking, the **black mulberry** (*Morus nigra* the *tūt shāmī* of the Syrians), and it is probably this tree that is referred to in Lk 17^6 and in 1 Mac 6^{34}. But *sykaminos* is also used in LXX in many passages as the equivalent of the *shiqmīm* or **sycomore** (wh. see). E. W. G. MASTERMAN.

SYCHAR.—'A city of Samaria,' near to the parcel of ground that Jacob gave to his son Joseph (Jn 4^5). Jerome in *Onomast.* distinguishes Sychar from **Shechem**, but in *Ep. Paul.* and *Quæst. Gen.* he identifies them, saying that the form *Sychar* is due to a scribal error. Much ingenuity has been exercised to show that the names are really identical, or at least apply to the same city. On the face of it this is unlikely. In A.D. 333 the *Itinerary of Jerusalem* places Sychar one mile E. of Shechem—in this agreeing with other ancient authorities. Canon Williams first suggested identification with *'Askar*, a village on the skirt of Ebal, about two miles E. of Nāblus. The main objection to this is the presence of a copious spring, more than sufficient to supply the village; while from Jn 4^{15} we learn that the woman of Sychar was accustomed to go 'all the way' (RV) to Jacob's Well for domestic supplies. Further, there is nothing to indicate a pre-Arab settlement at 'Askar. Mr. Macalister (*PEFSt*, 1907, p. 92 ff.) draws attention to the mound *Tulūl Balātā*, a little nearer to Nāblus, just N. of the hamlet Balātā, which bears evidence of occupation from the period of the Hebrew monarchy to Roman times.

Jacob's Well, according to unanimous and unbroken tradition, lies about half a mile to the E. of Tulūl Balātā, on the S. edge of the plain, at the foot of Gerizim. Formerly of great depth (Jn 4^{11}), it is now much filled with rubbish, and is not more than 75 ft. deep. Depending on the percolation of surface water, with the greater depth the supply would be constant; but now it is dry before the summer is far advanced. The sacred associations of the Well, and the 'lightness' of the water, compared with the hardness of that from the spring, would form attractions in early, as in modern times. With no other ancient settlement near the Well, we may with some confidence place Sychar at *Tulūl Balātā*. With the ruin of the village the name may have migrated to *'Askar*. W. EWING.

SYCOMORE (*shiqmīm*. 1 K 10^{27}, 1 Ch 27^{28}, 2 Ch 1^{15} 9^{27}, Is 9^{10}, Am 7^{14}; *shiqmōth*, Ps 78^{47}; (Gr.) *sykomorea*, Lk 19^4).—This is the sycomore fig (*Ficūs sycamorus*), a tree often 50 feet high, with an enormous trunk. It bears poor figs (Am 7^{14}), but furnishes good timber. It is not to-day 'in abundance' as of old (1 K 10^{27}), but considerable numbers flourish still in the plain around Jaffa. This tree must not be confused with the 'sycamore' (*Acer pseudo-platanus*) of our home lands, which is a species of maple. See also SYCAMINE.

E. W. G. MASTERMAN.

SYENE.—See SEVENEH.

SYMBOL.—The prevalence of figurative language in the Bible is due partly to the antiquity and Oriental origin of the book and to the fact that its subject, religion, deals with the most difficult problems of life and the deepest emotions of the soul. The English word 'type,' as the equivalent of 'symbol' or 'emblem,' is sometimes confusing, as it has been used both for the fulfilment of the prototype and as that which points forward to the antitype. Like the proverb and parable, the symbol implies a connexion between two things of which one is concrete and physical, the other abstract and referring to intellectual, moral and spiritual matters. The former, of course, is the symbol.

1. Symbols of similarity.—Here the connecting principle is one of recognized likeness between the material object and its counterpart. Thus 'a watered garden' is made the emblem of a satisfied soul (Jer 31^{12}). The similarity is that of supplied wants. In the same way the white garments of the priests and of the redeemed were emblematic of holiness (Ex 39^{27-29}, Rev 19^8). Marriage, as an Oriental relationship of purchased possession, was an emblem of Palestine in covenant with God, and of the Church as the bride of Christ. Thus also the Christian life

was a race (He 12^{1}) and a warfare (Eph $6^{11\text{-}17}$). An element of similarity entered into the dream-visions recorded in the Bible and into the symbolism of prophetic warnings (Is $5^{1\text{-}7}$, Jer $13^{1\text{-}12}$, Ezk $37^{1\text{-}11}$). In the Epistles we meet with a rich variety of emblems created by the desire to interpret the Person and mission of Christ, and the relationship of the Christian believer to Him. The writers, being of Jewish origin and addressing communities which usually contained a number of Jewish Christians, naturally turned to the biographies, national history, and sacred institutions of the OT. Whatever was drawn from such a source would not only be familiar, but would seem to be part of an organic whole, and to possess a value of Divine preparation. Examples of these are the Second Adam, the Firstborn, the Chief Shepherd, the Chief Corner-stone. The journey to Canaan supplied Passover, manna, rock, redemption, better country, rest. From the Tabernacle and Temple were taken high priest, altar, sacrifice, veil, peace-offering, lamb, atonement.

2. Symbols of representative selection or Synecdoche.—The symbol is in this case the agent or implement, or some conspicuous accompaniment selected from a group of concrete particulars, so that the part represents the whole. Thus the insignia of office and authority are crown, sword, sceptre, seal, coin, robe, rod, staff. Various actions and relationships are symbolically indicated, such as the giving of the hand (compact), foot on the neck (conquest), bored ear (perpetual servitude), washing of the hands (innocence), bared or outstretched arm (energy), gnashing of teeth (disappointment and remorse), shaking the head (contempt and disapproval), a averted face (angry repudiation), bread (hospitality), cross (suffering of Christ, and suffering for Him).

3. Memorial and mystical symbols.—These might belong to either of the above forms or be artificially selected, but the purpose was not so much to instruct and emphasize as to recall and perpetuate circumstances and feelings, or to suggest a meaning that must remain concealed. Such were the rainbow at the Flood, the stone Ebenezer, the symbolical names often given to children, as *Moses*, *Ichabod*, and the names in Jacob's family, the Urim and Thummim, the white stone, and the number of the beast, etc. Of this class were the sculptured emblems of the early Christians in the catacombs of Rome, such as the palm, dove, anchor, ship, fish, Alpha and Omega. Water, bread and wine, as the material elements in Baptism and the Lord's Supper, are the symbols of those Sacraments. The name 'symbol' is applied to the selection of generally accepted truths forming the Christian creed, or canon of belief. Certain characters in the Bible, such as Jonah, Mary Magdalene, Herod, Judas, have come to be identified with special types of character and conduct, and are said to be symbolical of those classes.

4. Dangers of symbolism.—(1) The act of transmitting spiritual and eternal truth through material and perishable media always involves *limitation and loss*. (2) The injudicious carrying out of symbolism into inferences not originally intended, leads into the opposite error of *irrelevant addition*. (3) The *scrupulous avoidance of symbolism* may itself become a symbol. (4) The external form which illuminates, emphasizes, and recalls is no guarantee of *inward reality*. The ceremony of purification is not purity. Sheep's clothing may not be a robe of innocence, or rent garments indicate distress of soul. The cry 'Lord, Lord!' is not always raised by true discipleship. Hence Christ's message to the Samaritan woman concerning true worship, and His frequent protests against the ceremonial insincerities of the Pharisees. The condemnation of image-worship turned upon the total inadequacy of symbol to represent God. It might indicate man's thought of God, but it left untouched the constituent element of true religion, God's thought of man. 'Eyes have they, but they see not.'

G. M. Mackie.

SYMEON (cf. Simeon, *ad init.*).—**1.** An ancestor of Jesus (Lk 3^{30}). **2.** A prophet and teacher at Antioch (Ac 13^{1}). **3.** Ac 15^{14} = Simon Peter (see Peter).

SYMMACHUS' VERSION.—See Gr. Versions of OT, 18.

SYNAGOGUE.—1. Meaning and history.—Like its original *synagōgē* (lit. a gathering, assembly—for its use in LXX see Congregation), 'synagogue' is used in NT in a double signification: (1) in the sense of a community organized for religious purposes, as Ac 6^{9} 9^{2} (cf. Rev 2^{9} 3^{9} 'the synagogue of Satan'); and (2) to denote the building in which the community met for worship—so some 50 times in the Gospels and Acts from Mt 4^{23} onwards. The strict Heb. equivalent in the latter sense is 'the house of assembly.' Of other names for the synagogue as a place of worship may be mentioned the older term *proseuchē* (Ac 16^{13} RV 'place of worship'; Jos. *Life*, § 54, of the synagogue of Tiberias)

The origin of the synagogue as a characteristic institution of Judaism is hidden in obscurity. Most probably it took its rise in the circumstances of the Hebrew exiles in Babylonia. Hitherto worship had practically meant sacrifice, but sacrifice was now impossible in a land unclean (cf. Hos 3^{4} $9^{3\text{f.}}$). There was still left to the exiles, however, the living word of the prophet, and the writings of God's interpreters from a former age. In those gatherings in the house of Ezekiel of which we read (Ezk 8^{1} $20^{1\text{-}3}$) we may perhaps detect the germs of the future synagogue. We are on more solid ground when we reach the religious reform of Ezra and Nehemiah (B.C. 444–443). With the introduction of the 'Law of Moses' as the norm of faith and life, the need for systematic instruction in its complex requirements was evident to the leaders of the reform, as is clear from Neh $8^{7\text{f.}}$. The closing century of the Persian rule, B.C. 430–330, may therefore be regarded as the period of the rise and development of the synagogue. From this period, more precisely from the reign of Artaxerxes III. Ochus (358–337), may be dated the only mention of the synagogue in OT, viz. Ps 74^{8} 'they have burned up all the synagogues of God in the land.' The papyrus finds of recent years have contained not a few references to the synagogues of the Jewish communities in Egypt, from the time of the third Ptolemy, Euergetes, B.C. 247–221, onwards (details in Schürer, *GJ V*^{4} ii. 499 f.).

By the first century of our era the synagogue was regarded as an institution of almost immemorial antiquity. In referring it back to Moses himself, Josephus (*c. Apion.* ii. 17) is only echoing the contemporary belief, which is also reflected in the words of the Apostle James, 'for Moses from generations of old hath in every city them that preach him, being read in the synagogues every sabbath' (Ac 15^{21} RV). For the wide extent and historical importance of the synagogues of 'the Dispersion,' see below, § 5.

2. The synagogue building and its furniture.—Remains, more or less extensive, of Jewish synagogues still survive from the second and third, more doubtfully from the first, centuries of our era, chiefly in Galilee. The examination of these remains, first undertaken by the Palestine Exploration Fund (see *Survey of West Pal.* i. 224 ff. with plans), has recently been carried out more fully by the German Orient Society, and the results published in the Society's *Mittheilungen* (Nos. 23, 27, 29 [1904, 1905]). In plan and details of ornamentation these Galilæan synagogues display a general similarity. The buildings are rectangular in shape, and divided into three or five aisles by two or three rows of pillars. The entrance is almost always in the south front, and often consists of a large main, and two smaller side, entrances. The most elaborate was the synagogue of Capernaum, where, as elsewhere, traces were found of galleries running round three sides of the central aisle. These were probably assigned to the women (for a

similar arrangement in Herod's Temple, see TEMPLE § 11 (*b*)), although the question of the separation of the sexes in NT times is one on which the best authorities disagree.

As regards the furniture of the synagogue, the most important item was the chest or cupboard (*tēbā*, the 'ark'), in which the sacred rolls of the Law and the Prophets were kept. The synagogues of NT times were also doubtless provided with a raised platform (*bēmā*), on which stood the reading-desk from which the Scriptures were read. The larger portion of the area was occupied by benches for the congregation, the worshippers facing southwards, in Galilee at least, towards the holy city. A few special seats in front of the *bēmā*, and facing the congregation, were occupied by the heads of the community. These are the 'chief seats in the synagogues' coveted by the Pharisees (Mt 23^6 and ||). In front of the 'ark' a lamp burned day and night.

3. The officials of the Synagogue.—The general management of the synagogue of a Jewish town, where it served also as a court of justice and—in the smaller towns and villages at least—as a school, was in the hands of the elders of the community. It had no special priest or '**minister**,' as will appear presently. It was usual however, to appoint an official called '**the ruler of the synagogue**' (Mk 5^{22}, Lk 8^{41}, and oft.), to whom the authorities of the community committed the care of the building as well as the more important duty of seeing that everything connected with the public services was done 'decently and in order.' Hence the indignation of the ruler of Lk 13^{14} at the supposed breach of the decorum of worship related in the preceding verses (vv. $^{10-13}$). It lay with the ruler also to select the readers for the day, and to determine the order in which they were to be called up to the reading-desk. Occasionally, it would seem, a synagogue might have two or more rulers, as at Antioch of Pisidia (Ac 13^{15}).

The only other permanent official was the *chazzān*, '**the attendant**' of Lk 4^{20} RV (AV '**minister**' in the same, but now obsolete, sense; cf. Ac 13^5). The duties of the synagogue '**officer**' (as we say in Scotland) were somewhat varied. He was responsible for the cleaning and lighting of the building; and during service it was his special duty to convey the sacred rolls from the ark to the readers at the desk, and to restore them when the reading was over, as recorded in Lk $4^{17.\ 20}$. To him fell also the duty of scourging criminals condemned by the court (Mt 10^{17} 23^{34} etc.), but not, as is usually represented, the teaching of the school children (art. 'Education' in *DB* i. 650^a).

4. The synagogue service in NT times.—For this part of our subject we are dependent mainly on the fuller information preserved in the Mishna, which reflects the later usage of the 2nd century. According to *Megillah*, iv. 3, the service consisted of four parts, and with this the scattered hints in the Gospels and Acts agree. These parts are: (*a*) the recitation of the *Shema'*, (*b*) the lifting up of hands, *i.e.* the prayers, (*c*) the lessons from the Law and the Prophets, and (*d*) the priestly benediction. Two elements of the full service, however, are here omitted as not strictly belonging to the essentials of worship, viz. the translation of the lessons into the vernacular, and the sermon.

(*a*) *The recitation of the Shema'*.—The *shema'* is the standing designation of three short sections of the Pentateuch, Dt 6^{4-9} (which opens with the word *Shema'* = 'Hear,' whence the name) 11^{13-21}, Nu 15^{37-41}. Their recitation by the congregation was preceded and followed by one or two short benedictions, such as that beginning, 'Blessed be thou, Adonai, our God, King of the universe, who didst form the light and create darkness.'

(*b*) *The lifting up of hands.*—In contrast to the first item of the service, in which all took part, the prayers were said by a single individual chosen for the purpose, named 'the deputy of the congregation,' the worshippers, however, repeating the Amen at the close of each collect. This mode of prayer in the public services was taken over by the early Church, as is attested by 1 Co 14^{16} (where the word rendered 'the giving of thanks' is the Gr. equivalent of that rendered 'benediction' below). By the middle of the 2nd cent. A.D. a formal liturgy had been developed—the famous 'eighteen benedictions,' which may be read in any Jewish prayer-book. It is impossible, however, to say with certainty how many of these were in use in our Lord's day. Dalman is of opinion that at least twelve of the eighteen collects are older than A.D. 70. These he arranges in three groups, consisting of three opening benedictions, six petitions, and three closing benedictions (see his art. 'Gottesdienst [synagogaler]' in Hauck's *PRE*^{3} vii.).

(*c*) *The OT lessons.*—The liturgy was followed by a lesson from the Law. The five books were divided into 154 (or more) Sabbath pericopes or sections, so that the whole Pentateuch was read through in three years (or $3\frac{1}{2}$ years, half of a Sabbatic period). The custom of calling up seven readers in succession—a priest, a Levite, and five others—may be as old as the 1st century. After the Law came, at the Sabbath morning service only, a lesson from the Prophets, read by one person and left to his choice. It was the *haphtarā*, as the prophetic lesson was termed, that our Lord read in the synagogue of Nazareth (Lk $4^{16ff.}$). 'The Hagiographa, except Esther, were not at this period read at Divine service. Even the Psalms had no place in the usual service' (Dalman).

In order that the common people might follow the lessons with intelligence, these were translated into Aramaic, the vernacular of Palestine, by an interpreter (*methurgemān*—our 'dragoman' is from the same root). The unique position of the Law in the estimation of the time is shown by the fact that the Pentateuch lessons had to be translated a verse at a time, while the Prophets might be rendered three verses at a time. Reader and interpreter stood while at the reading-desk.

At this point in the service at the principal diets of worship, the sermon was introduced. The preacher sat while giving his exposition, which is so often described in NT as 'teaching' (Mt 4^{23}, Mk 1^{21} 6^2 etc.). In the synagogue there was full 'liberty of prophesying.' Any member of the community was free to exercise his gift. When a likely stranger was present, he was invited by the ruler of the synagogue to address the congregation (Ac 13^{15}). (*d*) The service was closed by a priest pronouncing *the priestly benediction*, Nu 6^{24-26}; if no priest was present, it is said that a layman gave the blessing in the form of a prayer.

On some occasions, at least, it was usual to ask the alms of the congregation (Mt 6^2) on behalf of the poor. The full service, as sketched above, was confined to the principal service of the week, which was held on the forenoon of the Sabbath. At the other services, such as those held daily in the larger towns, where ten 'men of leisure' were available to form the minimum legal congregation, and the Monday and Thursday services, some of the items were omitted.

5. The influence of the Synagogue.—This article would be incomplete without a reference, however brief, to the influence of the synagogue and its worship not only upon the Jews themselves, but upon the world of heathenism. As to the latter, the synagogue played a conspicuous part in the *preparatio evangelica*. From the outworn creeds of paganism many earnest souls turned to the synagogue and its teaching for the satisfaction of their highest needs. The synagogues of 'the Dispersion' (Jn 7^{35}, Ja 1^1, 1 P 1^1, all RV) became in consequence the seed-plots of Christianity, as every student of the Book of Acts is aware.

The work which the synagogue did for Judaism itself is best seen in the ease with which the breach

with the past involved in the destruction of the Temple in A.D. 70, and the cessation of sacrificial worship, was healed. The highest religious life of Judaism had already transferred its channels from the grosser and more material forms of the Temple to the spiritual worship of the synagogue.

Nor must a reference be wanting to the fact that the synagogue, and not the Temple, supplied the mould and model for the worship of the Christian Church.

6. The Great Synagogue.—In late Jewish tradition Ezra is alleged to have been the founder and first president of a college of learned scribes, which is supposed to have existed in Jerusalem until the early part of the Gr. period (*c.* B.C. 300). To 'the men of the Great Synagogue,' or rather 'of the Great Assembly,' were ascribed the composition of some of the later OT books, the close of the Canon, and a general care for the development of religion under the Law. Recent writers, however, have in the main accepted the results of Kuenen's careful investigation in his *Gesamm. Abhandlungen* (Germ. tr. 125–160), and now regard the Great Synagogue as unhistorical, the tradition of its existence having arisen from a distorted view of the nature and purpose of the great popular assembly, of which we read in Neh 8–10.

A. R. S. Kennedy.

SYNOPTICS, SYNOPTISTS.—See Gospels, **2.**

SYNTYCHE.—A Christian, perhaps a deaconess, at Philippi (Ph 4^{2}); see art. Euodia. A. J. Maclean.

SYNZYGUS (lit. 'yoke-fellow').—This is taken by some as a proper name in Ph 4^{3} ('Synzygus truly so called'), but it is nowhere else found as such. It is more probably a way of describing the chief minister of the church at Philippi. Lightfoot (*Com., in loc.*) suggests Epaphroditus; Ramsay (*St. Paul*, p. 358), Luke; others, Barnabas or Silas or Timothy. An old tradition of the 2nd cent. (Lightfoot, *ib.*) makes the '**yoke-fellow**' to be the Apostle's wife; Renan supposes that **Lydia** is meant, and that she had become his wife; but see 1 Co 7^{8}.

A. J. Maclean.

SYRACUSE, on the east coast of Sicily, was the principal city in the island. It was originally a Greek colony of ancient date, which was powerful enough to defeat the famous Athenian Sicilian expedition (B.C. 415–412). Its kings were often men of distinction, even in literature, of which they were noted patrons. The city had a varied career, being sometimes a kingdom, sometimes a democracy. In B.C. 241 the Romans took the western half of Sicily from the Carthaginians, but remained in alliance with the kings of Syracuse. The last king of Syracuse coquetted with the Carthaginians; the city was besieged and captured by Marcellus in 212, and the whole island was henceforth under a prætor, who had two quæstors, one situated at Lilybæum in the W., the other at Syracuse. The city continued prosperous down till about the end of the 2nd cent. B.C. After that date it declined in importance, though it remained the capital of the eastern half of the island. In NT times a large number of the inhabitants were Roman citizens.

St. Paul's ship lay at anchor in the harbour for three days, when he was on his way from Malta to Rome (Ac 28^{12}). He did not preach there. Christian memorials at Syracuse are not specially early. A. Souter.

SYRIA, SYRIANS.—See Aram, Aramæans.

SYRIAC VERSIONS.—See Text (OT, **15** (6), and NT, **11** ff.).

SYROPHŒNICIAN.—This is the designation of a 'Greek' (or Gentile) woman whose demoniac daughter Jesus healed when near Tyre (Mk 7^{26}). She was perhaps Greek-speaking (Swete), but was descended from the old Phoenicians of Syria (‖ Mt 15^{22} has 'Canaanitish').

A. J. Maclean.

SYRTIS.—See Quicksands.

T

TAANACH (Jos 12^{21}, 1 K 4^{12}, 1 Ch 7^{29}).—One of the royal Canaanite cities, mentioned in OT always along with **Megiddo.** Though in the territory of Issachar, it belonged to Manasseh; the native Canaanites were, however, not driven out (Jos 17$^{11-13}$, Jg 1^{27}). It was allotted to the Levites of the children of Kohath (Jos 21^{25}). It was one of the four fortress cities on the 'border of Manasseh' (1 Ch 7^{29}). The fight of Deborah and Barak with the Canaanites is described (Jg 5^{19}) as 'in Taanach by the waters of Megiddo.' The site is to-day *Tell Ta'annak*, four miles S.E. from *Tell el-Mutesellim* (Megiddo). The hill has been excavated by Prof. Sellin of Vienna. Many remains of Canaanite and Jewish civilization have been found, and also a considerable number of clay tablets with cuneiform inscriptions similar to those discovered at Tell el-Amarna in Egypt. See Sellin in *Mem. Vienna Acad.*, I. (1904), III. (1905).

E. W. G. Masterman.

TAANATH-SHILOH.—A town on the N.E. boundary of Ephraim (Jos 16^{6}). It is possibly the mod. *Ta'na*, about 7 miles from *Nāblus* (Neapolis), and 2 miles N. of *Yānūn* (Janoah).

TABAOTH (1 Es 5$^{29\ (60)}$; and **TABBAOTH** (Ezr 2^{43} = Neh 7^{46}).—A family of Nethinim who returned with Zerubbabel.

TABBATH.—An unknown locality mentioned in Jg 7^{22}.

TABEEL.—**1.** The father of the rival to Ahaz put forward by Rezin (wh. see) and Pekah (Is 7^{6}). **2.** A Persian official (Ezr 4^{7}); called in 1 Es 2^{16} **Tabellius.**

TABELLIUS.—See Tabeel, **2.**

TABER.—Only in Nah 2^{7} 'her handmaids mourn as with the voice of doves, tabering (Amer. RV 'beating') upon their breasts.' Beating the breast was a familiar Oriental custom in mourning (cf. Is 32^{12}). The word here used means lit. 'drumming' (cf. Ps 68^{26}, its only other occurrence). The English word 'taber' means a small drum, usually accompanying a pipe, both instruments being played by the same performer. Other forms are 'tabor,' 'tabour,' and 'tambour'; and dim. forms are '**tabret**' and 'tambourine.'

TABERAH.—An unidentified 'station' of the Israelites (Nu 11^{3}, Dt 9^{22}).

TABERNACLE.—**1.** By 'the tabernacle' without further qualification, as by the more expressive designation '**tabernacle of the congregation**' (RV more correctly '**tent of meeting,**' see below), is usually understood the elaborate portable sanctuary which Moses erected at Sinai, in accordance with Divine instructions, as the place of worship for the Hebrew tribes during and after the wilderness wanderings. But modern criticism has revealed the fact that this artistic and costly structure is confined to the Priestly sources of the Pentateuch, and is to be carefully distinguished from a much simpler tent bearing the same name and likewise associated with Moses. The relative historicity of the two 'tents of meeting' will be more fully examined at the close of this article (§ **9**).

2. The sections of the Priests' Code (P) devoted to

TABERNACLE

the details of the fabric and furniture of the Tabernacle, and to the arrangements for its transport from station to station in the wilderness, fall into two groups, viz. (*a*) Ex 25–27. 30. 31, which are couched in the form of instructions from J″ to Moses as to the erection of the Tabernacle and the making of its furniture according to the 'pattern' or model shown to the latter on the holy mount (25$^{9.\ 40}$); (*b*) Ex 35–40, which tell *inter alia* of the carrying out of these instructions. Some additional details, particularly as to the arrangements on the march, are given in Nu 3$^{25ff.}$ 4$^{4ff.}$ and 7$^{1ff.}$.

In these and other OT passages the wilderness sanctuary is denoted by at least a dozen different designations (see the list in Hastings' *DB* iv. 655). The most frequently employed is that also borne, as we have seen, by the sacred tent of the Elohistic source (E), '**the tent of meeting**' (so RV throughout). That this is the more correct rendering of the original *'ōhel mō'ēd*, as compared with AV's '**tabernacle of the congregation,**' is now universally acknowledged. The sense in which the Priestly writers, at least, understood the second term is evident from such passages as Ex 25^{22}, where, with reference to the mercy-seat (see **7** (*b*)), J″ is represented as saying: 'there I will *meet with thee* and commune with thee' (cf. Nu 7^{89}). This, however, does not exclude a possible early connexion of the name with that of the Babylonian 'mount of meeting' (Is 14^{13}, EV 'congregation'), the *mō'ēd* or assembly of the gods.

3. In order to do justice to the Priestly writers in their attempts to give literary shape to their ideas of Divine worship, it must be remembered that they were following in the footsteps of Ezekiel (chs. 40–48), whose conception of a sanctuary is that of a dwelling-place of the Deity (see Ezk 37^{27}). Now the attribute of Israel's God, which for these theologians of the Exile overshadowed all others, was His ineffable and almost unapproachable holiness, and the problem for Ezekiel and his priestly successors was how man in his creaturely weakness and sinfulness could with safety approach a perfectly holy God. The solution is found in the restored Temple in the one case (Ezk 40 ff.), and in the Tabernacle in the other, together with the elaborate sacrificial and propitiatory system of which each is the centre. In the Tabernacle, in particular, we have an ideal of a Divine sanctuary, every detail of which is intended to symbolize the unity, majesty, and above all the holiness of J″, and to provide an earthly habitation in which a holy God may again dwell in the midst of a holy people. 'Let them make me a sanctuary, *that I may dwell among them*' (Ex 25^{8}).

4. Taking this general idea of the Tabernacle with us, and leaving a fuller discussion of its religious significance and symbolism to a later section (§ **8**), let us proceed to study the arrangement and component parts of P's ideal sanctuary. Since the tents of the Hebrew tribes, those of the priests and Levites, and the three divisions of the sanctuary—court, holy place, and the holy of holies—represent ascending degrees of holiness in the scheme of the Priestly writer, the appropriate order of study will be from without inwards, from the perimeter of the sanctuary to its centre.

(*a*) We begin, therefore, with 'the **court of the dwelling**' (Ex 27^{9}). This is described as a rectangular enclosure in the centre of the camp, measuring 100 cubits from east to west and half that amount from south to north. If the shorter cubit of, say, 18 inches (for convenience of reckoning) be taken as the unit of measurement, this represents an area of approximately 50 yards by 25, a ratio of 2:1. The entrance, which is on the eastern side, is closed by a **screen** (27^{16} RV) of embroidered work in colours. The rest of the area is screened off by plain white **curtains** (EV '**hangings**') of 'fine twined linen' 5 cubits in height, suspended, like the screen, at equal intervals of 5 cubits from pillars standing in sockets (EV) or **bases** of bronze. Since the perimeter of the court measured 300 cubits, 60 pillars in all were required for the curtains and the screen, and are reckoned in the text in groups of tens and twenties, 20 for each long side, and 10 for each short side. The pillars are evidently intended to be kept upright by means of **cords** or stays fastened to **pins** or pegs of bronze stuck in the ground.

(*b*) In the centre of the court is placed the **altar of burnt-offering** (27$^{1-8}$), called also '**the brazen altar**' and '**the altar**' *par excellence*. When one considers the purpose it was intended to serve, one is surprised to find this altar of burnt-offering consisting of a hollow chest of acacia wood (so RV throughout, for AV 'shittim') —the only wood employed in the construction of the Tabernacle—5 cubits in length and breadth, and 3 in height, overlaid with what must, for reasons of transport, have been a comparatively thin sheathing of bronze. From the four corners spring the four **horns of the altar**, 'of one piece' with it, while half-way up the side there was fitted a projecting **ledge**, from which depended a network or **grating** (AV '**grate**') of bronze (27^{5} 38^{4} RV). The meshes of the latter must have been sufficiently wide to permit of the sacrificial blood being dashed against the sides and base of the altar (cf. the sketch in Hastings' *DB* iv. 658). Like most of the other articles of the Tabernacle furniture, the altar was provided with rings and poles for convenience of transport.

(*c*) In proximity to the altar must be placed the bronze **laver** (30$^{17-21}$), containing water for the ablutions of the priests. According to 38^{8}, it was made from the 'mirrors of the women which served at the door of the tent of meeting' (RV)—a curious anachronism.

5. (*a*) It has already been emphasized that the dominant conception of the Tabernacle in these chapters is that of a portable sanctuary, which is to serve as the earthly dwelling-place of the heavenly King. In harmony therewith we find *the essential part of the fabric of the Tabernacle, to which every other structural detail is subsidiary*, described at the outset by the characteristic designation '**dwelling.**' 'Thou shalt make the dwelling (EV 'tabernacle') of ten curtains' (26^{1}). It is a fundamental mistake to regard the wooden part of the Tabernacle as of the essence of the structure, and to begin the study of the whole therefrom, as is still being done.

The ten **curtains** of the dwelling (*mishkān*), each 28 cubits by 4, are to be of the finest linen, adorned with inwoven tapestry figures of cherubim in violet, purple, and scarlet (see Colours), 'the work of the cunning workman' (26$^{1ff.}$ RV). They are to be sewed together to form two sets of five, which again are to be 'coupled together' by means of **clasps** (RV; AV '**taches**') and **loops**, so as to form one large surface 40 (10x4) cubits by 28 (7x4), 'for the dwelling shall be one' (26^{6}). Together the curtains are designed to form the earthly, and, with the aid of the attendant cherubim, to symbolize the heavenly, dwelling-place of the God of Israel.

(*b*) The next section of the Divine directions (26$^{7-14}$) provides for the thorough protection of these delicate artistic curtains by means of three separate coverings. The first consists of eleven curtains of goats' hair 'for a **tent** over the dwelling,' and therefore of somewhat larger dimensions than the curtains of the latter, namely 30 cubits by 4, covering, when joined together, a surface of 44 cubits by 30. The two remaining coverings are to be made respectively of rams' skins dyed red and of the skins of a Red Sea mammal, which is probably the dugong (v.^{14}, RV 'sealskins,' Heb. *tachash*).

(*c*) At this point one would have expected to hear of the provision of a number of poles and stays by means of which the dwelling might be pitched like an ordinary tent. But the author of Ex 26$^{1-14}$ does not apply the term 'tent' to the curtains of the dwelling, but, as we have seen, to those of the goats' hair covering, and instead of poles and stays we find a different and alto-

gether unexpected arrangement in vv.[15-30]. Unfortunately the crucial passage, vv.[15-17], contains several obscure technical terms, with regard to which, in the present writer's opinion, the true exegetical tradition has been lost. The explanation usually given, which finds in the word rendered 'boards' huge wooden beams of impossible dimensions, has been shown in a former study to be exegetically and intrinsically inadmissible; see art. 'Tabernacle' in Hastings' *DB*, vol. iv. p. 563[b] ff. To § 7 (*b*) of that article, with which Haupt's note on 1 K 7[28] in *SBOT* should now be compared, the student is referred for the grounds on which the following translation of the leading passage is based. 'And thou shalt make the frames for the dwelling of acacia wood, two uprights for each frame joined together by cross rails.' The result is, briefly, the substitution of 48 light **open frames** (see diagrams, *op. cit.*), each 10 cubits in height by 1½ in width, for the traditional wooden beams of these dimensions, each, according to the usual theory, 1 cubit thick, equivalent to a weight of from 15 to 20 hundredweights!

The open frames—after being overlaid with gold according to our present but scarcely original text (v.[29])—are to be 'reared up,' side by side, along the south, west, and north sides of a rectangular enclosure measuring 30 cubits by 10 (3:1), the east side or front being left open. Twenty frames go to form each long side of the enclosure (1½x20 =30 cubits); the western end requires only six frames (1½x6 =9 cubs.); the remaining cubit of the total width is made up by the thickness of the frames and bars of the two long sides. The two remaining frames are placed at the two western corners, where, so far as can be gathered from the obscure text of v.[24], the framework is doubled for greater security. The lower ends of the two uprights of each frame are inserted into solid silver **bases**, which thus form a continuous foundation and give steadiness to the structure. This end is further attained by an arrangement of **bars** which together form three parallel sets running along all three sides, binding the whole framework together and giving it the necessary rigidity.

Over this rigid framework, and across the intervening space, are laid the tapestry curtains to form the **dwelling**, the symbolic figures of the cherubim now fully displayed on the sides as well as on the roof. Above these come the first of the protective coverings above described, the goats' hair curtains of the **'tent,'** as distinguished from the 'dwelling.' In virtue of their greater size, they overlap the curtains of the latter, their breadth of 30 cubits exactly sufficing for the height and width of the dwelling (10 + 10 + 10 cubits). As they thus reached to the base of the two long sides of the Tabernacle, they were probably fastened by pegs to the ground. At the eastern end the outermost curtain was probably folded in two so as to hang down for the space of two cubits over the entrance (26[9]). In what manner the two remaining coverings are to be laid is not specified.

[This solution of the difficulties connected with the construction of the Tabernacle, first offered in *DB* iv., has been adopted since the above was written, by the two latest commentators on Exodus, M'Neile and Bennett; see esp. the former's *Book of Exodus* [1908], lxxiii–xcii.]

(*d*) The fabric of the Tabernacle, as described up to this point in Ex 26[1-30], has been found to consist of three parts, carefully distinguished from each other. These are (1) the artistic linen curtains of the **dwelling**, the really essential part; (2) their supporting **framework**, the two together enclosing, except at the still open eastern front, a space 30 cubits long and 10 cubits wide from curtain to curtain, and 10 cubits in height; and (3) the protecting **tent** (so called) of goats' hair, with the two subsidiary coverings.

The next step is to provide for the division of the dwelling into two parts, in the proportion of 2 to 1, by means of a beautiful portière, termed the **veil** (vv.[31ff.]), of the same material and artistic workmanship as the curtains of the dwelling. The veil is to be suspended from four gilded pillars, 20 cubits from the entrance and 10 from the western end of the structure. The larger of the two divisions of the dwelling is named the **holy place**, the smaller the **holy of holies** or most holy place. From the measurements given above, it will be seen that the most holy place—the true presence-chamber of the Most High, to which the holy place forms the antechamber—has the form of a perfect cube, 10 cubits (about 15 ft.) in length, breadth, and height, enclosed on all four sides and on the roof by the curtains and their cherubim.

(*e*) No provision has yet been made for closing the entrance to the Tabernacle. This is now done (v.[36f.]) by means of a hanging, embroidered in colours—a less artistic fabric than the tapestry of the 'cunning workman'—measuring 10 cubits by 10, and suspended from five pillars with bases of bronze. Its special designation, **'a screen** for the door of the Tent' (v.[36] RV), its inferior workmanship, and its bronze bases, all show that strangely enough it is not to be reckoned as a part of the dwelling, of which the woven fabric is tapestry, and the only metals silver and gold.

6. Coming now to the furniture of the dwelling, and proceeding as before from without inwards, we find the holy place provided with three articles of furniture: (*a*) the table of shewbread, or, more precisely, presence-bread (25[23-30] 37[10-16]); (*b*) the so-called golden candlestick, in reality a seven-branched lampstand (25[31-40] 37[17-24]) (*c*) the altar of incense (30[1-7] 37[25-28]). Many of the details of the construction and ornamentation of these are obscure, and reference is here made, once for all, to the fuller discussion of these difficulties in the article already cited (*DB* iv. 662 ff.).

(*a*) The **table of shewbread**, or presence-table (Nu 4[7]), is a low table or wooden stand overlaid with pure gold, 1½ cubits in height. Its top measures 2 cubits by 1. The legs are connected by a narrow binding-rail, one hand-breadth wide, the 'border' of Ex 25[25], to which are attached four golden rings to receive the staves by which the table is to be carried on the march. For the service of the table are provided 'the dishes, the spoons, the flagons, and the bowls thereof to pour withal' (25[29] RV), all of pure gold. Of these the golden **'dishes'** are the salvers on which the loaves of the presence-bread (see SHEWBREAD) were displayed; the **'spoons'** are rather cups for frankincense (Lv 24[7]); the flagons' (AV 'covers') are the larger, and the 'bowls' the smaller, vessels for the wine connected with this part of the ritual.

(*b*) The **golden candlestick** or lampstand is to be constructed of 'beaten work' (*repoussé*) of pure gold. Three pairs of arms branched off at different heights from the central shaft, and curved outwards and upwards until their extremities were on a level with the top of the shaft, the whole providing stands for seven golden lamps. Shaft and arms were alike adorned with ornamentation suggested by the flower of the almond tree (cf. diagram in *DB* iv. 663). The golden lampstand stood on the south side of the holy place, facing the table of shewbread on the north side. The **'tongs'** of 25[38] are really **'snuffers'** (so AV 37[23]) for dressing the wicks of the lamps, the burnt portions being placed in the **'snuff dishes.'** Both sets of articles were of gold.

(*c*) The passage containing the directions for the **altar of incense** (Ex 30[1-7]) forms part of a section (chs. 30. 31) which, there is reason to believe, is a later addition to the original contents of the Priests' Code. The altar is described as square in section, one cubit each way, and two cubits in height, with projecting horns. Like the rest of the furniture, it was made of acacia wood overlaid with gold, with the usual provision of rings and staves. Its place is in front of the veil separating the holy from the most holy place. Incense of sweet spices is to be offered upon it night and morning (30[7ff.]).

7. In the most holy place are placed two distinct

yet connected sacred objects, the ark and the propitiatory or mercy-seat (25[10-22] 37[1-9]). (*a*) P's characteristic name for the former is the **ark of the testimony.** The latter term is a synonym in P for the Decalogue (25[16]), which was written on 'the tables of testimony' (31[18]), deposited, according to an early tradition, within the ark. The ark itself occasionally receives the simple title of 'the testimony,' whence the Tabernacle as sheltering the ark is named in P both 'the dwelling (EV 'tabernacle') of the testimony' (Ex 38[21] etc.) and 'the tent of the testimony' (Nu 9[15] etc.). The ark of the Priests' Code is an oblong chest of acacia wood, 2½ cubits in length and 1½ in breadth and height (5×3×3 half-cubits), overlaid within and without with pure gold. The sides are decorated with an obscure form of ornamentation, the 'crown' of Ex 25[11], probably a moulding (RVm 'rim *or* moulding'). At the four corners (v.[12] AV; RV, less accurately, 'feet') the usual rings were attached to receive the bearing-poles. The precise point of attachment is uncertain, whether at the ends of the two long sides or of the two short sides. Since it would be more seemly that the throne of J″, presently to be described, should face in the direction of the march, it is more probable that the poles were meant to pass through rings attached to the short sides, but whether these were to be attached at the lowest point of the sides, or higher up, cannot be determined. That the Decalogue or 'testimony' was to find a place in the ark (25[16]) has already been stated.

(*b*) Distinct from the ark, but resting upon and of the same superficial dimensions as its top, viz. 2½ by 1½ cubits, we find a slab of solid gold to which is given the name *kappōreth.* The best English rendering is the **propitiatory** (vv.[17ff.]), of which the current **mercy-seat,** adopted by Tindale from Luther's rendering, is a not inappropriate paraphrase. From opposite ends of the propitiatory, and 'of one piece' with it (v.[19] RV), rose a pair of **cherubim** figures of beaten work of pure gold. The faces of the cherubim were bent downwards in the direction of the propitiatory, while the wings with which each was furnished met overhead, so as to cover the propitiatory (vv.[18-20]).

We have now penetrated to the innermost shrine of the priestly **sanctuary.** Its very position is significant. The surrounding court is made up of two squares, 50 cubits each way, placed side by side (see above). The eastern square, with its central altar, is the worshippers' place of meeting. The entrance to the Tabernacle proper lies along the edge of the western square, the exact centre of which is occupied by the most holy place. In the centre of the latter, again, at the point of intersection of the diagonals of the square, we may be sure, is the place intended for the ark and the propitiatory. Here in the very centre of the camp is the earthly throne of J″. Here, 'from above the propitiatory, from between the cherubim,' the most holy of all earth's holy places, will God henceforth meet and commune with His servant Moses (25[22]). But with Moses only; for even the **high priest** is permitted to enter the most holy place but once a year, on the great Day of Atonement, when he comes to sprinkle the blood of the national sin-offering 'with his finger upon the mercy-seat' (Lv 16[14]). The ordinary priests came only into the holy place, the lay worshipper only into 'the court of the dwelling.' In the course of the foregoing exposition, it will have been seen how these ascending degrees of sanctity are reflected in the materials employed in the construction of the court, holy place, most holy place, and propitiatory respectively. It is not without significance that the last named is the only article of solid gold in the whole sanctuary.

8. These observations lead naturally to a brief exposition of the religious symbolism which so evidently pervades every part of the wilderness sanctuary. Its position in the centre of the camp of the Hebrew tribes has already been more than once referred to. By this the Priestly writer would emphasize the central place which the rightly ordered worship of Israel's covenant God must occupy in the theocratic community of the future.

The most assured fruit of the discipline of the Babylonian Exile was the final triumph of monotheism. This triumph we find reflected in the presuppositions of the Priests' Code. One God, one sanctuary, is the idea implicit throughout. But not only is there no God but Jahweh; Jahweh, Israel's God, 'is one' (Dt 6[4] RVm), and because He is one, His earthly 'dwelling' must be one (Ex 26[6] RV, cf. § 5 (*a*)). The Tabernacle thus symbolizes both the oneness and the unity of J″.

Nor is the perpetual striving after proportion and symmetry which characterizes all the measurements of the Tabernacle and its furniture without a deeper significance. By this means the author undoubtedly seeks to symbolize the perfection and harmony of the Divine character. Thus, to take but a single illustration, the perfect cube of the most holy place, of which 'the length and breadth and height,' like those of the New Jerusalem of the Apocalypse (21[16]), 'are equal,' is clearly intended to symbolize the perfection of the Divine character, the harmony and equipoise of the Divine attributes.

Above all, however, the Tabernacle in its relation to the camp embodies and symbolizes the almost unapproachable holiness of God. This fundamental conception has been repeatedly emphasized in the foregoing sections, and need be re-stated in this connexion only for the sake of completeness. The symbolism of the Tabernacle is a subject in which pious imaginations in the past have run riot, but with regard to which one must endeavour to be faithful to the ideas in the mind of the Priestly author. The threefold division of the sanctuary, for example, into court, holy place, and holy of holies, may have originally symbolized the earth, heaven, and the heaven of heavens, but for the author of Ex 25 ff. it was an essential part of the Temple tradition (cf. TEMPLE, § 7). In this case, therefore, the division should rather be taken, as in § 7 above, as a reflexion of the three grades of the theocratic community, people, priests, and high priest.

9. Reluctantly, but unavoidably, we must return, in conclusion, to the question mooted in § 2 as to the relation of the gorgeous sanctuary above described to the simple **'tent of meeting'** of the older Pentateuch sources. In other words, is P's Tabernacle historical? In the first place, there is no reason to question, but on the contrary every reason to accept, the data of the Elohistic source (E) regarding the Mosaic 'tent of meeting.' This earlier 'tabernacle' is first met with in Ex 33[7-11]: 'Now Moses used to take the tent and to pitch it [the tenses are frequentative] without the camp, afar off from the camp . . . and it came to pass that every one which sought the LORD went out unto the tent of meeting which was without the camp.' To it, we are further informed, Moses was wont to retire to commune with J″, who descended in the pillar of the cloud to talk with Moses at the door of the tent 'as a man talketh with his friend' (see also the references in Nu 11[16-30] 12[4ff.] 14[10]). Only a mind strangely insensible to the laws of evidence, or still in the fetters of an antiquated doctrine of inspiration, could reconcile the picture of this simple tent, 'afar off from the camp,' with Joshua as its single non-Levitical attendant (33[11]), with that of the Tabernacle of the Priests' Code, situated in the centre of the camp, with its attendant army of priests and Levites. Moreover, neither tent nor Tabernacle is rightly intelligible except as the resting-place of the ark, the symbol of J″'s presence with His people. Now, the oldest of our extant historical sources have much to tell us of the fortunes of the ark from the time that it formed the glory of the Temple at Shiloh until it entered its final resting-place in that of Solomon (see ARK). But nowhere is there the slightest reference to anything in the least

resembling the Tabernacle of §§ 4–8. It is only in the Books of Chronicles, in certain of the Psalms, and in passages of the pre-exilic writings which have passed through the hands of late post-exilic editors that such references are found. An illuminating example occurs in 2 Ch $1^{3f.}$ compared with 1 K $3^{2ff.}$.

Apart, therefore, from the numerous difficulties presented by the description of the Tabernacle and its furniture, such as the strangely inappropriate brazen altar (§ 4 (*b*)), or suggested by the unexpected wealth of material and artistic skill necessary for its construction, modern students of the Pentateuch find the picture of the desert sanctuary and its worship irreconcilable with the historical development of religion and the cultus in Israel. In Ex 25 and following chapters we are dealing not with historical fact, but with 'the product of religious idealism'; and surely these devout idealists of the Exile should command our admiration as they deserve our gratitude. If the Tabernacle is an ideal, it is truly an ideal worthy of Him for whose worship it seeks to provide (see the exposition of the general idea of the Tabernacle in § 3, and now in full detail by M'Neile as cited, § 5 above). Nor must it be forgotten, that in reproducing in portable form, as they unquestionably do, the several parts and appointments of the Temple of Solomon, including even its brazen altar, the author or authors of the Tabernacle believed, in all good faith, that they were reproducing the essential features of the Mosaic sanctuary, of which the Temple was supposed to be the replica and the legitimate successor. A. R. S. Kennedy.

TABERNACLES, FEAST OF.—1. OT references.—In Ex 23^{16} 34^{22} it is called the **Feast of Ingathering**, and its date is placed at the end of the year.

In Dt 16^{13-15} its name is given as the Feast of Tabernacles or **Booths** (possibly referring to the use of booths in the vineyard during the vintage). It is to last 7 days, to be observed at the central sanctuary, and to be an occasion of rejoicing. In the 'year of release,' *i.e.* the sabbatical year, the Law is to be publicly read (Dt 31^{10-13}). The dedication of Solomon's Temple took place at this feast; in the account given in 1 K 8^{66} the seven-day rule of Deut. is represented as being observed; but the parallel narrative of 2 Ch 7^{8-10} assumes that the rule of Lev. was followed.

In Lv $23^{34ff.}$ and Nu 29^{12-39} we find elaborate ordinances. The feast is to begin on 15th Tishri (October), and to last 8 days, the first and the last being days of holy convocation. The people are to live in booths improvised for the occasion. A very large number of offerings is ordained; on each of the first 7 days 2 rams and 14 lambs, and a goat as a sin-offering; and successively on these days a diminishing number of bullocks: 13 on the 1st day, 12 on the 2nd, and so on till the 7th, when 7 were to be offered. On the 8th day the special offerings were 1 bullock, 1 ram, 7 lambs, and a goat as a sin-offering.

We hear in Ezr 3^{4} of the observance of this feast, but are not told the method. The celebration in Neh 8^{16} followed the regulations of Lev., but we are expressly informed that such had not been the case since Joshua's days. Still, the feast was kept in some way, for Jeroboam instituted its equivalent for the Northern Kingdom in the 8th month (1 K $12^{32.\ 33}$).

2. Character of the feast.—It was the Jewish harvest-home, when all the year's produce of corn, wine, and oil had been gathered in; though no special offering of the earth's fruits was made, as was done at the Feasts of Unleavened Bread and Pentecost. (The reason was perhaps a desire to avoid the unseemly scenes of the Canaanite vintage-festival, by omitting such a significant point of resemblance; cf. Jg 9^{27}.) It was also regarded as commemorating the Israelites' wanderings in the wilderness. It was an occasion for great joy and the giving of presents; it was perhaps the most popular of the national festivals, and consequently the most generally attended. Thus Zec 14^{16} names as the future sign of Judah's triumph the fact that all the world shall come up yearly to Jerusalem to keep this festival.

3. Later customs.—In later times novel customs were attached to the observance. Such were the daily procession round the altar, with its sevenfold repetition on the 7th day; the singing of special Psalms; the procession on each of the first 7 days to Siloam to fetch water, which was mixed with wine in a golden pitcher, and poured at the foot of the altar, while trumpets were blown (cf. Jn 7^{37}); and the illumination of the women's court in the Temple by the lighting of the 4 golden candelabra (cf. Jn 8^{12}). The 8th day, though appearing originally as a supplementary addition to the feast, came to be regarded as an integral part of it, and is so treated in 2 Mac 10^{6}, as also by Josephus. A. W. F. Blunt.

TABITHA.—See Dorcas.

TABLE.—See House, § 8; Meals, §§ 3. 4. For 'Table of Shewbread' see Shewbread, Tabernacle, § 6 (*a*), Temple, §§ 5. 9. 12.

TABLE, TABLET.—1. Writing tablet is indicated by the Heb. *lūach*, which is also applied to *wooden* boards or planks (Ex 27^{8} 38^{7} in the altar of the Tabernacle, Ezk 27^{5} in a ship, Ca 8^{9} in a door) and to *metal* plates (in the bases of the lavers in Solomon's Temple, 1 K 7^{36}). It is, however, most frequently applied to tables of *stone* on which the Decalogue was engraven (Ex 24^{12} 31^{18} etc.). It is used of a tablet on which a prophecy may be written (Is 30^{8}, Hab 2^{2}), and in Pr 3^{3} 7^{3} and Jer 17^{1} figuratively of the 'tables of the heart.' In all these passages, when used of stone, both AV and RV translate 'table' except in Is 30^{8} where RV has 'tablet.' *lūach* generally appears in LXX and NT as *plax* (2 Co 3^{3}, He 9^{4}). The 'writing table' (RV 'tablet') of Lk 1^{63} was probably of wax.

2. A female ornament is indicated by Heb. *kūmāz*, AV 'tablets,' RV 'armlets,' RVm 'necklaces,' Ex 35^{22}, Nu 31^{50}—probably a pendant worn on the neck.

The word 'tablets' is also the tr. of *bottē hannephesh* in AV Is 3^{20} (RV 'perfume boxes,' lit. 'houses of the soul'). It is doubtful if *nephesh* actually means 'odour,' but from meaning 'breath' it may have come to mean scent or smell. On the other hand, the idea of life may suggest that some life-giving elixir, scent, or ointment was contained in the vessels; but the meaning is doubtful.

The 'tablet' (*gillāyōn*) inscribed with a stylus to *Maher-shalal-hash-baz*, Is 8^{1} (AV 'roll'), signifies a polished surface. The word occurs again in Is 3^{23} where it probably refers to 'tablets of polished metal' used as mirrors (AV 'glasses'). W. F. Boyd.

TABOR.—1. A town in the tribe of Zebulun, given to Levites descended from Merari (1 Ch 6^{77}). Its site is unknown. Perhaps it is to be identified with **Chisloth-tabor** in the same tribe (Jos 19^{12}). **2.** A place near Ophrah (Jg 8^{18}). **3.** The Oak (AV 'plain') of Tabor was on the road from Ramah S. to Gibeah (1 S 10^{3}). **4.** See next article. H. L. Willett.

TABOR (MOUNT).—A mountain in the N.E. corner of the plain of Esdraelon, some 7 miles E. of Nazareth. Though only 1843 feet high, Tabor is, from its isolation and remarkable rounded shape, a most prominent object from great distances around; hence, though so very different in size from the great mountain mass of Hermon, it was yet associated with it (Ps 89^{12}). It was a king among the mountains (Jer 46^{18}). It is known to the Arabs as *Jebel et-Tūr*, lit. 'the mountain of the mount,' the same name as is applied to the Mount of Olives. From the summit of Tabor a magnificent outlook is obtained, especially to the W., over the great plain of Esdraelon to the mountains of Samaria and Carmel. It was on the borders of Zebulun and Issachar (Jos $19^{12.\ 22}$); it was certainly an early sanctuary, and probably the reference in Dt $33^{18.\ 19}$ is to this mountain. Here the forces under Deborah and Barak rallied to fight Sisera (Jg $4^{6.\ 12}$). Whether the reference

in Jg 8[18] is to this mountain is doubtful. In later history Tabor appears chiefly as a fortress. In the 3rd cent. B.C., Antiochus the Great captured the city *Atabyrium* which was upon Tabor, and afterwards fortified it. Between B.C. 105 and 78 the place was again in Jewish hands, but in B.C. 53 Gabinius here defeated Alexander, son of Aristobulus II., who was in revolt. A hundred and ten years later Josephus fortified the hill against Vespasian, but after the Jewish soldiers had been defeated by the general Placidus, the place surrendered. During the Crusades it was for long in the hands of the Christians, but fell to the Moslems after the battle of Hattin, and was fortified in 1212 by the successor of Saladin—a step which led to the inglorious and ineffectual 5th Crusade.

The tradition that Tabor was the scene of the **Transfiguration** goes back to the 3rd cent., but has little evidence in its favour. Although not directly recorded, the condition of the hill before and after would lead one to suppose that it was an inhabited site at the time of Christ, while the requirements of the Biblical narrative (Mk 8[27] 9[2-10], Lk 9[28-36]) suggest a site near Cæsarea Philippi, such, for example, as an isolated spur of Hermon.

Mount Tabor to-day is one of the best-wooded spots in W. Palestine, groves of oaks and terebinths not only covering the hillsides, but extending also over a considerable area of hill and valley to the N.; game abounds in the coverts. The Franciscans and the Greek Church have each erected a monastery-hospice on the summit, and extensive excavations have been made, particularly by members of the former order. The foundations of a great wall of circumvallation—probably that of Josephus (*BJ* IV. i. 8)—have been followed, many ancient tombs have been cleared, and the remains of several churches of the 4th and of the 12th centuries have been unearthed. E. W. G. Masterman.

TABRET (see art. Taber) is AV tr. of *tōph* in Gn 31[27], 1 S 10[5] 18[6], Is 5[12] 24[8] 30[32], Jer 31[4], Ezk 28[13]. The same Heb. word is tr. **'timbrel'** in Ex 15[20], Jg 11[34], 2 S 6[5], 1 Ch 13[8], Job 21[12], Ps 81[2] 149[3] 150[4]. It might have been well to drop both 'timbrel' and 'tabret,' neither of which conveys any clear sense to a modern ear, and adopt some such rendering as 'tambourine' or 'hand-drum'. The AV rendering of Job 17[6] 'aforetime I was as a tabret,' has arisen from a confusion of *tōpheth* 'spitting' with *tōph* 'tambourine.' The words mean 'I am become one to be spit on in the face' (RV 'an open abhorring').

TABRIMMON.—The father of Benhadad (1 K 15[18]).

TACHES.—An old word of French origin used by AV to render the Heb. *qĕrāsîm*, which occurs only in P's description of the Tabernacle (Ex 26[6. 11. 33] 35[11] etc.). The Gr. rendering denotes the rings set in eyelets at the edge of a sail for the ropes to pass through. The Heb. word evidently signifies some form of hook or **clasp** (so RV) like the Roman *fibula*.

TACKLING in Is 33[23] means simply a ship's ropes; in Ac 27[19] it is used more generally of the whole gearing (RVm 'furniture').

TADMOR (Palmyra).—In 2 Ch 8[4] we read that Solomon built 'Tadmor in the [Syrian] desert.' It has long been recognized that *Tadmor* is here a mistake for **'Tamar** in the [Judæan] desert' of the corresponding passage in 1 Kings (9[18]). The Chronicler, or one of his predecessors, no doubt thought it necessary to emend in this fashion a name that was scarcely known to him. (That it is really the city of Tadmor so famous in after times that is meant, is confirmed by the equally unhistorical details given in 2 Ch 8[3. 4] regarding the Syrian cities of Hamath and Zobah.) Hence arose the necessity for the Jewish schools to change the *Tamar* of 1 K 9[18] in turn into *Tadmor* [the Qerē in that passage], so as to agree with the text of the Chronicler. The LXX translator of 1 K 9[18] appears to have already had this correction before him. Nevertheless it is quite certain that *Tamar* is the original reading. But the correction supplies a very important evidence that at the time when Chronicles was composed (*c.* B.C. 200), Tadmor was already a place of note, around the founding of which a fabulous splendour had gathered, so that it appeared fitting to attribute it to Solomon. This fiction maintained itself, and received further embellishments. The pre-Islamic poet Nābigha (v. 22 ff., ed. Ahlwardt, *c.* A.D. 600) relates that, by Divine command, the demons built Solomon's Tadmor by forced labour. This piece of information he may have picked up locally; what he had in view would be, of course, the remains, which must have been still very majestic, of the city whose climax of splendour was reached in the 2nd and 3rd cent. A.D.

Tadmor, of whose origin and earlier history we know nothing, lay upon a great natural road through the desert, not far from the Euphrates, and not very far from Damascus. It was thus between Syria, Babylonia, and Mesopotamia proper. Since water, although not in great abundance, was also found on the spot, Tadmor supplied a peaceable and intelligent population with all the conditions necessary for a metropolis of the caravan trade. Such we find in the case of **Palmyra,** whose identity with Tadmor was all along maintained, and has recently been assured by numerous inscriptions. The first really historical mention of the place (B.C. 37 or 36) tells how the wealth of this centre of trade incited M. Antony to a pillaging campaign (Appian, *Bell. Civ.* v. 9).

The endings of the two names *Tadmor* and *Palmyra* are the same, but not the first syllable. It is not clear why the Westerns made such an alteration in the form. The name *Palmyra* can hardly have anything to do with *palms*. It would, indeed, be something very remarkable if in this Eastern district the Lat. *palma* was used at so early a date in the formation of names. The Oriental form *Tadmor* is to be kept quite apart from *tāmār*, 'palm.' Finally, it is unlikely that the palm was ever extensively cultivated on the spot.

Neither in the OT nor in the NT is there any other mention of Tadmor (Palmyra), and Josephus names it only when he reproduces the above passage of Chronicles (*Ant.* VIII. vi. 1). The place exercised, indeed, no considerable influence on the history either of ancient Israel or of early Christianity. There is therefore no occasion to go further into the history, once so glorious and finally so tragic, of the great city, or to deal with the fortunes of the later somewhat inconsiderable place, which now, in spite of its imposing ruins, is desolate in the extreme, but which still bears the ancient name Tadmor (*Tedmur, Tudmur*). Th. Nöldeke.

TAHAN.—An Ephraimite clan (Nu 26[35 (39)], 1 Ch 7[25]); gentilic name **Tahanites** in Nu 26[35 (39)].

TAHASH.—A son of Nahor (Gn 22[24]).

TAHATH.—**1.** A Kohathite Levite (1 Ch 6[24]). **2. 3.** Two (unless the name has been accidentally repeated) Ephraimite families (1 Ch 7[20]). **4.** An unidentified 'station' of the Israelites (Nu 33[26 f.]).

TAHCHEMONITE (AV **Tachmonite**).—See Hachmoni.

TAHPANHES (Jer 2[16] 43[7ff.] 44[1] 46[14], Ezk 30[18] (**Tehaphnehes**), in Jth 1[9] AV **Taphnes**).—An Egyptian city, the same as the Greek Daphnæ, now *Tell Defne*. The Egyptian name is unknown. It lay on the Pelusiac branch of the Nile, which is now silted up, and the whole region converted into a waste. Petrie's excavations showed that Daphnæ was founded by Psammetichus I. on the 26th Dyn. (B.C. 664–610). According to Herodotus, it was the frontier fortress of Egypt on the Asiatic side, and was garrisoned by Greeks. In its ruins was found an abundance of Greek pottery, iron armour, and arrowheads of bronze and iron, while numerous small weights bore testimony to the trade that passed through it. The garrison was kept up by the Persians in the 5th cent., and the town existed

to a much later period. After the murder of Gedaliah (B.C. 586), Johanan took the remnant of the Jews from Jerusalem, including Jeremiah, to Tahpanhes.

F. Ll. Griffith.

TAHPENES (1 K 11[19]).—The name of Pharaoh's wife, whose sister was given to Hadad the Edomite. It has the appearance of an Egyptian name, but has not yet been explained. The name of her son **Genubath** is not Egyptian. The Pharaoh should be of the weak 21st Dynasty. F. Ll. Griffith.

TAHREA.—A grandson of Mephibosheth (1 Ch 9[41]); in 8[35] (prob. by a copyist's error) **Tarea.**

TAHTIM HODSHI, THE LAND OF.—A place east of Jordan, which Joab and his officers visited when making the census for David (2 S 24[6]). It is mentioned between Gilead and Dan-jaan. The MT, however, is certainly corrupt. In all probability we should read *ha-Hittim-Kādēshāh* = 'to the land of *the Hittites, towards Kadesh* [*sc.* **Kadesh on the Orontes**].'

TALE.—'Tale' in AV generally means 'number *or* sum,' as Ex 5[18] 'Yet shall ye deliver the tale of bricks.' And the verb 'to **tell**' sometimes means 'to number,' as Gn 15[5] 'Tell the stars, if thou be able to number them,' where the same Heb. verb is translated 'tell' and 'number.'

TALEBEARING.—See Slander.

TALENT.—See Money, Weights and Measures.

TALITHA CUMI.—The command addressed by our Lord to the daughter of Jairus (Mk 5[41]), and interpreted by the Evangelist, 'Maiden, I say unto thee, arise.' The relating of the actual (Aramaic) words used by Jesus is characteristic of St. Mark's graphic narrative; cf. 7[11. 34] 14[36] 15[34].

TALMAI.—1. A clan resident in Hebron at the time of the Hebrew conquest and driven thence by Caleb (Nu 13[22], Jos 15[14], Jg 1[10]). **2.** Son of Ammihur (or Ammihud), king of Geshur, and a contemporary of David, to whom he gave his daughter Maacah in marriage (2 S 3[3] 13[37], 1 Ch 3[2]).

TALMON.—The name of a family of Temple gatekeepers (1 Ch 9[17], Ezr 2[42], Neh 7[45] 11[19] 12[25]); called in 1 Es 5[28] **Tolman.** See, also, Telem.

TALMUD ('learning').—**1. Origin and character.**—The Jews have always drawn a distinction between the 'Oral Law,' which was handed down for centuries by word of mouth, and the 'Written Law,' *i.e.* the Pentateuch or Five Books of Moses. Both, according to Rabbinical teaching, trace their origin to Moses himself. It has been a fundamental principle of all times that by the side of the 'Written Law,' regarded as a *summary* of the principles and general laws of the Hebrew people, there was this 'Oral Law' to complete and explain the 'Written Law.' It was an article of faith that in the Pentateuch there was no precept and no regulation, ceremonial, doctrinal, or legal, of which God had not given to Moses all explanations necessary for their application, together with the order to transmit them by word of mouth. The classical passage on this subject runs: 'Moses received the (oral) law from Sinai, and delivered it to Joshua, and Joshua to the elders, and the elders to the prophets, and the prophets to the men of the Great Synagogue' (*Pirqe Aboth*, i. 1). This has long been known to be nothing more than a myth; the 'Oral Law,' although it no doubt contains elements which are of great antiquity—*e.g.* details of folklore—really dates from the time that the 'Written Law' was read and expounded in the synagogues. Thus we are told that Ezra introduced the custom of having the *Torah* ('Law') read in the synagogues at the morning service on Mondays and Thursdays (*i.e.* the days corresponding to these); for on these days the country people flocked to the towns from the neighbouring districts, as they were the market days. The people had thus an opportunity, which would otherwise have been lacking to them, of hearing the Law read and explained. These explanations of the Law, together with the results of the discussions of them on the part of the *sōpherīm* ('scribes'), formed the actual 'Oral Law.' The first explanatory term applied by the Jews to the 'Oral Law' was **midrash** ('investigation'), and the Bible itself witnesses to the way in which such investigations were made and expounded to the people: 'Also Jeshua and Bani . . . and the Levites, caused the people to understand the law; and the people stood in their place. And they read in the book, in the law of God, with an interpretation; and they gave the sense, so that they understood the reading' (Neh 8[7. 8]). But it is clear that the 'investigations' must have led to different explanations; so that in order to fix authoritatively what in later days were considered the correct explanations, and thus to ensure continuity of teaching, it became necessary to reduce these to writing; there arose thus (soon after the time of Shammai and Hillel) the 'Former Mishna' (*Mishna Rishonah*), **Mishna** meaning 'Second' Law. This earliest Mishna, which, it is probable, owed its origin to pupils of Shammai and Hillel, was therefore compiled for the purpose of affording teachers both a norm for their decisions and a kind of book of reference for the explanation of difficult passages. But the immense amount of floating material could not be incorporated into one work, and when great teachers arose they sometimes found it necessary to compile their own Mishna; they excluded much which the official Mishna contained, and added other matter which they considered important. This was done by Rabbi Aqiba, Rabbi Meir, and others. But it was not long before the confusion created by this state of affairs again necessitated some authoritative, officially recognized action. It was then that Jehudah ha-Nasi undertook his great redaction of the Mishna, which has survived substantially to the present day. Jehudah ha-Nasi was born about A.D. 135 and died about A.D. 220; he was the first of Hillel's successors to whose name was added the title *ha-Nasi* ('the Prince'); this is the way in which he is usually referred to in Rabbinical writings; he is also spoken of as 'Rabbi,' *i.e.* master *par excellence*, and occasionally as *ha-Qadosh*, 'the Holy,' on account of his singularly pure and moral life. Owing to his authority and dignity, the Mishna of Jehudah ha-Nasi soon superseded all other collections, and became the only one used in the schools; the object that Jehudah had had in view, that, namely, of restoring uniform teaching, was thus achieved. The Mishna as we now have it is not, however, quite as it was when it left Jehudah's hands; it has undergone modifications of various kinds: additions, emendations, and the like having been made even in Jehudah's lifetime, with his acquiescence, by some of his pupils. The language of the Mishna approximates to that of some of the latest books of the OT, and is known by the name of 'Neo-Hebraic'; this was the language spoken in Palestine during the second century A.D.; it has a considerable intermixture of foreign elements, especially Greek words Hebraized.

The Mishna is divided into six *Sedarim* (Aram. for 'Orders'), and each *Seder* contains a number of treatises; each treatise is divided into chapters, and these again into paragraphs. The names of the six 'Orders,' which to some extent indicate their contents, are: *Zera'im* ('Seeds'), containing eleven treatises; *Mo'ed* ('Festival'), containing twelve treatises; *Nashim* ('Women'), containing seven treatises; *Nezikin* ('Injuries'), containing ten treatises [this 'Order' is called also *Yeshu'oth* ('Deeds of help')]; *Qodashim* ('Holy things'), containing eleven treatises; and *Tohāroth* ('Purifications'), containing twelve treatises.

Now the Mishna forms the basis of the Talmud; for just as the Mishna is a compilation of expositions, comments, etc., of the Written Law, and embodies in itself the Oral Law, so the Talmud is an expansion, by means

of comment and explanation, of the Mishna; as the Mishna contains the Pentateuch, with all the additional explanatory matter, so the Talmud contains the Mishna with a great deal more additional matter. 'The Talmud is practically a mere amplification of the Mishna by manifold comments and additions; so that even those portions of the Mishna which have no Talmud are regarded as component parts of it. . . . The history of the origin of the Talmud is the same as that of the Mishna—a tradition, transmitted orally for centuries, was finally cast into definite literary form, although from the moment in which the Talmud became the chief subject of study in the academies it had a double existence (see below), and was accordingly, in its final stage, redacted in two different forms' (Bacher in *JE* xii. 3b).

Before coming to speak of the actual Talmud itself, it may be well to explain some terms without an understanding of which our whole subject would be very inadequately understood:—

Halakhah.—Under this term the entire *legal* body of Jewish oral tradition is included; it comes from a verb meaning 'to go,' and expresses the way 'of going' or 'acting,' *i.e.* custom, usage, which ultimately issues in *law*. Originally it was used in the plural form *Halakhoth*, which had reference to the multifarious civil and ritual laws, customs, decrees etc., as handed down by tradition, which were not, however, of Scriptural authority. It was these Halakhoth which were codified by Jehudah ha-Nasi, and to which the term *Mishna* became applied. Sometimes the word *Halakhah* is used for 'tradition,' which is binding, in contradistinction to *Dīn*, 'argument' (lit. 'judgment'), which is not necessarily binding.

Haggadah (from the root meaning 'to narrate').—This includes the whole of the non-legal matter of Rabbinical literature, such as homilies, stories about Biblical saints and heroes; besides this it touches upon such subjects as astronomy, astrology, medicine, magic, philosophy, and all that would come under the term 'folklore.' This word, too, was originally used in the plural *Haggadoth*. *Haggadah* is also used in a special sense of the ritual for Passover Eve.

Gemara.—This is an Aramaic word from the root meaning 'to learn,' and has the signification of 'that which has been learned,' *i.e.* learning that has been handed down by tradition (Bacher in *JE*, art. 'Talmud'); it has also the meaning 'completion'; in this sense it came to be used as a synonym of *Talmud*.

Baraitha.—This is an apocryphal *Halakhah*. When Jehudah ha-Nasi compiled his Mishna, there was a great deal of the Oral Tradition which he excluded from it (see above); other teachers, however, the most important of whom was Rabbi Chijja, gathered these excluded portions into a special collection; these *Halakhoth*, which are known as *Baraithoth*, were incorporated into the Talmud; the discussions on them in the Talmud occupy many folios.

Tannaim ('Teachers').—This was the technical name applied to the teachers of the Mishna; after the close of the Mishna period those who explained it were no more called 'Teachers,' but only 'Commentators' (*Amoraïm*); the *dicta* of the *Tannaïm* could not be questioned excepting by a Tannaite, but an exception was made in the case of Jehudah ha-Nasi, who was permitted to question the truth of Tannaite pronouncements.

There are two Talmuds, the 'Jerusalem' or 'Talmud of Palestine' and the 'Babylonian,' known respectively by their abbreviated forms **'Yerushalmi'** and **'Babli.'** The material which went to make up the *Yerushalmi* had been preparing in the academies, the centres of Jewish learning, of Palestine, chief among which was Tiberias; it was from here that Rabbi Jochanan issued the *Yerushalmi*, in its earliest form, during the middle of the 3rd cent. A.D. The first editor, or at all events the first compiler, of the *Babli* was Rabbi Ashi (*d.* A.D. 430), who presided over the academy of Sura. Both these Talmuds were constantly being added to, and the *Yerushalmi* was not finally closed until the end of the 4th cent., the *Babli* not until the beginning of the 6th. The characteristics which differentiated the academies of Palestine from those of Babylonia have left their marks upon the two Talmuds: in Palestine the tendency was to preserve and stereotype tradition, without permitting it to develop itself along natural channels; the result was that the *Yerushalmi* became choked with traditionalism, circumscribed in its horizon, and in consequence was regarded with less veneration than the *Babli*, and has always occupied a position of subordinate importance in comparison with this latter. In the Babylonian academies, on the other hand, there was a wider outlook, a freer mental atmosphere, and, while tradition was venerated, it was not permitted to impede development in all directions; the *Babli* therefore absorbed the thought and learning of all Israel's teachers, and is richer in material, and of more importance generally, than the *Yerushalmi*. In order to give some idea of what the Talmud is, and of the enormous masses of material gathered together there, the following example may be cited, abbreviated from Bacher (*op. cit.* xii. 5). It will be remembered that the Talmud is a commentary on the Mishna. In the beginning of the latter occurs this paragraph: 'During what time in the evening is the reading of the *Shema'* begun? From the time when the priests go in to eat their leaven (Lv 22^7) until the end of the first watch of the night, such being the words of R. Eliezer. The sages, however, say until midnight, though R. Gamaliel says until the coming of the dawn.' This is the text upon which the *Yerushalmi* then comments in three sections; the first section contains the following: a citation from a *bariatha* with two sayings from R. Jose to elucidate it; remarks on the position of one who is in doubt whether he has read the *Shema'*; another passage from a *baraitha*, designating the appearance of the stars as an indication of the time in question; further explanations and passages on the appearance of the stars as bearing on the ritual; other Rabbinical sayings; a *baraitha* on the division between day and night, and other passages bearing on the same subject; discussion of other *baraithas*, and further quotations from important Rabbis; a sentence of Tannaitic origin in no way related to the preceding matters, namely, 'One who prays standing must hold his feet straight,' and the controversy on this subject between Rabbis Levi and Simon, the one adding, 'like the angels,' the other, 'like the priests'; comments on these two comparisons; further discussion concerning the beginning of the day; Haggadic statements concerning the dawn; a conversation between two Rabbis; cosmological comments; dimensions of the firmament, and more Haggadic comments in abundance; a discussion on the night-watches; Haggadic material concerning David and his harp. Then comes the second section, namely, a Rabbinical quotation; a *baraitha* on the reading of the *Shema'* in the synagogue; other Rabbinical and Haggadic matter; further Haggadic sayings; lastly, section 3 gives R. Gamaliel's view compared with that of another Rabbi, together with a question which remains unanswered.

This is, of course, the merest skeleton of an example of the mass of commentary which is devoted to the Mishna, section by section. Although the Haggadic element plays a much less important *rôle* than the Halakhic, still the former is well represented, and is often employed for purposes of edification and rebuke, as well as for instruction. The following outline of a Haggadic passage from the *Yerushalmi* will serve as an example; it is intended as a rebuke to 'Scandal-mongers,' and a text (Dt 1^{12}) is taken as a starting-point, namely, '*How can I myself alone bear your cumbrance and your burden and your strife?*' It then continues: 'How did our forefathers worry Moses with their cumbrances?

In that they were constantly slandering him, and imputing evil intentions to him in everything that he did. If he happened to come out of his house rather earlier than usual, it was said: "Why has he gone out so early to-day? There has no doubt been some quarrelling at home!" If, on the other hand, he went out a little later than usual, it was said: "What has been occupying him so long indoors? Assuredly he has been concocting plans to oppress the people yet more!"' (Bernfeld, *Der Talmud*, p. 46). Or, to give one other example: in pointing out the evils which come from a father's favouring one son above the others, it is said: 'This should not be done, for because of the coat of many colours which the patriarch Jacob gave his favourite son Joseph (Gn $37^{3ff.}$), all Israel went down into Egypt' (*ib.* p. 47).

Haggadoth flourish, as regards quality, more in the *Yerushalmi* than in the *Babli*; for in the Babylonian schools intellectual acumen reigned supreme: there was but little room for the play of the emotions or for the development of poetical imagination: these were rather the property of Palestinian soil. Therefore, although the Haggadic element is, so far as quantity is concerned, much fuller in the *Babli* than in the *Yerushalmi*, it is, generally speaking, of a far less attractive character in the former than in the latter. 'The fact that the *Haggadah* is much more prominent in *Babli*, of which it forms, according to Weiss, more than one-third, while it constitutes only one-sixth of *Yerushalmi*, was due, in a sense, to the course of the development of Hebrew literature. No independent mass of *Haggadoth* developed in Babylon, as was the case in Palestine; and the Haggadic writings were accordingly collected in the Talmud' (*JE* xii. 12). But the *Haggadah*, whether in the *Yerushalmi* or in the *Babli*, occupies in reality a subordinate place, for in its origin, as we have seen, the Talmud was a commentary on the Mishna, which was a collection of *Halakhoth*; and although the Haggadic portions are of much greater human interest, it is the Halakhic portions that form the bulk of the Talmud, and that constitute its importance as the fountain-head of Jewish belief and theology.

2. Authority of the Talmud.—Inasmuch as the Oral Law, which with its comments and explanations is what constitutes the Talmud, is regarded as of equal authority with the Written Law, it will be clear that the Talmud is regarded, at all events by orthodox Jews, as the highest and final authority on all matters of faith. It is true that in the Talmud itself the letter of Scripture is always clearly differentiated from the rest; but, in the first place, the comments and explanations declare what Scripture means, and without this official explanation the Scriptural passage would lose much of its practical value for the Jew; and, in the second place, it is firmly believed that the oral laws preserved in the Talmud were delivered to Moses on Mount Sinai. It is therefore no exaggeration to say that the Talmud is of equal authority with Scripture. The eighth principle of the Jewish creed runs: 'I firmly believe that the Law which we possess now is the same which has been given to Moses on Mount Sinai.' In commenting on this in what may not unjustly be described as the official handbook for the orthodox Jewish Religion, the writer says: 'Many explanations and details of the laws were supplemented by oral teaching; they were handed down by word of mouth from generation to generation, and only after the destruction of the second temple were they committed to writing. The latter are, nevertheless, called Oral Law, as distinguished from the Torah or Written Law, which from the first was committed to writing. Those oral laws which were revealed to Moses on Mount Sinai are called "Laws given to Moses on Mount Sinai"' (M. Friedländer, *The Jewish Religion* [revised and enlarged ed., 1900], p. 136). It is clear from this that the Written Law of the Bible, and the Oral Law as contained in the Talmud, are of equal authority. The Talmud is again referred to as 'the final authority in Judaism' by the writer of a later exposition of the Jewish faith (M. Joseph, *Judaism as Creed and Life*, 1903, p. vii.). One other authoritative teacher may be quoted: 'As a document of religion the Talmud acquired that authority which was due to it as the written embodiment of the ancient tradition, and it fulfilled the task which the men of the Great Assembly set for the representatives of the tradition when they said, "Make a hedge for the Torah" (*Aboth*, i. 2). Those who professed Judaism felt no doubt that the Talmud was equal to the Bible as a source of instruction and decision in problems of religion, and every effort to set forth religious teachings and duties was based on it.' And speaking of the present day, the same writer says: 'For the majority of Jews it is still the supreme authority in religion' (Bacher in *JE* xii. 26).

3. The Talmud and Christianity.—Much that is written in the Talmud was originally spoken by men who were contemporaries of Christ; men who must have seen and heard Him. It is, moreover, well known what a conflict was waged in the infant Church regarding that question of the admittance of Gentiles, the result of which was an irreconcilable breach between Jew and Gentile, and an ever-increasing antagonism between Judaism and Christianity. These facts lead to the supposition that references to Christ and Christianity should be found in the Talmud. The question as to whether such references are to be found or not is one which cannot yet be said to have been decided one way or the other. The frequent mention of the *Minim* is held by many to refer to Christians; others maintain that by these are meant philosophizing Jews, who were regarded as heretics. This is not the place to discuss the question; we can only refer to two works, which approach it from different points of view, and which deal very adequately with it: *Christianity in Talmud and Midrash*, by R. T. Herford (London, 1903), and *Die religiösen Bewegungen innerhalb des Judenthums im Zeitalter Jesu*, by M. Friedländer (Berlin, 1905).

W. O. E. Oesterley.

TAMAR.—1. A Canaanite woman, married to Er and then to his brother Onan (see Marriage, **4**). Tamar became by her father-in-law himself the mother of twin sons, Perez and Zerah (Gn 38, Ru 4^{12}, 1 Ch 2^{4}, Mt 1^{3}). **2.** The beautiful sister of Absalom, who was violated and brutally insulted by her half-brother, Amnon (2 S $13^{1ff.}$). **3.** A daughter of Absalom (2 S 14^{27}). **4.** See next article.

TAMAR.—In Ezk 47^{19} 48^{28} the S.E. boundary-mark of the restored kingdom of Israel. No proposed identification has been successful, since no place of this name has been found in the region required, that is, near the S. end of the Dead Sea. It is possibly the same place that is mentioned in 1 K 9^{18} as one of the S. fortresses built up by Solomon. Here a variant Heb. reading has **Tadmor** (wh. see)—a manifest error, which is perhaps borrowed from the parallel passage 2 Ch 8^{4}.

J. F. McCurdy.

TAMARISK (*'ēshel*).—This name occurs in RV (only) three times; Gn 21^{33} AV '**grove,**' mg. 'tree'; 1 S 22^{6} AV 'tree,' mg. 'grove'; 1 S 31^{13} AV 'tree.' The RV rendering is based upon an identification of the Heb. *'ēshel* with the Arab. *'āthl*. RVm gives 'tamarisk' for **heath** of EV in Jer 17^{6} (cf. 48^{6}), but probably a species of juniper is intended here. There are some eight species of tamarisks in Palestine; they are most common in the Maritime Plain and the Jordan Valley. Though mostly but shrubs, some species attain to the size of large trees. They are characterized by their brittle feathery branches and minute scale-like leaves.

E. W. G. Masterman.

TAMMUZ (Ezk 8^{14}) was a Babylonian god whose worship spread into Phœnicia. The name appears to be Sumerian, *Dumuzi*, *Tamuzu*, and may mean 'son of life.'

He was a form of the Sun-god and bridegroom of Ishtar. He was celebrated as a shepherd, cut off in early life or slain by the boar (winter). Ishtar descended to Hades to bring him back to life. He was mourned on the second of the month Tammuz (June). His Canaanite name *Adonai* gave rise to the Greek **Adonis**, and he was later identified with the Egyptian Osiris. In Am 8^{10} and Zec 12^{10} the mourning for 'the only son' may be a reference to this annual mourning, and the words of the refrain, 'Ah me, ah me!' (Jer 22^{18}) may be recalled.

C. H. W. Johns.

TANHUMETH.—The father (?) of Seraiah, one of the Heb. captains who joined Gedaliah at Mizpah (2 K 25^{23}, Jer 40^{8}).

TANIS (Jth 1^{10}).—See Zoan.

TANNER.—See Arts and Crafts, **5.**

TAPHATH.—Daughter of Solomon and wife of Ben-abinadab (1 K 4^{11}).

TAPPUAH.—**1.** A 'son' of Hebron (1 Ch 2^{43}). Probably the name is that of a town in the Shephēlah (Jos 15^{34}. It was probably to the N. of *Wādy es-Sunt*, but the site has not been recovered. **2.** See En-tappuah. **3.** One of the towns W. of Jordan whose kings Joshua smote (Jos 12^{17}). It was perhaps the same place as No. **2** above; but this is by no means certain. See also Tiphsah and Tephon.

TARALAH.—An unknown town of Benjamin (Jos 18^{27}).

TAREA.—See Tahrea.

TARES (Gr. *zizania*, Arab. *zuwān*) are certain kinds of darnel growing plentifully in cornfields. The bearded darnel (*Lolium temulentum*) most resembles wheat. The seeds, though often poisonous to human beings on account of parasitic growths in them, are sold as chicken's food. When harvest approaches and the tares can be distinguished, they are carefully weeded out by hand by women and children (cf. Mt 13^{24-30}).

E. W. G. Masterman.

TARGET.—See Armour Arms, **2.**

TARGUMS.—Originally the word *targum* meant 'translation' in reference to any language; but it acquired a restricted meaning, and came to be used only of translation from Hebrew into Aramaic. As early as the time of Ezra we find the verb used in reference to a document written in Aramaic (Ezr 4^{7}), though in this passage the addition 'in Aramaic' is made, showing that the restricted meaning had not yet come into vogue. As early as the time of the Second Temple the language of the Holy Scriptures, Hebrew, was not understood by the bulk of the Jewish people, for it had been supplanted by Aramaic. When, therefore, the Scriptures were read in synagogues, it became necessary to translate them, in order that they might be understood by the congregation. The official translator who performed this duty was called the *methurgeman* or *targeman*, which is equivalent to the modern *dragoman* ('interpreter'). The way in which it was done was as follows:—In the case of the Pentateuch (the 'Law') a verse was read in Hebrew, and then translated into Aramaic, and so on to the end of the appointed portion; but in the case of the prophetical writings three verses were read and then translated. Whether this system was the custom originally may be doubted; it was probably done in a less formal way at first. By degrees the translation became stereotyped, and was ultimately reduced to writing; and thus the Targums, the Aramaic translations of the Hebrew Bible, came into existence. The various Targums which are still extant will be enumerated below. As literary products they are of late date, but they occupy a highly important place in post-Biblical Jewish religious literature, because they embody the traditional exegesis of the Scriptures. They have for many centuries ceased to be used in the synagogue; from the 9th cent. onwards their use has been discontinued. It is, however, interesting to note an exception in the case of Southern Arabia, where the custom still survives; and in Bokhara the Persian Jews read the Targum, with the Persian paraphrase of it, to the lesson from the Prophets for the last day of the Passover Feast, namely, Is 10^{32}–12. There are Targums to all the books of the Bible, with the exception of Daniel, Ezra, and Nehemiah; as these are to a large extent written in Aramaic, one can understand why Targums to these books should be wanting. Most of the Targums are mainly paraphrases; the only one which is in the form of a translation in the modern sense of the word is the Targum of Onkelos to the Pentateuch; this is, on the whole, a fairly literal translation. Isolated passages in the Bible which are written in Aramaic, as in Genesis and Jeremiah, are also called Targums. The following is a list of the Targums which are in existence:

1. Targum of Onkelos to the Pentateuch, called also *Targum Babli*, *i.e.* the Babylonian Targum.
2. The Palestinian Targum to the Pentateuch, called also *Targum Jerushalmi*, *i.e.* the Jerusalem Targum.
3. The 'Fragment Targum' to the Pentateuch.
4. The Targum of Jonathan to the prophetical books (these include what we call the historical books).
5. The Targum Jerushalmi to the prophetical books.
6. The Targum to the Psalms.
7. The Targum to Job.
8. The Targum to Proverbs.

9–13. The Targums to the Five *Megilloth* ('Rolls'), namely: Song of Songs, Ruth, Lamentations, Ecclesiastes, Esther; the Book of Esther has three Targums to it.

14. The Targum to Chronicles.

For printed editions of these, reference may be made to the bibliographies given in Schürer, *HJP* I. i. pp. 160–163, and in the *JE* xii. 63.

To come now to a brief description of these Targums:

The *Targum of Onkelos* is the oldest of all the Targums that have come down to us; it is for the most part a literal translation of the Pentateuch, only here and there assuming the form of a paraphrase. The name of this Targum owes its origin to a passage in the Babylonian Talmud (*Megillah*, 3*a*), in which it is said: 'The Targum to the Pentateuch was composed by the proselyte Onkelos at the dictation of Rabbi Eliezer and Rabbi Joshua'; and in the Jerusalem Talmud (*Megillah*, 71*c*) it is said: 'Aquila the proselyte translated the Pentateuch in the presence of Rabbi Eliezer and Rabbi Joshua. That Aquila is the same as Onkelos can scarcely admit of doubt. In the tractate *Abodah zara*, 11*a*, we are told that this Onkelos was the pupil of Rabbi Gamaliel the Elder, who lived in the second half of the 1st cent. A.D. Seeing that this Targum rests on tradition, it will be clear that we have in it an ancient witness to Jewish exegesis; indeed, it is the earliest example of Midrashic tradition that we possess; and not only so, but as this Targum is mainly a translation, it is a most important authority for the pre-Massoretic text of the Pentateuch. This shows of what high value the Targum of Onkelos is, and that it is not without reason that it has always been regarded with great veneration. It is characteristic of the Targum of Onkelos that, unlike the other Targums, the Midrashic element is greatly subordinated to simple translation; when it does appear it is mainly in poetic passages, though not exclusively (cf. Gn 49, Nu 24, Dt 32. 33, which are prophetic in character. The idea apparently was that greater licence was permitted in dealing with passages of this kind than with those in which the legal element predominated. As with the Targums generally, so with that of Onkelos, there is a marked tendency to avoid anthropomorphisms and expressions which might appear derogatory to the dignity of God; this may be seen, for example, in Gn 11^{4}, where the words 'The Lord came down,' which seemed anthropomorphic, are rendered in this Targum, 'the Lord revealed Himself.' Then again, the transcendent character of the Almighty is emphasized by substituting for the Divine Person intermediate agencies like the

Memra, or 'Word' of God, the *Shekinah*, or 'Glory' of God, to which a more or less distinct personality is imputed; in this way it was sought to avoid ascribing to God Himself actions or words which were deemed unfitting to the inexpressible majesty and transcendence of the Almighty. A good example of this, and one which will also illustrate the general character of this Targum, is the following; it is the rendering of Gn $3^{8ff.}$ 'And they heard the voice of the Word (*Memra*) of the Lord God walking in the garden in the evening of the day; and Adam and his wife hid themselves from before the Lord God among the trees of the garden. And the Lord God called to Adam and said: "Where art thou?" And he said: "The voice of Thy *Word* (*Memra*) I heard in the garden, and I was afraid, because I was naked, and I would hide."'

The other Targum to the Pentateuch, the *Targum Jerushalmi*, has come down to us in two forms: one in a complete form, the other only in fragments, hence the name of the latter which is generally used, the 'Fragment Targum.' The fragments have been gathered from a variety of sources, from manuscripts and from quotations found in the writings of ancient authors. But owing to its fragmentary character this Targum is of much less value than the 'Targum Jerushalmi.' This latter is sometimes erroneously called the 'Targum of Jonathan ben Uzziel on the Pentateuch'; but though this Jonathan was believed to be the author of the Targum to the Prophets which bears his name (see below), there was not the slightest ground for ascribing to him the authorship of the Targum to the Pentateuch ('Targum Jerushalmi'). The mistake arose in an interesting way. In its abbreviated form this Targum was referred to as 'Targum J'; this 'J,' which of course stood for 'Jerushalmi,' was taken to refer to 'Jonathan,' the generally acknowledged author of the Targum to the Prophets; thus it came about that this Targum to the Pentateuch, as well as the Targum to the Prophets, was called the Targum of Jonathan. So tenaciously has the wrong name clung to this Targum, that a kind of compromise is made as to its title, and it is now usually known as the 'Targum of pseudo-Jonathan.' In one important respect this Targum is quite similar to that of Onkelos, namely, in its avoidance of anthropomorphisms, and in its desire not to bring God into too close contact with man; for example, in Ex 34^{5} we have these words: 'And the Lord descended in a cloud, and stood with him there, and proclaimed the name of the Lord.' But this Targum paraphrases the verse in a roundabout way, and says that 'Jehovah revealed Himself in the clouds of the glory of His Shekinah,' thus avoiding what in the original text appeared to detract from the dignity of the Almighty. This kind of thing occurs with great frequency, and it is both interesting and important, as showing the evolution of the idea of God among the Jews (see Oesterley and Box, *The Religion and Worship of the Synagogue*, ch. viii. [1907]). But in other respects the 'Targum Jerushalmi' (or 'Targum of pseudo-Jonathan') differs from that of Onkelos, especially in its being far less a translation than a free paraphrase. The following extract will give a good idea of the character of this Targum; it is the paraphrase of Gn $18^{1ff.}$: 'And the glory of the Lord was revealed to him in the valley of Mamre; and he, being ill from the pain of circumcision, sat at the door of the tabernacle in the heat of the day. And he lifted up his eyes and looked, and behold, three angels in the resemblance of men were standing before him; angels who had been sent from the necessity of three things—because it is not possible for a ministering angel to be sent for more than one purpose at a time—one, then, had come to make known to him that Sarah should bear a man-child; one had come to deliver Lot; and one to overthrow Sodom and Gomorrah. And when he saw them, he ran to meet them from the door of the tent, and bowed himself to the earth.'

The *Targum of Jonathan to the Prophets* owes its name to an ancient tradition, according to which Jonathan ben Uzziel composed it 'from the mouths of Haggai, Zechariah, and Malachi' (*Megillah*, 3*a*); this is merely a figurative way of saying that the traditional interpretation, as supposed to have been handed down by these prophets, was embodied in written form by Jonathan. The latter was a pupil of Hillel, and wrote a Targum (according to the passage just referred to) for the purpose of removing 'all impediments to the understanding of the Scriptures' (*JE* viii. 238). It is said of this Jonathan that when he sat down and occupied himself with the study of the Law, every bird that happened to fly over his head was burned; the reason of this was that so many angels gathered around him in order to hear the words of the Law from his mouth (*Succah*, 28*a* [Weber, *Jud. Theol.*², p. xviii.]). That Jonathan had the Targum of Onkelos before him when he wrote is proved by the fact that whole passages from Onkelos are incorporated *verbatim* in his Targum. As a pupil of Hillel, Jonathan lived during the middle and end of the 1st cent. A.D., so that the date of his Targum may safely be stated to be the end of the first century. An interesting example of this Targum is the following paraphrase of Is 52^{13-15}: 'Behold, my servant the Messiah shall prosper, he shall be exalted and extolled, and he shall be very strong. Like as the house of Israel anxiously hoped for him many days, (the house of Israel) which was poor among the nations, their appearance and their brightness being worse than that of the sons of men, thus shall he scatter many nations; before him kings shall keep silence; they shall put their hands upon their mouths, for that which had not been told them shall they see, and that which they had not heard they shall consider.' In the whole of the following chapter 53 'it is curious to notice that the passages which refer to the humiliation of the Servant are interpreted of the people of Israel, while those which speak of the glory of the Servant are referred to the Messiah' (Oesterley and Box, *op. cit.* p. 49).

Of much later date, and also of less importance than the Targums of Onkelos, pseudo-Jonathan, or Jonathan, is the *Targum Jerushalmi to the Prophets*. According to *JE* xii. 61, 'Most of the quotations given in the Targum Jerushalmi are Haggadic additions, frequently traceable to the Babylonian Talmud, so that this Palestinian Targum to the Prophets belongs to a later period, when the Babylonian Talmud had begun to exert an influence upon Palestinian literature.' There are not many remains extant of this Targum; most of the extracts in existence are citations in the writings of Rashi and David Kimchi; the largest number of extracts found together are those in the eleventh century Codex Reuchlinianus, edited by Lagarde, *Prophetæ Chaldaice*.

Of the remaining Targums not much need be said; those to the Psalms, Proverbs, and Job show a close relationship and are usually assigned to the same author; they belong to the latter half of the seventh century. They are to a large extent translations, though a considerable Haggadic element is to be found in them, especially in the Targum to Job. The Targums to the five *Megilloth* are likewise post-Talmudic; in all five translation plays a subordinate part, the prevailing element being Midrashic; this reaches its height in the Song of Songs. Of the three Targums to Esther, the second, known as *Targum Sheni*, has always been extremely popular. The latest of all the Targums is that to Chronicles; it is strongly Haggadic, and is of but little importance.

'The Targums are important not only for the light they throw on Jewish theology, but also, especially, as a thesaurus of ancient Jewish exegesis; in this way they often throw much interesting light on the use of the OT by the NT writers; in particular, it can be shown that the NT often agrees with the ancient Syna-

gogue in interpreting certain passages Messianically which later were expounded differently in orthodox Jewish circles' (Oesterley and Box, *op. cit.* p. 50).

W. O. E. Oesterley.

TARPELITES.—One of the peoples settled in the cities of Samaria (Ezr 4^{9}); text doubtful.

TARSHISH.—**1.** See following article. **2.** A Benjamite family (1 Ch 7^{10}). **3.** One of the seven princes who had the right of access to the royal presence (Est 1^{14}). **4.** The name of a precious stone (Ex 28^{20} 39^{13}, Ezk 1^{16} 10^{9} 28^{13}, Ca 5^{14}, Dn 10^{6}). See Jewels and Precious Stones.

TARSHISH is frequently mentioned in the OT, but its position is never definitely indicated. From Jon 1^{3} 4^{2} we may infer that it was far from Palestine, probably in the extreme west of the Mediterranean. If Sheba and Dedan stand for the commerce of the East, Tarshish may stand for that of the West (Ezk 38^{13}). The Greeks were in touch with Tartessus in the 7th and 6th cents. B.C. (Herod. i. 163, iv. 152). The inclusion of Tarshish among the 'sons' of Javan (Gn 10^{4}, 1 Ch 1^{7}) may refer to this. The *Onomasticon* speaks of *Tharseis hē Baitikē*. Bochart (*Phaleg*, iii. 7) identifies this with the Andalusian plain in S.W. Spain, watered by the *Baetis* (mod. Guadalquivir). The Greek name *Tartēssos* may possibly come through an Aram. form *Tartīsh*, from the Phœn. *Tarshīsh*. It may have denoted a city (Strabo, iii. 147 ff.). The name *Tarsēion* occurs in a commercial treaty (Polyb. iii. 24) referring to a city of the Carthaginians in Spain.

Max Müller (Hastings' *DB*, *s.v.*) favours a suggestion of Cheyne, that Tarshish may be identical with **Tiras** (Gn 10^{2}). Vocalizing *Turshush* with Josephus (*Ant.* I. vi. 1; he identifies with Cilician **Tarsus**, which to the present writer appears impossible), we get the Tyrsenians, Tyrrenians, or Etruscans—intrepid, piratical people, called *Tursha* by the ancient Egyptians.

In either case Tarshish would be fitly named with 'the isles,' a term covering not only islands in our sense, but also land bordering on the sea (Ps 72^{10}, Is 60^{9} 66^{19}). The wealth of Tarshish consisted of silver, iron, tin, and lead (Jer 10^{9}, Ezk 27^{12}).

'Ships of Tarshish' did not necessarily belong to or trade with Tarshish. The name is used of the ships of Jehoshaphat and Ahaziah, which sailed for Ophir from Ezion-geber (1 K 22^{48}, 2 Ch 20^{36}). The Chronicler's explanatory phrase (v.^{37}) is erroneous. The cargo brought by Solomon's **'navy of Tarshish'** shows that its voyages must have been eastward, not westward (1 K 10^{22}, 2 Ch 9^{21}). The name probably denoted specially large merchant vessels, designed for distant voyages (Ps 48^{7}, Is 2^{16} 23^{1}, Ezk 27^{25}). W. Ewing.

TARSUS, the capital of the Roman province of Cilicia (Ac 22^{3}) in the S.E. of Asia Minor, and the birthplace of St. Paul, is a place about which much more might be known than is known if only the necessary money were forthcoming to excavate the ancient city in the way that Pompeii, Olympia, Pergamum, and other cities have been excavated. It would be impossible to exaggerate the value which would accrue to the study of St. Paul's life and writings and of Christian origins, if such a work were satisfactorily carried out. It may be commended to the whole Christian Church as a pressing duty of the utmost importance. Tarsus, as a city whose institutions combined Oriental and Western characteristics, was signally fitted to be the birthplace and training ground of him who was to make known to the Gentile world the ripest development of Hebrew religion.

Tarsus (modern *Tersous*) is situated in the plain of Cilicia, about 70 to 80 feet above sea level, and about 10 miles from the S. coast. The level plain stretches to the north of it for about 2 miles, and then begins to rise gradually till it merges in the lofty Taurus range, about 30 miles north. The climate of the low-lying city must always have been oppressive and unfavourable to energetic action, but the undulating country to the north was utilized to counteract its effects. About 9 to 12 miles north of the city proper there was a second Tarsus, within the territory of the main Tarsus, in theory a summer residence merely, but in reality a fortified town of importance, permanently inhabited. It was to periodical residence in this second city among the hills that the population owed their vigour. In Roman times the combined cities of Tarsus contained a large population, probably not much less than a million.

The history of the Maritime Plain of Cilicia was determined by the mutual rivalries of the three cities, Mallus on the Pyramus, Adana on the Sarus, and Tarsus on the Cydnus. The plain is mainly a deposit of the second of those rivers, and contains about 800 square miles of arable land, with a strip of useless land along the coast varying from 2 to 3 miles in breadth. The site of Mallus is now unknown, as it has ceased to have any importance; but the other two cities retain their names and some of their importance to the present day. In ancient times Mallus was a serious rival of Tarsus, and was at first the great harbour and the principal Greek colony in Cilicia. The struggle for superiority lasted till after the time of Christ, but the supremacy was eventually resigned to Tarsus. The river Cydnus flowed through the middle of the city. This river, of which the inhabitants were very proud, was liable to rise very considerably when there had been heavy rains in the mountains, but inundation in the city was in the best period very carefully guarded against. Between A.D. 527 and 563 a new channel was cut to relieve the principal bed, which had for some time previously been insufficiently dredged, and it is in this new channel that the Cydnus now flows, the original channel having become completely choked. About five or six miles below the modern town the Cydnus flowed into a lake; this lake was the ancient harbour of Tarsus, where were the docks and arsenal. At the harbour town, which was called Aulai, all the larger ships discharged, and in ancient times buildings were continuous between the north of this lake and the city of Tarsus. Much engineering skill must have been employed in ancient times to make a harbour out of what had been a lagoon, and to improve the channel of the river. A great deal was done to conquer nature for the common benefit, and it was not only in this direction that the inhabitants showed their perseverance. This city also cut one of the greatest passes of ancient times, the 'Cilician Gates.' Cilicia is divided from Cappadocia and Lycaonia by the Taurus range of mountains, which is pierced from N.W. to S.E. by a glen along which flows the Tchakut Su. This glen offers a natural road for much of its course, but there are serious difficulties to overcome in its southern part. The Tarsians built a waggon road over the hills there, and cut with the chisel a level path out of the solid rock on the western bank of the stream. The probable date of this engineering feat was some time between B.C. 1000 and 500.

It is possible (but see Tarshish) that Tarsus is meant by the **Tarshish** of Gn 10^{4}, and that it is there indicated *c.* B.C. 2000 as a place where Greeks settled. The difference in the form of the name need cause no difficulty in accepting this identification. The name is originally Anatolian, and would quite easily be transliterated differently in Greek and Hebrew. All the evidence is in harmony with the view that at an early date Greeks settled there among an originally Oriental community. Shalmaneser, king of Assyria, captured Tarsus about the middle of the 9th cent. B.C.; afterwards kings ruled over Cilicia, with the Persian kings as overlords. In B.C. 401 there was still a king, but not in B.C. 334, when Alexander the Great entered the country. He found a Persian officer directly governing the country. Of the character of the kingdom we know nothing. Thus

for about five centuries Tarsus was really an Oriental city. Greek influence began again with Alexander the Great, but made very slow progress. During the fourth century Tarsus was subject to the Greek kings of Syria of the Seleucid dynasty. It continued during the third century in abject submission to them. The peace of B.C. 189 changed the position of Cilicia. Previous to that date it had been in the middle of the Seleucid territory. Now it became a frontier country. About B.C. 175–164 Tarsus was re-organized by Antiochus IV Epiphanes as an autonomous city under the name Antioch-on-the-Cydnus (cf. 2 Mac $4^{30f.\ 36}$). It is extremely probable that the exact date of this re-foundation was B.C. 171–170; the new name lasted only a few years. Not only Tarsus, but a number of other Cilician cities also were re-organized at this time, but Tarsus received the most honourable treatment.

The population of this re-constituted Tarsus, in addition to what remained of the earlier population, consisted of Dorian Greeks from Argos. That the Greek element in the population was mainly Dorian is proved by the fact that the chief magistrates bore the Dorian title *damiourgos*. A mythology was invented to prove that this Dorian element was much earlier. It is almost certain that, in accordance with the regular Seleucid practice, a large body of Jews also was added to the population by Antiochus. These would be incorporated as citizens in a new tribe by themselves, to enable them to practise their own religion unhindered. There may have been some Jews resident in Tarsus as strangers, but the majority must have been citizens with full burghers' rights. St. Paul, and probably the 'kinsmen' of Ro $16^{7.\ 11.\ 21}$, were citizens of Tarsus enrolled in the Jewish tribe. The later hostility of Antiochus to the ultra-Jewish party in Palestine cannot be alleged as an adequate reason against the view that he constituted, in B.C. 171–170, a large body of Jews citizens of Tarsus in a tribe by themselves. At that earlier date he regarded himself as the best friend of the Jews, and was so regarded by the more educated among themselves. As the Seleucid empire decayed, the Greek element in Tarsus became weaker, and the Asiatic spirit revived. About B.C. 83 its influence swept over Cilicia with the armies of Tigranes, king of Armenia, under whose power Tarsus fell. For about twenty years it continued under Oriental domination, till the re-organization of the East by Pompey the Great in B.C. 65–4. The Roman province Cilicia had been instituted about B.C. 104 or 102, but Tarsus was not then included in it. It was established mainly to control piracy in the Levant, and included the south and east of Asia Minor, but was not sharply defined in extent. In B.C. 25 the province GALATIA (wh. see) was established by Augustus, and Cilicia in the narrow sense became a mere adjunct of Syria. Tarsus was the capital even of the large province Cilicia, and remained that of the smaller under the Empire, which brought many blessings to the provinces and their cities. Experience of the barbarian Tigranes caused a revulsion in favour of Hellenism, and the Tarsians were enthusiastic for the Empire, which carried on the work of Hellenism. Cassius forced them, in B.C. 43, to take his and Brutus' side against Octavian and Antony, but they returned to their former loyalty on the earliest opportunity. Tarsus was made a free city (that is, it was governed by its own laws) by Antony, who met Cleopatra here. This privilege was confirmed by Octavian in or after B.C. 31. It is likely that Pompey, Julius Cæsar, Antony, and Augustus all conferred Roman citizenship on some Tarsians, and these would take new names from their benefactors: Gnæus Pompeius from Pompey, Gaius Iulius from Julius Cæsar or Augustus, Marcus Antonius from Antony. The Roman administration probably trusted more to the Jewish than to the Greek element. The latter was capricious, and was restrained by the Stoic Athenodorus, a Tarsian, who had the influence of Augustus behind him. The Oriental element seems to have thus become more assertive, and about A.D. 100 it was predominant. This Athenodorus lived from about B.C. 74 till A.D. 7. He was a Stoic philosopher, distinguished for his lectures and writings. He gained a great and noble influence over Augustus, who was his pupil, and he remained in Rome from B.C. 45 till B.C. 15 as his adviser; in the latter year he retired to Tarsus. There he attempted by persuasion to reform local politics; but, being unsuccessful, he used the authority granted him by Augustus, and banished the more corrupt of the politicians. A property qualification was now required for possession of the citizenship. (Among these citizens the Roman citizens formed an aristocracy.) Athenodorus was succeeded by Nestor, an Academic philosopher (still living A.D. 19). These men had influence also in the university, which was more closely connected with the city than in modern times. A new lecturer had to be recognized by some competent body. There was a great enthusiasm in Tarsus and neighbourhood for learning and philosophy, and in this respect the city was unequalled in Greece. It was here that St. Paul learned sympathy with athletics, and tolerance for the good elements in pagan religion. The principal deity of Tarsus corresponded to the Greek Zeus: he is the old Anatolian deity, giver of corn and wine. There was also a working Anatolian divinity, who was identified with Heracles, subordinate to the other. The former is represented as sitting on a chair, with left hand resting on a sceptre, and the right holding corn or grapes. The other stands on a lion, wears bow-case and sword, and holds a branch or flower in his right hand, a battleaxe in his left. Sometimes he is represented within a portable shrine. A. SOUTER.

TARTAK.—An idol introduced by the Avvites into Samaria when Sargon of Assyria transported them thither (2 K 17^{31}). This deity is mentioned along with another called **Nibhaz**, and, according to the Babylonian Talmud, was worshipped in the form of an ass. In Assyro-Babylonian mythology no such deity is at present provable; moreover, the geographical position of the Avvites is uncertain, and their city may have been in one of the western States of Asia. The Greek text 'A' replaces *Tartak* by *Naibas*, but this may be merely a corruption of *Nibhaz*.

T. G. PINCHES.

TARTAN.—The title borne by two Assyr. officers, one of whom was sent by Sargon to Ashdod (Is 20^{1}), while the other, with the **Rab-saris** and the **Rab-shakeh**, was sent by Sennacherib to demand from Hezekiah the surrender of Jerusalem (2 K 18^{17}). The word is a transcription in Heb. of the Assyr. *tartānu* or *turtānu*, the title borne by the commander-in-chief of the army.

L. W. KING.

TASSEL.—See FRINGES.

TATTENAI.—The name of the governor of Cœle-Syria and Phœnicia under Darius Hystaspis (Ezr $5^{3.\ 6}$ $6^{6.\ 13}$). He is called in 1 Es $6^{23.\ 7.\ 27\ (28)}$ 7^{1} **Sisinnes**, which is simply a reproduction in Greek of a Persian name *Thithinaia* (orig. *Thathanaia*?), with aspirated *t*.

TAVERNER'S BIBLE.—See ENGLISH VERSIONS, § 21.

TAVERNS, THREE (Latin *Tres Tabernæ*).—A name of uncertain origin, which might be translated 'three shops' or 'three huts.' It was a station on the Appian Road (built B.C. 321) which went from Rome to the S. along the west coast. This was the principal road for all travellers to or from the S. and E., except those who embarked at Ostia at the mouth of the Tiber. The village was about 33 Roman miles from Rome, and to this point many Christians walked, or drove, to meet St. Paul on his arrival in Italy from the E. (Ac 28^{15}).

A. SOUTER.

TAW.—The twenty-second letter of the Heb. alphabet, and as such employed in the 119th Psalm to designate the 22nd part, each verse of which begins with this letter.

TAXES, TAXING.—See KING, 2 (5), PUBLICAN, TRIBUTE, QUIRINIUS; cf. also p. 559b.

TEACHER, TEACHING.—See EDUCATION.

TEBAH.—A 'son' of Nahor (Gn 22^{24}). See TIBHATH.

TEBALIAH.—A Merarite gatekeeper (1 Ch 26^{11}).

TEBETH.—See TIME.

TEHAPHNEHES (Ezk 30^{18}).—See TAHPANHES.

TEHINNAH.—The 'father' of Ir-nahash (1 Ch 4^{12}).

TEIL TREE.—Is 6^{13}, AV mistranslation of **'terebinth'** (wh. see, and cf. art. OAK (1)).

TEKEL.—See MENE MENE TEKEL UPHARSIN.

TEKOA (2 Ch 11^{6} etc.); **Tekoah,** 2 S $14^{2.\ 4.\ 9}$ [AV], 1 Mac 9^{33} [RV; AV *Thecoe*]).—A fortress city on the edge of the wilderness to which it gave its name (2 Ch 20^{20}). From here came the 'wise woman' sent by Joab to plead for Absalom (2 S $14^{2.\ 4.\ 9}$); Rehoboam fortified it (2 Ch 11^{6}), and apparently it continued to be a fortress (Jer 6^{1}); Amos 'was among the herdmen of Tekoa' (Am 1^{1}). Tekoa is mentioned also in LXX in Jos 15^{59}, and in the genealogies in 1 Ch 4^{5-8}. The site is now *Khurbet Teqū'a*, an extended but shapeless mass of ruins crowning the summit of a hill (2790 ft. above sea level), 5 miles S. of Bethlehem. It is on the extreme edge of the cultivated lands. Bethlehem, the Mt. of Olives, and *Nebi Samwīl* (Mizpah) are all visible from it.

E. W. G. MASTERMAN.

TEL-ABIB (perh. 'hill of corn').—A place on the Chebar (Ezk 3^{15}); site unknown.

TELAH.—An Ephraimite (1 Ch 7^{25}).

TELAIM ('the lambs').—The place at which Saul concentrated his forces, and numbered his fighting men before his campaign against the Amalekites (1 S 15^{4}). The LXX reads *Gilgal* for Telaim, and Josephus (*Ant.* VI. vii. 2) also makes Gilgal the place of assembly. A more suitable locality for the place of assembly would, however, be in the Negeb, or South; and here lay Telem (Jos 15^{24}), with which Telaim is probably identical.

TELASSAR ('Asshur's hill *or* mound').—This city is mentioned with Gozan, Haran, and Rezeph, and is spoken of as a place inhabited by 'the children of Eden' (2 K 19^{12}, Is 37^{12}). The Assyrian inscriptions apparently mention two places so called, one being *Til-ashshuri*, mentioned by Tiglath-pileser III., which had a renowned temple dedicated to Merodach, and is stated to have been a Babylonian foundation. The other, written *Til-ashurri*, is referred to by Esarhaddon as having been conquered by him (the people of Mihrānu, he seems to say, called it *Pitānu*). It was inhabited by the people of Barnaku or Parnaku—a name which Delitzsch points out as similar to the Parnach of Nu 34^{25}. This *Til-ashurri* is supposed to have lain near the land of Mitanni (Upper Mesopotamia), which would find support if *Mihrānu* be connected with the *Mehru* mentioned by Tukulti-Ninib (-Nirig) 1.

T. G. PINCHES.

TELEM.—**1.** A gatekeeper who had married a foreign wife (Ezr 10^{24}); called in 1 Es 9^{25} **Tolbanes**; perhaps the same as Talmon of Neh 12^{25}. **2.** See TELAIM.

TEL-HARSHA.—A Babylonian town of unknown site (Ezr 2^{59}, Neh 7^{61}); called in 1 Es 5^{36} **Thelersas.**

TELL.—See TALE.

TELMELAH ('hill of salt').—A Babylonian town of unknown site (Ezr 2^{59}, Neh 7^{61}); called in 1 Es 5^{36} **Thermeleth.**

TEMA.—In Gn 25^{15} (1 Ch 1^{30}), a son of Ishmael. The country and people meant are still represented by the same name—the modern *Taima*, a large oasis about 200 miles S.E. of the head of the Gulf of 'Akabah, and the same distance due N. of Medina in W. Arabia. It was an important community in ancient times, mentioned in Assyr. annals of the 8th cent. B.C., and later inhabited in part by Aramæans, who have left inscriptions. It was noted for its caravan traffic (Job 6^{19}, Is 21^{14}), as might be expected from its position on the great trade routes.

J. F. MCCURDY.

TEMAH.—A family of Nethinim (Ezr 2^{53}, Neh 7^{55}) = 1 Es 5^{32} **Thomei.**

TEMAN.—A tribe (and district) of Edom, whose importance is indicated by its eponym being the eldest son of the eldest son (Eliphaz) of Esau (Gn $36^{11.\ 15}$; cf. v. ^{42}), and by its being taken along with Bozrah (wh. see) to represent the whole land of Edom (Am 1^{12}; cf. Ob ^{9}). Ezk 25^{13} implies that Edom stretches from Teman to Dedan, from which we infer that the former lay in the north-east of the territory claimed by Edom, that is, to the S.E. of Moab. Its inhabitants were renowned for wisdom (Jer 49^{7}), and the chief of Job's counsellors was Eliphaz 'the **Temanite**' (Job 2^{11}).

J. F. MCCURDY.

TEMENI.—The 'son' of Ashhur (1 Ch 4^{6}).

TEMPERANCE.—**1.** In the RV 'temperance' is the tr. of the Gr. word *enkrateia*, the root-meaning of which is 'power over oneself,' 'self-mastery.' It is a comprehensive virtue, and on this account **'self-control,'** the tr. of RVm, is to be preferred (Ac 24^{25}, Gal 5^{23}, 2 P 1^{6}). The corresponding adjective is found only in Tit 1^{8}, and the verb only in 1 Co 7^{9} 9^{25}. The negative form of the adjective is translated 'without self-control' (2 Ti 3^{3}), and of the noun 'excess' (Mt 23^{25}), and 'incontinency' (1 Co 7^{5}). The RV tr. another Gr. word (*nēphalios*) 'temperate' in 1 Ti $3^{2.\ 11}$, Tit 2^{2}; its root-meaning points to the avoidance of intemperance in the form of drunkenness, but in actual usage it condemns all forms of self-indulgence. This extension of its significance must be remembered in expounding the passages in which the corresponding verb is found, for the RV always tr. it (*nēphein*) 'to be **sober**' (1 Th $5^{6.\ 8}$, 2 Ti 4^{5}, 1 P 1^{13} 4^{7} 5^{8}).

2. From the philosophical point of view, 'self-control' is mastery over the passions; it is the virtue which holds the appetites in check; the rational will has power to regulate conduct without being unduly swayed by sensuous appetites. From the NT point of view the grace of 'self-control' is the result of the Holy Spirit's indwelling; it is the Spirit-controlled personality alone that is 'strengthened with power' (Eph 3^{16}, cf. 5^{18}) to control rebellious desires and to resist the allurements of tempting pleasures.

3. The NT passages in which reference is made to this virtue form an instructive study. To Felix, with an adulteress by his side, St. Paul discoursed of 'self-control,' directing his stern condemnation against the vice of unchastity (cf. 1 Co $7^{6.\ 9}$). But to every form of 'excess' (Mt 23^{25}) it is directly opposed. In 1 Ti 3^{3} 'not given over to wine' (*paroinos*, AV 'brawler,' cf. RVm) balances 'temperate' (v.^{2}, cf. v.^{8}), and from this chapter it is plain that the Apostle regards violent quarrelling (v.^{3}), false and reckless speech (v.^{8}), self-conceit (v.^{6}), greed of filthy lucre (v.^{8}), as well as fondness for much wine (v.^{8}), as manifold forms of intemperance by whose means men 'fall into reproach and the snare of the devil' (v. ^{7}).

4. 'Self-control,' in its widest sense, as including mastery over all tempers, appetites, and passions, has a prominent place in two NT lists of the Christian graces. In 2 P 1^{6}, faith is regarded as the germ of every virtue; it lays hold of the 'divine power' which makes possible the life of godliness (v.^{3}). The evolution of faith in 'manliness, knowledge, self-control' is the reward of its 'diligent' culture (v.^{8}). This 'self-control,' as Principal Iverach says, 'grows out of knowledge, it is using Christian knowledge for the guidance of life' (*The Other Side of Greatness*, p. 110). In Gal 5^{23}, 'self-control' closes the list of the graces which are all 'the fruit of the Spirit,' just as 'drunken-

ness and revellings' close the list of 'the works of the flesh' (v.[21]). The flesh and the Spirit!—these, indeed, are 'contrary the one to the other' (v.[17]). The flesh triumphs when the Spirit is quenched; but the Spirit's victory is gained, not by suppressing, but by controlling, the flesh. Those who are 'led by the Spirit' (v.[18]), who 'live by the Spirit' and 'by the Spirit also walk' (v.[25]) attain, in its perfection, the grace of complete 'self-control.' J. G. Tasker.

TEMPEST.—See Galilee [Sea of], 3; Whirlwind.

TEMPLE.—**1.** The first Temple mentioned in connexion with the worship of J" is that of **Shiloh** (1 S 1[9]), 'where the ark of God was' (3[3]) in the period of the Judges, under the guardianship of Eli and his sons. It was evidently destroyed by the Philistines after their decisive victory which resulted in the capture of the ark, as recorded in 4[10ff.]; for the descendants of Eli are found, a generation afterwards, acting as priests of a temple at **Nob** (21[1ff.] 22[9ff.]). With the capture of Jerusalem by David, and the transference thither of the ark, a new political and religious centre was provided for the tribes of Israel.

2. Solomon's Temple.—*The site.*—The successive Temples of Solomon, Zerubbabel, and Herod were buildings of moderate dimensions, and were built, by every token, on one and the same site. Now, there is only one place in Jerusalem where this site is to be looked for, namely, on that part of the eastern hill which is now occupied by the large platform, extending to some 35 acres, known as the *Haram esh-Sharif* or 'Noble Sanctuary' (see Jerusalem, and below, § 11). There has, however, been considerable difference of opinion in the past as to the precise spot within the Haram area on which the 'holy house' itself was reared. Thus a few British writers, among whom Fergusson, the distinguished architect, and W. Robertson Smith, in his article 'Temple' in the *EBr*[9], are the most influential, have maintained that the Temple and its courts occupied an area about 600 ft. square in the south-western portion of the Haram. But the great majority of scholars, both at home and abroad, are agreed in placing the Temple in close connexion with the sacred rock (*es-Sakhra*) which is now enclosed in the mosque named after it 'the Dome of the Rock,' also, less appropriately, 'the Mosque of Omar.'

The remarkable persistence of sacred sites in the East is a phenomenon familiar to all students of religion, and there can be little doubt that the Chronicler is right in identifying the site of 'the altar of burnt-offering for Israel' (1 Ch 22[1]) with the spot 'by the threshing-floor of Ornan [in 2 S 24[16] Araunah] the Jebusite,' where the angel of the plague stayed his hand, and on which David by Divine command erected his altar of commemoration (see, further, § 6 (*b*)). This being so, the location of the Temple *immediately to the west of the rock* follows as a matter of course. The only possible alternative is to regard the rock as marking the site, not of the altar of burnt-offering, but of 'the holy of holies' of the successive Temples—a view beset with insuperable difficulties.

3. *The Temple building—Its arrangement and dimensions.*—The Temple and its furniture are described in 1 K 6[1-38] 7[13-51]—two passages which are, unfortunately, among the most difficult in the OT, by reason of the perplexing technical terms employed and the unsatisfactory nature of the received text.

All recent study of these passages in commentaries and elsewhere is based on Stade's brilliant essay in his *ZATW* iii. 129 ff., with which cf. Stade and Schwally's edition of 'Kings' in Haupt's *SBOT*. Other aids, in addition to the standard commentaries, and works on archæology by Nowack, Benzinger, etc., are Kittel's *Bibl. Hebraica*, Burney's *Notes on the Heb. Text of the Books of Kings*, and Father Vincent's exegetical notes in *RB*, Oct. 1907. To these must now be added G. A. Smith, *Jerusalem* (1908), vol. ii. (with plans), which deals fully with all the Temples (see Index, *s.v.* 'Temple').

The Temple proper was an oblong building, 60 cubits in length by 20 in breadth (1 K 6[2]), with a porch in front, facing eastwards, of the same width as the main building and 10 cubits in depth. These, however, are inside measurements, as is evident from vv.[20. 24. 27]. The corresponding outside measurements depend, of course, upon the thickness of the walls, which is nowhere stated. But inasmuch as Ezekiel, the Temple of whose vision is in all essential points a replica of that of Solomon, gives 6 cubits as the thickness of its walls (Ezk 41[5]), except the walls of the porch, which were 5 cubits thick (40[48]), those of the first Temple are usually assumed to have been of the same dimensions. Less they could scarcely have been, if, as will presently appear, rebatements of three cubits in all have to be allowed in the lower half, since a thickness of three cubits in the upper half seems necessary, in view of the thrust of a heavy roof of 20 cubits' span.

The interior was divided into two chambers by a transverse partition, implied in 6[31], but disregarded in the inside measurements given in v.[2]. The anterior chamber, termed the *hēkāl*, and corresponding to **the holy place** in the Tabernacle, measured 40 cubits by 20, being twice as large as the inner chamber, the *dĕbīr* (EV **'oracle'**) or **most holy place**, which was only 20 cubits by 20 (v.[20]). The latter in fact formed a perfect cube, since its height was also 20 cubits, as compared with that of 'the holy place,' which was 30 cubits (6[2]). Assuming that this was also the height of the porch, the whole building, we may conjecture, was covered by a flat roof of uniform height throughout, leaving an empty space 10 cubits in height over the inner chamber.

On all sides, except the front which was occupied by the porch, the Temple proper was surrounded by a lateral building of three storeys, the whole 15 cubits high (so the emended text of v.[11]), each storey containing a number of small chambers for storage purposes. The beams forming the floors and ceilings of these **side chambers** were not let into the Temple wall, but were supported by making three successive rebatements of a cubit each in the wall (v.[6]). The chambers accordingly increased a cubit in width in each storey, from 5 in the lowermost storey to 6 and 7 in those above. The entrance to the side chambers was on the south side of the building. The nature and position of the **windows** which were made 'for the house' are alike uncertain. Openings fitted with lattice work are probably intended (v.[4]). Their position was most likely in the side walls above the roof of the lateral building.

The question of the area covered by the complete building now described has usually been answered hitherto by a reference to Ezekiel's Temple, which was exactly 100 cubits by 50. But a careful comparison of the measurements of the two Temples makes it extremely probable that the numbers just given are due to Ezekiel's fondness for operating with 50 and its multiples. The present writer is convinced that the prophet has not only increased the depth of the porch from 10 to 12 cubits (Ezk 40[49] LXX), but has likewise added to the thickness of the walls of the side-chambers and of the interior partition wall. For if the former are taken as 3 cubits in thickness, as compared with Ezekiel's 5, *i.e.* of the same dimensions as the upper half of the Temple walls, and the partition as 1 cubit thick in place of 2 (Ezk 41[3]), we find the area of the whole building to be 96 cubits by 48, the same relative proportion (2:1), it will be noted, as is found in Ezekiel. Similarly, the outside width of the *naos* or sanctuary proper (32 cubits) stood to the total width as 2:3.

In the existing uncertainty as to the length of the cubit employed by Solomon's architects, it is impossible to translate these dimensions into feet and inches with mathematical exactness. If the long cubit of *c.* 20½ inches employed by Ezekiel (see Ezk 40[5] and cf. 2 Ch 3[3]) is preferred, the total area covered will be 164 ft. by 82 ft., while the dimensions of 'the holy place' will be approximately 70 by 35 by 50 ft. in height, and those of 'the most holy place' 35 by 35 by 35 ft. A serious objection to this adoption of the longer cubit, which was not foreseen when the art. 'Weights and Measures' in Hastings' *DB* iv. (see p. 907 f.) was written, is presented by the detailed measurements of the interior of Herod's Temple in Josephus and the Mishna (see below, § 12). These

TEMPLE

are numerically the same as those of the first Temple, but the cubit employed in the 1st cent. was the short cubit of 17·6 inches, as the present writer has shown by an inductive study of the Herodian masonry (*ExpT* xx. [1908], p. 24 ff.). Now, it is certain that *the actual dimensions of Herod's Temple were not less than those of Solomon's*, as they would be if the cubits were in the ratio of 6 to 7. It is more than probable, therefore, that the dimensions above given should be reduced by one-sixth—the Chronicler notwithstanding; in other words, 140 by 70 ft. will be the approximate area of the building, 60 by 30 ft., and 30 by 30 ft.—that of the 'holy' and 'most holy place' respectively.

4. *The interior of the Temple.*—The entrance to the Temple was through the open porch or vestibule on the eastern front. 'For the entering of the temple' was provided a large folding-door of cypress wood (6^{34}), each leaf divided vertically into two leaves, one of which folded back upon the other. According to v.^{35} in its present form, the leaves were ornamented with carved figures of cherubim, palms, and flowers, all overlaid with gold (but see below). The stone floor was covered with planks of cypress wood. That the latter should have been plated with gold (v.^{30}) is scarcely credible. The walls of both chambers were lined with boards (literally 'ribs') of cedar wood, 'from the floor of the house to the rafters of the ceiling' (so read v.^{15}). There is no mention in this verse, it will be noted, of any ornamentation of the cedar panels, which is first found in vv.^{18} and ^{29}; but the former verse is absent from LXX, and vv.$^{28\text{-}30}$ are recognized by all as a later addition. The ceilings, as we should expect, were formed of beams of cedar (v.$^{9.\ 15}$). Over all was probably laid an outer covering of marble slabs.

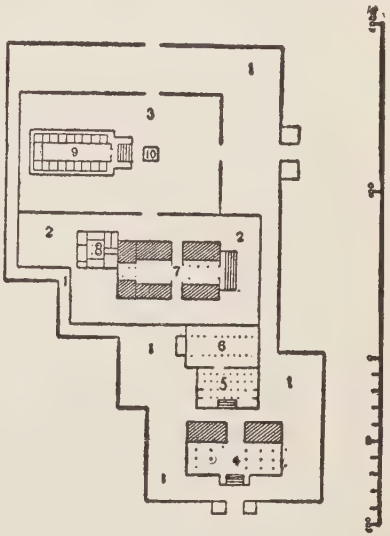
The inner chamber of the Temple was separated from 'the holy place,' as has already been shown, by a partition wall, presumably of stone, which we have assumed above to have been a cubit in thickness. In it was set a door of olive wood, described obscurely in v.^{31}, which seems to say that its shape was not rectangular like the entrance door (see the Comm. on vv.$^{31.\ 33}$), but pentagonal; in other words, the lintel of the door, instead of being a single cross-beam, consisted of two beams meeting at an angle. In the centre of the chamber, facing the entrance (2 Ch 3^{13}), stood two **cherubim** figures of olive wood, each 10 cubits high, with outstretched wings. The latter measured 10 cubits from tip to tip, so that the two sets of wings reached from the north to the south wall of 'the most holy place' (1 K $6^{23\text{-}28}$). It is entirely in accordance with ancient practice that these symbolic figures should be overlaid with gold (v.^{28}).

But with regard to the excessive introduction of gold plating by the received text throughout, including even the Temple floor, as we have seen, there is much to be said in favour of the view, first advanced by Stade, that it is due to a desire on the part of later scribes to enhance the magnificence of the first Temple. In the original text the gold plating was perhaps confined to the cherubim, as has just been suggested, or to these and the doors, which appear to have had a gold sheathing in the time of Hezekiah (2 K 18^{16}).

5. *The furniture of the Temple.*—If 1 K $7^{48\text{-}51}$ is set aside as a later addition (see the Comm.), the only article of Temple furniture is the **altar of cedar** introduced in the composite text of vv.$^{20\text{-}22}$. As there are good grounds for believing that a special altar of incense was first introduced into the second Temple (see § 9), the former is now identified by most writers with the **table of shewbread** (see SHEWBREAD; and TABERNACLE, § 6 (*a*)). Its position is evidently intended to be in the outer chamber in front of the entrance to the inner shrine. The same position 'before the **oracle**' (*dĕbīr* 7^{49}) is assigned to the ten 'candlesticks,' properly **lampstands** (TABERNACLE, § 6 (*b*)), five probably being meant to stand on either side of the entrance. Although, from the date of the passage cited, we may hesitate to ascribe these to Solomon, they doubtless at a later time formed a conspicuous part of the Temple furniture (cf. Jer 52^{19}).

On the completion of the Temple, the sacred memorial of earlier days, the already venerable **ark** of J", was brought from the tent in which David had housed it and placed within 'the most holy place,' where it stood overshadowed by the wings of the cherubim (1 K $8^{6ff.}$). Another sacred object of like antiquity, the **brazen serpent** (see SERPENT [BRAZEN]), found a place somewhere within the Temple.

6. *The court of the Temple and its furniture*—(*a*) *The court and gates.*—The Temple of Solomon formed part of a large complex of buildings, comprising an arsenal, a judgment-hall, the palace with its harem, and finally the royal chapel, the whole surrounded by 'the great court' of 1 K $7^{9.\ 12}$. Within this enclosure, at its upper or northern end, was 'the inner court' of



PLAN OF ROYAL BUILDINGS
(after Stade and Benzinger).

1. The great court. 2. The 'other' or middle court. 3. The inner (or Temple) court. 4. House of Lebanon. 5. Porch of pillars. 6. Throne porch. 7. Royal palace. 8. Harem. 9. Temple. 10. Altar.

6^{36} 7^{12} within which, again, stood the Temple (8^{64}). It is of importance to note that this single **court of the Temple** was open to the laity as well as to the priests (8^{62}), as is specially evident from Jer $35^{1ff.}$ 36^{10} etc.

Several **gates** of this court are mentioned by later writers, but their precise position is uncertain. The main entrance was doubtless in the east wall, and may be indicated by 'the king's entry without' of 2 K 16^{18}, and 'the king's gate eastward' of 1 Ch 9^{18}. The 'gate of the guard' (2 K 11^{19}), on the other hand, may be looked for in the south wall separating the Temple court from 'the other court' (1 K 7^{8}) in which the royal palace was situated (cf. Ezk $43^{7f.}$). There were also one or more gates on the north side (Ezk 8^{3} 9^{2}, Jer 20^{2} **'gate of Benjamin,'** etc.). Cf. art. JERUSALEM, II. 4.

(*b*) *The altar of burnt-offering.*—It is surprising that no reference is made in the early narrative of 1 K 7 to the making of so indispensable a part of the apparatus of the cult. In the opinion of most critics, this omission is due to the excision from the original narrative of the relative section by a much later editor, who assumed that the brazen altar of the Tabernacle accompanied the ark to the new sanctuary (but see Burney, *Notes on Heb. Text*, etc., 102 f.). The Chronicler, whether informed

by *his* text of 1 K. or otherwise, tells us that Solomon's **altar of burnt-offering** (1 K 9^{25}) was of brass (cf. the 'brazen altar' 8^{64}), 20 cubits in length and breadth and 10 in height (2 Ch 4^{1}). Its position was on the site of the earlier altar of David (2 Ch 3^{1}), which, it may be asserted with confidence, stood somewhere on the sacred rock still to be seen within the Mosque of Omar (see § 2 above). The precise position which the altars of the first and second Temples occupied on the surface of the rock, which measures at least some 50 ft. by 40 ft., must remain a matter of conjecture. Herod's altar was large enough almost to cover the rock (§ **11** (*c*)). This question has recently been made the subject of an elaborate investigation by Kittel in his *Studien zur heb. Archäologie* (1908, 1–85). Solomon's altar was superseded in the reign of Ahaz by a larger altar of more artistic construction, which this sovereign caused to be made after the model of one seen by him at Damascus (2 K $16^{10\text{-}16}$).

(*c*) *The brazen sea.*—In the court, to the south of the line between the altar and the Temple (1 K 7^{39}), stood one of the most striking of the creations of Solomon's Phœnician artist, Huram-abi of Tyre. This was **the brazen sea** ($7^{23\text{-}26}$, 2 Ch $4^{2\text{-}5}$), a large circular basin or tank of bronze, 10 cubits 'from brim to brim' and 5 in depth, with the enormous capacity of 2000 baths, or more than 16,000 gallons. Even should this prove an exaggerated estimate, the basin must have bulged very considerably in the middle, and the medial diameter must have been at least twice that of the mouth. The brim curved outwards like the calyx of a flower, and underneath it the body of the 'sea' was decorated with two rows of gourd-shaped ornaments. The basin rested on the backs of twelve bronze oxen, which, in groups of three, faced the four cardinal points. Notwithstanding 2 Ch 4^{6}, written centuries after it had disappeared (Jer $52^{17.\ 20}$), recent writers are inclined to give the brazen sea a purely symbolical signification. But whether it is to be interpreted as a symbol of the primeval abyss (Gn 1^{2}) and of J"'s power as Creator, or in the terms of the Babylonian mythology as symbolizing the upper or heavenly sea, bounded by the zodiac with its twelve signs (the 12 oxen), or otherwise, must be left to the future to decide (cf. G. A. Smith, *Jerusalem*, ii. 65 f.).

(*d*) *The brazen lavers.*—A similar symbolical significance is probably to be assigned to the ten **lavers** of bronze (1 K $7^{27\text{-}39}$). These were smaller editions of the brazen sea, being only four cubits in diameter, holding only 40 baths (*c.* 325 galls.), and resting on wheeled carriers, or **bases.** The peculiarly difficult description of the latter has been the subject of special study by Stade (*ZATW*, 1901, 145 ff., with which cf. Haupt's *SBOT*), and more recently by Kittel (*op. cit.* 189–242). It must suffice here to say that each carrier was 4 cubits in length and breadth and 3 cubits in height. The sides were open frames composed of uprights of bronze joined together by transverse bars or rails of the same material, the whole richly ornamented with palm trees, lions, oxen, and cherubim in relief. Underneath were four wheels of bronze, 1½ cubits in diameter, while on the top of each stand was fitted a ring or cylinder on which the laver directly rested.

(*e*) *The pillars Jachin and Boaz.*—Nowhere is the symbolical element in these creations of Huram-abi's art more apparent than in the twin pillars with the mysterious names *Jachin* and *Boaz*, which were set up on either side of the entrance to the Temple porch. They have been discussed in the art. JACHIN AND BOAZ (where **'chapiter'** is explained) (see also Kittel's art. 'Temple' in *PRE*³, xix. [1907] 493 f.).

7. *General idea and plan of Solomon's Temple.*—The building of the Temple occupied seven years and six months (1 K 6^{37}*f.*). After standing for three centuries and a half it was burned to the ground by the soldiers of Nebuchadnezzar in B.C. 587–6, having first been stripped of everything of value that could be carried away. Before passing to a study of its successor, it may be well to note more precisely the purpose for which it was erected, and the general idea underlying its plan. As expressly implied by the term 'the house' (*bayith*) applied to it by the early historian, the Temple was intended to be, before all else, the dwelling-place of Israel's God, especially as represented by the ark of J" (see, for this, 2 S $7^{2.\ 5ff.}$). At the same time it was also the royal chapel, and adjoined the palace of Solomon, precisely as 'the king's chapel' at Bethel was part of the residence of the kings of Israel (Am 7^{13}). There is no reason for supposing that Solomon had the least intention of supplanting the older sanctuaries of the land —a result first achieved by the reformation of Josiah (2 K 23).

As regards the plan of the new sanctuary as a whole, with its threefold division of court, holy place, and holy of holies (to adopt, as before, the later terminology), its origin is to be sought in the ideas of temple architecture then current not only in Phœnicia, the home of Solomon's architects and craftsmen, but throughout Western Asia. Syria, as we now know, was influenced in matters of religious art not only by Babylonia and Egypt, but also by the so-called Mycenæan civilization of the Eastern Mediterranean basin. The walled court, the porch, fore-room, and innermost *cella* are all characteristic features of early Syrian temple architecture. Whether or not there lies behind these the embodiment of ideas from the still older Babylonian cosmology, by which the threefold division of the sanctuary reflects the threefold division of the heavenly universe (so Benzinger, *Heb. Arch.*,² 330, following Winckler and A. Jeremias), must be left an open question. In certain details of the furniture, such as the wheeled carriers of the lavers and their ornamentation, may also be traced the influence of the early art of Crete and Cyprus through the Phœnicians as intermediaries.

8. THE TEMPLE OF EZEKIEL'S VISION (Ezk 40–43).—Although the Temple of Ezekiel remained a dream, a word may be said in passing regarding one of its most characteristic features, on account of its influence on the plan of the actual Temples of the future. This is the emphasis laid throughout on *the sacrosanct character of the sanctuary*—a reflexion of the deepening of the conception of the Divine holiness which marked the period of the Exile. The whole sacred area covered by the Temple and its courts is to be protected from contact with secular buildings. One far-reaching result of this rigid separation of sacred and secular is the introduction of a second Temple court, to which the priests alone, strictly speaking, are entitled to access (Ezk $40^{28ff.}$). For the details of Ezekiel's sketch, with its passion for symmetry and number, see the Comm. and Witton Davies' art. 'Temple' in Hastings' *DB* iv. 704 ff.

9. THE TEMPLE OF ZERUBBABEL.—The second Temple, as it is frequently named, was built, at the instigation of the prophets Haggai and Zechariah, under the leadership of Zerubbabel. According to the explicit testimony of a contemporary (Hag 2^{18}), the foundation was laid in the second year of Darius Hystaspis (B.C. 520)—a date now generally preferred to that of the much later author of Ezr $3^{8ff.}$. The building was finished and the Temple dedicated in B.C. 516. We have unfortunately no description of the plan and arrangements of the latter, and are dependent for information regarding it mainly on scattered references in the later canonical and extra-canonical books. It may be assumed, however, that the **altar of burnt-offering,** previously restored by the exiles on their return (Ezr 3^{3}), occupied the former site, now consecrated by centuries of worship, and that the ground plan of the Temple followed as nearly as possible that of its predecessor (cf. G. A. Smith, *op. cit.* ii. ch. xii.).

As regards the furnishing of Zerubbabel's Temple, we have not only several notices from the period when it was still standing, but evidence from the better known Temple of Herod, in which the sacred furniture remained

as before. Now, however scantily the former may have been furnished at the first, we should expect that after the introduction of the Priests' Code under Ezra, the prescriptions therein contained for the furniture of the Tabernacle would be carried out to the letter. And this is indeed to a large extent what we find. Thus only one **golden lampstand** illuminated 'the holy place' (1 Mac 1^{21}) instead of ten in the former Temple. The **table of shewbread** succeeded 'the altar of cedar' of 1 K 6^{20} (for which see § 5 above). The golden **altar of incense**, which belongs to a later stratum of P (TABERNACLE, § 6 (*c*)), was most probably introduced at a somewhat late date, since pseudo-Hecatæus in the 3rd cent. B.C., quoted by Josephus (*c. Apion.* [ed. Niese] I. 198 f.), knows only of 'an altar and a candlestick both of gold, and in weight two talents'—the former presumably the altar or table of shewbread. There is no reason, however, to question the presence of the incense altar by the second century, as attested by 1 Mac $1^{21ff.}$ (cf. 4^{49}), according to which Antiochus Epiphanes robbed the Temple of 'the golden altar and the candlestick of light . . . and the table of shewbread,' where the first of these must be identified with the altar in question (see, against the scepticism of Wellhausen and others, the evidence collected by Schürer, *GJ* V^4 ii. [1907] 342 f. [$=^3$ 285f.]).

In one point of cardinal importance the glory of the second house was less than that of the first. No attempt was made to construct another **ark**; 'the most holy place' was empty. A splendid curtain or **veil** replaced the partition wall between the two divisions of the sanctuary, and is mentioned among the spoils carried off by Antiochus (1 Mac 1^{22}). In another way the second Temple was distinguished from the first; it had two **courts** in place of one, an inner and an outer ($4^{38.\ 49}$ 9^{54}), as demanded by Ezekiel. This prophet's further demand, that the laity should be entirely excluded from the inner court, was not carried out, as is evident from the experience of Alexander Jannæus. Having given offence to the people while officiating at the altar on the occasion of the Feast of Tabernacles, he was pelted with the citrons which they carried. Alexander in consequence had the altar and Temple railed off to keep the worshippers henceforth at a more respectful distance (Jos. *Ant.* XIII. xiii. 5).

The **altar** was no longer of brass but of unhewn stone (1 Mac 4^{47}), as required by Ex 20^{25}, and attested by the earlier writer above cited (*ap.* Jos. *c. Apion.*, *l.c.*), who further assigns to it the same dimensions as the Chronicler gives to the brazen altar of Solomon (§ 6 (*b*)). In B.C. 168, Antiochus IV., as already stated, spoiled and desecrated the Temple, and by a crowning act of sacrilege set up a small altar to Zeus Olympius on the altar of burnt-offering. Three years later, Judas the Maccabee, after re-capturing Jerusalem, made new sacred furniture —altar of incense, table of shewbread, the seven-branched candlestick, and other 'new holy vessels.' The stones of the polluted altar were removed and others substituted, and the Temple dedicated anew (1 Mac $4^{41ff.}$). With minor alterations and additions, chiefly in the direction of making the Temple hill stronger against attack, the Temple remained as the Maccabees left it until replaced by the more ambitious edifice of Herod.

10. If only for the sake of completeness, a brief reference must be made at this point to *two other temples* for the worship of J″ erected by Jewish settlers in Egypt during the period covered by the previous section. The earlier of these has only recently come to light, through the discovery of certain Aramaic papyri on the island of **Elephantine**. The three last, published by Sachau in *Drei aramäische Papyrusurkunden* (2nd ed. 1908), describe this temple to Yāhū (Jahweh) which existed at Elephantine before Cambyses invaded Egypt in B.C. 525, and had been destroyed at the instigation of Egyptian priests in B.C. 411. It was probably re-built soon after 408. The story of the other, erected at **Leontopolis** in the Delta by Onias, son of the Jewish high priest of the same name, in the reign of Antiochus IV., has been told by Josephus, who describes it as a replica, 'but smaller and poorer,' of the Temple of Zerubbabel (*BJ* VII. x. 2 ff., *Ant.* XIII. iii. 1 ff.). This description has recently been confirmed by the excavation of the site, the modern Tel el-Yehudiyeh, by Flinders Petrie (Petrie and Duncan, *Hyksos and Israelite Cities*, 1906, 19–27, with plans and models, plates xxiii.–xxv.); not the least interesting feature of this temple *in partibus infidelium* is the fact that it seems to have been built according to the measurements of the Tabernacle. This is altogether more probable than the view expressed by Petrie, that Onias copied the dimensions of the Temple of Jerusalem (*op. cit.* 24).

11. THE TEMPLE OF HEROD.—It was in the eighteenth year of his reign that Herod obtained the permission of his suspicious subjects to re-build the Temple of Zerubbabel. The Temple proper was re-built by a thousand specially trained priests within the space of eighteen months; the rest of the buildings took years to finish, indeed the last touches were given only six or seven years before the final catastrophe in A.D. 70, when the whole was destroyed by the soldiers of Titus. For a fuller study of several of the points discussed in this section, see the present writer's articles on 'Some Problems of Herod's Temple' in *ExpT* XX. [1908], 24 ff.

(*a*) *The outer court, its size, cloisters, and gates.*—It is advisable in this case to reverse the order of study adopted for the first Temple, and to proceed from the courts to the Temple proper. In this way we start from the existing remains of Herod's enterprise, for all are agreed that the Haram area (see above § 2) and its retaining walls are *in the main* the work of Herod, who doubled the area of Zerubbabel's courts by means of enormous substructure (Jos. *BJ* I. xxi. 1). There are good grounds, however, for believing that, as left by Herod, the platform stopped at a point a little beyond the **Golden Gate** in the eastern wall, its northern boundary probably running in proximity to the north wall of the present inner platform of the Haram. (The latter has been considerably extended in this direction since Herod's day, and is indicated by double dotted lines on the accompanying plan.) This gives an area of approximately 26 acres compared with the 35 acres, or thereby, of the present Haram. The measurements were, in round numbers, 390 yards from N. to S. by 330 yards from E. to W. on the north, and 310 yards E. to W. on the south. If the figures just given represent, with approximate accuracy, the extended area enclosed by Herod, the outer court, called in the Mishna 'the mountain of the house,' and by later writers, **'the court of the Gentiles,'** will have appeared to the eye as almost a square, as it is stated to be, although with divergent measurements, by our two chief authorities, the Mishna treatise *Middoth* (lit. 'measurements,' tr. in Barclay's *Talmud*, and in *PEFSt*, 1886–87), and Josephus (*BJ* V. v., *Ant.* XV. xi. and elsewhere).

The climax of Herod's architectural triumphs was reached in the magnificent colonnades which surrounded the four sides of this court. The colonnade along the south wall, in particular, known as **'the Royal Porch'** (or portico, *stoa*), was 'exceeding magnifical' (1 Ch 22^5). It consisted of four rows of monolithic marble columns of the Corinthian order, forming three aisles; the two side aisles were 30 ft. in breadth and 50 ft. in height, while the central aisle was half as broad again as the other two and twice as high (Jos. *Ant.* XV. xi. 5, but see *ExpT*, *l.c.*). The ceilings of the roofs were adorned with sculptured panels of cedar wood. On the other three sides of the court the colonnades had only two aisles, that along the east wall bearing the name of **Solomon's Porch** (Jn 10^{23}, Ac 3^{11} 5^{12}), probably from a tradition that it occupied the site of one built by that monarch.

The main approaches to the court were naturally on the west and south. The principal entrance from

the west was by the **gate of Kiponos** (*Midd.* i. 3), the approach to which was by a bridge over the Tyropœon, now represented by Wilson's arch. On the south were the two gates represented by the present 'double' and 'triple' gates, and named the **Huldah** (or 'mole') gates, because the visitor passed into the court by sloping tunnels beneath the royal porch. These ramps opened upon the Court of the Gentiles about 190 ft. from the south wall (see plan and, for details, *ExpT*, *l.c.*).

(*b*) *The inner courts and their gates.*—The great court was open to Jew and Gentile alike, and, as we learn from the Gospels, was the centre of a busy life, and of transactions little in accord with its sacred purpose. The **sanctuary** in the strict sense began when one reached the series of walls, buildings, and courts which rose on successive terraces in the northern half of the great enclosure. Its limits were marked out by a low balustrade, the **sōrēg**, which ran round the whole, and was provided at intervals with notices warning all Gentiles against entering the sacred enclosure on pain of death (cf. St. Paul's experience, Ac $21^{26ff.}$). From the *sōrēg*, flights of steps at different points led up to a narrow terrace, termed the *chēl* (XYZ in plan), 10 cubits wide, beyond which rose a lofty retaining wall enclosing the whole sanctuary, to which Jews alone had access.

The great wall by which the sanctuary was converted into a fortress, was pierced by nine gateways—H 1–9 on the plan—over which were built massive two-storeyed gate-houses 'like towers' (Jos. *BJ* v. v. 3), four in the N., four in the S., and one in the E. wall. The most splendid of all the gates was the last mentioned, the eastern gate, which was the principal entrance to the Temple. From the fact that it was composed entirely of Corinthian brass, and had been the gift of a certain Nicanor of Alexandria, it was known as 'the **Corinthian gate**' (Jos.), and 'the **gate of Nicanor**' (Mish.). There is little doubt that it is also 'the **Beautiful Gate** of the temple' (Ac $3^{2.\ 10}$), as shown by Schürer in his exhaustive study (*ZNTW*, 1906, 51–58). The other eight gates were 'covered over with gold and silver, as were the jambs and lintels' (Jos. *BJ* v. v. 3), at the expense of Alexander, the Jewish alabarch of Alexandria (*c.* A.D. 20–40). All the gates were 20 cubits high by 10 wide, according to the Mishna (Josephus says 30 by 15).

Entering by the 'Beautiful Gate,' H 5, one found oneself in the colonnaded **court of the women**—so called because accessible to women as well as men. This was the regular place of assembly for public worship (cf. Lk 1^{10}). The women were accommodated in a gallery which ran round the court (*Midd.* ii. 5), probably above the colonnades as suggested in the plan. Along by the pillars of the colonnades were placed thirteen trumpet-shaped boxes to receive the offerings and dues of the faithful. These boxes are '**the treasury**' into which the widow's mites were cast (Mk 12^{42}).

The west side of this court was bounded by a wall, which divided the sanctuary into two parts, an eastern and a western. As the level of the latter was considerably higher than that of the eastern court, a magnificent semicircular flight of fifteen steps led up from the one to the other. At the top of the steps was an enormous gateway, 50 cubits by 40, allowing the worshippers an uninterrupted view of the altar and the Temple. The leaves of its gate were even more richly plated with silver and gold by Alexander than the others, and hence many have identified this gate with 'the gate that was called Beautiful' (but see Schürer, *loc. cit.* and *ExpT*, xx. [1908]).

(*c*) *The court of the priests and the great altar.*—There is some uncertainty as to the arrangements of the western court, which we have now reached, owing to the divergent data of our two authorities, Josephus and the Mishna. The simplest solution is perhaps to regard the whole western court as in one sense **the court of the priests**, 'the court' *par excellence* of the Mishna (*Midd.* v. 1, etc.). Alexander Jannæus, we learned (§ 9), railed off the Temple and altar, and restricted the male Israelites to the outer edge of the then inner court. This arrangement was retained when the courts were laid out anew by Herod. In *Middoth* ii. 6 a narrow strip by the entrance—only 11 cubits in width, but extending the whole breadth of the court from N. to S.—is named the **court of Israel.** Josephus, however, is probably right in representing the latter as running round three sides of the western court (as on plan BBB). Its small size was a reminder that the laity—apart from those actually taking part in the sacrifices, who had, of course, to be allowed even within the still more sacred precincts of the priests' court—were admitted on suffrance to the western court; the eastern court, or court of the women, was, as has been indicated, the proper place of worship for the laity. Along the N. and S. walls of the enclosure were built chambers for various purposes connected with the Temple ritual (*Midd.* v. 3, 4), chambers and gatehouses being connected by an ornamental colonnade. Those whose location can be determined with some degree of certainty are entered on the plan and named in the key thereto.

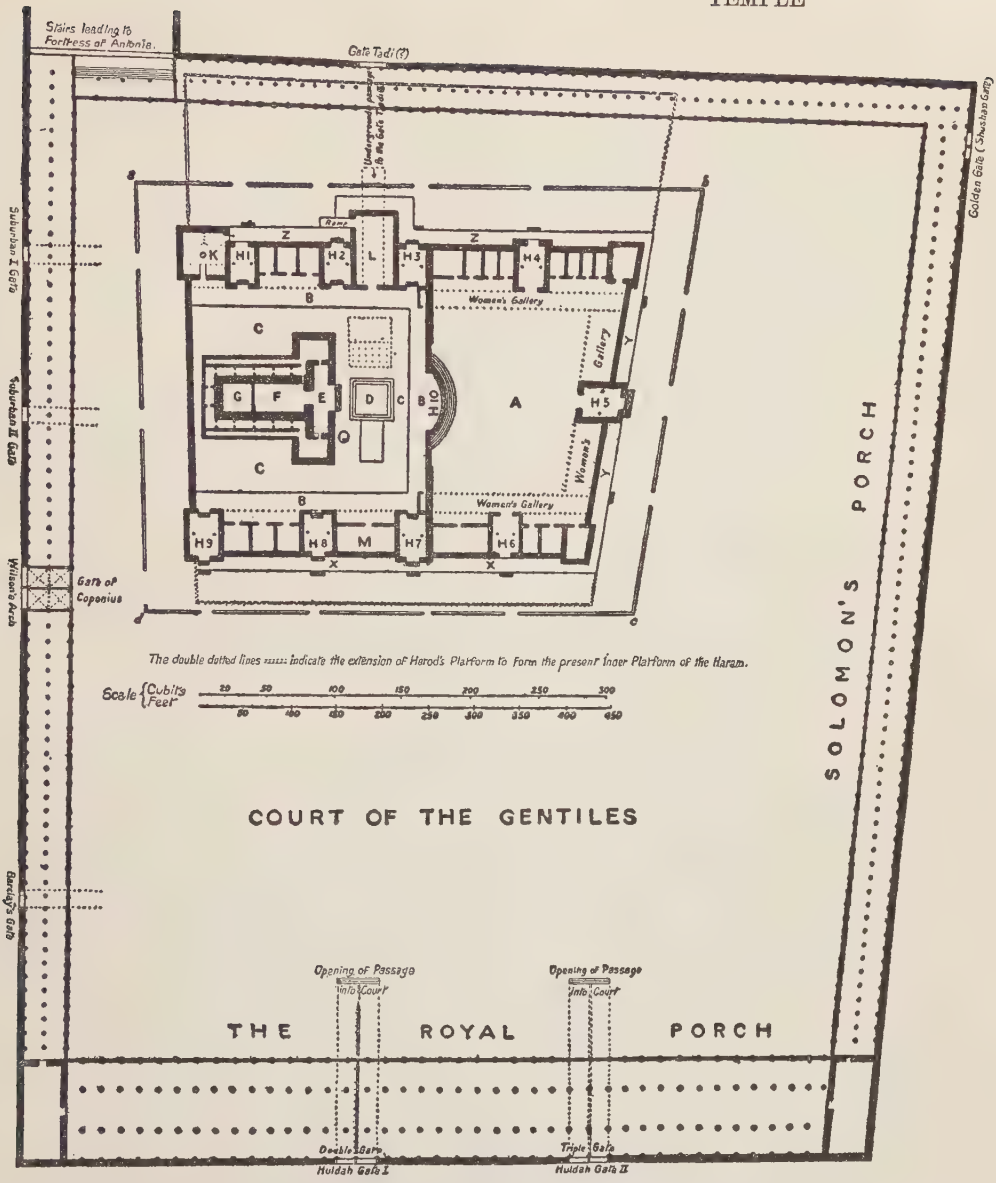
The inner court is represented in the Mishna as a rectangle, 187 cubits by 135, the outer or women's court as an exact square, 135 cubits by 135 (and so on most plans, *e.g. DB* iv. 713). But the rock levels of the Haram, the oblique line of the E. side of the platform—due probably to the lie of the rock required for the foundation of the massive E. wall—and the repeated appearance of 11 and its multiples (note that $187 = 11 \times 17$) in the details of the totals in *Middoth* v. 1, all combine to justify a suspicion as to the accuracy of the figures. On the accompanying plan the whole inner court, B and C, is entered as 170 cubits long from E. to W., and 160 broad. The outer court, A, has a free space between the colonnades of 135 by an average of about 110. The total dimensions of the sanctuary, including the surrounding buildings and the terrace (*chēl*) are as follows: (1) length from W. to E. across the rock, 315 cubits or 462 ft.; (2) width from N. to S. 250 cubits or 367 ft. The data on which these measurements are based will be found in the essays in the *Exp. Times*, already frequently referred to.

In the latest, and in some respects the best, plan of Herod's Temple by Waterhouse in Sanday's *Sacred Sites of the Gospels*, the data of the Mishna are set aside, and a large 'court of men of Israel' is inserted in the western court *in addition to* those above described. Against this view it may be urged, (1) that it requires its author to remove the eastern court, which was an essential part of the sanctuary, from a place on the present inner platform of the Haram; (2) the consequence of this is to narrow unduly the space between the Beautiful Gate and Solomon's Porch. If there is one statement of the Mishna that is worthy of credit, it is that 'the largest free space was on the south, the second largest on the east, the third on the north, and the smallest on the west' (*Midd.* ii. 1). But, as the plan referred to shows, this is not the case if the court of the women is removed so far to the east by the insertion of a large 'court of Israel.' The plan is also open to criticism on other grounds (cf. G. A. Smith, *op. cit.* ii. 508 ff.).

The **altar of burnt-offering**, D, was, like that restored by Judas the Maccabee, of unhewn stone, and measured at the base 32 cubits by 32 (47 feet square, thus covering almost the whole of the sacred rock, see § 6 (*b*)), decreasing by three stages till the altar-hearth was only 24 cubits square. The priests went up by an inclined approach on the south side in accordance with Ex 20^{26}. To the north of the altar was the place where the sacrificial victims were slaughtered and prepared for the altar. It was provided with rings, pillars, hooks, and tables. **A laver**, O, for the priests' ablutions stood to the west of the approach to the altar.

12. *The Temple building.*—A few yards beyond the great altar rose the Temple itself, a glittering mass of white marble and gold. Twelve steps, corresponding to the height (12 half-cubits) of the massive and probably gold-covered stereobate on which the building stood, led up to the porch.

The porch was probably 96 cubits in height and of the same breadth at the base. The Mishna gives its height, including the 6 cubits of the podium or stereobate, as 100 cubits.



KEY TO PLAN OF HEROD'S TEMPLE AND COURTS.

a b c d, the surrounding balustrade (*sōrēg*). **X Y Z**, the terrace (*chēl*).

A, Court of the Women. **B B B**, Court of Israel. **C C C**, Court of the Priests.

D, altar of burnt-offering. **E F G**, porch, holy place, and holy of holies. **O**, the laver.

H, 1–9, Gates of the Sanctuary (*Middoth*, i. 4, 5), viz.: 1, gate of the House Moked; 2, Corban gate; 3, gate Nitsus; 5, the gate of Nicanor, or the Beautiful Gate; 7, the water gate; 8, gate of the firstborn; 9, the fuel gate; 10, the 'upper gate,' wrongly called the gate of Nicanor.

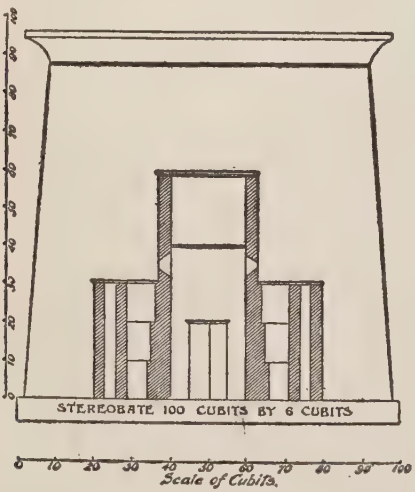
K, the guardhouse Moked (=hearth). **L**, the 'northern edifice that was between the two gates' (see *BJ* VI.ii. 7 [Niese, § 150]). Here, it is suggested, the sacrificial victims were examined by the priests, having been brought in either by the underground passage shown on the plan, or by the ramp also shown. The upper storey may have contained the important 'chamber of the councillors' (*parhedrin*) (*Yōmā*, i. 1).

M, the chamber Gazith, in which the priests on duty assembled for prayer (*Tamīd*, IV. end). There are not sufficient data for fixing the location of the other chambers mentioned in the Mishna. Their distribution on the plan is purely conjectural.

TEMPLE

The real depth was doubtless, as in Solomon's Temple (§ 3), 10 cubits in the centre, but now increased to 20 cubits at the wings (so Josephus). As the plan shows, the porch outflanked the main body of the Temple, which was 60—the Mishna has 70—cubits in breadth, by 18 cubits at either wing. These dimensions show that Herod's porch resembled the pylons of an Egyptian temple. It probably tapered towards the top, and was surmounted by an Egyptian cornice with the familiar cavetto moulding (cf. sketch below). The entrance to the porch measured 40 cubits by 20 (*Middoth*, iii. 7), corresponding to the dimensions of 'the holy place.' There was no door.

The **'great door of the house'** (20 cubits by 10) was 'all over covered with gold,' in front of which hung a richly embroidered Babylonian veil, while above the lintel was figured a huge golden vine (Jos. *Ant.* xv. xi. 3, *BJ* v. v. 4). The interior area of Herod's Temple was, for obvious reasons, the same as that of its predecessors. A hall, 61 cubits long by 20 wide, was divided between the **holy place** (40 by 20, but with the height increased to 40 cubits [*Middoth*, iv. 6]) and the **most holy place** (20 by 20 by 20 high). The extra cubit was occupied by a double curtain embroidered in colours, which screened off 'the holy of holies' (cf. *Midd.* iv. 7 with *Yōmā*, v.2). This is the **veil of the Temple** referred to in Mt 27^{51} and || (cf. He 6^{19} etc.).



DIAGRAMMATIC SECTION OF TEMPLE AND PORCH.

As in Solomon's Temple, three storeys of side-chambers, prob. 30 cubits in height, ran round three sides of the main building. But by the provision of a passage-way giving access to the different storeys, and making a third outside wall necessary, the surface covered by the whole was now 96 cubits in length by 60 in breadth, not reckoning the two wings of the porch. Over the whole length of the two holy places a second storey was raised, entirely, as it seems, for architectural effect.

The total height of the *naos* is uncertain. The entries by which the Mishna makes up a total of 100 cubits are not such as inspire confidence; the laws of architectural proportion suggest that the 100, although also given by Josephus, should be reduced to 60 cubits or 88 feet, equal to the breadth of the *naos* and lateral chambers. On the plan the lowest side chambers are intended to be 5 cubits wide and their wall 3 (both as in § 3), the passage-way 3, and the outside wall 3, giving a total width of 14 + 6 + 20 + 6 + 14 = 60 cubits (Jos. v. v. 4; cf. *DB* iv. 715 for the corresponding figures of *Midd.* iv. 7). The result of taking the principles of proportion between the various parts as the decisive factor when Josephus and the Mishna are at variance, is exhibited in the above diagram, which combines sections through the porch and holy place.

The furniture of 'the holy place' remained as in former days. Before the veil stood the **altar of incense**; against the south wall the seven-branched **golden lampstand**, and opposite to it the **table of shewbread** (Jos. *BJ* v. v. 5). A special interest attaches to the two latter from the fact, known to every one, that they were among the Temple spoils carried to Rome by Titus to adorn his triumph, and are still to be seen among the sculptures of the Arch of Titus.

'The most holy place' was empty as before (Jos. *ib.*), save for a stone on which the high priest, who alone had access to this innermost shrine, deposited the censer of incense on the Day of Atonement (*Yōmā*, v. 2).

All in all, Herod's Temple was well worthy of a place among the architectural wonders of the world. One has but to think of the extraordinary height and strength of the outer retaining walls, parts of which still claim our admiration, and of the wealth of art and ornament lavished upon the porticoes and buildings. The artistic effect was further heightened by the succession of marble-paved terraces and courts, rising each above and within the other, from the outer court to the Temple floor. For once we may entirely credit the Jewish historian when he tells us that from a distance the whole resembled a snow-covered mountain, and that the light reflected from the gilded porch dazzled the spectator like 'the sun's own rays' (Jos. *BJ* v. v. 6).

13. *The daily Temple service in NT times.*—This article may fitly close with a brief account of the principal act of Jewish **worship** in the days of our Lord, which centred round the daily or 'continual' (Heb. *tāmīd*, Ex 29^{42}) burnt-offering, presented every morning and every evening, or rather mid-afternoon, throughout the year, in the name, and on behalf, of the whole community of Israel (see Ex 29^{38-42}, Nu 28^{3-8}). A detailed account of this service, evidently based on reliable tradition, is given in the Mishna treatise *Tamīd*, of which English translations will be found in Barclay's *Talmud*, and in *PEFSt* 1885, 119 ff. (cf. also the full exposition given by Schürer, *GJV*^{3} ii. 288–299 = '345–357 [*HJP* II. i. 273–299]).

The detachment of priests on duty in the rotation of their 'courses' (Lk 1^8) slept in the 'house Moked' (**K** on plan). About cock-crow the priests who wished to be drawn for the morning service bathed and robed, and thereafter repaired to the chamber Gazith (**M**) in order to determine by lot those of their number who should 'officiate.' By the first lot a priest was selected to remove the ashes from the altar of burnt-offering, and prepare the wood, etc., for the morning sacrifice. This done, 'the presiding official said to them, Come and draw (to decide) (1) who shall slay, (2) who shall toss (the blood against the altar), (3) who shall remove the ashes from the incense altar, (4) who shall clean the lampstand, (5)–(10) who shall carry the parts of the victim to the foot of the altar [six parts are specified], (11) who shall prepare the (meal-offering) of fine flour, (12) the baked offering (of the high priest), and (13) the wine of the drink-offering' (Mishna, *Tamīd*, iii. 1).

At the hour of dawn the preparations here set forth were begun, and the Temple gates thrown open. After the victim, a yearling lamb, had been slain, the incense altar prepared and the lamps trimmed, the officiating priests assembled in the chamber Gazith for a short religious service, after which there commenced the solemn acts of worship in which the *tamīd* culminated —the offering of incense and the burning of the sacrificial victim. The priest, chosen as before by lot (Lk 1^9), entered the Temple with a censer of incense, and, while the smoke was ascending from the altar within the Holy Place, the worshippers without prostrated themselves in adoration and silent prayer. After the priestly benediction had been pronounced from the steps of the porch (*Tamīd*, vii. 2), the several parts of the

sacrifice were thrown upon the altar and consumed. The pouring of the drink-offering was now the signal for the choir of Levites to begin the chanting of the Psalm for the day. At intervals two priests blew on silver trumpets, at whose sound the people again prostrated themselves. With the close of the Psalm the public service was at an end, and the private sacrifices were then offered.

The order of the mid-afternoon service differed from the above only in that the incense was offered after the burning of the victim instead of before. The lamps, also, on the 'golden candlestick,' were lighted at the 'evening' service. A. R. S. KENNEDY.

TEMPTATION.—The English words 'tempt' and 'temptation' are in the OT—with the exception of Mal 3^{15}, where a synonym *bāchan* is used,—the tr. of various forms of the root *nissāh*, which is most frequently rendered 'prove.' In Gn 22^{1} RV tr. 'God did prove Abraham.' But RV retains 'temptation' for (*a*) God's testing of Pharaoh's character and disposition (Dt 4^{34}, RVm **'trials'** or 'evidences'; cf. 7^{19} 29^{3}); (*b*) Israel's distrustful putting of God Himself to the proof (Dt 6^{16}; cf. Ex $17^{2.\ 7}$, Nu 14^{22}, Ps $78^{18.\ 41.\ 56}$). In Ps 95^{8} RV rightly keeps **'Massah'** as a proper name, the reference being to the historic murmuring at Rephidim (Ex $17^{1ff.}$; cf. Dt 33^{8}, Ps 81^{7}).

Driver (*ICC*, on Dt 6^{16}) points out, in a valuable note, that '*nissāh* is a neutral word, and means to *test* or *prove* a person, to see *whether* he will act in a particular way (Ex 16^{4}, Jg 2^{22} 3^{4}), or *whether* the character he bears is well established (1 K 10^{1}). God thus *proves* a person, or *puts* him *to the test*, to see if his fidelity or affection is sincere (Gn 22^{1}, Ex 20^{20}, Dt 8^{2} 13^{3}; cf. Ps 26^{2}); and men *test*, or *prove* Jehovah when they act as if doubting whether His promise be true, or whether He is faithful to His revealed character (Ex $17^{2.\ 7}$, Nu 14^{22}, Ps 106^{14}; cf. Is 7^{12}).'

2. The Gr. word *peirasmos* is the usual LXX rendering of *massāh*. It is also 'a neutral word,' though in the NT it sometimes means enticement to sin (Mt 4^{1}, 1 Co 7^{5}, Rev 2^{10} etc.; cf. 'the tempter,' Mt 4^{3}, 1 Th 3^{5}). In the RV it is almost always tr. 'temptation,' with the occasional marginal alternative 'trial' (Ja 1^{2}), 1 P 1^{6}); the exceptions are Ac 20^{19}, Rev 3^{10}, where 'trial' is found in the text. The Amer. RV substitutes 'try' or 'make trial of' ('trial') for 'tempt' ('temptation') 'wherever enticement to what is wrong is not evidently spoken of' (see Appendix to RV, note vi.); but 'temptation' is retained in Mt 6^{13} = Lk 11^{4}, where the range of the petition cannot be thus limited; cf. Ja 1^{2}.

3. In expounding the prayer 'Bring us not into temptation,' and other passages in which the word has a wider meaning than enticement to sin, the difficulty is partially, but only partially, to be ascribed to the narrowing of the significance of the English word since 1611. If, as Driver thinks, 'to *tempt* has, in modern English, acquired the sense of *provoking* or *enticing* a person *in order that* he may act in a particular way (= Heb. *hissīth*),' there is no doubt that 'tempt' is often 'a misleading rendering.' Into such temptation the heavenly Father cannot bring His children; our knowledge of His character prevents us from tracing to Him any allurement to evil. The profound argument of St. James (1^{13}) is that God is 'Himself absolutely unsusceptible to evil,' and therefore He is 'incapable of tempting others to evil' (Mayor, *Com., in loc.*). But the difficulty is not removed when the petition is regarded as meaning 'bring us not into trial.' Can a Christian pray to be exempted from the testing without which sheltered innocence cannot become approved virtue? Can he ask that he may never be exposed to those trials upon the endurance of which his blessedness depends (Ja 1^{12})? The sufficient answer is that He who was 'in all points tempted like as we are' (He 4^{15}) has taught us to pray 'after this manner.' His own prayer in Gethsemane (Mt 26^{42}), and His exhortation to His disciples (v.^{41}), prove, by example and by precept, that when offered in subjection to the central, all-dominating desire 'Thy will be done,' the petition 'Bring us not into temptation' is always fitting on the lips of those who know that 'the flesh is weak.' Having thus prayed, those who find themselves ringed round (Ja 1^{2}, *peri*) by temptations will be strengthened to endure joyfully. Their experience is not joyous, but grievous; nevertheless, Divine wisdom enables them to 'count it all joy' as being a part of the discipline which is designed to make them 'perfect and entire, lacking in nothing.'

On the Temptation of our Lord see JESUS CHRIST, p. 447a. J. G. TASKER.

TEN.—See NUMBER, § 7.

TEN COMMANDMENTS.—1. The traditional history of the Decalogue.—The 'ten words' were, according to Ex 20, proclaimed vocally by God on Mt. Sinai, and written by Him on two stones, and given to Moses (24^{12} 31^{18} $32^{15.\ 16}$; cf. Dt 5^{22} $9^{10.\ 11}$). When these were broken by Moses on his descent from the mount (Ex 32^{19}, Dt 9^{17}), he was commanded to prepare two fresh stones like the first, on which God re-wrote the 'ten words' (Ex $34^{1.\ 28}$, Dt $10^{2.\ 4}$). This is clearly the meaning of Ex. as the text now stands. But many critics think that v.^{28b} originally referred not to the 'ten words' of Ex 20, but to the laws of 34^{11-26}, and that these laws were J's version of the Decalogue. It must suffice to say here that if, as on the whole seems likely, v.^{28b} refers to our Decalogue, we must distinguish the command to write the covenant laws in v.^{27}, and the words 'he wrote' in v.^{28b}, in which case the subject of the latter will be God, as required by 34^{1}. The two stones were immediately placed in the ark, which had been prepared by Moses specially for that purpose (Dt 10^{1-5} [probably based on JE]). There they were believed to have permanently remained (1 K 8^{9}, Dt 10^{5}) until the ark was, according to Rabbinical tradition, hidden by Jeremiah, when Jerusalem was finally taken by Nebuchadrezzar.

2. The documentary history of the Decalogue.—A comparison of the Decalogue in Ex 20 with that of Dt 5 renders it probable that both are later recensions of a much shorter original. The phrases peculiar to Dt 5 are in most cases obviously characteristic of D, and must be regarded as later expansions. Such are 'as the Lord thy God commanded thee' in the 4th and 5th 'word,' and 'that it may go well with thee' in the 5th. In the last commandment the first two clauses are transposed, and a more appropriate word ('desire') is used for coveting a neighbour's wife. Here evidently we have also a later correction. Curiously enough Ex 20, while thus generally more primitive than Deut., shows signs of an even later recension. The reason for keeping the Sabbath, God's rest after creation, is clearly based on Gn 2^{1-3}, which belongs to the post-exilic Priestly Code (P). The question is further complicated by the fact that several phrases in what is common to Ex 20 and Deut. are of a distinctly Deuteronomic character, as 'that is within thy gates' in the 4th commandment, 'that thy days may be long' 'upon the land which the Lord thy God giveth thee' in the 5th. We see, then, that the Decalogue of Ex. is in all probability the result of a double revision (a Deuteronomic and a Priestly) of a much more simple original. It has been suggested that originally all the commandments consisted of a single clause, and that the name 'word' could be more naturally applied to such. In favour of this view, beyond what has been already said, it is argued that this short form would be more suitable for inscription on stone.

3. How were the 'ten words' divided?—The question turns on the beginning and the end of the Decalogue. Are what we know as the First and Second, and again what we know as the Tenth, one or two commandments? The arrangement which treats the First and Second

as one, and the Tenth as two, is that of the Massoretic Hebrew text both in Ex. and Dt., and was that of the whole Western Church from the time of St. Augustine to the Reformation, and is still that of the Roman and Lutheran Churches. Moreover, it may seem to have some support from the Deuteronomic version of the Tenth Commandment. Our present arrangement, however, is that of the early Jewish and early Christian Churches, and seems on the whole more probable in itself. A wife, being regarded as a chattel, would naturally come under the general prohibition against coveting a neighbour's goods. If, as already suggested, the original form of the commandment was a single clause, it would have run, 'Thou shalt not covet thy neighbour's house' (see 8 (x.)).

4. The contents of each table.—If, as suggested, the original commandments were single clauses, it is most natural to suppose that they were evenly divided between the two tables—five in each. This view is adopted without hesitation by Philo, and it is not contradicted by our Lord's division of the Law into the love of God and the love of one's neighbour. It would be difficult to class parents in the category of neighbour, whereas the reverence due to them was by the ancients regarded as a specially sacred obligation, and was included, by both Greeks and Romans at any rate, under the notion of piety.

5. Order of the Decalogue.—The Hebrew texts of Ex 20 and Dt 5 agree in the order—murder, adultery, theft—as the subjects of the 6th, 7th, and 8th Commandments. The LXX (best MSS) in Ex. have the order—adultery, theft, murder; in Dt.—adultery, murder, theft. This last is borne out by Ro 13[9] and by Philo, and may possibly have been original.

6. Mosaic origin of the Decalogue.—The chief difficulty arises out of the Second Commandment. There can be little doubt that from primitive times the Israelites were monolatrous, worshipping J" as their national God. But it is argued that this does not appear to have prevented them from recognizing to some extent inferior divine beings, such as those represented by *teraphim*, or even from representing their God under visible symbols. Thus in Jg 17[3] we find Micah making an image of Jahweh, without any disapproval by the writer. David himself had *teraphim* in his house (1 S 19[13-16]); Isaiah speaks of a pillar as a natural and suitable symbol of worship (Is 19[19]); Hosea classes pillar, ephod, and *teraphim* with sacrifices as means of worship, of which Israel would be deprived for a while as a punishment (Hos 3[4]). The frequent condemnation of *ashĕroth* (sacred tree-images, AV 'groves') suggests that they too were common features of Semitic worship, and not confined to the worship of heathen gods. But it may reasonably be doubted whether these religious symbols were always regarded as themselves objects of worship, though tending to become so. Again, it may well have been the case that under the deteriorating influences of surrounding Semitic worship, the people, without generally worshipping heathen gods, failed to reach the high ideal of their traditional religion and worship. We may fairly say, then, that the Decalogue in its earliest form, if not actually Mosaic, represents in all probability the earliest religious tradition of Israel.

7. Object of the Decalogue.—Looking from a Christian point of view, we are apt to regard the Decalogue as at any rate an incomplete code of religion and morality. More probably the 'ten words' should be regarded as a few easily remembered rules necessary for a half-civilized agricultural people, who owed allegiance to a national God, and were required to live at peace with each other. They stand evidently in close relation to the Book of the Covenant (Ex 21–23), of which they may be regarded as either a summary or the kernel. With one exception (the Fifth, see below, 8 (v.)) they are, like most rules given to children, of a negative character—'thou shalt not,' etc.

8. Interpretation of the Decalogue.—There are a few obscure phrases, or other matters which call for comment.

(i.) 'before me' may mean either 'in my presence,' condemning the eclectic worship of many gods, or 'in preference to me.' Neither interpretation would necessarily exclude the belief that other gods were suitable objects of worship for other peoples (cf. Jg 11[24]).

(ii.) 'the water under the earth.' The Israelites conceived of the sea as extending under the whole land (hence the springs). This, being in their view the larger part, might be used to express the whole. Fish and other marine animals are, of course, intended.

'unto thousands,' better 'a thousand generations,' as in RVm. The punishment by God of children for the faults of parents was felt to be a moral difficulty, and was denied by Ezekiel (ch. 18). Similar action by judicial authorities was forbidden by Deut. (24[16]; cf. 2 K 14[6]). But the words show that if evil actions influence for evil the descendants of the evil-doer either by heredity or by imitation, the influence of good actions for good is far more potent.

(iii.) 'Thou . . . in vain,' *i.e.* 'for falsehood.' This may mean 'Thou shalt not perjure thyself' or 'Thou shalt not swear and then not keep thy oath.' The latter seems to be the current Jewish interpretation (see Mt 5[33]). Philo takes it in both senses.

(iv.) 'within thy gates,' *i.e.* 'thy cities' (see 2).

'for in six days,' etc. We find in OT three distinct reasons for the observance of the Sabbath. (1) The oldest is that of the Book of the Covenant in Ex 23[12], 'that thine ox and thine ass may have rest, and the son of thine handmaid and the stranger may be refreshed.' In Ex 20 and Dt 5 the rest of the domestic animals and servants appears as part of the injunction itself. (2) In Dt 5 there is added as a secondary purpose, 'that thy manservant and thy maidservant may rest as well as thou'; whereas the chief purpose of the observance is as a commemoration of the Exodus. (3) Ex 20, revised after the Exile at or after the time that the Priestly Code was published, bases the observance on the Sabbatical rest of God after the Creation (Gn 2[1-3] P).

(v.) 'Honour thy Father,' etc. It is not improbable that this commandment has been modified in form, and was originally negative like all the rest, and referred like them to a prohibited action rather than to a correct feeling, as, very possibly, 'Thou shalt not smite,' etc. (cf. Ex 21[15. 17]). At a later time such an outrage would have been hardly contemplated, and would naturally have given way to the present commandment. The word 'honour' seems, according to current Jewish teaching (see Lightfoot on Mt 15[5]), to have specially included feeding and clothing, and Christ assumes rather than inculcates as new this application of the commandment. The Rabbinical teachers had encouraged men in evading a recognized law by their quibbles.

(x.) 'Thou shalt not . . . house.' Deut. transposes the first two clauses, and reads 'desire' with wife. The teaching of Ex 20 is, beyond question, relatively the earliest. The wife was originally regarded as one of the chattels, though undoubtedly the most important chattel, of the house, or general establishment.

On the Decalogue in the NT see art. LAW (IN NT).

F. H. WOODS.

TENT.—Apart from the traditions of the patriarchs as 'quiet' men, 'dwelling in tents' (Gn 25[27] RVm), the settled Hebrews preserved a reminder of their nomad ancestry in such phrases as 'going to one's tent' for to 'go home' (Jg 19[9]), and in the recurring call, 'to thy tents (*i.e.* to your homes), O Israel' (1 K 12[16] etc.). For an interesting case of adherence to the 'nomadic ideal' on religious grounds, see RECHABITES.

The Hebrew tent, even in later days, cannot have differed much from the simple Bedouin tent of to-day, made by sewing together strips of the native goats' hair cloth (cf. Ca 1[5] 'I am black as the tents of Kedar'). These 'curtains' (Jer 4[20], Ex 26[2] and oft.) are held up by poles, generally 9 in number, arranged in three rows of three, and 6–7 ft. high, which are kept in position by ropes—the **'cords'** of EV, and the **'tent-cord'** of Job 4[21] RV—attached to **'stakes'** or **'tent-pins'** driven into the ground by a mallet (Jg 4[21]). The larger the tent, the longer the cords and the stronger the stakes, according to the figure, Is 54[2]. The tent, then as now, was probably divided into two parts by

hanging a curtain from the three middle poles along the length of the tent—the front division open and free to all, the back closed and reserved for the women and the privacy of domestic life (Jg 15^{1}, Ca 3^{4}; cf. Gn $18^{9f.}$).

In time of war we read both of **booths** (2 S 11^{11}, so RV rightly for AV 'tents') and of tents (2 K 7^{7}, Jer 37^{10}). The Assyrian sculptures represent the soldiers' tents as conical in shape, supported by a central pole with two arms. On the famous bronze sheathing of the palace gates at Balawat, representing every detail of the conduct of war, the royal **pavilion** (1 K $20^{12.\ 16}$) is frequently represented. It was rectangular in shape, with ornamental wooden pillars with floral capitals at the four corners. The walls were probably of linen, and the roof evidently of tapestry or other rich material edged with tassels (see the plates in Billerbeck's *Die Palasttore Salmanassars* II., 1908).

In early times a special tent was pitched for a newly wedded pair (Ps 19^{5}, Jl 2^{16}; cf. 2 S 16^{22}), as is still the custom among the Arabs. The **canopy** under which Jewish couples are married at the present day still retains the name, as it is a survival of the ancient *chuppah* or bridal tent.

Priscilla and Aquila, as well as the Apostle Paul, were **tentmakers** (Ac $18^{2f.}$). See Spinning and Weaving, §§1, 4 (*c*). For the **tent of meeting** (RV) see Tabernacle.

A. R. S. Kennedy.

TEPHON.—One of the towns in Judæa fortified by Bacchides (1 Mac 9^{50}). Tephon was probably an old **Tappuah**; but whether it was Tappuah **1** or **2**, or Beth-tappuah, is uncertain.

TERAH.—The father of Abraham, Nahor, and Haran (Gn 11^{24-32}, 1 Ch 1^{26}, Lk 3^{34}). Along with his three sons he is said to have migrated from Ur of the Chaldees to Haran, where he died. In Jos 24^{2} it is said that he 'served other gods'—a statement which gave rise to some fanciful Jewish *haggādōth* about Terah as a *maker* of idols. **2.** A station of the Israelites (Nu $33^{27.\ 28}$).

TERAPHIM.—See Images; Israel, p. 412[b]; also p. 569[a].

TEREBINTH does not occur at all in AV, and only thrice in RV, being substituted in Is 6^{13} for '**teil** tree,' in Hos 4^{13} for '**elm**,' and in Sir 24^{16} for '**turpentine** tree.' Strong reasons, however, can be urged for rendering by 'terebinth' in a great many instances where EV has 'oak' (see Oak). The terebinth or **turpentine** tree (Sir 24^{16})—*Pistacia terebinthus*, the *butm* of the Arabs—is one of the most imposing trees in Palestine. In almost every locality where it is allowed to attain its full growth—30 to 40 feet high—it is associated with a sacred tomb or grove: many such groves are still deeply venerated in Galilee. Dwarfed trees occur everywhere among the oak brushwood. The tree has pinnate, lancet-shaped leaves and small reddish clusters like immature grape clusters; it is also often covered with curious red galls—like pieces of coral. The dark overhanging foliage affords a grateful shade in summer, but in autumn the leaves change colour and fall off. Cf. Mamre.

E. W. G. Masterman.

TERESH.—A chamberlain of Ahasuerus (Est 2^{21}); called in Ad. Est. 12^{1} **Tharra.**

TERTIUS.—St. Paul's amanuensis who wrote Romans and added a personal salutation (16^{22}). It was the Apostle's custom to employ a scribe (no doubt dictating shorthand notes, a common practice), but to add a short autograph himself. The autographs probably are: Ro 16^{25-27}, 1 Co 16^{21-24} (expressly), 2 Co $13^{13f.}$, Gal 6^{11-18} (expressly), Eph $6^{23f.}$, Ph 4^{21-23}, Col 4^{18} (expressly), 1 Th 5^{25-28}, 2 Th $3^{17f.}$ (expressly). In the Pastoral Epistles and Philemon, which are personal letters, the presence of autograph passages is more uncertain.

A. J. Maclean.

TERTULLUS.—This name (a diminutive of *Tertius*) is that of the advocate hired by the Jews to speak for them against St. Paul before Felix (Ac 24^{1}). From his name we should judge him to be a Roman; probably he was not a Jew. It has been conjectured (Dean Milman) that his speech is a translation from the Latin, though Greek was allowed in the law courts. It is a gross piece of flattery, for the Jews were in constant opposition to Felix. It accuses St. Paul of stirring up disturbances, of being the ringleader of an unlawful sect, and of profaning the Temple (cf. the reply in 25^{8}).

A. J. Maclean.

TESTAMENT.—The word is not found in the OT. In the text of the RV of the NT it occurs only twice (He $9^{16f.}$), and is used to translate the Gr. word *diathēkē*, elsewhere rendered '**covenant**' (with 'testament' in the margin). In He 9^{15-20} *diathēkē* is three times translated 'covenant,' and twice 'testament.' An indication of the difficulty involved in its interpretation is given in the marginal note: 'The Greek word here used signifies both *covenant* and *testament*.'

In classical Greek *diathēkē* means 'a testamentary disposition,' and *synthēkē* 'a covenant.' The latter word connotes an agreement between two persons regarded as being on an equal footing (*syn-*); hence it is unsuitable as a designation of God's gracious covenants with men. The LXX therefore use *diathēkē* as the equivalent of the Heb. word for 'covenant' (*bĕrīth*), its most frequent application being to the Divine covenants, which are not matters of mutual arrangement between God and His people, but are rather 'analogous to the disposition of property by testament.' In the LXX *diathēkē* was extended to covenants between man and man, but Westcott says: 'There is not the least trace of the meaning "testament" in the Greek Old Test. Scriptures, and the idea of a "testament" was indeed foreign to the Jews till the time of the Herods' (*Com. on Hebrews*, Additional Note on 9^{16}).

In the NT 'covenant' is unquestionably the correct translation of *diathēkē* when it occurs 'in strictly Biblical and Hebraic surroundings' [see Covenant]. But, as Ramsay has pointed out, there was a development in the meaning of the word after the publication of the LXX. This development was 'partly in the line of natural growth in Greek will-making, . . . partly in the way of assimilation of Roman ideas on **wills**' (*Hist. Com. on Galatians*, p. 360). Therefore the question which the interpreter must ask is, 'What ideas did the word convey to the first readers of the NT writings?'

The Revisers' preference for 'testament' in He $9^{16f.}$ is strongly confirmed by the fact that 'the Roman will . . . appeared in the East as a document which had no standing and no meaning until after the testator's death, and was revocable by him at pleasure.' But whilst the Epistle to the Hebrews was written to those who knew only the Roman will, the Epistle to the Galatians was written at a time when in Hellenized Asia Minor 'irrevocability was a characteristic feature' of Greek will-making. The Galatian will had to do primarily with the appointment of an heir; no second will could invalidate it or 'add essentially novel conditions.' Such a will furnished St. Paul (3^{15}) with an analogy; like God's word, it was 'irrevocable.' It might be supplemented in details, but 'in essence the second will must confirm the original will' (Ramsay, *op. cit.* p. 349 ff.).

In the NT, *testamentum* is the uniform Lat. tr. of *diathēkē*. Frequently, therefore, it means 'covenant' (Lk 1^{72}, Ac 7^{8}, Ro 11^{27} etc.). This use of the Latin word is the explanation of the fact that, as early as the second cent. of our era, the books of the Old and New Covenants were spoken of as the Old and New Testaments.

J. G. Tasker.

TESTAMENTS OF TWELVE PATRIARCHS.—See Apocalyptic Literature, **5.**

TESTIMONY.—See Ark, **1**; Tabernacle, **7** (*a*); Witness; and, for 2 K 11^{12}, Ornaments, **4.**

TETH.—The ninth letter of the Heb. alphabet, and as such employed in the 119th Psalm to designate the 9th part, each verse of which begins with this letter.

TETRARCH.—The transliteration of a Gr. word (*tetrarchēs*) whose literal meaning is 'the ruler of a fourth part.' As a title it lost its strict etymological force, and was used of 'a petty prince,' or 'the ruler of a district.' In the NT 'Herod the tetrarch' is Herod Antipas, son of Herod the Great; he ruled over Galilee and Perræa (Mt 14^{1}, Lk $3^{1.\ 19}$ 9^{7}, Ac 13^{1}), and is popularly styled 'king' (Mk $6^{14ff.}$, Mt 14^{9}). Two other tetrarchs are mentioned in Lk 3^{1}; viz., Herod Philip, the brother of Antipas, who ruled over the Ituræan and Trachonitic territory; and Lysanias, who was Tetrarch of Abilene 'in the fifteenth year of Tiberius' (see Schürer, *HJP* I. ii., App. 1). J. G. TASKER.

TETTER.—See MEDICINE, p. 600ᵃ.

TEXT, VERSIONS, AND LANGUAGES OF OT.—**1.** LANGUAGES OF THE OT.—The OT, except certain small sections, was written in *Hebrew*, and it has been preserved in its original language. But Jer 10^{11}, Dn 2^{4}–7^{28}, Ezr 4^{8}–6^{18} 7^{12-26} are in *Aramaic*, though it is disputed in the case of Dn 2^{4}–7^{28} whether this was the original language, or that of an Aramaic version which has replaced a Hebrew original. Hebrew and Aramaic alike belong to the group of languages known as Semitic, of which Assyrian (or the language of the ancient Assyrians and Babylonians) and Arabic are also important members.

2. *The Hebrew language: Character and History.*—**Hebrew** is closely allied to Phœnician, to the language of the Moabites represented by Mesha's inscription (*c.* B.C. 800), and to the language spoken in Canaan before (as well as after) the Hebrew invasion, known in part from the Canaanite glosses in the Tell el-Amarna tablets (*c.* B.C. 1400), in part from Canaanitish names contained in ancient monuments, as, for example, the list of places in Canaan recorded as among his conquests by Thothmes III. (*c.* B.C. 1600). It is held by some scholars that the conquering Israelites adopted the language of Canaan, having previously spoken a language more nearly akin to Arabic (so, *e.g.*, Hommel, *AHT* 120, 218). From the time at least when they were once well settled in the country, Hebrew was alike the colloquial and the literary language of the Israelites. Some difference, such as is usual, no doubt always existed between the colloquial and the literary language,though our knowledge of the colloquial is only such as we can draw by inference from the literature. But there came a time when Hebrew ceased to be the colloquial language, being replaced by **Aramaic**, and survived only as a literary language. The disuse of Hebrew in favour of Aramaic cannot be precisely dated, and was probably enough gradual; according to 2 K 18^{26}, in the time of Isaiah (8th cent. B.C.), Aramaic was unintelligible to the Jewish populace, but as a language of diplomacy was spoken by Assyrian and Jewish officials alike. Apparently as late as Nehemiah (5th cent. B.C.) the colloquial language of the Jews in Palestine was still Hebrew, called 'Jewish' (Neh 13^{24} as in 2 K 18^{26}). In the first century A.D., as the few sayings of the popular language preserved in the NT (such as *Talitha cumi*) prove, it was Aramaic. Between these two dates, and, as we may infer from the increasing influence of Aramaic on the later books of the OT, considerably nearer the earlier than the later date, the change was made. Long before Aramaic replaced Hebrew as the spoken language, it exercised an influence through the spoken on the written language such as is commonly exercised by the language of one neighbouring people on another,—that is to say, Hebrew borrowed words from Aramaic, as English borrows words from French and French from English. The Northern Kingdom was first brought into closer proximity with Aramaic-speaking peoples, and later the Southern Kingdom; and Aramaisms have consequently been regarded as pointing to a northern, or to a relatively late, origin of the writings in which they occur. Certainly any large presence of Aramaisms, and in particular any conspicuous Aramaizing of the syntax, due to the influence on their writings of the language which the later writers commonly spoke, such as we find, for example, in Daniel and Ecclesiastes, points to a late date.

Other languages besides Aramaic contributed to the vocabulary of Hebrew: *Assyrian*, indirectly through the Canaanites from the earliest times to an extent not easily to be defined, and later directly; *Persian*, after the Persian conquest of Babylon in 538; *Greek*, after the time of Alexander (332 B.C.); and *Latin*, after the establishment of Roman suzerainty over Judæa in the first century B.C. Latin words are found in the Hebrew of the Mishna, but not in the OT; a few Greek words in the latest writings of the OT (particularly Daniel, about B.C. 167) and very many in the Mishna; Persian words in some of the post-exilic literature (Esther, Canticles, Tobit).

3. *The Hebrew alphabet vowelless.*—The Hebrew alphabet used by the OT writers consisted of twenty-two consonants: it contained no vowels, in this resembling Phœnician, Moabitic, and the ancient Arabic and Syriac alphabets. Our knowledge of the pronunciation of Hebrew words, as far as the vowels are concerned, depends on three main sources: (1) Jewish tradition, which is embodied in vowel signs invented between the 4th and 9th centuries A.D., and written under, over, or in the consonants of the ancient text; (2) the Greek versions, which transliterate a large number of Hebrew words, especially, but by no means only, the proper names; (3) the Assyrian texts: these, being written in a language which expressed in writing vowel sounds as well as consonantal, give us the vowels of such Hebrew names as they cite.

Though in the oldest Hebrew MSS of the Bible the consonants of the original text are accompanied by the vowels which express at once the traditional pronunciation and the traditional interpretation of the text, it is now as generally accepted that the vowels formed no part of the original text as that the earth revolves round the sun. Down to the 17th century it was otherwise; and that century was marked by a final and keen discussion of this point.

4. *Transliteration of Hebrew adopted in this article.*—Since considerable importance attaches to this Jewish tradition as to the pronunciation, it will be necessary to represent the vowels in our discussion of the text, but it is important also to indicate their secondary origin and subordinate position. Throughout this article, then, the Hebrew consonants will be represented by equivalent or approximately equivalent English capitals, except the 1st and 16th letters of the Hebrew alphabet, which, being gutturals with no approximate equivalent in English, will be retained in their Hebrew form (א, ע), and may be passed over unpronounced by the English reader. The vowels will be represented by English small letters printed under the consonant after which they are to be pronounced; thus $\underset{a}{\text{DBR}}$, pronounced *dabar*. The Jewish scholars distinguished by different signs between long and short vowels; no attempt will be made here to mark these distinctions, and the peculiar half-vowels, the *shĕva's*, as they are termed, will be left unrepresented. Letters doubled in pronunciation, but without a vowel between them, were represented by the letter written once, not twice. The Hebrew vocalists distinguished these doubled letters by inserting a dot in the middle of them. This dot or *daghesh* will be represented here by the sign | above the letter: thus $\underset{i}{\text{DB}}\vert\underset{e}{\text{R}}$, pronounced *dibber*.

5. *Date of the addition of vowels to the OT text.*—The date at which the vowels were attached to the consonants

TEXT, VERSIONS, LANGUAGES OF OT

of the Hebrew text can be determined only within broad limits. It was after the beginning of the 5th cent. A.D., for the way in which Jerome speaks leaves no room for doubt that the Hebrew Scriptures in his day were unvocalized; it must have been before the 10th cent., for the fully developed system is employed in the earliest Hebrew Biblical MSS, which date from the beginning of the 10th cent. (or, according to some, from the 9th cent.).

6. *Earlier attempts to represent vowel sounds.*—Long before the invention of vowel points certain consonants had been used, though neither systematically nor consistently, to indicate the vowel sounds: thus H was used to indicate *a*, and sometimes *e*; W to indicate *o* or *u*, Y to indicate *i*. This practice in some measure goes back to the times, and doubtless also to the actual usage, of some of the writers of the OT; but in many cases these consonants used to indicate vowels were added by scribes or editors. This we learn from the fact that passages which happen to occur twice in the OT differ in the extent to which, and the particular instances in which, these letters are employed. Ps 18 occurs not only in the Psalter, but also in 2 S 22; the Psalm expresses these consonants used vocalically 17 times where 2 Sam. does not, *e.g.* 2 Sam. writes ḴDMNY (v.[6]) and HḤṢYM (v.[31]), where the Ps. writes ḴDMWNY and HḤWṢYM. In some cases Rabbinic discussions prove that words now written with these vowel letters were once without them; so, *e.g.*, it appears from a discussion attributed to two Rabbis of the 2nd cent. A.D. that in Is 51[4] the word LאMY ('my nation' RV) was at that time written without the W, thus LאMY. The importance of this fact for the textual criticism will appear later.

7. *Character of evidence for the text of OT.*—The text of the OT has been transmitted to us through circumstances singularly different from those which mark the transmission of the NT text; and the results are a difference in the relative value attaching to different classes of evidence, and a much less close and sure approach to the original text when the best use has been made of the material at our disposal. Quotations play a much less immediate and conspicuous part in the criticism of the OT than in the criticism of the NT; and here we may confine our attention to the nature of the evidence for the text of the OT furnished by (1) Hebrew MSS, (2) ancient Versions.

8. (1) *Hebrew MSS.*—One well-established result of the examination of Hebrew MSS is that all existing MSS are derived from a single edition prepared by Jewish scholars in accordance with a textual tradition which goes back substantially to the 2nd cent. A.D., but became increasingly minute. This is proved by the existence in all MSS of the same peculiarities, such as the occurrence at certain places of letters smaller or larger than the normal, of dots over certain letters, or broken or inverted letters. For example, the H in the word BHBRאM (Gn 2[4]) is written small in all Hebrew MSS; it was doubtless written originally so by accident or owing to pressure of room; but under the influence of a school of Jewish scholars, of whom R. Aqiba in the 2nd cent. B.C. was a leading spirit, all such minutiæ of the Scripture acquired a mystic significance. Thus the word just cited really means 'when they were created,' but the small H was taken to mean that the words were to be translated 'in the letter H he (*i.e.* God) created them' (the heavens and the earth), and this in turn led to much curious speculation. As another illustration of this method of interpretation, which was so important in securing from the 1st or 2nd cent. A.D. onwards a remarkably accurate transmission of the text, the case of the word WYYṢR in Gn 2[7] may be cited. The word means 'And he formed'; an alternative orthography for the word is WYṢR (with one Y). Why, it was asked, was it here written with two Y's? Because, it was answered, God created man with two YṢRS (*i.e.* two natures), the good nature and the bad. In order to secure the perpetuation of the text exactly as it existed, a mass of elaborate rules and calculations was gradually established; for example, the number of occurrences of cases of peculiar orthography, the number of words in the several books, the middle word in each book, and so forth, were calculated and ultimately embodied in notes on the margins of the MSS containing the Scriptures. This textual tradition is known as the **Massorah**, and those who perpetuated it as **Massoretes**. The Massorah also includes a certain number of variant or conjectural readings; in this case the one reading (**Kethîbh** 'written') stands in the text, but provided with vowels that do not belong to the consonants in the text, but to the consonants of the alternative reading (**Qerē** 'read') given in the margin. *E.g.*, in Job 9[30] the word BMW, which means 'with,' should, if vocalized, have the vowel *o* over the W; but in the Hebrew text the vowel actually supplied to the word is *e* under the M, which is the vowel that really belongs to the marginal reading BMY, and this means 'in the water of.' These Massoretic variants are for the most part relatively uninteresting. The value of the Massorah in perpetuating a form of the Hebrew text for many centuries has doubtless been great; but it has also long served to obscure the fact that the text which it has perpetuated with such slight variation or mutilation was already removed by many centuries from the original text and had suffered considerably.

In spite of the Massorah, certain minute variations have crept into the Hebrew MSS and even into the consonantal text. The vowels, it must be repeated, are merely an interpretation of the original text of Scripture, and not part of it, and different Hebrew MSS show as a matter of fact two distinct systems of vocalization, with different symbols.

9. *The earliest MSS.*—Among the earliest Hebrew Biblical MSS are the *Prophetarum posteriorum codex Babylonicus Petropolitanus*, dated A.D. 916; a codex of the Former and Latter Prophets now in the Karaite synagogue at Cairo, and written, if correctly dated, in A.D. 895; a codex of the entire Bible, written by Samuel ben Jacob, now at St. Petersburg, and written, if the dating be genuine, in A.D. 1009.

10. *Critical editions of the Massoretic text.*—The most accurate reproductions of the Massoretic text are the edition of the Hebrew Bible by S. Baer and Fr. Delitzsch and that by C. D. Ginsburg. These are critical editions of the Massoretic text, but make no attempt to be critical editions of the OT text, *i.e.* they make no use whatever of the Versions or of any other evidence than the Massoretic tradition.

11. *The Samaritan Pentateuch.*—Before passing from the evidence of Hebrew MSS we have to note that for the Pentateuch, though unfortunately for the Pentateuch only, we have the invaluable assistance of a Hebrew text representing an entirely different recension. This is the **Samaritan Pentateuch.** The Samaritan Pentateuch is a form of the Hebrew text which has been perpetuated by the Samaritans. It is written in the Samaritan character, which far more closely resembles the ancient Hebrew characters than the square Hebrew characters in which the Massoretic MSS are written, and is *without vowels*. The available MSS of the Samaritan Pentateuch are considerably later than the earliest Massoretic MSS; nor is it probable that the copy at Nāblus, though perhaps the earliest Samaritan MS in existence, is earlier than the 12th or 13th cent. A.D. But the value of the recension lies in the fact that it has descended since the 4th cent. B.C. in a different circle, and under different circumstances, from those which have influenced the Massoretic MSS. Though in some respects, as for example through expansion by insertion of matter from parallel passages, the Samaritan is more remote than the Jewish from the original text, it has also preserved better readings, often in agreement with the LXX. An instance is Gn 4[8]; here in the ordinary Hebrew MSS some words spoken by Cain have certainly

dropped out; the fact is obscured in the RV (text), which mistranslates; the Hebrew text really reads, 'And Cain said to Abel his brother'; the Samaritan text and the LXX have the additional words, 'Let us go into the field'; this is probably right (see next clause).

12. *The Samaritan Targum.*—No thoroughly critical edition of the Samaritan Pentateuch at present exists. The material for establishing a critical text consists of the several MSS and also of the Samaritan Targum—a translation of the Samaritan recension into an Aramaic dialect. The colloquial language of the Samaritans, like that of the later Jews, was different from that in which the Scripture was written.

13. *Papyrus fragment of OT text.*—Thanks to a recent discovery, we have a further witness to a fragment of the Hebrew text of the Pentateuch. This is the Nash papyrus. The papyrus is apparently not later than the 2nd cent. A.D.; and it contains the Ten Commandments and Dt $6^{4f.}$ in Hebrew. The text, which is of course unvocalized, is several times in agreement with the LXX against the Massoretic text. This fragment was edited by Mr. S. A. Cook in *PSBA* (Jan. 1903).

14. (2) *Versions: Earliest MSS.*—We come now to the second main branch of evidence for the text of the OT. The evidence of Versions is of exceptional importance in the case of the OT. In the first place, the actual MSS of the Versions are much older than the earliest Hebrew MSS; the earliest Hebrew MSS date from the 10th cent. A.D., but there are Greek MSS of the OT of the 4th cent. A.D. and there is a Syriac MS of the greater part of the Pentateuch of the date A.D. 464. But secondly, and of even greater importance, the Versions, and especially the LXX, represent different lines of tradition; in so far as the original text of the LXX itself can be established, it is a witness to the state of the text some two to four centuries before the date at which the stereotyping of the Hebrew text by the Massoretes took place.

The Versions of the OT are either primary, *i.e.* made direct from the Hebrew text, or secondary, *i.e.* made from a Version. Secondary Versions are of immediate importance in establishing the true text of the primary version from which they are made; and only indirectly witness to the Hebrew text. Among them the Old Latin Version is of exceptional importance in determining the text of the LXX. On this and other versions of the LXX, see GREEK VERSIONS OF OT, § 11.

15. *Brief account of the Primary Versions.*—The Primary Versions of the OT, arranged in (approximately) chronological order, are as follows:—

(1) The earliest **Greek Version,** commonly known as the **Septuagint.** The earliest part of this version, namely, the translation of the Pentateuch, goes back to the 3rd century B.C. The remaining parts of the OT were translated at different later periods; but the version was probably, in the main at least, complete before the end of the 2nd cent. B.C. See GR. VERSIONS OF OT.

(2) The **Targums.** These Aramaic versions may be considered next, inasmuch as they rest on a tradition earlier than the date of the versions yet to be mentioned; it is probable, however, that no Targum was actually committed to writing till some centuries later, after the later Greek versions, perhaps, too, after the Syriac Version, had been made.

The quotation from Ps 22^{1} in Mt 27^{46} || Mk 15^{34} is in Aramaic; and Eph 4^{8} agrees more closely with the Targum than with the Hebrew text of Ps 68^{4}. From these facts we may perhaps infer that an Aramaic version had to some extent become orally fixed by the 1st cent. A.D.

The Targums are in large part very free, and even diffuse, paraphrases rather than translations of the Hebrew text. They owe their origin to the custom of explaining the Hebrew passages of Scripture read in the synagogues in the language spoken by the people, which was Aramaic. The earliest (as is most generally believed) and least paraphrastic of these versions is the **Targum of Onkelos** on the Pentateuch; it does not appear to have been committed to writing before the 5th cent. A.D., and is first mentioned by name by Saadiah Gaon in the 9th century. Far more paraphrastic is the Targum of the Pentateuch known as the **Targum of Jonathan,** or the **Jerusalem Targum.** Fragments of yet a third Targum of the Pentateuch survive, and are known as the **2nd Jerusalem Targum.** Quite distinct from these is the **Samaritan Targum,** which is a translation of the Samaritan recension of the Hebrew text (see § 11). The chief Targum of the Prophets is that known as the **Targum of Jonathan ben Uzziel:** it is not much younger than the Targum of Onkelos, and is by some considered to be even earlier. There are also fragments of another Targum of the Prophets. Targums of the Hagiographa (with the exception of Ezra, Nehemiah, and Daniel) exist, and there are two of the Book of Esther. Cf. art. TARGUMS.

The text of the Targums will be found in Walton's (and other) polyglots, with a Latin translation. Onkelos has been separately edited by Berliner (1884), and the Prophets and Hagiographa by Lagarde (1872, 1874). See, further, Hastings' *DB*, art. 'Targum.' There is an English translation of the Targums of the Pentateuch by Etheridge (2 vols., London, 1862–1865).

(3), (4), and (5) The **Greek Versions** (which have survived in fragments only) of Aquila, Theodotion, and Symmachus, all of the 2nd cent. A.D. See GREEK VERSIONS OF OT, §§ 15-18.

(6) The **Syriac Version,** commonly called the Peshitta. The date at which this version was made is unknown. The earliest extant MS of part of this version is, as stated above, of the year 464 A.D.; and the quotations of Aphraates (4th cent. A.D.) from all parts of the OT agree with the Peshitta. The character of the version differs in different books, being literal in the Pentateuch and Job, paraphrastic for example in Chronicles and Ruth. The text in the main agrees closely with the Massoretic Hebrew text, though in parts (*e.g.* in Genesis, Isaiah, the Minor Prophets, and Psalms) it has been influenced by the LXX.

(7) The **Vulgate.**—The **Old Latin Version** was a translation of the LXX. To Christian scholars acquainted with Hebrew the wide differences between the LXX and versions derived from it and the Hebrew text then current became obvious. As it seemed suitable to Origen to correct the current LXX text so that it should agree more closely with the Hebrew, so at the close of the 4th century Jerome, after first revising the Old Latin, making alterations only when the sense absolutely demanded it, prepared an entirely fresh translation direct from the Hebrew text. The Vulgate is derived from this direct translation of Jerome's from the Hebrew in the case of all the canonical books of the OT except the Psalms; the Psalms appear commonly in editions of the Vulgate in the form of the so-called Gallican Psalter; this was a second version of the Old Latin, in which, however, after the manner of Origen's Hexaplaric text, the translation was brought nearer to the current Hebrew text by including matter contained in the later Greek versions but absent from the LXX, and obelizing matter in the LXX which was absent from the later versions. Jerome's Latin version of the Psalms, made direct from the Hebrew, has been edited by Lagarde (*Psalterium juxta Hebræos Hieronymi*, 1874). On the extent to which editions of the Vulgate differ from Jerome's translation, see VULGATE. In some cases additional matter (*e.g.* 1 S 14^{41}, on which passage see § 24) has been incorporated from the Old Latin.

The effect of the substitution of Jerome's version from the Hebrew text for the Old Latin version of the LXX was to give the Church a Bible which was more elegant and intelligible and in much closer agreement with the Hebrew text current in the 4th cent. A.D., but which at the same time was in many passages more remote from the original text of the OT.

16. *Two groups of versions. Pre-eminence of the*

TEXT, VERSIONS, LANGUAGES OF OT

Septuagint.—Judged from the standpoint of their importance for recovering the original text of the OT, and for the kind of service which they render to OT textual criticism, the primary versions fall into two groups: (1) the LXX, (2) the rest. The LXX differs, and often differs widely, from the Massoretic text; the remaining versions closely agree with it: the LXX dates from before the Christian era and, what is more significant, from before the rise of the Massoretic schools; the remaining versions date from after the Christian era, and, with the *possible* exception of the Syriac, from after the close of 1st cent. A.D. The agreement of these versions made direct from the Hebrew text at various dates subsequent to 100 B.C. confirms the conclusion suggested above, that since that date the Hebrew text has suffered relatively little in course of transmission. Such variations as do occur in these versions from the Hebrew consist largely (though not exclusively) of variations in the interpretation of the consonants, *i.e.* while presupposing the same consonants as the present Hebrew text, they presuppose also that these consonants were pronounced with other vowels than those which were added to the text after the 5th cent. A.D. These variations therefore do not, strictly speaking, represent variants in the text of the OT, but merely in the commentary on that text, which at the time the versions were made was still oral, and only later was committed to writing in the form of vowels attached to the consonants, of which alone the Scripture proper consisted.

A fuller discussion of the versions of the OT other than the LXX would carry us into *minutiæ* of the subject which do not belong to a brief sketch such as the present. On the other hand, the LXX claims further attention even here.

17. *The early history of the Hebrew text.*—The history of the Hebrew text since the 2nd cent. A.D. is uneventful; it is a history of careful transmission which has preserved the text from any serious deterioration since that date. But the fortunes of the text before that date had been more varied and far less happy. They cannot be followed completely, nor always with certainty. But the main fact is abundantly clear, that between the ages of their several authors and the 2nd cent. A.D. the Hebrew Scriptures had suffered corruption, and not infrequently very serious corruption. Nor is this surprising when it is remembered that the text in that period consisted of consonants only, that in the course of it the character of the writing was changed from the Old Hebrew to the square character still in use (the difference between the two being greater than that between old black letter type and the Roman type now commonly used), that in the earlier part of the period copies of the books cannot have been numerous, and that in times of persecution copies were hunted for and destroyed (1 Mac $1^{56f.}$). We are here concerned, of course, merely with such changes as crept into the text accidentally, or such minor changes as the introduction of the expressed for the implicit subject, which belong to the province of textual criticism. The larger changes due to the editing and redacting or union of material belong to the province of higher criticism, though in the case of the OT it is particularly true that at times the line between the two is not sharply defined. Our chief clues to the earlier history of the Hebrew text, and to the solution of the problems connected with it, will be found in a comparison of the Hebrew text with the Septuagint version, and in certain features of the Hebrew text itself. The remainder of this article will be devoted to elucidating and illustrating these two points.

18. *The Hebrew Text between c.* B.C. 250 and *c.* A.D. 100. *The LXX and the Massoretic Text.*—The materials for forming a judgment on the general character of the changes undergone during this period by the Hebrew text, and for the existence of early variant readings in particular passages, are to be drawn mainly from a comparison of the LXX with the Hebrew texts. A much smaller amount of material is to be derived from the quotations in the NT and other early Jewish works, such as the Book of Jubilees, written, according to Dr. Charles, at the close of the 2nd century B.C.; but so far as it goes this material bears witness of the same general character as that of the LXX.

19. A correct solution of the main problem here raised depends on three things: (1) the establishment of the original text of the LXX; (2) the detection of the Hebrew text which lay before the translators; and (3) in cases where the Hebrew text there recorded differs from the present Hebrew text, the determination of the more original of the variants. A complete solution of the problems will never be reached, for it will be no more possible to establish beyond dispute the original text of the LXX than the text of the NT; the detection of the underlying Hebrew text must inevitably often remain doubtful; and when variants are established, there will be in many cases room for differences of opinion as to their relative value. But though no complete solution is to be hoped for, a far greater approximation to such a solution than has yet been reached is possible. A good beginning (though no more) towards the recovery of the original text of the LXX has been made (see GREEK VERSIONS OF OT, § 13), but of really systematic work on the recovery of the underlying Hebrew text there has been far too little. What commonly happens is that in particular passages where the *sense* of the LXX and of the Hebrew text differs, the Greek is re-translated without exhaustive reference to the methods of the translators, and the re-translation thus obtained is cited as the variant. In many cases the true variant even thus has undoubtedly been obtained, but in many others a closer and more systematic investigation of the methods and idiosyncrasies of the translators has shown or will show that, through misinterpretation, the support of the LXX has been cited for variants which there is no reason for believing ever had any existence.

20. *Distinction between real and apparent variants.*—A difference in *sense* between the Greek version and the Hebrew text as subsequently interpreted by no means necessarily points to a variation in the Hebrew text that underlay the version.

For example, parts of the three Hebrew verbs ŠBH (*to lead captive*), and YŠB (*to dwell*) and of ŠWB (*to return*) are indistinguishable in the Hebrew consonantal text; the letters WYŠB may have among others the following meanings, *and he dwelt, and he returned, and he brought back, and he took captive.*

The substitution of one of these meanings for the other occasionally reduces the Greek version to nonsense; inconvenient as this must have been for those who used that version, or versions, like the Old Latin, made from it, it presents no difficulty to those who are attempting to recover the Hebrew original of the Greek version. It may sound paradoxical, yet it is to a large extent true, that for textual criticism the LXX is most useful when it makes least sense; for when a passage makes no sense in the Greek, but can be explained as a translation from the Hebrew, we have the best of reasons for believing that we have before us the original text of the Greek, and through it can recover a Hebrew text of early date. Copyists and translators do not *deliberately* turn sense into nonsense, and sense does not frequently, through mere accidents of transmission, become the particular form of nonsense that can be accounted for by a misunderstanding of a Hebrew original.

As a further illustration we may refer to the Greek translation of the letters BY; these very commonly occur with the meaning *in me*, but they also represent a particle of entreaty *Oh!* or *I pray!*; this particle occurs but rarely, about a dozen times altogether, and its existence was unknown to some of the Greek translators. In the Pentateuch and Joshua it is correctly rendered; but elsewhere it is rendered 'in me' with ridiculous results, as the English reader will see if he substitutes these words for 'Oh' in Jg 6^{13}, 1 S 1^{26}.

But again, there is no difficulty in seeing beneath the nonsense of the Greek the true sense and the actual reading of the Hebrew. The ignorance of the translators is as useful to the textual critic as their knowledge.

21. *Euphemistic translations.*—But there are many variations in sense which point to no real textual variants, though both Hebrew and Greek in themselves yield a good sense.

The last clause of the 19th Psalm in the AV, 'O Lord, my strength and my redeemer,' reads admirably; but though the translators give us no clue to the fact, it is *not* a translation of the Hebrew, it is a translation of the LXX. The Hebrew reads 'My rock and my redeemer' (so RV). In this case the LXX rendering is due not to ignorance, but to religious scruple; their rendering is a euphemism. So in Gn 5^{24} the Greek version substitutes 'Enoch was well-pleasing to God' (hence He 11^{5}) for the anthropomorphic 'walked with God' of the Hebrew text; in these cases, if we had not also the Hebrew text we could not discover the original from the LXX with certainty, or, perhaps, even be sure that the translators were paraphrasing and not translating.

22. *Relative values of Greek version and Hebrew text.*—These illustrations may suffice to show both that much care is required in using the LXX for the recovery of the Hebrew underlying it, and also that it is wide of the mark to depreciate the textual value of the version by emphasizing the ignorance of the translators. Before either the fullest or the securest use of the version can be made, an immense amount of work remains to be done; but the importance of doing this work is clear, for even the most cautious deductions have already proved that the text underlying the LXX and the present Hebrew text differ widely, and that in many instances the LXX text is superior. The relative values differ in the case of different books; and to avoid misunderstanding it should be added that in no case would a simple translation of the LXX bring us as near to the sense of the original document as a translation from the Hebrew text; nor would it be possible, unless the Hebrew text had survived, to detect by means of the LXX the correct text and the sense of the original. Issues are sometimes confused, and the distinctive characteristics and virtues of our two chief witnesses to the text of the OT obscured, in discussions as to the relative values of the LXX and the Massoretic text. Perhaps the most important general point to remember is that neither the one nor the other would be nearly as valuable by itself as it is when used in combination with the other.

23. *Examples of important readings preserved by the Greek Version only.*—We may now pass to some illustrations of important variations in which the LXX has clearly preserved an earlier text than the Hebrew. These are much less numerous in the Pentateuch than elsewhere; probably the Law, as the most important Scripture, received at an early period something approaching to that great care in transmission which was later extended to the entire OT. It is the more remarkable, therefore, that in one section of the Pentateuch (Ex 35–39) we find striking differences in the arrangement of sections in the Hebrew and Greek texts. Other instances of different arrangement or of marked differences in the extent of the material occur in the Books of Job and Jeremiah (see, further, Swete, *Introd. to the OT in Greek*, 221 ff.). This type of difference connects the textual with the higher criticism of these books, and cannot be pursued further here.

24. In some cases matter subsequently lost (through *homoioteleuton* or otherwise), and now absent from the Hebrew text, survives in the Greek.

A striking illustration of this occurs in 1 S 14^{41}. The Hebrew text underlying the Greek version reads, 'Saul said unto Jahweh, the God of Israel [wherefore hast thou not answered thy servant to-day? If this iniquity be in me, or in Jonathan my son, O God of Israel, give Urim, but if this iniquity be in thy servant Israel], give Thummim.' The words in square brackets are absent from the Hebrew text, but certainly belonged to the original, and the origin of the error is clear: the scribe's eye accidentally passed from the first occurrence of 'Israel' to the third, and the intervening words were lost. With the loss of these the sense of the last two words 'give Thummim' became obscure, and the punctuators, followed by RV, gave them an indefensible interpretation.

25. In other cases the Greek version is nearer to the original by its relative brevity; the additional matter now present in the Hebrew text was subsequently interpolated.

As an instance of this we may cite 1 K $6^{20.\ 21}$, which RV, following the Hebrew text, renders, 'And he covered the altar [with cedar. So Solomon overlaid the house within with pure gold: and he drew chains of gold across] before the oracle; and he overlaid it with gold.' The bracketed words are absent from the Greek; it is probable that of these words 'with cedar' stood in the original text, but that the rest were absent. The Greek text has also for the first four words above (before the bracket) the (superior) reading, 'And he made an altar.'

26. At times, when either the sense or the text of both the Hebrew and the Greek is remote from the original, it is possible, from a comparison between the two, to recover the original.

An interesting example of this is furnished by Is $37^{27\mathrm{ff.}}$ = 2 K $19^{26\mathrm{ff.}}$. RV, following the Heb. text, renders, 'They were as the grass of the field, and as corn (Is. 'a field of corn') blasted *before it be grown up*. But I know *thy sitting down* and thy going out and thy coming in.' The Hebrew text of the underlined words is LPNY QMH WŠBTK; the Hebrew equivalent of 'I know' stands much lower in the sentence, and though it may with difficulty be taken as in the RV, more naturally demands a different object. A reading of the Greek text preserved only in a Syriac version of it, but nevertheless probably the original reading of the Greek text, has, for the same underlined words, 'before thy rising up, and thy sitting down'; this presupposes the Hebrew LPNY QMK WŠBTK, which differs from the present Hebrew text by one letter only. The Hebrew text here presupposed is probably original, but has been misunderstood by the translators. The first word, if vocalized as in the Hebrew text and by the Greek translators LPNY, means *before*, but if vocalized LPNY it means *before me*.

Adopting the latter vocalization, we recover (at least so far as the three words are concerned) the original sense, 'They were as grass of the field . . . and as corn that is blasted. Before me is thine uprising and thy down sitting (cf. Ps 139^{2}); and thy going out and thy coming in I know.' So great is the difference in sense that the corruption of a single letter may make in a text which contained only consonants, and no marks of punctuation whatever. The true reading of the Hebrew in this case was first divined by Wellhausen; it remained for Mr. Burkitt to point out that it was the reading of the Greek translators.

27. *The Hebrew text before the date of the Greek version.*—If the Hebrew text suffered to a very considerable extent in the ways just illustrated, during the three or four centuries that intervened between the time when the LXX version was made and the time when the Hebrew text was stereotyped and the later Greek versions were made, by nothing short of a stupendous miracle could the text have been preserved free from errors of transmission, during the centuries that separate the original autographs from the date of the Greek version. This intervening period differs, of course, widely in length; between the age of Isaiah and the Greek translation of the Book of Isaiah lay some six centuries; between the age of Deborah (Jg 5) and the translation of Judges little short of a thousand years; between the age of David (2 S $1^{19\mathrm{ff.}}$) and the translation of Samuel 800 or 900 years. On the other hand, between the *compilation* of the Hexateuch, or the first composition of books such as Ecclesiastes or Daniel, and the translations in the several cases, not more than a couple of centuries elapsed.

28. *Means of detecting early corruption of Hebrew text.*—Though the general fact that the present Hebrew text contains corruptions that date from these earlier centuries cannot reasonably be questioned, the detection of the actual cases of early corruption is

necessarily difficult, and only within limits is it possible. We are obviously far worse situated in attempting to determine corruptions of this date than corruptions of later date; the LXX often indicates the presence of the later corruptions, but we have no external clue to the earlier corruptions. We have to rely entirely on indications in the Hebrew text itself. One of these indications will of course be the occurrence of nonsense, for the original autographs were intended to convey an intelligible meaning. Another indication will be the occurrence of bad grammar—unless in the case of a particular writer there is reason for supposing that he was not master of the language which he wrote. An interesting illustration of the way in which the latter indication may serve is furnished by some of the references to the ark.

The ark is called in Hebrew HʿRN *the ark*, where the first letter is the Hebrew article; or ʿRN BRYT YHWH *the ark of the covenant of the Lord*; where a word in Hebrew is defined by a following genitive it cannot be preceded by the article, so in this second phrase we have ʿRN, not HʿRN. Now, in certain passages (*e.g.* Jos 3^{17}), our present Hebrew text has the grammatically impossible combination HʿRN BRYT YHWH; some corruption then is present here; and it is probable that the original text had only HʿRN *the ark*, and that the two following words are due to the intrusion into the text of an annotator's explanation.

29. *Negative and positive judgments: the justification of conjectural emendation and its limitations.*—The ultimate task of textual criticism is to recover as far as possible the actual words of the original; an intermediate task of the textual criticism of the OT is to establish all the real variants of the Hebrew text underlying the Greek version, and in each case to determine the relative value of the variants. In this way the text which was the common source of the Greek translators and that of the Jewish scholars of the 2nd cent. A.D. is as far as possible recovered. So far negative and positive judgments must necessarily accompany one another; we say, Here the Hebrew text is right, and the Greek text wrong, or *vice versa*. But when we have recovered that common source of the Hebrew and Greek texts, it is wise to distinguish sharply between negative and positive critical judgments. The general fact that there are early errors in the Hebrew text must, as we have seen, be admitted; and, further, no sound criticism of the Hebrew text can proceed far without being compelled to say, This or that is corrupt, even though the Greek version agrees with the Hebrew text or cannot be shown to have differed from it. In some cases where this negative judgment can be passed with confidence, it may be possible with scarcely less confidence to pass to the positive statement. These words are a corruption of these other words; that is to say, the text in such cases can be restored *by conjecture*; but in many cases where the first judgment—These words are not the original text—must be passed, the second judgment ought only to take the form—It is possible that such and such words or something like them were in the original text. In brief, we can more often detect early corruption than restore the text which has been corrupted. The reason should be obvious. Nonsense (to take the extreme case) must be due to corruption, but the sense which it has obscured may altogether elude us, or, at best, we may be able to discern the general sense without determining the actual words.

There can be no question that it is nonsense to say, as the Hebrew text does, that Saul, who was anointed king to meet a national emergency, was a year old when he began to reign (1 S 13^{1}); but it is impossible to say whether the original text attributed to him twenty, thirty, forty, or any other particular number of years. Nonsense is unfortunately more serious in the original language than in a version; we may pass easily from nonsense in the LXX to the actual original consonants of the Hebrew text, which merely require, when thus recovered, to be correctly interpreted; but if the Hebrew letters themselves yield nonsense, we are reduced to guessing, and frequently with little hope of guessing right.

TEXT, VERSIONS, LANGUAGES OF OT

30. The preceding paragraphs should have suggested the justification for conjectural emendation in the textual criticism of the OT, and at the same time they should have indicated its limitations. As against a conjectural emendation, it is in no way to the point to urge that the Hebrew text and all the versions are against it; for the agreement of the Hebrew text and the versions merely establishes the text as it was current about, let us say, B.C. 300. The principle of conjecture is justified by the centuries of transmission that the Hebrew text had passed through before that date. It may be worth while to notice also the degree of truth and the measure of misunderstanding involved in another common objection to conjectural emendations. Tacitly or openly it takes this form: Critics offer different emendations of the same passage; not all of these can be right; therefore the Hebrew text is not to be questioned. The real conclusion is rather this, The fact that *several* scholars have questioned the text renders the presence of corruption probable, that they differ in their emendations shows that the restoration of the original text is uncertain. The idiosyncrasy of a single scholar may lead him to emend the text unnecessarily; the larger the number who feel compelled to pronounce it unsound, the greater the probability that it is unsound, however difficult or uncertain it may be to pass beyond the negative judgment to positive reconstruction of the text.

31. *Evidence of parallel texts within the OT.*—We have now to consider in what ways beyond those indicated in § 28 the Hebrew text, taken by itself, gives indication of the presence of corruptions, or, on the other hand, of having been accurately preserved, and how it is to be used in order to approximate most closely to the original text, and through it to the original intention of the authors of the several books.

Of most importance, so far as it is available, is the evidence of double texts within the OT. There are certain passages that occur twice over in the OT: *e.g.* Ps 18 is found also in 2 S 22; Ps 14 recurs as Ps 53; 2 K 18^{13}–20^{19} is (for the most part) repeated in Is 36–39; 2 K 24^{18}–25^{21} and 25^{27-30} in Jer 52, and large parts of Samuel and Kings are incorporated in Chronicles. The variations between these parallel texts are of two kinds: some are due to the editor who incorporates in his own the matter common to his work and the earlier work from which he derives it; for example, in drawing on the Books of Samuel and Kings, the Chronicler often abbreviates, expands, or modifies the passages he borrows, with a view to adapting them to his special purpose; or, again, the editor who included the 14th Psalm in the collection in which Ps 53 stands, substituted 'God' for 'Jahweh' (PSALMS, § 2 (2)). With these changes, which it is the province of higher criticism to consider and explain, we are not here concerned. But the second type of variations is due to accidents of transmission, and not infrequently what is evidently the earlier reading is preserved in the later work; 'and the explanation is very simple: the earlier books were more read and copied: and the more a book is used, the worse is its text' (Benzinger). In certain cases there is room for doubt as to the type to which particular variations belong, so, for example, in several variations as between 2 K 18–21 and Is 36–39. As an illustration of the nature and extent of variations between two parallel texts of the OT, we may rather more fully analyze the variations in Ps 18 and 2 S 22. In a few cases the Greek version of both passages agrees with the Hebrew of one, and here the presumption is that the Hebrew text of the other passage has suffered corruption *after* the date of the Greek version; but in the majority of cases in which the Hebrew variations can be represented in Greek, the Greek version of Ps 18 agrees with the Hebrew text of the Psalm, and the Greek version of 2 S 22 with the Hebrew text of that passage. In these instances the presumption is that the variation had arisen

TEXT, VERSIONS, LANGUAGES OF OT

before the date of the Greek version. There are in all more than 80 variations. Of these just over 20 are cases of vowel letters (§ 6) present in the one text, and absent from the other; in the great majority of instances it is the Psalm that has the vowel letters, and 2 S 22 that lacks them.

Among the remaining variations are cases of the following kinds:—(1) Omissions or additions: Ps 18^{1} is absent from 2 S., so also is v.^{35b}; on the other hand, 2 S 22^{3c} is absent from the Psalm. In about a dozen other instances single words present in one text are absent from the other; (2) in two or three cases a word has been lost through the substitution for it of a word repeated in a parallel or neighbouring line: so 'billows' in Ps 18^{4} has accidentally given place to 'cords' from v.^{5} (cf. 2 S.); (3) the variations from Ps $18^{11b.\ 42b}$ in 2 S $22^{12.\ 43}$ are due to the confusion of similar letters; (4) Ps $18^{28.\ 31}$ differs from 2 S. in respect of the Divine name used (in v.^{31} the Ps. has Eloah, 2 S. El); (5) inversion of words (not shewn in EV), Ps 18^{49}; there are also cases of inversion of letters; (6) use of different synonyms, Ps 18^{48}. The variation of Ps 18^{14b} from 2 S 22^{15b} is more complicated, and the significance of several of the variations is clear only in the Hebrew.

32. *Evidence of mutilated literary forms.*—(1) *Acrostics.*—Thus the comparison of parallel texts furnishes one line of evidence of the way in which the Hebrew text had suffered in transmission before the date of the Greek version. Another proof may be found in the mutilated form in which certain fixed literary forms survive in the present Hebrew text. Most conclusive is the case of the acrostic poems (see ACROSTIC). At times two considerations converge to prove a particular passage corrupt. For example, the early part of Nah 1 consists of a mutilated acrostic: in the middle of v.^{4} a word beginning with D should occur; instead, the word ℵMLL beginning with ℵ is found; but this word ℵMLL occurs again in the parallel line; in the light of Ps 18^{4} (see previous §, instance 2) it is probable that ℵMLL in the first has been accidentally substituted for a parallel word which began with D.

33. (2) *Rhythm and strophe.*—It is possible that further study of the laws of Hebrew rhythm or metre may give us a valuable instrument for the detection of corruption; much has already been attempted in this way, and in some cases already with results of considerable probability. Similarly, in some cases the strophic division of poems admits of conclusions that are again, if not certain, yet probable. Thus in Is 9^{8}–10^{4} and $5^{25\text{-}29}$ we have a poem in five strophes marked off from one another by a refrain (ISAIAH [BOOK OF], p. 390[a]): in the present text the first strophe consists of 13, the second of 14, the third of 14, the fourth of 14, and the fifth of 15 lines; the probability is that originally each strophe was exactly equal, and that the first strophe has lost a line, and that the fifth has been enlarged by the interpolation of a line.

34. *Limited extent of corruption of text of OT.*—The considerations adduced in the two preceding paragraphs have a double edge. They show, it is true, that the Hebrew text has in places suffered considerably; but they also indicate certain limits within which corruption has taken place, or, to state it otherwise, the degree of integrity which the transmitted text has preserved. If in the ways just indicated we can detect the loss or intrusion of lines or words, or the substitution of one word for another, we can elsewhere claim a strong presumption in favour of a poem having preserved its original length and structure. For example, the majority of the acrostics have come down to us with little or no mutilation that affects their length or the recurrence at the right place of the acrostic letters. Similarly the very possibility of determining rhythm must rest on a considerable amount of the text having reached us free from far-reaching corruption. A further consideration of a different kind may be found in the fact that a large number of proper names (which are peculiarly exposed to transmissional corruption) as handed down in the Hebrew text have been paralleled in ancient material brought to light by modern discovery. In many cases it is beyond question that names have suffered in the course of transmission; but the correct transmission of rare, and in some cases strange, names is significant.

35. *Secondary nature of vowel letters: bearing on textual criticism.*—So long as we deal with parallel texts, we are not brought face to face with the question of how to deal with a Hebrew text resting on a single authority. Yet the great bulk of the OT is of this class. How, then, is it to be dealt with, especially when there is no control over it to be obtained from fixed literary forms? The first duty of sound criticism is to disregard, or at least to suspect, all vowel letters (see § 6). We cannot, indeed, assert positively that the original writers made no use of these letters, for we find them employed in certain cases in early inscriptions (Moabite stone, Siloam inscription); but in view of the evidence of the parallel texts of the Hebrew Bible, of the LXX, and of Rabbinic references, it is certain that in a large number of cases these vowel letters have been added in the course of transmission. The consequence is that we cannot claim any particular vowel letter for the original author; he may have used it, he may not: particularly in the case of earlier writers, the latter alternative is as a rule the more probable. In other important respects the form of the present Hebrew consonantal text differs from what there is reason to believe was its earlier form.

36. *Similarity of certain letters a source of confusion.*—We have seen above (§ 17) that the alphabet in which existing Hebrew MSS are written differs widely from that in use at the time when the OT was written; the letter *yod*, proverbially the smallest (Mt 5^{18}) in the alphabet in use since the Christian era, was one of the larger letters of the earlier script. It is necessary in doubtful passages to picture the text as written in this earlier script, and to consider the probability of a text differing from the received text merely by letters closely resembling one another in this earlier script.

Thus the letters D and R are similar in most Semitic alphabets, in some they are indistinguishable; for example, in the Assouan papyri, Jewish documents of the 5th cent. B.C. recently discovered and published (1907), D and R cannot be clearly distinguished, and it is disputed, and is likely to be disputed, whether a particular word which occurs several times is DGL or RGL. It becomes important, therefore, in dealing with the Hebrew text of the OT to consider the variants which arise by substituting D's for R's. The Heb. words for Syria and Edom are ℵRM and ℵDM respectively; the context alone is really the only safe clue to the original reading in any particular passage, and the mere fact that the present Hebrew text reads the one or the other is relatively unimportant; thus, for example, the Heb. text is obviously wrong in 2 S 8^{13}, and probably in 2 Ch 20^{2}.

37. *Division of text into words secondary.*—Finally, it must be remembered that there is good reason for believing that the division of the consonants of one word from those of another has not been a constant feature of the text. Consequently we cannot safely assume that the present division corresponds to that of the original writers.

38. *The starting-point of criticism in attempting to detect the earliest errors in the text.*—From all this it follows that sound criticism requires us to start from this position: the original writers wrote in a different script from the present, used no vowel signs, no marks of punctuation, and even vowel letters but sparingly; either they themselves or copyists wrote the texts continuously without dividing one word from another, or at least without systematically marking the divisions. Consequently the canon that the history of the text justifies is that that division of consonants and that punctuation of clauses and sentences must in all cases be adopted which, everything considered, yields the most suitable sense; obvious as this canon may appear, it by no means always obtains recognition in practice; the weight of Jewish tradition is allowed to override it. And yet there are most obvious cases where the Hebrew text gives a division of consonants or clauses which are not

TEXT, VERSIONS, LANGUAGES OF OT

the original, but have arisen from accident or particular theories of exegesis. Further, where no division of the existing consonants yields any sense, or but an improbable sense, it must be considered whether the substitution of similar consonants will. Whether the text thus obtained has any or much probability of being the original will depend on many considerations.

39. *Illustrations of such errors.*—We shall conclude with some illustrations of the variations in text or sense that arise when the foregoing considerations are allowed due weight. It is not to be understood that in all cases the variations from the traditional interpretation (1–3) or text (4) are certainly the true interpretation or text, but they all have a claim to be seriously regarded.

(1) In some cases simply a fresh punctuation of the sentences without any alteration of the consonants whatever gives an important variation in sense. A good instance is Is 1^{12-14}; even in the present text the denunciation of ritual worship is severe; probably it was once more severe. Thus, without any change in the text, we may render—

'When ye come to see my face,
Who hath required this at your hand?
No more shall ye trample my courts.
The bringing of oblations is a vain thing;
Incense is an abomination to me;
New moon and sabbath, the calling of assembly, I cannot away with.
Iniquity and the solemn meeting, your new moons and your appointed feasts my soul hateth.'

For ʾWN *iniquity* the Greek version has ZWM *fast(s)*. We probably have in the history of this passage a series of attempts to soften down the severity and absoluteness of the prophetic denunciation of the externalities of religion.

(2) In the Hebrew Bible the word for man ʾYS is distinguished from the word for *fire* ʾS by the insertion of the vowel letter Y; but in the Moabite stone, the Siloam inscription (written in Jerusalem in the age, as is commonly supposed, of Isaiah), and in Phœnician inscriptions, it is regularly written without the Y, and is thus indistinguishable from the word for 'fire.' Where either of these words occurs, therefore, we must decide by the context only which was intended. In Is 9^{19} did Isaiah mean, 'and the people are as the food (so literally, not 'fuel,' RV) of fire,' or 'as the food of man'? By the change of a single letter in the word rendered 'food,' we obtain for the whole phrase 'like those that devour men,' *i.e.* like cannibals—a reading suggested by Duhm, and, for reasons which cannot here be discussed, worthy of consideration. An even clearer instance of confusion of the two words ʾ(Y)Š and ʾŠ is Ezk 8^{2}: for 'fire' (first occurrence in RV) read 'a man.'

(3) Mutilation of the sense of the original is sometimes occasioned by incorrect division of words in the present Hebrew text. In some cases the Revisers, who generally preferred to retain the obviously incorrect sense in the text, give the correct sense in the margin: see, *e.g.*, Gn 49^{20}, Ps 25^{17} 42^{5}, Hos 6^{5}, Jer 23^{33} (RV second marginal note on the ver.); at other times they give only a rendering of the present Hebrew, and, to ease off a certain roughness or actual inaccuracy in the mutilated original, they sometimes translate with more or less disregard of Hebrew grammar or idiom. In Ps 73^{4} a mere re-division of words gives a reading more original than the present text: 'For they have no torments: sound and plump is their body.' A striking variant appears as soon as the second and third words of Is 10^{4} are re-divided (KRWT ḤT instead of KRW THT): the first clause of the ver. then reads, 'Beltis croucheth, Osiris is dismayed,' and this is adopted by many as the sense intended by Isaiah. This is not certain, though the Hebrew as at present divided scarcely admits of translation, and the renderings of RV are illegitimate. Another variant of some importance appears when we divide the words in Is 8^{8} differently (viz. ʾRZ K WMNW ʾL instead of ʾRZK WMNW ʾL): the verse closes not with a proper name in the vocative, but with a statement—'The outstretching of his wings shall fill the breadth of the land, for God is with us' (cf. v.[10]).

(4) Parallelism or the context often gives great probability to conjectural readings that differ from the Hebrew text by a letter or two, even though the change is not (clearly) supported by the Greek version. For example, in Dt 33^{2}, the word MRBBT is probably an error for MMRBT (M having accidentally been written once instead of twice, and B twice instead of once); then the line reads 'from Meribah Kadesh,' which is a good parallel to 'Paran.'

40. *The English versions and the Hebrew text.*—The earliest of English versions proper (Wyclif's) was made from the Vulgate. Between the time of Wyclif and of the numerous English versions of the 16th cent. (see English Versions) the study of Hebrew, which, since the age of Jerome, had practically vanished from the Christian Church, was re-introduced. The AV, in which the series of Reformation translations culminated, is a primary version of the Hebrew text with occasional unacknowledged substitution of the sense of the LXX for that of the Hebrew (see for an example § 21 and below). It was only natural that at first translation from the original language should seem the last word in Biblical translation; but several scholars of the 17th cent. already appreciated the value of the versions and the faultiness of the Hebrew text, and perceived that any translation that attempted to approximate to the sense of the original writers was doomed to fall unnecessarily far short of its aim if it slavishly followed the existing Hebrew text. Unfortunately the appreciation of these facts had not become general even towards the end of the 19th cent., with the result that the Revisers of the OT felt themselves justified in practically renouncing the use of the versions (not to speak of critical conjecture), so far as the text of their translation is concerned. Some of the evidence of the versions is given by them, yet very unsystematically, in the margins. The Revisers have explained their standpoint in their preface: 'As the state of knowledge on the subject is not at present such as to justify any attempt at an entire reconstruction of the text on the authority of the versions, the Revisers have thought it most prudent, to adopt the Massoretic Text as the basis of their work, and to depart from it, as the authorized Translators had done, only in exceptional cases. . . . In some few instances of extreme difficulty a reading has been adopted on the authority of the Ancient Versions, and the departure from the Massoretic Text recorded in the margin.' In spite of this determination to be prudent, the Revisers have in one instance admitted an exceedingly questionable conjecture: in 1 S 13^{1} they insert—in italics and between square brackets, it is true—the word 'thirty'; yet this word, though found in a few Greek MSS (not, however, in the earlier text of the LXX, rather unfortunately described by the Revisers as 'the unrevised LXX'), is really due to a pure guess; as a reading the word 'thirty' possesses exactly the same value as would any other number not obviously unsuitable. In addition to this peculiarly unhappy excursion into what is, if not technically yet in reality, conjectural emendation of the most hazardous character the Revisers make few *acknowledged* departures from the Hebrew text even when it is most obviously corrupt. Instances will, however, be found in Ruth 4^{4}, 1 S 6^{18} 27^{10}, 2 S 18^{3}, Ps 8^{1} 59^{9}, Mic 4^{13}; in some of these cases the AV had prevously (without acknowledgment) abandoned, the Hebrew text; in all, the Revisers were well advised in doing so. But the more general effect of the attitude adopted by the Revisers to the question of the Hebrew text may be illustrated by their treatment of the passages cited in their preface as cases in which the AV abandoned the Hebrew text.

In 2 S 16^{12}, AV has 'It may be the Lord will look on mine affliction,' which may represent the original text, the last word of the original Hebrew in that case having been BʿNYY; but the present Hebrew text has BʿWNY, which means 'on my iniquity,' and the Hebrew (as also the RV) margin has BʿYNY *on my eye* (interpreted as meaning 'on my tears'; so AVm). Here the RV relegates the rendering 'on my affliction' to the margin, and gives in the text the scarcely defensible rendering of the Hebrew text 'on the wrong done unto me.' In 2 Ch 3^{1} the Hebrew text, at some time after the date of the Greek version, has been reduced to nonsense by the accidental misplacement of a word. AV follows the LXX, and is intelligible; RV in rendering the crucial words half follows the Hebrew text, and, shrinking from the full effect of this, half mistranslates, yet with the total result of being nearly as unintelligible as the Hebrew ('in

the place that David had appointed' is not a legitimate rendering of the words correctly rendered in RV marg.). Both AV and RV insert (in italics) 'the LORD': this probably stood in the original text, still stands in the Greek version, but is not even suggested in the Hebrew text. In 2 Ch 22^6 RV (rightly) adopts in its text the reading of the parallel passage in Kings for the first part of the ver.; but retains in the second part of the ver. the obviously wrong reading of the Hebrew text—Azariah (Greek version and 2 K.—Ahaziah). In Job 37^7 AV gives what probably approximates to the original sense, though it is not a translation of the Hebrew text. RV correctly renders the Hebrew text as now divided; otherwise divided (cf. above, § 37), it would mean 'that all men may know he hath done it.' In Ezk 46^{10} AV tacitly adopts a slight emendation (YZN for YZNW); RV retains the Hebrew text so far as the verb is concerned, but in order to make some sense illegitimately inserts (in italics) 'together'—illegitimately because 'together' is as little suggested by the Hebrew as it would be by the English. In Am 5^{26} AV has been led astray by the LXX; RV (text) is nearer the original sense. In Hag 1^2, as in Ezk 46^{10}, the Revisers, to avoid placing in their text the exceedingly probable reading which stands on their margin, have inserted words (in italics) which are not even remotely suggested in the Hebrew, and have in another respect translated questionably.

From the foregoing examples it will appear that in some cases the AV in effect approximates more closely to the original text and sense than the RV text, though the RV generally, perhaps always, in its margin gives the rendering of AV (or an equivalent rendering). It is interesting to add that in some cases Wyclif's, though (and indeed because) a secondary version, follows a more satisfactory text than either AV or RV (so, *e.g.*, in 1 S 14^{41}, where it has the words that have accidentally fallen out of the present Hebrew text: see § 24). The instances in which the RV gives a translation that is either entirely indefensible or questionable or improbable, to save the appearance of abandoning the Hebrew text, might be greatly multiplied. Such mistranslation, or questionable translation, was indeed necessarily involved in the carrying out of the principles adopted. For, owing to the state in which the Hebrew text has come down to us, a translator is not infrequently shut up to one of these four options: (1) he may leave the doubtful words of the Hebrew text untranslated; (2) he may translate from the Hebrew text as emended by the help of the versions or conjecture; (3) he may render unintelligible words in Hebrew by equally unintelligible words in English; or (4) he may mistranslate the Hebrew. If he adopts the third option he obviously will not reproduce the original writer's meaning; if the fourth, he will probably not do so, and if he does, it will be by accident; if he adopts the second, he no doubt runs a risk, and sometimes a considerable risk, of still failing to recover the original sense; the first option alone is safe, and in certain cases would best promote the fullest possible understanding of an entire passage. The Revisers have occasionally adopted the third, but generally the fourth, of these options.

Between the age of the AV and that of the RV, Biblical scholarship advanced particularly in two directions: (1) in the critical study of the Hebrew text; (2) in the understanding of the principles and vocabulary of the Hebrew language. For example, in the light of the comparative study of language, meanings of many words which Hebrew tradition had lost became clear. The RV made full use (in its margins, if not in its text) of the results due to the second line of advance, and is in consequence greatly superior to the AV. At the same time, in order to utilize this first knowledge, it was compelled to abandon Hebrew tradition, and in some cases even that tradition as embodied in the Hebrew vowels. In consequence the RV is a version of rather mixed character; it is a less faithful rendering into English of the Hebrew traditional understanding of the OT than the AV; on the other hand, for reasons already explained, it represents the original meaning of the OT writers only very partially and much less completely than is possible. In sum, then, the English reader, if he wishes to read in the OT the meaning attached to it by Jewish tradition, should use the AV and not the RV; if he wishes to understand the meaning of the original writers of the OT, the RV will bring him much nearer his desire than the AV, especially if he makes wise use of the margins (cf. Driver, *Book of Job*, Introduction, p. xxiv. ff.); but it is only by making use of such translations as have been referred to at end of certain articles of this work (see PSALMS; ISAIAH [BK. OF]; HOSEA [BK. OF]; MICAH [BK. OF]) that he will be able to avail himself of such means as exist for the English reader of passing, so far as is possible, beyond tradition to the word of Scripture itself.

Any full treatment of the subject of this article naturally involves a knowledge of Hebrew. Of works on the text, in addition to the relevant articles in the larger dictionaries, it may suffice to refer here to Buhl, *Canon and Text of the OT* (T. & T. Clark); Driver, *Notes on the Hebrew Text of the Books of Samuel*, Introduction. Critical editions of the Massoretic text have been mentioned above, § 10. A critical edition of the Hebrew text of the entire OT remains a desideratum. So far as published it is met by Haupt's *Sacred Books of the OT*. Meantime, the best Hebrew Bible for use is Kittel's, which prints the Massoretic text, but within small compass presents in the footnotes a large mass of well-selected variants suggested by the versions or conjecture. Some of the points briefly dealt with in the foregoing article are more fully discussed in other articles in the present work; see in particular GREEK VERSIONS, VULGATE, ENGLISH VERSIONS, WRITING.

G. B. GRAY.

TEXT OF THE NEW TESTAMENT.—1. The text of the NT as read in ordinary copies of the Gr. Testament, and as translated in the AV of 1611, is substantially identical with that printed by Stephanus (Robert Estienne) in 1550, and by the Elzevirs in their popular edition of 1624. To this text the Elzevirs in their next edition (1633) applied the phrase 'Textum ergo habes nunc ab omnibus receptum'; and by the name of *Textus Receptus* (TR) or Received Text, it has since been generally known. The edition of Stephanus was based upon the two earliest printed texts of the NT, that of Erasmus (published in 1516), and that of the Complutensian Polyglot (printed in 1514, but not published until 1522); and he also made use of 15 MSS, mostly at Paris. Two of these (Codd. D and L, see below, § 7) were of early date, but not much use was made of them; the others were minuscules (see § 5) of relatively late date. The principal editor of the Complutensian Polyglot, Lopez de Stunica, used MSS borrowed from the Vatican; they have not been identified, but appear to have been late, and ordinary in character. Erasmus, working to a publisher's order, with the object of anticipating the Complutensian, depended principally upon a single 12th cent. MS for the Gospels, upon one of the 13th or 14th for the Epistles, and upon one of the 12th for the Apocalypse. All of these were at Basle, and were merely those which chanced to be most accessible.

The TR is consequently derived from (at most) some 20 or 25 MSS, dating from the last few centuries before the invention of printing, and not selected on any estimate of merit, but merely as being ready to the editor's hands. They may be taken as fairly representative of the great mass of Gr. Test. MSS of the late Middle Ages, but no more. At the present time we have over 3000 Greek MSS of the NT, or of parts of it, and they range back in age to the 4th cent., or even, in the case of a few small fragments, to the 3rd. The history of **Textual Criticism** during the past two centuries and a half has been the history of the accumulation of all this material (and of the further masses of evidence provided by ancient translations), and of its application to the discovery of the true text of the NT; and it is not surprising that such huge accessions of evidence, going back in age a thousand years or more behind the date of Erasmus' principal witnesses, should have necessitated a considerable number of alterations in the details of the TR. The plan of the present article

is, first to set forth a summary of the materials now available, and then to indicate the drift of criticism with regard to the results obtained from them.

2. The materials available for ascertaining the true text of the NT (and, in their measure, of all other ancient works of literature) fall into three classes: (1) Manuscripts, or copies of the NT in the original Greek; (2) Versions, or ancient translations of it into other languages, which were themselves, of course, originally derived from very early Greek MSS, now lost; (3) Quotations in ancient writers, which show what readings these writers found in the copies accessible to them. Of these three classes it will be necessary to treat separately in the first instance, and afterwards to combine the results of their testimony.

3. Manuscripts.—It is practically certain that the originals of the NT books were written on rolls of **papyrus,** that being the material in universal use for literary purposes in the Greek- and Latin-speaking world. Each book would be written separately, and would at first circulate separately; and so long as papyrus continued to be employed, it was impossible to include more than a single Gospel or a group of short Epistles in one volume. Consequently there could be no collected 'New Testament' at this early stage, and no question (so far as the conditions of literary transmission were concerned) of fixing a Canon of books to be included in such a collection. Papyrus is a material (made from the pith of the stem of the Egyptian water-plant of that name) which becomes brittle with age, and quite unable to resist damp; consequently papyrus MSS have almost wholly perished,—from friction and use if they remained above ground, from moisture if they were buried beneath it. Only in Middle and Upper Egypt, where the soil is extraordinarily dry, have buried papyri survived. Literary works and business documents have been dug up of late years in Egypt in very large numbers, ranging from about B.C. 500 to A.D. 700, so that the styles of writing in use at the time when the NT books were written are well known to us; but Christianity and its literature are not likely to have penetrated much beyond Lower Egypt in the first two centuries of their existence, and consequently it is perfectly natural that no manuscripts of the NT of this period are now extant. From the latter part of the 3rd cent. A.D. a few small fragments have been recovered, which show that some of the NT books were known in Middle Egypt at that date; but the only papyrus MS as yet discovered which can be said to have substantial textual importance, is one (Oxyrhynchus Pap. 657, 3rd–4th cent.) containing about a third of Hebrews, which is the more valuable because Cod. B is defective in that book. Besides the natural causes just mentioned for the disappearance of early Biblical MSS, it should be remembered that Christian books (especially the official copies in the possession of Churches) were liable to destruction in times of persecution.

4. These conditions, which amply account for the disappearance of the earliest MSS of the NT, were fundamentally altered in the 4th century. The acceptance of Christianity by the Roman Empire gave a great impulse to the circulation of the Scriptures; and simultaneously papyrus began to be superseded by **vellum** as the predominant literary material. Papyrus continued to be used in Egypt until the 8th cent. for Greek documents, and, to a lesser and decreasing extent, for Greek literature, and for Coptic writings to a still later date; but the best copies of books were henceforth written upon vellum. Vellum had two great advantages: it was much more durable, and (being made up in codex or book-form, instead of rolls) it was possible to include a much greater quantity of matter in a single manuscript. Hence from the 4th cent. it became possible to have complete copies of the NT, or even of the whole Bible; and it is to the 4th cent. that the earliest extant Biblical MSS of any substantial size belong.

TEXT OF THE NEW TESTAMENT

5. Vellum MSS are divided into two classes, according to the style of their writing. From the 4th cent. to the 10th they are written in **uncials,** i.e. in capital letters, of relatively large size, each being formed separately. In the 9th cent. a new style of writing was introduced, by the adaptation to literary purposes of the ordinary running hand of the day; this, consisting as it did of smaller characters, is called **minuscule,** and since these smaller letters could be easily linked together into a running hand, it is also commonly called **cursive.** In the 9th cent. the uncial and minuscule styles are found co-existing, the former perhaps still predominating; in the 10th the minuscules have decidedly triumphed, and the uncial style dies out. Minuscules continue in use, with progressive modifications of form, until the supersession of manuscripts by print in the 15th cent.; at first always upon vellum, but from the 13th cent. onwards sometimes upon paper.

6. Uncial MSS being, as a class, considerably older than the minuscules, it is natural to expect that the purest and least corrupted texts will be found among them; though it is always necessary to reckon with the possibility that a minuscule MS may be a direct and faithful representative of a MS very much older than itself. Over 160 uncial MSS (including fragments) of the NT or of parts of it are known to exist, of which more than 110 contain the Gospels or some portion of them. In the *apparatus criticus* of the NT they are indicated by the capital letters, first of the Latin alphabet, then of the Greek, and finally of the Hebrew, for which it is now proposed to substitute numerals preceded by 0. Further, since comparatively few MSS contain the whole of the NT, it is found convenient to divide it into four groups: (1) Gospels, (2) Acts and Catholic Epistles, (3) Pauline Epistles, (4) Apocalypse; and each group has its own numeration of MSS. The uncial MSS which contain all of these groups, such as those known as A and C, retain these designations in each group; but when a MS does not contain them all, its letter is given to another MS in those groups which it does not contain. But here again it is now proposed to adopt a simpler system, by which nearly every MS will have one letter or number to itself, and one only.

7. A selection of the most important *uncial* MSS will now be briefly described, so as to indicate their importance in the textual criticism of the NT:

ℵ. *Codex Sinaiticus*, originally a complete codex of the Greek Bible. Forty-three leaves of the OT were discovered by Tischendorf in the monastery of St. Catherine at Sinai in 1844, and acquired by him for the University Library at Leipzig; while the remainder (156 leaves of the OT, and the entire NT, with the Epistle of Barnabas and part of the 'Shepherd' of Hermas, on 148 leaves) were found by him in the same place in 1859, and eventually secured for the Imperial Library at St. Petersburg. The Bible text is written with four columns to the page (the narrow columns being a survival from the papyrus period); and palæographers are now generally agreed in referring the MS to the 4th cent., so that it is one of the two oldest MSS of the Bible in existence. Tischendorf attributes the original text of the MS to four scribes, one of whom he believes (though, in the opinion of many, this is very questionable) to have been also the scribe of the Codex Vaticanus (B); and the corrections to six different hands, of whom the most important are $\aleph^{a}$ (about contemporary with the original scribe), and $\aleph^{ca}$ and $\aleph^{cb}$ (of the 7th cent.). The corrections of $\aleph^{ca}$ were derived (according to a note affixed to the Book of Esther) from a MS corrected by the martyr Pamphilus, the disciple of Origen and founder of the library of Cæsarea. It has been held that ℵ itself was written at Cæsarea, but this cannot be regarded as certain. The character of its text will be considered in § 40 ff. below.

A. *Codex Alexandrinus*, probably written at Alexandria in the 5th cent., and now in the British Museum. From an uncertain, but early, date it belonged to the Patriarchs of Alexandria; it was brought thence by Cyril Lucar in 1621, when he became Patriarch of Constantinople, and was presented by him to Charles I. in 1627, and so passed, with the rest of the Royal Library, to the British Museum

TEXT OF THE NEW TESTAMENT

in 1757. It contains the whole Greek Bible, with the exception of 40 lost leaves (containing Mt 1^{1}–25^{6}, Jn 6^{50}–8^{52}, 2 Co 4^{13}–12^{6}); it also originally contained the two Epistles of Clement and the Psalms of Solomon, but the Psalms and the conclusion of the Second Epistle have disappeared, together with one leaf from the First Epistle. The text of the NT is written by three scribes, with two columns to the page; there are many corrections by the original scribes and by an almost contemporary reviser (A^{a}).

B. *Codex Vaticanus*, No. 1209 in the Vatican Library at Rome, where it has been since about 1481. It is probably the oldest and the best extant MS of the Greek NT, and its evidence is largely responsible for the changes of text embodied in the English RV. It is written in a small, neat uncial, probably of the 4th cent., with three columns to the page. It originally contained the whole Bible (except the Books of Maccabees), possibly with additional books, like ℵ and **A**; but it has lost from He 9^{14} to the end of the NT, including the Pastoral Epistles (but not the Catholic Epistles, which follow the Acts and hence have escaped) and Apocalypse.

C. *Codex Ephraemi*, in the Bibliothèque Nationale at Paris. This is a *palimpsest*, i.e. a manuscript of which the original writing has been partially washed or scraped off the vellum in order to use it again to receive other writing. In this case the original writing was the text of the Greek Bible, written in the 5th cent., in one broad column to the page; and this was sacrificed in the 12th cent. in order to inscribe on the same vellum some treatises by St. Ephraem of Syria. Only 64 leaves of the OT now survive, and 145 of the NT (out of 238); and often it is impossible to decipher the original writing. The MS is therefore only fitfully and intermittently of service.

D. *Codex Bezae*, in the University Library at Cambridge, to which it was presented in 1581 by Theodore Beza, who obtained it in 1562 from the monastery of St. Irenæus at Lyons. It contains the Gospels and Acts, in Greek and Latin, the former occupying the left-hand pages and the latter the right. It is mutilated, Ac 22^{29} to end being lost, together with all, except a few words of the Catholic Epistles, which followed. It is generally assigned to the 6th cent., though some would place it in the 5th. Its place of origin has been variously supposed to be southern France, southern or western Italy, or Sardinia, but the evidence is not decisive in favour of any of these. Its text is very remarkable, containing a large number of additions and some notable omissions as compared with the TR; in some places the Latin version seems to have been accommodated to the Greek, and in others the Greek to the Latin. As will be shown below, its type of text belongs to a family of which the other principal representatives are the Old Latin and Old Syriac versions.

D_2. *Codex Claromontanus*, in the Bibliothèque Nationale at Paris. Contains the Pauline Epistles in Greek and Latin, written probably in the 6th century. The Latin text is practically independent of the Greek. Before the Epistle to the Hebrews is a list of the books of the NT, with the number of *stichoi* (or normal lines of 16 syllables each) in each of them, which must be descended from a very early archetype, since it places the books in an unusual order, and includes in the list several uncanonical books (cf. descriptions of ℵ and **A**); the order is Mt., Jn., Mk., Lk., Ro., 1 and 2 Cor., Gal., Eph., 1 and 2 Tim., Tit., Col., Philem., 1 and 2 Pet., Ja., 1, 2, 3 Jn., Jude, Barnabas, Apoc., Acts, Hermas, Acts of Paul, Apoc. of Peter (Th., He., and Phil. being omitted). The MS was in the monastery of Clermont, whence it was acquired by Beza, who was also owner of **D**. It may probably have been written in Italy. Other Græco-Latin MSS of the Pauline Epistles are E_3 F_2 G_3, which all go back to the same archetype as D_2.

E_2. *Codex Laudianus*, in the Bodleian Library at Oxford. Contains the Acts, in Greek and Latin, the latter holding the place of precedence on the left. Probably 7th cent.; was in Sardinia at an early date, and may have been written there; thence came to England (probably with Theodore of Tarsus in 669), and was used by Bede. The Greek text is somewhat akin to that of **D**; the Latin has been accommodated to the Greek, and is of little independent value. It is the earliest MS extant that contains Ac 8^{37}, though the verse was in existence in the time of Irenæus (late 2nd century).

H_3. *Codex Coislinianus* 202. Fragmentary remains of a copy of the Pauline Epistles, written in the 6th (or perhaps the 7th) century. Originally at Mt. Athos, in the Laura monastery, where 8 leaves still remain. The rest was used as material for binding MSS, which became scattered in various quarters; 22 leaves are at Paris; 3 each at St. Petersburg, Moscow, and Kieff; and 2 at Turin. The text of 22 more pages has been more or less completely recovered from the 'set-off' which they have left on the surviving leaves. The MS represents the text of the Pauline Epistles as edited by Euthalius of Sulca in the 4th century.

L. *Codex Regius*, in the Bibliothèque Nationale at Paris. Contains the Gospels; of the 8th century. It is remarkable as containing the shorter conclusion of Mk. (see RVm) as well as the usual longer one (16^{9-20}); and its readings often agree with those of B against TR.

N. *Codex Petropolitanus*. Contains the Gospels, written in large silver letters on purple vellum, in the 6th century. Forty-five leaves have long been known (33 at Patmos, 6 in the Vatican, 4 in the British Museum, and 2 at Vienna); and 182 more leaves came to light in 1896 in Asia Minor, and are now at St. Petersburg. Rather less than half the original MS is now extant, including portions of all Gospels. The MS forms part of a group with three other purple MSS, **Σ**, Σ^{b}, and **Φ**, all probably having been originally produced at Constantinople, and descended from a single not remote ancestor.

R. *Codex Nitriensis*, in the British Museum. A palimpsest copy of Lk. of the 6th cent., imperfect. The text differs frequently from the TR.

T. A number of fragments from Egypt, mostly bilingual, in Greek and Coptic (Sahidic). The most important (**T** or T^{a} in the library of the Propaganda at Rome) consists of 17 leaves from Lk. and Jn., of the 5th cent., with a text closely akin to that of **B** and ℵ. T^{1} (otherwise **099**) has the double ending to Mark.

Z. *Codex Dublinensis*, at Trinity College, Dublin. A palimpsest, containing 295 verses of Mt., of the 6th cent., probably from Egypt, with a text akin to ℵ.

Δ. *Codex Tischendorfianus* III., in the Bodleian Library at Oxford. Contains Lk. and Jn., of the 9th cent.; Mt. and Mk., written in minuscules, are at St. Petersburg (Evan. 566). This MS is chiefly notable for a subscription stating that its text was derived 'from the ancient copies at Jerusalem.' Similar subscriptions are found in about 12 minuscule MSS.

Σ. *Codex Rossanensis*, at Rossano in Calabria, 6th century. Contains Mt. and Mk., written in silver letters on purple vellum, with illustrations. Its text is closely akin to that of **N**, both being probably copies of the same original.

Σ^{b} (in future to be known as **O**). *Codex Sinopensis*, in the Bibliothèque Nationale at Paris; of the 6th cent.; 43 leaves from Mt 7–24, written in gold letters on purple vellum, with 5 illustrations similar in style to those in **Σ**. It was picked up for a few francs by a French naval officer at Sinope in 1899. Its text is akin to that of **N** and **Σ**.

Φ. *Codex Beratinus*, at Belgrade in Albania: the fourth of the purple MSS, and belonging to the same school as the others, and probably of the same date. Contains Mt. and Mk., in a text akin to **N** and **Σ**, but not so closely related to them as they are to one another.

These are all the uncials of which it is necessary to give separate descriptions. A new MS of the Gospels, apparently of the 5th cent., and containing a text of considerable interest, was found in Egypt in 1907, and is now in America, but is still unpublished. Large fragments of a 6th cent. MS of the Pauline Epistles were found at the same time.

8. Passing to the *minuscules*, we find the number of witnesses overwhelming. The last inventory of NT MSS (that of von Soden) contains 1716 copies of the Gospels, 531 of Acts, 628 of Pauline Epp., and 219 of Apoc.; and of this total, as stated above, less than 160 are uncials. The minuscule MSS are usually indicated by Arabic numerals,* separate series being formed for the four divisions of the NT. The result of this is that when a MS contains all four parts (which is the case only with about 40 MSS) it is known by four different numbers; thus a certain MS at Leicester bears the numbers Evan. 69, Act. 31, Paul. 37, Apoc. 14. It is, of course, impossible to give any individual account of so great a mass of MSS; indeed, many of them have never been fully

* A new numeration has been introduced by von Soden, with the object of indicating the contents and date of each MS; but it is more cumbrous than the previous system. Thus **A** becomes δ4, and Evan. 69 becomes δ505. On the other hand, each MS always has the same designation, and the difficulty of finding enough letters for the uncial MSS is obviated. A revision of the old numeration, so as to secure the same objects without abandoning the familiar symbols of the more important MSS, has just been issued by Gregory and has received the adhesion of most NT scholars.

examined. But it is the less necessary, because by far the greater number of the minuscule MSS contain the same type of text, that, namely, of the TR. The fact that at least 95 out of every 100 minuscule MSS contain substantially the TR may be taken as universally admitted, whatever may be the inferences drawn from it; and it is only necessary to indicate some of those which depart most notably from this normal standard, and ally themselves more or less with the early uncials.

Thus in the Gospels 33 * is akin to the text found in BN; so, to a lesser extent, is the group of the four related MSS, 1–118–131–209; also 59, 157, 431, 496, 892; while the type of text found in D and in the Old Latin and Old Syriac versions has left its mark notably upon 473, and more or less on 235, 431, 700, 1071, and on a group of related MSS (known from the scholar who first called attention to it as the 'Ferrar group') consisting of 13, 69, 124, 346, 348, 543, 713, 788. 826, 828. In Acts and Cath. Epp., 61 and 31 are the most notable adherents of B, while 31, with 137, 180, 216, 224, also shows kinship with D. A group consisting of Act. 15, 40, 83, 205, 317, 328, 329, 393 seems to represent an edition of Acts prepared by Euthalius of Sulca in the 4th century. In Paul, the most noteworthy minuscules are 1, 17, 31, 47, 108, 238; the Euthalian edition is found in 81, 83, 93, 379, 381. In Apoc. (where uncials are scarce and minuscules consequently more important) the best are 1, 7, 28, 35, 38, 68, 79, 87, 95, 96. No doubt, as the minuscule MSS are more fully examined, more will be discovered which possess individual characteristics of interest; but with the large number of uncials of earlier date on the one hand, and the general uniformity of the great mass of minuscules on the other, it is not very likely that much important textual material will be derived from them. It may be possible to establish relationships between certain MSS (as in the case of the Ferrar group), and to connect them with certain localities (as the Ferrar group appears to be connected with Calabria); but not much progress has yet been made in this direction.

9. One other class of MSS remains to be mentioned, namely the *Service-Books* or *Lectionaries*, in which the Gospels, Acts, and Epistles were divided into portions to be read on each day throughout the ecclesiastical year. These books fall into two classes, according as they contain the lessons from the Gospels (*Evangelia* or *Evangeliaria* †) or from the Acts and Epistles (*Praxapostoli*). Nearly 1100 MSS of the former class are known, and 300 of the latter. Over 100 of these are uncials, but with hardly an exception they are of relatively late date (9th cent. or later), the uncial style being retained later for these liturgical books than elsewhere. Of the value of their evidence little can definitely be said, since few of them have been properly examined. *A priori* they might be of considerable value, since service-books are likely to be conservative, and also to preserve local peculiarities. They might be expected, therefore, to be of great value in localizing the various types of text which appear in the MSS, and in preserving early variants from a period before the establishment of a general uniformity. As a matter of fact, however, these claims have not yet been substantiated by any actual examination of lectionaries, and it may be questioned whether, as a whole, any of them goes back to a period before the extinction of the local and divergent texts.

The standard lists of NT MSS are those of C. R. Gregory (*Prolegomena* to Tischendorf's *NT Græce*, ed. 8, 1894, reproduced in German, with additions, in his *Textkritik des NT*, 1900), and F. H. A. Scrivener (*Introduction to the Criticism of the NT*, 4th ed. by E. Miller, 1894). The new list of H. von Soden (*Die Schriften des NT*, vol. i. pt. i. 1902) contains rectifications and additions to Gregory's list, with a new numeration. For Gregory's revised list, which, it may be hoped, will be accepted as the standard, see *Die griechischen Handschriften des NT* (Leipzig, 1908).

10. Versions.—The second class of authorities, as indicated in § 2, is that of Versions, or translations of the NT into languages other than Greek. It is only the earlier versions that can be of service in recovering the original text of the NT; modern translations are of importance for the history of the Bible in the countries to which they belong, but contribute nothing to textual criticism. The early Versions may be divided into Eastern (Syriac, Coptic, Armenian, Arabic, Ethiopic, etc.) and Western (Latin and Gothic), but the distinction is of little importance. Age is a more important factor than locality, and the two oldest and, on the whole, most important (though not necessarily the most trustworthy) are the Old Latin and Old Syriac versions, which, moreover, are in many respects akin to one another. Next in importance are the Coptic versions and the Latin Vulgate; and the Armenian and the later Syriac versions are also of considerable value. It will be convenient to describe the several versions under their respective countries in the first instance, and to defer the discussion of their characters and affinities until the tale of our authorities is complete.

A. Syriac Versions.—

11. *The Old Syriac Version* (OS).—The evidence for the character, and even the existence, of the primitive version of the NT in Syriac is of comparatively recent discovery. Before 1842 the earliest extant Syriac version was the Peshiṭta (see below), to which, however, a much higher antiquity was assigned than is now generally admitted. In that year, however, Dr. W. Cureton discovered, among the manuscripts brought to the British Museum from the convent of S. Maria Deipara in the Nitrian desert in Egypt, an imperfect Gospel text very different from the Peshiṭta. This (which was not finally published by Cureton until 1858) was known for 50 years as the 'Curetonian Syriac,' and the relative age of it and the Peshitta was a matter of controversy among scholars. In 1892 two Cambridge ladies, Mrs. Lewis and Mrs. Gibson, discovered in the monastery of St. Catherine at Sinai a palimpsest MS, which was subsequently recognized from their photographs as containing a text closely akin to the Curetonian. Comparison of the two showed that they represented different recensions of the same version, the Lewis or Sinaitic MS (Syr.-Sin.) containing the earlier form of it. Neither is complete. The Curetonian (Syr.-Cur.) contains nothing of Mk. except 16^{17-20}, just sufficient to show that the last twelve verses were present in this form of the version, though they are absent from Sin.; of Jn. it has only about five chapters, and there are large gaps in Mt. and Luke. Sin. contains a large part of all four Gospels, but none is intact. Both MSS are assigned to the 5th cent., Sin. being probably the earlier; but the version which they represent must go back to a much more remote age. In text they are akin to the Codex Bezae and its allies, and are among the most important witnesses to this type of text.

12. *The Diatessaron.*—The question of the age of this version is complicated by that of its relations to another very early embodiment of the Gospels in Syriac. Tatian, an Assyrian Christian and a disciple of Justin Martyr, compiled (probably about A.D. 170) a Harmony of the four Gospels, known by the name of the *Diatessaron*. Whether it was originally composed in Greek or in Syriac is uncertain. The Greek name which it bore, and the fact that a Latin version of it was in existence, are arguments in favour of a Greek origin; on the other hand, Tatian's activity was mainly in the East, the *Diatessaron* circulated most extensively in Syria, where it was almost the sole form of the Gospels in use until the 5th cent., and a commentary on it was written by the Syrian Father Ephraem. It was certainly in Syria

* The numeration here used is that of Gregory (before the revision mentioned in the last note). That of Scrivener coincides as far as Evan. 449, Act. 181, Paul. 229, Apoc. 101, and again generally from Evan. 775, Act. 265, Paul. 342, Apoc. 123 onwards.

† The Greek term for a Gospel lectionary is *Euangelia*, a volume containing the four Gospels being called a *Tetraeuangelion*. The Latin name for a lectionary is *Evangeliarium*. *Evangelistarium*, which is sometimes used, means properly a table of lections.

that it was most influential, and it is in its evidence as to the Syriac version that its textual importance now consists. It is only of late years that its evidence has been available at all. Until 1880 it existed only in name, and the very fact that it was a compilation from our four canonical Gospels was a matter of controversy. In that year, however, Dr. E. Abbot called attention to the fact that in 1876 Dr. G. Moesinger had published a Latin translation of an Armenian treatise which had been printed so long ago as 1836, and which was in fact St. Ephraem's commentary on the *Diatessaron*. Subsequently two copies of an Arabic version of the *Diatessaron* itself were discovered, in Rome and in Egypt, and from these the text was published in 1888,—in a form modified, it is true, by transmission through many centuries and an Arabic version, but still making it possible to draw some conclusions as to the text and character of Tatian's work.

It is now certain, as a result of the recovery of the *Diatessaron*, that the Gospels existed in a Syriac dress in the second half of the 2nd cent.; but whether the *Diatessaron* was the earliest form of the Syriac Gospels, or whether the version represented by Syr.-Sin. and Syr.-Cur. was previously in existence and formed the basis of Tatian's compilation, is still uncertain. The opinion of Syriac scholars at the present day appears to be in favour of the priority of the *Diatessaron*. Even so the origin of the Old Syriac version can hardly be placed later than A.D. 200, and all its characteristics stamp it as representing a very early type of the Gospel text. For some two centuries it existed side by side with the *Diatessaron*, the former being known as *Evangelion-da-Mepharreshê* ('the Gospel of the Separated') and the latter as *Evangelion-da-Mehalletê* ('the Gospel of the Mixed'); and then both alike were superseded by the Peshiṭta. There is some slight evidence (chiefly in the Armenian version, which was derived from the Syriac, and in references in Syrian authors) of the existence of an Old Syriac version of Acts and Paul (Cath. and Apoc. formed no part of the original Syriac NT); but for textual purposes they no longer exist.

13. *The Peshiṭta.*—Previous to the discovery of Syr.-Cur., the Peshiṭta was believed to be the oldest Syriac version, and was sometimes regarded as the queen of all the versions. Its date was supposed to be referable to the 2nd century. Even when the superior claims of Syr.-Cur., and still more of Syr.-Sin., came to be generally (though not quite universally) admitted, the Peshiṭta was assigned to the 4th cent. at latest, on the ground that traces of it were supposed to be found in the Biblical quotations of St. Ephraem, who died in A.D. 378. Since, however, it has been shown (by Prof. Burkitt, *S. Ephraem's Quotations from the Gospel*, 1901) that the treatises in which the use of the Peshiṭta is observable are not the genuine work of Ephraem, this evidence falls to the ground, and there is now nothing to prove the existence of the Peshiṭta before the 5th century. Its origin may now be assigned with some confidence to Rabbūla, bishop of Edessa 411–435, who is recorded to have made a translation of the NT from Greek into Syriac, and to have been active in suppressing the use of the *Diatessaron*. This new translation, which was to some extent based on the Old Syriac, but was assimilated to the type of Greek text then current, completely superseded its predecessors, and from this point onwards its use in Syriac literature is universal. It appears in both branches of the Syrian Church (Nestorian and Monophysite), whose quarrel dates back to 431. The name *Peshiṭta* means 'the simple,' but whether it was used to distinguish it from its predecessors or its successors is uncertain.

MSS of the Peshiṭta go back to the century of its origin. The earliest with an actual date (which is also the earliest dated Biblical MS in existence) is a copy of some books of the Pentateuch, written in 464 (now in the British Museum; and the two earliest NT MSS may be assigned to about the same date. Of the Gospels, 125 copies in this version are on record; of Acts and Cath. 58, and of Paul. 67; Apoc. (with the four minor Catholic Epp.) was not included in the Syriac canon. The later MSS reproduce the earlier very faithfully, so that the latest edition (by G. H. Gwilliam, 1901) does not substantially differ from the first (A. Widmanstadt, 1555).

14. *The Philoxenian Syriac.*—Unlike the Latin Vulgate, the Peshiṭta was not entirely unchallenged in its supremacy. In 508, Philoxenus, Jacobite bishop of Mabug in eastern Syria, caused a new translation of the NT to be made by one Polycarp; but of this nothing has come down to us except the four minor Catholic Epp., which were incorporated into the Peshiṭta to fill the gap caused by their original omission there, and a single MS of the Apoc. (at Trinity College, Dublin; identified by Dr. Gwynn, and published in 1897). The style of Philox. was free and idiomatic, and the Greek text on which it was based was that of the majority of late MSS.

15. *The Harklean Syriac.*—In 616 a complete revision of Philox. was made by Thomas of Harkel, who converted its idiomatic freedom into extreme literalness, and added various readings in critical notes, which show an acquaintance with a Greek MS or MSS having a text akin to that of Cod. Bezae and its allies. About 35 MSS of Harkl. are known, dating from the 7th and 8th cent. onwards. The Apoc. which is now incorporated with the Peshiṭta is probably derived from this version.

16. *The Palestinian Syriac.*—Yet another Syriac version exists, but in a different dialect from those hitherto described; for, whereas they all belong to E. Syria, with its centre at Edessa, this is in the Western Aramaic characteristic of Palestine and its neighbourhood. The extant MSS of it (which are few and generally fragmentary, and mostly discovered within the last 15 years) are mainly lectionaries, and its textual importance is slight. Prof. Burkitt has argued, apparently with good reason, that it owes its origin to the efforts of Justinian and Heraclius to abolish Judaism in Palestine in the 6th cent., and that it came again into prominence in the 11th century. The three principal MSS of it are dated in 1030, 1104, and 1118.

On the Syriac versions see especially articles by Woods and Gwilliam in *Studia Biblica*, vols. i. and iii.; A. S. Lewis, *The Four Gospels translated from the Sinaitic Palimpsest*, 1894; Gwynn, *Apocalypse of St. John in a Syriac Version*, 1897; F. C. Burkitt, *op. cit.*, and *Evangelion da Mepharreshê*, 1904, and art. on 'Text and Versions' in *Encyc. Biblica*.

17. *The Armenian Version.*—In connexion with the Syriac NT it will be convenient to mention also the Armenian, which was largely dependent upon it. The earliest translation of which we have definite knowledge seems to have been made by Sahak and Mesrop about A.D. 400, from a Syriac text of the Old Syriac family. After 431 this version was revised by the help of Greek MSS received from Constantinople, which were apparently akin to B✕, and thereby the original features of the version were much obscured. The earliest extant MSS belong to the 9th and 10th cent. (from A.D. 887). These usually omit the last 12 verses of Mk.; but one, which has them, has a marginal note assigning them to 'the Elder Ariston,' *i.e.*, presumably Aristion, a disciple of our Lord known to us by a mention in Papias.

On the Armenian version see F. C. Conybeare, art. in Hastings' *DB*, and J. Armitage Robinson, *Euthaliana*, 1895.

B. Latin Versions.—

18. *The Old Latin Version* (OL).—As Christianity spread westward, it inevitably came into contact with the Latin-speaking population of the Roman Empire; and a translation of the NT into Latin might naturally be looked for at an early date. Indeed, since the gospel was preached in Rome by St. Paul himself, it might seem reasonable to suppose that Latin versions of the Christian literature would have been required almost as soon as it came into being. But this would be to overlook the bilingual character of the Roman

Empire, even in Italy. The educated classes spoke and wrote Greek freely; the uneducated classes were largely recruited from the East, and spoke Greek more naturally than Latin. The evidence of the predominantly Greek character of the primitive Roman Church is clear. St. Paul wrote to it in Greek. The names of those whom he salutes are mainly Greek. The first twelve bishops in the list of the Roman episcopate (down to A.D. 189) are Greek. Clement, the third in the list after St. Peter, writing in the name of the Roman Church to their brethren in Corinth, wrote in Greek. All the early literature of the Roman Church is Greek. The same may be said, so far as our knowledge goes, of the Church in Gaul. The report on the martyrdoms at Vienne, which the Christians of that province sent to their brethren in other countries, was written in Greek. Irenæus (*c.* 135–202), the most famous representative of the Gallican Church in the 2nd cent., came from Asia Minor, and wrote his works in Greek. All the traditions of Gallia Narbonensis were Greek, not Latin.

19. The need for a Latin version of the Christian books was consequently not so pressing as might be supposed. Nevertheless there was one large and important province in which Greek had no place, and where Latin was alike the literary and the spoken language. This was Africa, where the Mediterranean coast, and especially the district which is now Tunis, was inhabited by a large Latin-speaking population. When Christianity was first introduced into the province is uncertain; but in the 2nd cent. it was strong and flourishing there, and had for its spokesman the most eloquent of early Christian writers, Tertullian (*c.* 150–220). Two lines of argument combine to show that the earliest Latin version of the NT known to us had its home in Africa. The first mention of the existence of a Latin version occurs in Tertullian; and that type of text which, of all those represented by our extant OL MSS, appears on internal grounds to be the earliest, is identical with the Biblical quotations in the writings of Tertullian's junior contemporary and compatriot, Cyprian (*c.* 200–258). Whether the version was actually made in Africa cannot be determined with certainty. It is true that its Latinity agrees with that of certain African writers of the 2nd cent. (Apuleius, Arnobius, Lactantius, besides Tertullian and Cyprian); but it so happens that there is very little non-African Latin of that period in existence for comparison with it. The kinship which the text of the OL has with the Old Syriac has caused Antioch to be suggested (by Sanday) as the original home of the version, that being a metropolis where Syrian and Latin elements met, and whence versions of the Scriptures in either tongue might radiate from a common centre. But with a strong general resemblance between the two versions, there is also a considerable amount of divergence in details, so that one cannot be certain that the connexion is not more remote. What is certain is that the earliest form of Latin version known to us was circulating in Africa in the first half of the 3rd century.

20. The extant MSS of the OL are mainly fragments; for after the supersession of this version by the Vulgate its MSS naturally fell into neglect, and survived only fortuitously. The number of them is a little over 40, and they are habitually indicated by the small letters of the Latin alphabet. The following are the most important:

a. Codex Vercellensis, at Vercelli, containing the Gospels (Mt., Jn., Lk., Mk., the usual Latin order), somewhat mutilated, assigned to the 4th century.

b. Codex Veronensis, at Verona, containing the Gospels on purple vellum; 5th century.

d. The Latin text of *Codex Bezae* in the Gospels and Acts, and of *Cod. Claromontanus* in the Pauline Epistles.

e. Codex Palatinus, at Vienna, containing the Gospels, considerably mutilated; 5th century. One leaf is at Dublin. In the Acts, *e* is the Latin text of *Cod. Laudianus*; in Paul., that of *Cod. Sangermanensis*.

f. Codex Brixianus, at Brescia, of the Gospels, on purple vellum; 6th century.

ff^2. *Codex Corbeiensis*, at Paris, containing the Gospels, but imperfect. Generally assigned to the 6th cent., but by its latest editor (E. S. Buchanan, *Journ. of Theol. Studies*, 1905–6) to the 5th.

g. Codex Gigas, at Stockholm; a complete Bible, of the 13th cent., with Acts and Apoc. in an OL text. Written in Bohemia, and a remarkable example of a late survival of OL.

h. Palimpsestus Floriacensis, at Paris; palimpsest fragments, formerly at Fleury, of Acts, Cath. Epp., Apoc., in an African text.

k. Codex Bobiensis, at Turin, where it fortunately escaped from the recent fire with slight injury. Contains Mk 8–16 (ending at 16^8), Mt 1–15; probably 5th cent. (according to Burkitt, 4th cent.), Contains the OL version in its earliest form, closely akin to that found in the writings of Cyprian.

m. The *Speculum* of pseudo-Augustine, which contains copious quotations from the NT. It is probably of Spanish origin, and should be reckoned rather with the Fathers than with the MSS.

q. Codex Monacensis, at Munich, containing the Gospels; 6th or 7th century.

The remaining MSS are, for the most part, only small fragments, of a few leaves each. The Apoc. is also found, almost complete, in the commentary of Primasius, written in Africa in the 6th century.

21. With these MSS must be reckoned the *quotations of the early Latin Fathers*, notably Tertullian (who, however, appears often to have made his own translations, and is also too inexact to be of much service in this respect), Cyprian, Hilary, Lucifer of Cagliari, Ambrose, Jerome, Augustine, Tyconius, Priscillian, and (as just noted) Primasius. It is usual to classify all these authorities (MSS and Fathers) under the three heads of (1) African, (2) European, (3) Italian; the African type of text being the earliest and also the roughest in style and vocabulary, the European being so far modified in both these respects as to be supposed by some scholars to be due to a fresh translation, and the Italian being a revision of the European, and itself providing the basis for Jerome's Vulgate.

The question is complicated by the fact that no two MSS represent quite the same type of text. All (except perhaps *k*) have undergone modification in some respect, either by the corrections introduced by scribes in early times, or by contamination with the Vulgate. Cyprian and *k*, so far as they go, represent the African text of the Gospels in what appears to be a fairly pure form; *e* and *m* come next to them; *h* is a good African authority in Acts and Apoc., and Priscillian, Tyconius, and Primasius in the Epp. and Apoc. *a* and *b* are the leading representatives of the European family in the Gospels, with the Latin version of Irenæus; in Acts, *g* and Lucifer. Of the Italian group, *f* is the most pronounced, and has been taken by Wordsworth and White as the best representative of the OL text which Jerome had before him when he undertook his revision of the Latin NT; next to *f* in this character comes *q*. The Latin texts in the bilingual MSS have to be used with caution, as they show signs of assimilation to the Greek. The remaining MSS are either too fragmentary to be of much service, or too mixed in their text to be classified definitely with any family.

In general character, as already indicated, the OL version (especially in its earliest form) belongs to the same class of authorities as the Old Syriac and Codex Bezae, the class, namely, which is distinguished by rather striking divergences from both the TR and the text represented by Bɴ. The character and claims of this type of text will be considered later; here it will be sufficient to point out the high antiquity which can be established for it through the OL (and still more through the consensus, so far as it exists, between OL and OS), and the great amount of divergence which exists between the several MSS which contain it. It is not possible, even approximately, to reconstruct the original OL text; it is even a matter of dispute whether it had one original or more. What is certain is that it underwent constant revision and alteration, and that the few and fragmentary MSS which have come down

to us, and of which no two agree even approximately with one another, do but reflect a state of textual confusion which was rampant in the Latin Bibles of the 4th century.

22. *The Vulgate.*—This state of confusion is described in emphatic terms by the great Latin Fathers of the 4th cent., Jerome (*c.* 345–420) and Augustine (354–430), and it was to the former that the task fell of attempting to reduce the chaos to order. The credit of inspiring the work which was to become the Bible of the West for a thousand years is due to Pope Damasus (pope, 366–84). At his request, Jerome, the leading Biblical scholar of the day, who had devoted many years to the study of the Scriptures in the East in their original tongues, undertook, as he says in his preface to the NT, to 'make a new work out of an old one' by revising the existing Latin texts with reference to the original languages. He began with the Gospels, about the year 382; and at first his revision was on conservative lines. Where the existing text fairly represented the sense of the original, he let it stand, without enforcing complete accuracy; only where errors affected the sense did he feel bound to make alterations. The Greek manuscripts which he employed as his guides appear to have been similar in character to BN. The revision of the Gospels was completed in 383; that of the Epistles followed, but was conducted more superficially than the previous work, partly, no doubt, because the divergences in the extant texts were less pronounced in these books. At about the same time he was commencing his work on the OT by a revision of the Psalter; but for the history of this see TEXT OF THE OT, **15** (7).

23. The later history of the Vulgate (as Jerome's version eventually came to be called) is the subject of a separate article. Here it is only necessary to mention that the received text of it, which is found in all ordinary Latin Bibles, is that which was officially sanctioned by Pope Clement VIII. in 1592; and that the one critical edition of it is that now being produced by Bishop Wordsworth of Salisbury and Prof. H. J. White, in which the Gospels and Acts have already been published (1889–1905). Their estimate of the principal MSS of the Vulgate is the necessary basis of the following description of a selection from among them:

A. *Codex Amiatinus*, in the Laurentian Library at Florence, containing the whole Bible. Its history (which was only established in 1887) is unusually well known. It was written in the north of England, at Wearmouth or Jarrow, by order of Ceolfrid, abbot of these monasteries, early in the 8th cent., and was taken by him in 716 as a present to Pope Gregory. Ceolfrid died on the way, but his companions completed the gift, and in Italy the MS has since remained; for some time it was at Monte Amiata, whence its name. Its text was probably derived from one or more MSS brought to England from Italy; and it is generally regarded as the best extant MS of the Vulgate.

C. *Codex Cavensis*, at La Cava, near Naples; 9th century. Contains the whole Bible, written in Spain, and is the best representative of the Spanish family of Vulgate MSS.

Δ. *Codex Dunelmensis*, in Durham Cathedral Library; 7th or 8th century. Contains the Gospels, with a text akin to that of A.

F. *Codex Fuldensis*, at Fulda in Germany; between 541 and 546. Written by order of Bishop Victor of Capua. Contains the whole NT, the Gospels being arranged in the same manner as in Tatian's *Diatessaron*, on the basis of a copy of a Latin version of that work accidentally found by Bishop Victor.

H. *Codex Hubertianus*, and Θ, *Codex Theodulfianus*, contain the edition of the Vulgate produced by Bishop Theodulf of Orleans, for which see art. VULGATE.

K. *Codex Karolinus*, and V, *Codex Vallicellianus*, similarly represent the edition of Alcuin. (See *ib.*)

O. *Codex Oxoniensis*, in the Bodleian (formerly at St. Augustine's, Canterbury); 7th century. Contains the Gospels, in a text affected by Irish influences.

Q. *Codex Kenanensis*, the Book of Kells, at Trinity College, Dublin; prob. 8th century. Contains the Gospels, lavishly decorated in the Celtic style. Its text, naturally, is of the Irish type.

S. *Codex Stonyhurstensis*, at Stonyhurst College; 7th century. Contains Jn. alone, in a text akin to that of A. Formerly at Durham, and probably written in that neighbourhood.

V. See K, above.

Y. *Codex Lindisfarnensis*, in the British Museum; contains the Gospels; written at the end of the 7th cent., in honour of St. Cuthbert (d. 687), with beautiful Anglo-Celtic ornamentation. Some liturgical directions inserted in it show that it was copied from a MS written in Naples, no doubt one brought to England by Hadrian, abbot of a monastery near Naples, who came to England with Archbishop Theodore in 669. Closely akin in text to A.

Z. *Codex Harleianus*, in the British Museum; 6th or 7th century. A well-written copy of a good text, but of a different family from A.

These are the principal MSS of the Vulgate in the Gospels. A, C, F, Θ, K, T, V are also used by Wordsworth and White in the Acts. To them may be added—

G. *Codex Sangermanensis*, at Paris; 9th century. Contains the whole Bible, but is particularly good in Acts, so that Wordsworth and White state that their text agrees with it oftener than with any other MS.

O. *Codex Oxoniensis*, in the Bodleian Library; 8th century. Known as the 'Selden Acts.' The text is of the Irish type.

The MSS of the Pauline Epistles and Apocalypse have not yet been classified, but the MSS described above as containing the whole NT will no doubt re-appear among the principal authorities for these books also.

24. As indicated above, the Codex Amiatinus (A) is regarded as the best MS of the Gospels, and with it go the other Northumbrian MSS, ΔSY, with F in attendance. A second group of MSS, which, generally speaking, is of inferior merit, is headed by Z, and includes several MSS not described above. CT represent the Spanish type of text, which had an important influence on the history of the Vulgate, and Q the not less important Irish type. In Acts, Wordsworth and White give the first place to G, with CA and F in close attendance. These three last-named MSS represent different groups, the A group being generally preferable to the F group; but no one MS or group has a monopoly of merit. In general character, as stated above, the Vulgate tends to agree with the type of Greek text represented by BN. It is clear that the Greek authorities which Jerome regarded as the most trustworthy were of this type; but since (in the NT) his revision retained a considerable quantity of the OL version, which is largely of a different type, the result, as it now stands, is of a composite character. By reason of this composite character, and also of its relatively late date, the Vulgate is not of the same textual importance as OS or OL; nevertheless it is to be remembered that Jerome must have made use of Greek MSS at least as old as the oldest which we now possess. The historical importance of the Vulgate will be dealt with in a separate article.

Of the OL version the most comprehensive account is that given by H. A. A. Kennedy in Hastings' *DB*. See also Burkitt, *The Old Latin and the Itala* (Cambridge, 1896), the prefaces by Wordsworth, Sanday, and White to their editions of *Old Latin Biblical Texts* (parts i.–iv., Oxford, 1883–97), and articles by Gebhardt (in *PRE*^{3}, 1897) and Corssen (in Bursian's *Jahresbericht über die Fortschritt der classischen Altertumswissenschaft*, bd. 101, 1899). On the Vulgate see Westcott's art. in Smith's *DB*, White's chapter in Scrivener's *Introduction*, ed. 4 (which deals with both versions), and the prefaces to Wordsworth and White's edition of the Vulgate, now in progress (Oxford, 1889 ff.).

C. COPTIC VERSIONS.—

25. Coptic is the literary form of the vernacular language of Egypt, the descendant of the ancient tongue which we know first in its hieroglyphic, and later in its demotic form, but differing from them in adopting the Greek alphabet, with the addition of certain letters to represent sounds not employed in Greek. Coptic is the outcome of the Greek settlement in Egypt, which took place under the empire of the Ptolemys and continued under that of Rome; and along with the Greek characters the native tongue adopted also a considerable number of Greek words. When this form of writing came into being is uncertain. It appears in a primitive form in a certain horoscope, now in the British Museum, the date of which is probably A.D. 95; and it is reasonable to suppose that it became established as a literary medium in the course of the 2nd century. It is quite possible that its growth was promoted by the need of its services in making the gospel known to native converts. Christianity was no doubt intro-

duced into Egypt even in Apostolic times, but it would have come in the first instance to the Jews of Alexandria and the Greek-speaking population generally. Even when it penetrated farther, and addressed the native population in its own tongue, its message would at first have been oral, and the earliest Coptic versions of the NT may well have been merely oral paraphrases, such as were the earliest Anglo-Saxon versions in our own country. The first mention of Coptic Scriptures occurs in the Life of St. Antony, who is said to have heard the Gospel read in church as a boy about A.D. 270; and since he was not acquainted with Greek, this must have been a Coptic version, whether oral or written. Early in the 4th cent. the monks of the order established by Pachomius were required by their rule to study the Scriptures; and this, at any rate, implies the existence of a written Coptic version. In the 3rd cent., therefore, at latest, and possibly by the end of the 2nd (since the Coptic versions unquestionably have some very early characteristics), a Coptic translation of the NT (except the Apocalypse) was in circulation.

26. The Egyptian language was not uniform throughout the country, but possessed various local dialects. Two of these are well marked, and possess a respectable quantity of literature, almost wholly theological. These are the Bohairic, or dialect of Lower Egypt, and the Sahidic, or dialect of Upper Egypt. The former derives its title (first conferred on it by Athanasius, bishop of Cos in Upper Egypt in the 11th cent.) from the Arabic name of a district near Alexandria, the latter from the Arabic name for Upper Egypt. Between the two lie several dialects collectively known as Middle Egyptian, with local varieties in the Fayyum, at Akhmim, and elsewhere, which certainly possessed a translation (or translations) of the Bible, but of which very little is known at present, for lack of materials.

27. *The Sahidic Version* (Sah., formerly Thebaic).—It was formerly held that the Bohairic version (Boh.) was the first in point of age, since it was the version of Lower Egypt, which would have been the first to receive Christianity; but Coptic scholars are now generally agreed that the order of precedence must be inverted. Lower Egypt was very largely Greek-speaking, and the language in which the Septuagint was already familiar would have been sufficient for a considerable time. In Upper Egypt, though there were considerable Greek communities there also, and in the principal towns Greek must have been generally understood, the population as a whole must have been more Egyptian, and an Egyptian version of the NT would have been required there sooner than in the neighbourhood of Alexandria. The characteristics of the Sahidic version also suit this hypothesis of an earlier date. It is rougher and less literary in style than the Bohairic, and its text is of a very early type, akin in many details (though not as a whole) to the OL and OS; in the OT its text is in some books pre-Origenian. Unfortunately it is known to us only in fragments. It was ultimately superseded by Boh. and dropped out of use; and, with the exception of some small but complete volumes recently acquired by the British Museum, all that we now have of it are isolated leaves of vellum or papyrus which have been rescued from the buried towns and monasteries of Egypt. The Apocalypse is the only book of the NT that exists complete in a single MS, though some books approach completeness. But the number of extant fragments is large and increasing, and from these it will be possible soon to put together an almost continuous Sahidic NT. The earliest MSS appear to go back to the 5th cent., but none is of sufficient size and importance to merit individual description. Some are bilingual, containing Greek and Sahidic texts in parallel columns; the most important of these has been described above (§ 7) under the heading T.

28. *The Bohairic Version.*—This, which ultimately became the accepted Bible of the Coptic Church, is much better known than Sah., and is preserved in a considerable number of MSS. The date of its origin, however, is quite uncertain. In favour of an early date is the fact that the Apocalypse was apparently not originally contained in it; this book seems to have been generally accepted after the end of the 3rd cent., but was regarded with some doubt before. In the OT, Boh. contains the insertions made by Origen, which implies a date not earlier than the latter part of the 3rd century. In general, the text represented by it is of the same character as that found in B✠; and this again points to a date not substantially later than the first half of the 4th century. The cent. from A.D. 250 to 350 seems, therefore, the most probable period for its origin; though some writers (notably Guidi) think that Coptic Christianity (as distinct from Greek) did not develop in Lower Egypt until the middle of the 6th cent., and consequently that all Bohairic literature is subsequent to this date.

The Bohairic version follows the Greek very closely, being more faithful and less free than Sah.; hence it is trustworthy evidence of the readings of the Greek MSS from which it was made. These MSS, as indicated above, were of the same general character as B✠, and especially B. Divergent readings of the type represented by OL and OS, which are found not infrequently in Sah., are practically absent from Boh. The earliest Boh. MS of the Gospels is the Curzon Catena (an intermixture of text and commentary) in the Parham Library, which is dated A.D. 889; the oldest and best continuous MS of the Gospels is Huntington MS 17, in the Bodleian, dated 1174. Several others are of the 12th and 13th cents.; but none goes back to anything like the age of the fragments of Sah. Many of them have Arabic versions in the margins. An excellent edition of Boh. has recently been completed by the Rev. G. Horner (Oxford, 1898 and 1905), who is now engaged on Sah.

29. *The Middle Egyptian Versions.*—Of these very little is yet known, though enough to establish their existence. Our knowledge rests upon a few fragments of vellum and papyrus which have come to light of late years, notably in the Fayyum, in the neighbourhood of Akhmim, and in that of Memphis. These differ in dialect from both Boh. and Sah., and also to some extent among themselves; but they are more akin to Sah. than to Boh. Also the NT text found in them differs from both Boh. and Sah.; and evidence has been found of the existence of more than one Middle Egyptian version. The largest NT fragment as yet extant is a 6th cent. palimpsest in the British Museum (Or. MS. 5707), containing parts of Jn 3 and 4 in Greek and Middle Egyptian, with a good text.

30. Other versions exist—Georgian, Ethiopic, Arabic, Persian, Gothic; but on these it is not necessary to dwell. The first two have been too little studied to be practically available, and the others are too late in origin, and too secondary, or even tertiary, in their character, to be of much use. The versions that are of first-rate importance are those that have been described above,—the Syriac, Latin, and Coptic versions. Of these the Old Latin and Old Syriac take the first place, both on account of their age, and because they are the chief extant representatives of a very early and important type of text, as will be seen below. Next in textual importance are Sah. and Boh., which give us the evidence of Egypt, the country which has perhaps played the largest part in the history of the Greek Bible. Then follow the Latin Vulgate and the Syriac Peshitta, each just too late and too composite in character to be of first-rate importance as evidence of the primitive Greek text, but each the authorized Bible of a great Church. Finally, evidence of some value is to be obtained from the later Syriac and the Armenian versions.

See articles by Forbes Robinson in Hastings' *DB*, and Burkitt in *Encyc. Bibl.* (*s.v.* 'Text and Versions'); [G.

TEXT OF THE NEW TESTAMENT

Horner], *The Coptic Version of the NT in the northern dialect* (Oxford, 1898–1905); W. E. Crum, *Catalogue of Coptic MSS in the British Museum* (London, 1905); Hyvernat, 'Étude sur les versions coptes de la Bible' in *RB* 1896–97.

31. Patristic Quotations.—The third class of evidence available for textual purposes is that which is derived from the quotations from the NT in the writings of the early Fathers. If we can be sure that a writer is quoting from a MS lying before him, then his quotation gives us the reading of a MS which in many cases must have been earlier than any which we now possess. Sometimes we can be fairly sure of this, as when the quotation occurs in a continuous commentary on a single book; or when the writer expressly emphasizes a certain reading as against other variants; or when he quotes the same passage several times in the same way. In other cases it is impossible to be certain that he is not quoting from memory; and this makes quotations from the Synoptic Gospels especially fallacious, since it is so easy to confuse the wordings of the different Evangelists. There is always the danger also that a copyist may have assimilated the wording of a quotation to the form with which he was himself familiar. Consequently evidence of this class, though highly valuable when its surroundings guarantee it from suspicion, has to be handled with great caution. In one respect Patristic quotations have a special value, because they can be both dated and placed. The dates of the earliest MSS and versions are uncertain, within half a century or more, while the date of any given Patristric work can generally be fixed within a few years. The advantage of being assignable to a certain country is one which Patristic quotations share with versions, but it is of great importance in fixing the origin and range of certain types of text. In both respects it will be found that the evidence of the Fathers is of great value in elucidating the textual history of the NT. It is impossible to treat the subject at length here, but the names and dates of some of the most important Fathers may be mentioned, and subsequent sections will show what sort of part they play in the operations of textual criticism.

32. The earliest Patristic writings, such as the Epistles of Clement, Barnabas, Ignatius, and Polycarp, and the 'Shepherd' of Hermas, contain very few quotations from the NT, and those few are inexact (see *NT in Apost. Fathers* [Oxf. Soc. of Hist. Theol.]). In the third quarter of the 2nd cent. we have the writings of Justin Martyr and Tatian, and we know something of the Gospel text used by the heretic Marcion. From about 180 onwards the evidence becomes much fuller. Irenæus (whose principal work was written between 181 and 189) worked mainly at Lyons, though his home was in Asia Minor. Western texts are also represented by Tertullian (about 150–220), Cyprian (about 200–258), and Hippolytus (flourished about 220); the two former being African writers, and the last-named of Rome. In Egypt there are the two very important theologians, Clement of Alexandria (about 160–220) and Origen (185–253), and the two scholars who succeeded to the latter's literary inheritance, and founded the library of Cæsarea largely upon the basis of his works, Pamphilus (d. 309) and Eusebius (about 270–340). In Syria the most notable names are those of Aphraates (flourished about 340) and especially Ephraem (d. 378); in Asia Minor, Gregory Thaumaturgus (d. 265), Basil of Cæsarea (329–79), Gregory of Nyssa (flor. about 370), and Gregory of Nazianzus (d. 389); in Palestine, Cyril of Jerusalem (bishop, 351–86), and especially Chrysostom (347–407). Returning to the West, the important writers, from a textual point of view as well as from others, are Hilary of Poitiers (bishop, 354–68), Lucifer of Cagliari (d. 371), Ambrose of Milan (bishop, 374–97), Tyconius (an African writer of the end of the 4th cent.), Priscillian (a Spaniard, d. 385); and, finally, the two great Fathers of the Western Church, Jerome (about 345–420) and Augustine (354–430). Later than the first quarter of the 5th cent. it is not necessary to go; for the settlement of the great issues in the textual history of the NT had taken place before this date.

A list of ecclesiastical writers and their principal works is given by Gregory (*Prolegomena* and *Textkritik*). An index of Patristic quotations was compiled by Dean Burgon and is now in the British Museum. Critical texts of the Latin and Greek Fathers are being issued under the direction of the Vienna and Berlin Academies respectively.

33. Such are the materials—MSS, Versions, Patristic Quotations—with which the textual critic has to deal; but it is only within comparatively recent years that his resources have become so extensive. Two centuries of diligent work were spent in the collection of the evidence of Greek MSS; the most important of all, the Codex Vaticanus (B), has become fully known only within the last forty years, and the next most important (ℵ) was discovered only in 1859 and published in 1862. Of the two most important versions, the Old Syriac was wholly unknown before 1848, and quite inadequately known until 1894; while the Old Latin, though known and studied in the 18th cent. (when Sabatier published his *Bibliorum sacrorum Latinae versiones antiquae*, Rheims, 1743), cannot be said to have been rightly understood and classified before the publications of several scholars who are still living. For many of the Fathers, we still are without editions which can be trusted with regard to their Scripture quotations. The textual criticism of the NT, as now understood, is consequently a science of comparatively modern growth. As was shown above (§ **1**), the earliest editions of the Greek NT were in no sense critical texts. It is true that MSS were collated for them, but only such MSS as chanced to be easily at the disposal of the editor. No search was made for specially good or old MSS, and (except for a very slight use of Cod. Bezae by Stephanus) the TR was made and established before any of the great uncial MSS had been examined. This is the more remarkable because B was used as the main basis of the text which became the standard text of the Septuagint, that, namely, which was printed at Rome in 1587; but it chanced that no Roman edition of the NT was issued, and consequently the great Vatican MS was little known and less used until the 19th cent. was far advanced.

34. At stated in § **1**, the TR of the NT took final shape in the editions of Stephanus in 1550 and the Elzevirs in 1624. It was not until after the latter date that the scientific collection of evidence began. The Codex Alexandrinus (A) was brought to England in 1627, and a collation of it (with D D_2, and several minuscules) first appeared in the great Polyglot Bible edited by Brian Walton in 1657. Walton's Polyglot (modelled, so far as its plan and scope were concerned, on the Antwerp Polyglot of 1571–72, and the Paris Polyglot of 1630–33, but greatly superior to both in its textual material) may be said to be the fountain-head of the textual criticism of the NT. It was followed during the next century and a half by a series of editions in which, while no attempt was made to modify the actual text, an increasing number of MSS was laid under contribution to supply materials for the *apparatus criticus*. The first of these was that of Dean Fell in 1675; the greatest was that of John Mill in 1707, which was remarkable not only for the number of Greek MSS quoted in it, but for its use of the versions, its collection (for the first time) of Patristic quotations, and its valuable *prolegomena*. In the 18th cent. Bentley (whose first appearance in the field of Biblical criticism was stimulated by Mill's great work) made large collections for a new edition, but was unable to make use of them. J. J. Wetstein, a Swiss assistant of Bentley, produced in 1751–52 an edition in which our present notation of the MSS was first introduced; and the list

was considerably extended by C. F. Matthæi (1782–88), F. K. Alter (1786–87), A. Birch (1788–1801), and, finally, J. M. A. Scholz (1830–36), with whom the first stage of NT textual criticism may be said to have come to a close.

35. During this first, and most necessary, stage of the collection of evidence, which extends from 1657 to 1830, little was done in the way of classifying the materials thus obtained, or laying down the principles upon which they should be employed and interpreted. There are, however, some notable exceptions. Mill, in his *Prolegomena*, discussed the true reading of many passages. J. A. Bengel, in 1734, divided the MSS and Versions into two families, which he called African and Asiatic, and asserted the superiority of the former, consisting of the few most ancient witnesses, over the latter, which included the great mass of later authorities. In this we find the germ of the principle of the classification of authorities, which is now the guiding principle of textual criticism, whether Biblical or classical. It was opposed by Wetstein, who anticipated the advocacy of the TR in our own time by Dean Burgon and others, maintaining that all the most ancient MSS had been contaminated from the Latin, and that only the later authorities were worthy of attention. J. S. Semler (1767) developed Bengel's theory, making a triple classification of authorities, as Alexandrian, Eastern (*i.e.* Antiochian and Constantinopolitan), and Western; and this was elaborated by his pupil J. J. Griesbach (1774–75), who adopted the same classification, but carried much further the assignment of the then extant MSS and Versions to their several classes. Both in his classification and in his estimate of the characteristics of the various families Griesbach went far to anticipate the theory of Westcott and Hort, which is the foundation of contemporary criticism.

36. None of the scholars hitherto named, however, put his principles to the test by producing a reformed Greek text of the NT. This step, which marked the opening of a new era in textual criticism, was taken in 1831 by **K. Lachmann,** a distinguished classical scholar, who, like Bentley before him, but with greater success, resolved to apply to the text of the NT the principles which were admitted as sound in the case of the Greek and Latin classics. This method consisted of selecting some of the oldest authorities (MSS, Versions, and Fathers), and forming his text solely from them, while ignoring the great mass of later witnesses. In putting faith mainly in the most ancient witnesses, in spite of their numerical inferiority, Lachmann only did what every editor of a classical text would do; but he departed from sound principle, first, by absolutely ignoring all evidence outside his selected group; and, secondly, by adopting in all cases the reading given by the majority of his selected authorities, without regard to the internal probabilities of the various readings, or applying any of the tests which textual science provides for discriminating between alternatives the external evidence for which is approximately equal. Moreover, the knowledge of the earlier authorities at Lachmann's disposal was by no means so complete as that which we have at the present day. For these reasons Lachmann's text could not long hold its ground precisely as it stood; nevertheless it did very great service in breaking the monopoly of the TR, and in preparing the way for further progress.

37. The next stage in this progress is marked by the names of Constantine Tischendorf and S. P. Tregelles. As the discoverer of the Codex Sinaiticus, **Tischendorf** achieved the most sensational success in textual history; but he also did admirable service by his collation of almost all the uncial MSS of any importance (except that he was allowed only very limited access to B), and his collection of evidence in his successive editions of the NT (culminating in the 8th, published in 1869–72) remains the fullest *apparatus criticus* to the present day. His own printed text of the NT fluctuated considerably from one edition to another, and his judgment between various readings was hardly equal to his industry in collecting them; still in the main he followed the best authorities, and his edition remains one of the principal examples of a text constructed on critical lines. The *prolegomena* to his 8th edition was compiled after his death by Dr. C. R. Gregory, and is a perfect storehouse of bibliographical information; in its latest form (published as an independent work, in German, under the title of *Textkritik des neuen Testamentes*, Leipzig, 1900) it is the standard book of reference on the subject.

38. Tischendorf's industry as a collator was rivalled by that of his English contemporary, **Tregelles,** who collated all the extant uncial MSS and some of the chief minuscules, so that his results serve to check and test those of Tischendorf. In his text (published in 1857–72) he confined himself almost wholly to the uncials, with the Versions and Fathers, completely ignoring the TR. In fact, he followed very much the same principles as Tischendorf, and his edition is serviceable chiefly as a means of testing Tischendorf's judgment, and of showing how far two scholars, working independently on the same evidence, arrive at the same results. Unfortunately his text of the Gospels was published before the discovery of ℵ, and his knowledge of B was even less than that of Tischendorf.

39. The evidence accumulated by Lachmann, Tischendorf, and Tregelles, aided by the public interest excited by such discoveries as those of the Codex Sinaiticus and the Curetonian Syriac, produced a general sense of dissatisfaction with the TR, and in England led to an increasing desire for a revision of the AV in the light of modern knowledge, culminating in 1870 in the appointment of the Committees which produced the RV (for which see art. ENGLISH VERSIONS, §§ 35–37). Meanwhile two English scholars were at work on the text of the NT, whose results were destined not only to affect very greatly the revision of the English Bible, but also to lay the foundations of all the textual work of the succeeding generation, and whose influence remains paramount to this day. These were **B. F. Westcott** (afterwards Bishop of Durham) and **F. J. A. Hort.** Their joint work began as far back as 1853, when they were colleagues at Cambridge; and it bore fruit in 1881, when their text of the NT appeared on May 12th (five days before the publication of the RV of the NT), and the *Introduction*, embodying the principles upon which their text was based, in the following September. This volume (written by Hort, but representing the views of both scholars) is the text-book of modern textual criticism as applied to the Greek Bible.

40. The principles of WH are an extension of those of Semler and Griesbach, as described above (§ 35), and rest upon a classification of our authorities into families, and a discrimination between the merits of these families. It is in the Gospels and Acts that the textual phenomena are most plainly marked, and it is to them that the characteristics to be described apply most fully; but they are likewise true, in a lesser degree, of the other books of the NT. If the *apparatus criticus* of the Gospels be studied, it will be found that certain MSS and Versions tend to agree with one another, and to form groups distinguishable from other groups. Four such groups are in fact distinguished by WH, as follows; the reasons for the names assigned to them will appear shortly. (α) The *Syrian* family, often headed in the Gospels by the manuscripts A and C, but more fully and characteristically represented by the later uncials, such as EFKMS, etc., and by the great mass of the minuscules, by the Peshitta version, and by most of the Fathers from Chrysostom downwards; from this family, in its fully developed form, is descended the TR. (β) The *Neutral* family, of which the main representative is B, often supported by ℵ, by LRTZ, by the minuscule

Evan. 33, and some other minuscules in a lesser degree, by Boh. and sometimes Sah. and frequently by the quotations of Origen; in Acts, Epp., and Apoc., A and C generally join this group. (γ) The *Alexandrian* family, a sort of sub-species of β, not continuously found in any one MS, but represented by the readings of some MSS of the β group when they differ among themselves, and especially when they differ from B; LT, and AC when they are not Syrian, may be taken as the leading members of the family. (δ) The *Western* family, headed by D among the uncials (with E^2 in Acts and D_2 in Paul.) and Evan. 473 among a small group of minuscules, but most authentically represented by the Old Latin and Old Syriac versions, and especially by *k* and Syr.-Sin.; it also largely colours Sah., and is found in almost all the early Fathers, notably Justin, Irenæus, Cyprian, and Clement.

41. These being the main divisions which are found to exist among our authorities, the next step is to discriminate between them, so as to determine which is the most generally trustworthy. Here it is (in addition to the greater minuteness of the examination and analysis of the individual authorities) that the original and epoch-making character of the work of WH is most conspicuous. The first proposition—and one which strikes at the root of the claims of the TR—is this, that *no specifically 'Syrian' reading occurs in the NT quotations of any Father before Chrysostom.* In other words, wherever the Syrian family marks itself off from the others by a reading of its own, that reading cannot be shown to have been in existence before the latter part of the 4th century. The importance of this proposition is obvious, and it is noteworthy, as showing the value of Patristic evidence, that the proof of it rests wholly on the quotations found in the Fathers. The inevitable conclusion is that the Syrian text is a secondary text, formed (according to WH in Syria, and especially in Antioch) in the course of the 4th century. This secondary character is also established by an examination of representative Syrian readings (for these, see especially J. O. F. Murray's art. 'Textual Criticism of the NT' in Hastings' *DB*, Ext. Vol.). As compared with the rival readings of other groups, they show the ordinary signs of editorial revision, such as the modification of harsh or strange phrases, assimilation of one version of an incident with another, greater literary smoothness, and the like. A special proof of secondariness is found in what WH call *conflate* readings, when one group of authorities has one reading and another has a second, and the Syrian text combines the two. The shortest and simplest example is Lk 24^{53}, where ℵ BCL Boh. read *eulogountes ton theon*, D, OL, and Augustine *ainountes ton theon*, while A and the general mass of late uncials and minuscules have *ainountes kai eulogountes ton theon.* (For other examples of this type see Hort's *Introduction*, and Murray, *loc. cit.*) The conclusion, therefore, is that the witnesses belonging to the Syrian family, although they predominate enormously in numbers, possess little intrinsic weight when opposed to witnesses of the other groups.

42. As between the remaining groups the discrimination is not so easy, and must be made by other methods. The Patristic evidence can show us that the Western text (originally so named because the principal representatives of it were the OL version, the Latin Fathers, and the bilingual MSS) was spread over all the principal provinces to which Christianity penetrated,—Syria, Egypt, Rome, Gaul, Africa,—and that it goes back as far as we have any evidence, namely to the middle of the 2nd century. On the other hand, it points to Egypt as the special stronghold of the Neutral text, and the sole home of the Alexandrian. All, however, are of such antiquity that the preference can be given to none on this ground alone. It is necessary, therefore, to look at the internal character of the several texts. Of the Western text WH say (*Introd.* § 170): 'Any prepossessions in its favour that might be created by its imposing early ascendancy are for the most part soon dissipated by continuous study of its internal character.' The chief characteristics with which they charge it are a love of paraphrase; a tendency to interpolate words, sentences, and even paragraphs; free changes or insertions of conjunctions, pronouns, and prepositional phrases; and generally an extreme licence in handling the original text. Alexandrian readings, on the other hand, consist mainly of slight linguistic changes, made in the interest of literary style; they are thus comparatively unimportant, and give rise to little controversy. Over against these various divergences stands the text which WH call Neutral, because it shows few or none of the signs of aberration which characterize the other groups. This text is found predominantly in B, the character of which is so superior that its evidence always deserves the most careful consideration, even when it stands alone.

43. Such is, in briefest summary, the theory with regard to the textual history of the NT propounded by WH. On its first promulgation it was bitterly assailed by the advocates of the TR; but against these its triumph, in the opinion of nearly all students of the subject, has been decisive. More recently the tendency has been to depreciate the pre-eminence of the β or Neutral Text, as being merely the local text of Egypt, and to exalt the δ or Western family, on the ground of its wide and early diffusion and the apparently primitive character of some of its special readings. A further topic of criticism has been the terminology of WH. The term 'Syrian' has been condemned as liable to be confused with 'Syriac'; 'Western' as wholly misleading, since that type of text was widely prevalent in the East also, and probably took its rise thence; 'Neutral' as begging the question of the superior character of the family so described. These criticisms may be briefly dismissed; there is good foundation for them, but they are matters of form rather than of substance. 'Antiochian' might be substituted for 'Syrian' with advantage, and the Egyptian status of the 'Neutral' text might be admitted without abandoning its claims to superiority; but no good substitute for 'Western' has yet been proposed. In some ways it would be better to abandon epithets altogether, and to call the several families by the names of the α-text, the β-text, the γ-text, and the δ-text, as indicated in § 40; or the nomenclature of WH may be retained, but regarded simply as so many labels, devoid of any significant connotation.

44. It is more important to say something with regard to the comparative claims of the β and α texts in the first instance, and the β and δ texts subsequently. With regard to the former controversy, which raged with great warmth after the publication of the RV of the NT, the advocates of the α or Syrian or TR (chief among whom were Dean Burgon, his disciple and literary heir the Rev. E. Miller, and the Rev. G. H. Gwilliam, the editor of the Peshiṭta) rest their case mainly on the numerical preponderance of the manuscripts of this type, which they take as indicating the choice, deliberate or instinctive, of the early Church, and as implying the sanction and authority of Divine Providence. But to argue thus is to maintain that the textual history of the Bible is fundamentally different from that of all other books of ancient literature, and that the reasoning faculties given to us by God, which are generally recognized as guiding us to the truth with regard to the textual history of classical literature, are not to be employed with regard to the textual history of the NT. There is nothing strange or abnormal in the rejection of a relatively large number of late authorities in favour of a relatively small number of ancient authorities; on the contrary, it is a phenomenon common to nearly all works of ancient literature that have come down to us, the sole difference being

that the NT manuscripts, early and late, are far more numerous than those of any classical work, so that the ordinary phenomena are exhibited on a much larger scale. If once it be admitted that the ordinary principles of literary criticism are to be applied to the NT, then the rejection of the TR in favour of one of the earlier families follows as a matter of necessity. It may be added that the course of discovery since the publication of WH's theory has furnished the best possible test of such a theory, that of wholly new and unforeseen witnesses, and that it has received therefrom much confirmation and no refutation. The discovery of the Sinaitic Syriac, the fuller scrutiny of the versions, the testing of the Patristic quotations (*e.g.* in the case of Ephraem Syrus, who was formerly supposed to have used the Peshiṭta), the papyrus and vellum fragments from Egypt and Sinai, the examination of more of the minuscule MSS, all these have brought additional support to readings of the β, γ, and δ families, for which the evidence previously available was sometimes very scanty, while they have done nothing to carry back the date of the distinctively Syrian readings beyond the period assigned to them by WH, namely, the age of Chrysostom.

45. One point remains to be dealt with in this connexion, namely, the question of the origin of this 'Syrian' text, which thus dominated the NT tradition for considerably over a thousand years. The view of WH is that it was due to deliberate editorial revision, operating probably in two stages, the first revision taking place early in the 4th cent., the second at some time after the middle of that century. Against this hypothesis it has been objected that, if such revisions took place, we should have expected to find some record of them in early Christian literature. We know the names of several editors of the Greek OT during this very century [see GR. VERSIONS OF OT]; is it likely that two revisions of the NT could have been executed and yet have left no trace in history? It has been urged that there is no record of how another great textual change was carried out, namely, the substitution in the Greek OT of Theodotion's version of Daniel for that of the LXX; and it is no doubt true that where the whole available literature likely to deal with such a subject is so scanty, the argument from silence is very precarious. Still it must be allowed to carry some weight, and not a few critics would substitute for Hort's double revision a process of gradual change spread over a considerable period. Such a gradual change would be due to a general consensus of opinion as to the right way to deal with divergent texts, namely, to combine them when possible, and otherwise to soften down harshnesses, to harmonize contradictions, and to give greater smoothness to the literary style. In favour of this hypothesis it may be noted that the MSS themselves show signs of a gradual and progressive development of the α text. The earliest MSS which (in the Gospels) can be classed with this family, A and C, exhibit its characteristics sporadically, not continuously, and not infrequently side with MSS of the β and δ families against readings found in the overwhelming mass of later witnesses. The 6th cent. MSS, NΣΦ, show the α text in a somewhat more advanced stage; but it is not until we reach the later uncials, such as EFKMSΠ, that we find it fully developed in the form which we know as the TR. But whether we adopt the hypothesis of a definite revision or that of a gradual process of change in order to account for the existence of the α text, the *fact* of the existence of such a text remains, and its character as a secondary text of relatively late origin must be taken to be one of the established results of criticism.

46. The ordinary English student of the Bible is able readily to appreciate the points at issue in the controversy between the α and β texts, because they are substantially represented to him by the differences (so far as they are differences in text, and not merely in rendering) between the AV and the RV; for though the RV does not go the whole way with the 'Neutral' text, nevertheless its textual departures from the AV are in that direction, and give an adequate general idea of its character. In dealing with the δ text, however, there is no such ready means of realizing its character, since it is not embodied in any English version, or even in any edition of the Greek text.* Its features must be gathered by an inspection of the *apparatus criticus* of such works as the 'Variorum' edition of the English Bible, or the Oxford edition (with Sanday's appendixes) of the Greek. Even here it is not all plain sailing, since no one MS gives a full and consistent representation of the δ text, and the authorities which are predominantly of this character not infrequently disagree with regard to particular readings. Generally it may be said that the Old Syriac (especially Syr.-Sin.) and Old Latin (especially *k*, *e*, and Cyprian) represent the oldest form of the δ text, while Codex Bezae (D), its chief champion among Greek MSS, has it in a more advanced (and more extravagant) form.

From these some idea of its divergences from the α and β texts may be gathered (though it must be remembered that sometimes α and δ are found in agreement against β, owing to the eclectic compilers of α having adopted a δ reading from the alternatives presented to them; and sometimes, on the other hand, β and δ concur in the preservation of some early reading which has been dropped or altered in α). Thus OL and OS (with ℵB) omit 'firstborn' in Mt 1^{25}, and the words 'bless them that curse you, do good to them that hate you' and 'despitefully use you' in Mt 5^{44}, while D in both cases has the omitted words; Syr.-Cur. has the doxology to the Lord's Prayer, while D and most OL MSS omit it; OS omits Mt $16^{2.\ 3}$ and 17^{21} (with ℵB), while OL and D retain both; in Mt 18^{11}, D, OL, and Syr.-Cur. agree with the α group in retaining the verse, while Syr.-Sin. sides with the β group in omitting it; after Mt 20^{28} a long additional passage (akin to Lk $14^{8\text{-}11}$) is inserted in DΦ, OL, and Syr.-Cur. (Syr.-Sin. is defective). Mk $16^{9\text{-}20}$ is omitted by *k* and Syr.-Sin., inserted by D, Syr.- Cur., and most MSS of the OL. At Lk 6^{5} D inserts the incident of the man working on the Sabbath day, but OS is defective here, and OL has no trace of it; in Lk 9^{55} the TR is derived from the δ text (D, OL, Syr.-Cur.), but Syr.-Sin. agrees with the β group in omitting the words 'and said, Ye know not what spirit ye are of,' etc.; D and some OL MSS omit Lk 22^{20}, while other OL MSS and OS transpose vv.$^{17.\ 18}$ to this place; Syr.-Sin. omits Lk $22^{43.\ 44}$, but D, OL, and Syr.-Cur. retain them; in Lk 23^{48} some words are added to the end by OS and g^{1}; in Lk $24^{6.\ 12.\ 36}$, where D and OL have remarkable omissions (which WH are inclined to accept, even against the testimony of B), both MSS of OS contain the omitted passages; but they concur with D and OL in omitting 24^{40}. These examples serve to show both the character of the δ text and the way in which its authorities are divided among themselves,—a point of considerable importance; while in Acts the divergences of the δ text (here mainly represented by D and OL, the OS not being extant) are even greater, so much so as to have given rise to the hypothesis that it represents a different edition of the book, due to the author himself.† The vagaries of individual members of the δ group are occasionally still more striking than those which have been quoted; as when two OL MSS (a and g^{1}) insert in Mt 1^{16} the legend (apparently from the Ebionite Gospel) of the great light which flashed from Jordan at the baptism of Jesus, or when D *c* and Sah. state (at Lk 23^{53}) that the stone at the mouth of the sepulchre was 'such as scarce twenty men could roll.' In addition to these substantial additions to or alterations of the text, the verbal divergences are very numerous, proving that an excessive licence was taken, by scribes or editors, in dealing with the Gospel text.

47. Until quite recently, the special variants of the δ text were almost universally regarded as aberrations, which no one would think of accepting as readings of the original text. It is true that WH were disposed to believe that the passages omitted by the 'Western'

* A partial exception is furnished by Blass' texts of Mt., Lk., and Acts.

† For a fuller list of notable δ-readings, both in Evv. and Acts, see Kenyon, *Handbook*, pp. 76, 131–134, 293–299.

authorities in the later chapters of Lk. are no authentic part of the Evangelist's original work, but are additions made at a very early date; but this is the only case in which they accepted testimony of this class as superior to that of B and its allies, and few other scholars would at that time have gone even so far as they did. For some time after the promulgation of WH's theory, the conflict raged over the comparative merits of the α and β types of text; and it was only as the superiority of the latter was more and more established that scholars began to investigate more fully the characteristics and claims of the remaining family (ignoring γ, as merely a sub-species of β), for which a very high antiquity could be demonstrated. The claims of the δ text received a considerable stimulus from the publication of more of the OL MSS (especially *k*), and above all from the discovery of Syr.-Sin., which is perhaps the most important single member of the group. Further attention was attracted to it by Blass' attempt to show that the δ text in Lk. and that in Acts represent different editions of those books, issued by Luke himself at different dates. At the present day, not a few scholars are inclined to attach considerable weight to the evidence of this family, and to hold that the β text, no less than the α, is due to editorial revision, and that the original form of the NT text is to be looked for in the OL and OS to a much greater extent than was previously supposed possible.

48. The main argument in favour of the δ text is its great age and wide circulation, as demonstrated by the Patristic evidence of the 2nd and 3rd centuries. It has to be borne in mind, however, that purity of text is due not so much to great age as to care in transmission, and that where such care has been wanting, corruption is both rapid and far-reaching. The papyrus MSS of the Greek classics, written in the first two centuries of the Christian era, which have recently come to light in large numbers, are almost always less accurate than the vellum MSS of the 10th and 11th cents.; the reason no doubt being that the papyri are generally cheap copies, circulating among private individuals in the upper provinces of Egypt, while the vellum MSS represent the tradition of the great libraries, in which transcripts would be made more accurately and revised more carefully. So with regard to the early Christian literature: we can well imagine that during the century and a half following the composition of the books, when Christianity was an unauthorized religion, liable to persecution and the destruction of its books, and when Christians themselves looked for a speedy Second Coming of the Lord, there would be little care and little opportunity for the precise collation of manuscripts, and a great possibility of verbal and even material variation in transcription. It is quite intelligible, therefore, that through the greater part of the Christian world inaccurate copies would circulate, and that the more careful preservation of the true text would run in a comparatively narrow channel. And if there was one part of the world in which such care might more than elsewhere be expected, it was Egypt, and especially Alexandria, the home of Greek textual criticism, and the home also of the Greek version of the OT. Hence, if the internal evidence points to the β text as the most accurate and authentic in character, the inference to be drawn therefrom is not materially shaken when we find signs that its birthplace was in Egypt, and that its early circulation was in that country, while texts of various shades of the δ type were prevalent elsewhere. That such was the character of the β text was the deliberate opinion of WH, who were perfectly aware of the early and wide attestation of the δ text; and their conclusion is supported by the quite independent investigations of B. Weiss, whose elaborate study (on very different lines) of the texts of the principal uncials led him to the conclusion that, whereas all the rest show marked indications of editorial revision in varying degrees, the text of B, though by no means free from scribal blunders, has the strongest signs of authenticity and originality. It is also to be remembered that it is impossible to form a coherent text of the δ type. The witnesses differ so much among themselves that it is easier to find a majority of them against any reading of that type than in favour of it. This appears even in Blass' attempt to form a δ text of Lk. and Acts, and in the other books the task is still more hopeless. Readings of the δ type, in short, have much more the character of results of a common tendency, working more or less independently in different places under similar circumstances, than of the descendants from a common original.

49. The natural conclusion, therefore, would seem to be that the β text still holds the position of superiority which was secured for it by the searching criticism of WH; and this, on the whole, is probably the prevalent view to-day. At the same time it must be admitted that individual readings of the δ class deserve more respectful consideration than heretofore. Reverting once more to the results obtained in the analogous field of classical literature, the evidence of early papyri, while it generally confirms the superiority of the MS or MSS which modern criticism has selected as the best of any given author, nevertheless tends to show that the truth is not always to be found in any one witness or group of witnesses. The best MSS sometimes make mistakes, and in such cases the true reading may be preserved in MSS which as a rule are inferior. To this possibility the critic must always be alive, and all the more so when the alternative reading is certainly a very early one, as those of the δ family often must be. Consequently an editor of the NT, though he would do well to pin his faith generally to the β family, is bound also to consider readings of the δ type on their merits; and that especially when support is found for them from more than one branch of the δ family. The Latin and Syriac branches of the family often differ; but when they agree, the reading which they support must certainly go back to a very early date. The Codex Bezae, the principal Greek member of the family, represents its characteristics in a somewhat extreme form, and readings supported by it alone must be regarded with much suspicion; but in combination with OL and OS it becomes a very important witness. If, in the future, earlier copies of the Gospels than are at present known to us should come to light, they may very probably represent the characteristics of this group to some extent; but it will still remain to be considered whether they seriously affect the pre-eminence of the small but select body of authorities to which WH gave, and gave justifiably, as it would seem, the name of 'Neutral.'

50. For literature bearing on the earlier sections of this article see notes at the end of §§ **9, 16, 24, 30, 32.** The history and bibliography of textual criticism are best set out in Tregelles' *Account of the Printed Text of the NT* (1854); Scrivener's *Plain Introduction to the Criticism of the NT* (4th ed. 1894); and Gregory's *Prolegomena* to Tischendorf's edition (1894), and *Textkritik des NT* (1900). Shorter summaries of the historical matter, with fuller discussions of the textual problem as it stands since Westcott and Hort, will be found in Kenyon's *Handbook to the Textual Criticism of the NT* (1901), and Nestle's *Introduction to the Textual Criticism of the Greek NT* (Eng. tr. from the 2nd German ed. 1901); the latter is particularly good for bibliographical information. Hort's *Introduction* (forming vol. ii. of *The NT in the Original Greek*, by B. F. Westcott and F. J. A. Hort, 1881) is, of course, invaluable for its statement of the principles of textual criticism, and for its exposition of the epoch-making theory of these two scholars. Murray's article in the Ext. Vol. of Hastings' *DB* is an elaborate vindication of WH's position, based largely upon the materials left behind by Hort. For an introduction to the subject on the smallest possible scale, Prof. K. Lake's *Text of the NT* (1900) can be strongly recommended.

The fullest *apparatus criticus* at present available is that in Tischendorf's *NT Græce*[8], 1869–72. A very service-

able select *apparatus* is given in Sanday's appendixes to the Oxford Greek Testament (1889), which also includes a full collation of WH. For English readers a select *apparatus* is provided in Eyre & Spottiswoode's *Variorum Bible* (NT by Sanday, Clarke, and Goodwin, revised in 1888). Of revised texts the most important are (1) Westcott and Hort (vol. i. of the work cited above, also printed separately); (2) *The Greek Testament with the readings adopted by the Revisers of the AV* (Oxford, 1881, edited by E. Palmer); (3) Weymouth's *Resultant Greek Testament* (1886), based upon a comparison of all the principal editions from Lachmann to the RV; (4) Nestle's edition, based originally (Stuttgart, 1898) on a comparison of Tischendorf, WH, and Weymouth, on the principle of following always the reading of the majority, and giving select variants (without the authorities for them) at the foot; in later editions (1901, etc.) Weiss has been substituted for Weymouth. Nestle's text has since 1904 been adopted by the British and Foreign Bible Society, with a different *apparatus*, giving every variation of any importance from the TR and the text underlying the RV. It is now, therefore, easy to obtain a text of the NT based upon the best available witnesses, as arrived at by a consensus of the most competent critics, and unquestionably superior in accuracy and authenticity to the TR. A new edition of the NT, on a large scale, which promises to be of great importance, is being prepared by Prof. H. von Soden. F. G. KENYON.

THADDÆUS.—This is the name of one of the Twelve Apostles as given in Mt 10^3, Mk 3^{18}. He is doubtless to be identified with the '**Judas** [son] of James,' who appears in the Lukan lists (Lk 6^{16}, Ac 1^{13}; so RV, but AV renders '*brother* of James'), and with the 'Judas, not Iscariot,' of Jn 14^{22}, though some Syrian writers have made this last Judas to be the same as the Apostle Thomas (syr^{sin} reads here 'Thomas,' syr^{cur} reads 'Judas Thomas'), Thomas being confessedly only a surname, 'the Twin.'

In all four lists Thaddæus (or Judas) comes next to Simon the Cananæan or Zealot, and may not improbably have been his brother or intimate friend (cf. the variant 'Judas Zelotes' in Mt 10^3, noted below). It is the opinion of almost all modern scholars that neither is to be identified with any of the Brethren of our Lord, though Dom Chapman has lately published an elaborate argument to the contrary (*JThSt* vii. 412).

Instead of, or in addition to, 'Thaddæus,' we find the variant **Lebbæus.** In Mk 3^{18}, *Codex Bezae* (D) and some Old Latin MSS have 'Lebbæus'; but all the best authorities, including syr^{sin} (syr^{cur} is wanting here), have 'Thaddæus,' and this is doubtless right. In Mt 10^3 the oldest Greek MSS (א B), the Vulgate, the Coptic, and some Old Latin MSS have 'Thaddæus,' while D, supported by the valuable Old Latin *k* and some other MSS, has 'Lebbæus.' Some other Old Latin MSS have 'Judas Zelotes,' and syr^{sin} has 'Judas son (*sic*) of James' (syr^{cur} is wanting here). Some inferior MSS and several Versions combine 'Lebbæus' and 'Thaddæus,' as AV ('L. whose surname was Th.'); but this is clearly a later explanation, and must be rejected. We see, then, that in Mt. 'Thaddæus' has the best attestation, and this alone is read in RV, from which 'Lebbæus' has completely disappeared. But how could 'Lebbæus' have been invented? It has been suggested (*a*) that some early scribe, taking 'Thaddæus' and 'Lebbæus' to be names of kindred meaning, the former from an Aramaic word denoting 'breast,' the latter from another denoting 'heart,' confused the two; or (*b*), with greater probability, that 'Lebbæus' is a form of 'Levi,' introduced by some scribe who did not know that Levi and Matthew were the same person. It does not affect these explanations if, with Dalman, we hold that these derivations are in fact wrong, for the scribes were not necessarily qualified to be good philologers.

After NT times Thaddeus (Syr. *Taddai*) was often confused with Addai, who was said to be one of the Seventy disciples, and who, being sent to Edessa, healed Abgarus (see Smith-Wace, *Dict. Chr. Biog.* iv. 875). In a list of Apostles given in Lagarde's Appendix to the *Apostolic Constitutions* (p.283), Thaddæus, 'who is Lebbæus and Judas,' is distinguished from 'Judas of James,' and is said to have preached at Edessa, to have been buried in Egypt, and to have been crucified. A. J. MACLEAN.

THANK-OFFERING.—See SACRIFICE, § 12.

THARRA.—See TERESH.

THASSI.—The surname of Simon the Maccabee (1 Mac 2^3). The meaning of the word is quite uncertain. As likely an interpretation as any is 'the zealous.'

THEATRE.—The name is Greek (lit. 'a place for viewing' [a spectacle]), and the thing appears to be of Greek origin also. From the cities of Greece proper, theatres spread all over the Greek and Roman world. The auditorium consisted regularly of a semicircular cavity cut on the side of a hill, much broader at the upper end than the lower. The seats were placed concentrically, being commonly carved out of the rock. The part level with the ground, the orchestra, was occupied by the choir. The stage and scene were on the diameter, and were of artificial construction, being very often like the front of a temple. The theatres were used for public meetings, as being generally the largest buildings in the cities (Ac $19^{29.\ 31}$; cf. also art. EPHESUS). A. SOUTER.

THEBAIC VERSION.—See TEXT OF NT, § 27.

THEBES.—See NO.

THEBEZ.—A fortified city, in the reduction of which Abimelech met his death (Jg 9^{50}, 2 S 11^{21}). It is described by Eusebius and Jerome as 13 miles from Neapolis, on the road to Scythopolis. This is almost certainly the present *Tūbās*, a prosperous village in a fruitful open valley, 10 miles N.E. of *Nāblus*, on the ancient highroad to *Beisān*. E. W. G. MASTERMAN.

THEFT.—See CRIMES AND PUNISHMENTS, § 6.

THELERSAS.—See TEL-HARSHA.

THEODOTION.—See GREEK VERSIONS OF OT, p. 319b.

THEODOTUS.—**1.** One of the messengers sent by Nicanor to Judas Maccabæus (2 Mac 14^{19}). **2.** The author of a plot to assassinate king Ptolemy Philopator, which was frustrated by Dositheus (3 Mac 1^2).

THEOPHILUS (lit. 'beloved of God').—The person to whom St. Luke's two works are addressed (Lk 1^3, Ac 1^1). That Theophilus stands for a real person and is not a general name for the Christian reader is made probable by the title 'most excellent,' which, when strictly used, implies equestrian rank (Ramsay, *St. Paul* p. 388). It is used also of Felix (Ac 23^{26} 24^3) and of Festus (26^{25}). But some take the title as a mere complimentary address, and therefore as telling us nothing of Theophilus himself. If it is used strictly, we may agree with Ramsay that Theophilus was a Roman official, and the favourable attitude of St. Luke to the institutions of the Empire is in keeping with this idea. If so, Theophilus would be the Christian, not the Roman, name of the person addressed. A. J. MACLEAN.

THERAS (1 Es 8^{41}) = **Ahava** (wh. see), Ezr $8^{21.\ 31}$.

THERMELETH.—See TELMELAH.

THESSALONIANS, FIRST EPISTLE TO THE.—**1. Occasion and date.**—According to the narrative of Ac 17, St. Paul, in the course of his second missionary journey, went from Philippi to Thessalonica, and reasoned there in the synagogue for three Sabbaths, with the result that 'some of them were persuaded, and consorted with Paul and Silas; and of the devout Greeks a great multitude, and of the chief women not a few' (v.4) There follows a tumult of the Jews, and accusation against Jason, St. Paul's host, who is bound over to keep the peace. St. Paul is sent away by the brethren to Berœa, and thence again to Athens, leaving Silas and Timothy in Berœa. From Athens he sent for them, waiting till they should arrive ($17^{15.\ 16}$), but apparently they did not rejoin him till he had passed on to Corinth (18^5). At the time of his writing 1 Th. they are with him

(1[1]), Timothy having just arrived (3[6]), not, however, from Berœa, but from Thessalonica, whither he had been despatched by St. Paul from Athens (3[1. 2]). It is clear, then, that the Epistle was written from Corinth, but in the compressed narrative of Acts, St. Luke has overlooked the fact that Timothy at least did join St. Paul in Athens, and was sent back to Thessalonica under impulse of the Apostle's deep concern for his converts, whom he could not re-visit personally, for 'Satan hindered us' (1 Th 3[1. 2] 2[17. 18]). (Very possibly Jason's bond involved a pledge that St. Paul should not re-enter the city,—an absolute barrier, described as hindrance by Satan.) Further, the impression is conveyed by Acts that St. Paul's expulsion from Thessalonica followed immediately upon a three weeks' ministry in the synagogue, and a doubt naturally arises whether the church as described in 1 Th. could have been established in so short a time. Apart, however, from indications in the Epistle itself of a longer stay (*e.g.* 2[7-12]), there are others:—(1) While in Thessalonica St. Paul received gifts more than once from his converts at Philippi (Ph 4[16]). (2) The synagogue ministry does not account for his astonishing success among the Gentiles (Ac 17[4], 1 Th 1[9]). It is probable, therefore, that the Acts narrative is to be interpreted as implying a brief and almost fruitless appeal to the Jews, followed by a longer and more successful ministry to the Gentile population (cf. Ac 13[44-46]). It may be added that at Ac 17[4] there is considerable 'Western' authority for inserting 'and of' before 'Greeks,' thus giving *three* classes of converts besides the women—Jews, devout persons (*i.e.* proselytes), and Greeks (*i.e.* heathen). See also Ramsay, who constructs an 'eclectic' text (*St. Paul the Traveller*, pp. 226 note, 235 note 2).

The *occasion* of the letter, then, was the return of Timothy from his mission: its *date* falls within the eighteen months' sojourn in Corinth, as late as possible, to allow time for the history of the church as sketched in the Ep., and yet early enough to leave room for the circumstances of 2 Th., also written from Corinth. The varying schemes of Pauline chronology assign for the departure from Corinth the spring of some year between 50 and 54; perhaps 52 is the most probable date for 1 Thessalonians. With the possible exception of Galatians (which, if addressed to the churches of South Galatia, *may* have been written earlier), it is the earliest of extant Pauline writings.

2. Contents.—The Epistle does not lend itself to formal analysis. The least doctrinal and most personal of all St. Paul's letters to the churches, it is simply prompted by affectionate concern for the 'faith and love' of his recent converts, and for their 'good remembrance' of himself.

The tidings brought by Timothy that they 'stand fast' (3[5-8]) leads the Apostle to begin with an outburst of thankful memories of his mission, in which every reminder of his ministry among the Thessalonians and of their enthusiastic response is both an appeal and an admonition. This, together with reference to his intense longing to see them and to the visit and return of Timothy, forms the first and main section of the Epistle (chs. 1–3), the final words gathering up all its desires into a prayer (3[11-13]). Very simple yet profound expression is given to the Christian faith and hope (1[9. 10]); there is reference to Jewish hostility (2[14-16]), but no controversial insistence on an anti-Judaic Christianity—a confirmation of early date. In ch. 4 there is warning against the besetting impurity of the Gentile world (4[1-8]), and against a fanatical detachment from the ordinary duties and responsibilities of life (vv.[9-12]). This is followed by a comforting assurance, rendered necessary by the belief in the speedy 'coming of the Lord' which St. Paul shared with his converts (v.[15]), that those of the brethren who have already died will have part in that event equally with those who are yet alive (vv.[13-18]). This theme is carried on to a warning to be watchful against the sudden coming of 'the day of the Lord,' as beseems 'sons of light and sons of the day' (5[1-11]). A general admonition to the church to respect its leaders and to cultivate peace (vv.[12. 13]), leads out into a beautiful series of short exhortations, like a 'string of glittering diamonds' (vv.[14-22]), prayer and salutation (vv.[23-26]), an injunction that the letter be read to all the brethren (v.[27]), and final benediction (v.[28]).

3. Authenticity.—(1) *External testimony.*—Echoes of 1 Th. have been traced in Barnabas, Clement of Rome, Ignatius, and Polycarp,—none of them, however, certain. It is contained in the Syriac and Old Latin Versions, and named in the Muratorian Fragment. The earliest quotation is in Irenæus, who attributes the Ep. to St. Paul, and specifies it as the 'First' to the Thessalonians: it is quoted by Clement of Alexandria, and frequently by Tertullian. If regard be had to the personal and non-theological character of the letter, this testimony is ample.

(2) *Internal evidence.*—The simplicity of the letter, the prevalence of the personal note over the doctrinal, its accord with the history in Acts (apart from the slight discrepancies already noted, which a 'forgery' would surely have avoided), and the agreement with Philipp. and 2 Cor., in the writer's attitude of affectionate confidence towards these Macedonian Christians, all make strongly for genuineness, and the Ep. is, in fact, generally accepted by critics of all schools.

The assertion of an un-Pauline doctrinal standpoint (by Baur) takes for the standard of comparison the later Epp. —Gal., Cor., and Rom.—and ignores the gradual shaping of Pauline Christianity under stress of problems and controversies as yet hardly in sight. The Jewish opposition is not to St. Paul's distinctive teaching, but to his whole mission (2[14-16]): the declaration that because of persistent rejection of Christ 'the wrath is come upon them to the uttermost' (2[16]), by no means implies that Jerusalem is already destroyed (A.D. 70). The rapid progress of the Church at Thessalonica reflects the first enthusiasm of the new faith, and such primitive organization as it exhibits (5[12]) is consistent with the still earlier date of Ac 14[23]. It is true, and in no way remarkable, that the expectation of an imminent Parousia (4[15-17]) is not repeated in St. Paul's later letters (2 Co 5[1], Ph 1[21-24] 3[11. 20. 21] 4[5], Col 1[5. 12. 13]). Would, then, a 'forger' of a later generation have attributed this to St. Paul?

There is really no reason to doubt that the Epistle gives a genuine and invaluable self-revelation of St. Paul the *man*. All the great Christian truths appear—the Divinity of Christ, His death for men, and resurrection, the Christian's union with Him, the gift of the Holy Spirit,—but less as doctrines than as vital elements of personal religion, the moving forces of St. Paul's own life and ministry.

S. W. Green.

THESSALONIANS, SECOND EPISTLE TO THE.—1. Occasion and date.—Scattered indications fix the letter (if genuine) as written from Corinth, not long after the First Epistle. For Timothy and Silas (Silvanus) are still with the Apostle (1[1], cf. 1 Th 1[1]), whereas in Acts there is no further mention of Silas after St. Paul left Corinth. The former letter seems to be referred to (2[15]), and the allusions to St. Paul's ministry in Thessalonica suggest that this was almost as recent as when 1 Th. was written. Very possibly 3[2] is to be explained by the opposition encountered at Corinth, recorded in Ac 18. The reasons for a second letter are hardly evident in any considerable difference of subject-matter; they appear to consist in tidings which had reached St. Paul as to (1) some misunderstanding of his teaching about the Parousia (2[1-3]); (2) increase of persecution (1[4-10]); (3) disorderly conduct in some members of the Church (3[11]); (4) letters forged in the Apostle's name (2[2] 3[17]).

2. Contents.—

Salutation (1[1. 2]); thanksgiving (with prayer) for their growth in faith and love in the midst of affliction patiently endured, with assurance of God's vengeance upon their persecutors (vv.[3-12]); warning that the 'day of the Lord' is not yet, but must be heralded by certain signs (2[1-12]); renewed thanksgiving, exhortation, and prayer (vv.[13-17]). St. Paul asks for their prayers (3[1. 2]), expresses his confidence in them (vv.[3-5]), warns them against the 'disorderly' (vv.[6-15]); and between repeated benedictions authenticates the letter by his signature (vv.[16-18]).

3. Authenticity.—(1) *External testimony.* The evidence already cited for 1 Th. is reinforced by quotations in Polycarp, and possibly in Justin Martyr; that is, of the two Epistles the Second is the more strongly attested.

(2) *Internal evidence.* Circumstances have already been assigned to the letter, in themselves consistent and not improbable. To these may be added the close resemblance to 1 Th. in subject-matter and phrasing, so obvious that it need not here be detailed. A *literary* dependence of 2 Th. on 1 Th. is practically certain, for the interval necessary to justify a second letter at all forbids the supposition of unconscious repetition. If 2 Th. is by St. Paul, he must have re-read his former letter before writing this, and the question naturally arises whether it is likely that he would so reproduce himself. (The case of Colossians and Ephesians is not parallel: these were contemporary Epistles, and not addressed to the same Church.) Hence the resemblance to 1 Th. is made an argument against the Pauline authorship of 2 Th. Moreover, along with the resemblance are found other features which are regarded as un-Pauline and post-Pauline, with the result that the Second Epistle is widely rejected by those who admit the First. The grounds of this rejection must be briefly examined.

(*a*) *Style.* It is freely admitted that this argument is hazardous and indecisive: those who rely upon it would not perhaps quarrel with Jowett's dictum that 'objections of this kind are, for the most part, matters of taste or feeling, about which it is useless to dispute' (*Com. on Th.* i. 147). The argument must also reckon with those evident features of Pauline style and vocabulary which the close resemblance of some two-thirds of the Ep. to 1 Th. carries with it, while in the remainder what is exceptional may be due to the new subject-matter. Still, it may be argued that some of the passages which are most closely parallel to 1 Th. show a loss of ease and simplicity which suggests that they have been worked over by another hand. There is a difference, hard to account for in the same writer saying the same thing after so short an interval; nor is the change such as marks advance towards the style of St. Paul's later letters.

(*b*) *Subject-matter* (apart from 2^{1-12}). As compared with 1 Th., very little appears in 2 Th. that is new or convincingly Pauline: something, too, of the warmth and glow of personal feeling has gone. The severity of tone in 1^{6-9} cannot perhaps be objected to, in view of 1 Th $2^{15.\ 16}$, while 3^{6-15} is sufficiently accounted for by an aggravation of the offence already rebuked (1 Th 4^{11} 5^{14}). The reference to an 'epistle as from us' (2^{2}) suggests an earlier correspondence of St. Paul with his Churches, of which we have no knowledge, frequent enough to have already given rise to fraudulent imitation. This is not impossible, though the precaution of a certifying signature (3^{17}) may seem, perhaps, a little inadequate.

(*c*) *The passage* 2^{1-12}. The objection that this contradicts the eschatology of 1 Th $5^{2.\ 3}$ cannot be sustained. The earlier passage speaks of a coming of 'the day of the Lord,' sudden and unexpected: if this had been misinterpreted of a coming so imminent as to cause the ordinary duties of life to lose interest or claim, the Apostle might well, without inconsistency, remind the Thessalonians that he had warned them of signs which must first be fulfilled (2^{3-6}).

A more serious doubt is raised by the apocalyptic character of the passage, unique in Paul, and held to show both dependence on later writings and allusion to post-Pauline history. So far, however, as the thought is exceptional, the section may fairly be regarded as a pendant to the equally exceptional section 1 Th 4^{15-17} (cf. also Ro 7^{1-6}, Gal 4^{21-31}), and as more likely to be original than attributed to Paul by a later imitator. The question rather is whether it can be accounted for by *contemporary* ideas, or betrays the facts and conceptions of a later time. The general thought is that the coming of Christ is to be heralded by an outburst of iniquity, described as the 'apostasy' ('falling away,' 2^{3}), either headed by or personified as 'the man of sin' (RVm 'the man of lawlessness'), 'the son of perdition,' 'the lawless one' (vv.$^{3.\ 8}$) whose character and coming are more fully described in vv.$^{4.\ 9-12}$. Already 'the mystery of lawlessness' is at work (v.^{7}), but the crisis is delayed, as the Thessalonians know, by 'that which restraineth' (v.^{6}), 'one who restrains' (v.^{7}). In due season this restraint will be removed, that the lawless one may be revealed, to be slain by the Lord Jesus (vv.$^{6-8}$).

Now, of the elements of this conception, that of an 'apostasy' is not un-Pauline: it appears 2 Co 11^{13-15}, Ro 16^{17-20} (as well as Ac 20^{29-30}, and throughout the Pastoral Epp.), and is attributed to false teachers. The same idea occurs in Mt $24^{5.\ 11.\ 12.\ 24}$‖, 2 Pet. and Jude, 1 Jn $2^{18.\ 22}$ 4^{3}, 2 Jn^{7}. This wide prevalence of the thought in the NT writings, and the constant prediction of 'many' false teachers, false prophets, false Christs, antichrists (1 Jn 2^{18}), may suggest as regards our passage (1) that it draws upon a common stock of eschatological ideas; (2) that 'the man of sin' is not necessarily a person but rather a type (cf. 1 Jn 2^{18}, '*many* antichrists,' but v.^{22} and elsewhere '*the* antichrist'), symbolizing tendencies and movements, and therefore only at grave hazard to be identified with any definite historical personage. Hence the alleged reference to the legend of 'Nero redivivus' (Tac. *Hist.* ii. 8), with its implication of A.D. 68–70 as the earliest possible date for 2 Th., is quite without warrant.

It is true that our passage has close affinities with Revelation (especially 13^{11-18} $19^{20.\ 21}$ 20^{10}), but this does not necessarily mean dependence. For Ezk 38. 39, Dn 7–9. 11. 12, and later extra-canonical Jewish apocalyptic literature present, under varied historic colouring, the same conception of a final rally of the powers of evil before the last days, and of the triumph of Messiah over 'antichrist.' In *Test. xii. Patr.* this 'anti-christ' is 'Belial' or 'Beliar' (cf. 2 Co 6^{15}), in Rev. 'the beast' (symbol of the Roman Empire rather than exclusively of Nero), and it is not necessary to regard 'the man of sin' and equivalent expressions as more personal than these. What is really peculiar to 2 Th. is the assertion of a *restraining power*, holding in check the mystery of lawlessness *already at work*. Can this be explained as historical colour given by St. Paul to current apocalyptic tradition under the circumstances of A.D. 53 or thereabouts?

Now, at that date the Apostle of the Gentiles had lately experienced the determined enmity of the Jews to his whole Christian mission, at Thessalonica, Bercœa, and Corinth. Though the Parousia is not yet (2 Th 2^{2}), St. Paul expects it within his own lifetime (1 Th 4^{17}). The traditional 'antichrist' is therefore already to be looked for (2 Th 2^{7}), and might well be discovered in Jewish hatred, bent on the very destruction of Christianity (1 Th $2^{15.\ 16}$), fortified by its secure hold of the national sanctuary (2 Th 2^{4}), and held in restraint only by the forces of order seated in the Roman power, or, possibly, in the better elements of Judaism itself ($2^{6.\ 7}$). Thus interpreted, the passage would be a development on apocalyptic lines of the outburst of 1^{7-10}, and no necessity would remain for the suggestion, quite unsupported by evidence, that 2^{1-12} either is an interpolation, or is itself a genuine Pauline fragment worked up into a spurious Epistle.

So far, then, as doubts concerning 2 Th. are reduced to argument, they can hardly prevail against the tradition of Pauline authorship. Whether misgivings as to style can be relieved by the suggestion that Timothy or Silas wrote in the Apostle's name is doubtful; at least, the repeated 'we' points to no such co-operation (cf. 1 Th 2^{17}–3^{1}). The trend of present critical opinion is perhaps indicated in Jülicher's judgment, that the difficulties 'can after all be most easily solved' under the view that the Epistle was written by St. Paul.

S. W. Green.

THESSALONICA (modern *Saloniki*).—An important city of the Roman province Macedonia, situated on the Via Egnatia, the overland route from Italy to the E., and at the north-eastern corner of the Thermaic Gulf. Its buildings rose above one another in tiers on the slopes of the hills. The situation is in every respect admirable, and must have been early occupied. This city was founded about B.C. 315, and named after a step-sister of Alexander the Great. Its greatness under Macedonian rule was even extended under Roman rule. It became the capital of the Roman province Macedonia, constituted B.C. 146. It was made a 'free city' in B.C. 42 (Ac 17^{5} knows this fact), and was ruled by its own magistrates under the rather rare title 'politarchs,' who were 5 or 6 in number. There were many Jews here, as the possession of a synagogue shows (Ac 17^{1}), and a number of proselytes (Ac 17^{4}). The enemies of St. Paul raised a cry of treason, and a serious riot resulted. Some of Paul's friends had to give security that this would not be repeated. This forced Paul to leave the city. Members of the church here were Jason, Gaius, Secundus, Aristarchus. See Thessalonians.

A. Souter.

THEUDAS.—Mentioned by Gamaliel (Ac 5^{36}) as the leader of an unsuccessful rebellion of 400 men. Josephus

(*Ant.* xx. v. 1) speaks of a Theudas who misled the people and gave himself out for a prophet, at least ten years after Gamaliel's speech; and also a little afterwards (§ 2) speaks of the sons of Judas the Galilæan, the instigator of a rebellion in the time of Quirinius. Now St. Luke (Ac 5^{37}) speaks successively of Theudas and Judas, and it is alleged that he erroneously put their names into Gamaliel's mouth owing to a misreading of Josephus. But the difference between the writers is so great that it is impossible to suppose that the one account depends on the other. If St. Luke depends on Josephus, where did he get his number '400 men' from? There may have been more than one Theudas, and Lightfoot suggests that the name might be used as the Greek equivalent of several different Hebrew ones. There certainly were, as Josephus tells us, many rebellions at this period. Or the name may be an interpolation in Josephus, taken from Acts by some Christian scribe (Blass); or one of the writers may have made a mistake in the name. But they could hardly be quoting, either from the other. A. J. Maclean.

THIGH (Heb. *yārēk*, Gr. *mēros*).—The hollow of Jacob's thigh was strained as he wrestled at Peniel (Gn 32^{25}), and to this is attributed the Jewish custom (enjoined in the Mishna) of not eating 'the sinew of the hip' (v.^{32}). On the thigh the sword was girded (Ex 32^{27}, Ps 45^{3}, Ca 3^{8}); Ehud's on the *right* thigh because he was left-handed (Jg $3^{16.\ 21}$). Under the jealousy ordeal the woman's thigh falls away if she has been guilty of adultery (Nu $5^{21ff.}$). To smite 'hip and thigh' (lit. 'leg upon thigh') is a phrase denoting utter discomfiture accompanied by great slaughter (Jg 15^{8}). Its origin is unknown, and its meaning much disputed. In Jer 31^{19} and Ezk 21^{12} smiting upon one's thigh is a gesture of sorrow or terror. In Heb. (cf. AVm) of Gn 46^{26}, Ex 1^{5}, Jg 8^{30} a man's children are described as coming out of his thigh. This explains the oath taken by placing the hand under the thigh (Gn $24^{2.\ 9}$ 47^{29}), a special sacredness being ascribed to the organs of generation. In NT 'thigh' occurs only in Rev 19^{16}, where perhaps the meaning is that the name was written on that part of the garment which covered the thigh. J. C. Lambert.

THISBE.—The place from which Tobit was carried away captive by the Assyrians (To 1^{2}). Its position is described as being on the right hand (south) of Kedesh-naphtali in Galilee above Asher. No trace of the name has yet been found. Some commentators maintain that Thisbe was the home of Elijah 'the Tishbite,' but this is very doubtful.

THISTLES.—See Thorns.

THOCANUS (1 Es 9^{14}) = **Tikvah**, Ezr 10^{15}.

THOMAS.—One of the twelve Apostles. The earlier Evangelists mention only his name (Mt 10^{3} = Mk 3^{18} = Lk 6^{15}), but St. John has rescued him from oblivion. His question in the Upper Room (Jn 14^{5}) proves him somewhat slow of understanding. He was querulous and gloomy, always disposed to look at the dark side. Thus, when Jesus on the evening of the Resurrection-day appeared to the Apostles in the room at Jerusalem where they were assembled with closed doors, Thomas was absent, buried in despair; and when he heard that they had seen the Lord, he would not believe it. He would not, he declared, be persuaded unless he saw and handled His pierced hands and side (Jn $20^{19\text{-}25}$). The next Sunday evening Jesus appeared as before, and gave Thomas the evidence he had craved. 'My Lord and my God!' cried the doubter, leaping from the depth of despair to the summit of faith (Jn $20^{26\text{-}29}$). His doubts were removed, and he was one of the seven who journeyed north to meet the Lord at the Lake of Galilee (21^{2}). Despondent though he was, Thomas was no coward, and he had a great devotion to Jesus. It was he who, when tidings of Lazarus' sickness were brought to Bethany beyond Jordan, and the rest, fearing the rage of the rulers, were disposed to let the Master venture alone into Judæa, put their cowardice to shame: 'Let us also go, that we may die with him!' (Jn 11^{16}.)

Thomas is not really a name but an epithet, meaning, like its Greek equivalent **Didymus** (Jn 11^{16} 20^{24} 21^{2}), 'the Twin.' If, as Eusebius states, the Apostle's name was Judas, he would be styled 'the Twin' to distinguish him from Judas the son of James and Judas Iscariot. Tradition credits him with the authorship of a Gospel (see Gospels [Apocryphal], 6). David Smith.

THOMEI.—See Temah.

THORNS, THISTLES, ETC.—So many words are used in the Heb. for thorny plants, and they are so variously translated, that it will be convenient to consider them all in one group. In the great majority of cases it is impossible to identify the special species referred to.

1. *'ātād*, Jg $9^{14f.}$ AV '**bramble**,' mg. 'thistle,' RVm 'thorn'; Ps 58^{9} AV and RV 'thorns.' In Gn $50^{10.\ 11}$, Atad occurs as a proper name. The *'ātād* is probably the buckthorn (*Rhamnus palestina*), a lowly bush.

2. *barqānīm* (Jg $8^{7.\ 16}$ '**briers**'), some kind of thorn. Arab. *berqān* is the *Centaurea scoparia*, a thorny-headed composite common in Palestine.

3. *dardar* (Gn 3^{18}, Hos 10^{8}), some thistly or thorny plant. In modern Arab. *shauket el-dardar* is applied to the star thistles or knapweeds of which *Centaurea calcitrapa* and *C. verutum* are common Palestine forms.

4. *chēdeq* (Pr 15^{19} 'thorn,' Mic 7^{4} '**brier**'; cf. Arab. *chadaq* 'to enclose'), some prickly plant used as a hedge (Pr 15^{19}).

5. *chōach* (2 K 14^{9}, 2 Ch 25^{18}, and Job 31^{40} 'thistle'; 2 Ch 33^{11}, Ca 2^{2}, and Hos 9^{6} 'thorns'; Is 34^{13} AV '**brambles**'; 1 S 13^{6} 'thickets'; Job 41^{2} 'thorn,' where 'hook,' as in RV, would be better), some shrub, species unknown, with very strong spines.

6. *mēsūkāh*, a thorn hedge (Mic 7^{4}).

7. *na'utsūts* (Is 7^{19} 'thorns,' 55^{13} 'thorn'), from Aram. *na'ats* 'to prick'), a general term for a thorn.

8. *sīrīm* (Ec 7^{6}, Is 34^{13}, Hos 2^{6}, Nah 1^{10} 'thorn'). The reference to the 'crackling of thorns' suggests the thorny burnet, which is burned all over Palestine in lime-kilns. *sīrōth*, Am 4^{2}, means 'hooks.'

9. *sillōn* (Ezk 28^{24} '**brier**'; *sallōnīm*, Ezk 2^{6} 'thorns').

10. *sārābīm* (Ezk 2^{6} '**briers**,' lit. 'rebels,' as in mg., but text doubtful).

11. *sirpād* (Is 55^{13} '**brier**,' lit. the 'burner,' hence perhaps 'nettle').

12. *tsinnīm* (Job 5^{5}, Pr 22^{5} 'thorns'); *tsĕnīnīm* (Nu 33^{55}, Jos 23^{13} 'thorns').

13. *qōts* (Gn 3^{18}, Ex 22^{6}, Jg $8^{7.\ 16}$ etc.), the commonest and most general word for 'thorns.'

14. *qimmōs* (Pr 24^{31} 'thorns'), elsewhere 'nettles.' See Nettle.

15. *sikkīm* (Nu 33^{55} 'pricks'), cf. Arab. *shauk* 'thorn.'

16. *shayith*, only in Is. (5^{6} $7^{23f.}$ 9^{17} 10^{17} 27^{4}), always with *shāmīr* ('**brier**'), and tr. 'thorns.'

17. *shāmīr*, in Is. (see above) always tr. '**brier**'; cf. Arab. *samur* 'a thorny tree.'

18. *rhamnos* (Gr.), Bar 6^{71} (AV and RV 'thorn').

19. *skolops* (Gr.), 2 Co 12^{7} 'thorn' (RVm 'stake'). See Medicine, p. 600b; Paul, p. 688a.

20. *akanthai* (Gr.) = Heb. *qōts*, Mt 7^{16} $13^{7.\ 22}$ 27^{29} etc. 'thorns.'

21. *tribolos* (Gr.), Mt 7^{16} 'thistle,' He 6^{8} '**brier**.'

The variety of words used to describe these prickly plants is not surprising, when it is remembered that such plants are ubiquitous throughout Palestine, and for many months of the year are almost the only living uncultivated vegetation. They form the common food of goats and camels; they are burned (Ec 7^{6}), specially the thorny burnet (Arab. *billān*), in ovens and lime-kilns, large areas of land being diligently cleared every autumn for this purpose. Gigantic thistles, sometimes as high as a horse's head, cover whole acres of fallow land and have to be cleared by fire before ploughing can begin. 'Thorns' of various kinds, *e.g.* brambles, oleasters, etc., are commonly used as hedges; and tangled masses of dead thorny branches from the *Zizyphus* and similar trees are used, particularly in the Jordan Valley, as defences round fields, flocks, or tents (Pr 15^{11}, Mic 7^{4} etc.). E. W. G. Masterman.

THOUGHT.—In 1 S 9[5], in Mt 6[25] (as well as in the foll. vv.[27. 28. 31. 34]), in 10[19], in Mk 13[11], and in Lk 12[11. 22. 25. 26] the Eng. word 'thought' is used in AV in the old sense of 'grief *or* anxiety.' Thus Mk 13[11] 'Take no thought beforehand' does not mean *do not think or plan*, but *be not burdened with anxiety* beforehand.

THOUSAND.—See Army, 2; Number, 5.

THRACE.—Some have proposed to identify **Tiras** (Gn 10[2]) with Thrace, but this identification is uncertain. A Thracian horseman is mentioned in 2 Mac 12[35] (about B.C. 163) as saving Gorgias, the governor of Idumæa under Antiochus Epiphanes, from capture. The name Thrace—it was not till A.D. 46 the name of a Roman province—was applied to all the country lying between the rivers Strymon and Danube. After the death of Lysimachus (B.C. 281—see Thyatira), with whom the prospect of civilization for the country died, it continued barbarous, and was famous only for its severe climate and its soldiers. Of the latter there was a plentiful supply, and as soldiers of fortune they were to be found in the armies of the richer States. They were chiefly cavalry and light-armed infantry. (The name 'Thracian' was hence applied to gladiators armed in a particular way.) Kings who employed them in war frequently settled them in colonies after peace was declared. A. Souter.

THRASÆUS.—The father of Apollonius (2 Mac 3[5]).

THREE.—See Number, § 7.

THREE CHILDREN [SONG OF].—See Apocrypha, 6.

THRESHING, THRESHING-FLOOR.—See Agriculture, 3.

THRESHOLD.—See House, 6.

THRONE.—The OT tr. of Heb. *kissē'* or *kissēh*. It is used of any seat of honour: *e.g.* of the high priest (1 S 1[9] 4[13. 18]), of a judge (Ps 94[20]), of a military officer (Jer 1[15]); but most frequently of a king (*e.g.* Pharaoh Ex 11[5], David and Solomon 1 K 2[12] etc.), and thus of God Himself (Ps 9[7] 11[4] 45[6], Is 6[1]). For a description of Solomon's throne see 1 K 10[18-20], 2 Ch 9[17-19]. Frequently 'throne' is used metaphorically for *dignity*, *royal honour*, and *power*. Thus 'the throne of David' often stands for the royal honour of David's house (2 S 7[16]). So God's 'throne' is His sovereign power (cf. Ps 45[6] 93[2]).

The NT term *thronos* [once (Ac 12[21]) *bēma*, 'judgment-seat,' is tr. 'throne'] is similarly used. It is applied in Rev 20[4] to the thrones of the assessors of the heavenly judge (cf. Mt 19[28]‖, Lk 22[30]); but is most frequently used of the throne of God or Christ (Mt 5[34] ‖ 19[28]‖, Lk 1[32], Ac 2[30] 7[49], He 1[8] 4[16] 8[1] 12[2], Rev 1[4] 3[21] etc.). For 'thrones' as a rank of angels, see art. Dominion, and cf. Power. W. F. Boyd.

THROUGHLY.—This is the older spelling of 'thoroughly.' In mod. editions of AV we find both forms used, 'thoroughly' in Ex 21[19], 2 K 11[18], and 'throughly' elsewhere; but in the original edition of 1611 the spelling is 'throughly' everywhere. There was no distinction in earlier Eng. between 'through' and 'thorough,' 'throughly' and 'thoroughly.' In the first ed. of AV Ex 14[16] reads 'the children of Israel shall goe on dry ground thorow the mids of the Sea.'

THRUM.—See Spinning and Weaving, §§ 3, 5.

THUMB.—The thumb is associated with the great toe, and occurs in two different connexions. **1.** We are told that Adonibezek's thumbs and great toes were cut off (Jg 1[6]), and that he himself had practised this mutilation on seventy kings (v.[7]). The object seems to have been to render the vanquished monarchs unfit for war and thus for reigning in a warlike age. **2.** In the *ritual* of the consecration of Aaron and his sons (Ex 29[20], Lv 8[23. 24]) blood was sprinkled on 'the tip of the right ear, upon the thumb of the right hand and the great toe of the right foot.' The cleansed leper was similarly sprinkled with blood and oil (Lv 14[14. 17. 25. 28]). The action seems to have symbolized the consecration (or purification) of the whole man, the *extremities* only being touched, just as only the horns of the altar were sprinkled with the blood. W. F. Boyd.

THUMMIM.—See Urim and Thummim.

THUNDER.—There is no finer description of a thunderstorm than that of Ps 29. In a land of high mountains and deep gorges, split throughout its length by the great cleft of the Jordan, the effect of thunder is peculiarly terrible. In Palestine it is confined almost entirely to winter (1 S 12[17f.]), but the writer once witnessed a terrific storm late in April, among the Gilead uplands. It is invariably accompanied by rain. According to poetic and popular ideas, thunder was *the voice of God* (Ps 104[7], Job 37[4] etc.), which a soul gifted with insight might understand and interpret (Jn 12[28f.]; cf. Mk 1[11], Mt 3[17] etc.). It is the expression of His resistless power (1 S 2[10], Ps 18[13] etc.), and of His inexorable vengeance (Is 30[30] etc.). Thunder plays a part in afflicting the Egyptians (Ex 9[23ff.]), at the delivery of the Law (19[16] 20[18]), and in discomfiting the Philistines (1 S 7[10]). It is not guided by caprice, but by the will of God (Job 28[26] 38[25]). It appears largely in the more terrible imagery of the Apocalypse. For 'Sons of Thunder,' see Boanerges. W. Ewing.

THYATIRA.—There is a long valley extending northward and southward and connecting the valleys of the Hermus and Caicus. Down this valley a stream flows southwards, and on the left bank of this stream was Thyatira. An important road also ran along this valley, the direct route between Constantinople and Smyrna, and the railway takes this route now. Thyatira was also in the 1st cent. A.D. a station on the Imperial Post Road (overland route) from Brundisium and Dyrrhachium by Thessalonica, Neapolis (for Philippi), Troas, Pergamum, Philadelphia . . . to Tarsus, Syrian Antioch, Cæsarea of Palestine, and Alexandria. In its connexion with **Pergamum** this road had always a great importance. Thyatira was built (in the middle of the valley, with a slight rising ground for an acropolis) by Seleucus, the founder of the Seleucid dynasty, whose vast kingdom extended from W. Asia Minor to the Himalayas. The city was founded between B.C. 300 and 282 as a defence against Lysimachus, whose kingdom bordered that of Seleucus on the N. and W., and the colonists were Macedonian soldiers. In 282, Philetærus revolted from Lysimachus and founded the kingdom of Pergamum. After the death of Lysimachus, Thyatira was a useful garrison to hold the road, in the interests first of the Seleucids and afterwards of the Pergamenians. The latter were safe from the former if they were in possession of Thyatira. The relation between Pergamum and Thyatira was thus of the closest. The city, though weak in position, was a garrison city, and had to be carefully fortified, and everything was done to foster the military spirit. The character of the city's religion is illustrated by the hero Tyrimnos, who is figured on its coins. He is on horseback and has a battle-axe on his shoulder. This hero is closely related to the protecting god of the city, whose temple was in front of the city. He was considered the divine ancestor of the city and its leading families, and was identified with the sun-god. He also had the title Pythian Apollo, thus illustrating the strange mixture of Anatolian and Greek ideas and names which is so common a feature in the ancient religions of Asia Minor. In conformity with this, he was represented as wearing a cloak fastened by a brooch, carrying a battle-axe, and with a laurel branch in his right hand, symbolizing his purifying power. (It is certain that the place was inhabited before the time of Seleucus, but merely as a village with a temple.) The city had Pythian games on the model of those in Greece proper, and in the 3rd cent. A.D. the Emperor Elagabalus was associated with the god in the worship connected with them, showing

the closer relation which had been effected between the popular and the Imperial religion. It is probable that Seleucus I. had settled Jews in Thyatira, as he certainly did in some of the cities of Asia. Lydia of Thyatira (Ac 16[14]) had come within the circle of the synagogue, possibly in her native place.

Little is known of the history of the city. It surrendered to the Romans in B.C. 190. It was occupied by Aristonicus during his revolt in B.C. 133–2. It must have suffered severely and repeatedly during the fighting between Arabs and Christians, and Turks and Christians, in the Middle Ages. Its situation demands that it be captured and re-fortified by every ruling power. In Roman times it had been a great trading city, dating its greatest period of prosperity from about the time when the Seven Letters were written. There is evidence of more trade-guilds there than in any other Asian city: wool-workers, linen-workers, makers of outer garments, dyers, leather-workers, tanners, bronze-smiths, etc. **Lydia** probably belonged to one of those guilds. The purple in which Lydia dealt must have been a product of the region of Thyatira, and the well-known Turkey-red must therefore be meant. It is obtained from madder-root, which grows abundantly in that region. The name 'purple' had a much wider meaning among the ancients than among us. The bronze work of Thyatira was also remarkably fine (cf. Rev 2[18]).

The **letter addressed to the Church at Thyatira** (Rev 2[18-29]) is the most obscure and difficult of all the seven, as we know so little of local conditions. It is remarkable that the city, which was the least of all the seven (with perhaps the exception of Philadelphia), should be promised strength and power. The exact nature of the Nicolaitans with their prophetess cannot be precisely determined. The principles they represented were regarded by the author as subversive of true Christianity. A. SOUTER.

THYINE WOOD (Rev 18[12]) is the *citrus* wood of the Romans, used for the manufacture of costly furniture. The tree *Thuia articulata*, in appearance like a cypress, about 25 feet high, was the source of this wood.

E. W. G. MASTERMAN.

TIBERIAS.—A town built by Herod (A.D. 16–22) on the western shore of the Sea of Galilee (called the 'Sea of Tiberias' in Jn 6[1] 21[1], and in modern Arabic), and named in honour of the Roman Emperor. That it was erected over the site of an ancient graveyard (Jos. *Ant.* XVIII. ii. 3) in itself proves that no city had previously existed here. This circumstance made it an unclean place to the Jews, and Herod was obliged to use force in order to people it with any but the lowest of the nation. It was designed entirely on Greek models, and the fact that it was in spirit and civilization entirely foreign is perhaps the reason why it is hardly alluded to in the Gospels—the sole reference being Jn 6[23]. There is no evidence that it was ever visited by Christ. The city surrendered to Vespasian and by him was restored to Agrippa. After the fall of Jerusalem many of the Jews took up their abode in Tiberias, and by a strange reversal of fate this unclean city became a most important centre of Rabbinic teaching. Here lived Judah the Holy, editor of the Mishna. Here the 'Jerusalem Talmud' was compiled. In the neighbourhood are the tombs of 'Aqiba and of Maimonides.

Constantine built a church and established a bishopric at Tiberias, but Christianity never flourished there. The Arabs seized it in A.D. 637; the Crusaders lost it to Saladin in 1187. The city was almost destroyed by a great earthquake in 1837. The principal objects of interest are the ruins of a large castle (possibly Herodian), a very ancient synagogue, and—half an hour's journey to the south—the hot springs of *Emmaus* (the Hammath of Jos 19[35]), mentioned by Josephus and Pliny. The city is dirty, and proverbial for its vermin. There is a population of about 4000, more than half of whom are Jews, principally refugees from Poland. There is here an important mission of the United Free Church of Scotland.

For the '**Sea of Tiberias**,' see GALILEE [SEA OF].

R. A. S. MACALISTER.

TIBERIUS, whose designation as Emperor was Tiberius Cæsar Augustus, was the son of Tiberius Claudius Nero (a Roman noble) and Livia, whose second husband was the Emperor Augustus. He was born B.C. 42 and died A.D. 37. Augustus, as he grew old, appointed in succession four of his relatives as co-regents, or marked them out as his intended successors. It was clear that he did not desire the succession of his stepson Tiberius, who was reserved, morose, and unlovable. The successive deaths of his nominees compelled him to fall back upon Tiberius, who in A.D. 11 was made co-emperor. Three years later he succeeded to the purple. It is probable that the 'thirteenth year' in Lk 3[1] runs from the first of these dates, and thus means A.D. 25–26. Tiberius was an able general and a competent Emperor, but the unhappy experiences of his early life made him suspicious and timorous, and he put many of his rivals or supposed rivals to death. In his later years he was much under the influence of a villainous schemer Sejanus. He spent these years in retirement at Capri. A. SOUTER.

TIBHATH.—A city of Hadarezer, king of Zobah (1 Ch 18[8]). In 2 S 8[8] the name of the town is **Betah**, but the original reading was probably **Tebah**, as in the Syriac version, and as a tribal name in Gn 22[24]. The site of Tibhath is unknown, but it was possibly on the eastern slopes of Anti-Lebanon.

TIBNI.—A rival who disputed the throne for four years (compare 1 K 16[15] with v.[23]) with Omri.

TIDAL.—A king of Goiim, or 'the nations,' who accompanied Amraphel of Shinar and Arioch of Ellasar in the expedition made by Chedorlaomer of Elam against Sodom and the cities of the plain (Gn 14[1]). This name is probably the *Tudhul* or *Tudhula* of a British Museum tablet of late date, which mentions also Kudur-lahmal (?) (Chedorlaomer?) and Durmah-ilāni son of Eri-Eaku (Arioch?). Tudhul is stated to have been son of Gazza[ni?]. Whether it was he who smote (shattered) his father's head 'with the weapon of his hands,' the mutilation of the text leaves uncertain.

T. G. PINCHES.

TIGLATH-PILESER [in 1 Ch 5[6. 26] and 2 Ch 28[20] corrupted to the form **Tilgath-Pilneser**].—This Assyrian ruler, the *Tukulti-apil-ēsharra* of the monuments, was the third of the name. He began to reign about B.C. 745 (13th of Iyyar), and is supposed to have been a usurper. In the Babylonian chronological list he is called *Pulu*, the **Pul** of 2 K 15[19], and the *Poros* of the Canon of Ptolemy. His reign was a very active and important one. Five months after his accession he marched into Babylonia to overthrow the power of the Aramæan tribes. In B.C. 744 he went to Namri to punish the tribes who harassed the Assyrian border. In B.C. 743 he defeated the forces of Sarduris II. of Ararat at Arpad. Among those who gave tribute on this occasion were Rezin of Damascus, Hiram of Tyre, and Pisiris of Carchemish. Arpad, however, revolted again, and was for three years the objective of Tiglath-pileser's expeditions (B.C. 742–740). In 739 he went to Ulluba in Mesopotamia, and the presence of his armies there enabled him, in B.C. 738, to make head against Syrian and Phœnician resistance. On this occasion he subjected Kullanī, supposed to be the Calno of Is 10[9]. Rost suggests that Azriau or Izriau (Azariah) of Judah played some part in this expedition, and among those who gave tribute was Menahem of Samaria (2 K 15[19]). In B.C. 737 his objective was the Medes, in many of whose cities he set up bas-reliefs with the royal image. After this (B.C. 736) his forces were again directed against Mesopotamia, and reached the mountain of Nal. This led the way to the conquest of Ararat in B.C. 735. In

B.C. 734 the Assyrian army invaded Pilishta (Philistia)—according to Rost, the Mediterranean coastland S. of Joppa. Gaza was captured, and Hanun, the king, having fled, Tiglath-pileser mounted the throne and set up his image in the palace there. In B.C. 733 came the turn of Damascus and also of Israel, the immediate cause being affairs in Judah. Azariah had died, and after the short reign of his son Jotham, Jehoahaz or Ahaz came to the throne. Taking advantage of the change, Pekah of Israel made an alliance with Rezin of Damascus to attack Judah, and captured Elath (2 K $16^{5ff.}$). Feeling that Judah would be compelled to submit to the allied powers in the end, Ahaz turned to Assyria, sending the best of his own treasures and those of the Temple at Jerusalem to make a worthy present to the Assyrian king (2 K 16^{8}), who therefore came to his aid. Pekah and Rezin withdrew their forces from Judah, but, instead of uniting against the common foe, awaited the Assyrian king's attack each in his own territory. Marching by the coast-route, Tiglath-pileser assured himself of the submission of his vassals in N. Phœnicia, and attacked N. Israel, capturing Ijon, Abel-beth-maacah, Janoah, Kedesh, Hazor, Gilead, Galilee, and all the land of Naphtali (2 K 15^{29}). These names are not preserved in the annals, though 'the broad (land of) . . . -li' may be, as Hommel suggests, the last named. Pekah saved his land from further harm by paying tribute, but things went harder with Rezin, his ally, who shut himself up in Damascus. The siege which followed ended, in 732, in the capture of the city; 591 towns, including Hadara, Rezin's own city, were razed to the ground. An attack upon Samsi, queen of the Arabians, followed, the result being that a number of tribes—Sabæans, Mas'æans, etc.,—hastened to propitiate the Assyrian king with gifts. Idi-bi'il, a N. Arabian prince, was made governor on the Musrian border. Meanwhile a number of Israelitish nobles, with Hoshea as leader, revolted, and Pekah fled, but seems to have been murdered. Hoshea thereupon mounted the throne, and bought the recognition of the Assyrian king, who had continued to ravage Syria. Mitinti of Ashkelon, seeing the fate of Rezin of Damascus, seems to have gone mad. He was succeeded by his son Rûkipti, who tried to atone for his father's disaffection by sending tribute and gifts. Metenna of Tyre likewise became tributary. After the fall of the capital, Damascus became an Assyrian province. According to 2 K 16^{9}, the people were taken captive to Kir, and Rezin was slain. It was in Damascus that Ahaz made homage to the conqueror, and seeing there an altar which took his fancy, had one made like it. Tiglath-pileser, confident, seemingly, of his hold upon Palestine, did not again invade the country. Its States remained for many years more or less tributary to Assyria, according as that power seemed strong or weak. In B.C. 731 Tiglath-pileser was attracted by events in Babylonia. Ukîn-zêr, a Chaldæan prince, having seized the Babylonian throne, the Assyrian king besieged him in his capital Sapia, which he captured in B.C. 729, taking Ukîn-zêr prisoner. In B.C. 728 Tiglath-pileser became king of Babylon, but beyond 'grasping the hand of Bel' (Merodach) as its ruler, took part in no further important event. He probably died when making an expedition against a city whose name is lost; and Shalmaneser IV. mounted the throne (25th of Tebeth, B.C. 727). When at home, Tiglath-pileser resided in Nineveh or in Calah, where he restored the central palace in Hittite style, decorating it with bas-reliefs and the annals of his reign. This building was partly destroyed by Esarhaddon. T. G. Pinches.

TIGRIS.—Only in RVm of Gn 2^{14} and Dn 10^{4}, where both AV and RV have **Hiddekel** (wh. see). The Tigris rises a little S. of Lake Göljik and flows southward to Diarbekr. After passing Diarbekr it receives the eastern Tigris (which rises in the Niphates mountains) at Osman Kieui. Then it flows through narrow gorges into the plateau of Mesopotamia, where it receives from the east the Greater and Lesser Zab, the Adhem or Radanu, and the Diyaleh or Tornadotus. On the E. bank, opposite Mosul, were Nineveh and Calah, a little N. of the junction of the Tigris and Greater Zab; and on the W. bank, N. of the Lesser Zab, was Assur (now Kalah Sherghat), the primitive capital of Assyria. The Tigris is about 1150 miles in length, and rises rapidly in March and April owing to the melting of the snows, falling again after the middle of May. Cf. also Eden [Garden of].

TIKVAH.—**1.** The father-in-law of Huldah (2 K 22^{14}); called in 2 Ch 34^{22} **Tokhath.** **2.** The father of Jahzeiah (Ezr 10^{15}); called in 1 Es 9^{14} **Thocanus.**

TILE, TILING.—The former occurs only in Ezk 4^{1} for 'brick'—the usual rendering of the original. For plans of a city drawn on 'bricks' or 'tablets' of soft clay, which were afterwards baked hard, see 'Ezekiel,' in *SBOT, in loc.* **'Tiling'** is found only in Lk 5^{19} AV, for which RV has 'through the tiles.' St. Luke seems here to have adapted the narrative of Mk. (for which see House, § 5) to the style of roof covered with tiles (see 'Tegula' in Rich's *Dict. of Antiq.*), with which his Western readers were more familiar; or 'through the tiles' is here simply synonymous with 'through the roof' (cf. our expression 'on the tiles').

A. R. S. Kennedy.

TILGATH-PILNESER.—See Tiglath-pileser.

TILON.—A son of Shimon (1 Ch 4^{20}).

TIMÆUS.—Father of Bartimæus (Mk 10^{46}).

TIMBREL.—See Tabret, and Music, etc., **4** (3) (*a*).

TIME.—The conception that we seem to gather of time from the Holy Scriptures is of a small block, as it were, cut out of boundless eternity. Of past eternity, if we may use such an expression, God is the only inhabitant; in future eternity angels and men are to share. And this 'block' of time is infinitesimally small. In God's sight, in the Divine mind, 'a thousand years are but as yesterday' (Ps 90^{4}; cf. 2 P 3^{8} 'one day is with the Lord as a thousand years, and a thousand years as one day'). Time has a beginning; it has also, if we accept the usual translation of Rev 10^{6} 'there shall be time no longer,' a stated end. The word 'time' in Biblical apocalyptic literature has another meaning—'time' stands for 'a year' both in Daniel ($4^{16.\ 23.\ 25.\ 32}$ 7^{25}, where the plural **'times'** seems to stand for two years) and in Rev 12^{14} (derived from Dn 7^{25}).

When once the idea of time formed itself in the human mind, subdivisions of it would follow as a matter of course. The division between light and darkness, the rising, the zenith, and the setting of the sun and the moon, together with the phases of the latter, and the varying position of the most notable stars in the firmament, would all suggest modes of reckoning time, to say nothing of the circuit of the seasons as indicated by the growth and development of the fruits of the field and agricultural operations. Hence we find in Gn 1 **day and night** as the first division of time, and, because light was believed to be a later creation than matter, one whole day is said to be made up of evening and morning; and the day is reckoned, as it still is by the Jews and, in principle, by the Church in her ecclesiastical feasts, from one disappearance of the sun to the next, the divisions between day and night being formed by that appearance and disappearance. In this same cosmogony we meet with a further use of the lights in the firmament of heaven; they are to be 'for signs, and for seasons, and for days and years' (Gn 1^{14}). The **day** would thus be an obvious division of time for intelligent beings to make from the very earliest ages. As time went on, subdivisions of this day would be made, derived from an observance of the sun in the heavens—**morning,**

noonday or midday, and **evening**; and, by analogy, there would be a **midnight**. The only other expression we meet with is 'between the two evenings' (Ex 12^6), used most probably for the time between sunset and dark, though others take it as equivalent to 'the time of the going down of the sun,' *i.e.* any time in the afternoon: any shorter subdivisions of time were not known to the Jews till they were brought into contact with Western civilization and the Roman military arrangements. The only exception to this is the 'steps' on the dial of Ahaz (2 K $20^{9\text{-}11}$). In the passages in Daniel where the word **hour** occurs in the EV, the term is quite an indefinite one, the 'one hour' of Dn 4^{19} in AV becoming 'a while' in RV. The Aram. word used in that book was used in the New Hebrew for the word 'hour.' In the Apocrypha the word 'hour' is quite indefinite. But in the NT we find the Western division of the day into twelve hours, reckoning from sunrise to sunset, quite established. 'Are there not twelve hours in the day?' said our Lord, in an appeal to the Jews (Jn 11^9). Westcott holds that in St. John's Gospel (1^{39} $4^{6.\ 52}$ 19^{14}) the modern mode of reckoning the hours from midnight to midnight is followed. The strongest passage in support of this view is 19^{14}. These twelve hours were divided into the four military **watches** of three hours each (cf. Mt 14^{25} 'the fourth watch of the night'), as distinguished from the three watches which seem to have prevailed among the Jews ('if he shall come in the second watch, and if in the third,' Lk 12^{38}). The only other measure of time, quite indefinite and infinitesimal, is the 'moment,' common to OT, Apocr., and NT ('we shall all be changed, in a moment, in the twinkling of an eye,' 1 Co 15^{52}). To-morrow (Ex 8^{23}) and yesterday (Ex 5^{14}), and even yesternight (Gn 31^{29}), would soon take their place on either side of to-day. The Hebrew word meaning literally 'the day before yesterday,' is generally used vaguely of previous time, 'heretofore.'

The next obvious division of time would be the **month**. The phases of the moon would be watched, and it would soon be noticed that these recurred at regular intervals. Each appearance of the new moon would be noted as the beginning of a new period. The first mention of the new moon in Biblical history is in 1 S 20^5, though 'the beginnings of the months' are mentioned in the ritual laws of Nu 10^{10} 28^{11}. Of the two Heb. words for 'month,' one is identical with the word for 'moon,' the other means 'newness.' Though the actual period of each moon is rather more than 29 days, the actual time of its visibility could scarcely be more than 28 days. The first appearance of the new moon would be eagerly watched for and made a matter of rejoicing. We find, in fact, that a keen lookout was kept for it, and the 'new moon' feast was kept with great rejoicings, as well as, apparently in later times, a 'full moon' feast ('Blow up the trumpet in the new moon, At the full moon, on our solemn feast day,' Ps 81^3).

Given this period of 28 days, together with the recurrent phases of the moon, it would naturally be subdivided, like the day itself, into four divisions or **weeks** of seven days each. The first occurrence of a week is in Gn 29^{27}, though the Creation is represented as having been completed, including the rest of the Almighty, in a period of seven days, and periods of seven days occur in the history of the Flood. Of the two Heb. names for 'week' one is derived from the number seven, and the other is identical with 'Sabbath,' the day which completes the Jewish week. The NT takes over the latter word, and makes a Greek noun of it, whilst to the Christian and to the Christian Church, the first day of the week becomes the important day, instead of the seventh, and is for Christians the day of gathering together 'to break bread' (Ac 20^7), and of making collections for the needs of the faithful (1 Co 16^2), and also wins for itself the name of 'the Lord's day' (Rev 1^{10}). The word 'week' was given other applications. The seventh year completed a week of years and was a sabbath; seven times seven years formed seven sabbaths of years, *i.e.* forty-nine years, and was followed by the jubilee. From the constant occurrence of the tenth day of the month in the dating of events, it has been supposed that the month of 30 days was also subdivided into periods of ten days each (see, *e.g.*, Ex 12^3, Lv 16^{29}, Jos 4^{19}, 2 K 25^1 etc.).

There are no names in the OT for the days of the week except for the seventh—the Sabbath. In the Apocrypha (Jth 8^6) there is a name for Friday which is translated 'the eve of the Sabbath'; so in Mk 15^{42} 'the day before the Sabbath.' This day is also called the Preparation (Mt 27^{62}, Mk 15^{42}, Lk 23^{54}, Jn 19^{31}). In Roman Catholic service-books Good Friday is still called 'Feria Sexta in Parasceue' (*i.e.* the Preparation), and the following Saturday 'Sabbatum Sanctum.'

Whilst these various divisions of time were being arrived at, there would be, concurrently with them, the obvious recurrence of the **seasons** in their due order. One of the promises represented as having been made by God to Noah immediately after the Flood was that seedtime (*i.e.* spring), summer, harvest (*i.e.* autumn), and winter should not cease (Gn 8^{22}). This is the earliest time in the world's history to which a knowledge of the seasons is attributed in the Bible. Afterwards summer and winter are frequently mentioned. In AV the word 'spring,' to mean that season, occurs only in Wis 2^7, and 'autumn' not at all, though the word translated 'winter' in Am 3^{15}, Jer 36^{22}, might equally be rendered 'autumn,' as the time referred to is the border time between autumn and winter. It would in due course be noticed that the seasons recurred practically after a series of twelve moons or months; hence would come in the division of time into **years** of twelve lunar months. A year of 360 days is implied in the history of the Flood (Gn 6–8), but no satisfactory explanation has yet been given of the scheme of years and chronology in the genealogical account of antediluvian times (Gn 5).

The twelve months of the year would be given names. The Biblical names we find for them are:

1. **Abib** (Ex 13^4), the month of the green ears of corn, about the same as our April, called in post-exilic times, in correspondence with its Bab. name, **Nisan** (Neh 2^1). This was the month in which the Passover came.
2. **Ziv** (1 K 6^1), seemingly the bright month, called later Iyyar.
3. **Sivan** (Est 8^9), another Bab. name, occurring only in this one passage in the OT.
4. This month has no Biblical name, but was called in later times **Tammuz**, after the god of that name, in whose honour a fast was kept during the month, which is mentioned in Zec 8^{19} as 'the fast of the fourth month.'
5. This month also has no Biblical name, but was called later **Ab**.
6. **Elul** (Neh 6^{15}, 1 Mac 14^{27}). The etymology of this name is unknown; it occurs in Assyrian.
7. **Ethanim** (1 K 8^2), the month of constant flowings, in later times called **Tishri**. This was the first month of the civil year.
8. **Bul** (1 K 6^{38}), a word of doubtful etymology, called later **Marcheshvan**.
9. **Chislev** (Neh 1^1, Zec 7^1, 1 Mac 1^{54} etc.), a Bab. word of uncertain derivation.
10. **Tebeth** (Est 2^{16}), taken over from the Assyrian. It has been conjectured to mean 'the month of sinking in,' *i.e.* the muddy month.
11. **Shebat** (Zec 1^7, 1 Mac 16^{14}), taken from the Babylonian; of doubtful meaning, but, according to some, the month of destroying rain.
12. **Adar** (Ezr 6^{15}, Est 3^7 etc.), a Bab. word, perhaps meaning darkened. In 2 Mac 15^{36} we are informed that the twelfth month 'is called Adar in the Syrian tongue.'

The names given are, it will be seen, of rare occurrence, and only four of them are pre-exilic. Biblical writers are generally content to give the number of the month. Some of the months were notable for their ecclesiastical feasts. In the first came the Passover, on the 14th day; in the third, the Feast of Weeks (Pentecost); in the seventh, the Feast of Trumpets and the Feast of

Tabernacles, as also the Fast of the Day of Atonement; in the ninth, the Feast of Dedication; and in the twelfth, the Feast of Purim.

Though at first all the months seem to have been reckoned of equal length, in later times they contained 30 and 29 days alternately. This rendered an intercalation in the Calendar necessary, to keep the Passover in the right season of the year; and this intercalary period was called the second Adar, and was inserted as required to bring Abib to its proper place in the year.

It remains to mention that in the Apocrypha we have traces of the Macedonian Calendar. In 2 Mac 11^{21}, a month is named **Dioscorinthius**, a name which does not occur elsewhere, and which is either a corruption of the text for Dystrus, a name for the twelfth month, which occurs in the Sinaitic text of To 2^{12}, or the name of an intercalary month inserted at the end of the year. In 2 Mac 11^{30} **Xanthicus**, the name for the first month of the Macedonian year, occurs. It answers to the month Abib. These names, with other Macedonian names, are used by Josephus. In 3 Mac 6^{38} two Egyptian months, **Pachon** and **Epiphi**, occur, the former being omitted in some texts. They are the ninth and eleventh months of the Egyptian year.

Of epochs or eras there is but little trace. There were the periods of seven years and fifty years already mentioned, but they never occur in any chronological statement. 430 years is the time assigned to the sojourning in Egypt, both in OT and NT (Ex 12^{40}, Gal 3^{17}), and the commencement of the building of Solomon's Temple is dated 480 years after the Exodus. The chronology of the two kingdoms is reckoned by regnal years, though in some cases a regency period is counted as part of the length of the reign. Twice in Isaiah (6^1 14^{28}) the date noted is that of the year of the death of a king, in another case the date is the invasion by the Tartan (20^1); whilst in Amos (1^1) a date is given as 'two years before the earthquake,' apparently a particularly severe one which happened during the reign of Uzziah, king of Judah (Zec 14^5). The 'seventy years' of the Captivity is also a well-known period, as is the thousand years of the Apocalypse (Rev 20), with all the speculations it has given rise to. In later times the years were reckoned by the names of those who filled the office of high priest; in Lk $3^{1f.}$, we have a careful combination of names of various offices held by various persons at the time of the commencement of the preaching of John the Baptist, to indicate the date.

Of instruments to measure time we hear of only one, the **sun-dial** of Ahaz (2 K 20^{9-11}, Is 38^8), but what shape or form this took we do not know.

H. A. Redpath.

TIMNA.—**1.** A concubine of Eliphaz, son of Esau (Gn 36^{12}). **2.** A woman of the Esau clan of Horites (Gn 36^{22}, 1 Ch 1^{39}). **3.** A 'duke' of Edom (1 Ch 1^{51}, Gn 36^{40} [where RV has, by a slip, **Timnah**]).

H. L. Willett.

TIMNAH.—**1.** A town in the high region of S. Judah, S.E. of Hebron (Jos 15^{57}). It is possible that this was the Timnah visited by Judah at the time of sheep-shearing (Gn 38^{12}). Or it may have been—**2.** A place on the N. frontier of the tribe of Judah between Beth-shemesh and Ekron (Jos 15^{10}). At one time it was counted in the territory of Dan (Jos 19^{43}), but at another it was in Philistine possession (Jg 14^1). Here Samson celebrated his marriage. His father-in-law is called the **Timnite** (Jg 15^6). The town was held by the Hebrews in the reign of Uzziah, but was lost to the Philistines by Ahaz (2 Ch 28^{18}). It is now identified with *Tibneh*, on the S. side of the *Wady Sarar*, 2 miles W. of Beth-shemesh. **3.** For Gn 36^{40} see Timna, **3.**

H. L. Willett.

TIMNATH.—A strong city built by Bacchides (1 Mac 9^{50}). It is possibly the *Thamna* of Jos. *BJ* III. iii. 5, the mod. *Tibneh*, some 10 miles N.W. of Bethel. Cf. Timnath-serah.

TIMNATH-HERES (in Jos 19^{50} 24^{30} written **Timnath-serah**).—A place assigned to Joshua as an inheritance and burying-place (Jg 2^9). It is described as being 'in Mt. Ephraim, on the N. side of the Mountain of Gaash.' See next article.

H. L. Willett.

TIMNATH-SERAH.—The city in Mount Ephraim given to Joshua (19^{50}), where he was buried (Jos 24^{30}), lying on the N. of the Mountain of Gaash (Jg 2^9 **Timnath-heres**). Josephus calls the burial-place of Joshua *Thamna*, and this probably corresponds to **Timnath** of 1 Mac 9^{50}, although there it is reckoned to Judæa. It was head of a Jewish toparchy, and is named with Lydda and Emmaus (*BJ* III. iii. 5, etc.). The *Onomasticon* identifies it with *Tibneh*, where there are remains of an important place, with a spring and ancient tombs, on the Roman road from Cæsarea to Jerusalem, about 14 miles N.E. of *Ludd* (Lydda). The tombs are on the S. of the road. One, distinguished by size and workmanship, may be that pointed out as Joshua's in the time of Eusebius and Jerome. The Samaritans place the burial of Joshua at *Kefr Hāris*, a village some 10 miles S. of Nāblus, with two sanctuaries to the E., one of which, *Neby Kifl* ('the prophet of the portion *or* lot'), may be identified with Joshua. In this case, only the second element in the name has survived. *Heres*, it will be observed, simply reverses the order of the letters in *Serah*.

W. Ewing.

TIMON.—One of 'the Seven' (Ac 6^5).

TIMOTHEUS.—**1.** A leader of the Ammonites who was defeated in many battles by Judas Maccabæus (1 Mac $5^{6ff.\ 34ff.}$, 2 Mac 8^{30} 9^3 10^{24-37}). **2.** The AV form of the name **Timothy** everywhere in NT except 2 Co 1^1, 1 Ti 1^2, 2 Ti 1^2, Philem^1, He 13^{23}.

TIMOTHY.—A young disciple, a native of Lystra, chosen as companion and assistant by Paul when, during his second missionary journey, he visited that city for the second time. He was the child of a mixed marriage, his father (probably dead at the time of his selection by Paul) being a Greek and his mother a Jewess (Ac 16^1). From earliest childhood ('babe' RV) he had received religious training, being taught the Jewish Scriptures by his mother **Eunice** and his grandmother **Lois** (2 Ti 1^5 3^{15}). Probably both he and his mother were converted during Paul's first sojourn at Lystra, for on the Apostle's second visit he was already 'a disciple' of some standing, 'well reported of by the brethren' (Ac $16^{1.\ 2}$). Indeed, Paul seems to claim him as a *personal* convert in 1 Co 4^{17}, describing him as his 'beloved and faithful child in the Lord.'

The selection of Timothy was due not only to the wish of Paul (Ac 16^3), but also to the opinion of the Church at Lystra. In his case, as in the case of Paul and Barnabas (Ac 13^2), the local prophets 'led the way' (1 Ti 1^{18} RVm) to him; and he was then set apart by imposition of hands by Paul (2 Ti 1^6) in conjunction with the local presbyters (1 Ti 4^{14}). Possibly it was on this occasion that he 'confessed the good confession' (1 Ti 6^{12}). Paul caused him to be circumcised (Ac 16^3), judging that, as his mother was a Jewess, his not having submitted to the rite would prove an obstacle to his ministry among Jews, and, further, that from his semi-Jewish parentage, he did not come within the scope of the Church's decree which released Gentiles from circumcision.

Timothy at once accompanied Paul through Asia to Troas, and thence into Macedonia. He was left behind at Berœa when the Apostle moved on to Athens, but was summoned to rejoin him (Ac $17^{14.\ 15}$). He was thence despatched back again to Macedonia to confirm the Church at Thessalonica, and to bring news of its state to Paul. He rejoined the Apostle in Corinth and cheered him by a favourable report (1 Th 3^{1-8}, Ac 18^5). While in Corinth, Paul wrote his Epistles to the Thessalonians, and included Timothy in the greetings (1 Th 1^1, 2 Th 1^1). He is next men-

TIMOTHY, EPISTLES TO

tioned at Ephesus with Paul on his third missionary journey, and thence is sent with Erastus to Macedonia in advance of the Apostle (Ac 19[22]). Shortly after Timothy's departure, Paul despatched by direct sea route his First Epistle to the Corinthians. In this he mentions that Timothy (travelling *via* Macedonia) would shortly reach them (1 Co 4[17]); he bespeaks a kindly welcome for him, and adds that he wishes him to return with 'the brethren' (*i.e.* probably those who had borne the Epistle) to Ephesus (16[10. 11] and [8]). Timothy may not have reached Corinth on this occasion, being detained in Macedonia; and the absence in the Second Epistle of all mention of his being there points in this direction. But in any case he is found with Paul again when 2 Cor. was written, in Macedonia (2 Co 1[1]). Paul in due course reached Corinth, and Timothy with him, for his name occurs among the greetings in the Epistle to the Romans which was then written (1 Ro 16[21]; cf. Ac 20[2]). Paul and he, after a three months' sojourn, returned by land to Troas (Ac 20[4. 5]). Timothy is not again mentioned in the Acts. It is clear from the Epistles of the Captivity that he was a companion of Paul during his imprisonment (Col 1[1], Philem[1], Ph 1[1]), and that the Apostle meditated sending him on a special mission to Philippi (Ph 2[19]). From the Pastoral Epistles we learn that when Paul, after his release, came into Asia, he left Timothy as his delegate in Ephesus, giving him full instructions as to how he was to rule the Church during his absence, which he realized might be longer than he anticipated (1 Ti 1[3] 3[14. 15]). When Paul was a second time imprisoned, and felt his death to be imminent, he summoned Timothy to his side (2 Ti 4[9. 21]). If Timothy ever reached the Apostle, he may have been then himself imprisoned, for we read (He 13[23]) of his being 'set at liberty.' Of his subsequent history nothing is known with certainty.

CHARLES T. P. GRIERSON.

TIMOTHY, EPISTLES TO.—These Epistles, together with that to Titus, form a special group among the Pauline letters,—the **Pastoral Epistles,**—being united by common objects in view, and by a common literary style. Each Epistle claims in its opening words to have St. Paul for its author—a claim which the Church has consistently allowed 'ever since the idea of a Canon of the NT came into clear consciousness.' During the last century, however, their genuineness has been vigorously assailed. Baur relegated them to late in the 2nd century; but modern hostile criticism very generally holds that, while they contain genuine fragments of the Apostle's writing, their present form is the work of pseudonymous writers.

There is no doubt that these Epistles present very special difficulties to scholarship; but these are on the way to solution, and the general tendency of criticism may be said to be towards establishing their genuineness.

1. The *situation* disclosed by 1 and 2 Tim. is as follows. Paul, having to go into Macedonia, left Timothy in charge of the Church at Ephesus (1 Ti 1[3]); and, fearing he might be detained longer than he anticipated, he wrote telling him how to act during his absence (1 Ti 3[14. 15]). From other allusions in the Epistles we gather that the Apostle visited not only Ephesus and Macedonia, but also Troas (2 Ti 4[13]), Corinth and Miletus (4[20]), and Crete (Tit 1[5]), and that he purposed wintering in Nicopolis (3[12]).

Now it is impossible to fit these visits into the period covered by the Acts. No doubt in Acts we find the Apostle remaining two years in Ephesus (Ac 19[10]), but on that occasion he did not leave Timothy behind when he went into Macedonia; on the contrary, he sent him into that country while he remained at Ephesus (Ac 19[22]); nor was there time during his two years in that city for such lengthened journeys as the above visits require. Therefore, as the Acts closes with St. Paul in Rome in prison (A.D. 61), we must conclude, if we accept the Pastorals as genuine, that the Apostle visited Ephesus, Macedonia, and Crete after a release from imprisonment.

Those who oppose the Pauline authorship refuse to believe in this release, taking as their ground the fact of the silence of the Acts on the point, and charge those who accept it with making an unwarranted assumption; but surely theirs is the unwarranted assumption, for they assume that St. Paul was not released, merely because the Acts does not continue its history farther than it does. Indeed, even if we had not the distinct statements of the Pastorals, we should consider it extremely likely that he was thus released; for it is clear that he anticipated being set at liberty when, from his imprisonment, he wrote to the Philippians that he hoped shortly to come to them (Ph 2[24]), and when he bid Onesimus prepare him a lodging at Colossæ (Philem[22]). When, therefore, we add the further facts, that the Muratorian Fragment states that the Apostle fulfilled his expressed wish of visiting Spain (Ro 15[24. 28]),—a journey which certainly necessitates his release from his Roman imprisonment—and that Clement of Rome tells of his reaching 'the bounds of the West,'—a phrase which, used by one resident, as Clement, in Rome, can only mean Spain—we may hold without misgiving that St. Paul was released in A.D. 61, that he was again arrested, and suffered martyrdom in Rome (A.D. 64?), that between these dates he visited Spain in the West, and various Churches in the Eastern Mediterranean, and that during this period he wrote the Pastoral Epistles.

2. The *external evidence* in favour of the Epistles is remarkably strong. Irenæus, Clement, Tertullian, the Epistle of the Churches of Vienne and Lyons, Theophilus of Antioch, were all clearly acquainted with them. A singularly convincing quotation is found in the writings of Polycarp (the disciple of the Apostle John, and who died A.D. 167), who says: 'The love of money is the beginning of all trouble, knowing . . . that we brought nothing into the world, neither can carry anything out' (cf. 1 Ti 6[7. 10]).

On the other hand, not a word is raised by earlier writers against their genuineness, save by the heretics Marcion and Basilides; and their rejection was due not to any stated doubts as to the Pauline authorship, but apparently to dislike to the teaching of the Epistles. Very much stronger evidence against their authenticity must be supplied before this weight of evidence can be overturned.

3. Much discussion has arisen concerning the nature of the *heresies* attacked by Paul in these Epistles. Some see in them an incipient *Gnosticism*, theories from which the developed Gnosticism of Marcion ultimately sprang. Strength was lent to this view by the supposition that 'the endless **genealogies**' mentioned in 1 Ti 1[4] and Tit 3[9] were the long lists of emanations of æons and angels which formed part of the Gnostic systems. But, as Philo and others use the word 'genealogy' of the primitive history of the Pentateuch, it is now generally allowed that the reference is not to Gnostic speculations but to the legendary history of the Jewish patriarchs. Others regard the heresies opposed as essentially Jewish in origin, and undoubtedly many passages point in this direction. We read of would-be 'teachers of the law' (1 Ti 1[7]), of 'they of the circumcision' (Tit 1[10]), of 'Jewish fables' (1[14]) of 'fightings about the law' (3[9]). Yet, while there are these distinct evidences of Jewish influences, it seems doubtful if it is right to mark all the heresies opposed as coming from this source. The errors leaning towards asceticism, with its prohibition of marriage, and of certain foods, and perhaps of wine also (1 Ti 4[1-4. 8] 5[23]), *may* indeed have sprung from forms of Judaism which had become ascetic; but just as likely—indeed more likely—they may have come from Gentile sources. These ascetic doctrines may have been founded on the *un*-Jewish belief of the essential evil of matter—an error which the Apostle

probably aimed at when he wrote that God gave all things richly to be enjoyed (6[17]). In a city like Ephesus, Oriental mysticism, Greek thought, Judaism, and Christianity would meet; and the Church there, if lapsing from truth, would show signs of heresy derived from all these sources. In 2 Ti 2[18] one heresy is distinctly named—the belief that the resurrection was already past; this opinion may have been the same as that held by those within the Gentile Corinthian Church who said there was no resurrection (1 Co 15[12]).

4. Within these Epistles St. Paul's *use of certain theological terms* is somewhat different from that in his earlier writings. Thus *faith* is used more of the objective belief which the individual holds, than of the warm affection that unites the personal soul to Christ. Similarly *righteousness* is used rather of a virtue to be reached by personal struggle than in the technical sense found in the Epistle to the Romans. But it must be remembered that faith in the earlier writings is not always subjective (*e.g.* Gal 1[23] 3[23]), nor is it always objective in the Pastorals (1 Ti 1[16], Tit 3[8]), and that *righteousness* is often spoken of elsewhere as a virtue to be acquired (*e.g.* 2 Co 9[10], Ro 6[13] 8[10]), while justification by faith is emphasized in the Pastoral Epistles (2 Ti 1[9], Tit 3[5]). Another distinguishing mark is found in the traces of a formulated creed, which show themselves in frequent quotations, such as the five 'faithful sayings,' and the rhythmic stanza commencing 'He who was manifested in the flesh' (1 Ti 3[16]). The latter is clearly part of a hymn embodying a confession of the Christian faith. Such are undoubtedly marks of a Church with a history behind it; but, assuming that St. Paul wrote the Epistles shortly before his death in A.D. 64, ample time would have passed since he first evangelized Ephesus in A.D. 52. It takes but a few years for a living and active community to crystallize its common convictions.

5. It is important to note the development reached in *Church organization* as presented in the Epistles. They show us the Apostle himself holding the reins of supreme control (1 Ti 1[20] 2[1] 2[8]), while Timothy and Titus are his delegates. Some years before, they had acted in this capacity on special commissions (1 Co 4[17], Ph 2[19], 2 Co 8[16-18]); and, as on those occasions, so on these, they seem to have been appointed *temporarily* to carry out the functions entrusted to them until the Apostle's return (1 Ti 1[3] 3[14] 4[13], Tit 3[12]). But as his delegates, even though temporarily, they had full jurisdiction over the various officers of the Church, and full instructions are given to them to guide them as to the qualifications necessary to be found in those to be appointed to the offices of bishop (or elder) and deacon. The bishop and elder are spoken of as identical (Tit 1[5-7]), showing that at the date of the Epistles these two titles had not yet been given to distinct offices (cf. Ph 1[1], Ac 20[17. 28]). This is strong confirmation of the accepted date of the Epistles, for, had they been written at the time assumed by radical criticism, the monarchical position of the bishop, then reached in Asia Minor, would have shown itself. Instructions are also given regarding 'women' (1 Ti 3[11]) and **'widows'** (5[3ff.]). As the former are mentioned in the midst of regulations concerning deacons, they probably are not the deacons' *'wives'* (as AV), but official women or *deaconesses*, holding such an office as Phœbe held (Ro 16[1] RVm). This is a distinct advance on the ecclesiastical organizations disclosed in earlier NT writings, but need not surprise us. 'The secluded life of women must at the very beginning have caused a felt want for women to perform for women what deacons did for men.' The care of *widows* engaged the Church from the first (Ac 6[1], Ja 1[27]).

The absence of all instructions regarding *prophets* is remarkable. Probably prophecy, which is an abnormal gift and not a stated function, was not very active in the Ephesian or Cretan Churches at the time, or, if active, was under due control, and so did not call for special treatment as formerly at Corinth (1 Co 14[29ff.]).

6. The individuality of St. Paul is strongly present in all his writings, a distinguishing *style* marking them as his. At the same time his Epistles form themselves into different groups, which vary considerably in style in accordance with the particular period of his life in which they were written. So strongly do the Pastoral Epistles show the general Pauline style, that even those who oppose their genuineness admit that they contain genuine fragments of his writing. But, while this is so, there is no doubt that there is present in them a considerably larger proportion of words peculiar to themselves than we find in any other of the groups into which his Epistles are divided. This is the strongest argument against their Pauline authorship. The argument from 'style,' however, is a most precarious one, especially in the writing of one who shows such great variety of phraseology in his other groups of Epistles. Indeed, if we followed it to its logical issues, it would lead us to conclude that even the three Pastoral Epistles are themselves the work of different authors, for each of these Epistles contains a large number of words absent from the other two.

7. The true explanation of the marked difference of style of the Pastorals from the other Pauline writings appears to be that, while the earlier Epistles were written to Churches at an early stage of their development, and thus dealt mainly with fundamental discussions of doctrine, *these* were written to individuals who presided over well-established Christian communities, and therefore they deal chiefly with practical virtues and ecclesiastical organizations. Such newness of subject would compel even a much less versatile writer than St. Paul to enlarge and modify his phraseology.

The following judgment of the late Dr. Hort will, we believe, be increasingly accepted: 'In spite of by no means trivial difficulties arising from comparison of the diction of these with other Epistles, I believe them to be his, and to be his as they now stand.'

The First Epistle to Timothy and that to Titus are devoted chiefly to instructions as to the governance of the Church. The Second Epistle to Timothy is the outpourings of the Apostle's heart, when he felt his death to be imminent (2 Ti 4[6]), to one who had been his faithful companion and assistant for many years; it shows tender anxiety for his 'beloved child' (1[2]), whose strength and weaknesses he well knew, and upon whose piety and wisdom so much of the Church's future, after his own decease, would depend.

CHARLES T. P. GRIERSON.

TIN.—See MINING AND METALS.

TINDALE'S VERSION.—See ENGLISH VERSIONS, 12 ff.

TIPHSAH ('crossing').—**1.** The classical *Thapsacus*, the chief crossing-place on the middle Euphrates for caravans and armies, after the decline of Carchemish in the Persian period. It lay on the eastward bend of the river where it leaves its southerly course. It is named as the north-east limit of the dominions of Solomon (1 K 4[24]). **2.** *Tiphsah* should be corrected to **Tappuah**, with the Lucian LXX, in 2 K 15[16].

J. F. MCCURDY.

TIRAS.—A son of Japheth (Gn 10[2]), formerly identified with **Thrace**, but of late much more plausibly with the *Turusha*, a piratical people who invaded Syria and Egypt in the 13th cent. B.C. But Tiras has also been identified with **Tarsus** (=E. Cilicia) and even **Tarshish** (wh. see).

J. F. MCCURDY.

TIRATHITES.—A family of scribes (1 Ch 2[55]).

TIRE.—See HEADTIRE, and DRESS, **5.**

TIRHAKAH, king of Cush (2 K 19[9], Is 37[9]), marched out from Egypt against Sennacherib shortly before the mysterious destruction of the Assyrian army (? B.C. 701). Herodotus preserves a version of the same event. Tirhakah was the third of the Ethiopian (25th) Dyn..

and reigned as king of Ethiopia and Egypt from about B.C. 691–665; towards the end of his reign (670–665) until his death he was engaged in constant struggles with the Assyrians, who endeavoured to establish their power in Egypt by means of the native princes as against the Ethiopian. Tirhakah was quite unable to resist the attacks of Esarhaddon and Ashurbanipal; even Thebes was sacked, but the Assyrians were equally unable to hold the country they had won. The chronology of the reign is not clear: Tirhakah was not king at the time of Sennacherib's expedition, but he may have commanded the army opposing it. Winckler places the later Assyrian attacks in 675–668. F. Ll. Griffith.

TIRHANAH.—A son of Caleb (1 Ch 2^{48}).

TIRIA.—A son of Jehallelel (1 Ch 4^{16}).

TIRSHATHA.—A Persian word = 'His Excellency,' or more probably 'His Reverence,' mentioned Ezr 2^{63} (=Neh 7^{65}), Neh 7^{70} 8^{9} 10^{1}. In the first three passages he is unnamed, but is apparently Zerubbabel; in the last two he is Nehemiah. The title is used interchangeably with the Assyr. *pechah* or **'governor,'** of which it may be the Persian equivalent, and apparently represents a plenipotentiary appointed for a special mission.

C. W. Emmet.

TIRZAH.—**1.** One of the 31 cities captured by Joshua (Jos 12^{24}). It was the residence of Jeroboam I. (1 K 14^{17}) and his successors down to Omri (1 K 15^{21} $16^{6.\ 8.\ 15.\ 17.\ 23}$). The doubtful reference in Ca 6^{4} compares the Shulammite to Tirzah in beauty. The site is uncertain. Three different identifications have met with favour: *Talluza*, a village E. of Samaria and N. of Mt. Ebal; *et-Tireh*, a village close to Mt. Gerizim; and *Teyasir*, 11 m. N. of Nāblus (Shechem) and 12 m. E. of Sebastiyeh (Samaria). **2.** One of the five daughters of Zelophehad (Nu 26^{33} 27^{1} 36^{11}, Jos 17^{3}). H. L. Willett.

TISHBITE.—Elijah is repeatedly designated 'the Tishbite' (1 K 17^{1} $21^{17.\ 28}$ etc.)—*i.e.* native of Tishbeh (? Thisbe) in Gilead.

TISHRI (month).—See Time, p. 936b.

TITANS.—In Greek mythology the Titans were divine or semi-divine beings who, endowed with supernatural powers, were overcome only with the greatest difficulty. In later times they were identified with primitive giants.

In the LXX version of Samuel the **'Vale of Rephaim'** (2 S $5^{18.\ 22}$) is called the 'Vale of the Titans.' Here it is used in the sense of 'giants,' for the same version of Chronicles translates this name in 1 Ch 11^{15} 14^{9} 'Vale of the Giants.' Thus, in interpreting early Hebrew thought for Greek readers, the old shadowy Rephaim were identified with Titans and giants.

Similarly in the song of victory in Jth 16^{7} we read:

> 'For the mighty one did not fall by the young men,
> Neither did the sons of Titans smite him,
> Nor did tall giants set upon him,
> But Judith, the daughter of Merari . . .'

In this late work Greek mythology has been absorbed by Jewish thought. George A. Barton.

TITHES.—According to both North Israelite (Gn 28^{22}) and Judæan (Gn 14^{20}) tradition, Israel's patriarchs paid tithes; the custom, therefore, among the Israelites was evidently very ancient. But the institution of offering tithes of the fruits of the field and of the flocks is one which dates back to a period greatly anterior to Israelite history. A tenth of the flocks, fruits, and possessions of all kinds, as well as of the spoils of war, was given to their gods by many peoples, not only of Semitic, but also of Indo-Germanic race.

In the OT two ideas lie at the root of the custom; the more antique—apart from its position in the Bible—is that which regards the offering of a tenth to the Deity as His due, owing to His being the Supreme owner of the land and all that it brings forth, or that feeds upon it (Lv 27^{30-33}); here the underlying thought is that of propitiation,—if the Supreme owner does not receive His due, His blessing will be wanting another year. The other idea, which is obviously a later one, is that of thankfulness for the blessings received (Gn 28^{20-22}); the tithes were given in recognition of what the Giver of all things had accorded to His worshippers.

Among the Israelites this ancient custom was taken advantage of by the Levitical priesthood, who, as those employed in the sanctuary of Jahweh, claimed for themselves, on behalf of Him, a tithe of all. According to Nu 18^{21-24} the **Levites** were to receive this in lieu of the inheritance of land which fell to all the other tribes; but they received the tithe on behalf of Jahweh; stress is laid on this point in v.^{24}: 'For the tithe of the children of Israel, which they offer as an heave-offering unto the Lord, I have given to the Levites for an inheritance';—the 'heaving' of an offering *towards* the altar was the substitute for the actual consuming of it *upon* the altar. Although tithes were, of course, intended to be offered once a year (Dt 14^{22}), it would appear from Am 4^{4}—though the words are ironical—that in their anxiety to more than fulfil the requirements of the Law, many worshippers brought them more frequently (the original Hebrew, however, is ambiguous). Though, generally speaking, tithes were offered only to God, yet it is clear that they were sometimes given also to the king (cf. Gn 14^{20}, 1 S 8^{17}, He $7^{2.\ 4}$). W. O. E. Oesterley.

TITLE (Jn $19^{19.\ 20}$).—The ordinary term for the **'superscription,'** consisting usually of the name of the criminal and the crime with which he was charged (Mk 15^{26}), written on a board, which, according to Roman practice, was carried in front, or hung from the neck of a prisoner as he was led through the streets of the city to execution, or exposed for punishment. In cases of crucifixion the inscription was often fastened above the head of the criminal (Mt 27^{37}). This public announcement was intended to serve as a warning to evil-doers.

The four inscriptions on the cross of Jesus mentioned in the Gospels are different, though the words 'the King of the Jews' (Mk 15^{26}) are common to all, and truly set forth the charge on which Jesus was formally condemned. Mt. (27^{37}) adds, 'this is Jesus'; Lk. (23^{38}), 'this (is)'; and Jn. (19^{19}) 'Jesus of Nazareth.' The variations may be partly explained by the statement of Jn. that the inscription (like Roman edicts which also were often published in both Latin and Greek) was written in Hebrew, *i.e.* Aramaic (which was spoken ordinarily by the people of Jerusalem and the pilgrims from Palestine), Latin (the official language), and Greek (the *lingua franca* of the world). The Evangelist sees, in this announcement in the three languages of the Roman Empire, a symbol of the proclamation to the world of the Messiahship of Jesus, notwithstanding the efforts of the Jews to cover Him with ignominy. Jn. alone implies that Pilate took revenge on the Jews in preparing the inscription; Mt. and Mk. seem to suggest that the soldiers themselves placed the inscription on the cross, and crucified Jesus between two robbers in order to heighten the insult. R. A. Falconer.

TITTLE.—See Jot.

TITUS.—A convert from heathenism (Gal 2^{3}), probably won by St. Paul himself (Tit 1^{4}). He is not directly mentioned in Acts, and all that is known of him comes from the Epp. to Gal., 2 Cor., and the Pastorals. Neither his age nor his place of birth is told us. We first hear of him when he accompanies St. Paul on his journey from Antioch to Jerusalem—a journey undertaken in connexion with the question of the circumcision of *Gentile* Christians (Gal 2^{1}). He is thus included in the 'certain others' mentioned in Ac 15^{2}. The Judaistic party within the Church wished to have Titus circumcised (Gal 2^{3}); but the Apostle and those representing Gentile Christianity strenuously resisted (v.^{5}), and the decision of the Church was in

their favour (Ac 15[28. 29]). The case of Titus thus seems to have been the *test case* in this controversy. From this time we may suppose that Titus continued with St. Paul as one of his missionary companions and assistants, but we have no distinct reference to him until some 10 years after the Council at Jerusalem, namely, when the Apostle wrote 2 Corinthians. In this Epistle Titus is mentioned nine times, and from it we gather that he visited Corinth as the Apostle's delegate—probably three times. On the first occasion, which was a year before 2 Cor. was written (2 Co 8[10]), he came with an unnamed 'brother' (12[18]), and on his arrival set on foot the necessary organization to secure the local contributions towards the collection for the poor Christians of Judæa which the Apostle had inaugurated (1 Co 16[1. 2]). After his departure from Corinth serious trouble vexed the Church there, and he was a second time sent to reduce matters to order. Probably on this occasion he was the bearer of the letter referred to in 2 Co 2[3ff. 7ff.]. St. Paul anxiously awaited at Troas the return of Titus (2 Co 2[12]); but the journey took longer than was expected; and so the Apostle moved on into Macedonia, with a view to meeting him the sooner on his road. Here Titus ultimately reached him, and bringing good news from Corinth refreshed his spirit (v.[14]). Titus was then despatched a *third* time to Corinth, bearing the 2nd Epistle (8[16-24]), and was charged to complete 'the collection'—the organization for which he had commenced the year before (8[10]).

After these events we do not hear of Titus until St. Paul addressed to him the Pastoral Epistle. From it we gather that he had accompanied the Apostle, after his release from his Roman imprisonment, on a visit to Crete, and had been left there by him 'to set in order things that were wanting' and to 'ordain elders in every city' (Tit 1[5]). He is charged to maintain sound doctrine (2[1]), to avoid unprofitable discussions (3[9]), and duly to assert his authority (2[15]). The Apostle tells him of his intention to send Artemas or Tychicus to him, and bids him, when this occurs, to join him in Nicopolis, where he hopes to winter (3[12]). Whether these plans were ever realized we know not. St. Paul may have been re-arrested before reaching Nicopolis; but we learn from 2 Ti 4[10] that Titus was with the Apostle during part of his second imprisonment in Rome, though at the time of the writing of that Epistle he had left for Dalmatia.

Titus and Timothy share the honour of being the most trusted and efficient helpers of St. Paul, and the fact that the former was chosen to deal with so sharp a crisis as presented itself at Corinth shows that prudence, tact, and firmness marked his Christian character.

CHARLES T. P. GRIERSON.

TITUS, EPISTLE TO.—This Epistle was written by St. Paul (1[1]) to Titus while the latter was acting as his delegate in Crete (1[5]). It may have been a reply to a request from Titus for guidance, or may have been written by the Apostle on his own initiative, to assist his delegate in the difficulties that faced him. St. Paul had come to Crete in company with Titus (1[5]), but, having to leave before he could complete his work there, he left Titus behind to 'set in order things that were wanting.'

As far as our records tell us, this was the first missionary visit of St. Paul to the island. No doubt on his journey as prisoner from Cæsarea to Rome he was windbound under its lee, sheltering from unfavourable winds at Fair Havens (Ac 27[7. 8]); but we are not told that he landed on this occasion, and it is probable that, as a change of wind was being anxiously waited for, he was unable to leave the ship. In any case there was no opportunity then granted him of prosecuting any effective evangelization.

It has been thought possible that the visit alluded to in our Epistle might have taken place during the Apostle's lengthened sojourn at Corinth (Ac 18[11]) or at Ephesus (19[10]). Such a visit is *possible*, but we have no record of it; while the general literary style of the Epistle marks it distinctly as belonging to the same group as 1 and 2 Timothy, which group on strong grounds must be held to belong to that period of St. Paul's life which intervened between his two Roman imprisonments (see TIMOTHY [EPISTLES TO]).

From the Epistle it is evident that, though the Cretan Church was lacking in organization, yet it was of some years' standing. We read of several cities having congregations in need of supervision (1[5]), and of elders to be chosen from among those who were fathers of 'believing' (*i.e.* Christian) families (v.[6]); while the heresies dealt with are those that are *in opposition* to true doctrine, rather than such as might occur in a young Church through ignorance of truth.

The Cretan character was not high. Ancient writers describe their avarice, ferocity, fraud, and mendacity, and the Apostle himself quotes (1[12]) Epimenides, one of their own poets, as saying 'Cretans are always liars, evil beasts, idle gluttons.' Christianity, without the discipline of a firm organization, springing up in such soil, would naturally be weakened and corrupted by the national vices. We are not surprised, then, to find the Apostle in this Epistle laying the chief emphasis on the importance of personal holiness of character, and insisting that right belief must issue in useful, fruitful life (1[15. 16] 2 *passim* 3[8. 14]). The chief errorists mentioned by him are unruly men, vain talkers, and deceivers, especially those of the circumcision, who led men astray for filthy lucre's sake (1[10. 11]), men who professed that they knew God but denied Him in their lives (1[16]), and men who were 'heretical' (RVm 'factious,' 3[10]). The type of error to be resisted is also seen in the caution given to Titus to avoid foolish questions, genealogies (*i.e.* Jewish legendary history), and strifes and fightings about the Law, as unprofitable and vain (3[9]).

These dangers to the Christian faith are very similar to those opposed in 1 Timothy; with, however, this difference, that none of those mentioned here seems to have its origin in the incipient Gnosticism which in a measure affected the Church in Ephesus, where Timothy was in charge. The false doctrines in Crete are predominantly, if not exclusively, Jewish in origin, and it is known that Jews abounded in Crete.

The ecclesiastical organization, entrusted to Titus for establishment, is of the simplest kind, merely the ordination of elders (1[5]; spoken of as 'bishops' v.[7])—officers which it had been the custom of the Apostle from the first to appoint in the Churches he established (Ac 14[23]). The appointment of presbyters was left entirely in the hands of Titus; but while this was so, it is evident that it would be necessary for him to consult the congregations over whom the elders were to be appointed, for he is charged to select only those whose reputation should be 'blameless' in the eyes of their fellow-Christians. Further, the presbyter is spoken of as 'God's steward,' so that the authority committed to him by Titus was ultimately derived from God and not from man. No mention is made in this Epistle of deacons, deaconesses, or widows—a fact which so far distinguishes it from 1 Timothy.

The Epistle claims to be written by St. Paul (1[1]); and its authenticity is established by the same considerations as establish that of 1 and 2 Timothy, with which Epistles it is closely allied in general situation, external attestation, and literary style. For a discussion of the questions involved in this connexion the reader is referred to art. TIMOTHY [EPISTLES TO].

The Epistle was probably brought to Titus by the hands of Zenas and Apollos (3[13]).

CHARLES T. P. GRIERSON.

TITUS JUSTUS.—See JUSTUS, No. 2. **TITUS MANIUS.**—See MANIUS.

TIZITE.—A designation, whose origin is unknown, applied to Joha, one of David's heroes (1 Ch 11[45]).

TOAH.—See NAHATH.

TOB.—One of the small Aramæan principalities founded to the south of Mt. Hermon and Damascus in the 12th cent. B.C., the others being Hamath (the less), Zobah, Beth-rehob, Maacah or Geshur. It was in Tob that Jephthah lived as an outlaw (Jg $11^{3.5}$). Tob joined the rest of the Aramæans, except those of Hamath (2 S $8^{9f.}$), in helping the Ammonites in their war against king David (2 S $10^{6ff.}$). The exact position of these little States is uncertain. Tob was perhaps the most easterly of them. Possibly Tob is meant in the region alluded to in 1 Mac 5^{13} [**Tubias**], 2 Mac 12^{17} [**Tubieni**]. J. F. McCURDY.

TOB-ADONIJAH.—One of the Levites sent by Jehoshaphat to teach in the cities of Judah (2 Ch 17^{8}).

TOBIAH.—**1.** A family which returned from exile, but could not trace their genealogy (Ezr 2^{60} = Neh 7^{62}); corrupted in 1 Es 5^{37} to **Ban.** **2.** The Ammonite who, in conjunction with Sanballat and others, persistently opposed the work of Nehemiah (Neh $2^{10.19}$ $4^{3.7}$ 6^{17} $13^{4.8}$). Cf. art. NEHEMIAH.

TOBIAS.—**1.** The son of Tobit (To 1^{9} and often). **2.** The father of Hyrcanus (2 Mac 3^{11}).

TOBIEL.—The father of Tobit (To 1^{1}).

TOBIJAH.—**1.** One of the Levites sent by Jehoshaphat to teach in the cities of Judah (2 Ch 17^{8}). **2.** One of a deputation that came from Babylon to Jerusalem with contributions of gold and silver (Zec $6^{10.14}$).

TOBIT, BOOK OF.—See APOCRYPHA, § 8.

TOCHEN.—An unidentified town of Simeon (1 Ch 4^{32}).

TOGARMAH.—The third son of Gomer, his brothers being Ashkenaz and Riphath (Gn 10^{3}). In Ezekiel mention is made of 'the house of Togarmah,' the members of which traded for the wares of Tyre with horses and mules. Fried. Delitzsch suggests that Togarmah is the *Til-garimmu* of the Assyrian inscriptions, described by Sargon of Assyria as the capital of Melitene, which he captured and re-colonized. Sennacherib, who again captured Til-garimmu and destroyed it, speaks of it as being on the borders of Tabal (Tubal [see MESHECH]). The difference in the first element (*tō* = *til*) makes a slight difficulty. Kiepert and Dillmann regard Togarmah as being S.W. Armenia. T. G. PINCHES.

TOHU.—See NAHATH.

TOI.—See TOU.

TOKHATH.—See TIKVAH, **1.**

TOLA.—The first of the five minor Judges ($10^{1.2}$). In Gn 46^{13}, Nu 26^{23}, 1 Ch 7^{1} he appears as the son of Issachar; Tola was apparently the name of the leading clan of the tribe. It means 'a worm,' from which came a crimson dye (Ex 16^{20}, Is 1^{18}); and was perhaps an animal name due to totemism. Shamir, his home and birthplace, is unidentified. C. W. EMMET.

TOLAD.—See ELTOLAD.

TOLBANES.—See TELEM, **1.**

TOLL.—See TRIBUTE.

TOLMAN.—See TALMON.

TOMB, GRAVE, SEPULCHRE.—The disposal of the dead among the Israelites was always by **burial.** While spices were sometimes sprinkled among the grave-clothes, there was no religious motive for the embalming of the dead as in Egypt. **1.** The common grave must have been the usual opening in the ground with protective stones laid on the surface; or one prepared slab of stone either quite flat, or with the ridge of a sarcophagus lid, might be used. To judge by the custom of to-day, the grave would often be cut partly or altogether in rock, not because that was preferred, but because the village elders usually marked off for the cemetery a section of ground that was too rocky for purposes of cultivation. **2.** Tombs of a more important kind were made by excavating in the face of a rock to form a chamber about 8 or 9 feet on each side. At the opposite end and on the two sides were three narrow recesses, Heb. *kokim*, 6 or 7 feet long and about 2 feet wide, cut into the rock at right angles to each wall. Into one of these the dead body was inserted with the feet towards the entrance, which was then covered with a slab sealed around the edges with plaster. **3.** During the two centuries of Greek influence before the Christian era, a somewhat larger form of tomb came into use. The common chamber had on each of its three sides two, and occasionally three, shallow arched recesses, and in each recess a sarcophagus was laid along the line of the wall. From the fact that the two angels could be seen, one at the head and the other at the foot of the receptacle for Christ's body (Jn 20^{12}), it is evident that the tomb belonging to Joseph of Arimathæa was of this later character. The opening to the central chamber was guarded by a large and heavy disc of rock which could roll along a groove slightly depressed at the centre, in front of the tomb entrance. Both the primitive Israelite sepulchre and its Greek successor might be of a compound form, having a passage leading from one chamber to another, each with its *kokim* or *loculi*. The most extensive example of such tombs is found in the catacombs of Rome.

From time immemorial a tomb was a sacred place which it was an act of profanation to violate, and of ceremonial pollution to use for other purposes, such as the erection of a house upon the site. The tomb of a saint became a shrine, and that of a Christian martyr was venerated as the memorial and altar of a living sacrifice. Religious meetings were held there, and pilgrimages were made to it as to a heathen oracle, and votive offerings gradually adorned the walls of the building erected over it. At the present day the peasants of Palestine can leave clothing and agricultural implements, with perfect safety, beside the tomb, under the temporary guardianship of the saint. In course of time this power of protection became transferred to the Church as the common institution of the saints. G. M. MACKIE.

TONGS.—See ARTS AND CRAFTS, **2**; TABERNACLE, **6** (*b*).

TONGUES, CONFUSION OF.—The belief that the world, after the Flood, was re-populated by the progeny of a single family, speaking one language, is reconciled in the Bible with the existing diversity of tongues by a story which relates how the descendants of Noah, in the course of their wanderings, settled in the plain of Shinar, or Babylonia, and there built of brick a city, and a **tower** high enough to reach heaven, as a monument to preserve their fame, and as a centre of social cohesion and union. But the Lord discerned their ambitious purposes, and, after consulting with the Divine beings who constituted His council and court (cf. Gn 1^{26} 3^{22}), frustrated their design by confounding their speech, so that concerted action was no longer possible for them. In consequence, the name of the city was called **Babel** (see below), and its builders were compelled to disperse over the face of the earth (Gn 11^{1-9}).

The story belongs to a class of narratives (of which there are several in the Bible) intended to explain the origin of various institutions, or usages, the existence of which excited the curiosity of a primitive race. Among these was the prevalence in the world of different languages, which contributed so greatly to produce between the various peoples, who were thus unintelligible to one another, feelings of mutual suspicion and fear (cf. Dt 28^{49}, Is 28^{11} 33^{19}, Jer 5^{15}). The particular explanation furnished was doubtless suggested partly by the name of the city of *Babel*, or Babylon (which, though really meaning 'gate of God,' was by a popular etymology connected with the Heb. word *bālal*, 'to confuse'), and partly by the presence, at or near Babylon, of the ruins of some great tower, which looked as though

it had originally been designed as a means to scale heaven. Two such towers, or *ziggurats*, were the temple of Merodach (or Marduk) in Babylon (supposed to be beneath the mound of *Babil*), and the temple of Nebo in Borsippa (the ruins of which form the mound of *Birs Nimroud*); and knowledge of one or other of these may have helped to shape the narrative. The character of the narrative makes it impossible to consider it as real history: it bears on its surface manifest evidence that it is a creation of primitive fancy. The question whether the various languages of mankind have really been derived from one common tongue cannot be separated from the question (into which it is unnecessary to enter here) whether the various *races* of men have sprung from a single stock, *i.e.* 'whether man appeared originally on the globe at one centre or at many centres.' It may be said, however, that philological research has proved that the numerous existing languages are members of a comparatively small number of *families of speech* (such as the Indo-European, the Semitic, etc.); but that between these families of speech there is so great a difference of structure, that their descent from one original tongue seems highly improbable. At the same time, all languages must have arisen from certain faculties and instincts common to human nature; and the presence, in languages belonging to distinct families, of onomatopoetic, or imitative, words serves to illustrate the essential similarity of human tendencies in the sphere of speech all the world over. G. W. Wade.

TONGUES, GIFT OF.—1. In NT we read of 'speaking with tongues' or 'in a tongue' as a remarkable sign of the outpouring of the Holy Spirit; but the exact meaning of the phenomenon described has been much disputed. We may take the passages in the chronological order of writing.—(*a*) *The Epistles.* In 1 Co 12–14, among the *charismata* or (spiritual) gifts are 'divers kinds of tongues' and 'the interpretation of tongues' ($12^{10.\ 30}$). Yet St. Paul, who possessed the gift himself (14^{18}), considers it to be of little importance as compared with prophecy. In itself it is addressed to God, and unless interpreted it is useless to those assembled; it is a sign to believers, but will not edify, but rather excite the ridicule of, unlearned persons or heathens (14^{23}). Whatever the gift was, speaking with tongues was *at Corinth* ordinarily unintelligible to the hearers, and sometimes even to the speaker (14^{14}), though the English reader must note that the word 'unknown' in AV is an interpolation. The gift was not to be forbidden, but everything was to be done decently and in order (14^{40}).—Indications of the gift are thought to be found in 1 Th 5^{19}, Ro $8^{15.\ 26}$, Gal 4^{6}, Eph 5^{19}, but not at all in the Pastoral, Petrine, or Johannine Epistles. It seems to have belonged to the infancy of the Church (1 Co 13^{8}: 'Tongues . . . shall cease'). [Irenæus, apparently speaking at second hand, says that the gift existed in the 2nd cent.; but this is very doubtful. Chrysostom says that it was non-existent in the 4th century.]—(*b*) *Acts.* At Pentecost, in addition to the 'mighty wind' and the 'tongues parting asunder like as of fire,' we read that the assembled disciples spoke 'with other tongues as the Spirit gave them utterance' (2^{4}). The multitudes from many countries, coming together, heard them speak in their tongues the mighty works of God (2^{11}), while some thought that they were drunken (2^{13}; cf. 1 Co 14^{23}). We read again of the gift in the conversion of Cornelius and his household (10^{46})—St. Peter expressly says that it was the same as at Pentecost (11^{15})—and at Ephesus (19^{6}); and probably the same is intended in the story of the Samaritan converts (8^{17} f.: 'Simon *saw* that . . . the Holy Ghost was given').—(*c*) In the *Appendix to Mark* (which, even if Markan, is comparatively late) we have the promise that the disciples 'shall speak with [new] tongues' (16^{17}: 'new' is probably not of the best text).

2. Meaning of the gift.—Relying chiefly on the passages of Acts, most of the Fathers (as Origen, Chrysostom, Theodoret, Gregory of Nyssa, Gregory of Nazianzus) understand the gift as being for purposes of evangelization, as if the disciples received a miraculous endowment of foreign languages to enable them to preach; Gregory of Nyssa and others take the gift as a miracle of *hearing*, the disciples speaking in their own language, but the people understanding their speech each in his own tongue. This view starts with the doubtless true idea that 'tongue' means 'language' here. But Acts says nothing about preaching; the gift is never found in NT in connexion with evangelization; the passages in 1 Cor., where the utterances are often unintelligible even to the utterer, are clearly repugnant to this interpretation, and we have no proof that the Apostles ever preached in any language but Greek and Aramaic, even to the 'barbarous' heathen, such as the Lycaonians or Maltese. Indeed, Paul and Barnabas clearly did not know Lycaonian (Ac $14^{11.\ 14}$). Peter probably did not know Greek well enough to preach in it, for Mark was his 'interpreter' (Papias, Irenæus). We cannot, then, follow the majority of the Fathers in their interpretation. Had it been the true one, St. Paul would have encouraged the Corinthians to use the gift to the utmost.

Unfortunately, we do not know how the earlier 2nd cent. Fathers understood the matter; but Tertullian apparently judged the gift to be an ecstatic utterance of praise (*adv. Marc.* v. 8). This is much more probable than the other view. At Pentecost the disciples spoke the 'mighty works of God.' All the NT passages either suggest or agree with the idea of worship. This does not, indeed, exhaust all our difficulties; but perhaps the following considerations may solve at least some of them.—(*a*) The disciples, at a critical period of the Church, were in a state of intense excitement. But St. Paul's words do not mean that their utterances were mere gibberish; on the contrary, they were capable of interpretation if one who had that gift were present. And at Pentecost they were, as a matter of fact, understood.—(*b*) It has been suggested that we are to understand 'tongues,' not as 'languages,' but as 'poetic or symbolic speech,' not readily understood by the unlearned. But this view does not satisfy Ac 2, though in itself it may be true; in a word, this is an *insufficient* explanation.—(*c*) The languages required by Ac 2 are actually only two—Greek and Aramaic. For those present at Pentecost were Jews; the list in v.$^{9ff.}$ is of countries, not of languages. All the Jews of these countries spoke either Greek or Aramaic. This is a difficulty in interpreting the narrative, which gives us the impression of a large number of different languages. But probably what is intended is a large number of dialects of Greek and Aramaic, especially of the latter; it would be as though a Somerset man heard one who habitually spoke broad Scots praising God in the Somerset dialect. And what would strike the pilgrim Jews present was that the speakers at Pentecost were mainly those who themselves spoke an uncouth Aramaic dialect, that of Galilee (Mt 26^{73}).—(*d*) This consideration may lead us a step further. We may recognize in the Pentecostal wonder a stirring of memory, a recalling of utterances previously heard by the disciples at former feasts when a polyglot multitude of Jews (polyglot at least in dialects) was assembled, the speakers uttering what they had unconsciously already taken into their memories. This would account for their words being so readily understood; some of the speakers would be praising God in one dialect, some in another.—(*e*) Something of this sort may have happened at Corinth, one of the most cosmopolitan of cities. Here the possession of the gift was not confined to those of Jewish birth. But naturally the resident Christian community at Corinth would ordinarily not understand the strange

dialects given utterance to. The case is not the same as that of Pentecost, when many different peoples were gathered together.

To sum up, it seems probable that the gift of tongues was an ecstatic utterance of praise, not only in poetic and symbolic speech, but also in languages or dialects not ordinarily spoken by those who had the gift; a power given at a time of great enthusiasm and excitement, at a critical period of the world's history, but not meant to be a permanent gift for the Church, and not ranking so high as other *charismata*, especially not so high as prophecy. That it survived the Apostolic age is hardly probable. A. J. Maclean.

TOOLS.—See Arts and Crafts.

TOPARCHY.—A compound word from Greek *topos* (place) and *archē* (rule), found only in 1 Mac 11^{28} (cf. 1 Mac $10^{30.\ 38}$ 11^{34}) among the sacred books, but very many times in the papyri of Egypt (with reference to that country). It means a very small administrative division of territory. Three toparchies were detached from Samaria and added to Judæa in Maccabæan times. A. Souter.

TOPAZ.—See Jewels and Precious Stones.

TOPHEL.—See Dizahab.

TOPHETH.—A term of uncertain etymology, designating some locality in one of the valleys near Jerusalem, very possibly in the **Valley of Hinnom** (2 K 23^{10}), or near the point of juncture of the three valleys of Jerusalem. It was there that the Jews under Ahab and Manasseh performed the rites of human sacrifice (Jer $7^{31\text{-}32}$), offering children to Baal, Molech, and other heathen gods. It was defiled by Josiah as a part of his religious reformation, and so came to be an abominable place where the refuse was destroyed, and thus a synonym of **Gehenna** (wh. see). Shailer Mathews.

TORAH.—See Law (in OT), §§ **2. 3.**

TORCH.—See Lamp, § 1; Lantern.

TORMAH.—In the margin of Jg 9^{31} 'in Tormah' is given as an alternative rendering of the Hebrew word translated 'craftily' (AV 'privily'). Some commentators have suggested that Tormah is a corruption of **Arumah** (v.^{41}).

TORTOISE (*tsāb*, Lv 11^{29} RV 'great lizard').—Several kinds of land and water tortoises are common in the Holy Land, but here the reference is probably to some kind of lizard. See Lizard. E. W. G. Masterman.

TOU.—King of Hamath on the Orontes, who sent an embassy to congratulate David on his defeat of Hadadezer (1 Ch $18^{9\text{f.}}$). In the parallel passage, 2 S $8^{9\text{f.}}$, the name appears as **Toi,** which, however, is less probable philologically.

TOWER.—See Fortification and Siegecraft, §§ **2. 4.** For 'Tower of Babel' see Tongues [Confusion of].

TOWN.—See City, Village.

TOWN CLERK.—In Græco-Asiatic cities under the Roman Empire the *grammateus* (tr. 'town clerk') was responsible for the form of decrees presented to the popular assembly. They were first approved by the senate and then sent to the assembly, which formally passed them. At Ephesus (Ac 19^{35}) the clerk feared that he would have to account to the Roman governor for the irregularly constituted assembly. A. Souter.

TRACHONITIS.—Mentioned in Lk 3^{1} as the name of the tetrarchy of Philip. It is to be identified with the lava region S.E. of Damascus, known to the Greeks as *Trachon*, and to modern Arabs as the *Lejā*. An inscription discovered by Burckhardt in 1810 at Mismiyeh dispels all doubt as to the identity of this region with Trachon. It has ever been regarded as a refuge from invaders. Josephus frequently speaks of the inhabitants of these parts as predatory (*Ant.* xvi. ix. 1, x. 1). Philip's rule, on the other hand, he describes as just and gentle (*Ib.* xviii. iv. 6). Trajan in A.D. 106 transformed Trachonitis into a new province, which he called 'Arabia,' making Bosra its capital. George L. Robinson.

TRADE AND COMMERCE.—The processes by which international trade is carried on consist in the interchange of commodities or of services, and these latter may be positive or negative in character: they may be represented by actual performance or by the withdrawal of opposition. Such procedure as the occupation of passes or other natural channels for traffic, with the view of demanding tolls of the traders who use them, is the subject of few allusions in the OT; yet the location of the Israelitish kingdoms was such as to favour the production of revenue in this way. The most practicable routes both from the North and from the East to the Red Sea lay through their country; and the land route from Egypt to Asia either traversed or skirted it. United under a powerful sovereign, Palestine could levy large contributions on the traffic of the surrounding nations; and this appears to have been done in Solomon's time.

1. The **products of Canaan** were in the main agricultural, horticultural, and pastoral, and some of these could be *exported*. Oil was sent to Egypt (Hos 12^{1}) and Phœnicia (Ezk 27^{17}); wine to the latter country (2 Ch 2^{10}), as well as wheat (Ezk. *l.c.*, 2 Ch. *l.c.*), barley (2 Ch. *l.c.*), oak timber (Ezk 27^{6}) from Bashan, honey (or dibs) and balsam (Ezk 27^{17}), and an unknown substance called *pannag* (Ezk. *l.c.*). Other possible objects for exportation were sand for glass manufacture, bitumen, the purple-fish, wool, and leather; and certain fruits and spices (Gn 43^{11}).

2. Of national **industries** we hear very little; nor does it appear that any articles of Israelitish workmanship acquired fame in foreign lands. A few notices can, however, be collected, which indicate the existence of manufactures, and of a sort that may have been exported. The housewife of Pr 31 not only makes her own clothes, but sells some to the **'Canaanite'** or pedlar; and in 1 Ch 4^{21} there is mention of a Jewish family that owned a byssus-factory. Further, there are not a few references to potteries, and to work done in brass, the precious metals, stone and wood. The iconoclastic attitude which prevails in the OT causes the plastic arts to be ordinarily referred to with scorn and indignation; but of their existence in Palestine there is no doubt, and the considerable market that existed for images probably led to no small development. That any of these manufactures was exported is not attested by any evidence that has as yet come to light; but there is apparently no *a priori* reason against such a supposition.

Prior to the settlement of the country by the exertions of the kings, trade can have been carried on by Israelites only to an insignificant extent. In Saul's days, according to 1 S 13^{19}, there were no Israelitish smiths—a fact there explained as due to the tyrannical precautions of the Philistines; but perhaps we should infer that the Israelites had as yet learned no crafts, since even in Solomon's time we find that artificers had to be imported for the building of the royal edifices. The place of industry had to be supplied by raiding, and Saul himself is praised for having stripped the finery of his enemies' women to put it on his own (2 S 1^{24}). The heroic David fights with rustic weapons and without armour. The possibility of the peaceful progress which is the preliminary condition of trade would seem to have been provided by the first two kings.

3. We have unfortunately no account of **the financial system** which must have been introduced with the foundation of the kingdom, though the prophecy of Samuel (1 S $8^{11\text{-}17}$) suggests that the king claimed a tithe of all produce, but in theory had a right to both

TRADE AND COMMERCE

the persons and possessions of his subjects. Before the end of David's reign we hear of permanent officials appointed by the king; and the need for steady sources of revenue whence the stipends of such officials could be supplied, is sufficient to cause the erection of an elaborate financial system, with surveys and assessments, tax-gatherers and clerks. The 'numbering of the people,' which lived on in popular tradition as an iniquity earning condign punishment, doubtless belonged to the commencements of orderly government. For Solomon's time we have something like the fragment of a budget (1 K $10^{14.\ 15}$), according to which it would appear that the king had three sources of revenue—one not further specified, but probably a land-tax; another, tribute from subject States, governed by satraps; and a third connected with commerce, and probably equivalent to excise and customs. The text implies that these various forms of revenue were paid in gold, which was then stored by the king in the form of shields and vessels.

This **gold** must all have been imported, as there are no mines in Palestine; and indeed we are told that it came, with other produce as well as silver, from the mysterious Ophir and Tarshish; and that the enterprise was a joint venture of Solomon and the king of Tyre, the latter probably supplying the vessels, the former the produce which was exchanged for these goods, unless indeed the gold was procured by raiding. If it was obtained in exchange for commodities, we must suppose either that the latter were identical with those of which we afterwards read in Ezekiel, or that the commodities to be exchanged were all supplied by the Phœnicians, the service by which the Israelites earned their share being that of giving the former access to the harbour of Ezion-geber. In favour of the latter supposition, it has been pointed out that the commodities known to have been exported from Palestine at one time or another were ill-suited for conveyance on lengthy voyages, and unlikely to be required in the countries where the gold was procured. There is in the OT no allusion to the practice of coining metal, and where sums of money are mentioned they are given in **silver**; the effect, however, of the quantities of gold brought into Palestine in Solomon's time was not, according to the historian, to appreciate silver, as might have been expected, but to depreciate it, and render it unfashionable. Yet the notice of prices in the time of Solomon (1 K 10^{29}) suggests that silver was by no means valueless, whatever weight we assign to the shekel of the time. While it is clear that all silver in use must have come in by importation, the notices in the OT of transactions in which it would probably be employed are too scanty to permit of even a guess as to the amount in use; and though it is likely that (as in Eastern countries to this day) foreign coins were largely in circulation, there is little authority for this supposition.

4. If little is known of Israelitish exports, many objects are mentioned in the OT which were certainly **imported** from foreign countries. These were largely objects of luxury, especially in the way of clothes or stuffs; the material called *'ētūn* (Pr 7^{16} RV **'yarn'**) was imported from Egypt; the ivory, to which reference is frequently made during the period of the kingdom, from Ethiopia, through Egypt or Arabia; and the gems from one or other of these countries. Various objects are mentioned in connexion with Solomon's enterprises, as newly introduced into Palestine. For later (Talmudic) times a list of 118 articles has been drawn up which came from foreign countries into the Palestinian market; this list contains many foods and food-stuffs, materials for wearing apparel, and domestic utensils. We should rather gather that in pre-exilic times food was not ordinarily imported, except in times of famine. Imports of raw materials must have been considerable as soon as the people began to settle in towns; for there is no native iron, and little native wood, and these as well as other materials would be required for even the simplest manufactures. Probably, in the case of instruments, the more valuable and elaborate sort came from abroad, while the poorer classes had to content themselves with home-made articles. The finds that have hitherto been made of Israelitish utensils are insufficient to determine this point. Among the more important imports in Biblical times were horses, which seem to have been procured regularly from Egypt. Of the **slave-trade** there are very few notices in the OT, and it may be that the reduction of the aboriginal population by the Israelites to serfs, and the almost continuous warfare leading to the constant capture of prisoners, rendered the importation of slaves ordinarily unnecessary. According to Joel (3^{4-7}), the Phœnicians acted as dealers, purchasing prisoners of war (in this case Jews), and exporting them to foreign countries. The same may have been the fate of those persons who, for non-payment of debt, were assigned to their creditors (2 K 4^{1}).

5. Persons engaged in commerce.—The words used in the OT for merchants are such as signify primarily 'traveller' (1 K 10^{15} RV 'chapmen,' 'merchants,' 'traffic'), and convey the ideas of spying and making circuits. The use of the word 'Canaanite' for pedlar has been noticed. In Jer 37^{16} there is an allusion to a place in Jerusalem called 'the booths,' but references to shop-keeping are rare before the Exile. In Nehemiah's time different classes of dealers had their locations in Jerusalem—goldsmiths and grocers (3^{32}), fishmongers (13^{16}); but most articles of general consumption seem to have been brought in day by day by foreigners and others (10^{32} and 13^{20}). and sold in the streets. The distinction between wholesale and retail dealers perhaps first occurs in the Apocrypha (Sir 26^{20}). It is worth observing that in the prophetic denunciations of luxury we miss allusions to the shops or stores in which such objects might be supposed to be offered for sale (Is 3^{18-24}). Moreover, the verse of Ezk. (7^{12}) 'let not the buyer rejoice nor the seller mourn' suggests that the latter operation was not ordinarily thought of as it is in communities a large portion of which lives by trade, but rather as a humiliation required at times by stern necessity; and there are few allusions to trade in the codes embodied in the Pentateuch, though such are not absolutely wanting. Perhaps, then, we are justified in concluding that the practice of trade was in pre-exilic times largely in the hands of itinerant foreigners; and it is only in NT times that merchandise is regarded as an occupation as normal as agriculture (Mt 22^{5}). To the cumbrous process of bargaining there is an allusion in Pr 20^{14}.

Allusions to the **corn-trade** are rather more common than to any other business, and to certain iniquities connected with it—probably, in the main, forms of the practice by which corn was withdrawn from the market in the hope of selling it at famine prices: this at least seems to be the reference in Pr 11^{26}, though Sirach ($34^{23.\ 24}$) seems to have interpreted the passage merely of liberality and stinginess. In Am 9^{1-8} the reference is more distinct, and implies both the offence mentioned above and the use of deceitful measures, a wrong also condemned by Micah in a similar context (6^{10}). The interpretation of these passages must remain obscure until more light is thrown on land-tenure in Israel, and the process by which the king's share in the produce was collected.

The **foreign commerce** conducted in king Solomon's time is represented in his biography as a venture of his own, whence the goods brought home were his own possessions; and the same holds good of commerce in the time of Jehoshaphat (1 K $22^{49.\ 50}$). There is no evidence that Israelitish commerce was conducted on any other principle before the Exile, after which isolated individuals doubtless endeavoured to earn their livelihood by trade ventures. The foreign commerce of which we occasionally hear in the OT was also conducted by communities (*e.g.* Gn $37^{25.\ 28}$), to be compared

with the tribes whom we find at the commencement of Islam engaged in joint enterprises of a similar kind. In 1 K 20[34] there appears to be a reference to a practice by which sovereigns obtained the right to the possession of bazaars in each other's capitals—the nearest approach to a commercial treaty that we find in this literature. But at such times as the condition of the Israelitish cities allowed of the purchase of luxuries—*i.e.* after successful campaigns or long spells of peace, permitting of accumulations of produce—it is probable that the arrival and residence of foreign merchants were facilitated by the practice of 'protection,' a citizen rendering himself responsible for the foreign visitors, and making their interests his own—doubtless in most cases for a consideration. The spirit of the Mosaic legislation (like that of Plato's and Aristotle's theories) is against such intermixing with foreigners; and except for forces such as only powerful chieftains could collect, journeys whether on sea or land were dangerous. Of an expedient for commerce like the Arabian months of sacred truce the OT contains no hint.

6. The chief passage in the OT dealing with commerce is **Ezekiel's prophecy against Tyre,** in which the chief Tyrian wares are enumerated, and the countries whence the Tyrians imported them (ch. 27). That chapter would seem to be based on some statistical account of Tyre, similar to those which at a somewhat later date were made out concerning the Greek States. In a prophecy inserted in the Book of Isaiah (ch. 23) Tyre is also described as the great mart of the time, serving, it would seem, as the chief exchange and centre of distribution for goods of all kinds. Ezk 26[2] is sometimes interpreted as implying that Jerusalem was a competitor with Tyre for the trade of the world, but perhaps it means only that the taking of any great city led to the Tyrian merchants obtaining the spoil at low prices.

7. **Trade-routes.**—Palestine has no internal waterways, and goods brought to it from other countries had to reach it either by sea or across desert. A system of roads leading from Arabia, Egypt, and Mesopotamia appears to have converged at Sela or Petra, whence two branches spread northwards, to Gaza and to the eastern shore of the Dead Sea, continuing northwards on the left bank of the Jordan. From Gaza and Acre roads met in the plain of Esdraelon, the former going through the depressions of Judæa and Samaria. From the plain of Esdraelon a road led to Damascus, touching the N.W. bank of the Sea of Galilee. When Jerusalem became the capital of the country, goods were brought thither, probably by the same routes as were in use till the construction of the railways; but it is uncertain when Joppa first became the port of Jerusalem, for the statement in 2 Ch 2[15] that Joppa was so used in Solomon's time is not found in the authentic chronicle of 1 K 5[9], where ignorance is clearly acknowledged on this subject. On the other hand, the earlier chronicle states that Elath served as the port of Jerusalem on the Red Sea, and, after Solomon's time, was repeatedly taken out of the possession of the Jewish kings, and re-captured. Josephus (*Ant.* VIII. vii. 4) asserts that Solomon had the roads leading to Jerusalem paved with black stone, but his authority for this statement is unknown. The process of road-making is described in the familiar passage Is 40[4], with allusions to the operations of mounding and excavating, possibly of paving; but these operations may have been learned from Babylonian or Persian rather than Israelitish examples. Moreover, such roads were necessary for military rather than commercial expeditions, in which wheeled vehicles were not ordinarily used.

8. **Transport.**—Before the construction of railways in Palestine, transport was ordinarily on the backs of men or animals, and of the latter camels are mentioned in connexion with goods brought from Arabia (1 K 10[2], Is 60[6] etc.), and even with such as were carried in Syria and Palestine (2 K 8[9], 1 Ch 12[40]). In the last reference these animals are mentioned together with asses, oxen, and mules; and probably the first and last of these were more ordinarily employed for internal traffic. At a later time they first appear to have been employed almost exclusively in the corn-trade, in which they figure as early as Gn 42[26]. The allusions to the employment of human transport are more often metaphorical than literal; yet such passages as Is 58[6] seem distinctly to refer to it and to the instruments employed in fixing the burdens on the slaves' persons. **'Caravans'** are mentioned in Job 6[18f.], Is 21[13], Ezk 27[25] [all RV], and Jg 5[6] (RVm).

9. **Commercial instruments.**—The money-lender appears at the very commencement of the history of the Israelitish kingdom, where we are told that David's followers were to some extent insolvent debtors; and the Jewish law allowed the taking of pledges, but not (it would seem) the taking of interest, except from foreigners. The result of similar legislation in Moslem countries is to make the rate of interest enormously high, and in Palestine it may have had the same effect. Deeds of loan appear not to be mentioned in the OT, though there is frequent reference to the danger of giving security. To the institution of banking there is a familiar reference in the NT (Mt 25[27]); the persons there referred to—like the bankers of modern times—undertook the charge of deposits for the use of which they paid some interest; the money-changers (Mt 21[12] etc.) were, as now, in a smaller way of business. Those who hoarded money more often put it 'under the stone' (Sir 29[10]) than entrusted it to bankers; and this is still probably the favourite practice all over the nearer East. Another common practice was to deposit money with trustworthy persons, to which there is a reference in Tobit (4[20] etc.). In most ancient cities the temples served as places of security, where treasure could be stored, and this is likely to have been the case in Israelitish cities also.

10. **Development of the Israelites into a commercial people.**—The prophets appear to have anticipated that the exiles would carry on in their new home the same agricultural pursuits as had occupied them in Palestine (Jer 29[5]); and it would appear that till the taking of Jerusalem by Titus, and perhaps even later, agriculture remained the normal occupation of the Israelites, whereas in modern times this pursuit has passed entirely out of their hands. The Jews of the Turkish empire (*e.g.*) are said to furnish no cultivators of the soil, whereas the Christian population, whose political status is the same, are largely agricultural. The separation of great numbers of the people from the Palestinian soil, in successive captivities, must doubtless have led many of them to take to commerce, to which perhaps those who had no settled home would feel least repugnance; while the settlement of groups in a number of different regions would furnish them with the advantage that companies now secure by the establishment of agencies in various places. After the conquests of Alexander, *ghettos* began to be formed in the great Hellenic cities, and the Roman conquests soon led to colonies of Jews settling yet farther west. D. S. Margoliouth.

TRADES.—See Arts and Crafts.

TRADITION.—See Law (in NT), § 1.

TRAGACANTH.—See Spice.

TRANCE.—A condition in which the mental powers are partly or wholly unresponsive to external impressions while dominated by subjective excitement, or left free to contemplate mysteries incapable of apprehension by the usual rational processes. The word occurs in EV only in Nu 24[4. 16] [but cf. RV], Ac 10[10] 11[5] 22[17]. See, further, artt. Dreams, Vision. H. L. Willett.

TRANSFIGURATION.—The Transfiguration is a mysterious occurrence in the life of our Lord, which must be seen and felt, rather than understood. It produced a sense of awe in the hearts of the disciples (Mt 17[6]).

Its value is symbolic. Silence regarding it is enjoined by Jesus, and practised by the disciples until the Resurrection, with which it is closely connected in significance. The problem of the transfigured body of Jesus and of the Resurrection body is the same. The event is referred to by Jesus Himself as a vision (*horāma*, Mt 17[9]); it is vouched for by the three Synoptists (Lk 9[28-36], Mk 9[2-13], Mt 17[1-13]). Elsewhere in the NT it is referred to only in 2 P 1[16-18]. The Fourth Evangelist, after his own manner, undoubtedly expresses its inner significance for faith in Jn 12[23-36]. The mountain on which it took place was probably **Hermon.** The time was night (Lk 9[32]). It was as 'he was praying' that the transfiguration of face and raiment appeared.

As regards the inner significance of the occurrence, one expression in St. Luke's narrative is of great importance—*leukos exastraptōn* (v.[29]), 'was white and glistering' (AV). The sense is really 'gleamed *out* white.' The glory is not that of reflected light; its source is inward. It is the manifestation of a mental process. The note of *time* ('six days after' [Mt. Mk.]; 'about eight days after' [Lk.]) affords the key to His thoughts and the subject of His prayers. After what? After Peter's confession (Lk 9[18-27]), and the prediction of Christ's death (v.[22]). Recognized as Messiah by the disciples, He must now prepare them to meet the stumbling-block of the cross. Thus the Transfiguration had (1) *a deep significance for Jesus Himself.* He was strengthened by the appearance of Moses and Elias, who spoke of His decease (Lk 9[31]). They represented the saints in heaven, who understood. Again the Voice stood for the acceptance of His work by God, and He was enabled to yield up His heart and life anew to the will of God. (2) *The great lesson for the disciples* was that the dreadful shame of His cross was really glory, and that all suffering is ultimately radiant with heavenly beauty, being perfected in Christ. Peter's suggestion of the three tents is an attempt to materialize and make permanent the vision, to win the crown without the cross. The vision vanished, and they saw 'Jesus only.' It was real, but only a glimpse and foretaste. By loyalty once more to the Master, in the common ways of life to which they returned, the disciples would come to share the eternal glory of the Risen Lord. R. H. Strachan.

TRANSGRESSION.—See Sin.

TRAVAIL.—The Fr. *travail*, meaning 'labour *or* trouble,' was taken into Eng. without alteration of meaning or spelling. This spelling is found in AV, and it is still sometimes used, especially for the labour of child-birth. But the spelling 'travel' afterwards became common, and the word was then confined to journeying, that being a recognized form of toil and trouble in those days. In Nu 20[14] 'Thou knowest all the travel that hath befallen us,' the meaning is more than *journeying*, and so RV spells the word 'travail,' which was the original spelling of AV also.

TREASURE, TREASURY, TREASURER.—1. In OT 'treasure' and 'treasury' stand for various Heb. terms, but both words usually render *'ōtsār*. This shows that 'treasure' and 'treasury' are not carefully distinguished in EV, or else that *'ōtsār* itself may stand for either. As a matter of fact the truth lies with both alternatives. Strictly, a treasure is a store of wealth, while a treasury is a storehouse, a place where treasure is kept. Sometimes, however, 'treasure' occurs in AV where 'treasury' is meant, as Job 38[22] 'Hast thou entered into the treasures (RV 'treasuries') of the snow?'; and, on the other hand, 'treasury' is sometimes found where 'treasure' would be the more correct rendering, as Jos 6[19. 24] and RV of Ezr 2[69]. The indeterminateness of *'ōtsār* is shown by its constant employment for 'treasure' and 'treasury' alike. The 'treasure (RV 'store') cities' of Ex 1[11] (cf. 1 K 9[19], 2 Ch 8[4]) are cities in which provisions were stored up (cf. Gn 41[48. 56]).

2. In NT we find a like ambiguousness in the use of 'treasure,' and also of the Gr. *thēsauros* for which it stands. The treasures of the Magi (Mt 2[11]) and the treasure in heaven (Mt 19[21]) refer to precious stores; but it is out of his *treasury* rather than his *treasure* that the good man brings forth good things (Mt 12[35]), and the householder things new and old (13[52]). In Ac 8[27] 'treasure' renders *gaza*, a word of Persian origin. In Mt 27[6] 'treasury' represents *korbanās* (the depository of the 'corban,' see Sacrifice and Offering, § 1 (*a*)), the sacred treasury into which the chief priests would not put Judas' 30 pieces of silver. For the treasury of the Temple (*gazophylakion*) into which Jewish worshippers cast their offerings (Mk 12[41. 43], Lk 21[1]) see Temple, § 11 (*b*). When Jesus is said to have spoken 'in the treasury' (Jn 8[20]), the meaning probably is that He was teaching in the colonnade of the Temple where stood the treasure-boxes into which the offerings were cast.

Treasurer occurs in OT in Neh 12[13], Ezr 1[8] 7[21], Is 22[15], Dn 3[2. 3], representing a different term in each writer. The word is found in NT only in RV of Ro 16[23] as substitute for AV 'chamberlain' (Gr. *oikonomos*), but the Ethiopian eunuch is said to have had charge of all the treasure of queen Candace. J. C. Lambert.

TREE.—'Tree' is used as a poetic name for the Cross in Ac 5[30] 10[39] 13[29], 1 P 2[24]; cf. Gal 3[13]. For sacred trees see High Place, 1; and Israel, II. 1 (5); and, for the various trees of the Bible, the artt. under their respective names.

TRESPASS-OFFERING.—See Sacrifice, § 15.

TRIAL.—See Temptation.

TRIBES OF ISRAEL.—The number of the tribes of Israel varied at different periods. The number 12 is an artificial one, as is seen from its application to the descendants of Ishmael (Gn 17[20] 25[13-16]), of Nahor (Gn 22[20-24]), and of Esau (Gn 36[15-19. 40-43]). Simeon and Levi were 'divided in Jacob and scattered in Israel' (Gn 49[7]) when the tribe of Benjamin arose, so that at that time there would be not 12 but only 11 tribes. Reuben, likewise, in the period of the kings, was an insignificant remnant, and, though mentioned in 1 Ch 5[26] as still existing in 734, had apparently become disintegrated long before. As Stade (*GVI* I. 146) correctly remarks, several of the largest tribes—Judah, Ephraim, Manasseh, Gad—contained many minor tribes which surpassed in number, possessions, and political significance several of those counted in the twelve tribes.

The number of the tribes, according to JE's genealogy (Gn 29–30), is not 12 but 13, and in the following order:

Leah tribes—Reuben, Simeon, Levi, Judah . .	4
Bilhah (Rachel) tribes—Dan, Naphtali . . .	2
Zilpah (Leah) tribes—Gad, Asher	2
Leah tribes—Issachar, Zebulun	2
Rachel tribes—Joseph=(Manasseh, Ephraim) . .	2
Benjamin (born in Palestine), Gn 35[18] . . .	1
	13

To obtain the number 12 from this scheme it is necessary to omit Levi, or to count Manasseh and Ephraim as one.

Why the number twelve was chosen cannot be answered with certainty. Whether it is astronomical or mythological, *i.e.* connected with the 12 signs of the Zodiac and the 12 months in the year—in which case it would be traceable to Babylonia, as Gunkel suggests in his *Genesis* (p. 300), and Winckler holds (*Gesch. Israels*, ii. p. 57, where he connects the '*Zwölf Söhne*' (Jacob's) with the '*Zwölf Monaten*'), or whether it rests upon Solomon's partition of the land into 12 divisions so that each might provision the royal household one month in the year (1 K 4[7]), as Luther thinks (*ZATW* xxi. 34), or whether the true explanation

has yet to be discovered, cannot be affirmed. The mythological explanation has to the present writer the greater probability in its favour.

The interpretation of the genealogical scheme of JE, which appears to be most acceptable to scholars, may be briefly summarized from Guthe, *GVI*, p. 49b. Benjamin appears as the last of the sons because this tribe came into existence last of all, and in Palestine (Gn 35$^{16-20}$). Joseph is younger than the others because it entered and settled in Canaan later than Simeon, Levi, and Judah, etc. Evidence of this is found in Jg 1$^{1B.\ 22B.}$, and Gn 34, which shows Joseph in possession of the region of Shechem, formerly occupied by Simeon and Levi. The order of arrangement, it would therefore seem, depended upon the author's view of the time of a tribe's respective settlement or origin in Canaan. Dan and Naphtali, Gad and Asher—the Canaanite tribes of the concubines who were admitted to union with the other tribes—owe their position also to these principles. Excluding Benjamin, who was born in Canaan, and the four tribes descended from the concubines, there remain only *seven* as extra-Canaanitish. The mothers, Leah and Rachel, represent different tribal groups at the head of which stand respectively Reuben and Joseph (1 Ch 5$^{1.\ 2}$). History, however, gives us no record of Reuben's priority in leadership, but assigns that rôle to Joseph, so that the primacy of the Reuben tribe must go back to an earlier time and to the East Jordan. It is possible that the tribes which entered Canaan under Reuben's leadership, or during his supremacy, were classed under Leah, while those which followed under the lead of Joseph were classed under Rachel. The position of Issachar and Zebulun indicates that they were later in acquiring a foothold than the four earlier Leah tribes, yet earlier than Joseph. The position assigned to the Bilhah and Zilpah tribes, Guthe thinks, may be explained by their having come into closer relations to Joseph, and to Reuben or the last of the two Leah tribes respectively, and hence their mothers were given as handmaids to Rachel and Leah. This is all suggestive, but no certainty is reached. Reuben's position (in view of the inferior rôle of the tribe in historical times) remains as a problem to be solved, and the groupings, *e.g.* Asher with Gad as Zilpah tribes, despite their wide separation, Issachar and Zebulun with Judah as Leah tribes, are of doubtful import. JAMES A. CRAIG.

TRIBUTE, TOLL, TAXING.—1. In OT the subject is obscure. The word most frequently rendered 'tribute' is *mas*, which denotes a body of forced labourers (2 S 20^{24}, 1 K 9^{21} etc.; see RV), and then later 'forced service'—the feudal *corvée*. Solomon had a regular system of levying provisions for the maintenance of the royal establishment (1 K 4$^{7-19}$), and labourers for the execution of his vast building schemes (5$^{13ff.}$ 9^{15}), and also exacted toll from the caravans of merchants that passed through his kingdom (10^{15}). After the fall of the Jewish State, tribute was imposed on the land by its foreign masters (2 K 23^{33}, Ezr 4^{13} etc.). In the last-mentioned passage (cf. v.^{20} 7^{24}) we read of 'tribute, custom, or toll,' but have no information as to the precise meanings of the terms and the distinctions between them. Cf. TRADE AND COMMERCE, § 3.

2. In NT 'tribute' represents 3 Gr. words. (1) *phoros* is properly a land tax; (2) *kēnsos* (originally a property register), a capitation or poll tax. Both were direct Imperial taxes payable by the Jews as Roman subjects; the former in kind, the latter in Roman money. In NT, however, the distinction is not carefully observed (cf. Mt 22^{17}, Lk 20^{22}). For the 'tribute money' of Mt 22^{19} see MONEY, § 7 (*b*). (3) *didrachmon* (Mt 17^{24}, RV **'the half-shekel'**) was the sum paid by every male Israelite to meet the cost of the daily services in the Temple. See MONEY, § 7 (*d*). **Toll** (*telos*, AV 'custom'; *telōnion* **'place of toll,'** AV **'receipt of custom'**) must be carefully distinguished from tribute (cf. Mt 17^{25}, Ro 13^{7}). It was not a direct tax like (1) and (2), but an impost on the value of exported goods. For details see artt. CUSTOM(S), PUBLICAN. **Taxing** (*apographē*, RV 'enrolment,' Lk 2^{2}, Ac 5^{37}) denotes a registration with a view to taxation for Imperial purposes. See QUIRINIUS. J. C. LAMBERT.

TRINITY.—1. The doctrine approached.—It is sometimes asked why we are not given a definite statement that there are three Persons in the Godhead. One reason for the absence of any such categorical and dogmatic teaching is probably to be found in the fact that the earliest hearers of the gospel were Jews, and that any such pronouncement might (and probably would) have seemed a contradiction of their own great truth of the unity of the Godhead. Consequently, instead of giving an intellectual statement of doctrine, which might have led to theological and philosophic discussion, and ended only in more intense opposition to Christianity, the Apostles preached Jesus of Nazareth as a personal Redeemer from sin, and urged on every one the acceptance of Him and His claims. Then, in due course, would come the inevitable process of thought and meditation upon this personal experience, and this would in turn lead to the inference that Jesus, from whom, and in whom, these experiences were being enjoyed, must be more than man, must be none other than Divine, 'for who can forgive sins but God only?' Through such a personal impression and inference based on experience, a distinction in the Godhead would at once be realized. Then, in the course of their Christian life, and through fuller instruction, would be added the personal knowledge and experience of the Holy Spirit, and once again a similar inference would in due course follow, making another distinction in their thought of the Godhead. The intellectual conception and expression of these distinctions probably concerned only comparatively few of the early believers, but nevertheless all of them had in their lives an experience of definite action and blessing which could only have been from above, and which no difficulty of intellectual correlation or of theological co-ordination with former teachings could invalidate and destroy.

2. The doctrine derived.—The doctrine of the Trinity is an expansion of the doctrine of the Incarnation, and emerges out of the personal claim of our Lord. We believe this position can be made good from the NT. We take first the Gospels, and note that our Lord's method of revealing Himself to His disciples was by means of personal impression and influence. His character, teaching, and claim formed the centre and core of everything, and His one object was, as it were, to stamp Himself on His disciples, knowing that in the light of fuller experience His true nature and relations would become clear to them. We see the culmination of this impression and experience in the confession of the Apostle, 'My Lord and my God.' Then, as we turn to the Acts of the Apostles, we find St. Peter preaching to Jews, and emphasizing two associated truths: (1) the Sonship and Messiahship of Jesus, as proved by the Resurrection, and (2) the consequent relation of the hearers to Him as to a Saviour and Master. The emphasis is laid on the personal experience of forgiveness and grace, without any attempt to state our Lord's position in relation to God. Indeed, the references to Jesus Christ as the 'Servant [wrongly rendered in AV 'Son'] of God' in Ac 3$^{13.\ 26}$ and 4^{27}, seem to show that the Christian thought regarding our Lord was still immature, so far as there was any purely intellectual consideration of it. It is worthy of note that this phrase, which is doubtless the NT counterpart of Isaiah's teaching on the 'Servant of the Lord,' is not found in the NT later than these earlier chapters of the Acts. Yet in the preaching of St. Peter the claim made for Jesus of Nazareth as the Source of healing (3$^{6.\ 16}$), the Prince-Leader of Life (3^{15}), the Head Stone of the corner (4^{11}), and the one and only Way of Salvation (4^{12}), was an unmistakable assumption of the position and power of Godhead.

In the same way the doctrine of the Godhead of the **Holy Spirit** arises directly out of our Lord's revelation. Once grant a real personal distinction between the Father and the Son, and it is easy to believe it also of the Spirit as revealed by the Son. As long as Christ was present on earth there was no room and no need for the specific work of the Holy Spirit, but as Christ was

departing from the world He revealed a doctrine which clearly associated the Holy Spirit with Himself and the Father in a new and unique way (Jn $14^{16.\ 17.\ 26}$ 15^{26} 16^{7-15}). Arising immediately out of this, and consonant with it, is the place given to the Holy Spirit in the Book of the Acts. From ch. 5, where lying against the Holy Spirit is equivalent to lying against God ($5^{3.\ 4.\ 9}$), we see throughout the book the essential Deity of the Holy Spirit in the work attributed to Him of superintending and controlling the life of the Apostolic Church (2^{4} 8^{29} 10^{19} $13^{2.\ 4}$ $16^{6.\ 7}$ 20^{28}).

Then, as we pass to the Epistles, we find references to our Lord Jesus and to the Holy Spirit which imply unmistakably the functions of Godhead. In the opening salutations our Lord is associated with God as the Source of grace and peace (1 Th $1^{1f.}$, 1 P 1^{2}), and in the closing benedictions as the Divine Source of blessing (Ro 15^{30}, 2 Th $3^{16.\ 18}$). In the doctrinal statements He is referred to in practical relation to us and to our spiritual life in terms that can be predicated of God only, and in the revelations concerning things to come He is stated to be about to occupy a position which can refer to God only. In like manner, the correlation of the Holy Spirit with the Father and the Son in matters essentially Divine is clear (1 Co 2^{4-6}, 2 Co 13^{14}, 1 P 1^{2}).

In all these assertions and implications of the Godhead of Jesus Christ, it is to be noted very carefully that St. Paul has not the faintest idea of contradicting his Jewish monotheism. Though he and others thus proclaimed the Godhead of Christ, it is of great moment to remember that Christianity was never accused of polytheism. The NT doctrine of God is essentially a form of monotheism, and stands in no relation to polytheism. There can be no doubt that, however and whenever the Trinitarian idea was formulated, it arose in immediate connexion with the monotheism of Judæa; and the Apostles, Jews though they were, in stating so unmistakably the Godhead of Jesus Christ, are never once conscious of teaching anything inconsistent with their most cherished ideas about the unity of God.

3. The doctrine confirmed.—When we have approached the doctrine by means of the personal experience of redemption, we are prepared to give full consideration to the two lines of teaching found in the NT. (*a*) One line of teaching insists on *the unity of the Godhead* (1 Co 8^{4}, Ja 2^{19}); and (*b*) the other line reveals *distinctions within the Godhead* (Mt $3^{16.\ 17}$ and 28^{19}, 2 Co 13^{14}). We see clearly that (1) the Father is God (Mt 11^{25}, Ro 15^{6}, Eph 4^{6}); (2) the Son is God (Jn $1^{1.\ 18}$ 20^{28}, Ac 20^{28}, Ro 9^{5}, He 1^{8}, Col 2^{9}, Ph 2^{6} 2 P 1^{1}); (3) the Holy Spirit is God (Ac $5^{3.\ 4}$, 1 Co $2^{10.\ 11}$, Eph 2^{22}); (4) the Father, Son, and Holy Spirit are distinct from one another, sending and being sent, honouring and being honoured. The Father honours the Son, the Son honours the Father, and the Holy Spirit honours the Son (Jn 15^{26} $16^{13.\ 14}$ $17^{1.\ 8.\ 18.\ 23}$). (5) Nevertheless, whatever relations of subordination there may be between the Persons in working out redemption, the three are alike regarded as God. The doctrine of the Trinity is the correlation, co-ordination, and synthesis of the teaching of these passages. In the Unity of the Godhead there is a Trinity of Persons working out redemption. God the Father is the Creator and Ruler of man and the Provider of redemption through His love (Jn 3^{16}). God the Son is the Redeemer, who became man for the purpose of our redemption. God the Holy Spirit is the 'Executive of the Godhead,' who applies to each believing soul the benefits of redemption. The elements of the plan of redemption thus find their root, foundation, and spring in the nature of the Godhead; and the obvious reason why these distinctions which we express by the terms 'Person' and 'Trinity' were not revealed earlier than NT times is that not until then was redemption accomplished.

4. The doctrine stated.—By the Trinity, therefore, we mean the specific and unique Christian idea of the Godhead. The foundation of the Christian idea of the Godhead is that of the One Supreme Almighty Spirit whom we worship, to whom we pray, from whom we receive grace, and whom we serve. But the specific Christian thought of God is that of a Spirit, in the unity of whose being is revealed a distinction of Persons whom we call Father, Son, and Holy Spirit; the God from whom, through whom, and by whom all things come—the Father as the primal Source, the Son as the redemptive Mediator, and the Holy Spirit as the personal Applier of life and grace. The Christian idea of the Trinity may be summed up in the familiar words: 'The Father is God, the Son is God, and the Holy Ghost is God. And yet they are not three Gods, but one God. The Godhead of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost is all one, the Glory equal, the Majesty coeternal. And in this Trinity none is afore or after other: none is greater or less than another, but the whole three Persons are co-eternal together and coequal.'

The term 'Trinity' dates from the second century, being found in Greek in Theophilus of Antioch (A.D. 181); and the actual Latin word, from which we derive our English term, in Tertullian (A.D. 200). Its use is sometimes criticised because it is not found in the Bible, but this is no valid objection to it. Like other words, *e.g.* 'Incarnation,' it expresses in technical language the truth about the Godhead which is found implicitly in the NT. The real question is whether it is true, and whether it is fairly expressive of the Bible truth. It is intended to express and safeguard that real and essential unity of the Godhead which is at the root of the distinctions of Father, Son, and Holy Spirit. The term **'Person'** is also sometimes objected to. Like all human language, it is liable to be accused of inadequacy and even positive error. It certainly must not be pressed too far, or it will lead to Tritheism. While we use the term to denote distinctions in the Godhead, we do not imply distinctions which amount to separateness, but distinctions which are associated with essential mutual coinherence or inclusiveness. We intend by the term 'Person' to express those real distinctions of Father, Son, and Holy Spirit which are found amid the oneness of the Godhead, distinctions which are no mere temporary manifestations of Deity, but essential and permanent elements within the Divine unity.

5. The doctrine supported.—When all this is granted and so far settled, we may find a second line of teaching to support the foregoing in the revelation of God as Love. Following the suggestion of St. Augustine, most modern theologians have rightly seen in this a safe ground for our belief. It transcends, and perhaps renders unnecessary, all arguments drawn from human and natural analogies of the doctrine. 'God is love' means, as some one has well said, 'God as the infinite home of all moral emotions, the fullest and most highly differentiated life.' Love must imply relationships, and, as He is eternally perfect in Himself, He can realize Himself as Love only through relationships within His own Being. We may go so far as to say that this is the only way of obtaining a living thought about God. Belief in Theism postulates a self-existent God, and yet it is impossible to think of a God without relationships. These relationships must be eternal and prior to His temporal relationships to the universe of His own creation. He must have relationships eternally adequate, and worthy, and when once we realize that love must have an object in God as well as in ourselves, we have the germ of that distinction in the Godhead which is theologically known as the Trinity.

6. The doctrine anticipated.—At this stage, and only here, we may seek another support for the doctrine. In the light of the facts of the NT we cannot refrain from asking whether there may not have been some adumbrations of it in the OT. As the doctrine arises directly out of the facts of the NT, we do not for an instant look for any full discovery of it in the OT. But if the doctrine be true, we might expect that Christian Jews, at any rate, would seek for some anticipation of it in the OT. We believe we find it there. [(*a*) The references to the '*Angel of Jehovah*' prepare the way for the Christian doctrine of a distinction in the Godhead (Gn $18^{2.\ 16}$ 17^{22} with 19^{1}, Jos 5^{13-15} with 6^{1}, Jg 13^{8-21},

Zec 13[7]). (*b*) Allusions to the '*Spirit of Jehovah*' form another line of OT teaching. In Gn 1[2] the Spirit is an energy only, but in subsequent books an agent (Is 40[13] 48[16] 59[19] 63[10f.]). (*c*) *The personification of Divine Wisdom* is also to be observed, for the connexion between the personification of Wisdom in Pr 8, the Logos of Jn 1[1-18], and the 'wisdom' of 1 Co 1[24] can hardly be accidental. (*d*) There are also other hints, such as the triplicity of the Divine Names (Nu 6[24-27], Ps 29[3-5], Is 6[3]), which may not be pressed, but can hardly be overlooked. Hints are all that were to be expected or desired until the fulness of time should have come. The function of Israel was to guard God's transcendence and omnipresence; it was for Christianity to develop the doctrine of the Godhead into the fulness, depth, and richness that we find in the revelation of the Incarnate Son of God.

7. The doctrine justified.—(*a*) *From the facts of Scripture.* It emerges clearly from the claim of Christ; it is an extension of the doctrine of the Incarnation. If the Incarnation was real, the Trinity is true. (*b*) *From the facts of Christian experience.* It is a simple fact that Christians of all periods of history claim to have personal direct fellowship with Christ. This claim must be accounted for. It is possible only by predicating Deity of our Lord, for such fellowship would be impossible with one who is not God. (*c*) *From the facts of history.* Compared with other religions, Christianity makes God a reality in a way in which no other system does. The doctrine of the Trinity has several positive theological and philosophical advantages over the Unitarian conception of God, but especially is this so in reference to the relation of God to the world. There are two conceivable relations of God to the world—as transcendent (in Mohammedanism), or as immanent (in Buddhism). The first alone means Deism, the second alone Pantheism. But the Christian idea is of God as at once transcendent and immanent. It is therefore the true protection of a living Theism, which otherwise oscillates uncertainly between these two extremes of Deism and Pantheism, either of which is false to it. It is only in Christianity that the Semitic and Aryan conceptions of God are united, blended, correlated, balanced, and preserved. (*d*) *From reason.* It is simple truth to say that, if Jesus be not God, Christians are idolators, for they worship One who is not God. There is no other alternative. But when once the truth of the doctrine of the Trinity is regarded as arising out of Christ's claim to Godhead as Divine Redeemer, reason soon finds its warrant for the doctrine. The doctrine of the Trinity comes to us by revelation and not by nature, though it is soon seen to have points of contact with thought and reason.

The doctrine 'started in the concrete, with the baptismal formula . . . emanating from Jesus Christ. And throughout the history of its dogmatic formulation, we are confronted with this fact. It was regarded as a revelation by the men who shaped its intellectual expression; and it was only in the process . . . of that expression that its congruity with human psychology came out; that psychology in fact being distinctly developed in the effort to give it utterance. . . . They did not accommodate Christian religion to their philosophy, but philosophy to their Christian religion.' This doctrine appealed 'first to unsophisticated men, far removed from Alexandria or Athens; yet the very words in which it does so, turn out, upon analysis, to involve a view of personality which the world had not attained, but which, once stated, is seen to be profoundly, philosophically true' (Illingworth, *Personality*, p. 212 f.). W. H. Griffith Thomas.

TRIPOLIS.—An important town in northern Phœnicia, where Demetrius Soter landed when he made his successful attack against Antiochus v. (2 Mac 14[1]). It was divided into three parts, originating in colonies from Tyre, Sidon, and Arvad—hence the name. The modern *Tarābulūs* is two miles inland, its fort occupying the site of the ancient city on the coast.

J. F. McCurdy.

TROAS.—A city of Mysia on the N.W. coast of Asia Minor. It was in the Roman province Asia. It was founded by Antigonus, and re-founded in B.C. 300 by Lysimachus, who named it Alexandria Troas. For a time under the Seleucid kings of Syria, it gained its freedom, and began to strike its own coins (examples exist from B.C. 164 to 65). Its freedom continued under Pergamenian and afterwards, from B.C. 133, under Roman rule. Augustus made it a Roman colony, and it became one of the greatest cities of N.W. Asia. The Roman preference was partly explained by their belief in the early connexion between Troy and their own capital. This place was a regular port of call on coasting voyages between Macedonia and Asia (cf. Ac 16[8] 20[5], 2 Co 2[12]). St. Paul, with Silas and Timothy, approached Troas from the Asian-Bithynian frontier near Dorylæum or Cotiæum (Ac 16[6-8]). He did not preach in Mysia on the first visit, though the Western text at Ac 16[6] makes him do so.

A. Souter.

TROGYLLIUM.—According to the AV (Ac 20[15]), which here follows the Western text, St. Paul's ship, after touching at Samos, and before putting in at Miletus, 'tarried at Trogyllium.' This statement is no part of the NT text as now commonly read, but it is not impossible, and perhaps embodies a real tradition. Trogyllium is a promontory which projects from the mainland and overlaps the eastern extremity of Samos, so as to form a strait less than a mile wide. There is an anchorage near, still called 'St. Paul's Port.' A. Souter.

TROPHIMUS.—A Gentile Christian, a native of Ephesus (Ac 21[29]), who, with Tychicus, also of the province Asia (20[4]), and others, accompanied St. Paul to Jerusalem. The Jews, seeing Trophimus with the Apostle in the city, hastily concluded that St. Paul had brought him into the inner court of the Temple, separated from the outer 'Court of the Gentiles' by a barrier on which were inscriptions in Greek and Latin forbidding any non-Jew to enter on pain of death. This occasioned the riot which led to St. Paul's arrest. Some years later Trophimus was left at Miletus sick (2 Ti 4[20]).

A. J. Maclean.

TROW.—'To trow' was originally 'to trust,' with which it is connected in origin; but it came to mean no more than 'think *or* suppose.' This is the meaning in Lk 17[9], its only occurrence in AV.

TRUMPET.—See Music, 4 (2) (*e*).

TRUMPETS, FEAST OF.—The 1st day of Tishri (October), the 7th month of the sacred year, was signalized by a 'memorial of blowing trumpets,' to call both God and the people to remembrance of their reciprocal positions. It was a day of holy convocation, on which no servile work might be done. The trumpets blown were probably of a different kind from those used at the ordinary new-moon festivals. At the Feast of Trumpets special offerings were made: a burnt-offering of a bullock, a ram, and 7 lambs, and a sin-offering of a kid of the goats; these in addition to the ordinary daily and monthly offerings (cf. Nu 29[1-6], Lv 23[24. 25]). This was one of the lunar festivals of the Jewish calendar, and was the most important of the new-moon celebrations.

A. W. F. Blunt.

TRUST.—See Faith.

TRUTH.—**1. In OT** (*'ĕmeth*, *'ĕmūnāh*).—*Firmness* or *stability* is the fundamental idea of the root, and to this radical thought most of the uses of the Heb. nouns may be traced. Often they signify truth in the common meaning of the word, the correspondence, viz., between speech and fact (Dt 13[14], Pr 12[17]). At first the standards of veracity were low (Gn 12[11ff.] 20[2ff.] 26[7ff.] 27[18ff.] etc.); but truthfulness in witness-bearing is a commandment of the Decalogue (Ex 20[16]), and from the prophetic age onwards falsehood of every kind is recognized as a grave sin (Hos 4[2], Ps 59[12], Pr 12[22]). See, further, Lie. Sometimes 'truth' denotes justice as administered by a ruler or a judge (Ex 18[21], Pr 20[28]), and, in par-

ticular, by the Messianic King (Ps 45[4], Is 42[3]). Frequently it denotes faithfulness, especially the faithfulness of a man to God (2 K 20[3]) and of God to men (Gn 32[10]). When God is described as a 'God of truth,' His faithfulness to His promises may be especially in view (Ps 31[5]). But not far away is the sense of 'living reality' in distinction from the 'lying vanities' in which those trust to whom Jahweh is unknown (v.[6]; cf. Dt 32[4]). In some later canonical writings there appears a use of 'truth' or 'the truth' as equivalent to Divine revelation (Dn 8[12] 9[13]), or as a synonym for the 'wisdom' in which the true philosophy of life consists (Pr 23[23]). In the Apocr. books this use becomes frequent (1 Es 4[33ff.], Wis 3[9], Sir 4[28] etc.).

2. In NT (*alētheia*).—The Gr. word (which is employed in LXX to render both *'ĕmeth* and *'ĕmūnāh*) has the fundamental meaning of *reality*, as opposed to mere appearance or false pretence. From this the sense of veracity comes quite naturally; and veracity finds a high place among the NT virtues. The OT law forbade the bearing of false witness against one's neighbour; the law of Christ enjoins truth-speaking in all social intercourse (Eph 4[25]), and further demands that this truth-speaking shall be animated by love (v.[15]; cf. v.[25] 'for we are members one of another').

Special attention must be paid to some distinctive employments of the word. (*a*) In the Pauline writings there is a constant use of 'the truth' to describe God's will as revealed—primarily to the reason and conscience of the natural man (Ro 1[18. 25]), but especially in the gospel of Jesus Christ (2 Co 4[2], Gal 3[1] etc.). 'The truth' thus becomes synonymous with 'the gospel' (Eph 1[13]; cf. Gal 2[5. 14] etc., where 'the truth of the gospel' evidently means the truth declared in the gospel). In the Pastoral Epistles the gospel as 'the truth' or 'the word of truth' appears to be passing into the sense of a settled body of Christian doctrine (1 Ti 3[15], 2 Ti 2[15] etc.). It is to be noted that, though the above usages are most characteristic of the Pauline cycle of writings, they are occasionally to be found elsewhere, *e.g.* He 10[26], Ja 1[18], 1 P 1[22], 2 P 1[12].

(*b*) In the Johannine books (with the exception of Rev.) *alētheia* is a leading and significant term in a sense that is quite distinctive (cf. 'light' and 'life'). To Pilate's question, 'What is truth?' (Jn 18[38]), Jesus gave no answer. But He had just declared that He came into the world to bear witness unto the truth (v.[37]), and the Fourth Gospel might be described as an elaborate exposition of the nature of the truth as revealed by Jesus, and of the way in which He revealed it. In John 'the truth' stands for the absolute Divine reality as distinguished from all existence that is false or merely seeming (cf. 8[40ff.], where Jesus contrasts His Father, from whom He had heard the truth, with 'your father the devil,' who 'stood not in the truth, because there is no truth in him'). Jesus came from the bosom of the Father (Jn 1[18]), and truth came by Him (v.[17]) because as the Word of God He was full of it (v.[14]). The truth is incarnated and personalized in Jesus, and so He is Himself the Truth (14[6]). The truth which resides in His own Person He imparts to His disciples (8[31f.]); and on His departure He bestows the Spirit of truth to abide with them and be in them for ever (14[17]). Hence the truth is in the Christian as the very groundwork and essence of his spiritual being (1 Jn 1[8] 2[4], 2 Jn 1[2]). It is there both as a moral and as an intellectual quality—standing midway, as it were, between 'life' and 'light,' two other ruling Johannine ideas with which it is closely associated. Primarily it is a moral power. It makes Christ's disciples free (Jn 8[32])—free *i.e.*, as the context shows, from the bondage of sin (vv.[33ff.]). It has a sanctifying force (Jn 17[17-19]); it ensures the keeping of the commandments (1 Jn 2[4]) and the life of Christian love (3[18f.]). And, while subjectively it is a moral influence, objectively it is a moral vocation—something not only to be known (Jn 8[32]) and believed (vv.[45f.]), but requiring to be done (Jn 3[21], 1 Jn 1[6]). From this moral quality of the truth, however, there springs a power of spiritual illumination. The truth that is life passes into the truth that is light (Jn 3[21]). Every one that is of the truth heareth Christ's voice (18[37]); if any man willeth to do His will, he shall know of the doctrine (7[17]); the Spirit of truth, when He is come, shall guide the disciples into all the truth (16[13]).

J. C. Lambert.

TRYPHÆNA.—Greeted along with **Tryphosa** by St. Paul in Ro 16[12], and described by him as labouring in the Lord. They were probably sisters or near relations, 'for it was usual to designate members of the same family by derivatives of the same root.' The common root makes their names signify 'delicate,' 'luxurious'—a meaning which contrasts with their active Christian toil. Inscriptions in a cemetery used chiefly for the Emperor's servants, contain both names; if we identify them with these, then they would be among 'the saints of Cæsar's household' (Ph 4[22]).

A Tryphæna plays a prominent part in the apocryphal *Acts of Paul and Thecla.*

Charles T. P. Grierson.

TRYPHON.—An officer of Alexander Balas, who, after the death of the latter, took advantage of the unpopularity of **Demetrius** to put forward Antiochus, the son of Balas, as a claimant to the throne (1 Mac 11[39]). His real aim, however, was to gain the crown for himself, and this he accomplished after he had murdered in succession Jonathan the Maccabee (12[39-50]) and Antiochus (13[31f.]). His rapacity led Simon to appeal to Demetrius (13[34]). The latter was organizing an expedition against Tryphon when he was himself made prisoner by Arsaces (14[1-3]). In the end, Antiochus Sidetes, the brother of Demetrius, attacked Tryphon, besieged him in Dor, and pursued him when he escaped thence to Orthesia (15[10-14. 37-39]). Tryphon was finally shut up in Apamea, where he committed suicide (Strabo, p. 668; Jos. *Ant.* xiii. vii. 2; App. *Syr.* 68).

TRYPHOSA.—See Tryphæna.

TUBAL.—A country and people in Asia Minor mentioned only in association with Meshech (wh. see).

J. F. McCurdy.

TUBAL-CAIN.—In Gn 4[22] 'the father of every forger of copper and iron' (so read, with slight textual correction), *i.e.* the founder of the guild or profession of metal-workers. The name seems to be made up of *Tubal* (or the Tibareni, noted for production of bronze articles (Ezk 27[13])) and *Cain* ('smith'), as the ancestor of the Kenites or 'Smiths.'

J. F. McCurdy.

TUBIAS, TUBIENI.—See Tob.

TUNIC.—See Dress, **2** (*d*).

TURBAN.—See Dress, **5**, Bonnet, Mitre.

TURPENTINE TREE.—See Terebinth.

TURTLE DOVE.—See Dove.

TUTOR.—See School.

TWELVE.—See Number, § **7.**

TWELVE APOSTLES, GOSPEL OF.—See Gospels [Apocr.], **10.**

TWIN BROTHERS.—See Dioscuri.

TWO.—See Number, § **7.**

TYCHICUS.—A native of the province Asia, like Trophimus, and a companion of St. Paul on the journey to Jerusalem (Ac 20[4]). He was the bearer of the circular letter to Asia which we call 'Ephesians' (Eph 6[21f.]), and of Colossians (Col 4[7f.]). In later years either he or Artemas was to have been sent to Crete, apparently to take Titus' place (Tit 3[12]); but he was sent to Ephesus, probably instead of to Crete (2 Ti 4[12]).

A. J. Maclean.

TYRANNUS.—This man is mentioned only in Ac 19[9]. St. Paul in Ephesus preached before the Jews and proselytes in the synagogue for three months. Finding

them determinedly hostile, he resorted to the 'school of Tyrannus,' where he reasoned every day. The expression is somewhat enigmatical to us, as we have no other reference to this institution by which to illustrate it. The Greek word may be translated either 'school' or 'lecture room,' and Tyrannus may have been either a schoolmaster or what we call a professor. There is the further difficulty that Tyrannus may have been dead at the time, and that the building may have been merely known as 'Tyrannus's school,' in memory of a once famous teacher who taught there. All the probabilities are in favour of this having been the name of a noted public building in Ephesus. Permission to use this building was given to Paul; perhaps it was hired by him or his friends. All this may be inferred from what is the generally accepted text of the passage in the present day. The Western and other texts have touched up this simpler text, and changed the situation considerably. They have inserted the word 'a certain' before 'Tyrannus,' and this at once converts the public building into a private one. The person Tyrannus would then be unknown to the readers, and would be one not unfavourable to St. Paul, who lent him his own building with or without fee. The most notable MS of the Western text adds the words: 'from the fifth hour till the tenth.' This addition is all of a piece with the idea that Tyrannus was a schoolmaster or professor, whose work, according to the ancient custom, would be over early in the day, thus leaving the building free for the rest of the day. Juvenal describes to us how the boys read their lessons to the master even before dawn. Augustine, himself a professor, tells us that his lecturing work was over early in the day. The experience of moderns in southern countries confirms this: the early morning is the time for brain work in the South, as the young Julius Charles Hare and his brother found when resident as boys in Italy. The hall was free to Paul at the hottest period of the day, when it must have been hard for people to listen, and yet harder for him to preach. All this is conveyed by the reading of the chief representative of the Western text, but the present writer has no doubt that here, as elsewhere, the reviser has been endeavouring to remove obscurity from the narrative. Almost all the Western variants can be explained by a greater or less effort to smooth difficulties of various sorts. The shorter reading discussed in the earlier paragraph is the genuine one.

A. Souter.

TYRE (*Ṣôr*—'rock,' Jos 19^{29}) was situated on the coast of Palestine about half-way between Carmel and Beyrout. The narrow strip of land between the sea and the background of mountains was almost inaccessible owing to massive rocky promontories (the most famous being 'the Ladder of Tyre'), which barred the approach of invaders. The date of the foundation of Tyre is unknown. That given by Herodotus is B.C. 2740, by Josephus about B.C. 1217. Isaiah (23^{7}) calls her 'the joyous city whose antiquity is of ancient days'; Strabo, 'the most ancient of all Phœnicia.' Her original inhabitants probably came from the Semitic homeland near the Persian Gulf. But Tyre was not 'the most ancient.' Isaiah ($23^{2.12}$) calls her 'daughter of **Sidon**' (cf. Gn 10^{15}); Homer mentions 'Sidonian wares,' but ignores Tyre. Justin says Sidon suffered so severely at the hands of Ascalon that her trade passed to her daughter Tyre. The Tell el-Amarna letters (*c.* B.C. 1430) reveal Abi-milki, king of Tyre, sending appeals to his lord Amenhotep IV. for assistance against the swarms of Khabiri, who were ravaging the land, while the citizens were dying of want on the islets off the coast. At the conquest of Canaan, Joshua assigned the Tyrian territory to Asher, though it was perhaps never occupied (Jos 19^{29}, but cf. 2 S 24^{7}).

For the next 430 years the city's history is a blank. It was **Hiram**, David's contemporary, who raised Tyre to fame. Old Tyre (Palætyrus), on the mainland, he strongly fortified, its walls being 15 miles in circumference. Hiram now built New Tyre by uniting the scattered islands, half a mile out to sea, till they enclosed an area 2¼ miles in circumference. At the N. end, two stone piers, about 100 ft. apart, extended E. and W. for 700 ft. These with the shore line embraced an area (the 'Zidon Harbour') of 70,000 sq. yds. At the S. end a similar harbour (the 'Egyptian'), 80,000 sq. yds. in area, was enclosed by a vast pier 200 yds. long, and a breakwater 35 ft. wide and nearly 2 miles in length. The two harbours were united by a canal across the island. The city rose up in tiers of houses, gardens, orchards, and vineyards, and was embellished by a new and splendid temple of Melkarth, a royal palace, and a great piazza (the 'Eurychorus') for national assemblies. The city's wealth was furnished largely from the trade in purple dye, the secret of the extraction of which from two species of *murex* the Tyrians possessed. The gradual failure of the supply of these shellfish on their own shores led the citizens to become great explorers. Every island and coastline were searched for these precious molluscs. Trade naturally followed. They trafficked up the Nile as far as Memphis; worked copper mines in Cyprus and Crete (cf. Phenice, Ac 27^{12}); erected stations on the Bosporus, the Euxine, and the Crimea; established colonies on the N. African shores, Malta, Sicily, Sardinia, Marseilles, etc., and exploited the gold, silver, lead, and other mines of Spain from their emporium Tartessus (prob. the Tarshish of Gn 10^{4}, Ps 72^{10}, Is 66^{19}). Even the Atlantic was braved, and they worked the tin deposits of Cornwall, and had depôts in the Scilly Isles and the Isle of Wight. Hiram co-operated with David in the erection of the latter's palace in Jerusalem, sending cedars from Lebanon (1 Ch 14^{1}). Under Solomon, Tyrian artizans built the Temple on Phœnician models (2 Ch 2). Hiram and Solomon had joint maritime adventures, Jewish ships with Tyrian seamen trading to Ophir every three years (1 K 9^{26} 10^{22}). 'Hiram's Tomb,' a massive limestone sarcophagus, is still shown on the shore 6 miles S. of Tyre.

The years following Hiram's death were very troubled, changes of dynasty occurring through repeated assassinations. At length Eth-baal, by the murder of his brother, seized the throne, and married his daughter Jezebel to Ahab (1 K 16^{31}). Some time after the death of Eth-baal a domestic rebellion led to the emigration of the Tyrian princess Elissa, who is said to have fled from Tyre with her murdered husband's riches and to have founded Carthage, thereby winning fame for herself as the Dido of Virgil's *Æneid*. About B.C. 880 Assyria began to interfere with Western politics. Tyre purchased her liberty from Assur-nazir-pal by a heavy indemnity. In B.C. 726 Shalmaneser IV. came against the city, but, having no ships, could not reach the island fortress till he had bribed Sidon to furnish 60 vessels. These the Tyrians, with only 12 ships, easily routed. Shalmaneser retired, leaving a garrison in Old Tyre, which kept up a fruitless blockade for five years. At the next attack, under Sennacherib, Elulæus, the king, fled in despair to Cyprus, the Assyrians appointing a tributary king, Tubaal, in his stead (B.C. 705). Under Esarhaddon, Tyre rebelled. The Assyrians held the shore, and captured Sidon, but Tyre again escaped. In B.C. 664 it submitted to Ashurbanipal on honourable terms. On the decline of Nineveh, Tyre again proclaimed her independence (B.C. 630), and after Nineveh fell (B.C. 606) she reached the zenith of her glory. Ezekiel (27–28) gives a marvellously vivid picture of the island city at this period, yet prophesies her fall on account of her colossal sins.

In the early unsettled days of the New Babylonian Empire the Tyrians entered into a league with Pharaoh-necho of Egypt. They were invited to make a canal from the Mediterranean to the Red Sea, and even to circumnavigate Africa. The latter feat they accomplished in three years, the voyagers sailing down the E. coast, and reaching the Pillars of Hercules after a feat of unheard-of daring. Nebuchadnezzar II. attacked Tyre, and besieged it for 13 years. Old Tyre was destroyed

(Ezk 26[7-12]), but the Babylonian army in vain wearied itself in trying to subdue the island (29[18]). It is probable that the city finally capitulated on favourable terms. The long siege, however, had ruined her commerce, and for 50 years Tyre was a poverty-stricken town. An attempt at a republic did not improve her fortunes. She was involved in the struggle between Nebuchadnezzar II. and Pharaoh-hophra (Jer 44[30]), was for a time under Egypt, but finally fell to Babylon, and remained a dependency until the overthrow of the Babylonian Empire. Her humbled state did not change her people's temper. Their pride (Ezk 28[2]), their contempt for the rights of man (Am 1[9]), their slave-trading propensities (Jl 3[4-6]) are denounced by the Hebrew prophets. In B.C. 538 Cyrus II., the founder of the Persian Empire, ordered Tyrian workmen to assist with Lebanon cedars in the re-building of the Jewish Temple (Ezk 3[7]). Cambyses II. engaged the Tyrians to supply a fleet for his invasion of Egypt. On his proposing to send them to subdue Carthage they refused, on the score of their blood relationship with the daughter colony of Tyre. Under Artaxerxes Longimanus (B.C. 430) we read of Tyrian fish-merchants at the gates of Jerusalem (Neh 13[16]). In the Persian-Greek wars Tyrian fleets fought on the Persian side, till, after the Peace of Antalkidas (B.C. 387), Tyre transferred her allegiance to Persia's enemies. Artaxerxes III. (Ochus) took fearful vengeance. Sidon disappeared in flame and torrents of blood. Tyre in horror opened her gates, and was spared. In B.C. 332 Alexander the Great appeared in front of the city. The Tyrians declined to allow him to sacrifice personally to Melkarth in their fortress. The memorable siege began. Alexander built a mole 200 ft. wide out towards the island. It was repeatedly destroyed. The defence was desperate and successful, till Alexander invested the city with a fleet of 224 ships. Tyre was stormed, 8000 of her inhabitants massacred, 2000 crucified on the shore, and 30,000 sold into slavery. Tyre ceased to be an island, and henceforth was permanently joined to the mainland. Only a blunt headland to-day suggests the existence of the former island fortress. The mole is now ½ mile broad.

Tyre was again re-peopled. She figured in the wars of the Ptolemys and Seleucidæ. In B.C. 314 Antigonus besieged her for 15 months. After 70 years' subjection to Egypt she was under Antioch till B.C. 65, when the Romans made her a free city. Some of her citizens came to hear the preaching of Jesus (Mk 3[8]). Christ visited the neighbourhood (Mk 7[24-31]), and got a favourable reception (Lk 10[13]). Tyre figured in connexion with St. Paul in Apostolic times (Ac 12[20] 21[3-7]). Was the Church in Tyre not a fulfilment of Ps 87[4]? A Christian church was built on the site of the Melkarth temple. Origen found refuge in Tyre, and died there. Jerome (4th cent.) speaks of it as the 'most noble and beautiful city of Phœnicia.' Captured by the Saracens (A.D. 638), it was recovered (A.D. 1124), and William of Tyre celebrates its fame under the Crusaders. Here was buried Frederick Barbarossa. Saladin was repelled in 1187, but the spot was abandoned in 1291, and the Moslems took possession of it. Tyre has since sunk to a miserable stagnant village, where the waves mournfully crash amid the ruins of her former magnificence.

G. A. Frank Knight.

TZADE.—The eighteenth letter of the Heb. alphabet, and as such employed in the 119th Psalm to designate the 18th part, each verse of which begins with this letter.

U

UCAL.—See Ithiel, 2.

UEL.—One of the sons of Bani who had married a foreign wife (Ezr 10[34]); called in 1 Es 9[34] **Juel.**

UKNAZ.—In 1 Ch 4[15] AVm gives 'Uknaz' instead of 'even Kenaz' (AV) or 'and Kenaz' (RV). In all probability something has dropped out of the text, which had read originally 'the sons of Elah: . . . and Kenaz.' This is favoured by the plural 'sons.'

ULAI.—A large river of Elam, emptying into the Persian Gulf. According to Dn 8[2. 16] and the Assyrian inscriptions, it flowed past the city of Shushan (Susa). It is the modern *Karūn*, which, however, does not now flow close to the site of Susa, but to the east of it. Cf. also Hydaspes.

J. F. McCurdy.

ULAM.—**1.** A Manassite family (1 Ch 7[16. 17]). **2.** A Benjamite family, specially noted as archers (1 Ch 8[39. 40]; cf. also 2 Ch 14[7 (8)]).

ULLA.—An Asherite family (1 Ch 7[39]).

UMMAH.—An Asherite city (Jos 19[30]), probably a slip, owing to resemblance of Heb. letters *m* and *k*, for **Acco** (Ptolemais).

UNCHASTITY.—See Marriage, 7. 8.

UNCLEAN, UNCLEANNESS.—See Clean and Unclean.

UNCTION.—The same Gr. word as that translated 'anointing' in 1 Jn 2[27] is in 2[20] rendered 'unction' (RV 'anointing'). It is used there metaphorically of the effect of the presence of the Holy Spirit upon the believer.

UNDERGIRDING.—See Helps; Ships, etc., p. 850[b].

UNDERSETTER.—Only 1 K 7[30. 34], in the difficult description of Solomon's lavers (Temple, § 6 (*d*)). In older English it meant 'support'; the Heb. word is lit. 'shoulders,' and denotes something of the nature of a strut or brace. See the reff. in the above mentioned article.

A. R. S. Kennedy.

UNICORN (*re'ēm*, Nu 23[22] etc.; *rēm*, Job 39[9]; RV in all passages '**wild ox**').—This is undoubtedly the *rīmu* of the Assyrians, often figured on their sculptures. A fine bas-relief of this animal was uncovered recently by the excavations of Nineveh. It is probably identical with the aurochs or *Bos primigenius*, the *urus* of Julius Cæsar. It was of great size and strength (Nu 23[22] 24[8], Ps 22[21]), very wild and ferocious (Job 39[9-12]), and specially dangerous when hunted, because of its powerful double horns (Ps 92[10], Dt 33[17]). In connexion with Is 34[7] it is interesting to note the inscription of Shalmaneser II., who says, 'His land I trod down like a *rīmu*.' The Arab. *ri'm*, the graceful *Antilope leucoryx* of Arabia, is a very different animal.

E. W. G. Masterman.

UNKNOWN GOD.—St. Paul, wandering along the streets of Athens, saw an altar bearing the dedication, 'To an Unknown God' (Ac 17[23]). He used this as the text of his sermon before the Areopagus. There is evidence in other ancient writers in favour of the existence of such a dedication, and the conjecture may be permitted that the altar was erected as a thank-offering for life preserved in some foreign country, the name of the proper divinity of which—a very important thing in Greek ritual—was unknown to the person preserved.

A. Souter.

UNLEAVENED BREAD.—See Bread, Leaven, Passover.

UNNI.—**1.** A Levitical family (1 Ch 15[18]). **2.** See Unno.

UNNO (so *Kethibh*, followed by RV; *Kerē* **Unni** [so AV, cf. 1 Ch 15[18. 20]]).—A family of Levites that returned with Zerub. (Neh 12[8 (9)]).

UNTOWARD.—'Untoward' is 'not toward,' *i.e.* not well disposed. It occurs in Ac 2[40] 'this untoward generation.' Cf. 'untoward to all good . . . forward to evil' —*Judgement of the Synode at Dort*, p. 32. The subst. 'untowardness' occurs in the heading of Is 28, Hos 6. The word is still occasionally used, but in the more modern sense of 'unfortunate'—as 'an untoward accident.'

UNWRITTEN SAYINGS.—The name **Agrapha** or 'Unwritten Sayings,' is applied to sayings ascribed to Jesus which are not found in the true text of the canonical Gospels. That some genuine sayings of the Lord not recorded by the Evangelists should linger in the oral tradition of the early Church is only what we should expect, but of the extant Agrapha it is only a small number that meet the tests of textual criticism, or satisfy the requirements of moral probability. It is significant of the value of the canonical Gospels as historical records that outside of them there are so few 'sayings of Jesus' that could possibly be accepted as conveying a veritable tradition of His actual words. The Unwritten Sayings may be classified as follows:—

1. Those in the NT.—Two varieties meet us here. (*a*) *Those which are found in some MSS of the Gospels*, but whose authenticity textual criticism renders doubtful. Among the most important of these are Mt 6[13] 17[21], Mk 9[49b], Lk 9[55 f.] 23[34], which all find a place in TR and are reproduced in AV, while RV removes all of them except the last to the margin. To this list must be added the sayings of Jesus in Mk 16[15-18] and Jn 8[7. 11], the conclusion of Mk. (16[9-20]) and the *Pericope Adulteræ* in Jn. (7[53]–8[11]) being regarded by critical scholars as additions to the original texts, which may at the same time embody authentic traditions. Between Lk 6[4] and [5] Cod. D gives the striking saying:

'On the same day he saw one working on the Sabbath, and said to him, Man, if thou knowest what thou doest, blessed art thou; but if thou knowest not, thou art accursed and a transgressor of the law.'

(*b*) *Those outside of the Gospels.*—The most notable is Ac 20[35], but to this may be added Ac 1[5] (cf. 11[16]) and the last part of 1 Co 11[25] ('This do, as oft as ye drink it, in remembrance of me'). In the opinion of some commentators, Ja 1[12] 'the crown of life which the Lord promised to them that love him,' is 'a semi-quotation of some saying of Christ's.'

2. In Apocryphal Gospels.—See these fully given in art. Gospels [Apocryphal], III. 1. 2.

3. In the Fathers and other early Church writers (cf. p. 443).—Only a few examples of these can be set down:

Clem. Alex., *Strom.* vi. 5: 'Wherefore Peter says that the Lord said to the apostles, If then any one of Israel wishes to repent and believe on God through my name, his sins shall be forgiven him. After twelve years go forth into the world, lest any one say, We did not hear.'

Origen, *in Jer.* xx. 3: 'But the Saviour himself saith, He who is near me is near the fire; he who is far from me is far from the kingdom.'

Origen, *in Joh.* xix., speaks of 'the commandment of Jesus which saith, Prove yourselves trustworthy money-changers.'

Tertullian, *de Bapt.* xx., commenting on the words 'Watch and pray,' addressed to St. Peter in Gethsemane, adds: 'For the saying had also preceded, that no one untempted should attain to the heavenly kingdoms.'

4. In Mohammedan writers.—A large number of Agrapha, collected by Professor D. S. Margoliouth from el-Ghazzali's *Revival of the Religious Sciences* and other sources, were published by him in a series of papers in *ExpT* v. [1893–94] (cf. Hastings' *DB*, Ext. Vol. 350, *DCG* ii. 882). Though interesting and sometimes striking, these have no claim to represent original traditions, but are frequently traceable to Gospels canonical or apocryphal. The following are among the best specimens:

'Jesus one day walked with his apostles, and they passed by the carcase of a dog. The apostles said, How foul is the smell of this dog! But Jesus said, How white are its teeth!'

'Jesus said, Take not the world for your lord, lest it take you for its slaves.'

'Jesus said, Whoso knows and does and teaches, shall be called great in the kingdom of heaven.'

5. In the Oxyrhynchus papyri.—Special interest attaches to the 'Sayings of Jesus' unearthed at Oxyrhynchus by Messrs. Grenfell and Hunt, all the more as they open a prospect of further discoveries of a like kind. The first series of these, published in 1897, contained some sayings that have Gospel parallels, but the following strike a note of their own:

'Jesus saith, Except ye fast to the world, ye shall in no wise find the kingdom of God; and except ye make the sabbath a real sabbath, ye shall not see the Father.'

'Jesus saith, I stood in the midst of the world, and in the flesh was I seen of them, and I found all men drunken, and none found I athirst among them, and my soul grieveth over the sons of men, because they are blind in their heart and see not.'

'Jesus saith, Wherever there are two, they are not without God; and wherever there is one alone, I say, I am with him. Raise the stone and there thou shalt find me; cleave the wood and there am I.'

More recently the same scholars discovered another papyrus with additional 'Sayings' of Jesus. In this case, unfortunately, the leaf was in a mutilated condition, and both re-construction and interpretation are difficult. A good account of this second series of 'Sayings' with the Gr. text as restored by Grenfell and Hunt themselves, will be found in an article by Professor Swete in *ExpT* xv. [1903–04] p. 488, with which cf. his art. on the 1897 Oxyrhynchus fragment in *ExpT* viii. [1896–97] p. 544. Here again some of the 'Sayings' have Gospel parallels, while others bear a more original character. From the two most important the following extracts (based on a text that is partly conjectural) may be given:

'Jesus saith . . . If ye shall truly know yourselves, ye are the sons and daughters of the Father Almighty, and ye shall know yourselves to be in the city of God, and ye are the city.'

'Jesus saith . . . Do nothing save the things that belong to the truth, for if ye do these, ye shall know a hidden mystery.'

Of the value of the Oxyrhynchus 'Sayings' very different estimates have been formed. But it is pretty generally agreed that, in their present shape at all events, they were not uttered by Jesus, and do not belong to the first Christian age. J. C. Lambert.

UPHARSIN.—See Mene Mene Tekel Upharsin.

UPHAZ.—A supposed country or region mentioned in Jer 10[9], Dn 10[5], as a source of gold. Probably the word is miswritten for **Ophir** (wh. see).

J. F. McCurdy.

UPPER ROOM.—See House, 5.

UR.—Father of one of David's heroes (1 Ch 11[35]).

UR OF THE CHALDEES, whence Abraham set out upon his journey to Canaan (Gn 11[28-31] 15[7], Neh 9[7]), is usually identified with the well-known city of *Uru* in southern Babylonia, the site of which is marked by the mounds of Muqayyar. This city was in existence in the earliest period of Babylonian history, and was the seat of a dynasty of early kings before the foundation of the Bab. monarchy; it was always the centre of the worship of the moon-god in Southern Babylonia.

The identification has not been universally accepted, since from the narrative in Gn 11 it would appear that Harran was passed on the journey from Ur of the Chaldees to Canaan; hence, too, the traditional identification of the place with *Urfa*, the Gr. Edessa. The difficulty may perhaps

be explained by the supposition that the narrative incorporates variant traditions with regard to Abraham's origin; the fact that Uru and Harran were both of them centres of moon-worship is possibly significant. L. W. KING.

URBANUS.—A Christian greeted by St. Paul in Ro16[9]. The name is common among slaves, and is found in inscriptions of the Imperial household.

URI.—**1.** The father of Bezalel (Ex 31[2] 35[30] 38[22], 1 Ch 2[20], 2 Ch 1[5]). **2.** Father of Geber (1 K 4[19]). **3.** A porter (Ezr 10[24]).

URIAH, or **URIJAH** (in AV **1** below appears as Uriah [Mt 1[6] **Urias**], **2** as Uriah in Is 8[2] and Urijah in 2 K 16[10-16], and **4** as Uriah in Ezr 8[33] and Urijah in Neh 3[4. 21]; while Urijah only is found in the case of **3** and **5**. In RV Urijah is found only in 2 K 16[10-16], Uriah elsewhere).—**1.** One of David's 30 heroes, the husband of Bathsheba. He was a Hittite, but, as the name indicates, doubtless a worshipper of Jahweh (2 S 11 12[9. 10. 15], 1 K 15[5], Mt 1[6]). After David's ineffectual attempt to use him as a shield for his own sin, he was killed in battle in accordance with the instructions of David to Joab. **2.** High priest in the reign of Ahaz; called a 'faithful witness' in Is 8[2], but subservient to the innovations of Ahaz in 2 K 16[10-16]. The omission of the name in 1 Ch 6[4-15] may be due to textual corruption, since it appears in Jos. *Ant.* x. viii. 6, which is based on Chronicles. **3.** A prophet, son of Shemaiah of Kiriath-jearim. His denunciations against Judah and Jerusalem in the style of Jeremiah aroused the wrath of king Jehoiakim. Uriah fled to Egypt, was seized and slain by order of Jehoiakim, and was buried in the common graveyard (Jer 26[20-23]). **4.** A priest (Neh 3[4. 21]), son (representative) of Hakkoz, doubtless one of the courses of the priests (1 Ch 24[10]). He was father (or ancestor) of Meremoth, an eminent priest (Ezr 8[33] [1 Es 8[62] **Urias**]). **5.** A man who stood on the right hand of Ezra when he read the Law (Neh 8[4] [1 Es 9[43] **Urias**]). GEORGE R. BERRY.

URIAS.—**1.** 1 Es 8[62] = Ezr 8[33] **Uriah**; perhaps identical with—**2.** 1 Es 9[43] = Neh 8[4] **Uriah.**

URIEL ('flame of God' or 'my light is God').—**1.** Mentioned in genealogies: (*a*) 1 Ch 6[24] 15[5. 11]. (*b*) 2 Ch 13[2]. **2.** The angel who rebukes the presumption of Esdras in questioning the ways of God (2 Es 4[1] 5[20ff. 10][28]), and converses with him at length. In 4[36] RV reads '**Jeremiel.**' In Enoch 9[1] Uriel, or Urjan, is one of the four archangels, but in 40[9] and 71 his place is taken by Phanuel. In 19[1] 20[2] he is one of the 'watchers,' 'the angel over the world and Tartarus'; and in 21. 27 he explains the fate of the fallen angels (cf. *Sib. Orac.*, where he brings them to judgment). In 72 ff. Uriel, 'whom the eternal Lord of glory sets over all the luminaries of heaven,' shows Enoch the celestial phenomena; in 33[3. 4] he writes them down. In the lost 'Prayer of Joseph' he is the angel with whom Jacob wrestled, the eighth in rank from God, Jacob being the first.
C. W. EMMET.

URIM AND THUMMIM.—These denote the two essential parts of the sacred oracle by which in early times the Hebrews sought to ascertain the will of God. Our OT Revisers give as their meaning 'the Lights and the Perfections' (Ex 28[30] RVm). This rendering—or rather, taking the words as abstract plurals, 'Light and Perfection'—seems to reflect the views of the late Jewish scholars to whom we owe the present vocalization of the OT text; but the oldest reference to the sacred lot suggests that the words express two sharply contrasted ideas. Hence if *Thummim*, as most believe, denotes 'innocence,' *Urim* should denote 'guilt'—a sense which some would give it by connecting it with the verb meaning 'to curse.' Winckler and his followers, on the other hand, start from 'light' as the meaning of *Urim*, and interpret *Thummim* as 'darkness' (the *completion* of the sun's course). 'Urim and Thummim are life and death, yes and no, light and darkness' (A. Jeremias, *Das AT im Lichte d. alt. Orients*[2], 450; cf. Benzinger, *Heb. Arch.*[2] 459 f.). There is thus a wide divergence among scholars as to the original signification of the words.

As to the precise nature of these mysterious objects there also exists a considerable, though less marked, divergence of opinion, notwithstanding the numerous recent investigations by British, American, and Continental scholars, of which the two latest are those by Kautzsch in Hauck's *PRE*[3] xx. 328–336 [1907], with literature to date, and M'Neile, *The Book of Exodus* [1908], 181–184. The most instructive, as it is historically the oldest, passage dealing with Urim and Thummim is 1 S 14[41f.], as preserved in the fuller Greek text. The latter runs thus: 'And Saul said, O J" God of Israel, why hast thou not answered thy servant this day? If the iniquity be in me or in my son Jonathan, J" God of Israel, give Urim; but if thou sayest thus, The iniquity is in thy people Israel, give Thummim. And Saul and Jonathan were taken, but the people escaped,' etc. Now, if this passage be compared with several others in the older narratives of Samuel, *e.g.* 1 S 23[2-4] 30[7. 8], 2 S 2[1], where mention is made of 'enquiring of the LORD' by means of the sacred lot associated with the ephod, the following points emerge: (1) There is good reason, as most scholars admit, for believing that the Urim and Thummim were two lots closely connected in some way, no longer intelligible, with the equally mysterious ephod. (2) As the lots were only two in number, only one question could be put at a time, capable of being answered by a simple 'yes' or 'no,' according to the lot which 'came out.' (3) When, as was the case in 1 S 14, the situation was more complicated, it was necessary to agree beforehand as to the significance to be attached to the two lots.

As to the material, shape, etc., of the two lots and the precise method of their manipulation, we are left to conjecture. It seems, on the whole, the most probable view that they were two small stones, either in the shape of dice or in tablet form, perhaps also of different colours. Others, including Kautzsch (*op. cit.*), favour the view that they were arrows, on the analogy of a well-known Babylonian and Arabian method of divination (cf. Ezk 21[21]). In addition to the two alternatives above considered, it may be inferred from 1 S 28[6] that neither lot might be cast. Were they contained within the hollow ephod-image, which was provided with a narrow aperture, so that it was possible to shake the image and yet neither lot 'come out'? (The lot is technically said 'to fall *or* come out,' the latter Jos 16[1] RV, 19[1], etc.) The early narratives above cited show that the manipulation of the sacred lot was a special prerogative of the priests, as is expressly stated in Dt 33[8] (cf. LXX), where the Divine Urim and Thummim are assigned to the priestly tribe of Levi, and confirmed by Ezr 2[63] = Neh 7[65].

In the Priests' Code the Urim and Thummim are introduced in Ex 28[30], Lv 8[8], Nu 27[21], but without the slightest clue as to their nature beyond the inference as to their small size, to be drawn from the fact that they were to be inserted in the high priest's '**breastplate of judgment**' (see BREASTPLATE). But this is merely an attempt on the part of the Priestly writer to divest these 'old-world mysteries' of their association with ideas of divination now outgrown, and, moreover, forbidden by the Law. It is, besides, doubtful if P was acquainted, any more than ourselves, with the Urim and Thummim of the Books of Samuel, for the passage above cited from Ezr.-Neh. shows that they were unknown in the post-exilic period. In specially placing them within 'the breastplate of judgment,' it is not impossible that P was influenced by the analogy of the Babylonian 'tablets of destiny' worn by Marduk on his breast, but the further position that these 'and the Urim and Thummim were origi-

nally one and the same' (Muss-Arnolt, *Urim and Thummim*, 213 and *passim*), as has been recently maintained, has yet to be proved. A. R. S. KENNEDY.

USURY, INTEREST, INCREASE.—At the date of our AV 'usury' had not acquired its modern connotation of exorbitant interest; hence it should be replaced in OT by 'interest,' as in Amer. RV, and as the English Revisers have done in NT (see below). The OT law-codes forbid the taking of interest on loans by one Hebrew from another, see Ex 22^{25} (Book of the Covenant), Dt $23^{19f.}$, Lv 25^{35-38} (Law of Holiness). Of the two terms constantly associated and in EV rendered 'usury' (*neshek*) and 'increase' (*tarbīth*), the former, to judge from Lv 25^{37}, denotes interest on loans of money, the latter interest on other advances, such as food stuffs, seed-corn, and the like, which was paid in kind. In Dt 23^{20} *neshek* is applied to both kinds of loan. For the distinction in NT times, see Mishna, *Baba mezia*, v. 1. Cf. also Strack's art. 'Wucher' in *PRE*[3] xxi. A large part of the Babylonian loan-system, which was fully developed before B.C. 2000, consisted of such loans (Johns, *Bab. and Assyr. Laws*, ch. xxiii. 'Loans and Deposits').

To appreciate the motives of the Hebrew legislators, it must be remembered that, until a late period in their history, the Hebrews were almost entirely devoted to agricultural and pastoral pursuits. The loans here contemplated are therefore not advances required for trading capital, but for the relief of a poor 'brother' temporarily in distress, who would otherwise be compelled to sell himself as a slave (Lv $25^{47ff.}$). We have to do with an act of charity, not with a commercial transaction. In similar circumstances loans without interest were made from the Babylonian temple funds and by private individuals, as is still done by the Arabs to-day (Doughty, *Arabia Deserta*, i. 318).

In NT times conditions had greatly changed, and capital was required for many trading concerns. Our Lord twice introduces with approbation the investment of money with 'the **bankers**,' so as to yield a proper 'interest' (Mt 25^{27}, Lk 19^{23} both RV). The rate of interest in the ancient world was very high. In Babylonia one shekel per mina per month, which is 20 per cent. per annum, was a usual rate; for advances of grain, for 400 or 300 *ka* the return was 100 *ka*, *i.e.* 25 to 33 per cent. per annum (Meissner, *Aus d. altbab. Recht*, 15). For short loans for 15 days or thereby the rate might rise as high as 300 per cent. per annum! (Johns, *op. cit.*). In Egypt 30 per cent. was not unusual. Even in Greece 12 per cent. was considered a low rate of interest. The recently discovered papyri from Elephantine in Egypt show members of the Jewish colony there already engaged (*c.* B.C. 430) in the characteristically Jewish business of money-lending. See also DEBT.

A. R. S. KENNEDY.

UTA (1 Es 5^{30}).—His sons returned among the Temple servants under Zerub. (Ezr. and Neh. omit).

UTHAI.—**1.** A family of Judah after the Captivity (1 Ch 9^{4}) = Neh 11^{4} **Athaiah.** **2.** One of the sons of Bigvai (Ezr 8^{14}) = 1 Es 8^{40} **Uthi.**

UTHI (1 Es 8^{40}) = Ezr 8^{14} **Uthai.**

UZ.—**1.** A son of Aram, grandson of Shem (Gn 10^{23} and 1 Ch 1^{17} [in emended text]). **2.** A son of Nahor (Gn 22^{21}, AV *Huz*), whose descendants are placed in Aram-naharaim (Gn 24^{10}). **3.** One of the Horites in the land of Edom (Gn 36^{28} [v.^{21} and v.^{30}], 1 Ch 1^{42}). **4.** A region which is called the dwelling-place of the daughter of Edom (La 4^{21}). **5.** A district containing a number of kings, situated between Philistia and Egypt, or, with a different pointing of the consonants of one word, between Philistia and the country of the Bedouin (Jer 25^{20}: the name not in LXX). **6. Job's** country (Job 1^{1}). As the first three are probably tribal designations, all may be regarded as geographical terms. It is not certain that they all refer to the same region. Nos. **1** and **2** seem to point to Mesopotamia. Nos. **3** and **4**, and perhaps **5**, indicate Edom or its neighbourhood. The locality of No. **6** is obscure. Ancient tradition is threefold. In LXX of Job 42^{19} Uz is affirmed, on the authority of 'the Syriac book,' to lie on the borders of Idumæa and Arabia. In v.^{23} it is located on the borders of the Euphrates. Josephus (*Ant.* I. vi. 4) associates the *Uz* of No. **1** with Damascus and Trachonitis. The evidence of the Book of Job itself about its hero's home seems to favour the neighbourhood of Edom or N. Arabia. *Teman* (2^{11}) was an Edomite district containing the city of Bozrah (Am 1^{12}), and *Eliphaz* was an Edomite name (Gn 36^{4}). The *Sabæans* (Job 1^{15} 6^{19}) were a S. Arabian people who had settlements in the north. *Tema* (6^{19}) lay in N. Arabia, about 250 miles S.E. of Edom. The description of Job, however, as one of 'the children of the East' (1^{3}) is most naturally understood to refer to the east of Palestine. The cuneiform inscriptions have a name *Uzzai*, which has been identified with *Uz*, but the identification is extremely uncertain.

Modern tradition, which can be traced back to early Christian times, locates Job in the Hauran, where the German explorer J. G. Wetzstein found a monastery of Job, a tomb and fountain and stone of Job, and small round stones called 'worms of Job.' Another German explorer, Glaser, finds *Uz* in W. Arabia, at a considerable distance to the N.W. of Medina. Decision at present is unattainable, both on the general question of the signification of *Uz* in OT and on the special question of its meaning in the Book of Job. All that can be said is that the name points to the E. and S.E. of Palestine, and that the Book of Job appears to represent its hero as living in the neighbourhood of the Arabian or Syro-Arabian desert. W. TAYLOR SMITH.

UZAI.—Father of Palal (Neh 3^{25}).

UZAL.—**1.** A son of Joktan (Gn 10^{27}, 1 Ch 1^{21}). **2.** A place named in Ezk 27^{19} (RVm 'from Uzal,' AVm '**Meuzal**')—a difficult passage, the text being in disorder. Davidson (*Ezekiel, in loc.*) suggests that, although the most serious objections occur to the rendering, it might read, '**Vedan** and Javan of Uzal furnished their wares, etc.' Uzal is thought to be the ancient name of *San'a*, the capital of *el-Yemen*. The name *San'a* may have been given by the Abyssinians, in whose tongue it means 'fortress.' The modern Jewish inhabitants, who occupy a separate quarter, are reported to have come from India. But although none of the pre-Islamic Jewish stock remains, they were influential in the century before Mohammed (Harris, *el-Yemen*, 313). Probably the name *Azal* or *Izal*, by which the town was then known, may have been due to their revival of the ancient name (Glaser, *Skizze*, ii. 427). In Arabic *azal* means 'eternity.' This may account for the Arabs' belief that it is the world's oldest city (Margoliouth in Hastings' *DB*, *s.v.*). Iron is found in several districts of Central Arabia (Doughty, *Arabia Deserta*). The steel made in *San'a* is still highly esteemed, especially the sword- and dagger-blades (Harris, *op. cit.* 310 ff.).

Standing on the floor of a spacious valley, 7250 feet above the level of the sea, *San'a* is dominated by a fortress on *Jebel Nujūm*, which rises abruptly to the east. The height renders the climate delightful. The gardens and orchards are luxurious and fruitful. A river bed lies through the city, and in the rainy season is full of water. In the dry months water is supplied by deep wells. The splendid palace of Ghumdan, and the adjoining temple dedicated to Zahrah, the Arabian Venus, were destroyed by Othman, the third Caliph. The same fate befell the famous Christian church built by Abraha el-Ashran, viceroy of el-Yemen under the Abyssinian king Aryat, for the building of which the Emperor of Rome is said to have sent marble and workmen (Harris, *op. cit.* 291–322). According to Ibn Khaldun, *San'a* was the seat of the Himyarite kings for centuries before Islam. W. EWING.

UZZA.—**1.** A Benjamite family (1 Ch 8^{7}). **2.** A family of Nethinim (Ezr 2^{49} = Neh 7^{51} [1 Es 5^{31} **Ozias**]). **3.** The driver of the cart on which the ark was removed from Kiriath-jearim (2 S $6^{3.\ 6.\ 7.\ 8}$ [in vv.$^{6-8}$ the name is **Uzzah**] = 1 Ch $13^{7.\ 9.\ 10.\ 11}$). Uzza's sudden death at a place called, in commemoration of this untoward incident, **Perez-uzzah** ('breach of Uzzah'), led to the temporary abandonment of David's project of transporting the ark to Jerusalem. Uzza's death was attributed by the popular mind to anger on the part of Jahweh at his having presumed to handle the sacred emblem too familiarly. **4.** A 'garden of Uzza' (2 K $21^{18.\ 26}$) was attached to the palace of Manasseh.

UZZAH.—**1.** A Merarite family (1 Ch $6^{29\ (14)}$). **2.** See Uzza, **3.**

UZZEN-SHEERAH.—See Sheerah.

UZZI.—**1.** A descendant of Aaron (1 Ch $6^{5.\ 6.\ 51}$, Ezr 7^{4} [1 Es 8^{2} **Savias**]). **2.** A family of Issachar (1 Ch $7^{2.\ 3}$). **3.** A Benjamite family (1 Ch 7^{7} 9^{8}). **4.** A Levite (Neh 11^{22}). **5.** A priestly family (Neh $12^{19.\ 42}$).

UZZIA.—One of David's heroes (1 Ch 11^{44}).

UZZIAH.—**1.** A king of Judah. See next article. **2.** A Kohathite Levite (1 Ch 6^{24}). **3.** The father of an officer of David (1 Ch 27^{25}). **4.** A priest (Ezr 10^{21} [1 Es 9^{21} **Azarias**]). **5.** A Judahite (Neh 11^{4}).

UZZIAH, also called **AZARIAH**, was king of Judah after his father Amaziah. His name was *Azariah* originally, whether abbreviated in popular usage or corrupted in the written form can no longer be made out with certainty. His reign is said to have been fifty-two years in length. Religiously he is classed among the good kings (2 K $15^{1ff.}$). The only event recorded of this king by the Book of Kings is the restoration of Elath, the town at the head of the Gulf of Akabah. As his father Amaziah had conquered Edom, we conclude that this nation had revolted at the accession of Uzziah. The re-building of Elath (14^{22}) points to some attempt at commerce, but of this our sources say nothing. We should be glad to know whether the subjection of Judah to Israel effected by Jehoash continued in this reign; but here again we are left to conjecture. The Chronicler (2 Ch 26) knows, indeed, of successes against the Philistines, Arabs, and Ammonites, as well as of extensive building operations, but the traditions drawn upon by this author are not always reliable.

The additional fact related by the Book of Kings is that the king was a leper. On account of this disease he withdrew from public business, and his son Jotham acted as his representative (2 K 15^{5}). This regency, as it may be called, may account for some of the chronological difficulties of the period. Uzziah seems not to have been compelled to leave his palace. The Chronicler has the story of a conflict between Uzziah and the priesthood, according to which the monarch attempted to usurp the function of the chief priest and offer incense. For this the plague was sent upon him, after which he was thrust out as unclean.

Uzziah has been supposed to be mentioned in the Assyrian inscriptions in connexion with a campaign of Tiglath-pileser in the Lebanon region. But it is now generally conceded that the inscription in question has reference to some prince of Northern Syria.

H. P. Smith.

UZZIEL ('my strength is El').—**1.** A son of Kohath (Ex $6^{18.\ 22}$, Lv 10^{4}, Nu $3^{19.\ 30}$, 1 Ch $6^{2.\ 18}$ 15^{10} $23^{12.\ 20}$ 24^{24}); gentilic **Uzzielites** (Nu 3^{27}, 1 Ch 26^{23}). **2.** A Simeonite (1 Ch 4^{42}). **3.** Founder of a Benjamite family (1 Ch 7^{7}). **4.** A musician, of the sons of Heman (1 Ch 25^{4} [v.^{18} **Azarel**]). **5.** A Levite, of the sons of Jeduthun (2 Ch 29^{14}). **6.** A goldsmith who aided in repairing the wall (Neh 3^{8}). George R. Berry.

V

VAGABOND.—Gn 4^{12} 'a fugitive and a vagabond shalt thou be in the earth'—*i.e.* a wanderer, as AV Ac 19^{13} 'certain of the vagabond Jews,' RV 'strolling.' In both places the word is used in its older and literal meaning (from Lat. *vagari*, to wander).

VAHEB.—An unknown locality in Amorite territory (Nu 21^{14}).

VAIL, VEIL.—In AV this word is spelled 'vail' and 'veil,' in RV uniformly 'veil.' See Dress, § 5 (*b*); also Tabernacle, § 5 (*d*), and Temple, §§ 9, 12.

VAIZATHA.—One of the ten sons of Haman (Est 9^{9}).

VALE, VALLEY.—'Vale' is found in AV as the tr. of two Heb. words '*ēmeq* and *shephēlah*; 'valley' represents five Heb. words, *biq'ah*, *gai'*, *nachal*, '*ēmeq*, *shephēlah*, and the Gr. *phara[n]gx*. For *shephēlah* (a low-lying tract of ground) and *biq'ah* (a broad plain) see art. Plain, and for *nachal* (wady) see art. Brook.

1. The word *gai'* (AV and RV always 'valley') refers to a narrow gorge, a *glen* or *ravine*. A considerable number of such are named in the OT, *e.g.* the valley of Hinnom, beside Jerusalem; of Iphtah-el, between Zebulun and Asher; of Zeboim, S.E. of Gibeah; of Salt, etc., while several other valleys are mentioned without a special name being attached to them.

The reference in Ps 23^{4} to the 'valley of the shadow of death' may be simply figurative of a place of peril and loneliness, or, as Gunkel holds, the place through which the ancient Hebrews supposed the soul had to pass on the way to the under world.

In the Apocrypha, 'valley' is the translation of *phara[n]gx* and *aulōn*, the former appearing in the NT (Lk 3^{5}).

2. The word '*ēmeq* (generally tr. 'valley' but 'vale' in AV of Gn $14^{3.\ 8.\ 10}$ 37^{14} and also in RV of Gn 14^{17}, Jos 8^{13} 15^{8} 18^{16}, 1 S $17^{2.\ 19}$ 21^{9}) means literally *depression*, and is 'a highlander's word for a valley as he looks *down* into it, and is applied to wide avenues running up into a mountainous country like the Vale of Elah, the Vale of Hebron, and the Vale of Aijalon' (*HGHL* 384). Thus the '*ēmeq* is broader than a *gai'* and not so broad or extensive as a *biq'ah* (plain). A considerable number of vales are mentioned in the OT, *e.g.* of Siddim, of Shaveh, of Hebron, of Achor, of Aijalon, etc.

Other vales are mentioned without special names being attached to them. The fertility of the vale (1 S 6^{13}, Is 17^{5}) and its suitability for cavalry operations (*e.g.* Jos 17^{16}, Jg $1^{19.\ 34}$ etc.) are frequently referred to.

W. F. Boyd.

VANIAH.—One of the sons of Bani, who had married a foreign wife (Ezr 10^{36}) = 1 Es 9^{34} **Anos.**

VANITY.—The root-idea of the word is 'emptiness.' Skeat suggests that the Lat. *vanus* (perhaps for *vac-nus*) is allied to *vacuus* 'empty.' In English literature 'vanity' signifies (1) emptiness, (2) falsity, (3) vainglory. The modern tendency is to confine its use to the last meaning. But 'vanity' in the sense of 'empty conceit' is not found in the English Bible.

1. In the OT.—(1) 'Vanity' is most frequently the

tr. of *hebhel*, 'breath' or 'vapour.' The RV rightly gives the literal rendering in Is 57[13]: 'a breath (AV vanity) shall carry them all away.' The word naturally became an image of what is unsubstantial and transitory; in Ps 144[4] man is said to be 'like a breath' (RVm), because 'his days are as a shadow that passeth away.' In Ecclesiastes 'vanity' often occurs; it connotes what is fleeting, unsatisfying, and profitless. 'Vanity of vanities' (1[2] 12[8]) is the superlative expression of the idea of the futility of life. Jeremiah regards idols as 'vanity,' because they are 'the work of delusion' (10[15]), 'lies and things wherein there is no profit' (16[19]). (2) Another Heb. word (*'āven*), whose root-meaning is 'breath' or 'nothingness,' is twice rendered 'vanity' in the RV, and is applied to idols (Is 41[29], Zec 10[2]). But *'āven* generally describes moral evil as what is naughty and worthless; the RV therefore substitutes 'iniquity' for 'vanity' in Job 15[35], Ps 10[7]; cf. Is 58[9]. (3) More frequently, however, 'vanity' is the tr. of *shav'*, which also signifies 'what is naught.' In the OT it is used to set forth vanity as that which is hollow, unreal, and false. In Ps 41[6] RVm 'he speaketh falsehood' is preferable; but the AV 'he speaketh vanity' exemplifies the close connexion between vain or empty words and lies (cf. Ps 12[2] 144[8], Job 35[13], Pr 30[8], Ezk 13[8] 22[28]). (4) 'Vanity' occurs twice as the rendering of *rîq* 'emptiness,' and refers to what is destined to end in failure (Ps 4[2], Hab 2[13]). (5) In the RV it is used for *tōhū* 'waste,' but the marginal alternative in all passages but one (Is 59[4]) is 'confusion' (Is 40[17. 23] 44[9]).

2. In the NT.—'Vain' is the rendering of (*a*) *kenos* 'empty,' (*b*) *mataios* 'worthless.' When the former word is used, stress is laid on the absence of good, especially in essential qualities. The true thought is suggested by the RVm 'void' in 1 Co 15[10. 14. 58]. A partial exception is Ja 2[20]—a rare example of the absolute use of the word. The 'vain man' is not only 'one in whom the higher wisdom has found no entrance,' but he is also 'one who is puffed up with a vain conceit of his own spiritual insight' (Trench, *NT Synonyms*, p. 181). Even here the primary negative force of the word is clearly discernible; the man's conceit is 'vain,' that is to say, his conception of himself is devoid of real content. He is a 'man who cannot be depended on, whose deeds do not correspond to his words' (Mayor, *Com. in loc.*). *kenos* is the word rendered 'vain' in the NT, except in the passages cited in the next paragraph.

When 'vain' is the tr. of *mataios*, as in 1 Co 3[20] 15[17], Tit 3[9], Ja 1[26], 1 P 1[18] (cf. the adverb Mt 15[9], Mk 7[7]), more than negative blame is implied. 'By giving prominence to objectlessness it denotes what is positively to be rejected, *bad*. . . . In Biblical Greek the word is, in the strongest sense, the expression of perfect repudiation' (Cremer, *Bib.-Theol. Lexicon of NT Greek*, pp. 418, 781). In 1 Co 15[14] the reference (*kenos*) is to 'a hollow witness, a hollow belief,' to a gospel which is 'evacuated of all reality,' and to a faith which has 'no genuine content.' But in v.[17] the reference (*mataios*) is to a faith which is 'frustrate,' or 'void of result,' because it does not save from sin (cf. Findlay, *EGT*, *in loc.*).

'Vanity' occurs only three times in the NT (Ro 8[20], Eph 4[17], 2 P 2[18]); it is always the tr. of *mataiotēs*, which is not a classical word, but is often found in the LXX, especially as the rendering of *hebhel* 'breath' (see above). When St. Paul describes the creation as 'subject to vanity' (Ro 8[20]), he has in mind the marring of its perfection and the frustration of its Creator's purpose by sin; nevertheless, the groanings of creation are, to his ear, the utterance of its hope of redemption. When he says that 'the Gentiles walk in the vanity of their mind' (Eph 4[17]), he is dwelling on the futility of their intellectual and moral gropings, which is the result of their walking in darkness (v.[18]). In 2 P 2[18] the intimate connexion between unreality and boastfulness in speech is well brought out in the graphic phrase, 'great swelling words of vanity.' How pitiful the contrast between the high-sounding talk of the false teachers who were themselves 'bond-servants of corruption,' and yet had the effrontery to 'promise liberty' to those whom in reality they were bringing into bondage (v.[19]).

J. G. Tasker.

VASHNI.—Samuel's firstborn son, according to MT of 1 Ch 6[13] (Eng. [28]), which is followed by AV. RV, following the Syr. (see mg.), and on the strength of v.[18] (33) and the || 1 S 8[2], supplies **Joel** as the name of Samuel's oldest son, and substitutes 'and the second Abiah' for 'Vashni and Abiah.'

VASHTI (Est 1[9. 11] etc.).—See Esther [Book of], **3.**

VAU or **WAW.**—The sixth letter of the Hebrew alphabet, and as such employed in the 119th Psalm to designate the 6th part, each verse of which begins with this letter.

VEDAN.—In RV the name of a country or city that traded with Tyre (Ezk 27[19]). AV has 'Dan also.' The passage is so corrupt that no certainly correct reading is at present attainable. Cf. Uzal.

J. F. McCurdy.

VEIL.—See Vail.

VERMILION.—See Colours, **4.**

VERSIONS.—See English Versions, Greek Versions of OT, Text of NT, Text Versions and Languages of OT, Vulgate, etc.

VESSELS.—See House, § 9; Meals, § 5. For 'the vessels of the tabernacle' (AV) RV has sometimes 'furniture,' sometimes 'instruments,' according to the context (cf. Nu 1[50] with 3[26]). For the Temple cf. 1 Ch 9[29] in AV and RV. In Gn 43[11] 'vessels' is equivalent to 'saddlebags.' In 1 Th 4[4] 'vessel' probably stands for 'body' rather than 'wife,' an alternative favoured by many (see Milligan, *Thess.*, *ad loc.*).

A. R. S. Kennedy.

VESTRY occurs only in 2 K 10[22] 'him that was over the vestry,' as the rendering of a word of uncertain meaning. Cf. 22[14] 'keeper of the wardrobe.'

VESTURE.—In AV this word occurs as the rendering both of words denoting dress or raiment generally, as Gn 41[42], Ps 22[18], and of special words for the plaid-like upper garment of antiquity, as Dt 22[12] (see Fringes), Rev 19[13. 16] (RV here 'garment'), for which see Dress, § 4 (*a*).

A. R. S. Kennedy.

VIAL occurs in OT only in 1 S 10[1] AV, and 2 K 9[1. 3] RV (AV **box**) for an oil-flask. In NT, RV has substituted **'bowl'** for 'vial' throughout (Rev 5[8] 15[7] 16[18].). The *phialē* was a flat vessel, resembling a saucer, specially used for pouring libations of wine upon the altar of a deity.

A. R. S. Kennedy.

VILLAGE.—For the OT villages and their relation to the 'mother' city, see City, and cf. Fortification and Siegecraft, *ad init.* In all periods of Heb. history the cultivators of the soil lived for greater security in villages, the cultivated and pasture land of which was held in common. Solitary homesteads were unknown. The NT writers and Josephus also distinguish between a **city** (*polis*) and a village (*kōmē*), the distinction being primarily a difference not of size but of status. Thus in Mk 1[38] the word rendered **'towns'** is literally 'village-cities' (others render 'market-towns'), *i.e.* places which are cities as regards population but not as regards constitutional status. When Josephus tells us that 'the very least of' the villages of Galilee 'contained above 15,000 inhabitants' (*BJ* III. iii. 2 [Niese, § 43]), he is, *more suo*, drawing a very long bow indeed!

A. R. S. Kennedy.

VINE, VINEYARD.—

The usual Heb. word for 'vine' is *gephen*, used of the grape-vine everywhere except in 2 K 4[39], where *gephen sādeh* (lit. 'field vine') refers to a wild-gourd vine. Another word, *sōrēq* (Is 5[2], Jer 2[21]), or *sōrēqāh* (Gn 49[11]), refers to superior vines with purple grapes.

The vine (*Vitis vinifera*) is supposed to be a native of the shores of the Caspian, but has been cultivated in Palestine from the earliest times, as is witnessed by the extensive remains of ancient vineyards. The climate is peculiarly suited to the grape, which reaches perfection during the prolonged sunshine and the dewy nights of late summer. Vines specially flourish on the hillsides unsuited for cereals (Jer 31^5, Am 9^{13}). Viticulture, which languished for centuries under the Arabs, has recently been revived by the German and Jewish colonies, and millions of imported vines of choice strain have been planted. As in the case of the olive, the culture of the vine needs a peaceful, settled population, as the plants require several years' care before bearing fruit (Zeph 1^{13}), and constant attention if they are to maintain their excellence; hence to sit under one's 'own vine and fig tree' was a favourite image of peace (1 K 4^{25}, Mic 4^4, Zec 3^{10}). In some districts to-day vines are trained over a trellis at the front door, making a cool summer resort. The Israelites found Palestine ready planted with vineyards (Dt 6^{11}, Jos 24^{13}, Neh 9^{25}). The steps taken in making a vineyard are described in detail in Is 5. The land must be fenced (cf. Ps 80^{12}), the stones gathered out, the choicest possible plants obtained. **A winepress** was cut in the rock, and a **watch tower** (Is 5^2, Mt 21^{33}) was built to guard against intruders. These last included foxes (or jackals) (Ca 2^{15}) and boars (Ps 80^{13}). In such a tower the owner's family will probably pass all the grape season; during the vintage a large proportion of the people are to be found living in the vineyards. Every spring the soil between the vines must be dug or ploughed up and the plants pruned (Lv $25^{3.4}$, Is 5^6); neglect of this leads to rapid deterioration of the grapes; only the slothful man could permit his vineyard to be overgrown with 'thorns and nettles' and 'the stone wall thereof to be broken down' (Pr 24^{30-31}). The clusters of **grapes** are often enormous (cf. Nu 13^{23}). When the vintage is over and the leaves turn sere and yellow, the vineyards have a very desolate look (Is 34^4). The failure of the **vintage** was looked upon as one of God's terrible punishments (Ps 78^{47}, Jer 8^{13}, Hab 3^{17}), and a successful and prolonged vintage as a sign of blessing (Lv 26^5). Of the vast quantities of grapes produced in ancient times a large proportion was, without doubt, converted into *dibs* (Arab.) or **grape honey** (cf. Heb. *dĕbash* = 'honey'), a form of thick, intensely sweet grape juice, which is still made in considerable quantities in Syria, but which must have been much more important in the days when cane sugar was unknown. Many references to 'honey' probably refer to this product rather than to that of the bee.

Israel is compared to a vine in Ezk 15. 17, Is 5, and Ps 80. The vine-leaf was a favourite design on Jewish coins. The numerous references to the vine in the NT (*e.g.* Mt $20^{1ff.}$ $21^{28.\ 33ff.}$, Jn 15) point to the continued importance of viticulture in those days.

Vine of Sodom (Dt 32^{32}).—If the reference is to any particular plant—which is very doubtful—the most probable is the colocynth (*Citrullus colocynthis*); see GOURD. The apple-sized fruit of the curious *'osher* (*Calotropis procera*) has been suggested; but though this answers well to the description by Josephus (*BJ* IV. viii. 4) of the 'fruits of Sodom' which vanish into ashes, so substantial a tree, with its cork-like bark and large glossy leaves, could in no sense be called a vine.

E. W. G. MASTERMAN.

VINEGAR.—The light wine of Bible times, in consequence of the primitive methods of manufacture then in vogue (for which see WINE AND STRONG DRINK), turned sour much more rapidly than modern wines. In this condition it was termed *chōmets* (lit. 'sour [stuff]'), and was used, mixed with water, as a drink by the peasants (Ru 2^{14}). The Nazirite's vow of abstinence included also 'vinegar of wine' and 'vinegar of strong drink,' *i.e.* of all intoxicating liquor other than grape-wine (Nu 6^3). The Jewish *chōmets* corresponded to the Roman *posca*, the favourite drink of the soldiers, which those charged with our Lord's crucifixion offered Him on the cross—EV 'vinegar' (Jn $19^{29f.}$, but not Mt 27^{34}, see RV).

A. R. S. KENNEDY.

VIOL.—See MUSIC, etc., 4 (1) (*b*).

VIOLET.—See COLOURS, 5.

VIPER.—See SERPENT.

VIRGIN usually represents (*a*) Heb. *bĕthūlāh*, an unmarried maiden. The word is frequently applied to countries, often with the addition of 'daughter,' *e.g.* Israel (Jer 18^{13}, Am 5^2), Zion (2 K 19^{21}, La 2^{13}), Babylon (Is 47^1), Egypt (Jer 46^{11}). In Jl 1^8 it is used of a young widow. Dt $22^{23ff.}$ has laws for the protection of virgins; v.^{13} insists on the importance of virginity in a bride. (*b*) In Is 7^{14} a rare word *'almāh* is used (RVm **'maiden'**). The OT usage is indecisive as to whether it is confined to the unmarried (*e.g.* Ex 2^8, Ca 1^3 6^8; masc. 1 S 17^{55} 20^{22}). The Arab. root means 'to be mature,' and the Aram. does not connote virginity. The word apparently means 'one of marriageable age,' and is certainly not the word which would naturally be used if 'virginity' were the point to be emphasized. LXX has *parthenos* ('virgin'); so Mt 1^{23}; but the complaints of Justin and Irenæus against the later Jewish tr. *neānis* ('damsel') are hardly justifiable. A modern view holds that Isaiah was adopting the language of a current mythological tradition, and intended the word to convey the idea of a divine mother (note '*the* virgin,' RVm). (*c*) Rev 14^4 uses the word of men, probably metaphorically, implying chastity, not celibacy; cf. 2 Co 11^2. Ac 21^9 is probably the germ of the later 'order' of virgins. For **'Virgin-birth'** see pp. 589^b, 705^a.

C. W. EMMET.

VIRTUE.—In Mk 5^{30}, Lk 6^{19} 8^{46} the word 'virtue' is used with the antiquated meaning of 'power,' or 'powerful influence' (Gr. *dynamis*).

VISION.—1. In OT.—In its earlier form the vision is closely associated with belief in **dreams** (wh. see) as the normal vehicle of Divine revelation. The two words are repeatedly used of the same experience, the dream being rather the *form*, the vision the *substance* (*e.g.* Dn 1^{17} 2^{28} 4^5, cf. Jl 2^{28}). The common phrase 'visions of the night' embodies the same conception (Dn 2^{19}, Job 4^{13}, Gn 46^2; cf. 1 S 3^{1-15}, Ac 16^9). In the darkness, when the eye is closed (Nu $24^{3.4}$) and the natural faculties are suspended by sleep, God speaks to men. A further stage is the belief in an exalted condition of quickened spiritual discernment ('ecstasy' Ac 11^5 22^{17}, cf. Gn 15^{12} [LXX]), detached from the dream-state and furthered by fasting, prayer, and self-discipline (Dn 10^{2-9}, cf. Ac 10^{9-11}). But in the later OT books neither ecstasy nor the objective vision, with its disclosure in cryptic symbolism of future happenings (Daniel), or of the nature and purposes of God (Ezekiel, Zechariah), has a place in the normal line of development of man's conception of the methods of Divine revelation. The earlier prophets had already attained to the idea of vision as inspired insight, of revelation as an inward and ethical word of God (Is 1^1 2^1 etc.; cf. 1 S 3^1, Ps 89^{19}). Their prophetic consciousness is not born of special theophanies, but rather of a resistless sense of constraint upon them to discern and utter the Divine will (Am $7^{14.15}$. Is 6^5, Jer 1^6, Ezk 3^{12-15}). Ecstasies and visual appearances are the exception (Am 7^{1-9} 8^1, Is 6, Jer 1^{11-13}). In Is $22^{1.5}$ *gē' hizzāyōn* **'valley of vision'** (EV) is possibly a mistake for *gē' Hinnōm*, 'Valley of Hinnom.'

2. In NT.—St. Paul once makes incidental reference to his 'visions' (2 Co 12^1), and perhaps confirms the objective character of the revelation to him on the road to Damascus (Gal 1^{11-17}, 1 Co 9^1 15^8). Visions are also recorded in Lk 1. 2, Ac 10. 11. 16; and the term is once applied to the Transfiguration (Mt 17^9; Mk. Lk. 'the things which they had seen'). But the NT vision is practically confined to the Apocalyptic imagery of the Book of Revelation.

S. W. GREEN.

VOPHSI.—The father of the Naphtalite spy (Nu 13^{14}).

VOWS.—In common with most peoples of the ancient world, the making of vows was of frequent occurrence among the Israelites. The underlying idea in making a vow was to propitiate the Deity; this was done either by promising to do something for Him, or to please Him by the exercise of self-denial. Vows were made from a variety of motives: Jacob vows a vow according to which he will please Jahweh by becoming His worshipper, on condition that Jahweh will keep him safe during his journey and give him food and raiment (Gn $28^{20\text{-}22}$). Jephthah vows to offer to Jahweh the first person he sees coming out of his house on his return from battle, provided he is victorious (Jg $11^{30.\ 31}$). Hannah vows that if Jahweh gives her a son, she will dedicate him to the service of God (1 S 1^{11}). These cases are typical: in each something is promised to God, on condition that God will do something for him who makes the vow. But there was another class of vows which were of a more disinterested character; the most striking here would be the **Nazirite** vow, according to which a man undertook to lead a strenuously austere life, which was supposed to approximate to the simple life of the patriarchs; that was done out of protest against the current mode of life, which had been largely adopted from the Canaanites; indeed, the Nazirite vow implied, and was intended to be, a life of greater loyalty to Jahweh.

There are two words in Hebrew for a vow—though they do not necessarily correspond to the two ideas just mentioned: *neder*, which is a vow whereby a man dedicates something, even himself, to God; *'issar*, a vow by which a man binds himself to abstain from enjoyment, or to exercise self-denial, in honour of Jahweh.

Vows were clearly of very common occurrence in Israel, indeed it would almost seem as though at one time it was deemed generally incumbent on men to make vows; this would, at all events, explain the words in Dt 23^{22}, 'But if thou shalt forbear to vow, it shall be no sin in thee.' A vow having once been made had to be kept at all costs (Dt $23^{21.\ 23}$, Nu 30^{2}, Jg 11^{35}); though, as regards women, they might be absolved by father or husband, under certain conditions, from fulfilling a vow (Nu $30^{1\text{-}8}$). From the expression used in connexion with the making of a vow, 'to bind the soul' (Nu 30^{2}), it would seem that the idea was that if the vow was broken the life was forfeited to the Deity to whom the vow had been made; the warning, therefore, of Pr 20^{25}, Ex $5^{5\ (4)}$, was needed.

In making a vow in which something was promised to Jahweh, only such things could be promised as were truly the property of him who vowed; for this reason a man might not promise a firstling or the like, as that was already the property of Jahweh (cf. Lv $27^{26\text{-}29}$).

In later times the spirit in which vows were observed appears to have degenerated; Malachi speaks sternly of those who make a vow, and in fulfilling it sacrifice unto the Lord 'a blemished thing' (1^{14}). Another, and still worse, misuse of vows meets us in the Gospels: the spurious piety of some men induced them to vow gifts to the use of the sanctuary, but they neglected, in consequence, the most obvious duties of natural affection; when a man uttered the word '**Corban**' in reference to any possession of his, it meant that it was dedicated to God. Money that should have gone to the support of aged parents was pronounced to be 'Corban,' the son felt himself relieved of all further responsibility regarding his parents, and took honour to himself for having piously dedicated his substance to God (see Mt 15^{5}, Mk $7^{9ff.}$).

W. O. E. OESTERLEY.

VULGATE.—**1.** The position of the Latin Vulgate, as a version of the original texts of the Bible, has been dealt with in the two articles on the Text of the OT and the NT. But its interest and importance do not end there. Just as the LXX, apart from its importance as evidence for the text of the OT, has a history as an integral part of the Bible of the Eastern Church, so also does the Vulgate deserve consideration as the Bible of the Church in the West. Although the English Bible, to which we have been accustomed for nearly 300 years, is in the main a translation from the original Hebrew and Greek, it must be remembered that for the first thousand years of the English Church the Bible of this country, whether in Latin or in English, was the Vulgate. In Germany the conditions were much the same, with the difference that Luther's Bible was still more indebted to the Vulgate than was our AV; while in France, Italy, and Spain the supremacy of the Vulgate lasts to this day. In considering, therefore, the history of the Vulgate, we are considering the history of the Scriptures in the form in which they have been mainly known in Western Europe.

2. The textual articles above mentioned have shown that, when **Jerome's** Biblical labours were at an end, about A.D. 404, the Latin Bible as left by him was a very complex structure, the parts of which differed very considerably in their relations to the original Greek and Hebrew texts. The Canonical Books of the OT, except the Psalms, were Jerome's fresh translation from the Massoretic Hebrew. The Psalms were extant in three forms—(*a*) the *Roman*, Jerome's slightly revised edition of the OL, which still held its own in a few churches; (*b*) the *Gallican*, his more fully revised version from the Hexaplar text of the LXX; and (*c*) the *Hebrew*, his new translation of the Massoretic text; of these it was the second, not the third, that was taken into general use. Of the deutero-canonical books, or Apocrypha, Judith and Tobit, with the additions to Daniel, were in Jerome's very hasty version; the remainder, which he had refused to touch (as not recognized by the Massoretic canon), continued to circulate in the OL. The Gospels were Jerome's somewhat conservative revision of the OL; the rest of the NT was a much more superficial revision of the same. The Latin Bible, therefore, which we know as the Vulgate was not wholly Jerome's work, still less did it represent his full and final views on the textual criticism of the Bible; and, naturally, it did not for a long time acquire the name of 'Vulgate.' The 'vulgata editio,' of which Jerome himself speaks, is primarily the Gr. LXX, and secondarily the OL as a translation of it. It is not until the 13th cent. that the epithet is found applied to Jerome's version by Roger Bacon (who, however, also uses it of the LXX); and it was canonized, so to speak, by its use in the decree of the Council of Trent, which speaks of it as 'hæc ipsa vetus et vulgata editio.' By that time, however, it differed in many points of detail from the text which Jerome left behind him; and it is of the history of Jerome's version during this period of some twelve hundred years that it is proposed to speak in the present article.

3. Jerome's correspondence and the prefaces attached by him to the several books of his translation (notably those prefixed to the Pentateuch, Joshua, Ezra and Nehemiah, Job, Isaiah, and the Gospels) sufficiently show the reception given to his work by his contemporaries. He complains constantly and bitterly of the virulence of his critics, who charge him with deliberate perversions of Scripture, and refuse to make themselves acquainted with the conditions of his task. Especially was this the case with the OT. In the NT Jerome had restrained his correcting pen, and made alterations only when the sense required it ['Ita calamo temperavimus ut his tantum quæ sensum videbantur mutare correctis, reliqua manere pateremur ut fuerant' (*Præf. ad Damasum*)]; and though even these were sufficient to cause discontent among many readers, the openings given to adverse criticism were relatively insignificant. But in the case of the OT the basis of the OL rendering to which people were accustomed was the LXX, the differences of which from the Massoretic Hebrew are often very wide. When, therefore, readers found whole

passages omitted or transposed, and the meanings of very many sentences altered beyond all recognition, they believed that violence was being done to the sacred text; nor were they prepared to admit as axiomatic the superiority of the Hebrew text to the Greek, the OT of the Jews to the OT of the Christians. Even Augustine, who commended and used Jerome's revision of the Gospels, questioned the expediency of the far-reaching changes made in the OT.

4. Nor was Jerome's translation assisted by authority to oust its predecessor. Never until 1546 was it officially adopted by the Roman Church to the exclusion of all rivals. It is true that the revision of the Gospels was undertaken at the instance of Pope Damasus, and was published under the sanction of his name; and the Gallican version of the Psalms was quickly and generally adopted. But the new translation of the OT from the Hebrew had no such shadow of official authority. It was an independent venture of Jerome's, encouraged by his personal friends (among whom were some bishops), and deriving weight from his reputation as a scholar and from the success of his previous work, but in no sense officially commissioned or officially adopted. It was thrown on the world to win its way by its own merits, with the strong weight of popular prejudice against it, and dependent for its success on the admission of its fundamental critical assumption of the superiority of the Massoretic Hebrew to the LXX. It is not to be wondered at if its progress in general favour was slow, and if its text was greatly modified before it reached the stage of universal acceptance.

5. The extant evidence (consisting of occasional statements by ecclesiastical writers, and their ascertainable practice in Biblical quotations) is not sufficient to enable us to trace in detail the acceptance of Jerome's version in the various Latin-speaking countries. Gaul, as it was the first country to adopt his second Psalter, was also the first to accept the Vulgate as a whole, and in the 5th cent. the use of it appears to have been general there; but Gaul, it must be remembered, from the point of view of Christian literature, was at this time confined mainly to the provinces of the extreme south. Isidore of Seville, however, testifies to the general use of the Vulg. by all churches, as being alike more faithful and more lucid than its predecessors. In the 6th cent. it is probable that its use was general among scholars. Victor of Capua, about 541, finding a Latin version of the Diatessaron according to the OL text, and being desirous of making it generally known, had it transcribed, with the substitution of the Vulg. for the OL. Gregory the Great (*d.* 604) used the Vulg. as the basis of his commentary on Job, but speaks of both versions as existing and recognized by the Church ('Novam translationem dissero, sed, ut comprobationis causa exigit, nunc novam nunc veterem per testimonia assumo; ut, quia sedes Apostolica utraque utitur, mei quoque labor studii ex utraque fulciatur'). On the other hand, Primasius is evidence of the continued use of the OL in Africa; and a considerable number of the extant fragments of OL MSS are of the 6th cent. or later date [see TEXT OF MT, **20**]. In general it is probable that the old version was retained by the common people, and by such of the clergy as took little interest in questions of textual scholarship, long after it had been abandoned by scholars. In any case, it is certain that the Vulg. was never officially adopted in early times by the Roman Church, but made its way gradually by its own merits. The continuance of the OL in secluded districts is illustrated by the fact that Cod. Colbertinus (*c*) was written as late as the 12th cent. in Languedoc, and Cod. Gigas (*g* of the Acts) in the 13th cent. in Bohemia.

6. Although this method of official non-interference was probably necessary, in view of the fact that Jerome's version of the OT was a private venture, and one which provoked much hostile criticism, and although in the end the new translation gained the credit of a complete victory on its merits as the superior version for general use, nevertheless the price of these advantages was heavy. If the Vulgate had enjoyed from the first the protection of an official sanction, which Sixtus and Clement ultimately gave to the printed text, it would have come down to us in a much purer form than is actually the case. Under the actual conditions, it was peculiarly exposed to corruption, both by the ordinary mistakes of scribes and by contamination with the familiar OL. In some cases whole books or chapters in a Vulg. MS contain an OL text; for some reason which is quite obscure, Mt. especially tended to remain in the earlier form. Thus Codd. g^1, h, r^2 all have Mt. in OL, and the remaining Evv. in Vulgate. Cod. Gigas is OL in Acts and Apoc., Vulg. in the rest of the Bible. Cod. p of the Acts is OL in Ac 1^1–13^6 $28^{16\text{-}30}$, while the rest of the book is Vulg. Codd. ff^1, g^2 of the Gospels and ff of Cath. Epp. have texts in which OL and Vulg. are mixed in various proportions. Even where OL elements do not enter to a sufficient extent to be noteworthy, MSS of the Vulg. tend to differ very considerably. In the absence of any central authority to exercise control, scribes treated the text with freedom or with carelessness, and different types of text grew up in the different countries of Western Europe. It is with these different national texts that the history of the Vulg. in the Middle Ages is principally concerned.

7. During the 5th and 6th centuries, when Jerome's version was winning its way outwards from the centre of the Latin-speaking Church, the conditions over a large part of Western Europe were ill fitted for its reception. Gaul, in the 5th cent., was fully occupied with the effort first to oppose and then to assimilate the heathen Frankish invaders; and even in the 6th it was a scene of almost perpetual war and internal struggles. Germany was almost wholly pagan. Britain was in the throes of the English conquest, and the ancient British Church was submerged, except in Wales and Ireland. Outside Italy, only Visigothic Spain (Arian, but still Christian, until about 596) and Celtic Ireland were freely open at first to the access of the Scriptures; and in these two countries (cut off, as they subsequently were, from central Christendom by the Moorish invasion of Spain and the English conquest of Britain) the two principal types of text came into being, which, in various combinations with purer texts from Italy, are found in the different MSS which have come down to the present day. From the Visigothic kingdom the Spanish influences made their way northward into the heart of France. Irish missionaries carried the Bible first into southern Scotland, then into Northumbria, then into northern France and up the Rhine into Germany, penetrating even into Switzerland and Italy, and leaving traces of their handiwork in MSS produced in all these countries. Meanwhile Rome was a constant centre of attraction and influence; and to and from Italy there was an unceasing stream of travellers, and not least between Italy and distant Britain. These historical facts find their illustration in the Vulg. MSS still extant, which can be connected with the various churches.

8. In the 6th and 7th cent. the primacy of missionary zeal and Christian enterprise rested with the Irish Church; but in the latter part of the 7th and the first half of the 8th cent. the Church of Northumbria sprang into prominence, and added to the gifts which it had received from Iona a spirit of Christian scholarship which gave it for a time the first place in Christendom in this respect. In the production of this scholarship the arrival of Theodore of Tarsus as archbishop of Canterbury in 669 happily co-operated, if it was not a chief stimulus; for Theodore and his companions brought with them from Italy copies of the Latin Bible in a purer text than Ireland had been able to provide. There is clear evidence to show that the celebrated Lindisfarne Gospels (Y in

Wordsworth's numeration) was copied from one of these MSS, and the same was probably the case with another Northern copy of the Gospels now in the British Museum (Royal 1 B vii.). The great Cod. Amiatinus (A) itself, the best single MS of the Latin Bible in existence, was written in Northumbria before 716, and must have been copied from MSS brought from Italy either by Theodore or by Ceolfrid of Jarrow, by whose order it was made. Other MSS (notably Δ and S), written in the north, are closely akin to these, and must be derived from the same source; and this whole group of MSS furnishes the best text of the Vulg. now available. The centres of English scholarship, to which this pre-eminence in Biblical study was due, were the twin monasteries of Wearmouth and Jarrow, of which the most famous members were Ceolfrid and Bede; but their influence spread widely over Northumbria, and was renowned in the more distant parts of England and western Europe.

9. To this renown it was due that, when a king at last arose in France with a desire to improve the religious education of his country, he turned to Northumbria for the necessary assistance to carry out the reform. The king was Charlemagne, and the scholar whom he invited to help him was **Alcuin** of York; and the record of their joint achievement constitutes the next chapter in the history of the Vulgate. Alcuin came to France in 781, and was made master of the schools attached to Charlemagne's court at Aix-la-Chapelle (Aachen). He was subsequently made titular abbot of Tours, and in 796 he obtained leave to retire to that monastery, where he spent the nine remaining years of his life (*d.* 805) in establishing the school of calligraphy for which Tours was long famous. His work in connexion with the Latin Bible falls into two stages. To the earlier part of his life at Aix belongs, in all probability, the beginning of a series of magnificent copies of the Gospels, of which several have survived to the present day. Certainly, they date from about this period, and have their home in the country of the Rhine and the Moselle. They are obviously modelled on the Anglo-Celtic MSS, of which the Lindisfarne Gospels is the most eminent example. Prefixed to each Gospel is a portrait of the Evangelist (in the Byzantine style), a full page of elaborate decoration, and another containing the first words of the Gospel in highly ornamental illumination. The English MSS excel their French successors in elaboration and skill of workmanship; but the French books have an added gorgeousness from the lavish use of gold, the whole of the text being written in gold letters, sometimes upon purple vellum. Hence the whole series of these books (the production of which continued through the greater part of the 9th cent.) is often described as the 'Golden Gospels.'

10. The importance of the 'Golden Gospels' group of MSS is artistic rather than textual, and although their dependence upon Anglo-Celtic models is obvious, their connexion with Alcuin personally is only hypothetical. It is otherwise in both respects with another great group of MSS, which are directly due to the commission given by Charlemagne to Alcuin to reform the current text of the Vulgate. About the end of 796, Alcuin established the school of Tours, and sent to York for MSS to enable him to carry out his work. On Christmas Day of 801 he presented to the king a complete Bible, carefully revised. Several descendants of this Bible are still in existence, and enable us to judge of Alcuin's work. They differ from the 'Golden Gospels' in being complete Bibles, and in being written in the beautiful small minuscule which at this time, under Charlemagne's influence, superseded the tortured and unsightly script of the Merovingian and Lombardic traditions, and of which Tours was one of the principal homes. The MS. which appears most accurately to represent the edition of Alcuin at the present day is the Cod. Vallicellianus at Rome (Wordsworth's V); with this Wordsworth and White associate the 'Caroline Bible' (Add. MS 10546 [Wordsworth's K] in the British Museum), and there are

some 8 or 10 other MSS (written mostly at Tours), besides several others containing the Gospels only, which in varying degrees belong to the same group. In text these MSS naturally show a great affinity to the Northumbrian MSS headed by the Cod. Amiatinus, and there is no question that Alcuin introduced into France a far purer text of the Vulgate than any which it had hitherto possessed.

11. Alcuin's attempt, however, was not the only one made in France at this period to reform the current Bible text. Another edition was almost simultaneously produced in western France by **Theodulf**, bishop of Orleans and abbot of Fleury (about 795–821); but its character was very different from that of Alcuin. Theodulf was a Visigoth, probably from Septimania, the large district of southern France which then formed part of the Visigothic kingdom of Spain; and it was to Spain that he looked for materials for his revision of the Latin Bible. The MS which represents his edition most fully (Paris, *Bibl. Nat.* 9380) has a text closely connected with the Spanish type of which the Codd. Cavensis and Toletanus are the most prominent examples, except in the Gospels, which are akin rather to the Irish type; and a contemporary hand has added a number of variants, which are often Alcuinian in character. With this MS may be associated a volume at Puy, and Add. MS 24124 in the British Museum, which are closely akin to the Paris MS, but follow sometimes its first and sometimes its second reading; the latter (especially in its corrections) has been used by Wordsworth and White along with the Paris MS to represent the Theodulfian edition. All are written in an extremely minute Caroline minuscule.

12. In spite, however, of the labour spent upon these attempts to improve the current text of the Vulgate, the forces of deterioration were more powerful than those of renovation. Theodulf's edition, which was a private venture, without the advantages of Imperial patronage, had no wide sphere of influence, and left no permanent mark on the text of the Vulgate. Alcuin's had, no doubt, much greater authority and effect; yet its influence was only transient, and even at Tours itself the MSS produced within the next two generations show a progressive departure from his standard. On the other hand, the study of the Scriptures was now definitely implanted on the Continent, and the number of copies of them produced in France and Germany shows a great increase. During the 9th cent. splendid copies of the 'Golden Gospels' continued to be produced in the valley of the Rhine, and Alcuinian texts at Tours; while a new centre of Scripture study and reproduction came into existence in Switzerland, at the famous abbey of **St. Gall.** The library and scriptorium of this monastery (many of the inmates of which were English or Irish monks) first became notable under abbot Gozbert (816–836), and perhaps reached the height of their importance under abbot Hartmut (872–883). Many copies of the Bible were written there, and the influence of St. Gall permeated a large portion of central Europe. Here, too, was produced by Walafridus Strabo, dean of St. Gall before 842, the original form of the *Glossa Ordinaria*, the standard commentary on the Bible in the Middle Ages.

13. After Alcuin and Theodulf no important effort was made to recover the original text of the Vulgate, though some attempt in this direction was made by Lanfranc, of which no traces seem to survive; but the history of its diffusion can to some extent be followed by the help of the extant MSS, which now begin to increase greatly in number. The tradition of the 'Golden Gospels' was carried into Germany, where copies of the Gospels were produced on a smaller scale, with less ornamentation, and in a rather heavy Caroline minuscule, which clearly derive their origin from this source. In France itself, too, the later representatives of this school are inferior in size and execution to their predecessors. Spain and Ireland had by this time ceased to be of primary importance in the circulation of Bible texts.

In England a new departure was made, on a higher scale of artistic merit, in the fine Gospels and Service-Books produced at Winchester between about 960 and 1060, the chief characteristics of which are broad bands of gold forming a framework with interlaced foliage. These details, however, relate more to the history of art than to that of the Bible, and with regard to the spread of the knowledge of the Scriptures there is nothing of importance to note in the 10th and 11th cents. beyond the increase of monasteries in all the countries of western Europe, in the *scriptoria* of which the multiplication of copies proceeded apace.

14. In the 12th cent. the most noteworthy phenomenon, both in England and on the Continent, is the popularity of annotated copies of the various books of the Bible. The ordinary arrangement is for the Bible text to occupy a single narrow column down the centre of the page, while on either side of it is the commentary; but where the commentary is scanty, the Biblical column expands to fill the space, and *vice versa*. The main staple of the commentary is normally the *Glossa Ordinaria*; but this, being itself a compilation of extracts from pre-existing commentaries (Jerome, Augustine, Isidore, Bede, etc.), lent itself readily to expansion or contraction, so that different MSS differ not inconsiderably in their contents. The various books of the Bible generally form separate MSS, or small groups of them are combined. Simultaneously with these, some very large Bibles were produced, handsomely decorated with illuminated initials. Of these the best examples come from England or northern France. These are of the nature of *éditions de luxe*, while the copies with commentaries testify to the extent to which the Bible was at this time studied, at any rate in the larger monasteries; and the catalogues of monastic libraries which still exist confirm this impression by showing what a large number of such annotated MSS were preserved in them, no doubt for the study of the monks.

15. A further step in advance was taken in the 13th cent., which is to be attributed apparently to the influence of the **University of Paris** then at the height of its renown and the intellectual centre of Europe. The present chapter division of the Bible text is said to have been first made by Stephen Langton (archbishop of Canterbury, 1207–1228), while a doctor at Paris; and the 13th cent. (probably under the influence of St. Louis) witnessed a remarkable output of Vulgate MSS of the complete Bible. Hitherto complete Bibles had almost always been very large volumes, suitable only for liturgical use; but by the adoption of very thin vellum and very small writing it was now found possible to compress the whole Bible into volumes of quite moderate size, comparable with the ordinary printed Bibles of to-day. For example, one such volume, containing the whole Bible with ample margins, measures 5½x3½x1¾ inches, and consists of 471 leaves. From the appearance of these Bibles (hundreds of which are still extant) it is evident that they were intended for private use, and they testify to a remarkable growth in the personal study of the Scriptures. The texts of these MSS seem to embody the results of a revision at the hands of the Paris doctors. *Correctoria*, or collections of improved readings, were issued at Paris about 1230, and at other places during this cent., the best being the 'Correctorium Vaticanum,' so called from a MS in the Vatican Library. This revision, however, was superficial rather than scientific, and is of importance in the history of the Vulgate mainly because it established the normal text which was current at the time of the invention of printing. These small Bibles were produced almost as plentifully in England as in France, and in an identical style, which continued well into the 14th century.

16. After the Parisian revision of the 13th cent. no important modification of the text or status of the

Latin Bible took place until **the invention of printing** two centuries later. The first book to be printed in Europe was the Latin Bible, published in 1456 by Gutenberg and Fust (now popularly known as the Mazarin Bible, from the circumstance that the first copy of it to attract notice in modern times was that in the library of Cardinal Mazarin). In type this Bible resembles the contemporary large German Bible MSS; in text it is the ordinary Vulgate of the 15th century. During the next century Bibles poured from the press, but with little or no attempt at revision of the text. Some MSS were consulted in the preparation of the Complutensian Polyglot; but the only editions before the middle of the 16th cent. which deserve the name of critical are those of Stephanus in 1540 and Hentenius in 1547, which laid the foundations of the modern printed Vulgate. It is, however, to the action of the **Council of Trent** that the genesis of an authorized text is ultimately due. Soon after its meeting, in 1546, a decree was passed declaring that the 'vetus et vulgata editio' of the Scriptures was to be accepted as authentic, and that it should be printed in the most accurate form possible. It was forty years, however, before this decree bore fruit. **Sixtus V.**, in his short pontificate of five years (1585–90), not only caused the production of an edition of the Greek OT (1587), but in 1590 issued a Latin Bible which he declared was to be accepted as the authentic edition demanded by the Council of Trent. This edition was the work of a board of revisers appointed for the purpose, but Sixtus himself examined their results before they were published, and introduced a large number of alterations (rarely for the better) on his own authority. The Sixtine edition, however, had hardly been issued when it was recalled in 1592 by **Clement VIII.**, at the instance, it is believed, of the Jesuits, with whom Sixtus had quarrelled; and in the same year a new edition was issued under the authority of Clement, with a preface by the famous Jesuit Bellarmin, in which (to avoid the appearance of a conflict between Popes) the suppression of the Sixtine edition is falsely stated to be due to the abundance in it of printers' errors, and to have been contemplated by Sixtus himself. The Clementine revisers in many instances restored the readings of Sixtus' board, which Sixtus himself had altered; and the general result of their labours was to produce a text resembling that of Hentenius, while the Sixtine edition was nearer to that of Stephanus. The bull in which the Clementine edition was promulgated forbade any future alteration of the text and any printing of various readings in the margin, and thereby stereotyped the official text of the Vulgate from that day until this.

17. Clement's bull practically closed the textual criticism of the Vulgate in the Roman Church, though Vallarsi was able to print a new text in his edition of the works of St. Jerome in 1734, and Vercellone published a collection of various readings in 1860–64. The course of criticism outside the Roman communion can be briefly sketched. Bentley, with the help of his assistants, made large collections for an edition of the Vulgate, but was unable to carry through his task. Lachmann, in the second edition of his Greek NT (1842–50), added a text of the Vulgate, based on a collation of the Cod. Amiatinus and a few other selected MSS. Corssen in 1885 printed a revised text of Gal. as a sample of a new NT, but has carried his enterprise no further, being perhaps deterred by the appearance of the great **Oxford edition** now in progress. This edition, planned by Bishop J. Wordsworth of Salisbury, and carried out by him with the assistance of the Rev. H. J. White and others, gives a revised text of the Vulgate with a full critical apparatus and introductions. The four Gospels and Acts have now appeared (1889–1905); it is to be hoped that nothing will prevent the completion of the entire work, which will establish the criticism of at least the Vulg. NT on a firm foundation. A very handy

text of the NT, with Wordsworth and White's variants in the margin, has been produced by E. Nestle (1907). Quite recently it has been announced that Pope Pius X. has entrusted the Benedictine order with the revision of the Vulgate text. It is satisfactory to know that they propose to devote themselves in the first instance to the OT.

LITERATURE.—The *Prolegomena* to Wordsworth's and White's edition; art. by Bp. Westcott in Smith's *DB*; art. by H. J. White in Scrivener's *Introd. to Crit. of NT*[4], with description of 181 of the principal MSS, and art. 'Vulgate' in Hastings' *DB*; and especially S. Berger's *Hist. de la Vulg. pendant les premiers siècles du moyen âge* (1893). Specimens of the principal classes of MSS mentioned in the present article may be seen in *Facsimiles from Biblical MSS in the British Museum* (1900). The best edition of the Clementine Vulgate is that of Vercellone (1861). For fuller bibliography, see Berger, *op. cit.*, and White's art. in Hastings' *DB*. F. G. KENYON.

VULTURE.—1. *dā'āh*, Lv 11[14], *dayyāh* or *dayyōth*, Dt 14[13] AV; in both passages RV has **'kite.'** **2.** *'ayyāh*, Job 28[7] AV; RV **'falcon.'** These words certainly refer to some of the smaller birds of prey: the larger vultures are included in *nesher*, for which see EAGLE.
E. W. G. MASTERMAN.

W

WAFER.—See BREAD, end.

WAGES.—Under the conditions of life in Palestine in OT times, work on the land, at all times the chief occupation, was done for the most part by the peasant and his family, assisted, in the case of the well-to-do, by a few slaves. The **'hired servants'** were never numerous, and mainly aliens. We have no information as to the wages of such field-labourers. Dt 15[18] seems to say that a hireling cost the farmer twice as much as a slave, and since the latter received only his keep and his few clothes, it follows that the former will have earned the equivalent thereof, over and above, in wages. The first definite engagement—disregarding the special case of Jacob and Laban—with stipulated wages is that of the Levite whom Micah hired as his domestic chaplain for 10 shekels a year, with 'a suit of apparel' and his 'victuals' (Jg 17[10]). The next instance is Tobit's engagement of the angel Raphael as his son's travelling-companion for a drachm a day and all found (To 5[14]). This amount—in Tobit's day nearly a shilling—would probably be equal in purchasing power to three shillings at the present day. From the NT we have the familiar case of the labourers in the vineyard who received a denarius for their day's labour (Mt 20[1ff.]; see MONEY, §§ **6. 7** (*b*)).

Information is now available as to the wages of different classes of 'hirelings,' from doctors to tailors, in Babylonia *c.* B.C. 2000, from the Code of Hammurabi (see Hastings' *DB*, Ext. Vol. 592 f., 606 f.; S. A. Cook, *The Laws of Moses and the Code of Hammurabi*, 171 ff.), but it is perilous to compare too closely the highly developed social conditions of Babylonia, even at this early period, with the simpler forms of Hebrew life, say under the monarchy. A still better reflexion of the actual conditions of labour in the valley of the Euphrates is found in the numerous written contracts that have been deciphered in recent years, a specimen of which will be given below (see esp. Johns, *Bab. and Assyr. Laws*, ch. XXV. 'Wages of Hired Labourers'; Meissner, *Aus d. altbab. Recht*, 13 f.). The Code of Hammurabi (§ 273) enacts that a field labourer shall receive from the beginning of the year (April) to the fifth month—the period of longer days and harvest operations—6 *she* (180 *she*=1 shekel) per day; and from the sixth month to the end, 5 *she*. At best this is only a shekel a month; but, according to Meissner, this early introduction of a 'standard wage' did not lead to a rise of wages, for only on very rare occasions do these exceed 6 shekels a year in addition to food and clothing. It was customary to give a sum, probably a shekel, as earnest-money, the remainder being paid at stipulated intervals, daily or monthly, or in a lump sum at the expiry of the engagement.

Brickmakers and tailors are to receive 5 *she* a day (§ 274), and herdsmen—the name *nāqīd* is the Babylonian form of that denoting the occupation of Amos, the prophet—8 *gur* of corn a year, the *gur* being worth probably about a shekel. In other cases as well, it was customary to pay in grain. Frequently, as has been said, a written contract was drawn up, specifying the wages and the period of engagement. An example may be given from Meissner (*op. cit.* 14):—

'Asir-Ramman, the son of Libit Urra, has hired Shamash-bel-ili from the priestess of the sun, Achatani, the daughter of Shamash-khazir, for one year. He will pay 3½ shekels as yearly wages. He will find his own clothes. He will begin work on the 4th of the month Dur-Ramman, and will finish and leave in the month Mamitu.'

In OT times we hear also of yearly engagements (Lv 25[53]), but the Deuteronomic Law enjoins daily payment of wages, in cases of poverty at least (Dt 24[15], cf. Lv 19[13]). Details of the conditions of hire and the mutual obligations of master and servant at a much later period are to be found in the Mishna (see esp. *Baba mezīa*, vi. and vii.). A. R. S. KENNEDY.

WAGGON.—See CART, AGRICULTURE, § **3.**

WAILING.—See MOURNING CUSTOMS.

WALLET.—See BAG.

WALLS.—In Palestine the principal cities were protected by surrounding walls, sometimes of great size. That of Gezer, for instance, was fourteen feet thick. These walls were built of stones, set in mud, or else of brick. The walls of houses were generally ill-built structures of the same materials. The choice of material varied with the locality: Lachish (*Tell el-Hesy*), for example, was almost entirely a brick town; in Gezer brick is the exception. See also artt. CITY; FORTIFICATION, **1**; HOUSE, **4.** For the walls of Jerusalem, which may be taken as typical of a city wall, see JERUSALEM. R. A. S. MACALISTER.

WAR.—1. In the days before the monarchy the wars of the Hebrew tribes must have resembled those of early Greece, when 'the two armies started out, marched till they met, had a fight and went home.' Rarely, as in the case of the campaign against Sisera (Jg 4), was it necessary to summon a larger army from several tribes. From the days of Saul and David, with their long struggle against the Philistines, war became the affair of the whole nation, leading, also, to the establishment of a **standing army**, or at least of the nucleus of one (see ARMY). In the reign of Solomon we hear of a complete organization of the kingdom, which undoubtedly served a more serious purpose than the providing of 'victuals for the king and his household' (1 K 4[7]).

Early spring, after the winter rains had ceased, was 'the time when kings go out to battle' (2 S 11[1]). The war-horn (EV 'trumpet'), sounded from village to village on their hilltops, was in all periods the call to arms (Jg 6[34], 1 S 13[3], 2 S 20[1]). How far the exemptions from military service specified in Dt 20[5-8] were in force under the kings is unknown; the first express attestation is 1 Mac 3[55].

2. War, from the Hebrew point of view, was essen-

tially a religious duty, begun and carried through under the highest sanctions of religion. Israel's wars of old were 'the wars of J"' (Nu 21^{14}), and was not *Jahweh Ṣĕbā'ōth*, especially 'the God of Israel's battle-array' (1 S 17^{45})? His presence with the host was secured by 'the ark of J"' accompanying the army in the field (2 S 11^{11}, cf. 1 S $4^{3ff.}$). As an indispensable preliminary, therefore, of every campaign, the soldiers 'sanctified' themselves (Jos 3^{5}) by ablutions and other observances preparatory to offering the usual sacrifices (1 S 7^{9} 13^{9}). The men thus became God's 'consecrated ones' (Is 13^{3} RV), and to open a campaign is in Heb. phrase 'to consecrate war' (Jl 3^{9}, Jer 6^{4} etc.). Is 21^{5} 'anoint the shield' (cf. 2 S 1^{21}) is commonly taken to allude to a practice of smearing shields with oil, that hostile weapons might more readily glance off (see, for another explanation, Marti or Duhm, *Jesaia, ad loc.*).

To ascertain the propitious moment for the start, and indeed throughout the campaign, it was usual to 'enquire of the Lord' by means of the sacred lot (Jg 1^{1}, 1 S 23^{2} and oft.), and in an age of more advanced religious thought, by the mouth of a prophet (1 K $22^{5ff.}$). Still later a campaign was opened with prayer and fasting (1 Mac $3^{47ff.}$).

As regards the **commissariat,** it was probably usual, as in Greece, to start with three days' provisions, the soldiers, for the rest, helping themselves from friends (cf. however, the voluntary gifts, 2 S $17^{27ff.}$) and foes. The arrangement by which 'ten men out of every hundred' were told off 'to fetch victual for the people' (Jg 20^{10}), is first met with in a late document.

3. As the army advanced, scouts were sent out to ascertain the enemy's position and strength (Jg 1^{24} [AV 'spies,' RV 'watchers'], 1 S 26^{4}, 1 Mac 5^{38}). Where the element of secrecy enters, we may call them spies (so Jos 2^{1} RV, 2 S 15^{10}, 1 Mac 12^{26}; cf. Gideon's exploit, Jg $7^{11ff.}$).

Little is known of the **camps** of the Heb. armies. The men were sheltered in tents and booths (2 S 11^{11}; this reference, however, is to a lengthy siege). The general commanding probably had a more elaborate 'pavilion' (1 K $20^{12.\ 16}$, see TENT). The obscure term rendered by RV 'place of the wagons' (1 S 17^{20} $26^{5.\ 7}$) is derived from a root which justifies us in supposing that the Hebrew camps were round, rather than square. Of the 20 Assyrian camps represented on the bronze plates of the gates of Balawat, 4 are circular, 14 almost square, and 2 have their long sides straight and their short sides curved outwards. Two gates are represented at opposite ends, between which a broad road divides the camp into two almost equal parts (Billerbeck u. Delitzsch, *Die Palasttore Salmanassars*, II. [1908], 104). The Hebrews divided the night into three watches (Jg 7^{19}, 1 S 11^{11}).

4. The **tactics** of the Hebrew generals were as simple as their strategy. Usually the 'battle was set in array' by the opposing forces being drawn up in line facing each other. At a given signal, each side raised its **battle-cry** (Jg 7^{21}, Am 1^{14}, Jer 4^{19}) as it rushed to the fray; for the wild slogan of former days, the Ironsides of the Jewish Cromwell, Judas the Maccabee, substituted prayer (1 Mac 5^{33}) and the singing of Psalms (2 Mac12^{37}). It was a common practice for a general to divide his forces into three divisions (Jg 7^{16}, 1 S 11^{11}, 2 S 18^{2}, 1 Mac 5^{33}). A favourite piece of tactics was to pretend flight, and by leaving a body of men in **ambush,** to fall upon the unwary pursuers in front and rear (Jos 8^{15}, Jg 20^{36}). As examples of more elaborate tactics may be cited Joab's handling of his troops before Rabbath-ammon (2 S 10^{9-11}), and Benhadad's massing of his chariots at the battle of Ramoth-gilead (1 K 22^{31}); the campaigns of Judas Maccabæus would repay a special study from this point of view. The recall was sounded on the war-horn (2 S 2^{28} 18^{16} 20^{22}).

5. The tender mercies of the victors in those days were cruel, although the treatment which the Hebrews meted out to their enemies was, with few exceptions (*e.g.* 2 K 15^{16}), not to be compared to what Benzinger only too aptly describes as 'the Assyrian devilries.' It is one of the greatest blots on our RV that 2 S 12^{31} should still read as it does, instead of as in the margin (see *Cent. Bible, in loc.*). The Hebrew wars, as has been said, were the wars of J", and to J" of right belonged the population of a conquered city (see BAN). Even the humane Deuteronomic Code spares only the women and children (Dt $20^{13ff.}$). The captives were mostly sold as slaves. A heavy war indemnity or a yearly tribute was imposed on the conquered people (2 K 3^{4}).

The **booty** fell to the victorious soldiery, the leaders receiving a special share (Jg $8^{24ff.}$, 1 S $30^{26ff.}$). The men 'that tarried by the stuff'—in other words, who were left behind as a camp-guard—shared equally with their comrades 'who went down to the battle' (1 S $30^{24f.}$, a law first introduced by David, but afterwards characteristically assigned to Moses, Nu 31^{27}). The returning warriors were welcomed home by the women with dance and song (Ex $15^{20ff.}$, Jg 11^{34}, 1 S 18^{6} etc.). The piety of the Maccabæan age found a more fitting expression in a service of thanksgiving (1 Mac 4^{24}). See also ARMY, ARMOUR ARMS, FORTIFICATION AND SIEGE-CRAFT.

A. R. S. KENNEDY.

WARS OF THE LORD, BOOK OF THE.—A work quoted in Nu $21^{14f.}$ to settle a point with regard to the boundary of Moab and Ammon. The quotations in $vv.^{17.\ 18.\ 27-30}$ are probably from the same original. This is the only mention of the book in the OT. It is not likely that the work is identical with the **Book of Jashar.** It probably consisted of a collection of songs celebrating the victories of Israel over their neighbours. The song in Ex 15^{1-19} describing the Lord as 'a man of war' has been thought to be derived from it. The date of the work is unknown. As it deals with the heroic age, it likely originated in the period immediately following, and it has been dated in the reign of Omri (Stade), and by others as early as the time of David or Solomon. If Nu 21^{27-30} refer to the wars of Omri, we must regard the work as a product of the N. kingdom.

W. F. BOYD.

WASHPOT.—Only Ps 60^{8} = 108^{9}, as a figure of contempt. The 'pot' (sîr) was also used for boiling (see HOUSE, 9).

WATCH.—See TIME.

WATCHMAN.—See CITY.

WATCH TOWER.—See VINE.

WATER.—The scarcity of water in the East lends it a special value. Its presence in some form is essential to life. The fruitfulness of the land depends on the quantity available for watering. The Jordan, with its great springs, is too low for the irrigation of anything but the valley. There are many fountains in Palestine, but most fail in summer. The average annual rainfall approaches 30 inches. But this is confined to the months from April till October; and the water would rush down the slopes to the sea, were it not caught and stored for future use. The limestone formation, with its many caves, made easy the construction of cisterns and reservoirs to collect the rain water: thence supplies were drawn as required during the dry months. Wherever water is found, there is greenery and beauty all through the year.

In the Maritime Plain plentiful supplies of water are found on digging (Gn $26^{15ff.}$). To fill up the **wells** would make the district uninhabitable. Invading armies were at times reduced to sore straits by the stopping of wells (2 K $3^{19.\ 25}$), or diversion and concealment of the stream from a fountain (2 Ch $32^{3f.}$).

The earliest use of water was doubtless to allay the thirst of man and beast. Refusal of drink to a thirsty man would be universally condemned (Gn $24^{17f.}$, Jn 4^{7}).

It is held a meritorious act to set a vessel of water by the wayside for the refreshment of the wayfarer. The same right does not extend to flocks (Gn 24[19f.]), for which water must often be purchased. Use and wont have established certain regulations for the watering of animals, infringement of which frequently causes strife (Gn 29[2ff.], Ex 2[16ff.]; cf. Gn 26[20] etc.). The art of **irrigation** (wh. see) was employed in ancient days (Ps 1[3] 65[10], Ezk 17[7] etc.), and reached its fullest development in the Roman period. To this time also belong many ruins of massive aqueducts, leading water to the cities from distant sources.

Cisterns and springs are not common property. Every considerable house has a **cistern** for rain water from roof and adjoining areas. Importance is attached to plunging in the buckets by which the water is drawn up, this preventing stagnation. The springs, and cisterns made in the open country, are the property of the local family or tribe, from whom water, if required in any quantity, must be bought. The mouth of the well is usually covered with a great stone. Drawing of water for domestic purposes is almost exclusively the work of women (Gn 24[11], Jn 4[7] etc.). In crossing the desert, water is carried in 'bottles' of skin (Gn 21[14]).

The 'living,' *i.e.* 'flowing' water of the **spring** is greatly preferred to the 'dead' water of the cistern, and it stands frequently for the vitalizing influences of God's grace (Jer 2[13], Zec 14[8], Jn 4[10] etc.). Many Scripture references show how the cool, refreshing, fertilizing qualities of water are prized in a thirsty land (Pr 25[25], Is 44[14], Jer 17[8], Lk 16[24] etc.). Water is furnished to wash the feet and hands of a guest (Lk 7[44]). To pour water on the hands is the office of a servant (2 K 3[11]). The sudden spates of the rainy season are the symbol of danger (Ps 18[16] 32[6], Is 28[17] etc.), and their swift passing symbolizes life's transiency (Job 11[16], Ps 58[7]). Water is also the symbol of weakness and instability (Gn 49[4], Ezk 21[7] etc.). Cf. CITY; JERUSALEM, I. 4. For **'Water-gate'** see NETHINIM, p. 654[a]. W. EWING.

WATER OF BITTERNESS.—See JEALOUSY.

WATER OF SEPARATION.—See RED HEIFER.

WATERPOTS.—See HOUSE, § 9.

WATERSPOUTS.—Only Ps 42[7] 'Deep calleth unto deep at the noise of thy waterspouts' (R.Vm 'cataracts'). The reference is prob. to the numerous noisy waterfalls in a stream swollen by the melting of the snow.

WAVE-BREAST, WAVE-OFFERING.—See SACRIFICE, § 2 (13), 12.

WAX.—See EDUCATION, p. 205[a]; WRITING, 6.

WAY.—1. OT usage.—(*a*) Of a road or journey (1 S 6[9. 12], 2 K 3[20], Jer 2[18]). (*b*) Figuratively, of a course of conduct or character (Job 17[9] Ps 91[11]), either in a good sense as approved by God (Dt 31[29], Ps 50[23], Is 30[21]), or in a bad sense of man's own choosing (Ps 139[24], Is 65[2], Jer 18[11]). (*c*) Of the way of Jehovah, His creative power (Job 26[14]), His moral rule and commandments (Job 21[14], Ps 18[30], Pr 8[32]).

2. NT usage.—(*a*) In the literal sense (Mt 4[15] 10[5], Ac 8[26]). (*b*) Figuratively, as in OT of human conduct, or God's purpose for man (Mt 21[32], Ac 14[16], Ro 11[33], 1 Co 4[17], Ja 5[20]). But the gospel greatly enriched the ethical and religious import of the word. Though Jesus was addressed as one who taught 'the way of God in truth' (Mt 22[16]), He Himself claimed to show the way to the Father because He is 'the Way, the Truth, and the Life' (Jn 14[4. 5. 6]). By Him 'the two worlds were united' (Westcott). This is equivalent to the Apostolic doctrine that Christ is the gospel (Mk 1[1], Ro 15[19]). In He 9[8] 10[20] there is the similar thought that Jesus by His life, death, and exaltation has opened a way whereby men may enter into the holy presence of God, and enables them also to walk therein. In Acts 'the Way' is used with the distinctive meaning of the Christian faith and manner of life, which is the only 'way' that leads to salvation (9[2] 19[9. 23] 24[22]). This is the 'way of the Lord' so often referred to in the OT, of which Jesus became the final and perfect revealer. The development of the conception may be traced in Ac 16[17] 18[25. 26]. R. A. FALCONER.

WAYMARK.—In Jer 31[21] (20) 'the virgin of Israel' is called on to set up waymarks and make guide-posts to mark the way for the returning exiles. The Heb. word tr. 'waymark' apparently means a small stone pillar, similar to our milestones, with an indication of routes and distances.

WEALTH.—This word is used in Scripture occasionally in the Elizabethan and primary sense of 'well-being' (*e.g.* 1 S 2[32], Est 10[3] etc.), but generally in the more usual sense of affluent possessions (*e.g.* Gn 34[29], Dt 8[17. 18], Ac 19[25] etc.).

1. Palestine is described in Dt 8[7-9] as rich not only in cereal but also in mineral wealth; but this may be a description more poetic than literal. It is, however, frequently spoken of as 'flowing with milk and honey' (Ex 3[8], etc. etc.)—products which were in ancient times considered the marks of fertile lands. The wealth of Israel increased as the country developed; and under the monarchy it reached its height. The increased prosperity did not, however, lead to increased righteousness. If in the times of Isaiah the land was 'full of silver and gold,' it was also 'full of idols' (Is 2[7. 8]: the ruling classes oppressed the poor (5[8], Mic 2[2]), drunkenness (Is 5[11], Mic 2[11]) and audacity of sin (Is 5[18]) were rampant. The national poverty that followed upon the Exile had been removed before the birth of our Lord, as exemplified by the magnificent buildings of Herod. Throughout the OT and NT many instances of wealthy individuals occur: *e.g.* Abram (Gn 13[2]), Nabal (1 S 25[2]), Barzillai (2 S 19[32]), Zacchæus (Lk 19[2]), Joseph of Arimathæa (Mt 27[57]).

2. In the OT the possession of wealth is generally regarded as evidence of God's blessing, and so of righteousness (Ps 1[3. 4] etc.). But the stubborn facts of the godly being called upon sometimes to suffer, and of the wicked sometimes flourishing, led to a deeper view; and the limited power and transitoriness of wealth were realized (Ps 49; cf. 37. 73. Job 21, Jer 12 etc.). In the NT the problem does not present itself so keenly; as, in the full belief of a future life, the difficulty resolved itself. But the general conduciveness of virtue to earthly prosperity is inculcated; and we are taught that godliness is profitable for this life as well as for that which is to come (1 Ti 4[8]; cf. Mt 6[33], Mk 10[30]).

3. *Our Lord's position regarding wealth* must be deduced from His practice and teaching. As regards His *practice*, it is clear that, until He commenced His ministry, He obtained His livelihood by labour, toiling as a carpenter in Nazareth (Mk 6[3]). During His ministry, He and the Twelve formed a family with a common purse. This store, composed, no doubt, of the personal property of those of their number who originally had wealth, was replenished by gifts of attached disciples (Lk 8[3]). From it necessary food was purchased and the poor were relieved (Jn 4[8] 13[29]). Christ and His Apostles as a band, therefore, owned private property. When our Lord dispatched the Twelve on a special tour for preaching and healing, and when He sent the Seventy on a similar errand, He commanded them to take with them neither money nor food (Mt 10[10], Lk 10[4]); but these were special instructions on special occasions, and doubtless on their return to Him the former system of a common purse was reverted to (cf. Lk 22[36]).

As regards Christ's *teaching*, it is important to balance those sayings which appear to be hostile to any possession of wealth, with those which point in the other direction. On the one hand, we find Him bidding a rich young man sell his all and give to the poor (Mk 10[21]), and then telling His disciples that it is easier

for a camel to go through a needle's eye than for a rich man to enter the Kingdom of God. He pictures a possessor of increasing wealth hearing God say, 'Thou foolish one, this night is thy soul required of thee' (Lk 12^{20}); He follows beyond the grave the histories of a rich man and a beggar, placing the rich man in a 'place of torment' and the poor man in Abraham's bosom (Lk $16^{19ff.}$). But there is the other side; for we find that He sympathized deeply with those enduring poverty, assuring them of their Father's care (Mt 6^{32}), preaching especially to them the gospel (Mt 11^{5}), and pronouncing upon them in their sorrows a special benediction (Lk 6^{20}). He showed that He desired that all should have a sufficiency, by bidding all, rich and poor alike, pray for 'daily bread.' If He taught that riches were indeed an obstacle to entrance into the Kingdom of God, He also taught that it was the 'few' (whether rich or poor) that succeeded in entering it (Mt 7^{14}). If He told one young man to sell all that he had, clearly He did not intend this counsel to be applicable to all, for He assured of 'salvation' Zacchæus, who gave but the half of his goods to the poor (Lk $19^{8.\ 9}$). If the builder of larger barns is termed the 'foolish one,' his folly is shown not to have been mere acquisition of wealth, but *that* acquisition apart from riches 'toward God' (Lk 12^{21}); and if Dives is in Hades, it is evident that he is not there merely because of his riches, for Lazarus lies in the bosom of Abraham, the typical rich Jew. Further, in the parables of the Pounds and the Talents (Lk 19^{12}, Mt 25^{14}) He teaches, under the symbolism of money, that men are not owners but stewards of all they possess; while in the parable of the Unjust Steward He points out one of the *true* uses of wealth—namely, to relieve the poor, and so to insure a welcome from them when the eternal tabernacles are entered (Lk 16^{9}).

From the foregoing we may conclude that, while our Lord realized that poverty brought sorrow, He also realized that wealth contained an intense peril to spiritual life. He came to raise the world from the material to the spiritual; and wealth, as the very token of the material and temporal, was blinding men to the spiritual and eternal. He therefore urged those to whom it was a special hindrance, to resign it altogether; and charged *all* to regard it as something for the use of which they would be held accountable.

4. In the Apostolic Church, in its earliest days, we find her members having 'all things common,' and the richer selling their possessions to supply the wants of their poorer brethren (Ac $2^{44.\ 45}$ 4^{34-37}). But this active enthusiasm does not necessarily show that the Church thought the personal possession of wealth, in itself, unlawful or undesirable; for the case of Ananias clearly indicates that the right to the possession of private property was not questioned (Ac 5^{4}). Later in the history of the Church we find St. James inveighing against the proud and heartless rich (Ja 2^{1-8} 5^{1-5}), and St. Paul warning men of the spiritual dangers incident to the procuring or possessing of wealth (1 Ti $6^{9.\ 10.\ 17-19}$; cf. Rev 3^{17}). CHARLES T. P. GRIERSON.

WEAPONS.—See ARMOUR ARMS.

WEASEL (*chōled*, Lv 11^{29}).—An 'unclean' animal. Since the Heb. root *chālad* means 'to dig,' and the Arab. *khuld* is the 'mole-rat,' it is practically certain that this latter is the correct translation of *chōled*. Cf. MOLE. E. W. G. MASTERMAN.

WEAVING.—See SPINNING AND WEAVING.

WEDDING.—See MARRIAGE.

WEDGE (of gold).—See MONEY, p. 628b.

WEEDS.—1. *sūph*, Jon 2^{6}, referring to sea-weeds (cf. the designation *yam sūph* 'sea of weeds,' applied to the Red Sea [wh. see]). **2.** Gr. *chortos*, Sir 40^{16}, used in the same indefinite sense as Eng. 'weeds.'

WEEK.—See TIME.

WEEKS, FEAST OF.—See PENTECOST.

WEEPING.—See MOURNING CUSTOMS.

WEIGHTS AND MEASURES.—Since the most important of all ancient Oriental systems of weights and measures, the **Babylonian**, seems to have been based on a unit of length (the measures of capacity and weight being scientifically derived therefrom), it is reasonable to deal with the measures of length before proceeding to measures of capacity and weight. At the same time it seems probable that the measures of length in use in Palestine were based on a more primitive, and (so far as we know) unscientific system, which is to be connected with Egypt. The Babylonian system associated with Gudea (*c.* B.C. 3000), on statues of whom a scale, indicating a cubit of 30 digits or 19⅝ inches, has been found engraved, was not adopted by the Hebrews.

I. MEASURES OF LENGTH.

The Hebrew unit was a **cubit** (⅛ of a reed, Ezk 40^{5}), containing 2 spans or 6 palms or 24 finger's breadths. The early system did not recognize the foot or the fathom. Measurements were taken both by the 6-cubit rod or reed and the line or 'fillet' (Ezk 40^{3}, Jer 31^{39} 52^{21}, 1 K 7^{15}).

The ancient Hebrew literary authorities for the early Hebrew cubit are as follows. The 'cubit of a man' (Dt 3^{11}) was the unit by which the 'bedstead' of Og, king of Bashan, was measured (cf. Rev 21^{17}). This implies that at the time to which the passage belongs (apparently not long before the time of Ezekiel) the Hebrews were familiar with more than one cubit, of which that in question was the ordinary working cubit. Solomon's Temple was laid out on the basis of a cubit 'after the first (or ancient) measure' (2 Ch 3^{3}). Now Ezekiel (40^{5} 43^{13}) prophesies the building of a Temple on a unit which he describes as a cubit and a hand's breadth, *i.e.* ⅞ of the ordinary cubit. As in his vision he is practically reproducing Solomon's Temple, we may infer that Solomon's cubit, *i.e.* the ancient cubit, was also ⅞ of the ordinary cubit of Ezekiel's time. We thus have an ordinary cubit of 6, and what we may call (by analogy with the Egyptian system) the **royal cubit** of 7 hand's breadths. For this double system is curiously parallel to the Egyptian, in which there was a common cubit of 0·450 m. or 17·72 in., which was ⅞ of the royal cubit of 0·525 m. or 20·67 in. (these data are derived from actual measuring rods). A similar distinction between a common and a royal norm existed in the Babylonian weight-system. Its object there was probably to give the government an advantage in the case of taxation; probably also in the case of measures of length the excess of the royal over the common measure had a similar object.

We have at present no means of ascertaining the exact dimensions of the Hebrew ordinary and royal cubits. The balance of evidence is certainly in favour of a fairly close approximation to the Egyptian system. The estimates vary from 16 to 25·2 inches. They are based on: (1) *the Siloam inscription*, which says: 'The waters flowed from the outlet to the Pool 1200 cubits,' or, according to another reading, '1000 cubits.' The length of the canal is estimated at 537·6 m., which yields a cubit of 0·525 to 0·527 m. (20·67 to 20·75 in.) or 0·538 m. (21·18 in.) according to the reading adopted. Further uncertainty is occasioned by the possibility of the number 1200 or 1000 being only a round number. The evidence of the Siloam inscription is thus of a most unsatisfactory kind. (2) *The measurements of tombs.* Some of these appear to be constructed on the basis of the Egyptian cubit; others seem to yield cubits of 0·575 m. (about 22·6 in.) or 0·641 m. (about 25·2 in.). The last two cubits seem to be improbable. The measurements of another tomb (known as the

WEIGHTS AND MEASURES

Tomb of Joshua) seem to confirm the deduction of the cubit of about 0·525 m. (3) *The measurement of grains of barley.* This has been objected to for more than one reason. But the Rabbinical tradition allowed 144 barley-corns of medium size, laid side by side, to the cubit; and it is remarkable that a recent careful attempt made on these lines resulted in a cubit of 17·77 in. (0·451 m.), which is the Egyptian common cubit. (4) Recently it has been pointed out that *Josephus*, when using Jewish measures of capacity, etc., which differ from the Greek or Roman, is usually careful to give an equation explaining the measures to his Greek or Roman readers, while in the case of the cubit he does not do so, but seems to regard the Hebrew and the Roman-Attic as practically the same. The Roman-Attic cubit (1½ ft.) is fixed at 0·444 m. or 17·57 in., so that we have here a close approximation to the Egyptian common cubit. Probably in Josephus' time the Hebrew common cubit was, as ascertained by the methods mentioned above, 0·450 m.; and the difference between this and the Attic-Roman was regarded by him as negligible for ordinary purposes. (5) *The Mishna.* No data of any value for the exact determination of the cubit are to be obtained from this source. Four cubits is given as the length of a *loculus* in a rock-cut tomb; it has been pointed out that, allowing some 2 inches for the bier, and taking 5 ft. 6 in. to 5 ft. 8 in. as the average height of the Jewish body, this gives 4 cubits = 5 ft. 10 in., or 17½ in. to the cubit. On the cubit in Herod's Temple, see A. R. S. Kennedy in art. TEMPLE (p. 902[b]), and in artt. in *ExpT* xx. [1908], p. 24 ff.

The general inference from the above five sources of information is that the Jews had two cubits, a shorter and a longer, corresponding closely to the Egyptian common and royal cubit. The equivalents are expressed in the following table:—

	Royal System.		Common System.	
	Metres.	Inches.	Metres.	Inches.
Finger's breadth .	0·022	0·86	0·019	0·74
Palm = 4 fingers .	0·088	3·44	0·075	2·95
Span = 3 palms .	0·262	10·33	0·225	8·86
Cubit = 2 spans .	0·525	20·67	0·450	17·72
Reed = 6 cubits .	3·150	124·02	2·700	106·32

Parts and multiples of the unit.—The ordinary parts of the cubit have already been mentioned. They occur as follows: the **finger's breadth** or digit (Jer 52[21], the *daktyl* of Josephus); the palm or **hand's breadth** (1 K 7[26], Ezk 40[5. 43] 43[13] etc.); the **span** (Ex 28[16] 39[9] etc.). A special measure is the *gōmed*, which was the length of the sword of Ehud (Jg 3[16]), and is not mentioned elsewhere. It was explained by the commentators as a short cubit (hence EV 'cubit'), and it has been suggested that it was the cubit of 5 palms, which is mentioned by Rabbi Judah. The Greeks also had a short cubit, known as the *pygōn*, of 5 palms, the distance from the elbow to the first joint of the fingers. The **reed** (=6 cubits) is the only definite OT multiple of the cubit (Ezk 40[5]). This is the *akaina* of the Greek writers. The **pace** of 2 S 6[13] is probably not meant to be a definite measure. A 'little way' (Gn 35[16] 48[7], 2 K 5[19]) is also indefinite. Syr. and Arab. translators compared it with the parasang, but it cannot merely for that reason be regarded as fixed. **A day's journey** (Nu 11[31], 1 K 19[4], Jon 3[4], Lk 2[44]) and its multiples (Gn 30[36], Nu 10[33]) are of course also variable.

The Sabbath day's journey (Ac 1[12]) was usually computed at 2000 cubits. This was the distance by which the ark preceded the host of the Israelites, and it was consequently presumed that this distance might be covered on the Sabbath, since the host must be allowed to attend worship at the ark. The distance was doubled by a legal fiction: on the eve of the Sabbath, food was placed at a spot 2000 cubits on, and this new place thus became the traveller's place within the meaning of the prescription of Ex 16[29]; there were also other means of increasing the distance. The Mt. of Olives was distant a Sabbath day's journey from Jerusalem, and the same distance is given by Josephus as 5 *stadia*, thus confirming the 2000 cubits computation. But in the Talmud the Sabbath day's journey is equated to the *mîl* of 3000 cubits or 7½ furlongs; and the measure 'threescore furlongs' of Lk 24[13], being an exact multiple of this distance, seems to indicate that this may have been one form (the earlier?) of the Sabbath day's journey.

In later times, a Byzantine writer of uncertain date, Julian of Ascalon, furnishes information as to the measures in use in Palestine (Provincial measures, derived from the work of the architect Julian of Ascalon, from the laws or customs prevailing in Palestine,' is the title of the table). From this we obtain (omitting doubtful points) the following table:—

1. The finger's breadth.
2. The palm = 4 finger's breadths.
3. The cubit = 1½ feet = 6 palms.
4. The pace = 2 cubits = 3 feet = 12 palms.
5. The **fathom** = 2 paces = 4 cubits = 6 feet.
6. The reed = 1½ fathoms = 6 cubits = 9 feet = 36 palms.
7. The *plethron* = 10 reeds = 15 fathoms = 30 paces = 60 cubits = 90 feet.
8. The *stadium* or **furlong** = 6 *plethra* = 60 reeds = 100 fathoms = 200 paces = 400 cubits = 600 feet.
9. (*a*) The *milion* or **mile**, 'according to Eratosthenes and Strabo' = 8⅓ stadia = 833⅓ fathoms.
(*b*) The *milion* 'according to the present use' = 7½ stadia = 750 fathoms = 1500 paces = 3000 cubits.
10. The present *milion* of 7½ stadia = 750 'geometric' fathoms = 833⅓ 'simple' fathoms; for 9 geometric fathoms = 10 simple fathoms.

We may justifiably assume that the 3000 cubits of 9 (*b*) are the royal cubits of 0·525 m. The geometric and simple measures according to Julian thus work out as follows:—

	Geometric.		Simple.	
	Metres.	Inches.	Metres.	Inches.
Finger's breadth	0·022	0·86	0·020	0·79
Palm . . .	0·088	3·44	0·080	3·11
Cubit . . .	0·525	20·67	0·473	18·62
Fathom . .	2·100	82·68	1·890	74·49

Measures of area.—For smaller measures of area there seem to have been no special names, the dimensions of the sides of a square being usually stated. For land measures, two methods of computation were in use. (1) The first, as in most countries, was to state area in terms of *the amount that a yoke of oxen could plough in a day* (cf. the Latin *jugerum*). Thus in Is 5[10] (possibly also in the corrupt 1 S 14[14]) we have '10 yoke' (*tsemed*) of vineyard. Although definite authority is lacking, we may perhaps equate the Hebrew **yoke** of land to the Egyptian unit of land measure, which was **100** royal cubits square (0·2756 hectares or 0·6810 acre). The Greeks called this measure the *aroura*. (2) The second measure was *the amount of seed required to sow an area.* Thus 'the sowing of a homer of barley' was computed at the price of 50 shekels of silver (Lv 27[16]). The dimensions of the trench which Elijah dug about his altar (1 K 18[32]) have also recently been explained on the same principle; the trench (*i.e.* the area enclosed by it) is described as being 'like a house of two seahs of seed' (AV and RV wrongly 'as great as would contain two measures of seed'). This measure **'house of two seahs'** is the standard of measurement in the Mishna, and is defined as the area of the court of the Tabernacle, or 100 × 50 cubits (*c.* 1648 sq. yds. or 0·1379 hectares). Other measures of capacity were used in the same way, and the system was Babylonian in origin; there are also traces of the same system in the West, under the Roman Empire.

WEIGHTS AND MEASURES

II. Measures of Capacity.

The terms **'handful'** (Lv 2^{2}) and the like do not represent any part of a system of measures in Hebrew, any more than in English. The Hebrew 'measure' *par excellence* was the **seah**, Gr. *saton*. From the Greek version of Is 5^{10} and other sources we know that the ephah contained 3 such measures. Epiphanius describes the seāh or Hebrew *modius* as a modius of extra size, and as equal to $1\frac{1}{4}$ Roman modius = 20 sextarii. Josephus, however, equates it with $1\frac{1}{2}$ Roman modius = 24 sextarii. An anonymous Greek fragment agrees with this, and so also does Jerome in his commentary on Mt 13^{33}. Epiphanius elsewhere, and other writers, equate it with 22 sextarii (the Bab. ephah is computed at 66 sextarii). The seāh was used for both liquid and dry measure.

The **ephah** (the word is suspected of Egyp. origin) of 3 *seāhs* was used for dry measure only; the equivalent liquid measure was the **bath** (Gr. *bados, batos, keramion, choinix*). They are equated in Ezk 45^{11}, each containing $\frac{1}{10}$ of a homer. The ephah corresponds to the Gr. *artabe* (although in Is 5^{10} six artabai go to a homer) or *metrētes*. Josephus equates it to 72 sextarii. The bath was divided into tenths (Ezk 45^{14}), the name of which is unknown; the ephah likewise into tenths, which were called *'ōmer* or *'issaron* (distinguish from *homer* = 10 ephahs). Again the ephah and bath were both divided into sixths (Ezk 45^{13}); the $\frac{1}{6}$ bath was the *hin*, but the name of the $\frac{1}{6}$ ephah is unknown.

The **homer** (Ezk 45^{11}, Hos 3^{2}) or **cor** (Ezk 45^{14}, Lk 16^{7}; Gr. *koros*) contained 10 ephahs or baths, or 30 seāhs. (The term 'cōr' is used more especially for liquids.) It corresponded to 10 Attic *metrētai* (so Jos. *Ant.* xv. ix. 2, though he says *medimni* by a slip). The word *cōr* may be connected with the Bab. *gur* or *gurru*.

The reading **lethek** which occurs in Hos 3^{2}, and by Vulgate and EV is rendered by 'half a homer,' is doubtful. Epiphanius says the *lethek* is a large *'ōmer* (*gomer*) of 15 *modii*.

The **hin** (Gr. *hein*) was a liquid measure = $\frac{1}{6}$ seāh. In Lv 19^{36} the LXX renders it *chous*. But Josephus and Jerome and the Talmud equate it to 2 Attic *choes* = 12 sextarii. The hin was divided into halves, thirds (= cab), quarters, sixths, and twelfths (= log). In later times there were a 'sacred hin' = $\frac{3}{4}$ of the ordinary hin, and a large hin = 2 sacred hins = $\frac{3}{2}$ ordinary hin. The Egyp. *hen*, of much smaller capacity (0·455 l.) is to be distinguished.

The **'omer** (Gr *gomor*) is confined to dry measure. It is $\frac{1}{10}$ ephah and is therefore called *assaron* or *'issaron* (AV 'tenth deal'). Epiphanius equates it accordingly to $7\frac{1}{2}$ sextarii, Eusebius less accurately to 7 sextarii. Eusebius also calls it the 'little gomor'; but there was another 'little gomor' of 12 modii, so called in distinction from the 'large gomor' of 15 modii (the *lethek* of Epiphanius). Josephus wrongly equates the *gomor* to 7 Attic *kotylai*.

The **cab** (2 K 6^{25}, Gr. *kabos*) was both a liquid and a dry measure. From Josephus and the Talmud it appears that it was equal to 4 sextarii, or $\frac{1}{3}$ hin. In other places it is equated to 6 sextarii, 5 sextarii ('great cab' = $1\frac{1}{4}$ cab), and $\frac{1}{4}$ modius (Epiphanius, who, according to the meaning he attaches to *modius* here, may mean 4, 5, $5\frac{1}{2}$, or 6 sextarii!).

The **log** (Lv $14^{10.\ 12}$) is a measure of oil; the Talmud equates it to $\frac{1}{12}$ hin or $\frac{1}{4}$ seāh, *i.e.* $\frac{1}{4}$ cab. Josephus renders the $\frac{1}{4}$ cab of 2 K 6^{25} by the Greek *xestes* or Roman *sextarius*, and there is other evidence to the same effect.

A measure of doubtful capacity is the *nebel* of wine (Gr. version of Hos 3^{2}, instead of **lethek** of barley). It was 150 sextarii, by which may be meant ordinary sextarii or the larger Syrian sextarii which would make it = 3 baths. The word means 'wine-skin.'

We thus obtain the following table (showing a mixed decimal and sexagesimal system) of dry and liquid measures. Where the name of the liquid differs from that of the dry measure, the former is added in italics. Where there is no corresponding liquid measure, the dry measure is asterisked.

The older portion of this system seems to have been the sexagesimal, the *'ōmer* and $\frac{1}{10}$ *bath* and the *lethek* (if it ever occurred) being intrusions.

When we come to investigate the actual contents of the various measures, we are, in the first instance, thrown back on the (apparently only approximate) equations with the Roman *sextarius* (Gr. *xestes*) and its multiples already mentioned. The *log* would then be the equivalent of the *sextarius*, the *bath* of the *metrētes*, the *cab* (of 6 logs) of the Ptolemaic *chous*. If log and sextarius were exact equivalents, the ephah of 72 logs would = 39·39 litres, = nearly $8\frac{2}{3}$ gallons. This is on the usual assumption that the sextarius was 0·545 l. or 0·96 imperial pints. But the exact capacity of the

Homer or cor . . .	1											
* Lethek	2	1										
Ephah, *bath* . . .	10	5	1									
Seāh	30	15	3	1								
$\frac{1}{6}$ ephah, *hin* . . .	60	30	6	2	1							
'Omer or 'issaron, $\frac{1}{10}$ *bath* .	100	50	10	$3\frac{1}{3}$	$1\frac{2}{3}$	1						
$\frac{1}{2}$ *hin*	120	60	12	4	2	$1\frac{1}{3}$	1					
Cab	180	90	18	6	3	$1\frac{1}{2}$	$1\frac{1}{2}$	1				
$\frac{1}{4}$ *hin*	240	120	24	8	4	$2\frac{2}{3}$	2	$1\frac{1}{3}$	1			
$\frac{1}{2}$ cab, $\frac{1}{6}$ *hin* . . .	360	180	36	12	6	$3\frac{2}{3}$	3	2	$1\frac{1}{2}$	1		
$\frac{1}{4}$ cab, *log*	720	360	72	24	12	$7\frac{1}{3}$	6	4	3	2	1	
* $\frac{1}{6}$ cab	1440	720	144	48	24	$14\frac{2}{3}$	12	8	6	4	2	1

Name of Measure.	(1) Lōg = 0·505 l.		(2) Ephah = 65 Pints.		(3) Lōg = 0·99 Pint.		Rough Approximation on Basis of (3).
	Litres.	Gallons.	Litres.	Gallons.	Litres.	Gallons.	
Homer (cor)	363·7	80·053	369·2	81·25	405	89.28	11 bushels
Lethek	181·85	40·026	184·6	40·62	202	44.64	5½ ,,
Ephah-bath	36·37	8·005	36·92	8·125	40·5	8·928	9 gallons
Seāh	12·120	2·668	12·3	2·708	13·5	2·976	1½ pecks
Great hin	9·090	2·001	9·18	2·234	10·08	2·232	2¼ gallons
Hin	6·060	1·334	6·12	1·356	6·72	1·488	1½ ,,
Sacred hin	4·545	1·000	4·59	1·117	5·04	1·116	9 pints
'Omer	3·657	0·800	3·67	0·813	4·05	8·893	7¼ ,,
½ hin	3·030	0·667	3·06	0·678	3·36	0·744	6 ,,
Cab	2·020	0·445	2·05	0·451	2·25	0·496	4 ,,
⅓ hin	1·515	0·333	1·53	0·339	1·68	0·372	3 ,,
½ cab	1·010	0·222	1·02	0·226	1·12	0·248	2 ,,
Log	0·505	0·111	0·51	0·113	0·56	0·124	1 pint
¼ cab	0·252	0·055	0·26	0·056	0·28	0·062	½ ,,

sextarius is disputed, and a capacity as high as 0·562 l. or 0·99 imperial pint is given for the sextarius by an actually extant measure. This would give as the capacity of the ephah-bath 40·46 l. or 71·28 pints. But it is highly improbable that the equation of log to sextarius was more than approximate. It is more easy to confound closely resembling measures of capacity than of length, area, or weight.

Other methods of ascertaining the capacity of the ephah are the following. We may assume that it was the same as the Babylonian unit of 0·505 l. (0·89 pint). This would give an ephah of 36·37 l., or nearly 8 gallons or 66·5 sextarii of the usually assumed weight, and more or less squares with Epiphanius' equation of the seāh or ⅓ ephah with 22 sextarii. Or we may connect it with the Egyptian system, thus: both the ephah-bath and the Egyptian-Ptolemaic *artabe* are equated to the Attic *metrētes* of 72 sextarii. Now, in the case of the *artabe* this is only an approximation, for it is known from native Egyptian sources (which give the capacity in terms of a volume of water of a certain weight) that the *artabe* was about 36·45 l., or a little more than 64 pints. Other calculations, as from a passage of Josephus, where the cor is equated to 41 Attic (Græco-Roman) modii (*i.e.* 656 sextarii), give the same result. In this passage *modii* is an almost certain emendation of *medimni*, the confusion between the two being natural in a Greek MS. There are plenty of other vague approximations, ranging from 60 to 72 sextarii. Though the passage of Josephus is not quite certain in its text, we may accept it as having the appearance of precise determination, especially since it gives a result not materially differing from other sources of information.

In the above table, the values of the measures are given according to three estimates, viz. (1) log = Babylonian unit of 0·505 l.; (2) ephah = 65 pints; (3) log = sextarius of 0·99 pint.

Foreign measures of capacity mentioned in NT.— Setting aside words which strictly denote a measure of capacity, but are used loosely to mean simply a vessel (*e.g.* 'cup' in Mk 7⁴), the following, among others, have been noted. **Bushel** (Mt 5¹⁵) is the tr. of *modius*, which represents *seāh*. **Firkin** is used (Jn 2⁶) to represent the Greek *metrētes*, the rough equivalent of the *bath*. **Measure** in Rev 6⁶ represents the Gr. *choinix* of about 2 pints.

III. Measures of Weight.

The system of weights used in Palestine was derived from Babylonia. Egypt does not seem to have exerted any influence in this respect. The chief denominations in the system were the **talent** (Gr. *talanton*, Heb. *kikkar* meaning, apparently, a round cake-like object), the **mina** (Gr. *mna*, Heb. **maneh**; tr. '**pound**' in 1 K 10¹⁷ and elsewhere, though 'pound' in Jn 12³ 19³⁹ means the Roman pound of 327·45 grammes or 5053·3 grs. troy), and the **shekel** (Gr. *siklos* or *siglos*, Heb. *sheqel*, from *shāqal*, 'to weigh'). The shekel further was divided into 20 **gerahs** (*gerah* apparently = the Babylonian *giru*, a small weight of silver). [References to shekels or other denominations of precious metal in pre-exilic times must be to uncoined metal, not to coins, which are of later origin.] For ordinary purposes 60 shekels made a mina, and 60 minæ a talent; but for the precious metals a mina of 50 shekels was employed, although the talent contained 60 minæ, as in the other case. There were two systems, the heavy and the light, the former being double of the latter. The evidence of certain extant Bab. weights proves that there was a very complex system, involving at least two norms, one of which, the royal, used for purposes of taxation, was higher than the other, the common. For our purposes, we may here confine ourselves to the common norm in the heavy and light systems. It may, however, be mentioned that the **'king's weight,'** according to which Absalom's hair weighed 200 shekels (2 S 14²⁶), is probably to be referred to this royal norm. Combining the evidence of the extant Bab. weights with the evidence of later coins of various countries of the ancient world, and with the knowledge, derived from a statement in Herodotus, that the ratio of gold to silver was as 13⅓ to 1, we obtain the following results:—

	Heavy.		Light.	
	Grains Troy.	Grammes.	Grains Troy.	Grammes.
Talent	757,380	49,077	378,690	24,539
Mina	12,623	818	6,311·5	409
Shekel	252·5	16·36	126·23	8·18
Value of the gold shekel in silver	3,366·6	218·1	1,684·3	109·1
i.e., ten pieces of silver of	336·6	21·81	168·4	10·91
Or fifteen pieces of silver of	224·4	14·54	112·2	7·27

N. B.—One heavy talent = 98·154 lbs. avoirdupois; one heavy mina = 1·636 lb. avoirdupois.

Now the pieces of $\frac{1}{10}$ and $\frac{1}{15}$ of the value of the gold shekel in silver were the units on which were based systems known as the Babylonian or Persic and the Phœnician respectively; the reason for the names being that these two standards seem to have been associated by the Greeks, the first with Persia, whose coins were struck on this standard, the second with the great Phœnician trading cities, Sidon, Tyre, etc. For con-

	Babylonian.				Phœnician.			
	Heavy.		Light.		Heavy.		Light.	
	Grains.	Grammes.	Grains.	Grammes.	Grains.	Grammes.	Grains.	Grammes.
Shekel . . .	336·6	21·81	168·4	10·91	224·4	14·54	112·2	7·27
Mina of 50 shekels	16,830	1090·5	8,420	545·25	11,220	727	5,610	363·5
Mina of 60 shekels	20,196	1308·68	10,098	654·34	13,464	872·45	6,732	436·23
Talent of 3000 shekels . .	1,009,800	65,430	504,900	32,715	673,200	43,620	336,600	21,810
Talent of 3600 shekels . .	1,211,760	78,520·77	605,880	39,260·38	807,840	52,347·18	403,920	26,173·59

venience' sake the names 'Babylonian' and 'Phœnician' may be retained, although it must be remembered that they are conventional. The above table gives the equivalents in weights on the two systems, both for the precious metals (in which the mina weighed 50 shekels) and for trade (in which it weighed 60 shekels).

The evidence of actual weights found in Palestine is as follows: **1. 2. 3.** Three stone weights from Tell Zakarîyā, inscribed apparently *netseph*, and weighing—

10·21 grammes = 157·564 grains troy.
9·5 ,, = 146·687 ,,
9·0 ,, = 138·891 ,,

4. A weight with the same inscription, from near Jerusalem, weighing 8·61 grammes = 134·891 grains troy.

5. A weight from Samaria inscribed apparently ½ *netseph* and ½ *shekel*, weighing 2·54 grammes = 39·2 grains troy; yielding a *netseph* of 9·16 grammes = 156·8 grains troy. This has been dated in the 8th cent. B.C.; and all the weights are apparently of pre-exilic date. There are other weights from Gezer, which have, without due cause, been connected with the *netseph* standard; and a second set of weights from Gezer, Jerusalem, Zakarîyā, and Tell el-Judeideh may be ignored, as they seem to bear Cypriote inscriptions, and represent a standard weight of 93 grammes maximum. Some addition must be allowed to Nos. **2** and **3** of the above-mentioned *netseph* weights, for fracture, and probably to No. **4**, which is pierced. The highest of these weights is some 10 grains or 0·7 grammes less than the light Bab. shekel. It probably, therefore, represents an independent standard, or at least a deliberate modification, not an accidental degradation, of the Bab. standard. Weights from Naucratis point to a standard of about 80 grains, the double of which would be 160 grains, which is near enough to the actual weight of our specimens (maximum 157½ grains). We need not here concern ourselves with the origin of this standard, or with the meaning of *netseph*; there can be no doubt of the existence of such a standard, and there is much probability that it is connected with the standard which was in use at Naucratis. Three weights from Lachish (Tell el-Hesy) also indicate the existence of the same 80-grain standard in Palestine. The standard in use at the city of Aradus (Arvad) for the coinage is generally identified with the Babylonian; but as the shekel there only exceptionally exceeds 165 grains, it, too, may have been an approximation to the standard we are considering. But in Hebrew territory there can be no doubt that this early standard was displaced after the Exile by a form of the Phœnician shekel of 14·54 grammes, or 224·4 grains. It has, indeed, been thought that this shekel can be derived by a certain process from the shekel of 160 grains; but on the whole the derivation from the gold shekel of 126·23 grains suggested above is preferable.

The evidence as to the actual use of this weight in Palestine is as follows: From Ex $38^{25f.}$ it appears that the Hebrew **talent** contained 3000 shekels. Now, Josephus equates the mina used for gold to 2½ Roman pounds, which is 12,633·3 grains troy, or 818·625 grammes; this is only 10 grains heavier than the heavy mina given above. From Josephus also we know that the *kikkar* or talent contained 100 minæ. The talent for precious metals, as we have seen, contained 3000 shekels; therefore the **shekel** should be $\frac{1263330}{3000}$ grains = 421 grains. We thus have a heavy shekel of 421 grains, and a light one of 210·5 grains. There is other evidence equating the Hebrew shekel to weights varying from 210·48 to 210·55 grains. This is generally supposed to be the Phœnician shekel of 224·4 grains in a slightly reduced form. Exactly the same kind of reduction took place at Sidon in the course of the 4th cent. B.C., where, probably owing to a fall in the price of gold, the weight of the standard silver shekel fell from about 28·60 grammes (441·36 grains) to 26·30 grammes (405·9 grains). A change in the ratio between gold and silver from 13½:1 to 12½:1 would practically, in a country with a coinage, necessitate a change in the weight of the shekel such as seems to have taken place here; and although the Jews had no coinage of their own before the time of the Maccabees, they would naturally be influenced by the weights in use in Phœnicia. The full weight shekel of the old standard probably remained in use as the '**shekel of the sanctuary,**' for that weight was 20 *gerahs* (Ezk 45^{12}, Ex 30^{13}), which is translated in the LXX by '20 obols,' meaning, presumably, 20 Attic obols of the time; and this works out at 224·2 grains. This shekel was used not only for the silver paid for the 'ransom of souls,' but also for gold, copper, and spices (Ex $30^{23.\ 24}$ $38^{24ff.}$); in fact, the Priests' Code regarded it as the proper system for all estimations (Lv 27^{25}). The **beka** = ½ shekel is mentioned in Gn 24^{22}, Ex 38^{26}.

Foreign weights in the NT.—The '**pound**' of spikenard (Jn 12^{3}) or of myrrh and aloes (19^{39}) is best explained as the Roman *libra* (Gr. *litra*) of 327·45 grammes. The 'pound' in Lk $19^{13f.}$ is the money-*mina* or $\frac{1}{60}$ of the Roman-Attic talent (see art. MONEY, **7** (*j*)). The 'talent' mentioned in Rev 16^{21} also probably belongs to the same system.

For further information see esp. A. R. S. Kennedy, art. 'Weights and Measures' in Hastings' *DB*, with bibliography there given. Recent speculations on the Heb. systems, and publications of weights will be found in *PEFSt*, 1902, p. 80 (three forms of cubit, 18 in., 14.4 in., and 10·8 in.); 1902, p. 175 (Conder on general system of Hebrew weights and measures); 1904, p. 209 (weights from Gezer, etc.); 1906, pp. 182 f., 259 f. (Warren on the ancient system of weights in general); *Comptes Rendus de l'Acad. des Inscr.* 1906, p. 237 f. (Clermont-Ganneau on the capacity of the hin).

G. F. HILL.

WELL.—See CISTERN, FOUNTAIN, WATER.

WEN.—See MEDICINE, p. 600a.

WENCH.—This word, once good English, was used by the Bishops' Bible of 1568, and was transferred to AV at 2 S 17^{17}. So Wyclif at Mt 9^{24} 'Go ye away, for the wenche is not dead, but slepith.'

WHALE.—**1.** *tannīn.* See DRAGON (4). **2.** *dāg gādōl,* the 'great fish' of Jon 1^{17}, is in the LXX and in Mt 12^{40} rendered in Gr. by *kētos* and tr. 'whale,' though the Gr. word has a much wider significance. It is impossible to say what kind of fish is intended in the narrative. See, further, art. JONAH.

E. W. G. MASTERMAN.

WHEAT (*chittāh,* Gn 30^{14}, Ex 34^{22} etc.; *sitos,* Mt 3^{12} $13^{25.\ 29.\ 30}$, Lk 3^{17} 16^{7} 22^{31} etc.).—The wheat of Palestine is mostly of the bearded varieties; it is not only eaten as bread, but also boiled, unground, to make the peasant's dish *burghul,* which is in turn pounded with meat in a mortar (cf. Pr 27^{22}) to make the festive delicacy *kibbeh.* Wheat is grown all over the valleys and plains of W. Palestine, though to a less extent than barley, but it is cultivated in the largest quantities in the *Nuqra* or plain of the Hauran, one of the finest grain-growing countries in the world. The wheat harvest occurs from April to June; its time was looked upon as one of the divisions of the year (Ex 34^{22}, Jg 15^{1}, 1 S 12^{17}). The expressions 'fat of wheat' (Ps 81^{16} mg., 147^{14} mg.) and 'the fat of kidneys of wheat' (Dt 32^{14}) refer to the finest flour of wheat.

E. W. G. MASTERMAN.

WHEEL.—The various parts of a cart or chariot wheel are enumerated in connexion with the bronze wheels of Solomon's lavers (1 K $7^{30.\ 32f.}$). In RV v.^{33} reads: 'And the work of the wheels was like the work of a chariot wheel: their axletrees, and their felloes, and their spokes, and their naves were all molten' (cf. AV). In carts and chariots the essential parts were, of course, of wood. The felloes were made in segments dowelled together. For illustt. see Wilkinson. *Anc. Egy.* i. 234 ff. The finest specimen of a Roman chariot wheel as yet found has the felloe, 'which is formed of a single piece of wood bent,' and the nave shod with iron, the latter being also 'bushed with iron' (Scott, *Hist. Rev.,* Oct. 1905, p. 123, with illust.). For the potter's wheel, see POTTER. Wells and cisterns were also furnished with wheels, over which the rope passed for drawing up the water-bucket (Ec 12^{6}). See also CART, CHARIOT.

A. R. S. KENNEDY.

WHIRLWIND represents two Heb. words—*sūphāh* (Job 37^{9}, Pr 1^{27} etc., also tr. **'storm'** in Job 21^{18}, Ps 83^{15}, Is 29^{6} etc.), and *sa'ar* or *sĕ'ārāh* (2 K 2^{1}, Job 38^{1}, Jer 23^{19} etc., also tr. **'tempest,'** and 'stormy wind,' Ps 55^{8} 83^{15} 107^{25}, Ezk 13^{13} etc.) The words do not necessarily mean 'whirlwind,' and are applied to any furious storm. From the context, however, in certain passages, we gather that whirlwind is intended—a violent wind moving in a circle round its axis (2 K $2^{1.\ 11}$, Job 38^{1} etc.). It often works great havoc in its path, as it sweeps across the country. Drawing up sand, dust, straw, and other light articles as it gyrates, it presents the appearance of a great pillar—an object of fear to travellers and dwellers in the desert. Passing over the sea, it draws up the water, and the bursting of the column causes the waterspout. God spake to Job from the whirlwind (Job 40^{6}); the modern Arabian regards it with superstitious dread, as the residence of demons.

W. EWING.

WHITE.—See COLOURS, § 1.

WHITE OF AN EGG (EV Job 6^{6}, RVm 'juice of purslain').—The allusion should perhaps be understood to be the juice of some insipid plant, probably *Portulaca oleracea,* L., the common purslane. 'White of an egg' (lit., on this view, 'slime of the yoke') is still, however, accepted by many interpreters.

WHORE.—This term is generally replaced in RV by harlot (wh. see).

WIDOW.—Widows from their poverty and unprotectedness, are regarded in OT as under the special guardianship of God (Ps 68^{5} 146^{9}, Pr 15^{25}, Dt 10^{18}, Jer 49^{11}); and consequently due regard for their wants was looked upon as a mark of true religion, ensuring a blessing on those who showed it (Job 29^{13} 31^{16}, Is 1^{17}, Jer $7^{6.\ 7}$ $22^{3.\ 4}$); while neglect of, cruelty or injustice towards them were considered marks of wickedness meriting punishment from God (Job $22^{9.\ 10}$ $24^{20.\ 21}$, Ps 94^{6}, Is 1^{23} 10^{2}, Zec $7^{10.\ 14}$, Mal 3^{5}). The Book of Deut. is especially rich in such counsels, insisting that widows be granted full justice (24^{17} 27^{19}), that they be received as guests at sacrificial meals (14^{29} $16^{11.\ 14}$ $26^{12f.}$), and that they be suffered to glean unmolested in field, oliveyard, and vineyard ($24^{19f.}$). See, further, INHERITANCE, i. **2** (*c*); MARRIAGE, **6.**

The earliest mention of widows in the history of the Christian Church is found in Ac 6^{1}, where the Grecian Jews murmured 'against the Hebrews because their widows were neglected' in the daily distribution of alms or food. In course of time these pensioners became an excessive burden on the finances of the Church. We thus find St. Paul dealing with the matter in 1 Ti 5^{3-16}, where he charges relatives and Christian friends to relieve those widows with whom they are personally connected (vv.$^{4.\ 8.\ 15}$), so that the Church might be the more able to relieve those who were 'widows indeed' (*i.e.* widows in actual poverty and without any one responsible for their support) (vv.$^{3.\ 5.\ 16}$). He further directs that 'none be enrolled as widows' except those who were sixty years of age, of unimpeachable character, and full of good works; and he adds that 'the younger widows' should be 'refused' (*i.e.* not enrolled); for experience had shown that they 'waxed wanton against Christ' and, re-marrying, 'rejected their first faith.' Since it could not have been the Apostle's wish that only widows over sixty should receive pecuniary help from the Church (for many young widows might be in great poverty), and since he could not describe the re-marriage of such a widow-pensioner as a rejection of her faith, it follows that the list of widows, from which the younger widows were to be excluded, was not the list of those who were in receipt of Church relief, but rather a list of those, from among the pensioner-widows, who were considered suitable by age and character to engage officially in Church work. Therefore we may see in this passage a proof of the existence thus early in the history of the Church of that ecclesiastical order of 'Widows' which we find mentioned frequently in post-Apostolic times.

CHARLES T. P. GRIERSON.

WIFE.—See FAMILY, 2; MARRIAGE.

WILDERNESS, DESERT.—These terms stand for several Heb. and Gr. words, with different shades of meaning.

1. *midbār* (from *dābar,* 'to drive') means properly the land to which the cattle were driven, and is used of dry pasture land where scanty grazing was to be found. It occurs about 280 times in OT and is usually tr. 'wilderness,' though we have 'desert' about a dozen times. It is the place where wild animals roam: pelicans (Ps 102^{6}), wild asses (Job 24^{5}, Jer 2^{24}), ostriches (La 4^{3}), jackals (Mal 1^{3}); and is without settled inhabitants, though towns or settlements of nomadic tribes may be found (Jos $15^{61.\ 62}$, Is 42^{11}). This term is usually applied to the **Wilderness of the Wanderings** or the Arabian desert, but may refer to any other waste. Special waste tracts are distinguished: wilderness of Shur, Zin, Paran, Kadesh, Maon, Ziph, Tekoa, Moab, Edom, etc.

2. *'ārābāh* (probably from a word meaning 'dry') signifies a dry, desolate, unfertile tract of land, 'steppe,' or 'desert plain.' As a proper name, it is applied to the great plain including the Jordan Valley and extending S. to the Gulf of Akabah, **'the Arabah,'** but it is

applied also to steppes in general, and translated 'wilderness,' 'desert,' and sometimes in pl. **'plains,'** *e.g.* of Moab, of Jericho.

3. *chorbāh* (from a root 'to be waste *or* desolate') is properly applied to cities or districts once inhabited now lying waste, and is translated 'wastes,' 'deserts,' 'desolations,' though it is once used of the Wilderness of the Wanderings (Is 48[21]).

4. *tsiyyāh* meaning 'dry ground' is twice translated 'wilderness' in AV: Job 30[3] (RV 'dry ground'), Ps 78[17] (RV 'desert,' RVm 'a dry land').

5. *tōhū* has the special meaning of a 'wild desolate expanse.' In Job 6[18] it is the waste where the caravans perish. It is applied to the primeval chaos (Gn 1[2]), also to the Wilderness of the Wanderings (Dt 32[10] '*waste* howling wilderness').

6. The NT terms are *erēmos* and *erēmia*, the former being used either as noun or as adjective, with 'place' or 'country' understood. Generally the noun is tr. 'wilderness,' the adjective 'desert' in the English versions.

On deserts named in NT see artt. on respective names.

W. F. Boyd.

WILD OLIVE.—See Grafting, Olive.

WILD OX.—See Unicorn.

WILL.—'Will' and **'would'** are often independent verbs in AV, and being now merely auxiliaries, their force is liable to be missed by the English reader. Thus Mt 11[14] 'if ye will receive it' (RV 'if ye are willing to receive it'); Jn 1[43] 'Jesus would go forth into Galilee' (RV 'was minded to go forth').

WILL.—See Paul, p. 692[a]; Testament.

WILLOW (*'ărābīm*, Lv 23[40], Job 40[22], Ps 137[2], Is 15[7] 44[4] [cf. Arab. *gharab* 'willow' or 'poplar']; *tsaphtsāphāh*, Ezk 17[5] [cf. Arab. *safṣaf* 'the willow']).—Most of the references are to a tree growing beside water, and apply well to the willow, of which two varieties, *Salix fragilis* and *S. alba*, occur plentifully by watercourses in the Holy Land. Some travellers consider the **poplar**, especially the willow-like *Populus euphratica*, of the same Nat. Ord. (*Salicaceæ*) as the willows, more probable. Tristram, without much evidence, considered that *tsaphtsāphāh* might be the **oleander**, which covers the banks of so many streams. E. W. G. Masterman.

WIMPLE.—Only Is 3[22] AV; RV **shawls.** The precise article of dress intended is unknown.

WIND.—The winds in Heb. are designated by the four cardinal points of the compass. 'South wind,' *e.g.*, may be either S., S.W., or S.E.; and so with the others. Cool winds come from the N., moist winds from the western sea, warm winds from the S., and dry winds, often laden with fine sand, from the eastern deserts. Warmth and moisture, therefore, depend much upon the direction of the winds. During the dry season, from May till October, the prevailing winds are from the N. and N.W.; they do much to temper the heat of summer (Ca 4[16], Job 37[9]). In Sept. and Oct., E. and S.E. winds are frequent; blowing from the deserts, their dry heat causes the furniture to crack, and makes life a burden (Hos 13[15]). Later, the winds from the S. prolong the warmth of summer (Lk 12[55]); then the W. and S.W. winds bring the rain (1 K 18[44], Lk 12[54]). East winds earlier in the year often work great destruction on vegetation (Ezk 17[10]). Under their influence strong plants droop, and flowers quickly wither (Ps 103[16]).

Of the greatest value for all living things is the perpetual interchange of land and sea breezes. At sunrise a gentle air stirs from the sea, crosses the plain, and creeps up the mountains. At sunset the cooling air begins to slip down seaward again, while the upper strata move landward from the sea. The moisture thus carried ashore is precipitated in refreshing dew.

The 'tempestuous wind' (Ac 27[14]), called Euroclydon or **Euraquilo** (wh. see), was the E.N.E. wind so prevalent in the eastern Mediterranean, called by sailors to-day 'the Levanter.' W. Ewing.

WINDOW.—See House, § 7.

WINE AND STRONG DRINK.—Taken together in this order, the two terms 'wine' and 'strong drink' are continually used by OT writers as an exhaustive classification of the fermented beverages then in use (Lv 10[9], 1 S 1[15], Pr 20[1], and oft.). The all but universal usage in OT—in NT 'strong drink' is mentioned only Lk 1[15]—is to restrict 'wine' (*yayin*) to the beverage prepared from the juice of the grape, and to denote by 'strong drink' (*shēkār*) every other sort of intoxicating liquor.

1. Before proceeding to describe the methods by which wine in particular was made in the period covered by the canonical writings, it will be advisable to examine briefly the more frequently used terms for wine and strong drink. This examination may begin with the term *shēkār*, which in virtue of its root-meaning always denotes 'intoxicating drink.' In a former study of this subject ('Wine and Strong Drink' in *EBi* iv. col. 5309 f.), the present writer has given reasons for believing that among the early Semites a name similar to *shēkār* and the Babylonian *shikaru* was first given to the fermented juice of the date, and that from signifying date-wine the name passed to all other fermented liquors. At a later period, when the ancestors of the Hebrews became acquainted with the vine and its culture, the Indo-Germanic term represented by the Greek *oinos* (with the digamma, *woinos*) and the Latin *vinum* was borrowed, under the form *yāyin*, to denote the fermented juice of the grape. The older term *shēkār* then became restricted, as we have seen, to intoxicants other than grape wine.

Another important term, of uncertain etymology, 'on which,' in Driver's words, 'much has been written —not always wisely,' is *tīrōsh*, in our EV sometimes rendered 'wine,' sometimes **'new wine,'** but in Amer. RV consistently 'new wine.' Strictly speaking, *tīrōsh* is the freshly expressed grape juice, before and during fermentation, technically known as 'must' (from Lat. *mustum*). In this sense it is frequently named as a valued product of the soil with 'fresh oil' (Dt 7[13] 11[14] etc.),—that is, the raw, unclarified oil as it flows from the oil-press, to which it exactly corresponds. In some OT passages, however, and notably Hos 4[11], where *tīrōsh* is named with *yayin* and whoredom, as taking away the understanding (RV), it evidently denotes the product of fermentation. Hence it may be said that *tīrōsh* is applied not only to the 'must' in the wine-fat (see § 3), but to 'new wine' before it has fully matured and become *yayin*, or, as Driver suggests in his careful study of the OT occurrences (*Joel and Amos*, 79 f.), 'to a light kind of wine such as we know, from the classical writers, that the ancients were in the habit of making by checking the fermentation of the grape juice before it had run its full course' (see also the discussion in *EBi* iv. 5307 f.).

Of the rarer words for 'wine' mention may be made of *chemer* (Dt 32[14], and, in a cognate form, Ezr 6[9], Dn 5[1ff.]), which denotes wine as the result of fermentation, from a root signifying 'to ferment,' and *'āsīs*, a poetical synonym of *tīrōsh*, and like it used both of the fresh juice and of the fermented liquor (see Jl 1[5], Is 49[26]); in Am 9[13] it is rendered 'sweet wine,' which suggests the *gleukos* (EV 'new wine') of Ac 2[13]. Reference may also be made to the poetical expression 'the blood of the grape' (Gn 49[11], Dt 32[14]) and to the later 'fruit of the vine' (Mt 26[29] and ||) of the Gospels and the Mishna.

2. The Promised Land was pre-eminently a 'land of wine . . . and vineyards' (2 K 18[32]), as is attested by the widely scattered remains of the ancient presses. A normal **winepress** consisted of three parts, two rock-hewn troughs at different levels with a connecting channel between them. The upper trough or **press-vat** (*gath*—the **'winefat'** of Is 63[2], elsewhere generally

WINE AND STRONG DRINK

'winepress') had a larger superficial area, but was much shallower than the lower trough or **wine-vat** (*yeqeb*, Is 5^2, cf. RVm). The relative sizes may be seen from a typical press described by Robinson, of which the upper trough measured 8 feet square and was 15 inches deep, while the lower was 4 feet square and 3 feet deep. The distinction between the two is entirely obscured in EV, and is not always preserved in the original.

The **grapes** were brought from the adjoining vineyard in baskets, and were either spread out for a few days, with a view to increase the amount of sugar and diminish the amount of water in the grapes, or were at once thrown into the press-vat. There they were thoroughly trodden with the bare feet, the juice flowing through the conducting channel into the lower wine-vat. The next process consisted in piling the husks and stalks into a heap in the middle of the vat, and subjecting the mass to mechanical pressure by means of a wooden press-beam, one end of which was fixed into a socket in the wall of the vat or of the adjacent rock, while the other end was weighted with stones.

While the above may be considered the normal construction of a Hebrew winepress, it is evident, both from the extant specimens and from the detailed references to wine-making in the Mishna, that the number of troughs or vats might be as high as four (see the press described and illustrated in *PEFSt*, 1899, 41 ff.), or as low as one. The object of a third vat was to allow the 'must' to settle and clarify in the second before running it off into the third. Where only one vat is found, it may have served either as a press-vat, in which case the 'must' was at once transferred to earthen jars (see next section), or as a wine-vat to receive the 'must,' the grapes having been pressed in a large wooden trough, such as the Egyptians used (Wilkinson, *Anc. Egyp.* i. 385 with illust.). This arrangement would obviously be required where a suitable rock surface was not available. In such a case, indeed, a rock-hewn trough of any sort was dispensed with, a vat for the wooden press being supplied by a large stone hollowed out for the purpose, an excellent specimen of which was found at Tell es-Safi, and is figured in Bliss and Macalister's *Excavations*, etc., p. 24 (see, for further details, the index of that work, under 'Vats').

3. Returning to the normal press-system, we find that the 'must' was usually left in the wine-vat to undergo the first or 'tumultuous' **fermentation**, after which it was drawn off (Hag 2^{16}, lit. 'baled out'), or, where the vat had a spout, simply run off, into large jars or into wine-skins (Mt 9^{17} and ||) for the 'after-fermentation.' The modern Syrian wines are said to complete their first fermentation in from four to seven days, and to be ready for use at the end of two to four months. In the Mishna it is ordained that **'new wine'** cannot be presented at the sanctuary for the drink-offering until it has stood for at least forty days in the fermenting jars.

When the fermentation had run its full course, the wine was racked off into smaller jars and skins, the latter for obvious reasons being preferred by travellers (Jos $9^{4.\ 13}$). At the same time, the liquor was *strained* (Mt 23^{24}; cf. Is 25^6 'wines on the **lees** well refined,' *i.e.* strained) through a metal or eathenware strainer, or through a linen cloth. In the further course of maturing, in order to prevent the wine from thickening on the lees (Zeph 1^{12} RVm), it was from time to time decanted from one vessel to another. The even tenor of Moabite history is compared to wine to which this process has not been applied (Jer $48^{11f.}$). When sufficiently refined, the wine was poured into jars lined with pitch, which were carefully closed and sealed and stored in the **wine cellars** (1 Ch 27^{27}). The Lebanon (Hos 14^7) and Helbon (Ezk 27^{18}), to the N.W. of Damascus, were two localities specially celebrated for their wines.

It may be stated at this point that no trace can be found, among the hundreds of references to the preparation and use of wine in the Mishna, of any means employed to preserve wine in the unfermented state. It is even improbable that with the means at their disposal the Jews could have so preserved it had they wished (cf. Professor Macalister's statement as to the 'impossibility' of **unfermented wine** at this period, in Hastings' *DB* ii. 34^b).

4. Of all the fermented liquors, other than wine, with which the Hebrews are likely to have been familiar, the oldest historically was almost certainly that made from dates (cf. § **1**). These, according to Pliny, were steeped in water before being sent to the press, where they were probably treated as the olives were treated in the oil-press (see Oil). **Date wine** was greatly prized by the Babylonians, and is said by Herodotus to have been the principal article of Assyrian commerce.

In the Mishna there is frequent mention also of **cider** or 'apple' wine, made from the quince or whatever other fruit the 'apple' of the Hebrews may signify. The only wine, other than 'the fruit of the vine,' mentioned by name in OT is the 'sweet **wine' of pomegranates** (Ca 8^2 RVm). Like the dates, these fruits were first crushed in the oil-mill, after which the juice was allowed to ferment. In the Mishna, further, we find references to various fermented liquors imported from abroad, among them the **beer** for which Egypt was famed. A striking and unexpected witness to the extent to which the wines of the West were imported has recently been furnished by the handles of wine jars, especially of *amphoræ* from Rhodes, which have been found in such numbers in the cities excavated in Southern Palestine (see Bliss and Macalister, *op. cit.* 131 ff., and more fully *PEFSt*, 1901).

5. The Hebrew wines were light, and in early times were probably taken neat. At all events, the first clear reference to diluting with water is contained in 2 Mac 15^{39}: 'It is hurtful to drink wine or water alone,' but 'wine mingled with water is pleasant,' and in NT times this may be taken as the habitual practice. The wine of Sharon, it is said, was mixed with two parts of water, being a lighter wine than most. With other wines, according to the Talmud, the proportion was one part of wine to three parts of water.

The 'mingling' or mixing of strong drink denounced by Isaiah (5^{22}) has reference to the ancient practice of adding aromatic herbs and spices to the wine in order to add to its flavour and strength. Such was the **'spiced wine'** of Ca 8^2. Our Saviour on the cross, it will be remembered, was offered 'wine mingled with myrrh' (Mk 15^{23}, cf. Mt 27^{34} RV).

6. The use of wine was universal among all classes (see Meals, § 6), with the exception of those who had taken a vow of abstinence, such as the Nazirites and Rechabites. The priests also had to abstain, but only when on duty in the sanctuary (Lv 10^9). A libation of wine formed the necessary accompaniment of the daily burnt-offering and of numerous other offerings (cf. Sir 50^{15} RV: 'He stretched out his hand to the cup, and poured of the blood of the grape . . . at the foot of the altar').

The attitude of the prophets and other teachers of Israel, including our Lord Himself, to the ordinary use of wine as a beverage is no doubt accurately reflected in the saying of Jesus ben-Sira: 'wine drunk in measure and to satisfy is joy of heart and gladness of soul' (Sir 31^{28} RV). At the same time, they were fully alive to the danger, and unsparingly denounced the sin, of excessive indulgence (see, *e.g.*, Is $5^{11ff.\ 22ff.}$ 28^{1-8}, Hos 4^{11}, Pr 20^1 23^{29-32} etc.). In the altered social conditions of our own day, however, it must be admitted that the rule of conduct formulated by St. Paul in 1 Co 8^{8-13} (cf. Ro 14^{13-21}) appeals to the individual conscience with greater urgency and insistence than ever before in the experience of Jew or Christian.

A. R. S. Kennedy.

WINEFAT, WINEPRESS, WINE-VAT.—See Wine and Strong Drink, § 2.

WINK.—To 'wink at,' *i. e.* pass over, is used of God in Ac 17[30] 'The times of this ignorance God winked at,' and Wis 11[23] 'Thou . . . winkest at the sins of men.' It is a good example of the colloquial language of the English Versions.

WINNOW.—See Agriculture, § 3.

WISDOM.—The great literary landmarks of the 'wisdom' teaching are the Books of Proverbs, Job, Song of Songs, Ecclesiastes, Sirach, and the Wisdom of Solomon. This literature, in its present form at least, belongs to the latter half of the Persian period and to the Greek period of Jewish history. But behind this latest and finest product of the Hebrew mind there lay a long process of germination. In the pre-exilic history there are traces of the presence of the 'wisdom' element from early times. This primitive 'wisdom' was not regarded as an exclusively Israelitish possession, but was shared with other nations (1 K 4[30. 31], Gn 41[8], Jg 5[29], Jer 10[7], Ezk 27[8]). In Israel it was confined neither to rank (1 K 10[23], Dt 16[19], Job 32[9]) nor to sex (2 S 14[1ff. 20-22]); but it was particularly characteristic of 'the elders' (Dt 1[15], Job 12[12] 32[7]), and in course of time seems to have given rise to a special class of teachers known as **'the Wise'** (Jer 18[18]).

Early 'Wisdom' was varied in character and of as wide a scope as the range of human activities. It thus included the most heterogeneous elements: *e.g.* mechanical skill (1 K 7[14]), statecraft (5[12]), financial and commercial ability (Ezk 28), political trickery (1 K 2[6]), common sense and tact (2 S 14 20[14-22]), learning (1 K 3[16-28]), military skill and administrative ability (Is 10[13]), piety (Dt 4[6]), and the creative energy of God (Jer 10[12]). In short, any capacity possessed in an exceptional degree was recognized as 'wisdom,' and was regarded as the gift of God. But there was already manifest a marked tendency to magnify the ethical and religious elements of 'wisdom,' which later came to their full recognition.

In pre-exilic Israel, however, 'wisdom' played a relatively small part in religion. The vital, progressive religious spirit exhausted itself in **prophecy.** Here was laid the foundation of all the later 'wisdom.' Not only did the prophets hand down the literary forms through which the sages expressed themselves, *e.g.* riddle (Jg 14[14-18]), fable (9[8-15]), parable (2 S 12[1-6], Is 5[1-5]), proverb (1 S 10[12], Jer 31[29]), essay (Is 28[23-29]), lyric, address, etc., but they also wrought out certain great ideas that were presupposed in all the later 'wisdom.' These were: (*a*) monotheism, which found free course in Deuteronomy, Jeremiah, and Deutero-Isaiah; (*b*) individualism, or the responsibility of the individual before God for his own sins and for the sins of no one else—the great message of Ezekiel; and (*c*) the insistence of God upon right character as the only passport to His favour—a truth proclaimed by all the great prophets. With the fall of Jerusalem, however, and the destruction of the Jewish State, the knell of prophecy was sounded; the responsibility for shaping the religious destiny of Israel now fell into the hands of the priests and sages.

The priest responded to the call first, but sought to heal the wounds of Israel lightly, by purification and elaboration of the ritual. The true heir of the prophet was **the sage.** He found himself confronted with a new world; it was his to interpret it religiously. The old world-view of the prophet was no longer tenable. New problems were calling for solution and old problems becoming ever more pressing. The task of the sage was to adjust the truths left to him by the prophets to the new situation. It was his to find the place of religion in that situation and to make it the dominant element therein. The greatest sources of danger to true religion were: (*a*) an orthodoxy which held the ancient traditions inviolable and refused to see the facts of the present (*b*) the scepticism and discouragement arising out of the miseries of the time which seemed to deny the justice and goodness of God; and (*c*) the inroads of Greek civilization which seemed to threaten the whole fabric of Judaism. Indeed, the sages themselves did not wholly escape being influenced by these tendencies: witness the orthodoxy of the bulk of the Book of Proverbs, the scepticism of Ecclesiastes, and the Greek elements in the Wisdom of Solomon. To these conditions the sages, each in his own way, addressed their message.

The writers of **Proverbs,** for the most part, stand firmly upon the old paths; in the midst of mental and moral chaos and flux they insist upon adherence to the old standards of truth and goodness, and they promise success to all who heed their instruction. For them prosperity is the proof of piety. This is the old prophetic recipe for national success made operative in the lives of individuals. Through it the sages inform all the ordinary processes of common everyday life with religious meaning. Their philosophy of life is simple, but shallow. They fail to realize that the reward of piety is not in the market-place, but in the soul.

The weakness of this traditional position is exposed by the Book of **Job,** which points out the fact that the righteous man is often the most sorely afflicted, and seeks to reconcile this fact with belief in the justice and goodness of God. But no solution of the age-long problem of suffering is provided; the sufferer is rather bidden to take refuge in his faith in God's goodness and wisdom, and to realize that, just as the mysteries of God's visible universe elude his knowledge, so also is it futile for him to attempt to penetrate the greater mysteries of God's providence. Let him be content with God Himself as his portion.

Song of Songs illustrates the humanity of the sages. It concerns itself with the greatest of all human passions—love. Whether to be interpreted as a drama or as a collection of lyrics such as were sung at weddings in Syria, it extols the nobility and loyalty of true love. In a period when the licentious customs of the pagan world were finding eager acceptance in Judah, such a powerful and beautiful vindication of the character of unselfish love was urgently needed, and was calculated to play an important part in the preservation of true religion.

Ecclesiastes is the product of many minds, with more or less conflicting views. But they are all concerned with the problem of practical scepticism: Does God care for truth and goodness? Is there any religious meaning in the universe? The heart of the book meets this question fairly and squarely. The iron has entered the author's own soul. He desires to help those in the same situation with himself. He would give doubting, faltering souls a basis for faith. Recognizing and giving full weight to the many difficulties that beset the religious point of view and tend to drive men to despair, he holds fast to his belief in God's loving care, and therefore counsels his fellows to put on a cheerful courage and perform their allotted tasks with joy. This is the only way to make life worth living, and worth living to the full.

Sirach and **Wisdom of Solomon** are both products of the life and death struggle between Judaism and Greek thought. The author of the former is hospitable to Greek social life, but rigid in his adherence to the old Hebrew ideals of morals and religion. He seeks to arouse loyalty to and enthusiasm for these in the hearts of the Jews, who are in constant danger of yielding to the seductive and powerful influences of Greece. The same purpose animates the author of the Wisdom of Solomon. But he is more liberal in his attitude to foreign influences. He welcomes truth from any direction, and therefore does not hesitate to incorporate Greek elements in his fundamentally Hebraic view of life and duty. He thus enriches the conception of 'wisdom' from every source, and seeks to show that this Hebrew ideal is immeasurably superior to the boasted Greek *sophia.*

Hebrew 'wisdom' by its very nature could have no fellowship with **philosophy.** The aims and methods of the two were fundamentally different. In the words of Bishop Westcott, 'the axioms of the one are the conclusions of the other.' For philosophy, God is the conclusion; for 'wisdom,' He is the major premise. Philosophers have ever been seeking after God 'if haply they might find him.' The mind of the sage was saturated with the thought of God. Philosophy starts with the world as it is, and seeks to find room for God in it; 'wisdom' started with God and sought to explain the world in terms of God. 'Wisdom, 'furthermore,

was practical and moral; philosophy was speculative and metaphysical. The interests of 'wisdom' were intensely human. They were concerned with living questions and concrete issues. The problems of the sage were surcharged with emotion; they were the outcome of troubled feelings and perturbed will; only in slight measure were they the product of the intellect. It is not surprising, therefore, that 'wisdom' presents no carefully developed system of thought. The heart knows no logic. 'Wisdom' cares little for a plan of the universe; it leaves all such matters to God. It seeks only to enable men to love and trust God and to walk in His ways.

The Hebrew conception of 'wisdom' developed along two lines. 'Wisdom' had its human and its Divine aspects. In so far as it was human, it devoted itself to the consideration of the great problems of life. It was identified with knowledge of the laws and principles, observance of which leads to the successful life. These were all summarized in the formula, 'the fear of the Lord.' Later in the history of the idea, this subjective experience was externalized and objectified and, under the growing influence of the priestly ritual, 'wisdom' came to be defined as observance of the Mosaic Law (Sir $19^{20\text{-}24}$ 24^{23}).

On its Divine side, 'wisdom' was at first conceived of as an attribute of God which He generously shared with men. Then, as the conception of God grew broader and deeper, large areas of 'wisdom' were marked off as inaccessible to man, and known only to God (Job 28). Still further, 'wisdom' was personified and represented as the companion of God in all His creative activities (Pr $8^{22\text{-}31}$); and was, at last, under the influence of Greek thought, personalized, or hypostatized, and made to function as an intermediary between man and God, carrying out His beneficent purposes towards the righteous (Wis $8^{1.\ 3.\ 4}$ $9^{4.\ 9.\ 11.\ 18}$ $10^{1.\ 4}$).

Upon the whole, the 'wisdom' element must be considered the noblest expression of the Hebrew spirit. It was in large part the response of Judaism to the influx of Western civilization. It demonstrated irrefutably the vitality of the Hebrew religion. When the forms and institutions in which Hebrew idealism had clothed itself were shattered beyond restoration, 'wisdom' furnished new channels for the expression of the ideal, and kept the passion for righteousness and truth burning. When Judaism was brought face to face with the Gentile world on every hand, 'wisdom' furnished it with a cosmopolitan message. Nationalistic, particularistic, transitory elements were discarded, and emphasis was laid upon the great fundamental concepts of religion adapted to the needs of all men everywhere. 'Wisdom' thus became of the greatest importance in the preparation for Christianity, the universal religion.

JOHN MERLIN POWIS SMITH.

WISDOM, BOOK OF.—See preceding art. and APOCRYPHA, § 14.

WISE MEN.—See MAGI; and, for 'the Wise,' WISDOM.

WIST.—See WIT.

WIT.—The vb. 'to wit,' which means 'to know,' is used in AV in most of its parts. The present tense is *I* **wot**, thou *wottest, he wot* or *wotteth, we wot*; the past tense, *I* **wist**, *he wist, ye wist*; the infinitive, 'to wit.' In 2 Co 8^{1} occurs the phrase *do to wit*, i.e. *make to know*—'we do you to wit of the grace of God.' The subst. '**wit**' means in AV 'knowledge'; it occurs only in Ps 107^{27} 'at their wit's end.' '**Witty**,' which is found in Pr 8^{12}, Jth 11^{23}, Wis 8^{19}, has the sense of 'knowing,' 'skilful'; and 'wittingly' (Gn 48^{14}) is 'knowingly.'

WITCH, WITCHCRAFT.—See MAGIC DIVINATION AND SORCERY.

WITHERED HAND.—See MEDICINE, p. 599ᵃ.

WITH(E)S in Jg 16^{7} represents a term which probably means bow-strings of 'green' gut. The Eng. word means a supple twig from a willow (see also CORD).

WITNESS.—This is the rendering of Heb. *'ēd* and *'ēdah* and of the Gr. *martys, martyria*, and *martyreō*, and compounds of this root. The primitive idea of the Heb. root is to repeat, re-assert, and we find the word used in the following connexions:—(1) Witness meaning *evidence*, **testimony**, *sign* (of things): a heap of stones (Gn 31^{44}), the Song of Moses (Dt 31^{26}), Job's disease (Job 16^{8}), the stone set up by Joshua at Shechem (Jos 24^{27}). So in the NT the dust on the feet of the disciples was to be a witness against the Jews (Mk 6^{11}). (2) Witness signifying *the person who witnesses* or can testify or vouch for the parties in debate; *e.g.* God is witness between Jacob and Laban (Gn 31^{50}); so Job says, 'My witness is in heaven' (Job 16^{19}, cf. also 1 S $12^{5ff.}$, Jer 29^{23} 42^{5}). In the NT God is called on by St. Paul to witness to his truth and the purity of his motives (Ro 1^{9}, 2 Co 1^{23} etc.). Akin to this meaning we have (3) *Witness in a legal sense.* Thus we find witnesses to an act of conveyancing (Jer 32^{10}), to a betrothal (Ru 4^{9}), while in all civil and criminal cases there were witnesses to give evidence, and references to false witnesses are frequent (cf. Pr 12^{17} $19^{5\text{-}9}$ 21^{28} 25^{18} etc.). See also JUSTICE (II.), 2; OATHS. In the NT the Apostles frequently appear as witnesses (*martyres*) of the life, death, and resurrection of Jesus (Lk 24^{48}, Ac 1^{8} 2^{32} 3^{15} etc.). The heroes of the faith are called the 'cloud of witnesses' (He 12^{1}), and Jesus Himself is 'the faithful witness (**martyr**)' in Rev 1^{5} 3^{14} (cf. 1 Ti 6^{13}). Cf. also artt. ARK, § 1; TABERNACLE, § 7 (*a*).

W. F. BOYD.

WITTY.—See WIT.

WIZARD.—See MAGIC DIVINATION AND SORCERY.

WOLF.—

In AV 'wolf' is always tr. of *ze'ēb* (cf. Arab. *zeeb* 'wolf'), Gn 49^{27}, Is 11^{6} 65^{25}, Jer 5^{6}, Ezk 22^{27}, Hab 1^{8}, Zeph 3^{3}. Cf. also proper name Zeeb, Jg 7^{25}. For *'iyyīm* (tr. 'wolves' in Is 13^{22} RV) and *tannīm* see JACKAL. The NT term is *lykos* (Mt 7^{15} 10^{16}, Lk 10^{3}, Jn 10^{12}, Ac 20^{29}).

The wolf of Palestine is a variety of *Canis lupus*, somewhat lighter in colour and larger than that of N. Europe. It is seldom seen to-day, and never goes in packs, though commonly in couples; it commits its ravages at night, hence the expression 'wolf of the evening' (Jer 5^{6}, Zeph 3^{3}); it was one of the greatest terrors of the lonely shepherd (Jn 10^{12}); persecutors are compared to wolves in Mt 10^{16}, Ac 20^{29}.

E. W. G. MASTERMAN.

WOMAN.—1. In OT (*'ishshāh*, 'woman,' 'wife'; *nĕqēbāh* [Lv 15^{33}, Nu 31^{15}, Jer 31^{22}], 'female') woman's position is one of inferiority and subjection to man (Gn 3^{16}); and yet, in keeping with the view that ideally she is his companion and 'help meet' ($2^{18\text{-}24}$), she never sinks into a mere drudge or plaything. In patriarchal times, Sarah, Rebekah, and Rachel stand side by side with their husbands. In the era of the deliverance from Egypt, Miriam is ranked with Moses and Aaron (cf. Mic 6^{4}). In the days of the judges, Deborah is not only a prophetess (wh. see), as other women in Israel were, but is herself a judge (Jg 4^{4}). Under the monarchy, Jezebel in the Northern Kingdom and Athaliah in the Southern, afford illustrations of the political power and influence that a woman might wield. In religious matters, we find women attending the Feasts along with men (1 S $1^{3ff.}$ etc.), taking part with them in acts of sacrifice (Jg $13^{20.\ 23}$ etc.), combined with them in the choral service of the Temple (Ezr 2^{65} etc.). And though in the Deut. code woman's position is one of complete subordination, her rights are recognized and safeguarded in a way that prepares the soil for the growth of those higher conceptions which find utterance in Malachi's declaration that divorce is hateful to Jehovah (2^{16}), and in the picture of the virtuous wife

with which the Book of Proverbs concludes (ch. 31). See, further, FAMILY, MARRIAGE.

2. In NT (*gynē*, 'woman,' 'wife'; *thēleia* [Ro 1[26. 27]], 'female'; *gynaikarion* [dimin. fr. *gynē*, 2 Ti 3[6]], EV 'silly women').—Owing to the influence of Rabbinism, Jewish women had lost some of their earlier freedom (ct. with the scene at the well of Haran [Gn 24[10ff.]] the surprise of the disciples by the well of Sychar when they found Jesus 'speaking with a woman' [Jn 4[27]]). But Jesus wrought a wonderful change. He did this not only by His teaching about adultery (Mt 5[27f.]) and marriage and divorce (vv.[31f.] 19[3ff.]), but still more by His personal attitude to women, whether good and pure like His own mother (there is nothing harsh or discourteous in the 'Woman' of Jn 2[4]; cf. 19[26]) and the sisters of Bethany, or sinful and outcast as some women of the Gospels were (Lk 7[37ff.] 8[2], Jn 4). The work of emancipation was continued in the Apostolic Church. Women formed an integral part of the earliest Christian community (Ac 1[14]), shared in the gifts of Pentecost (2[1ff.], cf. v.[17]), engaged in tasks of unofficial ministry (Ro 16[1f.], Ph 4[2f.]), and by and by appear (1 Ti 3[11]) as holding the office of the **deaconess** (wh. see), and possibly (5[3]) that of the '**widow**' (wh. see, and cf. TIMOTHY [EPP. TO], § 5). St. Paul's conception of woman and of man's relation to her is difficult (1 Co 7), but may be explained partly by his expectation of the Parousia (vv.[29-31]), and partly by the exigencies of an era of persecution (v.[26]). In a later Pauline Epistle marriage becomes a type of the union between Christ and the Church (Eph 5[22-32]). And if by his injunction as to the silence of women in the Church (1 Co 14[34ff.]) the Apostle appears to limit the prophetic freedom of the first Christian days (Ac 2[4. 17]), we must remember that he is writing to a Church set in the midst of a dissolute Greek city, where Christian women had special reasons for caution in the exercise of their new privileges. Elsewhere he announces the far-reaching principle that in Christ Jesus 'there can be no male and female' (Gal 3[28]).

J. C. LAMBERT.

WONDERS (Heb. *mōphēth*, Gr. *teras*; usually in OT and always in NT associated with Heb. *'ōth*, Gr. *sēmeion*, Eng. '**sign**').—In OT the term ordinarily occurs with reference to the miracles at the time of the deliverance from Egypt (Ex 7[3] etc.)—Jehovah's 'wonders in the land of Ham' (Ps 105[27]). In NT it is used of the **miracles** wrought by Jesus (Ac 2[22] etc.), those demanded of Him by the people (Jn 4[48]); those of the Apostles and the early Church (Ac 2[43] etc.); those which should be wrought by false Christs (Mt 24[24] = Mk 13[22]). It refers primarily to the astonishment produced by a miraculous event, and so it is significant that, as applied to the miracles of Jesus, it is always conjoined with some other term. His miracles were not mere prodigies exciting astonishment, but 'signs and wonders,' that appealed at the same time, through their evidential value, to the reason and spirit. And yet Jesus preferred the intuitive faith that is independent alike of wonders and of signs (Jn 4[48]). See, further, MIRACLES, SIGN.

J. C. LAMBERT.

WOOD.—See FOREST, also WRITING, 6.

WOOL.—Woollen stuffs were much used for clothes (Lv 13[47ff.], Pr 31[13] etc.); mainly, however, for outer garments. For underwear, linen was preferred, as being cooler and cleaner. Wool, falling swiftly a prey to moths and larvæ (Is 51[8] etc.), was not used for wrapping the dead. A garment of mingled wool and linen might not be worn (Lv 19[19], Dt 22[11]). Josephus says this was reserved exclusively for the priests (*Ant.* IV. viii. 11). Dyed wool is referred to (He 9[19], cf. Lv 14[4f.]), but its natural colour, white, makes it the criterion of whiteness and purity (Ps 147[16], Is 1[18], Dn 7[9], Rev 1[14]). Wool was a valuable article of commerce (Ezk 27[18]), and it figures in the tribute paid by king Mesha (2 K 3[4]).

W. EWING.

WORD.—Apart from the personal use of 'Word' as a title of Christ (see LOGOS), its Biblical interpretation presents few difficulties. Both in the OT and in the NT the original terms employed may pass from the meaning 'speech' to signify 'the subject matter of speech.' In some passages there is uncertainty as to whether the tr. should be 'word' or 'thing.' For example, 1 K 11[41] RVm has 'or *words*, or *matters*' as alternatives to 'the acts of Solomon.' In Ac 8[21] 'thou hast neither part nor lot in this matter' probably means 'in the matter in dispute,' which was the coveted power of imparting the gifts of the Holy Spirit; but the RVm 'word' is preferred by some expositors, who think that the reference is to the word preached by the Apostles and its attendant blessings (cf. Mk 1[45], Lk 1[2]). The EV retains 'word' in Mt 18[16] and 2 Co 13[1], although Dt 19[15] reads: 'At the mouth of two witnesses, or at the mouth of three witnesses, shall every matter be established.'

J. G. TASKER.

WORLD.—1. In OT.—In general it may be said that the normal expression for such conception of the Universe as the Hebrews had reached is 'the heavens and the earth' (Gn 1[1], Ps 89[11], 1 Ch 16[31]), and that 'world' is an equivalent expression for '**earth.**' So far as there is a difference, the 'world' is rather the fruitful, habitable earth, *e.g.*, 'the earth is the Lord's, and the fulness thereof; the world, and they that dwell therein' (Ps 24[1]; cf. 50[12] 90[2], Is 34[1]). The religious sentiments awakened by the contemplation of Nature appear also in references to the heavens and the sea (*e.g.* Ps 8. 19, Job 38. 39). But of the ethical depreciation of the world, so prominent in some NT writings, there are in the OT few traces. The 'world' is to be judged in righteousness (Ps 9[8] 96[13] 98[9]), and punished for its evil (Is 13[11]). The transient character of its riches and pleasures, with the consequent folly of absorption in them, is perhaps indicated by another Hebrew word (meaning 'duration'; cf. '*æon*' below) rendered 'world' at Ps 17[14] ('men of the world, whose portion is in this life,' cf. RVm); also by the same word at Ps 49[1] (see the whole Psalm). A word of similar meaning is rendered 'world' in AV at Ps 73[12], Ec 3[11], but RV retains 'world' only in the latter passage, and gives quite another turn to the sense.

The ethical aspect of the 'world' does not receive any fresh emphasis in the Apocrypha, though in the Book of Wisdom both the scientific interest in regard to the world and the impulses of natural religion are notably quickened (7[17-22] 9[9] 11[17. 22] 13[1-9], cf. Sir 17. 18). There is ample contrast between the stability of the righteous and the vanity of ungodly prosperity (*e.g.* Wis 1–5), but the latter is not identified with the 'world.' It is noticeable that in the Apocrypha the word *kosmos*, which in the LXX means 'adornment,' has reached its sense of 'world,' conceived as a beautiful order; in the NT this becomes the prevalent word.

2. In NT.—(1) *aiōn* (*æon*), '**age,**' is used of the world in its time-aspect: human history is conceived as made up of ages, successive and contemporaneous, converging to and consummated in the Christ. These in their sum constitute the 'world': God is their Maker (He 1[2] 11[3] [AV and RV 'worlds,' but 'world' better represents the thought]) and their King (1 Ti 1[17] RVm, Rev 15[3] RV). Hence the phrases 'since the world began,' *lit.* 'from the age' (Lk 1[70], Jn 9[32], Ac 15[18]); and 'the end of the world,' *lit.* the 'consummation of the age' (Mt 13[39. 40. 49] 24[3] 28[20]) or 'of the ages' (He 9[26]). All the 'ends of the world' so conceived meet in the Christian era (1 Co 10[11] [RV 'ages'], cf. He 11[39. 40]). Under this time-aspect, also, the NT writers identify their own age with the 'world,' and this, as not merely actual but as typical, is set in new lights. As 'this world,' 'this present world,' it is contrasted explicitly or implicitly with 'the world to come' (Mt 12[32], Mk 10[30], Lk 18[30] 20[34. 35], Eph 1[21] 2[7], 2 Ti 4[10], Tit 2[12], He 6[5]).

In some of these passages there is implied a moral condemnation of this world; elsewhere this receives

deeper emphasis. 'The cares of the world choke the word' (Mt 13^{22}, Mk 4^{19}): the 'sons of this world' are contrasted with the 'sons of light' (Lk 16^{8}; cf. Ro 12^{2}, Eph 2^{2} 'according to the transient fashion [*æon*] of this material world [*kosmos*]'). This world is evil (Gal 1^{4}), its wisdom is naught (1 Co 1^{20} 2^{6} 3^{18}), its rulers crucified the Lord of glory (1 Co 2^{8}); finally, it is the 'god of this world' that has blinded the minds of the unbelieving (2 Co 4^{4}). This ethical use of *æon*='world' is not found in the Johannine writings.

(2) But the most frequent term for 'world' is *kosmos*, which is sometimes extended in meaning to the material universe, as in the phrases 'from the beginning ('foundation,' 'creation') of the world' (*e.g.* Mt 24^{21} 25^{34}, He 4^{3}, Ro 1^{20}; for the implied thought of Divine creation cf. Ac 14^{17} 17^{24}). More commonly, however, the word is used of **the earth**, and especially the earth as the abode of man. To 'gain the whole world' is to become possessed of all possible material wealth and earthly power (Mt 16^{26}, Mk 8^{36}, Lk 9^{25}). Because 'sin entered into the world' (Ro 5^{12}), it is become the scene of the Incarnation and the object of Redemption (2 Co 5^{19}, 1 Ti 1^{15}, He 10^{5}, Jn $1^{9.\ 10.\ 29}$ $3^{16.\ 17}$ 12^{47}), the scene also, alien but inevitable, of the Christian disciple's life and discipline, mission and victory (Mt 5^{14} 13^{38} 26^{13}, Jn 17^{15}, Ro 1^{8}, 1 Co 3^{22} 4^{9} 5^{10} 7^{31}, 2 Co 1^{12}, Ph 2^{15}, Col 1^{6}, 1 P 5^{9}, Rev 11^{15}). From this virtual identification of the 'world' with mankind, and mankind as separated from and hostile to God, there comes the ethical signification of the word specially developed in the writings of St. Paul and St. John.

(*a*) *The Epp. of St. Paul.* To the Galatians St. Paul describes the pre-Christian life as slavery to 'the rudiments of the world' (4^{3}, cf. v.^{9}); through Christ the world is crucified to him and he to the world (6^{14}). Both thoughts recur in Colossians ($2^{8.\ 20}$). In writing to the Corinthians he condemns the wisdom, the passing fashion, the care, the sorrow of the world (1 Co $1^{20.\ 21}$ 3^{19} $7^{31.\ 33.\ 34}$, 2 Co 7^{10}; cf. *aiōn* above), and declares the Divine choice to rest upon all that the world least esteems (1 Co $1^{27.\ 28}$, cf. Ja 2^{5}). This perception of the true worth of things is granted to those who 'received not the spirit of the world, but the spirit which is of God' (1 Co 2^{12}); hence 'the saints shall judge the world' (1 Co 6^{2}, cf. 11^{32}). In the argument of Romans the thought of the Divine judgment of the 'world' has incidental place, but in the climax St. Paul conceives of the 'fall' of Israel as leading to 'the riches of the world,' and of the 'casting away' of them as the 'reconciling of the world' ($11^{12.\ 15}$; cf. v.^{32} and 5^{12-21}). What St. Paul condemns, then, is hardly the world as essentially evil, but the world-spirit which leads to evil by its neglect of the unseen and eternal, and by its blindness to the true scale of values revealed in the gospel of Christ crucified.

(*b*) *The Gospel and First Ep. of St. John.* In these two writings occur more than half the NT instances of the word we are considering. That is, the term *kosmos* is *characteristic* of St. John, and, setting aside his frequent use of it in the non-ethical sense, especially as the sphere of the incarnation and saving work of Christ, we find an ethical conception of the 'world' deeper in its shadows than that of St. Paul. It is true that Jesus is the Light of the world (Jn 1^{9} 3^{19} 8^{12} 9^{5} 12^{46}), its Life-giver ($6^{33.\ 51}$), its Saviour (3^{17} 4^{42} 12^{47}); yet 'the world knew him not' (1^{10}), and the Fourth Gospel sets out its story of His persistent rejection by the world, in language which at times seems to pass beyond a mere record of contemporary unbelief, and almost to assert an essential dualism of good and evil (7^{7} 8^{23} 9^{39} 12^{31} $14^{17.\ 30}$ $16^{11.\ 20}$). Here the 'world' is not simply the worldly spirit, but the great mass of mankind in deadly hostility to Christ and His teaching. In contrast stand His disciples, his own which were in the world' (13^{1}), chosen out of the world (15^{19}, cf. 17^{6}), but not of it, and therefore hated as He was hated ($15^{18.\ 19}$ $17^{14.\ 16}$). For them He intercedes as He does not for the world (17^{9}). In the 1st Ep. of St. John the same sharp contrasts meet us. The world lies within the scope of God's redemptive purpose in Jesus Christ (2^{2} 4^{14}), yet it stands opposed to His followers as a thing wholly evil, with which they may hold no traffic (2^{15-17}, cf. Ja 4^{4}), knowing them not and hating them ($3^{1.\ 13}$). It is conceived as under the sway of a power essentially hostile to God,—the antichrist ($2^{18.\ 22}$ 4^{3}; cf. 'the prince of this world' Jn 12^{31} 14^{30} 16^{11})—and is therefore not to be entreated and persuaded, but fought and overcome by the 'greater one' who is in the disciple of Christ (4^{4} $5^{4.\ 5}$). Faith 'overcometh the world,' but St. John reserves for his closing words his darkest expression of a persistent dualism of good and evil, light and darkness: 'We know that we are of God, and the whole world lieth in the evil one' (5^{19}).

The idiomatic uses of the term 'world' in Jn 7^{4} 12^{19}, 1 Jn 3^{17} are sufficiently obvious. For the difficult expression 'the world of iniquity' applied to the tongue (Ja 3^{6}), see the Commentaries. S. W. Green.

WORM.—**1.** *sās*, Is 51^{8} (cf. Arab. *sūs*, a moth or a worm), the larva of a clothes-moth. See Moth. **2.** *rimmāh* (Ex 16^{24}, Job 25^{6}, Is 14^{11}). **3.** *tōlā'*, *tōlē'āh*, or *tōla'ath* (Ex 16^{20}, Job 25^{6}, Is 14^{11} 66^{24}, Jon 4^{7} etc.). Both **2** and **3** are used to describe the same kind of worms (cf. Ex $16^{20.\ 24}$), and most references are to maggots and other insect larvæ which breed on putrid organic matter. These are very common in Palestine, occurring even on neglected sores and, of course, on dead bodies (Job 19^{26} 21^{26} 24^{20}). Jonah's worm (*tōlē'āh*) was probably some larva which attacks the roots, or perhaps a centipede. The 'worms' of Dt 28^{39} were probably caterpillars. **4.** *rāqāb* (Hos 5^{12} AVm). In Pr 12^{4} where the same word is also tr. 'rottenness,' it is rendered in LXX *skōlēx*, 'wood-worm,' which seems appropriate to the context. **5.** *zōchălē'ārets*, 'worms of the earth' (Mic 7^{17}), may possibly refer to true earth-worms (which are comparatively rare in Palestine), but more probably to serpents. See Serpent (10). **6.** *skōlēx*, Mk 9^{44} etc. The expression **'eaten of worms,'** used (Ac 12^{23}) in describing the death of Herod Agrippa I., would seem to refer to a death accompanied by violent abdominal pains, such symptoms being commonly ascribed in the Holy Land to-day to abdominal worms (*Lumbricoides*)—a belief often revived by the evacuation of such worms near the time of death (cf. p. 600[a]).

E. W. G. Masterman.

WORMWOOD (*la'ănāh*, Dt 29^{18}, Pr 5^{4}, Jer 9^{15} 23^{15}, La $3^{15.\ 19}$, Am 5^{7} 6^{12} [in the last AV tr. **'hemlock'**]; Gr. *apsinthos*, Rev 8^{11}).—*la'ănāh* was some bitter substance usually associated with **gall** (wh. see); it is used metaphorically for calamity and sorrow. Tradition favours some species of *Artemisia* (wormwood), of which several kinds are found in Palestine.

E. W. G. Masterman.

WORSHIP.—See Adoration, Praise, Prayer, Preaching, Synagogue, Temple. In Lk 14^{10} AV 'worship' means reverence (RV 'glory') from man to man.

WOT.—See Wit.

WOULD.—See Will.

WRATH.—See Anger, p. 34[a].

WRESTLING.—See Games, p. 282[b].

WRITING.—1. Pre-historic.—The origin of writing is not recorded in Genesis, where we should expect to find some account of it, but this omission may be intentional. Since God is represented as writing on two Tables of stone (Ex $32^{15f.}$), it might seem improper that He should employ a human invention, while, on the other hand, there may have been no tradition that the art was first used on that occasion; the inference is therefore left to be drawn by the reader. Perhaps we may infer from the phrase in Is 8^{1} that there was a style known as 'Divine writing,' being the character used in these Tables. The Tables themselves scarcely figure in the

historical parts of the OT, neither can we from the Pentateuch learn their contents with precision; yet the tradition that such Tables at one time existed is likely to be trustworthy, and the narratives given in Ex. and Deut. imply that there were whole Tables and fragments of Tables which had to be accounted for. From the statement that they were written on both sides—afterwards grotesquely misunderstood—we may infer that they resembled *stelæ* in form, and perhaps the original should be rendered by that word.

2. Origin of writing among the Israelites.—It is improbable that the OT contains any documents which in their written form are earlier than the time of David, when we first hear of an official scribe (2 S 8^{17}). The question of the date at which writing was first in use in Palestine is absolutely distinct from that of its earliest employment by *Israelites*, though the two are often confused. There is no evidence of Israel ever having employed the cuneiform script or any form of hieroglyphic writing, though both may have been familiar in Palestine before the rise of the Israelitish State. Probably, then, their earliest writing was alphabetic, but whence the Israelites got the art is a question of great difficulty, never likely to be cleared up. It is certain that Hebrew orthography is etymological, *i.e.* fixed in many cases by the history of the word as well as by its pronunciation, and this being so, it must have come down by tradition from an earlier stage of the language; yet of this earlier language we have no monuments. The possibilities are: (1) that the Israelitish tribes contained men with whom knowledge of writing was hereditary; (2) that when they settled in Canaan—however we interpret this phrase—they took over the language, and with it the writing and orthography, of the earlier inhabitants; (3) that when the immigrants were settled, teachers of this art, among others, were sent for to Phœnicia. The second of these hypotheses has most in its favour, as it accounts best for the differences between Hebrew and Phœnician spelling.

3. Character of writing.—The **alphabet** employed by the Israelites consists of 22 letters, written from right to left, serving for 28 or more sounds, not including vowels, which some of the consonants assist in representing. The OT, which has no grammatical terms, never alludes to these signs by name; yet we learn a few letter-names, not from their being employed to denote letters, but from their use as names of objects resembling those letters: these are *Wāw* and *Tāw*, meaning 'hook' and 'cross' (like our T-square, etc.), and it seems possible that two more such names may lurk in Is 28^{10}. From the story in Jg 12^{6} it might be inferred that the letter-names were not yet known at the time; still those which figure in the Hebrew grammars must be of great antiquity, as is evinced by the Greeks having borrowed them. The Greek names are evidently taken from an Aramaic dialect, and of this language some of the names used by the Jews (*Nūn*, *Rēsh*) show traces. These names have often been thought to be taken from the appearance of the letters—or perhaps it should be said that the letters were originally pictures of the objects which their names denote—but it is difficult to draw up a consistent scheme based on this theory. The familiar order is found in the alphabetic Psalms and in Lamentations, and in the cypher of Jeremiah (25^{26} etc., if the traditional explanation of those passages be trustworthy). Of the existence of any graphic signs other than the letters there is no evidence, though it is likely that the signs used by the neighbouring peoples to express units, decades, scores, and centuries were known to the Israelites, and they may also have had the dividing line between words, though the mistakes in the text of the OT due to wrong division show that it was not regularly used; a dividing point is used in the Siloam inscription. Isaiah, as has been seen, distinguishes 'human writing' or 'the writing of *'ĕnōsh*' from some other; and it would be in accordance with analogy that the spread of the art should lead to the formation of a variety of scripts. The style current, as exhibited in the inscription mentioned, and in a weight and a few gems, differs very slightly from that in use in the Phœnician settlements, of which the history is traceable from the 8th or 9th cent. B.C. down to Roman times. The papyri recently discovered at Elephantine show that in the 5th cent. B.C. a different and more cursive hand was used for Aramaic by the Jewish exiles; we should probably be correct in assuming that a similar hand was employed for Hebrew papyri also, in the time of Jeremiah and Ezekiel.

The square character, according to the Jewish tradition, was substituted for the older writing (of which a variety is preserved in the Samaritan script) in copies of the Law by Ezra, but this can be regarded only as a conjecture. The modern character first appears in Hebrew inscriptions of the 1st cent. A.D., and a somewhat similar type in Palmyrene texts of nearly the same date; yet for certain purposes the older style was retained by the Jews, *e.g.* for coins, which show the ancient character even in Bar Cochba's time. Still the numerous errors in the LXX version which owe their explanation to the confusion of similar letters, show that an alphabet similar to that now in use must have been employed for writing the Law as early as the 2nd or perhaps the 3rd cent. B.C.; and the allusion in Mt 5^{18} to *Yod* as the smallest letter of the alphabet, shows that the employment of this alphabet was familiar at that time. The change by which it had superseded the older scripts is likely to have been gradually rather than suddenly accomplished. The square character differs from the older, among other things, in the possession of five final forms, four of which are in fact nearer the older script than the initial forms; this innovation seems to be connected with the practice, adopted from the Greeks, of employing the letters for numeration, when five extra letters were required to provide signs for 500–900. That this practice was borrowed from the Greeks is confirmed by the Rabbinical use of the Gr. word *gematria*, 'geometry,' to denote it. The exact sense of the word rendered 'tittle' in Mt 5^{18} is unknown; attempts have at times been made to interpret the word from the strokes called in the later Jewish calligraphy *tāgīn*.

4. Later history of Hebrew writing.—Of other signs added to the letters the only kind which can claim any considerable antiquity are the *puncta extraordinaria*, dots placed over certain letters or words (*e.g.* 'and he kissed him' in Gn 33^{4}) to indicate that they should be 'expunged,' a term which literally means 'to point out.' This practice was common to both Western and Eastern scribes in the early centuries of our era, and even before; and it has rightly been inferred from the occurrence of these dots that all our copies of the Hebrew OT go back to one, of no great accuracy. In Bible times the process of erasure is indicated by a word signifying 'to wipe out' (Ex 32^{32}), apparently with water (Nu 5^{23}), whereas in Rabbinical times a word which probably signifies 'to scratch out' is ordinarily employed. The NT equivalent is 'to smear out,' *e.g.* Col 2^{14} etc. During the period that elapsed between the fall of Jerusalem and the completion of the Tradition, various rules were invented for the writing of the Law, which are collected in the Tract called *Sōpherīm*; these involved the perpetuation of what were often accidental peculiarities of the archetype, and the insertion in the text of signs, the meaning of which had in certain cases been forgotten. A much more important addition to the text is later than the completion of the Talmuds, viz. the introduction of a system of signs indicating the vocalization and musical pitch or chant. Of the former, two systems are preserved, an Eastern and a Western, but the familiar Western system won general acceptance. The invention and elaboration of these systems stand in some relation to the efforts made by Syrian Christians and Moslems to perpetuate the correct vocalization and intonation of their sacred books and facilitate their acquisition; and

indeed the Jewish inventions seem based on those already employed by Syrians and Arabs, and both in form and in nomenclature bear evidence of this origin. It would seem, however, that the first employment of vowel-signs for a Semitic language is to be found in the monuments of pagan Abyssinia. We should expect the introduction of extraneous signs into the sacred page to meet with violent opposition, yet of this we have no record; there is, however, evidence that the employment of the same signs for the punctuation of non-Biblical texts was disapproved by a party. The Karaite Jews appear to have saved the text from these additions by the expedient of transliterating it into Arabic characters, but this practice was soon abandoned, and the MSS which illustrate it belong to a limited period.

Some record of the process by which the text was vocalized would be welcome, for without this it has to be re-constructed by analogies drawn from the history of the Koran, which itself is imperfectly known. There are clearly many cases in which the vocalization has been affected by dogmatic considerations; it is not, however, certain that the punctuators were responsible for this, as there is evidence that before the invention of vowel-signs there were cases where fault was found with the traditional vocalization. The familiar series of variants known as **Qerē**, opposed to **Kethībh**, appears to embody suggestions for the improvement of the text, dating from various ages. So elaborate a task as the vocalization must have been accomplished by a large and authoritative committee, labouring for at least some years; but whether there was any reason for secrecy or not, there is ground for thinking that even in the 9th cent. the memory of the event was exceedingly hazy.

5. Character of writers.—The OT gives little information on such subjects as schools and methods of instruction. In Isaiah's time (29[11. 12]) an ordinary Israelite might or might not be able to read; apparently, however, such knowledge was usual in the higher classes (8[2]), and the same seems to be implied by a scene in Jeremiah (ch. 36), whereas the precepts of Deuteronomy from their wording (6[9]) rather suggest that the process of writing would be familiar to every Israelite, and in one case (24[1]) distinctly imply it. Of association of the art of writing with the priestly caste there is perhaps no trace except in Nu 5[23], where a priest has to write a magical formula; and the fact that in later times the order of scribes was quite distinct from that of priests shows that there was no such association. Unless we are to infer from Jg 5[14] that the art of writing was cultivated at an early time in the tribe of Zebulun, it would appear that the foreign policy of David first led to the employment of a scribe (2 S 8[17]), such a person doubtless corresponding with the *kātib* or *munshi'* of Mohammedan States, whose business it is to write letters for the sovereign, himself often unacquainted with the art; these persons set the fashion and invent the technicalities which other writers adopt. Less distinguished scribes attach themselves to particular individuals, at whose dictation they write (as Baruch for Jeremiah), or earn their living by writing and reading letters for those who require the service. Closely connected with this profession is that of copyist, but the development of the latter in Israel seems to have been peculiar. In Deuteronomy Moses writes the Law himself (31[24]), and the kings are to make their own copies (17[18]); of a professional copyist of the Law we do not hear till the time of Ezra, who is clearly regarded as editor as well as copyist; and though the word 'scribe' technically means one who copies the Law, its sense in Sirach (10[5] etc.) approaches that of *savant*, while in the NT it might be rendered by 'theologian.'

Publication in ancient times was usually effected by recitation, whence one copy would serve for a large community; but the employment of writing altogether for the composition and perpetuation of **books** appears to have commenced late in Israelitish history. Thus Solomon's 'wisdom' was spoken, not written (1 K 4[32-34]), and those who wished to profit by it had to come and hear the king, who may be thought of as holding *séances* for the recitation of his works. In Isaiah's time the amount of a prophecy written appears to have been confined to just sufficient to remind the hearer of its content (8[1]); and this might be attested by witnesses. When the prophecies of Jeremiah were written at length, the process appears to have been regarded as an innovation of which some account was required (36[17]); but after this time it seems to have become familiar, and in Hab 2[1] the prophet is commanded to write his prophecy clearly, to enable it to be read easily. Of a written Law, apart from the tradition of the Two Tables, there seems to be little or no trace prior to the discovery of Deuteronomy; how the older code embodied in Exodus was preserved is not known. Official chronicles—perhaps engraved on stone, but this is uncertain—seem to have commenced in the time of David, when we first hear of an official called 'the recorder' (2 S 8[16]); and to his age or that of his successor it is possible that certain collections of tribal lays go back, which afterwards furnished the basis of prose histories whose substance is preserved in the Pentateuch and following books; but the older theory of the documents contained in the Pentateuch (*e.g.* Ex. 13[8]) is that the memory of events would be preserved by ceremonies, accompanied with explanatory formulæ, rather than by written monuments. The founding of **libraries** (cf. 2 Mac 2[13]) and circulation of literature in masses probably belong to post-exilic times, when Ecclesiastes can complain that too many books are written (12[12]), and Daniel thinks of the OT as a library (9[2]). But for legal and commercial purposes (as well as epistolography) the use of writing was common in pre-exilic times. So Jezebel sends a circular note in many copies (1 K 21[8]), which bear the king's seal, probably in clay (Job 38[14]); Job (13[26] and 31[35]) thinks of his indictment as written, and Isaiah (10[1]) appears to condemn the practice of drawing up documents fraudulently. Contracts of divorce and purchase of land are mentioned by Jeremiah (3[8] 32[14] etc.), the latter requiring attestation by witnesses. The images of Is 34[16], Ps 139[16] etc. appear to be taken from the practice of bookkeeping, which ben-Sira in the 2nd cent. B.C. so strongly recommends (42[7]). Of genealogical rolls we hear first in post-exilic times, but the comparison of 1 Ch 9 with Neh 11 shows that such documents were sometimes old enough to make it difficult for the archæologists to locate them with certainty. In the Persian period a few new terms for writings and copies were introduced into Hebrew, and we hear of translations (Ezr 4[7] 'written in Aramaic and translated into Aramaic,' where the first 'Aramaic' is surely corrupt), and of foreign scripts being learned by Jews (Dn 1[4]). In Esther we read of an elaborate system in use in the Persian empire for the postage of royal communications.

On the whole, we are probably justified in asserting that the notion connected with writing in the classical period of Hebrew literature was rather that of rendering matter permanent than that of enabling it to reach a wide circle. Hence the objection that some have found to the Two Tables of stone being hidden away in the ark (unlike the Greek and Roman decrees engraved on public *stelæ*) is not really a valid one; the contents are supposed to be graven on the memory (Jer 31[33]), the written copy serving merely as an authentic text for possible reference in case of doubt—like the standard measures of our time. This theory is very clearly expressed in Dt 31[26] and 1 S 10[25], and renders it quite intelligible that the Law should have been forgotten, and recovered after centuries of oblivion. Such instruction as was given to the young was in all probability without the use of any written manuals, and in the form of traditions to be committed to

memory. 'We have heard with our ears and our fathers have told us' (Ps 44[1]) is the formula by which the process of acquiring knowledge of ancient history is described. The conception of the Law as a book to be read, whereas other literary matter was to be learned and recited without note, is due to the growth of synagogal services, such as commenced long after the first Exile. Even in the time of Josephus it would appear that a community rather than an individual was ordinarily the possessor of a copy of the Law, whence the term 'to read,' as in Lk 10[26], is the formula employed in quoting texts of Scripture only, whereas 'to repeat' would be used when the Tradition was cited. Both were doubtless habitually committed to memory and so cited, whence it comes that quotations are so often inaccurate.

6. Writing materials.—The ordinary verb used in Hebrew for 'writing' has in Arabic as its primary sense that of *sewing* or *stitching*, whence it might be inferred that the earliest form of writing known to the peoples who employ that word consisted in embroidery or the perforation of stuffs and leaves. More probably the sense of 'writing' comes through an intermediate signification *to put together*, *make a list*, *compose*, of which we have examples in Jg 8[14], Is 10[19], and perhaps Hos 8[12] and Pr 22[20]; this sense is preserved in Arabic in the word *katībah*, 'regiment *or* list of men enrolled.' From the Heb. word *kāthabh*, then, we learn nothing as to the nature of the material; more is indicated by a rarer word *chāqaq*, lit. 'to scratch,' which implies a hard surface, such as that of stone or wood; and of '**books**' of this sort, calculated to last for ever, we read in Is 30[8] and Job 19[23. 24]. **Wooden staves** are specified as material for writing in Nu 17[2] and Ezk 37[16]; and a 'polished surface,' probably of metal, in Is 8[1]. The instrument (AV **pen**) employed in this last case has a peculiar name: that which was employed on stone was called *'ēt*, and was of iron, with a point at times of some harder substance, such as diamond (Jer 17[1]). There appears to be a reference in Job (*l.c.*) to the practice of filling up the scratches with lead for the sake of greater permanence, but some suppose the reference to be rather to leaden tablets. At some time near the end of the Jewish kingdom, the employment of less cumbrous materials came into fashion, and the word for 'book' (*sēpher*) came to suggest something which could be rolled or unrolled, as in Is 34[4], where a simile is drawn from the latter process, and Is 37[14], where a letter from the king of Assyria—which we should expect to be on clay—is 'spread out'; in the parallel narrative of 2 Kings this detail is omitted. Allusions to **rolls** become common in the time of Jeremiah and Ezekiel, and though their material is not specified, it was probably **papyrus**; but skins may also have been employed. For writing on these lighter substances, **reeds** and pigments were required; references to the latter are to be found in Jer 36[18], Ezk 23[14], but of the former (3 Jn [13] ('**pen**')) there is no mention in the OT, though it has been conjectured that the name of the graving tool was used for the lighter instrument (Ps 45[1]); the later Jews adopted the Greek name, still in use in the East, and various Greek inventions connected with the preparation of skins. To an instrument containing **ink** and probably pens, worn at the waist, there is a reference in Ezk 9[2] (EV **inkhorn**), and to a **penknife** in Jer 36[23].

In Roman times **parchment** appears to have been largely used for rough copies and notes, and to this there is a reference in 2 Ti 4[13]. The Apostolic letters were written with ink on papyrus (2 Co 3[3], 2 Jn[5. 12] etc.). Zacharias (Lk 1[63]) uses a tablet, probably of **wood** filled in with **wax**.

Literary works, when rolls were employed, were divided into portions which would fill a roll of convenient size for holding in the hand: on this principle the division of continuous works into '**books**' is based, while in other cases a collection of small pieces by a variety of authors was crowded into a single roll. The roll form for copies of the Hebrew Scriptures was maintained long after that form had been abandoned (perhaps as early as the 2nd cent.) for the *quire* by Christians in the case of Greek and Syriac copies. The quire was employed, it would appear, only when the material was parchment, the roll form being still retained for papyrus. **Paper** was brought from the far East by Moslems in the 7th cent. A.D., when factories were founded at Ispahan and elsewhere, and owing to its great cheapness it soon superseded both papyrus and parchment for ordinary purposes. The Jews, however, who were in possession of a system of rules for writing the Law on the latter material, did not readily adopt the new invention for multiplying copies of the Sacred Books.

7. Writing as affecting the text.—It has often been shown that accuracy in the modern sense was scarcely known in ancient times, and the cases in which we have parallel texts of the same narrative in the Bible show that the copyists took very great liberties. Besides arbitrary alterations, there were others produced accidentally by the nature of the rolls. The writing in these was in columns of breadth suited to the convenience of the eye; in some cases lines were repeated through the eye of the scribe wandering from one column to another. Such a case probably occurs in Gn 4[7], repeated from 3[16]. Omissions were ordinarily supplied on the margin, whence sometimes they were afterwards inserted in a wrong place. There is a notable case of this in Is 38[21. 22], whose true place is learned from 2 K 20[7. 8]. Probably some various readings were written on the margin also, and such a marginal note has got into the text of Ps 40[7b]. Ancient readers, like modern ones, at times inserted their judgment of the propositions of the text in marginal comments. Such an observation has got into the text in 2 Mac 12[45] 'it is a holy and godly thought,' and there are probably many more in which the criticism of an unknown reader has accidentally got embodied with the original: Ec 10[14] appears to contain a case of this sort. A less troublesome form of insertion was the *colophon*, or statement that a book was finished, *e.g.* Ps 72[20]. Similar editorial matter is found in Pr 25[1], and frequently elsewhere. An end was finally put to these alterations and additions by the registration of words, letters, and grammatical forms called **Massorah**, of which the origin, like all Hebrew literary history, is obscure, but which probably was perfected during the course of many generations. Yet, even so, Jewish writers of the Law were thought to be less accurate than copyists of the Koran.

D. S. MARGOLIOUTH.

WYCLIF'S VERSION.—See ENGLISH VERSIONS, § 7 ff.

X

XANTHICUS.—See TIME, p. 937[a].

XERXES.—See AHASUERUS.

Y

YARN.—**1.** This is prob. the correct tr. of *'ētūn* (a word of doubtful etymology) in Pr 7^{16}. **2.** In Ezk 27^{19} RV 'yarn' is very doubtful (cf. RVm and art. Uzal). **3.** In 1 K 10^{28} *miqweh* should be tr. 'drove' (RV), not 'yarn' (AV). See also Spinning and Weaving, **4** (*b*); Trade and Commerce, **4.**

YEAR.—See Time.

YELLOW.—See Colours, § **1.**

YOKE.—See Agriculture, **1**; Weights and Measures, I.

YOKEFELLOW.—See Synzygus.

Z

ZAANAN.—A place mentioned in Mic 1^{11}, where there is a characteristic word-play: 'The inhabitress of *Za'ănān* went (*yāzĕah*) not out' (for fear of the enemy). Za'anān is generally considered to be the same as **Zenan** of Jos 15^{37}, an unidentified town in the Shephēlah.

ZAANANNIM.—The border of the tribe of Naphtali passed through 'the terebinth in Zaanannim' (Jos 19^{33}), and the camp of Heber the Kenite was at 'the terebinth in Z. which is by Kedesh' (Jg 4^{11}). It is probable that the preposition 'in' (*be* in Heb.) is part of the name, which should then be read **Bezaanannim.** The site is unknown. A plausible conjecture is that it was *Khirbet Bessum*, E. of Mt. Tabor. H. L. Willett.

ZAAVAN.—A descendant of Seir (Gn 36^{27} = 1 Ch 1^{42}).

ZABAD ('he hath given' or 'a gift').—Many names are derived from this root, both in OT and in Palmyrene and Nabatæan inscriptions. About 36 are reckoned in OT—23 in Chron., and nearly all in post-exilic books. In Gn 30^{20s} it is the first explanation of 'Zebulun.' The fuller form is **Zabdiel** or **Zebadiah** ('my gift is J"'). **1.** 1 Ch $2^{36.\ 37}$, a descendant of Judah, perhaps the same as the **Zabud** of 1 K 4^{5}. **2.** 1 Ch 7^{21}, an Ephraimite; if the text is correct, this passage and **1** indicate that there was some uncertainty as to the reckoning of the clan probably intended by the name. **3.** 1 Ch 11^{41}, one of David's valiant men, perhaps = **1.** **4.** 2 Ch 24^{26}, one of the murderers of Joash = **Jozacar** (2 K 12^{21}); we should perhaps read *Zacar* here. **5. 6. 7.** Laymen who married 'strange' wives, Ezr $10^{27.\ 33.\ 43}$ (cf. 1 Es 9^{28} **[Sabathus]**, ^{33} **[Sabanneus]**, ^{35} **[Zabadeas]**). C. W. Emmet.

ZABADÆANS.—The name of an Arabian tribe defeated by Jonathan Maccabæus, B.C. 144. According to the account in 1 Mac $12^{30\text{-}32}$, its home was to the N.W. of Damascus. Perhaps *Zebedāni*, on the Anti-Lebanon, about 20 miles on the way from Damascus to Baalbek, represents the ancient name. J. F. McCurdy.

ZABADEAS (1 Es 9^{35}) = Ezr 10^{43} **Zabad.**

ZABBAI.—**1.** One of the descendants of Bebai who had married a foreign wife (Ezr 10^{28}); called in 1 Es 9^{29} **Jozabdus.** **2.** Father of Baruch who assisted in the re-building of the wall (Neh 3^{20}). The *Kerē* has, perhaps rightly, **Zaccai**, a name which occurs in Ezr 2^{9} = Neh 7^{14}, and is the origin of the **Zacchæus** of 2 Mac 10^{19} and the NT.

ZABBUD (*Kerē* **Zaccur**).—An exile who returned (Ezr 8^{14}). In 1 Es 8^{40} *wĕ-Zaccur* [an easy slip, in Heb., for *wĕ-Zabbud*] is apparently corrupted into **Istalcurus.**

ZABDEUS (1 Es 9^{21}) = **Zebadiah** of Ezr 10^{20}.

ZABDI ('gift of Jah,' or perh. 'my gift,' or 'gift to me'; NT **Zebedee**).—**1.** The grandfather of Achan (Jos $7^{1.\ 17.\ 18}$), called in 1 Ch 2^{6} **Zimri.** **2.** A Benjamite (1 Ch 8^{19}). **3.** An officer of David (1 Ch 27^{27}). **4.** A Levite (Neh 11^{17}); but read probably **Zichri**, as in ‖ 1 Ch 9^{15}.

ZABDIEL ('my gift is El').—**1.** Father of one of David's officers (1 Ch 27^{2}). **2.** A prominent official in Nehemiah's time (Neh 11^{14}). **3.** An Arabian who put Alexander Balas to death and sent his head to Ptolemy (1 Mac 11^{17}).

ZABUD.—The son of Nathan (1 K 4^{5}); cf. **Zabad, 1.**

ZACCAI.—See Zabbai, **2.**

ZACCHÆUS (= **Zaccai**, Ezr 2^{9}, Neh 7^{14}, lit. 'pure').—**1.** An officer put to death by Judas Maccabæus for treachery (2 Mac $10^{18\text{-}22}$). **2.** A 'chief publican' of Jericho who entertained our Lord (Lk $19^{1\text{-}10}$). He was a rich man, a Jew (v.^{8}), of a higher grade than St. Matthew, but, like all his class, hated by his countrymen. Being short of stature, he had climbed up into a 'fig-mulberry' tree to see Jesus; our Lord called him down and invited Himself to his house. On hearing the murmuring of the people at the distinction conferred on a publican, Zacchæus justifies himself. Jesus passes this by, but in effect replies to the murmurers: 'If he is a sinner, I have come to save him.' A. J. Maclean.

ZACCUR.—**1.** A Reubenite (Nu $13^{4\ (5)}$). **2.** A Simeonite (1 Ch 4^{26}). **3.** A Merarite (1 Ch 24^{27}). **4.** An Asaphite (1 Ch $25^{2.\ 10}$, Neh 12^{35}). **5.** One of those who helped to re-build the wall (Neh 3^{2}). **6.** One of those who sealed the covenant (Neh 10^{12}), prob. same as mentioned in 13^{13}. **7.** Ezr 8^{14}. See Zabbud.

ZACHARIAH, ZACHARIAS (the latter uniformly in RV except in No. 4). **1.** 1 Es 1^{8} = **Zechariah** (No. 19). **2.** 1 Es 1^{15} = **Heman** of 2 Ch 35^{15}. **3.** 1 Es 6^{1} 7^{3} = **Zechariah** (No. 20). **4.** 1 Es $8^{30.\ 44}$ = **Zechariah** (No. 21). **5.** 1 Es 8^{37} = **Zechariah** (No. 22). **6.** 1 Es $9^{27.\ 44}$ = **Zechariah** (No. 24). **7.** Father of Joseph, an officer of Judas Maccabæus (**1** Mac $5^{18.\ 56}$). **8.** Husband of Elisabeth, and father of John the Baptist, a priest of the course of Abijah (Lk 1^{5})—this was one of the twenty-four courses of priests,—but clearly not the high priest, as the Apocryphal Gospel called *Protevangelion* makes him (§ 8). As he was ministering in his turn in the Temple, the angel Gabriel appeared to him and predicted the birth and future work of his son. His disbelief was punished by dumbness, which was cured only on the child being brought to be circumcised and named; when in obedience to Gabriel's command he and Elisabeth insisted that he should be called John. Under the inspiration of the Holy Ghost, Zacharias composed the *Benedictus*. We know nothing more of him. **9.** The martyr mentioned by our Lord in Mt 23^{35}, Lk 11^{51}. The reference is clearly to the death of **Zechariah, son of Jehoiada** (2 Ch $24^{20\text{-}22}$); and as Chronicles was the last book of the Jewish canon, the phrase **'from Abel to Zechariah'** would be equivalent to our 'from Genesis to Revelation.' In Mt., however, Zacharias is called 'son of **Barachiah,**' and there is thus a confusion with Zechariah the prophet, whose father was Berechiah (Zec 1^{1}). Allen ('St. Matthew' in *ICC*, p. 250) thinks that the confusion was due to the tradition of the age. It is more likely to be due to the Evangelist, or, still more,

to a scribe, who perhaps was misled by the mention by Josephus of a 'Zacharias son of Baruch,' murdered in the Temple by the Zealots (*BJ* IV. v. 4). Origen's guess that the father of the Baptist is meant is scarcely tenable.

A. J. Maclean.

ZACHARY (2 Es 1^{40}) =**Zechariah** the prophet.

ZADOK.—**1.** Founder of an important branch of the priesthood in Jerusalem. The reading of MT in 2 S 8^{17} (=1 Ch 18^{16}) being doubtful, there is no definite information concerning his family except in the genealogical lists in 1 Ch $6^{4-15.\ 50-53}$ 24^{6}, in which his descent is traced from Eleazar the elder son of Aaron; but these details are of doubtful reliability. He is first mentioned in 2 S 8^{17}, where perhaps he should be associated with **Abiathar** in the correct text, as he is in 2 S $15^{24ff.}$. He was appointed priest by Solomon in place of Abiathar (1 K $2^{26f.\ 35}$), because of his own loyalty (1 K 1^{8}) and the disloyalty of Abiathar (v.^{7}). From this it is evident that his position hitherto had been inferior to that of Abiathar, although his name regularly has the precedence in Samuel. From the time of Solomon the descendants of Zadok constituted the most prominent family among the priests, the high priests being taken from them till the time of the Maccabees. To Ezekiel the **Zadokites** are the only legitimate priests (40^{46} 43^{19} 44^{15} 48^{11}). **2.** A warrior of David's, of the house of Aaron (1 Ch 12^{28}), identified by Josephus (*Ant.* VII. ii. 2) with **1,** against all probability. **3.** Maternal grandfather of Jotham (2 K 15^{33}, 2 Ch 27^{1}). **4.** Son of Baanah (see Ezr 2^{2}, Neh 7^{7}), a helper of Nehemiah in re-building the wall (Neh 3^{4}). **5.** Son of Immer, repairer of a portion of the wall (Neh 3^{29}). **6.** 'The scribe,' probably a priest, appointed a treasurer by Nehemiah (Neh 13^{13}); perhaps to be identified with **5.** **7.** One of the 'chiefs of the people' who sealed the covenant (Neh 10^{21}). **8.** A high priest later than **1** (1 Ch 6^{12} [cf. Ezr 7^{2}, Neh 11^{11}]—a passage of doubtful historicity). **9.** An ancestor of Joseph the husband of Mary (Mt 1^{14} [AV and RV **Sadoc**]).

George R. Berry.

ZAHAM.—A son of Rehoboam (2 Ch 11^{19}).

ZAIN.—The seventh letter of the Hebrew alphabet, and as such employed in the 119th Psalm to designate the 7th part, each verse of which begins with this letter.

ZAIR.—According to the MT of 2 K 8^{21}, Joram, in the course of his campaign against Edom, 'passed over to Zair.' In the parallel passage, 2 Ch 21^{9}, the Heb. is 'passed over with his princes,' which may be confidently pronounced to be a corruption of the text in Kings. The latter itself is unfortunately not certain—so that the identification of the place in question is impossible.

ZALAPH.—The father of Hanun (Neh 3^{30}).

ZALMON.—**1.** The hill near Shechem where Abimelech and his followers cut wood for the burning down of the stronghold of Baal-berith (Jg 9^{48}). Possibly the same mountain is meant in Ps 68^{14}, where a snow-storm is apparently referred to as contributing to the scattering of 'kings' opposed to the people of Jehovah. As the Psalm refers to incidents of wars not related in the canonical books, we have to look to the times of the Maccabees; and the most obvious allusion is to the retreat of the army of Tryphon in B.C. 143, when he attempted to relieve the Syrian garrison in Jerusalem and was prevented by a heavy fall of snow (1 Mac 13^{22}). **2.** See Ilai.

J. F. McCurdy.

ZALMONAH.—An unidentified 'station' of the Israelites (Nu $33^{41f.}$).

ZALMUNNA.—See Zebah.

ZAMBRI (1 Es 9^{34}) =Ezr 10^{42} **Amariah.**

ZAMOTH (1 Es 9^{28}) =Ezr 10^{27} **Zattu.**

ZAMZUMMIM.—A name given by the conquering Ammonites to the **Rephaim,** the original inhabitants of the land (Dt 2^{20}). They are described as a people 'great and many and tall like the Anakim' (see art. Rephaim). The name *Zamzummim* has been connected with Arab. *zamzamah* 'a distant and confused noise,' and with *zizim*, the sound of the *jinn* heard in the desert at night. The word may thus perhaps be translated 'Whisperers,' 'Murmurers,' and may denote the spirits of the giants supposed to haunt the hills and ruins of Eastern Palestine (cf. art. Zuzim).

W. F. Boyd.

ZANOAH.—**1.** A town in the Shephēlah (Jos 15^{34}, Neh 3^{13} 11^{30}, 1 Ch 4^{18}). It is the modern *Zanu'a*, S.E. of Zoreah. **2.** A place in the mountains (Jos 15^{56}), possibly *Zanūta* S.W. of Hebron.

ZAPHENATH-PANEAH.—The name given by Pharaoh to Joseph (Gn 41^{45}). It should evidently be read *Ze-p-net-e-f-'onkh*, meaning in Egyp. 'God hath said he liveth'—a common type of Egyp. name in late times (see Pharaoh, **2,** and cf. Joseph, p. 495^{a}).

F. Ll. Griffith.

ZAPHON ('north').—A city E. of Jordan, assigned to Gad (Jos 13^{27}). It is named also in Jg 12^{1}, where *Zaphōnah* should be rendered 'to Zaphon' (RVm) instead of 'northward' (AV and RV). Possibly the Talmudic tradition is correct which identifies Zaphon with Amathus, the modern *'Amāteh*, a little north of the Jabbok, at the mouth of *Wādy er-Rugeib*. Zaphon is probably connected with **Ziphion** (Gn 46^{16}), or (more correctly) **Zĕphon**, with gentilic name **Zephonites** (Nu 26^{15}), described as a 'son' of Gad.

ZARAIAS.—**1.** 1 Es 5^{8} =**Seraiah,** Ezr 2^{2}; **Azariah,** Neh 7^{7}. **2.** 1 Es 8^{2}, one of the ancestors of Ezra, called **Zerahiah,** Ezr 7^{4}, and **Arna,** 2 Es 1^{2}. **3.** 1 Es 8^{31} = **Zerahiah,** the father of Eliehoenai, Ezr 8^{4}. **4.** 1 Es 8^{34} =**Zebadiah,** Ezr 8^{8}.

ZARAKES.—Called in 1 Es 1^{38} brother of Joakim or Jehoiakim, king of Judah, and said to have been brought up out of Egypt by him. The name apparently is a corruption, through confusion of Heb. *d* and *r*, of **Zedekiah,** who was a brother of Jehoiakim (2 K 24^{17}). The verse of 1 Es. is entirely different from the corresponding passage in 2 Ch 36^{4b}.

ZARDEUS (1 Es 9^{28}) =Ezr 10^{27} **Aziza.**

ZAREPHATH.—The Arab. village of *Sarafend* lies on a promontory about eight miles south of Zidon. On the shore in front of it are the scattered remains of what must have been a considerable town, the Zarephath or **Sarepta** of the Bible. Zarephath originally belonged to Zidon (1 K 17^{9}), but passed into the possession of Tyre after the assistance rendered by the fleet of Zidon to Shalmaneser IV. in B.C. 722 in his abortive attempt to capture insular Tyre. In Lk 4^{26} it is again called a city of Sidon (RV 'in the land of Sidon'). Zarephath is included in the list of towns captured by Sennacherib when he invaded Phœnicia in B.C. 701. It was the town in which Elijah lodged during the years of famine (1 K 17^{8-24}).

ZARETHAN (Jos 3^{16}, 1 K 4^{12} 7^{46}).—Three readings of this name appear, the other two being **Zeredah** (1 K 11^{26}, 2 Ch 4^{17}) and **Zererah** (Jg 7^{22}). It is probable that all three names refer to the same place, and that it must be sought near a ford of the Jordan on the W. side. The most probable spot is near the *Jisr ed-Damieh* at the junction of the Jabbok and the Jordan.

H. L. Willett.

ZATHOES, 1 Es 8^{32}, probably stands for **Zattu.** The name does not appear in the Heb. of the corresponding passage Ezr 8^{5}, to be corrected from 1 Es. so as to run 'Of the sons of Zattu, Shecaniah the son of Jahaziel.'

ZATHUI (1 Es 5^{12}) =**Zattu,** Ezr 2^{8}, Neh 7^{13}; called also **Zathoes,** 1 Es 8^{32}.

ZATTU.—A family of exiles that returned (Ezr 2^{8} = Neh 7^{13} [1 Es 5^{12} **Zathui**]); several members of this family had married foreign wives (Ezr 10^{27} [1 Es 9^{28} **Zamoth**]); its head sealed the covenant (Neh $10^{14\ (15)}$). See also **Zathoes.**

ZAZA.—A Jerahmeelite (1 Ch 2^{33}).

ZEALOT.—See Cananæan, Messiah (p. 610[a] f.), Pharisees.

ZEBADIAH.—**1.** **2.** Two Benjamites (1 Ch 8[15. 17]). **3.** One of those who joined David at Ziklag (1 Ch 12[7]). **4.** One of David's officers (1 Ch 27[7]). **5.** An exile who returned with Ezra's second caravan (Ezr 8[8]); called in 1 Es 8[34] **Zarias.** **6.** A priest who had married a foreign wife (Ezr 10[20]); called in 1 Es 9[21] **Zabdeus.** **7.** A Korahite (1 Ch 26[2]). **8.** One of the Levites sent by Jehoshaphat to teach in the cities of Judah (2 Ch 17[8]). **9.** An officer of king Jehoshaphat (2 Ch 19[11]).

ZEBAH ('victim').—A Midianite king, mentioned together with **Zalmunna,** who was killed by Gideon as the result of blood-revenge (Jg 8[18-21]); both kings had, however, been previously overcome in battle by Gideon, who championed the Israelites against their Midianite oppressors. This victory must have been of vital and far-reaching consequence to the Israelites, for it is more than once commemorated long after as a landmark in the nation's history (Is 9[4] 10[26], Ps 83[11]). The death of Zebah and Zalmunna is very graphically described. Gideon commands Jether, his eldest son, to slay them, but being only a youth he is afraid; so the kings ask Gideon himself to kill them; he does so, and takes the crescents from the necks of their camels. This last action may conceivably imply a kindly remembrance of the kings on the part of Gideon, for from 8[19] it would seem that it was only reluctantly, and from a sense of duty, that he slew them. W. O. E. Oesterley.

ZEBEDEE.—Father of James and John, husband of **Salome;** a comparatively rich fisherman, for he had 'hired servants' (see *e.g.* Mk 1[20] 15[40]; cf. Mt 27[56]).

A. J. Maclean.

ZEBIDAH (*Kethîbh* and RV) or **ZEBUDAH** (*Kerê* and AV).—The mother of Jehoiakim (2 K 23[36]).

ZEBINA.—One of the sons of Nebo who had married a foreign wife (Ezr 10[43]).

ZEBOIIM.—One of the five cities of the Plain (Gn 10[19], 14[2. 8], Dt 29[23 (22)], Hos 11[8] [AV and RV here **Zeboim**]). The site has not been identified. See, further, Plain [Cities of the].

ZEBOIM.—**1.** 'The ravine of Zebô'im' ('ravine of the hyænas') is named in 1 S 13[18] in describing the route followed by one of the bands of Philistine marauders. It is prob. the *Wâdy el-Kelt* or one of its branches. The name *Wâdy abû Dabâ* ('hyæna gorge') is still applied to a ravine in this neighbourhood. The same locality appears to be referred to in the Zeboim of Neh 11[34]. **2.** Hos 11[8]. See Zeboiim.

ZEBUDAH.—See Zebidah.

ZEBUL.—A lieutenant of **Abimelech** (wh. see), who was left by him as governor of Shechem. He cleverly assisted his master in suppressing the revolt of **Gaal** (Jg 9[26-41]). The episode is obscure, but he apparently acted loyally from the first; having no force at his command, he was obliged to use craft. This is clear, if vv.[42 ff.] belong to a different narrative. C. W. Emmet.

ZEBULUN.—According to OT tradition, Zebulun was the tenth son of Jacob, and the sixth of Leah (Gn 30[20] E).

The original form of the name is uncertain, there being some evidence in favour of *Zebulon,* and even *Zebul.* The meaning of the name is likewise doubtful. Gn 30[20] presents a double explanation. One of these (apparently E's) connects it with the verb *zâbad* 'to endow'; the other (J's) derives it from *zâbal* 'to dwell,' —because Leah said, 'Now will my husband dwell with me' (so AV and RV following the Vulg. *habitabit*). The Assyr. meaning of *zabâlu,* however, 'carry,' 'exalt,' affords a more suitable rendering for this isolated use of the Hebrew verb, for the remark, 'Now will my husband *dwell* with me,' appears rather gratuitous and pointless after she had borne him six sons. The phrase *bêth zebul,* 1 K 8[13], moreover, implies a connotation of *zbl* different from that of 'dwell,' for the context immediately defines its purpose as a 'place for thee to dwell in.' *Zebul* is here used of the dwelling of God, elsewhere of the sun and moon, and, therefore, probably designated originally, in harmony with the Assyrian, a lofty abode, a *bêth-har,* or mountain sanctuary, such as is referred to in Dt 33[19] as being in the territory of Zebulun and Issachar. If so, the name Zebulun, while etymologically related to *zbl,* is rather of geographical import in its historic application to the tribe.

According to Gn 46[14], Zebulun is the progenitor of three tribal families through his three sons Sered, Elon, and Jahleel, who went down into Egypt with the other sons and grandsons of Jacob. The first and last of these names are notably like the town names Sarid and Nahalal, which were allotted to Zebulun according to Jos 19[10f.]. There is no name corresponding to Elon in this passage, but the names of seven of the twelve cities spoken of have been lost.

At the time of the Sinai census the male **Zebulunites** from 20 years old and upwards numbered 57,400, and their lot on the march was cast on the east of the Tabernacle, with Judah and Issachar (Nu 1[31 f.] P). All of these, as in the case of the men of the other tribes, died before the next census in the plains of Moab, where, nevertheless, the total reached 60,500 (Nu 26[27. 64] P).

The boundary line marked off by lot in Jos 19[10-24] gives only the southern and eastern borders, and is difficult to follow. Starting on the south with Sarid (*Tell Shadud*?), about five miles S.W. of Nazareth, it reached Jokneam, eight miles due W., on the farther side of the plain of Esdraelon. It extended about the same distance eastwards, reaching, at the west of Mt. Tabor, Daberath (which, however, in 21[28] fell to Issachar), and then, if the text and identifications are correct, which is improbable, turned sharply west again to Japhia. Thence it continued in a north-easterly direction, passing Gath-hepher and Rimmon, and across the plain until it reached Hannathon, known to Babylonians, *c.* B.C. 1400, as *Hinnatuni,* which at that time was held by Amen-hotep. The remaining statement, 'and the goings out thereof were at the valley of Iphtael,' would indicate that the line turned at Hannathon in a south-westerly direction, perhaps towards *Jefat.* There would thus be no distinctly northern border, but only a north-western. The western is left undefined; but as Asher is made to reach to Carmel, and its S.E. point to join Zebulun at the valley of Iphtah-el (vv.[26. 27]), there is no room left for the access of Zebulun to the sea. Jacob's Song, however, uses the same expression (Gn 49[13]) as is used of Asher in Jg 5[17], and apparently extends the border to Sidon. In the 'Blessing of Moses' it is said that 'Zebulun and Issachar shall suck the abundance of the seas' (Dt 33[19]). This, as is clear from the inclusion of Issachar, implies only that their position will be such as to enable them to obtain the mercantile and other advantages of the sea traffic. The delimitations of the tribal boundaries in Joshua are very indefinite, and often in conflict with one another and with other data. Of the five cities mentioned in 19[15] Bethlehem is the only one whose site is identified with certainty. The modern *Ma'lul* may represent Nahalal, one of the four cities which, according to Jos 21[34f.] (P), was given by the Zebulunites to the sons of Merari (Levites). Roughly speaking, Zebulun lay to the N.E. of Carmel, between Issachar on the S.E. and Asher on the N.W.

Zebulun shared in the natural richness and fertility of the rest of Galilee, and the great 'way of the sea' (the *via maris* of the Crusaders) which ran through its territory, and from Acco to Damascus, brought it into touch with the outer world and its products.

In the war against Jabin 10,000 men of Zebulun and Naphtali went with Barak against Sisera, and in the battle, whose issues were of decisive importance to the tribes of Israel, they immortalized themselves by their bravery (Jg 4[10]). They, like the other tribes, failed, however, to drive out the Canaanites from some of their city strongholds. One of the minor 'judges' came from this tribe, viz. Elon, who headed the tribes in the anarchic and troublous time preceding the kingdom (Jg 12[11]). In later history, Zebulun, like the

other northern tribes, played an unimportant rôle. According to 2 K 15[29], it would appear that the fate of the other tribes of Galilee overtook this tribe in the days of Pekah, when the Assyrian king Tiglath-pileser carried them captive to Assyria. See also art. TRIBES.

JAMES A. CRAIG.

ZECHARIAH.—**1.** Brother of Ner and uncle of Saul (1 Ch 9[37]); called **Zecher** in 1 Ch 8[31]. **2.** A son of Meshelemiah (1 Ch 9[21] 26[2. 14]). **3.** A Levite musician (1 Ch 15[18. 20]). **4.** A priest in the time of David (1 Ch 15[24]). **5.** A Levite, of the family of Kohath (1 Ch 24[25]). **6.** A Levite, of the family of Merari (1 Ch 26[11]). **7.** Father of Iddo (1 Ch 27[21]). **8.** One of the princes of Judah in the days of Jehoshaphat (2 Ch 17[7]). **9.** A Levite, one of the sons of Asaph (2 Ch 20[14]). **10.** Son of Jehoshaphat (2 Ch 21[2]). **11.** Son of Jehoiada the priest (2 Ch 24[20]). After Jehoiada's death, Zechariah reproved the idolaters and announced God's judgment against them. He was stoned with stones at the commandment of the king in the court of the house of the Lord. His dying words, 'The Lord look upon it and require it,' were long remembered. See also ZACHARIAH (No. **9**). **12.** A prophet, living in the earlier part of Uzziah's reign (2 Ch 26[5]). **13.** Son of Jeroboam II. (2 K 14[29] 15[8. 12]). See next article. **14.** A man of high repute in Isaiah's day (Is 8[2]). When faithful witnesses were required to attest a solemn prophetic roll, this Zech. was chosen along with Uriah the priest. He is described as son of Jeberechiah, and may possibly be the same as the Asaphite mentioned in 2 Ch 29[13]. **15.** The father of Abi or Abijah, the mother of king Hezekiah (2 K 18[2], 2 Ch 29[1]). **16.** A reforming Asaphite under Hezekiah (2 Ch 29[13]). **17.** Head of a house of the Reubenites (1 Ch 5[7]). **18.** A Levite, one of the sons of Kohath (2 Ch 34[12]). **19.** One of the rulers of the Temple under Josiah (2 Ch 35[8] [1 Es 1[8] **Zacharias**]). **20.** The prophet (see ZECHARIAH [BOOK OF]). **21.** One of the family of Parosh (Ezr 8[3] [1 Es 8[30] **Zacharias**]). **22.** Son of Bebai (Ezr 8[11] [1 Es 8[37] **Zacharias**]). **23.** One of the chief men with whom Ezra consulted at the river Ahava (Ezr 8[16]; cf. 1 Es 8[44]; prob. = No. **21**). **24.** A descendant of Elam (Ezr 10[26. 44] [1 Es 9[27] **Zacharias**]). **25.** A descendant of Perez (Neh 11[4]). **26.** A Shilonite (Neh 11[5]). **27.** Son of Pashhur (Neh 11[12]). **28.** An Asaphite (Neh 12[35]). **29.** A priest (Neh 12[41]).

ZECHARIAH, king of Israel, was the last member of the house of Jehu to come to the throne, and he occupied it only six months. His assassination begins the period of virtual anarchy with which the history of Israel comes to an end (2 K 14[29] 15[8-12]).

H. P. SMITH.

ZECHARIAH, BOOK OF.—The first eight chapters contain the genuine prophecies of Zechariah. Chs. 9–14 are sharply distinguished from these in form, language, and thought. They are generally regarded as anonymous prophecies which became attached to the original book, and are often spoken of as Deutero-Zechariah.

I. CHAPTERS 1–8.—**1. Historical occasion.**—According to Ezra (5[1] 6[14]), the prophets Haggai and Zechariah roused Zerubbabel and Joshua to build the Temple, and the work went forward prosperously through their prophesying. The dates given in the book itself assign the prophecies to the second and fourth years of Darius (B.C. 520, 518). The first message (1[1-6]) is placed two months after the first address of Haggai, between the second and third. The section 1[7]–6[15] is two months later than the last addresses of Haggai, while chs. 7. 8 follow after an interval of nearly two years. The prophecies are thus associated with the earlier part of the four years devoted to the re-building of the Temple, and their contents connect themselves with this occasion.

2. Contents.—The book opens with an exhortation to return unto Jehovah (1[1-6]), based upon the sad experience of the fathers who had not heeded the word of the prophets to return from their evil ways.

It is especially noticeable that this post-exilic prophet, although very familiar with the words of his predecessors, is not enslaved by them; he rather draws a living lesson from a broad view of the vital experiences of the past. The main body of the book (1[7]–6[15]) is made up of a series of eight visions and a symbolic action, after the manner of Ezekiel. In the first (1[7-17]) the prophet sees at night, in a myrtle-shaded glen, four horsemen whom the angel that talks with him designates as the messengers of Jehovah. They report that all is quiet in the earth. The angel calls upon Jehovah: 'How long wilt thou not have mercy on Jerusalem and on the cities of Judah, against which thou hast had indignation these threescore and ten years?' In response, assurance comes that Jehovah is displeased with the nations which are at ease, He is returned to Jerusalem, His house shall be built, His cities shall overflow with prosperity, Zion be comforted, Jerusalem chosen. The second vision (1[18-21]) is of four horns—the nations which have scattered the holy people—and four smiths, who are to cast them down. Next, the prophet sees (2[1-5]) the future Jerusalem spread far and wide beyond the limits of her old walls, with Jehovah as a wall of fire round about her. There follows a song that calls upon the exiles to return, pictures the discomfiture of those that have plundered them, and the future glory of Zion as Jehovah's dwelling-place.

In ch. 3, Joshua, the high priest, is seen standing before Jehovah's angel, clad in filthy garments and accused by the Satan. Now these garments are taken from him, and he is clothed in rich apparel as a symbol of the removal of guilt. Joshua is promised full exercise of his priestly functions if he will walk in Jehovah's ways; he and those with him are a sign that Jehovah is to bring His servant the Branch (cf. Is 4[2], Jer 23[5] 33[15]). The vision that follows (ch. 4) is of the seven-branched lamp of the Temple, supplied with oil from two olive trees. Probably the promise to Zerubbabel (vv.[6b-10a]) should be transferred to the end of the chapter; then confusion disappears, and the seven lamps are interpreted as the eyes of Jehovah which run to and fro through the earth. The olive trees are explained as the two sons of oil that stand by the Lord of the whole earth. They must be Zerubbabel and Joshua, representatives of king and priest. The splendid promise to Zerubbabel now closes the picture, as that to Joshua had closed the preceding. In this, Zerubbabel is assured that he shall bring the Temple to completion, not by might nor by power, but by Jehovah's spirit. The prominent place given in these visions to priest and king, as essential to the national life, is most significant. Next, the prophet sees (5[1-4]) the curse of Jehovah as a book that flies and enters the house of every thief and perjurer to consume it. The seventh vision (5[5-11]) follows naturally upon the preceding. Wickedness, represented by a woman, is carried away from the land to Babylonia. Jehovah's curse has fallen upon the sinners, and sin itself is now removed to the land of exile. The last vision (6[1-8]) represents four chariots going forth upon the earth; of these the one that goes to the north executes the wrath of Jehovah upon those who have oppressed His people. The visions opened with the horsemen that reported the earth as quiet; they close with the chariots that keep the world in subjection to Jehovah. There follows the symbolic act of crowning Joshua (more probably, in the original text, Zerubbabel). The visions centre in the hope of a glorious future for Jerusalem, with its Temple restored, its enemies stilled, its exiles returned, its sin forgiven, its wickedness removed, and with Jehovah's spirit flowing in through priest and prince of Davidic line. The visions lead on to the symbolic crowning of the promised ruler.

In the third section (chs. 7. 8), Zechariah is led by a question concerning fasting to teach that the fasts which have been kept in the years of exile are to be changed into joyous feasts. Rather than fast they should observe the teachings of the earlier prophets concerning justice and mercy. With glorious promises for the peace and prosperity of Jerusalem, with the nations coming to seek Jehovah, the original Book of Zechariah closes.

3. Significance.—The historical importance of Zechariah in connection with the re-building of the Temple has already been noted. In the transition from prophetical to apocalyptic literature, this book is an important link. Zechariah has a large measure of the spirit of the early ethical prophets. From the experiences of the past he can draw broad and deep moral lessons, with something of the freedom and consciousness of immediate Divine illumination that distinguished an Amos or an Isaiah. Yet, even in the passages where

this is most observable, one feels a harking back that was not characteristic of the earlier prophecy—less of vital touch with present conditions and with the God in whose name he speaks. The centring of hope in prince and priest, with the consciousness that the great era of prophecy is past, sharply distinguishes Zechariah from his pre-exilic predecessors. In the visions, the machinery of apocalypse, introduced by Ezekiel, has been somewhat developed in its feature of angelic intermediaries. The characteristic apocalyptic spirit, however, with its revelling in the blood of enemies, is noticeably lacking. Zechariah loves, rather, to dwell upon peace and prosperity, upon sin removed, and the Divine spirit inflowing. His message is rich and full, for he has caught the ethical enthusiasm of the great eighth-century prophets, and has enriched it by the spiritual insight of Jeremiah and the glorious hopes of the exilic prophets. Zechariah not only strove to get the Temple built, but also urged upon the builders those moral and spiritual truths without which the Temple and its worship would be hollow mockery.

II. Chapters 9–14.—**1. Critical analysis.**—As early as 1653, it was maintained, in the interest of the accuracy of Mt 27[9. 10], that chs. 9–11 were written by Jeremiah. This view was soon adopted by several writers, and chs. 12–14 were connected with 9–11 as the work of the earlier prophet. Near the close of the 18th century, chs. 9–11 and 12–14 were distinguished as separate prophecies, dated respectively, from internal evidence, in the time of Hosea, and shortly after the death of Josiah. At about the same time, the view that 9–14 were really later than Zechariah was advocated. During the 19th century, each of the three general conclusions—(1) that the entire book is the work of Zechariah; (2) that 9–14 are pre-exilic; (3) that 9–14 are post-Zecharian—found many advocates. In the third quarter of the century, however, the first view was largely abandoned, and, after the thoroughgoing discussion of Stade, in 1881–2, the third view became almost completely dominant. Growing knowledge of the general course of development of prophetic and apocalyptic literature makes this conclusion more and more inevitable. How many separate prophecies, by different hands, may be embodied in these six chapters is not determinable with equal clearness. On the whole, however, 9–11 (with 13[7-9]) seem distinct from 12–14. Less conclusive are the data which indicate distinct sections as beginning at 11[4] and 14[1]. It is not possible to connect chs. 9–14 positively with any known events in the post-exilic history. In general, the historical situation seems to be that of the years after Alexander's conquests and death, when the Egyptian and Syrian rulers struggled for the possession of Palestine. Possibly some of the material comes from the time just before or during the Maccabæan struggle.

2. Contents.—In 9[1]–11[3] the oracle is one of doom upon Israel's neighbours, with promises of dominion and prosperity for Israel, restored to her land. The title 'burden of the word of Jehovah' is very unusual, occurring elsewhere only in Zec 12[1] and Mal 1[1]. The opening message of doom upon Israel's neighbours bears outward resemblance to Amos, but the ethical ground of Amos's denunciation is noticeably lacking. If v.[7] is rightly interpreted as referring to food ritually unclean, the contrast with the early prophet is still more striking. V.[8], with its comforting promise, seems to reflect the devastation of the Temple, as in the past. This is followed by the prediction of the coming king of peace—a beautiful lyric which breaks in sharply upon the context, and is followed by a prediction of successful resistance to the Greeks, and victory given through Jehovah. The shepherds of Judah, Jehovah's flock, are condemned, and victory is promised to the flock. The house of Judah shall be strengthened, and the house of Joseph restored to its land. In 11[4-17], 13[7-9] the figure of the false shepherds, introduced in the preceding section, is worked out into an allegory of the false and true shepherd, in a way that enables the prophet to illustrate the frustration of God's beneficent purpose by the obstinacy of His people, as well as the evil character of their rulers. The three shepherds cut off in quick succession strongly suggest the conditions shortly before the Maccabæan uprising, but the highly symbolic and somewhat imitative character of the prophecy renders it precarious to seek any exact picture of immediate conditions; our ignorance, too, of large portions of the post-exilic age makes it impossible to say that some other time may not have furnished an equally appropriate occasion.

The second main division of chs. 9–14, beginning with ch. 12, leads us immediately into the familiar apocalyptic conception introduced by Zephaniah, and developed by Ezekiel and Joel. The nations are assembled against Jerusalem, there to be consumed through the power of Jehovah. Hope centres in the house of David, and yet this house, it would seem, is now reduced to the position of merely one of the important families of the people. The closing verses of the first section in this division (13[1-6]) indicate a time when prophecy is utterly degraded—idols, prophets, unclean spirit are evils to be removed. Ch. 14 gives another apocalyptic vision of the siege of Jerusalem. The onslaught is terrible, and the discomfiture of her enemies is wrought only after great affliction. In this little apocalypse the vengeful, proud hopes with which the wretched, persecuted Jews consoled themselves throughout the later pre-Christian centuries, and on into Christian times, find vivid expression. With these hopes there is clearly present that late, narrow, legalistic spirit which finds its climax of religious outlook in a wide recognition of the feasts, and in ceremonially clean boiling-pots for the sacrifices. It is evident that the closing oracle of this collection appended to Zechariah carries us far into 'the night of legalism.'

Henry T. Fowler.

ZECHER (1 Ch 8[21]) = 9[37] **Zechariah.**

ZECHRIAS.—An ancestor of Ezra (1 Es 8[1]).

ZEDAD.—One of the points mentioned in defining the northern border of the Promised Land in Nu 34[8], and again in Ezekiel's ideal picture, Ezk 47[15]. The reading is uncertain; not improbably it should be Zerad. The place may perhaps be identified with *Khirbet Serādā*, N. of Abil, E. of Merj 'Ajūn, towards Hermon.

ZEDEKIAH.—**1.** Son of Chenaanah, and one of Ahab's four hundred court prophets (1 K 22[11. 24. 25], 2 Ch 18[10. 23. 24]). **2.** A prophet deported to Babylon with Jehoiachin. He and another, named **Ahab,** are denounced by Jeremiah (29[21-23]) for gross immorality as well as for falsely prophesying a speedy restoration from Babylon. It was probably their action as political agitators that brought on them the cruel punishment of being roasted in the fire by order of Nebuchadrezzar. **3.** Son of Hananiah, one of the princes in the reign of Jehoiakim (Jer 36[12]). **4.** A signatory to the covenant (Neh 10[1]). **5.** See next article.

ZEDEKIAH, the last king of Judah before its fall at the hands of the Babylonians, is known to us not only from the historical books, but also from references in the Book of Jeremiah. He was the third son of Josiah to assume the royal title. Jehoahaz was deposed by the Pharaoh; Jehoiakim had a troubled reign of eleven years, and escaped the vengeance of Nebuchadrezzar by dying just before the Babylonian reached Jerusalem. The young Jehoiachin suffered for the sin of his father, being carried into captivity after three months of barren kingship. With him were carried away the chief men of Judah to the number of eight thousand,—Nebuchadrezzar thinking thus to break the seditious temper of the people. Over the remnant left behind Zedekiah was made king. His earlier name, **Mattaniah,** was changed to *Zedekiah* (meaning 'righteousness of Jahweh'), to indicate that the Babylonian monarch, in punishing the treachery of Jehoiakim, had the God of Judah on his side (2 K 24[17]). We are told by Ezekiel (17[13. 19]) that Zedekiah took an oath of allegiance to his suzerain. For **Zarakes** of 1 Es 1[38] see Zarakes.

Nebuchadrezzar's confidence that the people would be submissive after the severe lesson they had received was disappointed. The new men who came to the front

were as headstrong as, and even more foolish than, their predecessors. They were blind to the ludicrous insufficiency of their resources, and determined to play the game of politics against the great nations of the world. The court of Zedekiah was the centre of intrigues against the Babylonian power, and the plotters were fed with promises from Egypt. Zedekiah showed himself a weak man, unable to cope with the situation. In his fourth year ambassadors appeared at Jerusalem from the surrounding nations, to concert common measures against the oppressor. The majority of the prophets encouraged the movement; only Jeremiah saw the madness of the undertaking, and declared against it. His bold declaration of the truth brought upon him the enmity of the courtiers. Zedekiah seems to have been called to account by the great king, to whom he made some explanation which satisfied him, or at least lulled suspicion for a time. The movement itself came to nothing at this time. But in Zedekiah's ninth year renewed promises from Egypt induced the Jerusalemites to revolt, and Zedekiah was too weak to restrain them. Nebuchadrezzar replied promptly by marching in person against the rebels. Jerusalem was a stronghold in which the people had confidence, and they seem also to have believed fanatically that Jahweh would intervene to protect His Temple. This faith was raised to a high pitch by the approach of an Egyptian army under Pharaoh-hophra; for Nebuchadrezzar was compelled to raise the siege to meet the new enemy. The expression of the people's confidence that they had got from Jahweh all that they desired is seen in the indecent haste with which they reduced again to slavery the servants whom they had set free in order to obtain His favour (Jer $34^{8ff.}$).

The joy was short-lived. The Egyptians were hardly a serious problem to Nebuchadrezzar, and soon left him free to resume the siege, which he did with energy. The strongly fortified city was defended by its inhabitants with the courage of despair, and held out a year and a half. During this time they suffered all the horrors of siege, famine, and pestilence. Jeremiah, who still predicted disaster, was arrested, and would have perished in his dungeon had it not been for the compassion of one of the king's slaves (Jer 38). Zedekiah, who believed in him, consulted him by stealth, but could not nerve himself to follow the advice he received. When at last the wall was breached, the king attempted to escape to the Jordan valley, hoping thus to gain the eastern desert. But he was overtaken and carried to Nebuchadrezzar. The victor, considering that forbearance had ceased to be a virtue, slew the captive king's children before his eyes, then blinded the king himself and carried him away in chains to Babylon. The kingdom of Judah had come to an end (2 K $25^{4ff.}$). H. P. Smith.

ZEEB.—See Oreb and Zeeb.

ZELA(H).—A Benjamite city (Jos 18^{28}), where was the family burying-place of Saul (2 S 21^{14} [here RV needlessly confuses by writing Zela*h*]). Its site has not been discovered.

ZELEK.—One of David's heroes (2 S 23^{37} = 1 Ch 11^{39}).

ZELOPHEHAD.—A Manassite who died during the wilderness journeyings, leaving no male issue. His five daughters successfully asserted their claim to the inheritance of their father (Nu 26^{33} 27^{1-7} 36^{2-12}, Jos 17^{3}, 1 Ch 7^{15}).

ZELZAH.—In 1 S 10^{2} Samuel tells Saul that he will find 'two men by Rachel's sepulchre in the border of Benjamin at *Zelzah*.' No such place is known to us, and the reference is strange after the definite mention of Rachel's sepulchre. The LXX does not regard it as a proper name, and tr. 'leaping furiously'; and the Vulgate reads 'in the south.' Neither of these can be correct. Possibly the Greek of the LXX is a transliteration of some Heb. word, which was not understood and was then transformed into something significant in Greek. The meaning remains uncertain.
W. F. Boyd.

ZEMARAIM.—A city of Benjamin, apparently in the vicinity of Bethel (Jos 18^{22}). It prob. gave its name to Mt. Zemaraim, in the hill-country of Ephraim (2 Ch 13^{4}). It is generally identified with *es-Sumra* to the north of Jericho.

ZEMARITE, THE.—A collective designation of one of the Canaanite communities in Gn 10^{18}, named along with the Arvadite, and therefore presumably in Northern Phœnicia. It stands probably for the people of *Simirra*, an important city in the time of the later Assyrian empire and the seat of an Assyrian province. It seems to be mentioned also in the Amarna letters under the name *Sumur*. Perhaps we should compare the modern *Sumra*, between *Ruwād* (Arvad) and *Tarabulūs* (Tripolis). J. F. McCurdy.

ZEMIRAH.—A son of Becher (1 Ch 7^{8}).

ZENAN.—See Zaanan.

ZENAS.—A lawyer (*i.e.* learned in Jewish law, cf. v.^{9}) whom St. Paul asks Titus to send to him from Crete, with Apollos (Tit 3^{13}). The name is perhaps a contraction from *Zenodorus*. A. J. Maclean.

ZEPHANIAH.—**1.** The prophet (see next art.). **2.** A Kohathite (1 Ch 6^{36}). **3.** Son of Maaseiah the priest in Jerusalem in the time of Zekediah the king and Jeremiah the prophet (Jer 21^{1} $29^{25.\ 29}$ 37^{3}). As next in rank to Seraiah, grandson of Hilkiah (1 Ch 6^{14}), Zeph. is called *second priest* (2 K 25^{18}). On the occasion of the final overthrow of Jerusalem he was put to death at Riblah (Jer $52^{24ff.}$). **4.** The father of one Josiah in Babylon (Zec $6^{10.\ 14}$).

ZEPHANIAH is the title of the 9th section of the Hebrew collection of prophetic literature, entitled 'The Twelve Prophets,' which was probably compiled in the 3rd cent. B.C. (see Micah [Book of]). Like other sections of this work, it contains both earlier and later materials, though these cannot always be separated from one another with certainty. In the main the Book of Zephaniah consists of a prophecy of judgment delivered by Zephaniah about B.C. 627.

1. The prophet.—According to the title of the book (1^{1}), Zephaniah prophesied in the reign of Josiah (B.C. 639–608). Since the allusions in ch. 1 point to the continuance unchecked of false worships such as those of 'the host of heaven' which had prevailed in Judah under the previous kings Manasseh and Amon, we may infer that Zephaniah prophesied in the earlier part of Josiah's reign, before the Reformation of the year 621, which enforced the laws of Deuteronomy. Two further inferences with regard to Zephaniah are justifiable if, as is probable, the great-great-grandfather of Zephaniah was *king* Hezekiah (1^{1}, cf. *Expositor*, 1900 (July), pp. 76–80): (1) Zephaniah was of royal descent; (2) like Jeremiah (Jer 1^{6}), Zephaniah when he began to prophesy was a young man—say of some 25 years.

2. The book.—The Book of Zephaniah ought not to be read as a continuous whole. Ch. 3 is separated from chs. 1. 2 by a very marked break. Chs. 1 and 2 form not improbably a single prophecy, which, however, appears to have been more or less amplified by subsequent editors; certainly in some places, especially at the beginning of ch. 2, it has been rendered obscure by textual corruption. In its present form this prophecy predicts as near at hand a judgment that is to involve the whole world ($1^{2f.}$; also v.^{18}, if 'land' should rather be translated 'earth'); and it describes in detail how it will affect Judah ($1^{4-17\ (18)}$), Philistia (2^{4-7}), Moab and Ammon (2^{8-10}), Ethiopia (2^{12}) and Assyria (2^{14-15}). The ground of judgment in the case of Judah is found in the prevalence of false worship ($1^{4\ 5}$), of foreign fashions ($1^{8f.}$) and disregard of Jahweh (1^{12}); in the case of Moab and Ammon, in the

contemptuous taunts with which they had upbraided Judah (2^{8-10}) (such taunts as, according to Ezekiel [25^{1-11}], these peoples hurled at the Jews after the Fall of Jerusalem in 586 B.C.); in the case of Assyria, in her presumptuous arrogance and self-confidence (2^{15}). According to the general opinion, Zephaniah, like Jeremiah, who was prophesying at the same time, expected the **Scythians** to be the instruments of this judgment: for at about this time hordes of these barbarians were pouring into Asia. According to Marti, Zephaniah's original prophecy confined itself to a prediction of a destructive invasion by the Scythians, who, coming from the north, would first sweep through Judah, then southwards through Philistia to Ethiopia in the extreme south, and then, turning backwards, would overwhelm the Assyrian empire. The references to Moab and Ammon, and the touches which universalize the judgment, must in this case owe their insertion into Zephaniah's prophecy to later editors. Many also think that the promises in chs. 1. 2 (see chiefly $2^{3.\ 7}$) are later than Zephaniah.

Ch. 3 contains (1) a description of the sins of Jerusalem (3^{1-7}); this may be a second denunciation of Zephaniah's, parallel to ch. 1 and particularizing rather different sins, or a prophetic description of Jerusalem at a later date; (2) a description of a universal judgment from which only the godly remnant of Judah will escape ($3^{8.\ 11-13}$; cf. 2^{3}); (3) a description of the glory of the Jews after Jahweh has delivered them from captivity (3^{14-20}). All of ch. 3 may be of post-exilic origin, and the third section can scarcely be pre-exilic. Inserted in the midst of the second section are two verses (3^{9-10}) which, like 2^{11}, predict that Jahweh will be universally worshipped; these also are probably of post-exilic origin.

It seems clear that Zephaniah, like the prophets of the 8th cent. and his own contemporary, Jeremiah, was, primarily, a prophet of judgment to come upon his own people. In this respect he differed from two prophets of the same generation—Nahum and Habakkuk, both of whom, however, probably prophesied *after* the Reformation of Josiah. Nahum is entirely concerned with judgment on Assyria; Habakkuk is perplexed by what to Zephaniah might have appeared the fulfilment of his prophecy—the present troubles of Judah. Zephaniah marks no new departure in prophetic activity or thought, but by his moral earnestness, and his insistence on the need for single-hearted devotion to the demands of Jahweh for righteousness, he performed for his own generation the service rendered a century earlier by Isaiah, whose influence on his thought and teaching is obvious (cf. particularly 1^{14-17} with Is $2^{12ff.}$).

Owing more especially to textual corruption, parts of the book, even in the RV, are unintelligible: see Driver, *Minor Prophets*, vol. ii. (Century Bible); G. A. Smith, *Book of the Twelve Prophets*, vol. ii. pp. 35–74 (containing a translation from a critically emended text); see also A. B. Davidson's Commentary on the AV in the *Cambridge Bible*.

G. B. Gray.

ZEPHATH.—See Hormah.

ZEPHATHAH.—An unknown locality named only (if the text is correct) in 2 Ch $14^{10\ (9)}$.

ZEPHI (1 Ch 1^{36}) or **ZEPHO** (Gn $36^{11.\ 15}$).—A son of Eliphaz, and one of the 'dukes' of Edom.

ZEPHON, ZEPHONITES.—See Zaphon.

ZER.—A 'fenced' city of Naphtali (Jos 19^{35}). It follows **Ziddim** (properly *Hazziddim* [with art.]), which may be the modern *Hattin*, N.W. of Tiberias. The identity of Zer is quite uncertain.

ZERAH.—**1.** One of the sons of Reuel (Gn $36^{13.\ 17}$, 1 Ch 1^{37}). The name appears again as that of the father of Jobab, one of the early kings of Edom (Gn 36^{33}, 1 Ch 1^{44}). **2.** The younger-born of the twin sons of Judah by Tamar his daughter-in-law (Gn 38^{30}). He gives his name to the **Zerahites** (Nu 26^{24}). Of this family was Achan the son of Zabdi (Jos 7^{1}) or Zimri (1 Ch 2^{6}). Zerah's sons are mentioned in 1 Ch 9^{6}, and Pethahiah (Neh 11^{24}) is one of his descendants. He finds a place in the genealogy of our Lord (Mt 1^{3}). **3.** A son of Simeon, and the founder of a family of **Zerahites** within that tribe (Nu 26^{13}, 1 Ch 4^{24}); called also **Zohar** (Gn 46^{10}, Ex 6^{15}). **4.** A Levite name, borne by a Gershonite (1 Ch 6^{21}) and by a Kohathite (1 Ch 6^{41}). **5.** The name of the Cushite (2 Ch 14^{9-15}) who invaded Judah in the reign of Asa. The story of this invasion is unknown to secular history, and rests solely upon the authority of the Chronicler. There has been much controversy as to its historicity, and the question is still involved in obscurity. In any case the numbers in the text of Chron. (580,000 men in Asa's army, 1,000,000 in Zerah's) are incredibly large.

ZERAHIAH.—**1.** A priest, an ancestor of Ezra (1 Ch 6^{6} *bis*. ^{51}, Ezr 7^{4} [1 Es 8^{2} **Zaraias**, 2 Es 1^{2} **Arna**]). **2.** The father of Eliehoenai, Ezr 8^{4} [1 Es 8^{34} **Zaraias**].

ZERED.—The torrent-valley (*nachal*) of Zered is named in the itinerary of Israel's journeyings, Nu 21^{12}, immediately prior to their crossing of the Arnon, and in Dt 2^{13} as the point that marked the close of the 38 years' wanderings. It is probably either the *Saʾil Saʿideh* (the principal confluent of the Arnon from the S.E.) or the *Wâdy Kerak*.

ZEREDAH, ZERERAH.—See Zarethan.

ZERESH.—The wife of Haman (Est $5^{10.\ 14}$ 6^{13}).

ZERETH.—A Judahite (1 Ch 4^{7}).

ZERETH-SHAHAR.—A Reubenite town (Jos 13^{19}). Its site has not been identified.

ZERI.—See Izri.

ZEROR.—An ancestor of Saul (1 S 9^{1}).

ZERUAH.—The mother of Jeroboam (1 K 11^{26} 12^{24b}).

ZERUBBABEL (meaning uncertain, perhaps 'offspring of Babel'; the form **Zorobabel** is used in the Apocrypha).—The son of Shealtiel, and related to the house of David. He was the leader of one of the bands that returned from the Captivity (Ezr 2^{2}, Neh 7^{7}), and was at one time *pechah* or 'governor' of Judah (Hag 1^{1} etc.). On the question of his identity with **Sheshbazzar**, see Sheshbazzar. As the servant of the Lord, and as His specially chosen one, he is designated as one who is to be specially honoured in the 'day of the Lord,' for which reason he is called the 'signet' (Hag 2^{23}). Both Haggai and Zechariah point to Zerubbabel and the high priest Joshua as those who are to re-build the Temple (Hag 1^{1-8} 2^{9-18}, Zec 4^{1-14}); this was done, though after considerable delay owing to enemies of the Jews; it was only after a special appeal had been made to Darius that the work was proceeded with unimpeded (Ezr $6^{1ff.}$). From Zechariah's fourth 'night-vision' (Zec $3^{1ff.}$, esp. vv.$^{8-10}$) we learn that Zerubbabel was looked upon as the coming Messiah; in this night-vision it is pointed out that Joshua and his fellows are a pledge and an earnest of the near approach of the Messiah—the 'Branch,' as he is here called; the stone which is to adorn his crown is ready, and Jahweh Himself is about to engrave thereon a fitting inscription; when the Messiah comes, God will obliterate all guilt from the people, and peace shall rest upon the land (see Branch). Although Zerubbabel is not mentioned here by name, a comparison of the passages Zec 3^{8-10} 4^{1-14} 6^{9-13} makes it reasonably certain that he is intended.

This period of Jewish history presents not a few very difficult problems; one of the burning questions has reference to the respective parts played in the re-building of the Temple, and the re-organization of the Jewish State generally, by the returned exiles, and by the 'people of the land' who had been left behind when

the rest were carried off to Babylon; this question has an important bearing on the subsequent history of Judaism. W. O. E. Oesterley.

ZERUIAH.—The mother of David's officers Abishai, Joab, and Asahel, who are always referred to as 'sons of Zeruiah.' The father's name is never mentioned, and he may have died early; or the mother may have been so remarkable a woman that her husband's name was not preserved; or we have a survival of the ancient custom of tracing kinship through the female line.

In 1 Ch 2^{16} Zeruiah and Abigail are called 'sisters of the sons of Jesse,' but in 2 S 17^{25} Abigail is called the daughter of Nahash. It seems more probable that for *Nahash* in 2 S 17^{25} we ought to read *Jesse*, than that Jesse's wife had previously been married to Nahash the Ammonite. According to this view, Zeruiah would be the daughter of Jesse and sister of David. W. F. Boyd.

ZETHAM.—A Gershonite Levite (1 Ch 23^{8} 26^{22}).

ZETHAN.—A Benjamite (1 Ch 7^{10}).

ZETHAR.—A eunuch of king Ahasuerus (Est 1^{10}).

ZEUS.—See Jupiter.

ZIA.—A Gadite (1 Ch 5^{13}).

ZIBA.—A servant, probably a freedman, of Saul. He appears before David (2 S 9^{1-11}), possessing 15 sons and 20 servants, and is consulted as to the existence of any members of the house of Saul. He informs David of the retreat of **Mephibosheth,** to whom David restores the lands of his father and appoints Ziba steward. On David's flight from Jerusalem (2 S 16^{1-4}) Ziba followed him with provisions, and accused Mephibosheth of treachery. He received a grant of his master's lands, but on David's return Mephibosheth was able to clear himself and was allowed to retain a half (2 S 19^{24-30}). W. F. Boyd.

ZIBEON.—See Anah.

ZIBIA.—A Benjamite (1 Ch 8^{9}). This and the name **Zibiah** may be connected with *zĕbhī*, fem. *zĕbīyyah* 'gazelle,' as totem.

ZIBIAH.—The mother of Joash of Judah (2 K 12^{1} (2) =2 Ch 24^{1}). See also Zibia.

ZICHRI.—**1.** A grandson of Kohath (Ex 6^{21}, misspelt in modern edd. of AV *Zithri*, although ed. of 1611 has correctly *Zichri*). **2.** **3.** **4.** **5.** Four Benjamites (1 Ch $8^{19.\ 23.\ 27}$, Neh 11^{9}). **6.** An Asaphite (1 Ch 9^{15} || Neh 11^{17} [see Zabdi, No. 4]). **7.** A descendant of Eliezer (1 Ch 26^{25}). **8.** A Reubenite (1 Ch 27^{16}). **9.** A Judahite (2 Ch 17^{16}). **10.** Father of a captain in Jehoiada's time (2 Ch 23^{1}). **11.** A mighty man of Ephraim (2 Ch 28^{7}). **12.** A priest (Neh 12^{17}).

ZIDDIM.—See Zer.

ZIDON (NT **Sidon**).—About midway between Beyrout and Tyre, on the edge of a fertile strip of plain stretching from the mountain to the shore, a small rocky promontory juts into the sea. Here stood the ancient city of Zidon. The site was chosen doubtless because of the excellent harbour formed by a series of small islets, a short distance from the shore, which protected shipping lying by the city. In old times the islets were joined together by artificial embankments. This harbour lay to the N.; on the S. was a second one, larger but less secure, known as the Egyptian harbour. Zidon appears in Scripture as the chief city of Phœnicia, giving her name to the whole people (Gn 10^{15}, Jg 10^{12} etc.). What the title 'Great Zidon' (Jos 11^{8} etc.) signified, as distinguished from 'Little Zidon,' we cannot now say. They are mentioned together in the inscription of Sennacherib at a later period (Schrader, *KAT*^{2}, 288f.). Zidon's early pre-eminence was due no doubt to her success in commercial enterprise, the skill and intrepidity of her mariners and merchants, and the progress of her sons in arts and manufactures. They excelled in artistic metal work (Homer, *Il.* xxiii. 743–748, *Od.* iv. 613–619, xv. 460) and in the products of the loom, the value of which was enhanced by the famous dye, used first by the Zidonians, but, by a strange fortune, known to the later world as 'Tyrian purple.' The planting of colonies was a natural, and almost necessary, outcome of her commercial enterprise. If she did not found Aradus (Strabo, xvi. ii. 13) and Carthage (Appian, *de Rebus Punicis*, 1, etc.), she seems to claim on a coin to be the mother-city of Melita or Malta, as well as of Citium and Berytus (Gesenius, *Mon. Phœn.* 276; Rawlinson, *Phœn.* 411). Prince Zimrida of Zidon appears in the Amarna tablets as contesting with Egypt the lordship of the coast lands. Zidonian ascendancy succeeded the decline of the Egyptian power after Rameses ii. How long it lasted we do not know. It was marked by an unsuccessful conflict with the Philistines for the possession of Dor, which, however, did not necessarily involve her deposition (Rawlinson, *op. cit.* 417). Israel, who had not dispossessed the Zidonians (Jg 1^{31}), suffered oppression at their hands (10^{12}). By the time of Solomon, however, **Tyre** had assumed the hegemony (Jos. *Ant.* viii. v. 3, *c. Apion*, i. 18). In B.C. 877 Zidon, with other Phœnician cities, submitted to the Assyrian Ashur-nazir-pal and 'sent him presents.' Zidon suffered under Shalmaneser ii., Tiglath-pileser, Shalmaneser iv., and finally was subdued by Sennacherib, who made Tubaal, a creature of his own, king. A revolt under Tubaal's successor led to the utter destruction of the city, with circumstances of great severity, by Esarhaddon, who built a new city called by his own name. The native lips probably preserved the ancient name. 'Zidon' persists, 'Ir Esarhaddon' is heard of no more. The decline and fall of Assyria brought a period of rest to Phœnicia, and recuperation to her cities. The attempt to gain Judah for the league against the growing power of Babylon brought an embassy to Jerusalem, in which the king of Zidon was represented (Jer 27^{3}). A revolt, apparently in B.C. 598, joined in by Judah, was stamped out by Nebuchadrezzar. Zidon's swift submission was due to devastating pestilence (Ezk $28^{21ff.}$). The long resistance of Tyre led to her destruction and humiliation (Ezk $26^{8ff.}$), Zidon once more assuming the leadership.

In the beginning of the Persian period the Phœnician cities enjoyed practical autonomy, and a time of great material prosperity. A friendly arrangement with Cambyses perpetuated this state of things, and in the Greek wars most valuable assistance was given by the Phœnicians to the Persians. The revolt of the Phœnicians, headed by Zidon, about B.C. 351, was remorselessly crushed by Artaxerxes Ochus. Zidon was betrayed into his hands by the despairing king, Tennes. To escape the cruelties of Ochus, the inhabitants burned the city, more than 40,000 perishing in the flames. The treachery of Tennes was matched by that of Ochus, who, having no further use for him, put him to death (Diod. Sic. xvi. *passim*). The city rose again from its ashes, and regained something of its former prosperity. The son of Tennes became king, and retained the sceptre till the advent of Alexander. While Phœnicia then lost her predominance in the trade of the Mediterranean, Zidon retained considerable importance as the possessor of an excellent harbour, and as a seat of Phœnician industry. Lying in the territory often in dispute between Syria and Egypt, in the following centuries Zidon several times changed hands. Under the Romans she enjoyed the privileges of a free city. Zidon figures in the Gospel narratives (Mt $11^{21f.}$ 15^{21}, Mk 3^{8} etc.). Jesus possibly visited the city (Mk 7^{31}). It appears in Ac 12^{20}, and was touched at by St. Paul in his voyage to Rome (Ac 27^{3}). It became the seat of a bishop. Zidon suffered heavily during the Crusades. Under the Druse prince, Fakhreddin (1595–1634), its prosperity revived; but, in order to prevent the approach of the Turkish fleet, he caused the entrance to the harbour to be filled up, thus making it com-

paratively useless. The present walls of the city were built by Mohammed 'Ali of Egypt (1832–1840). The fortress, *Kal'at el-Bahr*, 'Castle of the Sea,' dating from the 13th cent., stands on the largest of the islands, which is joined to the mainland by a bridge of 9 arches. The present population is about 11,000. The chief occupations are fishing, and the cultivation of the gardens and orange groves for which modern Zidon is famous. While the oldest existing buildings date from the Middle Ages, there are many remains of great antiquity, traces of walls, hewn stones, pillars, coins, and the reservoirs cut out of the rock. The most important discoveries so far have been (1855) the sarcophagus of king Eshmunazar (early in the 4th cent. B.C.), with the well-known inscription, now in Paris; and (1887) the tomb containing 17 Phœnician and Greek sarcophagi, highly ornamented; among them that of Tabnit, father of Eshmunazar, and the alleged sarcophagus of Alexander the Great. W. Ewing.

ZIHA.—A family of Nethinim (Ezr 2^{43} = Neh 7^{46} 11^{21}); called in 1 Es 5^{29} **Esau.**

ZIKLAG.—A town given by Achish king of Gath to the outlawed David (1 S 27^{6} $30^{1ff.}$, 2 S 1^{1} 4^{10}, 1 Ch 12^{1} ^{20}). In the national register of cities it is assigned ' ıah (Jos 15^{31}) or to Simeon (19^{6}), and is mentioned also in the post-exilic list (Neh 11^{28}). It has been identified with *Zuheiḥqa*, 11 m. S. E. of Gaza, and 20 m. S.W. from Eleutheropolis. H. L. Willett.

ZILLAH.—See Adah, No. 1.

ZILLETHAI.—**1.** A Benjamite family (1 Ch 8^{20}). **2.** A Manassite who joined David at Ziklag (1 Ch 12^{20}).

ZILPAH.—A slave-girl given to Leah by Laban, Gn 29^{24} (P), and by her to Jacob as a concubine, 30^{9} (J); the mother of Gad and Asher, vv.$^{10\text{-}13}$ (J), 35^{26} 37^{2} 46^{18} (all P). Cf. art. Tribes of Israel.

ZIMMAH.—A family of Gershonite Levites (1 Ch 6^{20} (5). ^{42} (27), 2 Ch 29^{12}).

ZIMRAN.—A son of Abraham and Keturah, Gn 25^{2} = 1 Ch 1^{32}. The ethnological signification of the word is doubtful. The name is derived from *zemer*, 'mountain-sheep *or* -goat,' this animal having doubtless been the totem of the clan.

ZIMRI.—**1.** A prince of the tribe of Simeon, slain by Phinehas (Nu $25^{6\text{-}14}$, 1 Mac 2^{26}). **2.** Son of Zerah, and grandfather or ancestor of Achan (1 Ch 2^{6}); called **Zabdi** in Jos 7^{1}. **3.** A Benjamite (1 Ch 8^{36} 9^{42}). **4.** See next article. **5.** 'All the kings of Zimri' are mentioned in the same verse, Jer 25^{25}, with those of Elam and the Medes as among those who were to drink the cup of the fury of the Lord. There is considerable doubt as to what place is meant, or even as to the genuineness of the phrase.

ZIMRI seized the throne of Israel by the murder of his king Elah, but held it only seven days before **Omri**, another general of the army, asserted himself as claimant. Omri, as is well known, was the stronger, and established himself after disposing of two opponents. The characterization of Zimri, as one who caused Israel to sin by following in the ways of Jeroboam, is due to the author's desire to pronounce judgment on all the kings of the Northern Kingdom (1 K $16^{9\text{-}20}$). H. P. Smith.

ZIN (Nu 13^{21} 20^{1} 27^{14} 33^{36} $34^{3.\ 4}$, Dt 32^{51}, Jos $15^{1.\ 3}$). —A region passed through by the Israelites in their journeyings. The most exact indication of its position is given in Nu 34 and Jos 15. In Nu 13^{21} 'the wilderness of Zin' is named as the southern limit from which the spies began to search the land. In Nu 33^{36} it is given as one of the stations in the journeyings. The brief note, 'the same is Kadesh,' serves to explain the following verse ('And they journeyed from Kadesh' . . .). Nu 20^{1} records the arrival of the children of Israel 'in the wilderness of Zin' in the first month [the year is not stated], and the following vv.$^{2\text{-}13}$ relate the events which took place at Meribah. The remaining two passages, Nu 27 and Dt 32, which are duplicates, refer to the punishment of Moses for his offence at 'the waters of Meribah of Kadesh in the wilderness of Zin.' Hence it may be inferred (*a*) that the Wilderness of Zin formed part of the southern boundary of Judah at its eastern end towards the Dead Sea; (*b*) that Kadesh was included within its limits.

The close similarity between the events recorded in Ex 17 and Nu 20, and other points of resemblance between occurrences before and after Sinai, suggest the question whether Sin and Zin, the Sin of the pre-Sinai and the Zin of the post-Sinai narrative, may be variations developed in the course of tradition. The hypothesis does not appear improbable, but the narrative in its present form indicates two regions bearing different names. Cf. Paran, Sin [Wilderness of].

ZINA.—See Zizah.

ZION.—See Jerusalem, esp. II. **1.**

ZIOR.—A town in the hill-country of Judah (Jos 15^{54}). It is prob. to be identified with the modern village *Sa'ir*, about 6 miles N.N.E. of Hebron.

ZIPH.—**1.** A son of Jehallelel (1 Ch 4^{16}). **2.** A city of Southern Judah (Jos 15^{24}). Its site has not been recovered. **3.** A city in the hill-country of Judah (Jos 15^{55}); fortified by Rehoboam (2 Ch 11^{8}). The wilderness of Ziph was one of the refuges of David when fleeing from Saul (1 S $23^{14.\ 15.\ 24}$ 26^{2} *bis*). The gentilic name **Ziphites** occurs in 1 S $23^{19.\ 24}$ [LXX only] 26^{1}, Ps 54 ^{title}. Ziph is *Tell Zîf*, S.E. of Hebron.

ZIPHAH.—A son of Jerahmeel (1 Ch 4^{16}).

ZIPHION.—See Zaphon.

ZIPHRON.—An unknown point on the northern frontier of Canaan (Nu $34^{9f.}$); perhaps the same as **Sibraim** of Ezk 47^{16}.

ZIPPOR.—Father of Balak (Nu $22^{2.\ 4.\ 10.\ 16}$ 23^{18}, Jos 24^{9}, Jg 11^{25}). The name, which doubtless in this case and in that of **Zipporah** has a totemistic significance, means 'sparrow.'

ZIPPORAH.—One of the daughters of the priest of Midian, Ex $2^{21.\ 22}$ (J), wife of Moses and mother of Gershom. According to 18^{2} (E), she had another son. For the incident of Ex $4^{24ff.}$ see Moses, p. 632^{a}.

ZIV.—See art. Time.

ZIZ.—The ascent of Ziz is mentioned in 2 Ch 20^{16} as the way by which the allied Moabites, Ammonites, and Meunim made their way up from En-gedi to attack Jehoshaphat at Jerusalem. It has been identified as an ascent near En-gedi from the plain of the Dead Sea to the tableland of Judah. The Roman road from En-gedi to Jerusalem followed this track. H. L. Willett.

ZIZA.—**1.** A Simeonite chief (1 Ch 4^{37}). **2.** A son of Rehoboam (2 Ch 11^{20}).

ZIZAH.—A Gershonite Levite (1 Ch 23^{11}). The name, prob. by a copyist's error, appears in v.^{10} as **Zina.**

ZOAN.—A city in the N.E. of Lower Egypt (Egyp. *Zani*, Gr. **Tanis**).—It is now San el-Hagar, one of the most important of the ancient sites in Lower Egypt, with ruins of a great temple. The 21st Dyn. arose in Tanis, and it was probably a favourite residence of the Pharaohs, though it is now in the midst of a barren salt marsh, with only a few fishermen as inhabitants. Ramasses II. placed in the temple a colossus of himself in granite, the greatest known, which Petrie calculates from the fragments to have measured 92 feet in height. Zoan is not mentioned in Genesis, but elsewhere (Ps $78^{12.\ 43}$, Is $19^{11.\ 13.\ 30}$, Ezk 30^{14}) it appears as almost or quite the capital of Egypt, perhaps as being the royal city nearest to the frontier. Tanis was very ancient: the curious reference to its building in Nu 13^{22} cannot be explained as yet. F. Ll. Griffith.

ZOAR.—See Plain [Cities of the], Lot.

ZOBAH.—An Aramæan community, the most powerful of the coalition of 'Syrian' States which made

war upon king David while he was engaged with the Ammonites (2 S $8^{10ff.}$). The exact location is uncertain; but this whole group of Aramæan settlements lay between Damascus and the entrance to Cœle-Syria. Zobah was certainly east of Jordan, and probably the most southerly of the kindred peoples. 1 S 14^{47}, which states that Saul fought against Zobah, is probably based on a confusion with the wars of David. J. F. McCURDY.

ZOBEBAH.—A Judahite (1 Ch 4^{8}).

ZOHAR.—1. Father of Ephron the Hittite (Gn 23^{8} 25^{19}). **2.** A Simeonite family (Gn 46^{10}, Ex 6^{15}); called in Nu 26^{13} and 1 Ch 4^{24} **Zerah.** **3.** A Judahite family, according to the *Kĕrē* of 1 Ch 4^{7}, which was followed in AV of 1611. The *Kĕthībh* is incorrectly reproduced in modern edd. of AV as '**Jezoar,**' and in RV as '**Izhar.**'

ZOHELETH, STONE OF.—An object mentioned in connexion with the attempt of Adonijah upon the throne of Israel (1 K 1^{9}). It was near the spring **En-rogel,** which is supposed to be the 'Virgin's Fountain' in the Kidron valley. Its name ('serpent's stone' or 'brilliant stone') has not been explained, but it was evidently a sacred rock or stone. H. L. WILLETT.

ZOHETH.—A descendant of Judah (1 Ch 4^{20}).

ZOPHAH.—An Asherite (1 Ch $7^{35.\ 36}$).

ZOPHAI.—An ancestor of Samuel (1 Ch $6^{26\ (11)}$ = **Zuph** of v.$^{35\ (20)}$ and 1 S 1^{1}.

ZOPHAR.—The third in order of Job's three friends, described in the LXX as 'king of the Minæans' (Job 2^{11}); probably the chief of a tribe on the borders of Idumæa. Cf. art. JOB, esp. 2 (8).

ZOPHIM.—The 'field of Zophim' was one of the spots to which Balak took Balaam to view Israel, Nu 23^{14} (JE). It is questionable whether we have here a proper name; the Heb. expression means literally 'field of viewers *or* lookers out.' Such 'places of watching' were naturally situated frequently on the tops of hills. On the impossible combination **Ramathaim-zophim** of 1 S 1^{1} see RAMAH, **4.**

ZORAH.—A town allotted to Judah, according to Jos 15^{33}; but elsewhere spoken of as Danite (Jos 19^{41}, Jg $18^{2.\ 8.\ 11}$); specially noted as the home of **Samson** (Jg $13^{2.\ 25}$), who was buried between Zorah and Eshtaol (16^{31}). It was fortified by Rehoboam (2 Ch 11^{10}), and is mentioned in Neh 11^{29} as peopled by Judahites after the Captivity. The gentilic name **Zorathites** occurs in 1 Ch 2^{53} 4^{2} and prob. 2^{54} (where read **Zorathites** for **Zorites**). Zorah is the modern *Sur'ah* on the northern side of *Wâdy es-Surar* (the **Valley of Sorek**) opposite *'Ain Shems* (Beth-shemesh), which lies on the southern side.

ZORITES.—See ZORAH.

ZOROASTRIANISM.—See MAGI.

ZOROBABEL.—See ZERUBBABEL.

ZORZELLEUS (AV **Berzelus,** 1 Es 5^{38} = **Barzillai** of Ezr 2^{61} and Neh 7^{63}).—A daughter of his, named **Augia,** is mentioned as married to Addus, the ancestor of a priestly family, who could not trace their genealogy at the return under Zerubbabel.

ZUAR.—Father of Nethanel the head of the tribe of Issachar (Nu 1^{8} 2^{5} $7^{18.\ 23}$ 10^{15}).

ZUPH.—1. An ancestor of Samuel (1 S 1^{1}, 1 Ch $6^{35\ (20)}$; called in v.$^{26\ (11)}$ **Zophai**). **2.** The land of Zuph (1 S 9^{5}) probably derived its name from having been originally settled by the family of Zuph. The gentilic name **Zuphite** probably underlies the name **Ramathaim-zophim** of 1 S 1^{1}. No known site can be said to contain any certain trace of the name Zuph.

ZUR.—1. A Midianite prince slain by the Israelites (Nu 25^{15} 31^{8}, Jos 13^{21}). **2.** A Gibeonite family settled at Jerusalem (1 Ch 8^{30}, 9^{36}).

ZURIEL.—A Merarite chief (Nu 3^{35}).

ZURISHADDAI.—Father of Shelumiel, the chief of the tribe of Simeon (Nu 1^{6} 2^{12} $7^{36.\ 41}$ 10^{19}).

ZUZIM.—One of the nations defeated by Chedorlaomer and his allies when they went against the cities of the plain (Gn 14^{5}). It is described as being in **Ham.** This name is read by some as *Cham* (*i.e.* with initial *heth,* not *he* as in MT) and regarded as possibly identical with *'Ammon* (interchange between the aspirates *heth* and *'ayin*), the Ammonites being descended from Ben-ammi, son of Lot's second daughter (Gn 19^{38}). This identification of Ammon with Ham has led to the suggestion that Zuzim and **Zamzummim** (Dt 2^{20-23}) were the same, by the contraction of *am* and *um* to *û,* which may be supported by Babylonian analogies. Robinson points out that *Zuzim* reminds one of *Ziza* (Ptol. v. xvii. 6), between Bosra and Lejûn. T. G. PINCHES.

ADDITIONAL NOTE TO ARTICLE 'ASSYRIA AND BABYLONIA.'

SINCE the article ASSYRIA AND BABYLONIA was put into type, the appearance of Mr. L. W. King's *Chronicles concerning Early Babylonian Kings,* and Professor H. V. Hilprecht's *Chronological Tablets* from the Temple Library at Nippur have made public a considerable amount of additional information as to early Babylonian and Assyrian history. A new set of synchronisms is established and new rulers are restored, while the chronology is considerably affected. A mere sketch of the new facts is all that can be attempted here. Three new rulers, Ilu-ellati, Enmennunna, and Apil-kishshu, must be placed centuries before the first dynasty of Babylonia, almost doubling the historic period. The period of Sargon and Naram-Sin is more fully made known, the latter's conquest of Magan being especially important. Sargon aggrandized Agade at the expense of Babylon, already the seat of Marduk worship. The dynasty of Ur, founded by Ur-Engur (or Ur-Gur), can now be set out completely as follows:—

Ur-Engur . .	reigned	18 years
Dungi, his son . .	,,	58 ,,
Bur-Sin, his son . .	,,	9 ,,
Gimil-Sin, his son .	,,	7 ,,
Ibi-Sin, his son . .	,,	25 ,,

ADDITIONAL NOTE TO ARTICLE 'ASSYRIA AND BABYLONIA'

For the reign of Dungi we have the additional information that 'he cared greatly for Eridu, which was on the shore of the sea,' and that he sacked Babylon. Gudea was his contemporary at Shirpula. On the fall of this dynasty the power passed to Isin, where the following dynasty reigned. The place of Gungunu is not certain.

Ishbi-Urra	reigned	32	years
Gimil-ilishu, his son	,,	10	,,
Idin-Dagan, his son	,,	21	,,
Ishme-Dagan, his son	,,	20	,,
Libit-Ishtar, his son	,,	11	,,
Ur-Ninib	,,	28	,,
Bur-Sin, his son	,,	21	,,
Iter-Kasha, his son	,,	5	,,
? , his brother	,,	7	,,
Sin...	,,	6	,,
Bēl-bāni	,,	24	,,
Zame...	,,	3	,,
?	,,	5	,,
Ea...	,,	4	,,
Sin-magir	,,	11	,,
Damki-ilishu, his son	,,	23	,,

This last king has been thought to be a contemporary of Ammiditana, who, in the last year of his reign, destroyed the wall of Isin 'which the men of Damki-ilishu had erected.' But the reference may be to the third king of the second dynasty; and in any case is not very clear.

Two new names, Urra-imitti and Bēl-ibni, are now to be placed high in the list of Assyrian kings. The latter was a gardener whom Urra-imitti raised to be his successor. They appear to have preceded Ilu-shuma, whom we now know to have been king of Assyria and contemporary with Sumu-abi, founder of the first dynasty of Babylon. Sulili may be another form of the name of Sumu-la-ilu, the second king of this dynasty, who thus reigned over Assyria as well.

We further learn that Hammurabi's conquest of Rim-Sin was not final, for Samsu-iluna had to fight with him again. Samsu-iluna also fought with Ilu-ma-ilu, who was king of the Sea-land, and Abēshu later waged indecisive war with him. In the time of Samsu-satana the Hittites invaded the land of Akkad. Ea-gamil, the last king of the second dynasty apparently, and king of the Sea-land, attacked Elam, but was defeated and deposed by the brother of Bitiliashu the Kassite. Agum, son of Bitiliashu, then conquered the Sea-land. These synchronisms, if the proposed identifications of the rulers named are correct, show that the second dynasty was contemporary partly with the first, partly with the third, and consequently that the dates of the first dynasty must be lowered. Whether the Kassite dynasty directly followed Samsu-satana is still uncertain.

Later, we learn that Adad-apliddina was an Aramæan usurper, and that in his reign the Sutu nomads ravaged Sumer and Akkad. The name of the Elamite who formed the seventh dynasty was Ae-aplusur. A new Tiglath-pileser has to be added to the kings of Assyria. He was the father of Ashur-dan II. and son of Ashur-resh-ishi II., grandson of Ashur-rabi II. Hence the Tiglath-pileser of B.C. 731 becomes IV. Merodach-baladan, 'the son of Baladan,' Marduk-apliddina III., was the son of Nabu-shum . . . We get fresh information as to the troubled times in Babylonia after Sennacherib destroyed Babylon; and the name of Erba-Marduk (who dispossessed the Aramæans from the estates which they had seized in Babylon and Borsippa, and restored E-sagila and E-zida, the temples of Marduk and Nabu) is, with others, rescued to history.

The changes which these new facts involve are likely to give rise to much discussion, and will probably not be settled till we have still further information.

C. H. W. JOHNS.

B. & B. BOOK BINDERY
GENERAL BOOK BINDING--
RULING--BLANK BOOK MFG.
FARGO N. D.